A diachronic study of the (negative) additive *anche* in Italian[1]

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Abstract

In Modern Italian (MI), negative additives are focalizing elements that typically obey negative concord with a clausal negation or another licensing negative element. In this paper we investigate the diachronic evolution of one negative additive element, *neanche* 'neither/not even'. In Old Italian (OI, Florentine variety of 1200-1370), morphologically complex negative additive focalizers such as *neanche* are not attested. Instead, the non-negative additive counterpart of *neanche*, *anche*, could combine with a negative marker or some other negative element: e.g. *né/non…anche* 'neither/not even'.

      We show that, in OI, (i) the morphologically non-negative additive *anche* can be used both as a negative, as well as a positive polarity item; (ii) *anche* can function either as an aspectual/temporal marker with the meaning '(not) yet', or as an additive focalizer with the meaning 'neither/not even'; (iii) its different interpretations are mirrored by different syntactic positions, i.e. *anche* has an aspectual interpretation in the postverbal position taking scope over a verbal phrase (vP), and it has an additive interpretation in the preverbal position taking scope over a determiner phrase (DP); and (iv) *anche* triggers a focus semantic interpretation under both conditions: as an additive and an aspectual/temporal marker (see Rooth 1985, Chierchia 2013 on focus semantics). We speculate, on theoretical and empirical grounds, that the aspectual reading might be a subcase of the additive reading.

      We account for the diachronic evolution from neg(ation)+*anche* in OI to *neanche* in MI by suggesting that the grammaticalization of *neanche* originates from a particular construction in which additive *anche* is immediately right adjacent to the negative disjunction *né* (i.e. *né+anche>neanche*).

1. Introduction

To convey a negative additive meaning, languages resort to different morphosyntactic strategies. Typically, a(n additive) focalizer of some sort is combined with negation in morphosyntax. For instance, English combines a sentential negator ('not') with a focalizing particle such as 'even', see (1).

(1)   **Not even** Peter came to the party.

In addition to this syntactic strategy, a language may also express a negative additive meaning by purely morphological means. This option is also available in English, when 'neither' (= lit. 'not+either') is employed, see (2).

(2)   Peter didn't come to the party, **neither** did Mary.

Modern Italian (MI) always employs morphologically complex negative additives that are derived by adding a negative prefix (*ne-*) to a positive additive focalizer, see (3).

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(3)   a.   *Alla festa è venuto **anche/pure** Pietro*
to.the party is come also Peter
'Also Peter came to the party'

   b.   *Alla festa <u>non</u> è venuto **neanche/neppure** Pietro*
to.the party not is come not.even Peter
'Not even Peter came to the party'

As (3b) shows, the negative additives *neanche* and *neppure* obey negative concord (NC) with the sentential negation *non*, since Italian is a non-strict NC language (see Zanuttini 1997, Zeijlstra 2004, Poletto 2014). However, the situation has not always been alike: a diachronic study we performed shows that in the Old Italian variety spoken and written in the Florence area between 1200 and 1370, henceforth OI, morphologically complex negative additives as those in (3b) are not attested.

    In this paper we present a diachronic study of the negative additive focalizer *anche* in OI, leaving *pure* for future research, given its more complex distribution and semantics. We show that OI *anche* has different morphosyntactic and semantic properties from its MI counterpart. Specifically, (i) the morphologically non-negative additive *anche* can be used both as a negative, as well as a positive polarity item; (ii) *anche* can function either as an aspectual/temporal marker with the meaning '(not) yet', or as an additive focalizer with the meaning 'neither/not even'; (iii) its different interpretations are mirrored by different syntactic positions, i.e. *anche* has an aspectual interpretation in the postverbal position taking scope over a verbal phrase (vP), and it has an additive interpretation in the preverbal position taking scope over a determiner phrase (DP); and (iv) *anche* triggers a focus semantic interpretation under both conditions: as an additive and an aspectual/temporal marker (see Rooth 1985, Chierchia 2013 on focus semantics). We speculate, on theoretical and empirical grounds, that the aspectual reading might be a subcase of the additive reading.

    We account for the diachronic evolution from neg(ation)+*anche* in OI to *neanche* in MI by suggesting that grammaticalization of *neanche* originates from a particular construction in which additive *anche* is immediately right adjacent to the negative disjunction *né* (i.e. *né+anche>neanche*). If our observation that the same element can either have an additive or an aspectual/temporal value is correct, then there are reasons to believe that additives and aspectual/temporal markers are semantically very similar. We discuss some data showing, on the one hand, that different languages resort to analogous strategies to express both (negative) addition and aspectuality/temporality. On the other hand, we show that other elements that have the same dual status in OI, for instance the aspectual/temporal marker *ancora* (= 'already, again' in MI), may also be used as both an aspectual/temporal or an additive marker in OI, on a par with *anche*.

    The paper is structured as follows: in section 2 we present data from MI; in section 3 we briefly outline our research methodology, illustrate and discuss the OI data; in section 4 we propose an account as is specified in (i)-(iv) above, and suggest a plausible grammaticalization path for *neanche*. In section 5 we provide further support to our analysis, as well as an overview of the typology of (negative) additives and aspectuals/temporals in some Italo- and Gallo-Romance dialects. Section 6 summarizes and concludes the paper.

2.   (Negative) additives and aspectuals/temporals in MI

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, MI has morphologically negative additives, see (4a'-b'), which are derived from the positive additives in (4a-b) by adding the negative morpheme *ne-*.

(4)   a.   *anche*   a'.   ***ne****anche*
       b.   *pure*   b'.   ***ne****ppure*
              'also, too'   'neither/not even'[2]

As (3) above illustrates, *anche/pure* are licensed in positive contexts, whereas their negative counterparts behave like strong negative polarity items (NPIs), and need to be licensed by an anti-veridical operator (Giannakidou 1997, 2002), e.g. the sentential negation, *non,* in (3b). Alternatively, they must be focus-fronted, (5), as is typical for the non-strict NC pattern of MI (Longobardi 1991, Zanuttini 1997, Herburger 2001, Zeijlstra 2004, Poletto 2014).

(5)   ***Neanche/neppure*** *Pietro ho visto alla festa*
        neither/not.even Peter have.1SG seen to.the party
        'I haven't seen even Peter at the party'

Although the element *pure* in (4b) can have an additive meaning, on a par with *anche*, it can also be used in various other contexts as a modal particle, (6), for which reason we leave it out from the present study and concentrate on *anche,* which does not display any modal value.[3; 4]

(6)   *Prendi **pure** un po' di torta*
        take PRT a bit of cake
        '(Feel free to) take a bit of cake'

In addition to the additives listed in (4), MI may also employ other markers that generally have an aspectual/temporal reading, as additives, in some special contexts. This is the case of *ancora* (= 'still/yet'), which is arguably etymologically related to *anche* (see section 4). See the difference between the aspectual/temporal and the additive meaning of *ancora* in (7a) and (7b) respectively.

