A unified analysis of additive and aspectual markers in Old Italian.[1]

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Introduction

Topic
A unified analysis of **additive markers** like Italian *anche* (='also/too' in positive contexts, and 'neither' in negative contexts), and **aspectual markers** like *ancora* (= 'still, again' in positive or 'yet' in negative sentences).

Generalization
Modern Italian distinguishes additives and aspectual markers morphologically, both in positive and negative contexts:
- Additive: *anche* 'also' vs. *neanche* 'neither/not even' (see Tovena 2006);
- Aspectual: *ancora* 'still, again' vs. *non ancora* 'not yet'.

In Old Italian, *anche/ancora* have the following properties:
- **They are morphologically non negative**, and can be used in both **positive and negative polarity contexts**,
- They may have either an **aspectual** ('still, again/yet'), or an **additive semantics** ('too/neither/not even'), depending on their **syntactic position**.

Theoretical claim
- Both additives and aspectual markers are **focus-inducing**. The difference between additives and aspectual markers is the type of alternatives, that is, the type of variable with which they focus-associate.
- This semantic difference is mirrored in the syntax: **aspectual markers** are in the Specifier of a **low FocusP in the vP-periphery**, while **additives** are merged in **FocusP in the clausal left periphery**.

Overview of the talk

1. *Anche* and *ancora* in Modern Italian
2. *Anche* and *ancora* in Old Italian
3. Semantics
4. Morphosyntax
5. Concluding remarks and open issues

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1.   *Anche* and *ancora* in Modern Italian

1.1   Additives

In modern Italian negative additives are morphological units that consist of an additive morpheme and the negative prefix *ne-*, as in (1) and (2).

(1)   **PPI**   **NPI**
        a.   *anche*   a'.   **ne***anche*
        b.   *pure*   b'.   **ne***ppure*
             'also, too'   'not even'

(2)   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 (2b) shows the negative additive obeys Negative Concord with the sentential negation *non*.

1.2   Aspectuals

Modern Italian employs the same aspectual marker with either a repetitive (3a) or a continuative meaning (3b, cf. Cinque 1999, 2004).

(3)   a.   *Pietro ha sbagliato **ancora** numero (di telefono).*
             Peter has mistaken again number of telephone
             'Peter has dialed the wrong number once again'.

       b.   *Pietro dorme **ancora**.*
             Pietro sleeps still
             'Peter is still sleeping'.

The same aspectual marker is employed in NPI contexts, with the meaning of 'not yet'. Differently from the additive *(ne)anche, ancora* is morphologically non-negative in negative contexts.[2]

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[2] In some Italo-Romance (e.g. Venetan) and Gallo-Romance varieties (e.g. Brescian, Mantuan, Solferinese, Transpolesan Ferrarese), this aspectual marker is morphologically negative in NPI contexts, and may or not obey NC, depending on the language (see Franco et al., under review, and Appendix).

(4)   a.   *Pietro **non** ha **ancora** comprato il pane.*
                 Peter not has yet bought the presents
                 'Peter hasn't bought the bread yet'.

     b.   *Pietro **non** dorme **ancora**.*
                  Peter not sleeps yet
                 'Peter is not yet sleeping'.

2.   *Anche* and *ancora* in Old Italian

2.1   Methods

- Corpus search on Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (OVI) database;
- Search criteria: Old Florentine variety (here called Old Italian, see Renzi & Salvi 2010);
- Prose texts only;
- Period: from 1200 to 1370, partitioned into three periods (1200-1295; 1296-1320; 1321-1370). However, the partitioning did not reveal diachronic differences.

2.2   Data: Old Italian aspectuals

Old Italian may employ **both *anche* and *ancora* with an aspectual meaning**, see (6), while in Modern Italian only *ancora* can have this function, see (5).

(5)   a.   <u>Continuative (= still)</u>   (Modern Italian)
                  *Maria è **ancora** malata.*
                  'Maria is still ill.'

     b.   <u>Repetitive (= once again)</u>
                  *Maria leggerà **ancora** questo libro.*
                  'She will read this book once again.'

