

*A diachronic study of negative additives*¹

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Introduction

Topic

Analysis of the diachronic change in the morphosyntax and semantics of Italian negative additive *neanche* (= ‘neither/not even’).

Generalization

Modern Italian has two separate items, *anche* ‘also’ and *neanche* ‘neither/not even’ (see Tovina 2006). In old Italian, there was only *anche*: this item is morphologically non negative, and can be used as a polarity item (PI) with either an aspectual (‘already/yet’) or an additive semantics (‘too/neither/not even’), depending on its syntactic position.

Theoretical claim

- Both additives and aspectuals are focus-inducing. The difference between additives and aspectuals is the type of alternatives (+/- time intervals).
- This semantic difference is mirrored in the syntax: aspectuals are adjoined to vP, and are additives when they are merged in FocusP in the left periphery.

Overview of the talk

1. Negative additives in modern Italian
2. Negative additives in old Italian
3. Analysis
4. Concluding remarks

1. Negative additives in modern Italian

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.	<i>anche</i>	a'. <i>neanche</i>
	b.	<i>pure</i> ‘also, too’	b'. <i>neppure</i> ‘not even’

¹ The results presented in this talk are obtained within the DFG project ‘Quantification in Old Italian’.

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- (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 non 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*.

2. Negative additives in old Italian

2.1 Methods

- Corpus search on Opera del Vocabolario Italiano (OVI) database;
- Search criteria: old Florentine variety (here called old Italian for convenience), prose texts only;
- Period: from 1200 to 1370, partitioned into three periods (1200-1295; 1296-1320; 1321-1370).

2.2 Data

In old Italian, Negative Concord is **absent** on all negative additives until the end of the 14th century according to our study of OI texts.

Before the end of the 14th century, additives such as *anche*² do not contain any morphological negative prefix, unlike modern Italian: see the contrast between (1a'), (2b) and (3a-c).

- (3) a. *Perché altra è castità virginal, che non ebbe **anche** uso d'uomo,*
because other is chastity virginal that not had also (carnal).use of man
'Because one thing is virginal chastity which hasn't had 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]
- 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 also of.it have.1SG wealth
'You cannot enjoy your richness, neither do I.'
[Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, p. 491]

² The negative prefix is also missing with all other additives in OI 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.

3. Analysis

3.1 Polarity of *anche*

In OI *anche* is a PI that receives its specification as PPI or NPI from the syntactic and semantic context (cf. Szabolsci 2004, Giannakidou 2011 for an analysis of PIs).

- PPI context as in (4);
- NPI context as in (3), and (5) below.

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

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

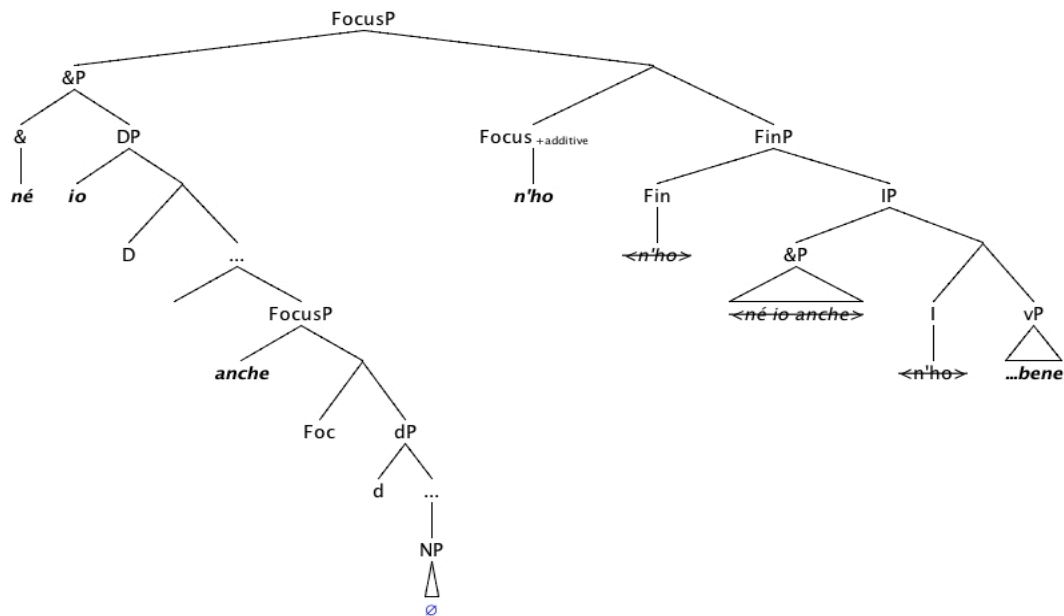
3.2 Syntactic analysis: aspectual vs. additive