(7)   a.   *Pietro sta **ancora** ballando*
                Peter AUX.PROG still dancing
                'Peter is still dancing'

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[2] MI has another negative additive, i.e. *nemmeno* 'neither/not even', which could also be focus-fronted on a par with *neanche* and *nemmeno* in (5), but which does not behave the same way as *neppure* and *neanche* in (4a') and (4b'), because its positive counterpart *meno* does not mean 'also, too' but 'less', and is found in comparatives.

[3] We also excluded from the study the negative additive *nemmeno* (= 'neither/not even', see fn. 2), since it is not derived from a positive counterpart (**ne-meno*).

[4] In this paper we use abbreviations as in the Leipzig Glossing Rule, plus the following ones: ANCHE= either aspectual/temporal or additive marker; ANCORA= either aspectual/temporal or additive marker; EMPH= emphatic; POL= politeness form, PRT= particle; SCL= subject clitic.

b.   *Prendo **ancora** caffè*
take.1SG yet coffee
'I'll have more coffee'

Although the additive meaning of *ancora* is not identical to that of *anche*, as the two items are not interchangeable (i.e. *anche in (7b), and *ancora in (3a)), the usage of one and the same lexical item in (7) suggests that the additive and the aspectual/temporal interpretations of *ancora* (or *anche* respectively) must be interrelated, and, specifically, that both meanings might be derived from a more general one.[5] In the next sections we show how data on additive and aspectual/temporal markers from OI and other languages seem to confirm this idea.

3.   Negative additives in OI

In this section we briefly illustrate our research methods, and the OI data.

3.1   *Methods*

For our study we ran a corpus search on the Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (OVI) database.[6] We restricted our search to the element *anche* in the Old Florentine variety, which is the variety spoken and written in the area of Florence (Italy) between 1200 and 1370, and is conventionally referred to as OI in the literature (Renzi & Salvi 2010, Poletto 2014, a.o.). For the sake of precision, we further partitioned the corpus into three major periods: 1200-1295, 1296-1320, and 1321-1370,[7] to determine whether any diachronic change occurred from one period to the other. However, we found no significant differences among the three periods, for the purposes of the present study.

3.2   *OI data: NPI vs. PPI*

In OI, *anche* is only attested in its underived (positive) form, that is, *neanche* is not attested until the end of the 14th century according to our corpus study. More generally, we noticed that NC is morphologically absent from all negative additives until the end of the 14th century.[8]

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[5] One further difference between *anche* and *ancora* is that *anche* is only possible in PPI contexts in MI, see (i), and the morphologically negative counterpart *neanche* is required in NPI contexts. Instead, *ancora* can be used both as NPI, (ii a), or outscope negation, (ii b).

(i)   **Pietro non è **anche** venuto*
Peter not is also come

(ii)   a.   *Pietro <u>non</u> è **ancora** venuto*
Peter not is yet come
'Peter hasn't come yet'

   b.   *Pietro non sta **ancora** ballando*
Peter not AUX.PROG still dancing
'It is not the case that Peter is still dancing'

[6] The database is available at the following website: https://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/ovi.

[7] The partitioning of the corpus has been done according to other known changes in the corpus as for instance those concerning the V2 system and the type of NC. For the V2 system, see Poletto 2014.

[8] We also ran a preliminary corpus search on *neppure* and *nemmeno*, which are equally absent from the corpus until the end of the 14th century.

Before the end of the 14th century, additives such as *anche* are never lexicalized with a negative prefix, but they can still be licensed in negative contexts, see (8).

(8)   a.   *Perché altra è castità virginale, che non ebbe **anche** uso d'uomo,*
                because other is chastity virginal that not had ANCHE (carnal).use of man
                'Because one thing is virginal chastity, which hasn't had sexual
                intercourse with any man yet.' [Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 35, p. 61]

        b.   *Perché nel mondo non ne fue **anche** neuna sì crudele*
                because in.the world not of.it was ANCHE no-one so cruel
                'Because there hasn't been such a cruel [war] in the world yet' …
                                                        [Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 50, p. 86]

        c.   *Della tua ricchezza tu non hai bene,*
                of.the your richness you not have.2SG wealth
                *né io **anche** n' ho bene*
                and.not I ANCHE of.it have.1SG wealth
                'You cannot enjoy your richness, neither do I.'
                                                [Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, 194, p. 491]

In all sentences in (8), *anche* is in an NPI context, as it is interpreted in the scope of negation (see discussion on the semantics of *anche* below). This is a first important difference from MI, in which *anche* is only used in PPI contexts (cf. (i) in fn. 5 above). Further facts show that OI *anche* was productive in weak-NPI contexts as well (cf. Krifka 1995, Chierchia 2013 for weak NPIs), see (9).

(9)   *Vedestu **anche** neuno k' avesse uno amico intero?*
        saw.you ANCHE no-one that had one friend whole
        'Have you ever seen one person who had a real friend?' [*Disciplina Clericalis*, p. 75]

In (9) the NPI licensor is not an anti-veridical operator, unlike negation in (8), but a non-veridical one, and specifically a question operator (cf. Giannakidou 1997, 2002). Moreover, *anche* is equally attested in PPI contexts, on a par with MI (with different word order, though), see (10).

(10)   *Ed **anche** siano tenuti li decti capitani di far diri*
        and ANCHE are.3PL.SBJV obliged the said captains to make say
        ongne giuovidì una Messa.
        every Thursday a Mass
        'And the abovementioned captains shall also have a Mass celebrated every
        Thursday'   [*Compagnia Madonna Orsammichele*, p. 655]

We can thus conclude that OI *anche* may occur in weak and strong NPI contexts, as well as in PPI contexts. We accordingly suggest that OI *anche* is an unspecified Polarity Item (PI) that receives its specification as PPI or NPI from the syntactic and semantic context (cf. Szabolsci 2004, and Giannakidou 2011 for the underspecification analysis of PIs).

If we pay attention to the translation of the sentences in (8) and (9) above, we may notice that *anche* does not have a unique interpretation. Put differently, *anche* has at times an aspectual/temporal meaning, corresponding to 'ever' or 'not yet' in negative clauses, as in (8a-b) and (9). Other times, *anche* functions as a true additive, as in (8c), where it means 'also'. For clarity's sake we repeat (8a) below as (11), and we provide its enlarged context.

