A unified analysis of additives and aspectual markers

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In our talk we examine diachronic data from Old Italian (OI) (taken from the O(pera del) V(ocabolario) I(taliano) data base), and we claim that additive markers like *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) are similar and require a unified analysis. In support of our claim, we show that the syntax of OI aspectuals and additives reflects their semantics.

Differently from Modern Italian, OI *anche* and *ancora* display the same distribution. On the one hand, *anche* and *ancora,* are generally used as aspectual markers if they occur between the finite and the non-finite verb. In this case, they have the aspectual meaning of 'yet' in negative contexts (see 1a and 1b).

(1) 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]

In addition, *anche* or *ancora* can be merged in a higher structural position, as in (2a-b). In this case both *anche* and *ancora* have the additive meaning of 'too, also' in positive contexts (see 2b), or the meaning of 'neither' in negative sentences (see 2a).

(2) a. *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
   ***nè ancora** possa essere chiamato overo essere Consolo...*
   and.not ANCORA can.SBJV 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' [Stat. fior. 18, p. 68]

  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]

Our main research questions are: (i) why do *anche* and *ancora* have different meanings in different structural positions (aspectual in postverbal position, and additive in preverbal position)? and (ii) can a unified analysis of additives and aspectual markers explain this fact?

We argue for a unified focus-semantic analysis of both additives and aspectual markers like *anche* and *ancora* (see also Krifka 2000, Ippolito 2007, Levinson 2008 for English and German counterparts), and assume that *anche* and *ancora* must have a focus associate in their c-commanding scope that restricts their quantificational domain. When *anche/ancora* occurs in a postverbal position, it focus-associates with a temporal/aspectual variable expressed by, e.g. *(until) now* ('nothing has been done yet' = 'nothing has been done until now$_{Focus}$' in (1b)). When *anche/ancora* is merged in the

position preceding the finite V, it focus-associates with other types of alternatives (e.g. individuals, like *ancora i Prenestini*$_{Focus}$ 'also the Prenestini$_{Focus}$' in (2b)).

In our unified semantics of additives and aspectual markers we first discuss the meaning of additives and then apply it then to aspectuals. Additives like English *also* or *too* assert that the proposition Φ (the one being focused) is true, and presuppose that there is at least one contextually salient proposition ψ (which is an alternative to Φ) such that ψ is also true (see Rullmann 2003). This definition entails that the proposition *the Prenestini won* in (2b) is true, and presupposes that some other alternative proposition is also true, e.g. that the Romans won. In negative contexts like in (2a), however, Φ is asserted to be false, and it is presupposed that the discourse salient proposition ψ (=*the noblemen should be elected*) is false. The similarity between the additive and the aspectual usage of *ancora/anche* results from *ancora/anche* expressing additivity between the previous state and the current state (see also Levinson 2008). This semantic similarity is confirmed by the fact that *ancora* in postV position is often ambiguous between an aspectual (with repetitive meaning) and an additive, and such ambiguity still exists in Modern Italian as well (e.g. '*Prendo **ancora** un caffè*'= I take one more coffee). In negative sentences like in (1b), the aspectual marker asserts that it is not the case that the proposition Φ holds at the reference time t_{ref}, and it presupposes that Φ does not hold at some prior time either. The crucial difference between additive and aspectual markers is that only with aspectuals are the alternatives ordered by a time scale (see Krifka 2000, Ippolito 2007). The time-scale order expressed by *ancora* in (1b) triggers the universal presupposition that for all alternative times prior to the reference time it is not true that something has been done. The universal presupposition is missing with 'genuine' additives like (2a-b). On the basis of the focus semantics of *anche/ancora* and of its syntactic distribution with respect to verbs and other (aspectual) adverbs, we propose *anche/ancora* may merge in the specifiers of two distinct focus heads: one in CP (Rizzi 1997, Benincà & Poletto 2004, a.m.o.), and one in the vP-periphery, from which it c-commands the event structure (Poletto 2014, cf. Belletti 2004), which we take to include some aspectual heads (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014, Ramchand, to app.).

(3) [$_{CP}$ [$_{FocP}$ ***anche/ancora** i Prenestini* 'also' $_{Foc°}$ [$_{IP}$ [$_{FocP}$ ***anche/ancora*** 'yet' = 'also now$_{Focus}$' $_{Foc°}$ [$_{VoiceP}$[$_{VP}$]]]]]]

To sum up: assuming an alternative-based semantics (Chierchia 2013), we propose a unified syntactic and semantic analysis of additives and aspectual markers arguing that both are focus-sensitive items which trigger alternatives (i.e. time alternatives in the case of aspectual markers, which are merged postverbally in OI, or individuals in the case of additive markers which are generally preverbal). The difference between additive and aspectual markers depends on the type of object that the phrase in the focus-marker's scope denotes: with additives we have a relation between predicates and individuals; with aspectual markers, a relation between events or states and times.

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