Proposal:

- *Anche* can be merged as an XP above vP (arguably in a low FocusP, cf. Belletti 2004, Poletto 2014), as in (6b) for (3a) repeated as (6a) here (see the semantics for aspectual adverbs in (14) below).
- (6) a. *Perché altra è castità virginal, che non ebbe anche uso d'uomo,*
because other is chastity virginal that not had also (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*, p. 61]
- b. [IP...*non ebbe* [_{LowFocP} *anche* [_{Foc°} Ø]]] [_{vP} ~~*ebbe*~~ *uso d'uomo*]]
- *Anche* in OI functions as a negative additive focalizer only in conjoined negative sentences, i.e. sentences introduced by *né* ('and not'), where either
- (a) *anche* is merged in a DP-internal FocusP, see Poletto (2015). The DP that contains *anche* moves to SpecFocusP in CP see (3c), repeated here as (7), and the structure in figure 1.

- (7) *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 also of.it have.1SG wealth
 ‘You cannot enjoy your richness, neither do I.’
 [Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, p. 491]

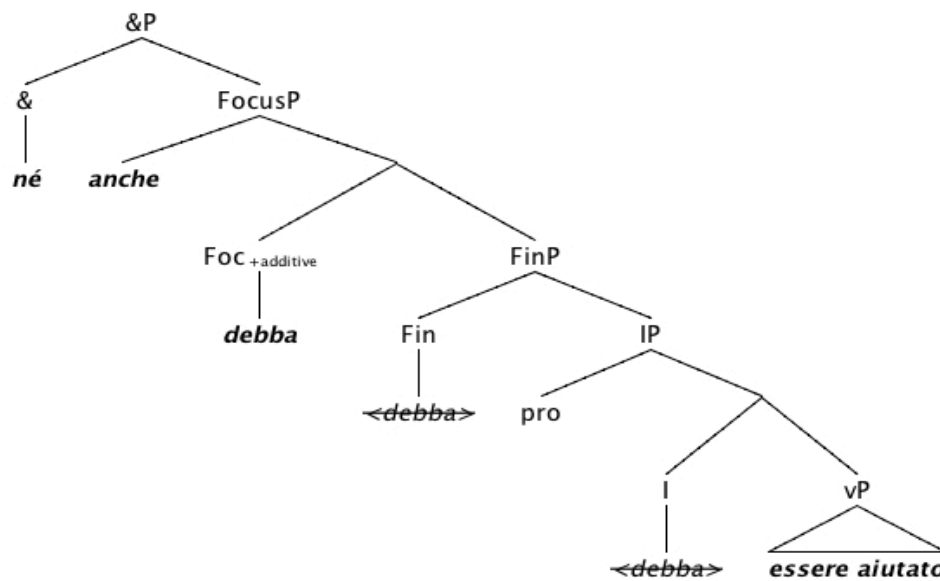
Figure 1. DP-internal *anche* in SpecFocusP (see (7))



- (b) *anche* is directly merged in SpecFocusP in CP, and is adjacent to *né*, see (8) and figure 2.

- (8) *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 also 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, cap. 23, p. 91]

Figure 2. Derivation of *né anche* (see (8))



- *Neanche* is lexicalized from the adjacency of *né+anche*, see (8), as in (9).

- (9) a. [_{CP} *Né*... [_{FOCP} *anche*... [Verb... →
 b. [_{CP} *Neanche* (lexicalization) [Verb ... →
 c. [_{Non}... [Verb... [*neanche* (possible postverbally) ...

→ *Neanche* in MI originates precisely from this case, in which *anche* is located in FocusP in CP.

3.3 Supporting evidence

- 1) In OI, **additive *anche* always occurs in preverbal position** (it is local to *né*), see (7)-(8) above, and (10), which shows that preverbal *anche* may trigger V-S inversion. Instead, lower *anche* has an aspectual meaning, see (3a,b) and (11).

- (10) *Anche sono l'anime tormentate nell'inferno di dolorosi pensieri*
 also are the souls tormented in.the hell of painful thoughts
 'Also the souls are tormented in the hell by painful thoughts'
 [Bono Giamboni, *Trattato*, 152, 24]

- (11) *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 also 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)' [Bono Giamboni, *Trattato*,
 151, 18]

- 2) ***neanche* as a lexicalized form does not occur before 1350.** It is attested only later, which indicates that the negative additive construction has changed, see (12).