(11)   *Perché altra è castità virginale, che <u>non</u> ebbe **anche** uso d'uomo,*
        because other is chastity virginal that not had ANCHE (carnal).use of man
        e altra è castità vedovale, che già uso d'uomo hae avuto,
        and other is chastity of.widow that already (carnal).use of man has had
        ma or se ne astiene.
        but now REFL of.it refrain
        'Because one thing is virginal chastity, which hasn't had sexual intercourse with
        any man yet, and another thing is chastity of widows, which has already had
        sexual intercourse with men, but now it refrains from it.'
                                                    [Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 35, p. 61]

The discourse context in (11) clearly shows that *anche* has an aspectual/temporal reading, since the sentence meaning is a contraposition between the virginal type of chastity, for which sexual intercourse has *not yet* occurred, and widows' chastity, for which sexual intercourse has *already* occurred, but can no longer occur, since the partner is dead. A similar aspectual/temporal interpretation is assigned to *anche* in (8a), where the speaker talks about an exceptionally cruel war, which, in such degree of cruelty, was not attested before. The aspectual/temporal reading in (9) comes instead from the speaker questioning the addressee with a formula of the kind 'have you ever…?'.
        In our corpus, all the examples in which *anche* has an aspectual/temporal reading, instead of an additive one, are cases in which *anche* is in a structurally low position, just above vP. We discuss this point in the analysis (section 4 below).
        If we contrast examples (8a-b) and (9) to (8c) and (12), we may see that *anche* has respectively an aspectual/temporal interpretation, as is illustrated above, and a true additive one.

(12)   *"Almeno non vogliate più percuotere che essere percossi".*
        at.least not want.2PL.SBJV more beat than be.INF beaten
        *E coloro dissero: "Né questo **anche** noi non possiamo farè"*
        and they said and.not this ANCHE we not can do
        "'At least you shall not want to beat [someone] more than you are beaten". And
        they said: "Neither this can we do"'   [*Leggenda Aurea*, 21, p. 212]

In (12) *anche* is interpreted as a negative additive that has semantic scope over the sentential object *questo* (= 'this'), which is preposed, and arguably focalized in a sentence initial position. In (8c) above, *anche* has the same meaning: it is a negative additive that scopes over the sentential subject *io*. Notice that in (8c), (12), and, more generally, in all cases in our corpus in which there is a negative additive reading, *anche* precedes the inflected verb. Since OI was a V2 language, i.e. the inflected verb is moved to a C position,[9] it follows that in these cases *anche* is merged quite high in the structure, i.e. in

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[9] See Benincà (2006), Poletto (2014). For another view see Mensching (2012).

the CP layer. We may thus conclude that in OI the structural position of aspectual/temporal markers such as *anche* is different from that of (negative) additives.

In the next section we capitalize on this observation, and offer a syntactic analysis of *anche* that furthermore accounts for the grammaticalization of *neanche* in MI.

4.   Analysis

In this section we offer an analysis that accounts both for the double reading of *anche* (i.e. as aspectual/temporal, as well as a (negative) additive marker (section 4.1)) and for the grammaticalization of the negative additive focalizer *neanche* in MI (section 4.2). Section 4.3 offers a semantic analysis which discusses the focus interpretation of both markers.

In our analysis we capitalize on Poletto's (2014) work on the vP-periphery in OI. Poletto shows that the verbal domain is separated from the inflectional domain by a functional area that structurally resembles the one found in the complementizer domain of OI (cf. Benincà 2006, Benincà & Poletto 2004, a.o.) and MI (Rizzi 1997, 2004, Belletti 2004). Specifically, Poletto (2014) provides evidence to the claim that the vP periphery hosts an Operator head that encodes quantificational or focus features, see (13) below.

(13)   [vP [Topic1 [Topic2 [Topic3…[**Operator**…VP]…] (from Poletto 2014: 55)

For the scope and purposes of the present analysis, we simply assume that the Operator head in the vP periphery is in fact a low Focus head, since it encodes a Focus feature, while we remain agnostic with regard to the possibility that this head might probe some other types of operator or quantifier movement. In section 4.1 we argue that *anche* may merge as the specifier of the low Focus head in the vP periphery, and we provide some support to this claim in section 5.

We more generally follow Poletto's (2006, 2014) idea that OI phases are parallel, in the sense that they all display structural similarities. This holds for CP, vP, but also for the DP phase: Poletto (2015) argues that the left periphery of OI DPs hosts a number of functional heads, on a par with the CP and the vP peripheries, see (13) above. Specifically, a DP-internal Operator head (Op) probes for focused and quantified material, see (14).

(14)   [D [Topic [**Op** [d [Agr [N…]]]]]] (from Poletto 2015)[10]

For the same reasons motivating our assumption that the Operator head in the vP periphery is a Focus head (see above), we take the Op head in the DP periphery in (14) to be a DP-internal Focus head.

In our analysis of (negative) additive *anche* we argue that the additive marker may merge in the specifier of such DP-internal Focus head. Alternatively, *anche* may directly merge in the specifier of (a quantificational) Focus head in the CP periphery, which is as in (15).

(15)   [Force [Topic [**Focus** [Mod [Fin]…]]]]]]   (cf. Rizzi 2004)

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[10] The distinction between d and D was originally proposed by Cinque (2004) in a slightly different framework. The form used here is as in Giusti (2006).

In the next sections, we argue that the phase-edge parallelism that characterizes the OI grammar (Poletto 2014), and specifically FocusP in the vP, DP, and CP periphery, is visible in the syntax (and has consequences for the semantics) of *anche*.

We moreover argue that he grammaticalization of MI *neanche* originates from the possibility to merge *anche* in CP Focus (see section 4.2).

4.1. The syntax of OI anche

4.1.1 Aspectual/temporal marker

As we mentioned in section 3.3, all instances of aspectual/temporal *anche* in our OI corpus are cases in which *anche* is merged in a structurally low position: after the negation marker and the finite verb, but before any postverbal object (16a), and before the non-finite predicate (16b).

(16) a. *Tu si pare ch'abie ragione, ma qua'*
          you REFL seems that have.2SG reason but which
          fatti portino pregio e qual senno ti faccia degno di ciò
          facts to.you bring.3PL.SBJV and which sense you make.SBJV worth of this
          *ch'adomandi, <u>no</u> lo 'ntesi **anche** da niuno.*
          that ask.2SG not it heard.1SG ANCHE from nobody
          'It seems that you are right, but I haven't heard from anybody yet which facts are giving you a prestige and which opinion deems you worth of what you are asking' [*De Amore*, 13, p. 57]

      b. *Ma come pare a me, non credo*
          but as seems to me not believe.1SG
          che portiate trestizia per amante, perché <u>non foste</u>
          that bring.2PL sadness for lover because not were.2POL
          ***anche** inamorata di niuno.*
          ANCHE in.love of nobody
          'But, as it seems to me, I don't think that you are sad for a lover, because you haven't yet been in love with anybody' [*De Amore*, 18, p. 151]

We accordingly propose that *anche* in sentences like those in (16) is merged in the specifier of a low Focus head in the vP periphery (which is analogous to the Operator head in Poletto (2014) in (13)). In (17) we provide the structure for (16b).

