

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 *né* ('and not'), where *anche* in Foc^0 is either adjacent to *né*, or it is separated from *né* 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 adjacent heads *né+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^0 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, *I* don't enjoy richness}), whereas aspectual markers induce time points as alternatives (2b) {such cruel war did not exist at t_1 , such cruel war did not exist at t_2, \dots }).

This semantic difference is syntactically encoded in OI: aspectual *anche* is merged in Asp^0 and c-commands the event structure (vP), while additive *anche* in Foc^0 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. $\exists x [x \neq I \ \& \ \neg x \text{ enjoy richness}]$ ex.presup. in (2c).
 b. $\exists t [t \neq \text{time of reference} \ \& \ \neg \text{such cruel war existed at } t]$ 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

- Anonymous (1294):** *Capitoli della Compagnia della Madonna d'Orsammichele del 1294* (In: A. Castellani [ed.], *Nuovi testi fiorentini del Dugento*, Florence: Sansoni, 1952, pp. 650-662);
Anonymous (1300): *Volgarizzamento di un frammento della Disciplina Clericalis di Pietro di Alfonso* (In: A. Schiaffini [ed.], *Testi fiorentini del Dugento e dei primi del Trecento*, Florence: Sansoni, 1926, pp. 73-81);
Giamboni, B. (1292): *Il Libro de' Vizî e delle Virtudi* (C. Segre [ed.], Torino: Einaudi, 1968, pp. 3-120);
Giannakidou, A. (2011): "Negative and positive polarity items." In: K. von Stechow, C. Maienborn & P. Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, Vol. 2, pp. 1660-1712;
Horn, L. (1969): "A presuppositional analysis of only and even." In: *Papers from the 5th annual meeting of the Chicago Linguistics Society*, Chicago: Chicago Linguistics Society, pp. 98-108;
Kayne, R. (1998): "Overt vs. Covert Movement." In: *Syntax*, 1, pp. 128-191;
Lee, E.-H. (2008): "Aspectual and focus adverbs in English and Korean." In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 26, pp. 339-358;
Rooth, M. (1985): *Association with Focus*. PhD dissertation, University of Massachusetts at Amherst;
Sacchetti, F. (1400): *Il Trecentonovelle* (V. Pernicone [ed.], Florence: Sansoni, 1946.);
Szabolcsi, A. (2004): "Positive Polarity - Negative Polarity." In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 22(2), pp. 409-452.