- (12) ...*Uno sozzo peccato che non ardirebbe di confessarlo mai a neuno,*
a dirty sin that not would.dare to confess never to nobody
neanche al detto santo.
not.even to.the said saint
'...A dirty sin that he wouldn't dare ever to confess to anybody, not even to
the above-mentioned saint' [Leggenda Aurea, 1106, 20]

3) ***anche* is possibly etymologically related to *ancora*** (= 'again, yet', from Lat. HANC HORAM, Cortelazzo Zolli 1999), Anna Orlandini, Chiara Gianollo, p.c.

- (13) a. *Nulla è ancora fatto della cosa che non è tutta compiuta di fare*
Nothing is yet 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' [Bono Giamboni, *Vizi e Virtudi*, 89, 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 also 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.'
[Bono Giamboni, *Orosio*, 137, 20]

Summing up

Anche is an aspectual marker when it is merged in low FocusP in the vP periphery, and it is an additive when it is merged in CP, specifically in (a DP in) FocusP.

3.4 Semantic analysis

Claim

Both additives and aspectual adverbs share some properties (focus-sensitive, see Lee 2008) that might explain the observation that one and the same word *anche* could have been used as an aspectual and an additive marker in OI.

Both additives and aspectual markers, when used under negation, assert a negative proposition (see (14b)-(15b)). Moreover, they **induce focus alternatives** (see (14c)-(15c) which are **evaluated by some focus operator** (see (14d)-(15d)).

- **Aspectual** adverbs describe relations about the reference time and other time alternatives, see (14b):

- (14) 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, *Vizi e Virtudi*, p. 86]

- b. Assertion: There is not any time t at which there has been such a cruel war so far.
 $\neg \exists t \in D_{\text{time}} \exists e [\text{exist}_{\text{w}}(e, \text{such a cruel war}) \wedge \text{at}_{\text{w}}(t, e)]$
- c. Alternatives: {such cruel war did not exist **at t(ime)1**, such cruel war did not exist **at t2**, ... } = $\{\neg \exists t \in D' \exists e [\text{exist}_{\text{w}}(e, \text{such a cruel war}) \wedge \text{at}_{\text{w}}(t, e)]: D' \subseteq D\}$
- d. Scalar inference: even (not [such a cruel war exist now_{Focus}]) = that such a cruel war did not exist at the reference time $>_{\text{more likely}}$ such cruel war did not exist at any other time t' and $t_{\text{ref}} <_{\text{prior to}} t'$.
- e. Presupposition of phase transition (Löbner 1989): such a cruel war exists at the reference time.
- (15) a. *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 also not have.1SG wealth
 'You cannot enjoy your richness, neither do I.'
 [Sacchetti, *Il Trecentonovelle*, p. 491]
- b. I do not enjoy richness.
- c. {**you** don't enjoy richness, **I** don't enjoy richness}
- d. EXH³ {**you** don't enjoy richness, **I** don't enjoy richness} = all alternatives of the set are true.

This semantic difference is syntactically encoded in OI:

- aspectual *anche* is merged in low FocusP and c-commands the event structure (vP),
- additive *anche* may focalize an argument, if it is merged in FocusP within a DP that is itself focus-fronted to CP.

4. Concluding remarks

- In our analysis, we propose that old Italian *anche* was a PI with either an aspectual meaning, or an additive semantics, when merged in CP.
- Only at a later stage did *anche* become a PPI with additive meaning, namely after developing a lexicalized negative additive counterpart (*neanche*, =not even).

³ For EXH see 19th September talk by Andreaa C. Nicolae on 'Simple disjunction PPIs: a case for obligatory epistemic inferences'.

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Appendix

Specific grammars may lexicalize different possibilities: a grammar could lexicalize different PPI and NPI forms for either aspectual or additive markers or both, or instead have a common PI form whose interpretation is sensitive to the syntactic context.

→ The latter possibility is realized in old Italian, but we find a number of options in Italo-Romance varieties, such as Venetan (Ven), Mantovano, Solferinese, Upper Polesan and Transpolesan Ferrarese (TransFe). This is illustrated in table 1 below, see (16).

Table 1. Typology of aspectual and additive markers

	Aspectual		Additive	
	PPI	NPI	PPI	NPI
old Italian	<i>anche/ancora</i>		<i>etiandio/anche/ancora</i>	
modern Italian	<i>ancora</i>		<i>anche</i>	<i>neanche</i>
Venetan; Gallo-romance	<i>'ncora</i>	<i>gnancora</i>	<i>anca</i>	<i>gnanca</i>

- (16) a. (Ven) *No' l xe gnancora rivà*
not he is not.yet arrived
He has not arrived yet'
- b. (TransFe) *A' l n' è gnancora gnu*
INV.SCL he not is not.yet come
'He has not come yet'