(17)   [$_{IP}$...<u>*non foste*</u> [$_{LowFocP}$ ***anche*** [$_{Foc0}$ ∅]] [$_{vP}$ *inamorata di nessuno*]]

A structure like (17) has never been proposed for aspectual/temporal adverbs, since it is usually held that they are either adjoined to the vP[11] or merge as specifiers of FPs with the same aspectual/temporal value[12], but never in a FocusP. However, we propose that *anche* is not lexically aspectual/temporal, and, specifically, we surmise that it has the basic meaning of an additive focalizer. The aspectual/temporal interpretation of *anche* results from the type of element it takes scope over, namely the vP (see below sections 4.3 and 5).

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[11] As standardly assumed in Minimalism, see Collins (1997) on adjunction.

[12] See Cinque (1999) and now standardly assumed in the cartographic approach.

This analysis easily accounts for the fact that MI *anche* is generally no longer used as an aspectual/temporal marker. In MI the vP periphery is no longer as 'active' as in OI (see Poletto 2014, and cf. Mensching 2012), that is, *anche* can no longer be merged in the specifier of a vP-peripheral Focus head, and, consequently, it cannot have the semantics of an aspectual/temporal marker (see section 5 for details on the semantics).

### 4.1.2 *Negative additive focalizing a noun*

By contrast to the cases in which *anche* has an aspectual/temporal interpretation, examples like (8c) and (12) above, as well as (18) below, show that *anche* may also be merged structurally higher in the clause.

(18)   *Signor mio, non sogno né mica, **né** voi* [13]
         Lord my not dream.1SG neither NEG.EMPH neither you.POL
         ***anche** non sognate, anzi vi dimenate ben sì…*
         ANCHE not dream.2POL instead REFL move well PRT
         'My lord, I am not at all dreaming, neither are you, in fact you are indeed moving'
                                                              [Boccaccio, *Decameron,* VII, 9, p. 493]

In (8c), (12) and (18) *anche* is merged in pre-finite verb position, and also precedes the sentential negation marker. Nonetheless it is interpreted in the scope of negation, as it has the meaning of 'neither, not even'. Specifically, in (8c) *anche* focalizes the sentence-initial 1st Person subject *io* (= 'I'), and adds it to the set of alternatives which already contains the 2nd person as one of the alternatives expressed in the previous sentence. In (12) the focus is on the preposed object *questo* (= 'this') and all other alternatives are expressed in the previous context. The same semantics is assigned to *anche* in (18). In this case the focus is on the sentence initial subject *voi* ('you.POL'), which is contrasted to the 1st Person subject of the previous sentence. To account for these cases, we propose that *anche* may merge in the specifier of the Focus head in DP (Op in Poletto 2015), see (14) above. The focus operator, which is intrinsically quantificational, typically quantifies over a set of alternatives, as is the case for (negative) additives (see section 4.3). A representation of (8c) is given in (19) below.

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[13] *Mica* is a minimizer (original meaning: 'bread crumb') that is used in negative clauses already in Latin. In OI -as well as in MI- it is used to emphasize negation, thus with the meaning of 'not at all' (see Zanuttini 2010 for a description of *mica*).

(19)   DP-internal *anche* in SpecFocusP[14]
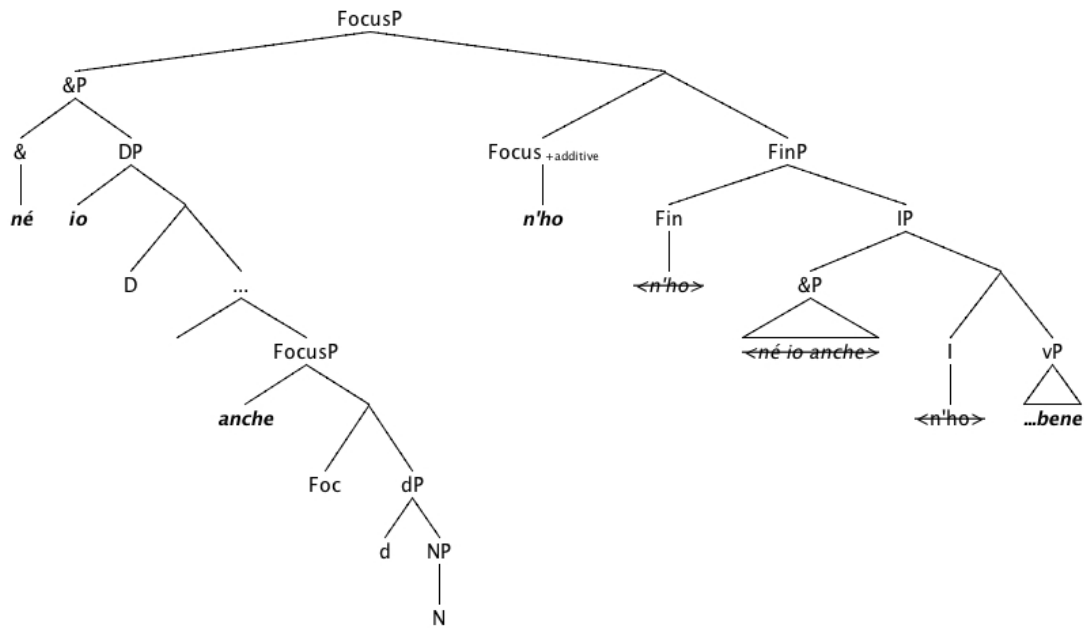
Such a derivation model applies straightforwardly to (8c), (12) and (18), since in all these cases the focalized constituent is either a pro-subject or a demonstrative, which are both eligible to check [D] via Merge to SpecDP. The whole DP is merged within a conjunction phrase (&P in (19) above, see Kayne 1994, Progovac 1998), and fronted to a SpecFocusP in CP. The latter derivation step is arguably driven by a feature-checking mechanism whereby Focus in CP probes the DP-internal focus feature.

In support of the idea that *anche* focalizes a noun that may target a higher DP-internal position, i.e. SpecDP above, comes the fact that bare or quantified nouns, as *nulla cosa* in (20) below, do not raise to SpecDP, but remain in the c-command domain of the additive focalizer. In this case the focalized noun is not a pronoun or a deictic element and does not have to move to SpecDP.[15]

(20)   *E questo male non è niente in nullo*
         and this evil not is nothing in not.one
         *luogo, e **anche** nulla cosa ha che sia naturale.*
         place and ANCHE not.one thing has that is.SBJV natural
         'This evil does not exist anywhere, neither has anything that is natural'
                                                         [*Tesoro di Brunetto Latini*, 11, p. 35]

An advantage of our analysis is that it accounts for the additive semantics and the scope of the (negative) additive focalizer in a straightforward way, by deriving word-order differences from the morphological feature-make-up of focalized items, which are merged at various syntactic levels of the DP-structure. We thus do not need postulating the existence of unnecessary heads with purely formal properties, such as the WordOrder head in Kayne (1998).