(6)   <u>Continuative</u>   (Old Italian)
     a.   *Il regno di Bambillonia venga meno, advegnaché Bambillonia*
                  the kingdom of Babylon comes.SBJV less albeit Babylon
                  *stea **ancora** in piede.*
                  stood.SBJV ANCORA in foot
                  'The kingdom of Babylon fell, despite the fact that Babylon was still standing.'   [Giamboni, *Orosio*, 67]

b.   *E la detta grande fame fue nel tempo di Diapolita re dell'Egitto*
and the said big hunger was in.the time of D. kind of.the Egypt
*(...) E di ciò appare veritade, perché dura **anche** quello censo,*
And of this seems truth, because lasts ANCHE that census
che al segnore redde la gente d'Egitto.
that to.the lord brings.back the people of Egypt
'And the abovementioned big famine was in the time of Diapolita king
of Egypt. And this seems to be true, since that census, which brings
Egypt people back to the lord, still lasts.'   [Giamboni, *Orosio*, 36]

(7)   <u>Repetitive</u>
a.   *E poi in quest'anno medesimo del mese d'Agosto*
And then in this year same of.the month of August
*tornaro **ancora** ad oste nel contado di Siena*
came ANCORA to visit in.the county of Siena
'And then this same year in August they came back once again for a
visit in Siena county'   [Pieri, *Cronica*, 30]

b.   *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*, 18]

The same holds for **negative contexts:** either *anche* or *ancora* can occur. In this case
anche and *ancora* maintain the same morphology they have in positive contexts and,
in association with a negative item (e.g. *non*, n-words), they mean 'not yet'.

(8)   a.   *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, *VeV*, 86]

b.   ***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'   [*ibid*., 89]

2.3   Data: Old Italian additives

On a par with aspectuals, *anche* and *ancora* may occur interchangeably with an
additive meaning. In positive contexts they mean 'also, too'.

(9)   a.   *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*, 655]

        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*, 137]

In Old Italian, **Negative Concord (NC) is absent on all negative additives** until the
end of the 14th century according to our study of Old Italian texts.
Before the end of the 14th century, additives such as *anche*[3] do not contain any
morphological negative prefix, unlike modern Italian (which has lexicalized *neanche*).

(10)   a.   ***Anche non** è da eleggere ogni cosa se non quelle*
                ANCHE not is to elect every thing if not those
                di cui l'uomo ha avuto consiglio dinanzi.
                of which the man has had advice before
                ***Anche non** dee l'uomo fare consiglio di ogni cosa*
                ANCHE not must the man make advice of every thing
                'One must also not elect everything but that upon which one has
                received advice before. Neither must one give advice on everything.'
                                [*Tesoro di B. Latini*, 54]

        b.   *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], and he shall also not be helped'.
                                [*Statuto dell'Arte dei vinattieri*, 91]

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[3] The negative prefix is also missing with all other additives in Old Italian until the end of the 14th
century (i.e. *neppure*, *nemmeno*, = 'neither/not even', are not attested before 1400). In this talk we
concentrate on *neanche*, leaving *neppure* (as well *nemmeno* = 'neither/not even') to future research.

    c.   *Ordinato è, che alcuno de' grandi overo nobili de la cittade (...)*
         ordered is that any of big or noble of the city
         in neuno modo overo cagione possa o debbia essere chiamato (...)
         in no way or manner can.SBJV or must.SBJV be called
         ***né ancora** possa essere chiamato overo essere Consolo...*
         and.not ANCORA can.SBJV be called or be consul
         'It is ordered that nobody among the noblemen of the city shall in anyway be called [elected] (...), neither shall he be called or be consul'
                        [*Ordinamenti di Giustizia*, 68]

3.   Semantics

3.1   *Anche* in polarity contexts

In OI *anche* may occur in PPI- or NPI-licensing contexts (cf. Szabolsci 2004, Giannakidou 2011 for an analysis of PIs).

- PPI contexts as in (11);
- Strong and weak NPI contexts as (12) below.

(11)   *Ed **anche** siano tenuti li decti capitani di far diri*   **PPI**
        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*, 655]

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

→ *Anche* is interpreted as NPI or PPI (see Tovena 2006), depending on the syntactic contexts in which it is licensed (see semantics in 3.2 below).

3.2   Semantic analysis

<u>Claim</u>

Both additives and aspectual adverbs share some properties (focus-sensitive, see Krifka 2000, Ippolito 2007, Levinson 2008, Lee 2008): this explains why one and the same word - *anche/ancora* - could have been used both as an aspectual and an additive marker in OI. We concentrate on negative contexts for our semantic analysis.

