## A diachronic study of negative additives

This paper analyzes the diachronic evolution of 'Negative additives' (NAs) in Italian. We argue that in old Italian (OI) the same element can be used as a polarity item (PI) with either an aspectual or an additive semantics, depending on its position. In modern Italian (MI) the aspectual semantics is lost, and the additive becomes specialized as positive PI (PPI), while a new morphological negative PI (NPI) counterpart is lexicalized.

In MI, additive particles (*anche* = lit. 'too/also'; *pure* = 'also/even'; *meno* = 'less') are combined with the negative bound morpheme *-ne* that displays negative concord when they appear under negation (see the positive additive *anche* in (1a) and its negative counterpart *neanche* in (1b). This also holds for all other additives in MI.

(1)	a. Viene anche Pietro	b.	Non viene *(ne)anche Pietro
	Comes also Peter		Not comes NEG.also Peter
	'Peter is coming too'		'Peter is also not coming'

The crucial difference from OI is that negative concord on all negative additives is absent until the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century according to our study on OI texts (Florentine variety, 1200-1400) through the OVI online database. Before the end of the  $14^{th}$  century, additives such as *anche* do not show any negative concord under sentential negation *non* (cf. 2a-b) nor in negative conjoined sentences in (cf. 2c). Negative concord is also missing with all other additives in OI until the end of the  $14^{th}$  century (i.e. *neppure, nemmeno,* = 'not even', are not attested before 1400). In this paper we only concentrate on *anche*, leaving *meno* and *pure* for future developments.

In fact, whenever *anche* follows the inflected verb, but precedes the past participle (e.g. *non fuoro anche dette*, lit. not were yet said), it scopes over the entire event and receives an aspectual reading, similar to *ancora*, rather than an additive one (= 'again', Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca Online). This is also the interpretation of *anche* in (2a-b).

- (2) a. Castità virginale, che non ebbe anche uso d'uomo
   Virginal chastity that not had also (carnal).use of man
   'Virginal chastity which didn't have sexual intercourse with any man yet.'
   [Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p.61]
  - b. Perché nel mondo non ne fue anche neuna sì crudele
    Because in.the world not of.it was also no-one so cruel
    'Because there hasn't been such a cruel [war] in the world yet' ...

[Giamboni, Vizi e Virtudi, p. 86]

Della tua ricchezza tu non hai bene, né io anche n' ho bene
 Of.the your richness you not have.2SG wealth, and.not I also not have.1SG wealth
 'You cannot enjoy your richness, neither do I.'

[Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, p. 491]

In OI *anche* is interpreted as an unspecified PI that receives its specification from the syntactic and semantic context (PPI context as in (3) and NPI context as in (2) and (4) below), and only becomes a PPI in MI, after the development of the lexical item *neanche*, which becomes its NPI counterpart (cf. Szabolsci (2004), Giannakidou (2011) for a unified analysis of PPI and NPI).

 (3) Ed anche siano tenuti li decti capitani di far diri ongne giuovidì una Messa and also are.3P.SBJV obliged the said captains to make say every Thursday a Mass
 'And the abovementioned captains shall also have a Mass celebrated every Thursday'

[Compagnia Madonna Orsammichele, p. 655]

(4) *Vedestu anche neuno k' avesse uno amico intero?* saw.you also no-one that had one friend whole

'Did you see even one person who had a real friend?' [Disciplina Clericalis, p. 75]

We propose that *anche* is first merged as a head (maybe an aspectual head  $Asp^{0}$ ) above vP (see the semantics for aspectual adverbs in (6) below), and whenever *anche* is (internally) merged as a Focus head in CP it can be interpreted as a (negative) additive focalizer and may trigger movement of a DP to its Spec ((2c), cf. Kayne 1998). We propose that *neanche* in MI originates precisely from this case,

in which *anche* is located in a Focus head. Specifically, *anche* in OI functions as a negative focalizer only in conjoined negative sentences, i.e. sentences introduced by  $n\acute{e}$  ('and not'), where *anche* in Foc<sup>0</sup> is either adjacent to  $n\acute{e}$ , or it is separated from  $n\acute{e}$  by the DP in SpecFocusP. In the latter case we assume that *anche* is further head-moved to a c-commanding head (e.g. Kayne's (1998) W(ord order) head), and *neanche* results from lexicalization of adjacents heads  $n\acute{e}+anche$ , as in (5).

(5) a. Né…DP…anche…non… Verb… → b. Né anche…DP…anche…non…Verb → c. Neanche (lexicalization) Verb …→ d. Non…Verb Neanche (postverbally possible)

Two further facts support this analysis. First, in OI additive *anche* always occurs in preverbal position (it is local to *né*); second, *neanche* as a lexicalized form may occur also postverbally, but only at later stages of evolution (after 1380), which indicates that the NA construction has changed.

We thus suggest that *anche* is an aspectual marker when it is merged in a low position (AspP) and it becomes an additive when it is (re-)merged as Foc<sup>0</sup> in the CP. We assume an alternative based account for Focus in line with Rooth (1985) for both additives and aspectual markers (see Lee 2008). Both items trigger alternatives. Additives can have an alternative set where only individuals change (see (2c){you don't enjoy richness, <u>I</u> don't enjoy richness}, whereas aspectual markers induce time points as alternatives (2b) {such cruel war did not exist at  $t(ime)_I$ , such cruel war did not exist at  $t_2, ...$ }).

This semantic difference in syntactically encoded in OI: aspectual *anche* is merged in  $Asp^0$  and ccommands the event structure (vP), while additive *anche* in Foc<sup>0</sup> may focalize an argument or the entire sentence. Both additives and aspectual markers induce an existential presupposition (ex. presup.) stating that the negative state holds for some other individual (6a) or time point (6b):

- (6) a.  $\exists x [x \neq I \& \neg x \text{ enjoy richness}] \text{ ex.presup. in (2c).}$ 
  - b.  $\exists t [t \neq time of reference \& \neg such cruel war existed at t] ex.presup. in (2b).$

Moreover, the negative additive and the aspectual marker may induce a scalar inference according to which the alternatives are ordered with respect to a likeliness or expectedness scale (see Horn 1969 and Rooth 1985 for the scalar presupposition of an NPI-even which we adopt to analyze a correspondent scalar presupposition of aspectual markers, see Lee 2008).

If there will be time, we will discuss other varieties in which other aspectual adverbs like *ancora* have developed a negative counterpart (cf. *neancora*, 'not yet', Venetan and some Gallo-Romance: e.g. Mantovano, Upper Polesan, Transpolesan Ferrarese), showing that a full typology of aspectual and additive PPIs and NPIs is crosslinguistically attested. In sum, we have provided an account for the development of negative additive adverbs, which we will test with further additives (*pure* and *meno*) in our future research.

## References

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