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[14] We assume that *io*, being a pronoun, is directly merged in SpecDP where it checks a [D] feature.

[15] We assume that a quantified noun like *nulla cosa* in (20) is merged low in the DP structure, and does not move higher than dP, since it does not encode any deictic feature.

Negative additive *anche* does not necessarily focalize a noun, but it may act as a wide-scope focalizer on the entire clause, see (21).

(21)   a.   *E quello cotale che assalisse, o percotesse,*
              and that such that assaulted or beat
              non possa mai avere alcuno uficio, o beneficio, dalla detta,
              not can.3SG.SBJV never have any function or benefit from the said
              overo nella detta arte, **né anche** *debba essere aiutato.*
              or in.the said art and.not ANCHE must.3SG.SBJV be helped
              'And the one who assaulted or beat [someone] shall never receive any
              function nor benefit from the above-mentioned one, in the mentioned
              art [association], neither shall he be helped'.
                                                        [*Statuto dell'Arte dei vinattieri*, 23, p. 91]

        b.   *Dolcissima moglie, guarda che ttu non toccassi*
              sweetest wife look that you not touch.2SG.SBJV
              questo vasello, **né anche** <u>*non*</u> *bere i·niuno modo,*
              this cup and.not ANCHE not drink in not.one way
              perciò ch'ell'è cosa di veleno e contraria alla vita dell'uomo.
              because that it is thing of poison and against to.the life of.the man
              'My sweet wife, pay attention not to touch this cup, neither to drink
              [from it] in any way, because it contains something poisonous and against
              human life'   [*De Amore*, 33, p. 321]

In (21a) *anche* clearly scopes over the entire clause it c-commands, since the clausal contents corresponding to 'he shall be helped' is removed from (or, put differently, negatively added to) the set of given alternatives (in the specific case: 'receive any function', 'receive any benefit'), by means of a negative disjunction (*né* = 'and not').
The same type of semantics is given in (21b), in which *anche* scopes over the clause *bere i niuno modo.* The semantic content of this clause is negatively added to the set that includes 'touch this cup' as another alternative.

        We propose that in sentences like (21), where *anche* is a negative additive with wide Focus, the merging point is directly SpecFocusP in CP, see (22) as a representation of (21a).

(22)   Wide-scope *anche*
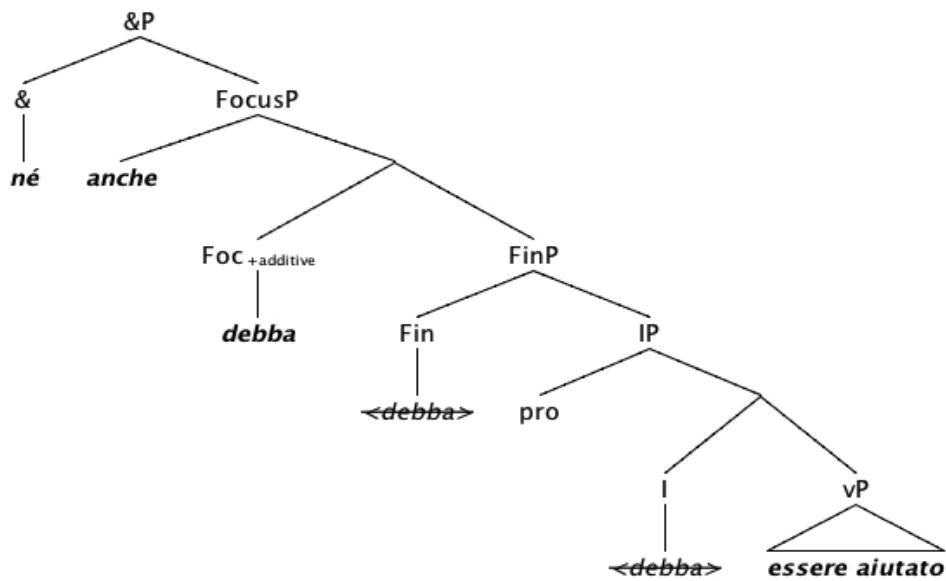
From SpecFocusP, *anche* c-commands the entire clause it scopes over, whereby its wide-scope semantics.

In the next subsection we argue that the grammaticalization of *neanche* proceeds precisely from the latter type of cases, i.e. those in which *anche* is merged in the clausal left periphery and is adjacent to the negative disjunction. More generally, our analysis of the additive marker is uniform, as this marker is always merged in a Focus projection and takes scope over the structural portion it c-commands. There exists a FocusP at the edge of each phase, and in OI we accordingly find that *anche* can be either merged in CP, vP or DP. Evidently, the interpretation changes depending on the semantics of the object over which the additive particle takes scope.

4.2.   Grammaticalization of the morphological negative additive

As we have mentioned in the introduction, *neanche* is not attested in OI grammar until the very end of the 14th century. At that moment, the system had probably already changed into a different one, as the progressive loss of V2, the changes in the negation and in the complementizer system, as well as in other domains of syntax indicate (cf. Poletto 2014, Franco 2015, under review).

In the 1200-1370 period, we have found several examples in which *anche* immediately follows the negative disjunction *né*, as in (21), and (23) below, and has clearly a negative additive meaning.

(23) *Ecco, [fratello], che il diavolo, maligno nemico, non t'ha potuto*
      indeed brother that the devil evil enemy not you has could
      *la prima volta attrarre al peccato, **né anche** la seconda,*
      the first time attract to.the sin and.not ANCHE the second
      ma la terza t'ha vinto.
      but the third you has won
      'Indeed, [brother], the devil, an evil enemy, could not induce you to sin the first
      time, neither the second one, but he won you the third one.'

      [*Leggenda Aurea*, 48, p. 408]

Although the clause containing *né* and *anche* in (23) is elliptical, it is clear that *anche* has an additive semantics, rather than an aspectual/temporal one. Moreover, *anche* is interpreted as an NPI, thus in the scope of negation, which is morphologically expressed by the negative disjunction *né*.

In (21)-(23) *anche* is merged in SpecFocP in the CP domain and results linearly right adjacent to the negative disjunction *né* at PF, see (22).

We suggest that the sequence *né anche* was lexicalized to *neanche* in MI from contexts like those in (21)-(23), following a process like in (24).[16]

(24) a. $[_{CP}$ *Né*…$[_{FocP}$ *anche*… [Verb… $\rightarrow$
      b. $[_{CP}$ *Neanche* (lexicalization) [Verb … $\rightarrow$
      c. [*Non*…[Verb… [*neanche* …

In a first stage, *anche* was merged in SpecFocP, followed by *né* in $\&^0$, and both items result linearly adjacent at PF, see (24a).[17] Based on this structure, *neanche* is subsequently reanalyzed as one bimorphemic word, see (24b).[18] Once *neanche* is lexicalized as a negative additive, it was able to be displaced elsewhere in the clause while maintaining the negative additive semantics, as shown in (24c).