Negative contexts

The following semantic analysis is based on the **Alternative Semantics** (Chierchia 2013).
Both **additives and aspectual markers**, when used **under negation**, **assert a negative proposition** (see (13b)-(14b)).
Moreover, they induce focus alternatives (see (13c)-(14c)). These alternatives result from **focus marking a constituent** (see the focus-marked predicate in (14e).
The additive and the aspectual marker are both interpreted as the **additive focus operator ALSO, which evaluates the alternatives on the presuppositional level** (see (13c)-(14c)). The LF in (13e)-(14e) gives us a conjunction of the assertion and the presupposition of the additive operator.

- **Aspectual** markers express relations about the reference time and other time alternatives related to the event time, see (13b).

(13) a. *Non credo che portiate trestizia per amante,*
          not believe.1SG that take.2PL.SBJV sadness for lover
          *perché **non** foste **anche** inamorata di niuno.*
          because not were ANCHE in.love of nobody
          'I don't think you are sad for a lover, since you have not been in love with anybody yet'   [*De Amore*, 151]

      b. Assertion: It is not the case that the proposition Φ is true
          Φ = you are in love with x at the reference time (=t1)).
          $\neg \exists t1 \exists x \exists e$ [to be in love (e, you, x) $\wedge$ at (t1,e)]

      c. {you are not in love **at t1**, you are not in love **at t2** …}

      d. Presupposition: you are not in love at some other time t2 and t2 is before t1.[4]

      e. Additive interpretation: ALSO (not [you are in love now$_{Focus}$]) = it is not the case that you are in love now (=at the reference time) & that you were in love before.

- **Additive** markers express relations between the focused element and its alternatives in a specific way (see 10c partly repeated here in 14a):

(14) a. *...**Né ancora** possa essere chiamato overo essere Consolo...*
          and.not ANCORA can.SBJV be called or be consul
          'Neither shall he be elected or be consul'
                    [*Ordinamenti di Giustizia*, 68]

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[4] We assume that the negation is contained inside the presupposition (see Rullmann 2003, a.o.).

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      b.   <u>Assertion</u>: it is not the case that the proposition Φ holds
              Φ = he shall be elected consul.

      c.   {he shall not **be elected consul**, he shall not **be consul**}

      b.   <u>Presupposition</u>: There is some other property P (besides the property 'be elected consul') which should not hold for him.

      e.   Additive interpretation: ALSO (not (he should [be elected consul$_{Focus}$]))

4. Morphosyntax

<u>Proposal</u>
The semantic difference between aspectuals and additives is syntactically encoded in OI.

- **Aspectual *anche/ancora* is merged in the vP periphery,** arguably in low FocusP, and c-commands the event structure (vP) → *anche/ancora* focus-associates to a temporal variable (t);

- **Additive *anche/ancora*** may take wide scope over a bigger structural chunk it c-commands, when it is **directly merged in CP FocusP** → it focus-associates to, e.g., a situation variable (s), as in Ramchand & Svenonius (2014), see (8).

4.1 Morphosyntax of *anche*

Aspectual *anche*
Anche can be merged as an XP **above vP** (arguably **in a low FocusP**, cf. Belletti 2004, Poletto 2014), as in (7b) repeated as (15a) here (see the semantics for aspectual adverbs in (13) above).

(15)   a.   *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*, 18]

     b.   *Perché altra è castità virginale, che <u>non</u> ebbe **anche** uso*
          because other is chastity virginal that not had ANCHE (carnal).use
          d'uomo, e altra è castità vedovale, che già uso d'uomo
          of man and other is chastity of.widow that already (carnal).use of man
          hae avuto, ma or se ne astiene.
          has had 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, *VeV,* 61]

     c.   [$_{IP}$…<u>*non*</u> *ebbe* [$_{LowFocP}$ **anche** [$_{Foc°}$ Ø]] [$_{vP}$ ~~*ebbe*~~ *uso d'uomo*]]