In this perspective, the negative additive semantics is the compositional result of the semantics of negative *né*, and additive *anche*. This semantics is fixed in the lexicon in MI, whereas in OI it results from the syntactic configuration.

4.3   Semantic Analysis

In this section we sketch a unified semantic analysis for *anche* as an aspectual/temporal marker and as a (negative) additive marker. We show that both markers trigger a focus interpretation. The crucial difference between the two markers consists in the semantic type of focus alternatives with which the markers are associated (time alternatives vs. alternatives of individuals).

We propose that both additives and aspectual/temporal adverbs share some properties that might explain why one and the same word, *anche,* could be used as an aspectual/temporal and as an additive marker in OI. The common property of

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[16] We still do not know the exact period in which *neanche* is lexicalized as an inseparable word. The lexicalization moment can be determined only with a study of the entire history of Italian, which we leave to future research.

[17] By $\&^0$ we refer to the head of &P.

[18] In the Renaissance period (1370-1500), the negative additive corresponding to MI *neanche* is still written as two separate words, *né anche*, that are however always adjacent. This is clearly an intermediate stage towards the lexicalization of *neanche*.

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aspectuals/temporals and additives consists of their focus-sensitivity, i.e. they function as focus operators that induce focus alternatives (represented in brackets {a, b, c, d,…}). These focus operators evaluate the alternatives in a very specific way, e.g. on the basis of a probability or likelihood scale, as is shown in the analysis below in (25) (see also Krifka 1995, Lee 2008). We assume a focus semantic analysis in the framework of alternative semantics, according to which focus sensitive items (e.g. focus particles like 'even' or 'only') associate with a focused element (e.g. 'only Peter') that triggers alternatives (e.g. all persons that are not identical to Peter: {Mary, Marc, Irene,….}, cf. Rooth 1995, Chierchia 2013, a.o.).

In what follows, we propose a unitary analysis of the aspectual/temporal marker in (8a) and the additive marker in (8c). Both markers, when used under negation, assert a negative proposition, see (25a-b).

(25) a. Assertion of (8b): 'Because there hasn't been such a cruel [war] in the world yet.' ≈ There is no time t at which there has been such a cruel war so far.

  b. Assertion of (8c): '….neither do I.' ≈ I do not enjoy richness.

Moreover, these focus markers induce focus alternatives (see (26a)-(26b)):

(26) a. Alternatives of (8b):{such cruel war did not exist at $t(ime)1$, such cruel war did not exist at $t2$, … }

  b. Alternatives of (8c):{you don't enjoy richness, I don't enjoy richness}

These alternatives are evaluated by a focus operator (e.g. an exhaustivity operator or a scalar operator, see Chierchia's 2013 formal definition of these operators). We propose that, in the case of an aspectual/temporal marker, the alternatives are evaluated by a scalar operator (the E(ven)-operator as defined in Chierchia 2013). This operator, roughly speaking, takes one alternative from the set, and evaluates it as the least likely or probable alternative, in contrast to all other alternatives in the set, see (27) and Grosz 2012 for a similar proposal):[19]

(27) Scalar inference in (8b): E (not [such a cruel war exist nowFocus]) = It is more probable that such a cruel war existed at any time before the reference time, than that such a war exists at the reference time.[20]

In the case of additives, the scalar inference is not necessary, but still possible, as is shown by the context of the following example. The scalar inference is expressed by the proposition that the speaker never offended anyone, not even a peasant, given the presupposition that peasants were –in the social context of the ancient Rome– the most likely to be offended.

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[19] We will investigate in future research whether the scalar inference is lexically encoded or pragmatically derived via context, and whether it is a presupposition, a conventional implicature or a conversational one.

[20] We leave out the presuppositions that aspectual adverbs and additives may trigger. Aspectual markers as *already/yet* as in (8b) induce usually the presupposition of phase transition (Löbner 1989), e.g. that such a cruel war did not exist before the reference time, but it exists at the reference time. Additives usually presuppose that there must be some other true alternative besides the one asserted.

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(28)   *Io medesimo, diss'egli, fui alcuna volta dittatore in Roma;*
        I self said'he was some time dictator in Rome
        ma unque per me non fu fatto oltraggio a centurione,
        but nowhere for me not was done offence to centurion
        *nè a cavaliere, nè **anche** ad uomo della plebe*
        and.not to knight and.not ANCHE to man of.the peasants
        'I was myself a dictator in Rome once, but no offence was ever done by me to any centurion, or to a knight, or even to a peasant'

                                                    [*Deca prima di Tito Livio* 33, p. 272]

We thus propose that additives in (8c) induce an exhaustive interpretation whereby all alternatives of the contextually defined set are considered to be true, as (29) exemplifies.

(29)   EXH {you don't enjoy richness, I don't enjoy richness}

To sum up: both additives and aspectual/temporal markers are focus sensitive, i.e. they are associated with an alternative set (a set of time alternatives in the case of aspectual/temporal markers, and a set of individuals or properties in the case of additives). They differ with respect to how the alternatives are evaluated (by a scalar operator or by an exhaustivity operator). This semantic difference is directly encoded in the syntax of OI: additive *anche* may focalize a clause, if it is directly merged in FocusP in CP, or an argument, if it is merged in FocusP within a DP that is itself focus-fronted to CP, whereas aspectual/temporal *anche* is merged in the operator position in the vP periphery, and c-commands the event structure (vP).

As to the different meanings of *anche* (additive and aspectual/temporal), we do not argue that *anche* has two different lexical entries, but the two meanings result from the underspecification of the Focus semantics of *anche*. This underspecification is resolved in the syntax, by merging *anche* at different structural levels (in the CP, in the vP and in the DP), which correspond to different readings. Put differently, the same lexical item (*anche*) is a focus-operator the semantics (i.e. scalar vs. exhaustive) of which depends on the type of alternatives it evaluates. The type of alternatives to be evaluated is in turn determined by the portion of syntactic structure over which the focus operator scopes.

For the time being we remain agnostic on the possibility that scalar semantics might derive from a 'default' exhaustive meaning of *anche*, that is, that the aspectual/temporal meaning be somehow derived from the additive one. We nonetheless speculate that it might be so, and not vice versa -i.e. it is not the case that additive *anche* is derived from aspectual/temporal *anche*-, since the MI aspectual/temporal focalizer (*ancora*) is arguably etymologically derived from the composition of *anche* and a temporal marker (-*ora*, see section 5 below). The discussion of the consequences that such hypothesis has for the semantics analysis of *anche* is left to future research.

5.   A more detailed typology of additive particles

In this section we provide further evidence in favor of our theory by discussing some more facts from OI, and other Romance varieties. Specifically, in section 5.1 we analyze some facts on OI (positive) additives, whereas in section 5.2 we discuss data from other Italo-Romance varieties, which show that the typology of morphological possibilities is broader than what is attested in OI and MI.

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The first piece of evidence in support of our analysis concerns positive additives in OI. On a par with negative additive (*né/non…*) *anche*, the positive additive *anche* is also always attested in a position preceding the finite verb, as expected. Specifically, additive *anche* is not attested in a lower clausal position, differently from MI, see (30). In fact, when in OI *anche* occurs in a low structural position it takes on the aspectual/temporal meaning already described in negative contexts, cf. (31).

(30)   *Porterò **anche** una torta*   (MI)
        will.bring.1SG also a cake
        'I will also bring a cake'

(31)   *Morte uccide l'anime del ninferno in tal modo che sempre rinascono,*
        death kills the souls of the hell in such way that always are.reborn
        *acciò che sieno **anche** morte.*
        so.that that are ANCHE killed
        'Death kills the souls of the hell in such a way that they are continuously reborn,
        so that they are killed again (and again)' [Giamboni, *Trattato*, 30, p. 151]

Put differently, when OI *anche* occurs in a sentence initial position it necessarily has an additive semantics. Moreover, additive *anche* may act as a first-position constituent in a V2 grammar, that is, it triggers V-S inversion, (32).

(32)   ***Anche** sono l'anime tormentate nell'inferno di dolorosi pensieri*
        ANCHE are the souls tormented in.the hell of painful thoughts
        'Also the souls are tormented in the hell by painful thoughts'
                                                [Giamboni, *Trattato*, 31, p. 152]

The facts in (32) further indicate that *anche* is a phrase, rather than a head.
        A further piece of evidence comes from the etymological correlation between *anche* and *ancora* (= 'again, yet'), which arguably derives from Latin HANC HORAM (Cortelazzo Zolli 1999, and Anna Orlandini, Chiara Gianollo, p.c.). The interesting point is that *ancora*, which is almost exclusively employed as an aspectual/temporal marker in MI, displays exactly the same double semantics that characterizes *anche* in OI. This semantic split is mirrored in the syntax in the same way, see (33).

(33)   a.   *Nulla è **ancora** fatto della cosa che non è tutta compiuta di fare*
              nothing is ANCORA done of.the thing that not is all finished to do
              'It hasn't been done anything yet of the thing that has not been
              completed'   [Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 53, p. 89]

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b.   *In quelli tempi i romani […] le dette cittadi pigliaro e posero alla*
in those times the Romans the said cities took and put to.the
*guerra fine. E **ancora** i Prenestini […], Tito Quinto*
war end and ANCORA the Prenestini Titus Fifth
combattendo, vinsero.
fighting won.
'In that time, the Romans invaded the above-mentioned cities and put
war to an end. Also the Prenestini, after fighting Titus the Fifth, won.'
[Giamboni, *Orosio*, 3, p. 137]

The sentence in (33a) shows that when *ancora* is merged between the finite and the non-finite verb it has an aspectual/temporal reading, whereas (33b) shows that *ancora* has an additive semantics when it is merged in sentence-initial position.

These facts thus confirm our hypothesis that additive vs. aspectual/temporal semantics is mirrored in the syntax, in OI. Moreover, the etymology of *ancora* discussed above suggests that the aspectual reading might be a subcase of the additive reading. If this hypothesis is true, then the additive interpretation is the general reading from which the aspectual one has been derived (see also section 4.3).

A further study allows us to refine our syntactic account. We have looked at the co-occurrence of *anche* and *ancora* (both orders possible) in the same clause, to determine whether these elements have indeed an equivalent semantics, and whether they may simultaneously lexicalize the specifiers of the additive-focalizer and the aspectual/temporal-focalizer heads. Put differently, our search was determined to find simultaneous occurrences of *anche/ancora* like in (34).

(34)   [CP [FocP ***anche/ancora*** Foc [IP [vP [FocP ***anche/ancora*** Foc [VP]]]]]]

In the whole corpus, see methodology in section 3.1, we found 22 cases of co-occurring *anche/ancora*, but of these only in two cases were *anche* and *ancora* co-occurring within the same clause with two different functions.[21] These examples are given in (35)-(36).

(35)   *Detti denari sono di messer Bindaccio da Ricasoli*
said money are of mister Bindaccio from Ricasoli
che li dovea avere dal detto Uberto e
that them must have from.the said Uberto and
***ancora** ne dè **anche** avere da llui.*
ANCORA of.them must ANCHE have from him
'The above-mentioned money belongs to mister Bindaccio from Ricasoli who should receive it from the above-mentioned Uberto and should also receive again [more] from him'   [*Doc. Fior.*, p. 45]

(36)   ***Ancora** gli diede **anche** cibo*
ANCORA to.him gave.3SG ANCHE food
'He also gave him food again'   [*Leggenda Aurea*, 26, p. 244]

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Although the co-occurrence of *anche* and *ancora* is not frequent, the examples in (35) and (36) attest that it is possible, and prove that *ancora* and *anche* may take an additive as well as an aspectual/temporal semantics.

A search for a potential double occurrence of *anche* and of *ancora* gave only 1 result, reported in (37).

(37)   *Ebbe di lui parecchi fanciulli, maschi e femmine,*
       had.3SG of him several children boys and girls
       gli quali morirono per la mortalità del 1363; e simile
       the which died.3PL for the plague of.the 1363 and similarly
       anche *il detto Ambruogio* **anche** *morì per detta mortalità.*
       ANCHE the said Ambruogio ANCHE died for said plague
       'She has many children from him, boys and girls, who died because of the plague
       of 1363; and similarly also the above-mentioned died because of this plague'.
                                     [Velluti, *Cronica*, p. 95]

In fact, our analysis may account for the (extremely rare) 'doubling' cases like (37). We have indeed claimed that additive *anche* may show up in two syntactic positions: the first one in SpecFocP in the CP domain (see the first occurrence of *anche* in (37)), and the second one within a focus-fronted DP (as e.g. *il detto Ambruogio anche* in (37)).

5.2   Further arguments

The data discussed in the previous sections show that OI has two different lexical items that can be used more or less interchangeably with either an aspectual/temporal meaning or an additive one: *anche* and *ancora*. Which meaning is assigned to these lexical items is determined syntactically: an aspectual/temporal meaning is assigned in a vP-peripheral position, whereas merger in CP inevitably yields an additive interpretation (see section 4.3). We have briefly mentioned above that *anche* and *ancora* are arguably etymologically related (see section 5.1); however, in MI *ancora* may be used both as an additive, and (probably more frequently) as an aspectual/temporal marker, whereas *anche* is generally only an additive. Moreover, we have seen that *anche* is only used in PPI contexts in MI, because NPI contexts require the use of *neanche* (see section 2).