Additive *anche*

Anche in OI functions as a (negative) additive focalizer only when it is merged high in the structure.
In this case, *anche* is **directly merged in SpecFocusP in CP**, see (16) and figure 1. In this case *anche* takes **wide scope** on the entire clause in its c-command domain.
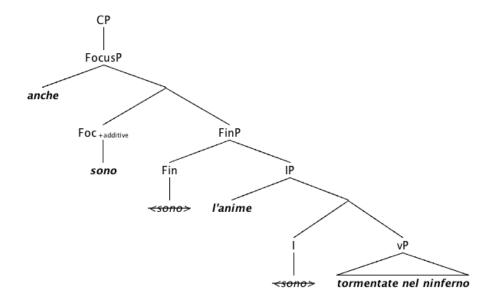
(16)   a.   ***Anche*** *sono l'anime tormentate nell'inferno di dolorosi pensieri*
          ANCHE are the souls tormented in.the hell of painful thoughts
          'Also the souls are tormented in the hell by painful thoughts'
                              [Giamboni, *Trattato*, 24]

     b.   ***Anche non*** *è da eleggere ogni cosa se non quelle*
          ANCHE not is to elect every thing if not those
          di cui l'uomo ha avuto consiglio dinanzi.
          of which the man has had advice before
          Anche non *dee l'uomo fare consiglio di ogni cosa*
          ANCHE not must the man make advice of every thing
          'One must also not elect everything but that upon which one has received advice before. Neither must one give advice on everything.'
                                  [*Tesoro di B. Latini*, 54]

Figure 1. Wide-scope *anche* (see (16a))

Generalizations
→ Additive *anche* always occurs in pre-finite V position (CP)
→ Aspectual *anche* always occurs in post-finite V position (vP periphery)

4.2   Morphosyntax of *ancora*

On a par with *anche*, **aspectual *ancora* always occurs in post-finite V position**, see (17a).
Ancora **never has an aspectual meaning when it occurs in pre-finite V position** (see 17b).

(17)   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, *VeV*, 19]

        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*, 20]

To a great extent *ancora* has the same distribution of *anche* and the same correspondent semantics, i.e. it can merge in SpecFocusP in CP, and in SpecFocusP in vP (see 18).

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

→   The same lexical item can occur **twice in the same clause**: with an **aspectual/temporal** meaning in the low FocusP position, and with the **additive** meaning in the higher FocusP position.

(19)   a.   *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.'
[*Libro arancio*, 45]

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

●   When *ancora* is merged lower in the structure it generally respects Cinque's (1999) hierarchy (OVI corpus search of *ancora* occurrences, see section 2.1)
→ Highest head in the aspectual field?

(20)   *Forse*$_{MoodIrr}$> ***Ancora*** > *Spesso*$_{AspFrequentative}$ > ?$_{AspContinuative}$ > *Appena*$_{AspRetrospective}$ > *Tutto*$_{AspCompletive}$ > *Bene*$_{Voice}$

→   Also when *ancora* has an aspectual continuative reading, it seems to occur in the **highest aspectual position**, i.e. at the **edge between the Aspect and Mood** fields: this could be a functional head associated with a Focus feature that would provide the aspectual semantics derived from the additive one and c-commanding the entire vP (and its periphery).

→   We analyze the syntax of post-finite V *anche/ancora* following Harwood (2015), Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) and Ramchand (to app.), who suggest that the vP phase includes (at least some) aspectual projections: in this perspective **aspectual *anche/ancora* is merged in the vP periphery**.

Summing up
●   *Anche/ancora* is an aspectual marker when it is merged in low FocusP in the vP periphery,

- *Anche/ancora* is an additive when it is directly merged in the SpecFocus in the CP.
- It is never the case that preverbal *anche/ancora* has aspectual meaning.

5.   Concluding remarks and open issues

- In our analysis, we propose that old Italian ***anche/ancora* was a focus marker** that could either have an **aspectual** meaning, when merged in the vP-periphery, or an **additive** semantics, when merged in CP.

- Only at a later stage did ***anche* become specialized as additive marker.** This change coincides with the grammaticalization of a morphologically negative additive counterpart (*neanche* = 'not even').

- In Modern Italian *ancora* has mainly an aspectual reading but it can also be interpreted as an additive in some cases, which support a unified semantic analysis of aspectuals and additives, specifically arguing that **aspectual continuative and repetitive markers are a type of additives**.