To determine whether the same lexicalization path of morphologically negative focalizers may have occurred elsewhere, we examined the behavior of other Romance varieties. Specifically, we searched for additive and aspectual/temporal focalizers in some Venetan (e.g. Venetian) and Gallo-Romance dialects (e.g. Solferinese, Mantuan, Transpolesan Ferrarese) spoken in Northern Italy. Our survey reveals that all the varieties have four different lexical items to express the alternations between positive and negative focalizers in combination with either an additive or an aspectual/temporal meaning. In (38)-(41) we present the relevant examples in comparison with MI.[22]

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(38)   Additive PPI
    a.   *Sono **anche** andato a una festa*   (MI)
        am also gone to a party
    b.   *So **aga** nat a la festa*   (Solferinese)
        am also gone to the party
    c.   *A su **anca** andà a na festa*   (Mantuan)
        SCL am also gone to the party
    d.   *A son **anca** nda' a na festa*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL am also gone to the party
    e.   *So **anca** ndà a na festa*   (Venetian)
        am also gone to the party
        'I have also gone to a party'

(39)   Additive NPI
    a.   *Non ho visto **neanche** Gianni*   (MI)
        not have.1SG neither John
    b.   *Go **gna** ist Giani*   (Solferinese)
        have.1SG neither seen John
    c.   *U vest **gnanca** Gianni*   (Mantuan)
        have.1SG seen neither John
    d.   *A n'o vist **gnanca** Giani*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL not have.1SG seen neither John
    e.   *No go visto **gnanca** Nane*   (Venetian)
        not have.1SG seen neither John
        'I have not even seen John'

(40)   Aspectual/temporal PPI
    a.   *Devo **ancora** farlo*   (MI)
        must.1SG still do.INF-it
    b.   *Go **amò** de fal*   (Solferinese)
        have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    c.   *A gu **amò** da faral.*   (Mantuan)
        SCL have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    d.   *A go **'ncora** da faral*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    e.   *Go **'ncora** da farlo*   (Venetian)
        have.1SG still to do.INF-it
        'I still have to do it'

(41)   Aspectual/temporal NPI
   a.   *Non è **ancora** arrivato*   (MI)
         not is already arrived
   b.   *L'è **gnamò** ignit*   (Solferinese)
         he is not.yet come
   c.   *L'è **gnamò** gnì.*   (Mantuan)
         he is not.yet come
   d.   *Al n'è **gnancora** gnù*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
         SCL-he not is not.yet come
   e.   *No'l xe **gnancora** rivà*   (Venetian)
         not he is not.yet come
         'He hasn't come/arrived yet'

As examples (38)-(41) show, the negative focalizers employed in the Venetan and Gallo-Romance varieties are morphologically derived from their positive counterparts, showing that the compositional process of lexicalization may extend beyond additives (cf. MI in section 2), that is, to aspectual/temporal markers. Table 1 below schematically summarizes these findings and compares OI, MI and the Romance dialects illustrated in (38)-(41).

Table 1. Typology of aspectual/temporal and additive markers

	Aspectual/temporal		Additive	
	PPI	**NPI**	**PPI**	**NPI**
OI	*anche/ancora*		*anche/ancora*	
MI	*ancora*		*anche*	*neanche*
Venetan; Gallo-romance	*'ncora; amò*	*gnancora; gnamò*	*anca; aga*	*gnanca; gna*

As table 1 shows, Venetan and Gallo-Romance have a further morphological partitioning with respect to MI, in the sense that they also have a specialized lexical item to distinguish between positive and negative aspectual/temporal markers, and crucially the negative markers are simply derived by adding a negative prefix to the positive counterpart (cf. '*ncora/amò* vs. ***gn**-ancora/**gn**-amò*).[23]

Our hypothesis is that while OI expresses the difference between aspectual/temporal and additive meaning by syntactic means, and the NPI/PPI opposition was simply given by the NC context, Venetan and Gallo-Romance dialects express all these interpretive differences morphologically. MI is typologically in the middle, and expresses these meaning differences to a great extent through a single lexical element, but still does not possess a whole series of negative/positive lexical oppositions (with the exception of substandard regional varieties, e.g. %***neancora*** = 'not.yet' clearly derived from the local dialects, see fn. 23).

It remains to be explored whether and to which extent the syntax of negative and positive additives and aspectual/temporal markers is 'more flexible' in MI and the above-mentioned dialects, which possess a 'richer' set of systematic oppositions that are not

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[23] This process is productive and the morpheme is analyzed as a negative morpheme as facts from colloquial varieties of Italian spoken in the same regions show. In these varieties the NPI has the form *neancora,* which is derived with suffixation of the standard Italian negative morpheme. This process would not be expected if the element had been a lexically unanalyzed borrowing from the dialect.

present in OI.[24] This is an important issue that would require a lengthy discussion, but we cannot address it here for space reasons.

6.　　Conclusions

In this paper we have explored the syntax and the semantics of *anche*, and our diachronic study has shown that this element can be used as either an additive or as an aspectual/temporal marker in OI, whereas it can only be used as an additive marker in MI. In our analysis we have argued that OI *anche* is an unspecified element that can be licensed both in NPI, and in PPI contexts. Moreover, the semantics of OI *anche* is perfectly mirrored in the syntax. The element *anche* is always a Focus marker merged in a Focus position, and its interpretation is linked to the structural object it takes scope over (DP vs. vP). Different structural objects are interpreted as different semantic types of focus alternatives (individuals vs. time alternatives). For this reason, when *anche* is merged in a low sentential position, as the specifier of a Focus head in the vP periphery, it acquires a aspectual/temporal semantics. By contrast, when *anche* is merged in the high left periphery, either as a DP-internal focalizer, or directly in SpecFocP in CP, it has a (negative) additive semantics. Crucially, the different meanings of *anche* (additive and aspectual/temporal) do not correspond to two different lexical entries, but result from the underspecification of the Focus semantics of *anche*. This underspecification is resolved in the syntax, via merger of *anche* at different structural levels (in the CP, in the vP or in the DP).

With regard to the diachronic changes that affect the morphosyntax of *anche*, we have also traced its grammaticalization path through the history of Italian and proposed that the MI lexicalization of *neanche* starts out in those cases in which additive *anche* is linearly adjacent to the negative disjunction *né*. To account for the fact that MI *anche* is generally no longer used as an aspectual/temporal marker, we have argued that in MI the vP periphery is no longer as 'active' as in OI and, consequently, 'low' *anche* cannot have the semantics of an aspectual/temporal marker (see Poletto 2014, and cf. Mensching 2012).

We have also shown that a similar grammaticalization process may affect aspectual/temporal markers more generally, as it is the case for some Venetan, and Italo-Romance and Gallo-Romance dialects. By integrating the diachronic facts with some synchronic microcomparative data, our study offers a full typology of possibilities for the realization of (negative) additive vs. aspectual/temporal meaning at a syntactic or morphological level.

Hopefully, this study can be replicated for other (negative) additive markers in OI, as well as in other (old) Romance varieties, to assess whether our analysis can cover further facts.

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