- The reason why Old Italian assigned a specific meaning to a specific position, that is, why the syntax of *anche/ancora* seems to be scope-sensitive in Old Italian, whereas Modern Italian does not strictly associate a certain semantics to a syntactic position, is still under investigation.
  HP: Old Italian phase-parallelism (Poletto 2006, 2014) → FocusP at each phase edge is available to scope-sensitive items.
  Once the grammar loses this property, the syntax of Focus-sensitive items is no longer constrained in such a way.

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Appendix: Typological variation

Specific grammars may express in the syntax or in the morphology the various properties that identify aspectual/temporal and additive focus markers.

Table 1. Possible lexicalization of Focus markers

	Aspectual	Additive
Positive		
Negative		

All these possibilities are attested in Old Italian, Modern Italian and other Romance varieties.[5]

(21)   Additive marker
      a.   *Sono **anche** andato a una festa*   (Modern Italian)
           am also gone to a party
      b.   *So **aga** nat a la festa*   (Solferinese)
           am also gone to the party
      c.   *So **apò** andat a la festa*   (Brescian)
           am also gone to the party
      d.   *A su **anca** andà a na festa*   (Mantuan)
           SCL am also gone to the party
      e.   *A son **anca** nda' a na festa*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
           SCL am also gone to the party
      f.   *So **anca** ndà a na festa*   (Venetian)
           am also gone to the party
           'I have also gone to a party'

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[5] We are thankful to Daniele Panizza for providing us with the Solferinese data, Emanuela Sanfelici for Mantuan, and our informants Francesco Bonetta for Brescian, and Loe Stefania Sprocatti for Transpolesan Ferrarese.

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(22)   <u>Negative additive marker</u>
    a.   *Non ho visto **neanche** Gianni*   (Modern Italian)
        not have.1SG neither John
    b.   *Go **gna** ist Giani*   (Solferinese)
        have.1SG neither seen John
    c.   *Go **mia** est **gna** el Giani*   (Brescian)
        have.1SG not seen neither the John
    d.   *U vest **gnanca** Gianni*   (Mantuan)
        have.1SG seen neither John
    e.   *A n'o vist **gnanca** Giani*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL not have.1SG seen neither John
    f.   *No go visto **gnanca** Nane*   (Venetian)
        not have.1SG seen neither John
        'I have not even seen John'

(23)   <u>Aspectual/temporal marker</u>
    a.   *Devo **ancora** farlo*   (Modern Italian)
        must.1SG still do.INF-it
    b.   *Go **amò** de fal*   (Solferinese)
        have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    c.   *Go **amò** de fal*   (Brescian)
        have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    d.   *A gu **amò** da faral.*   (Mantuan)
        SCL have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    e.   *A go **'ncora** da faral*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL have.1SG still to do.INF-it
    f.   *Go **'ncora** da farlo*   (Venetian)
        have.1SG still to do.INF-it
        'I still have to do it'

(24)   <u>Aspectual/temporal NPI</u>
    a.   *Non è **ancora** venuto*   (Modern Italian)
        not is already come
    b.   *L'è **gnamò** ignit*   (Solferinese)
        he is not.yet come
    c.   *L'è **gnamò** ignit*   (Brescian)
        he is not.yet come
    d.   *L'è **gnamò** gnì.*   (Mantuan)
        he is not.yet come
    e.   *Al n'è **gnancora** gnù*   (Transpolesan Ferrarese)
        SCL-he not is not.yet come
    f.   *No'l xe **gnancora** vegnuo*   (Venetian)
        not he is not.yet come
        'He hasn't come yet'

→ 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, that is, to aspectual/temporal markers.**

Table 2 below schematically summarizes these findings and compares Old Italian, Modern Italian and the Romance dialects illustrated in (21)-(24).

Table 2. Typology of aspectual and additive markers

	Aspectual		**Additive**	
	PPI	**NPI**	**PPI**	**NPI**
OI	*anche/ancora*		*anche/ancora*	
MI	*ancora*		*anche*	*ne*anche
Venetan; Gallo-romance	*'ncora; amò*	**gn**ancora; **gn**amò	*anca; aga; apò*	**gn**anca; **gn**a

Note: both in Italian and in the dialects illustrated above, morphology reflects the compositional meaning of additive and aspectual/temporal markers:

(25)   Gallo-Romance and Venetan Dialects
         a.   additive: [NEG *gn*- [ADD *anca/a*]]
         b.   aspectual: [NEG *gn*- [ADD *anc-/a*- [ASP/TEMP *ora/mò*]]]