ANCORA AND ADDITIVE WORDS

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0. Introduction

The classification and analysis of the parts of speech (or may be better, parts of sentence) has produced a long tradition of studies that have adopted different criteria (morphological, semantic, distributional) to define them. It is well known that in this kind of research the class of adverbs received less attention than others in traditional grammar. It is the least homogeneous category, the one to which all those words that do not find place in other categories are assigned. Adverbs are traditionally classified, rather approximately, according to their meaning: e.g., we have time adverbs, mood adverbs, place adverbs.

In this paper I will deal in particular with the Italian adverb *ancora*, which shows interesting properties because of the multiplicity of contexts in which it can be used. I will discuss its main readings in order to see whether it is possible to reduce this multiplicity of values to a general, basic, abstract meaning. Then I will extend the generalization obtained for *ancora* to other adverbs in order to identify a group of adverbs sharing the same properties.

1. Readings of "ancora"

The adverb *ancora* is used in many situations to express different meanings. It can have different values such as continuative, iterative, quantitative, additive, comparative or adversative. This could be considered a case of lexical ambiguity. However, I will argue that *ancora* has a single lexical entry allowing for different construals, depending upon the context where the adverb is inserted. We can say that the meaning that *ancora* acquires is determined by the interaction of its basic meaning with the argument structure of the verb, and by the combination of the semantic features of the verb and its object. In particular, the following parameters are relevant: a) the aspectual class of the VP (activity, accomplishment, state, achievement, following Vendler [1967] and Verkuyl [1989]), with special reference to the tel-

ic/atelic[1] distinction; b) tense; c) grammatical aspect; d) the presence or absence of the direct complement (definite or indefinite object, count or mass noun); e) the type of event (unique or non-unique).

On the basis of these parameters I will characterize the contexts where each reading of *ancora* is allowed. Since in English each value we are concerned with is associated with a different lexical item, I will use these words as labels to easily recognize each construal of *ancora*.

1.1. The continuative reading

When used with continuative meaning[2], (i.e., in the sense of English "still"), *ancora* implies an interval at which the situation is in progress, i.e. it presupposes that the situation expressed by the verb was already in progress at the reference time. Thus *ancora* has scope on the state of affairs expressed by the verb. This reading is licensed under the following conditions:

A. if the predicate is an adjective it is alterable[3] (ex. 1-2)
B. if the predicate is a verb without complements it is durative (ex. 3-12)
C. the verb is atelic (ex. 3-5)
D. the verb has imperfective aspect (ex. 3-8)

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[1] I consider telic verbs those oriented to reach a definite natural terminal point that once reached involves a change in the situation described; I consider atelic verbs those that lack such intrinsic terminal point, go on without interruptions and can be stopped at any time.

[2] I prefer the term *continuative* with respect to the term traditionally used *durative*, because it does not only refer to the length of time but emphasizes also that the action was in progress previously, which is exactly what *ancora* means in this reading. Then I will use the term *durative* only to make reference to the action of the verb while I will reserve the term *continuative* to express the value of the adverb deriving from its basic meaning associated with the action of the verb.

[3] With the expression «alterable predicates» I mean durative predicates whose denotation lasts for a determined period of time after which it is subject to a change of state. When associated to this predicates *ancora* states the persistence of its denotation against the supposition it already came to the change of state. They are alterable predicates adjective as: *young, living, sick, raw, unripe, short, eatible* but not they antonyms *old, dead, healthy cooked, ripe, tall, out of date.* So for example «to be young» is a condition that lasts for a period of time and then undergoes a change of state because people necessarily, become old. The direction of change goes from «to be young» to «to be old» but the reverse does not hold. So the former predicate is alterable, while the latter is not.

Examples[4]:

(1) Maria è *ancora* giovane.
     'Mary is still young.'

(2) *Maria è *ancora* vecchia.
     'Mary is still old.'

(3) Maria nuota *ancora*.
     'Mary is still swimming.'

(4) Maria stava *ancora* nuotando.
     'Mary was still swimming.'

(5) Maria nuotava *ancora* quando chiusero la piscina.
     'Mary was still swimming when the swimming pool was closed.'

(6) #Maria ha/aveva nuotato *ancora*.
     <Mary has/had swum again.>

(7) #Maria nuotò *ancora*.
     'Mary swam again.'

(8) #Maria nuoterà/avrà nuotato *ancora*[5].
     'Mary will swim/will have swum again.'

(9) #Maria parte *ancora*.
     'Mary leaves again.'

(10) *Maria muore *ancora*.
     *'Mary still dies.'

(11) #Luca legge *ancora* un romanzo.
     'Luca reads another novel.'

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[4] The symbol # indicates that the sentence is not acceptable in the reading of *ancora* we are dealing with (in the present case the continuative one), but it is with other readings; the symbol * indicates ungrammaticality on any reading. I will give in the English translation the exact interpretation of the Italian sentence.

[5] Notice that the continuative reading is available if the Future has progressive value: «Quando arriverai Maria nuoterà ancora (= starà ancora nuotando)», 'When you will arrive Mary will be still swimming.'

(12) Luca legge *ancora* romanzi.

'Luca still reads novels.'

In the last case the still reading is allowed because the bare plural is not a discret entity and therefore the event is atelic (cfr. Tovena).

The association of *ancora* with stative verbs is impossible when they express generic predications such as geographic locations or when they refer to classes or species:

(13) #Chiasso è *ancora* in Italia[6].

'Chiasso is still in Italy.'

(14) *Le tigri sono *ancora* dei felini.

*'Tigers are still feline.'

With respect to stative verbs that refer to specific situations, the association with *ancora* is allowed only if it is possible an alteration of the described state of affairs, even if such alteration means the cancellation of the existence conditions of the state of affairs itself:

(15) Mio figlio crede *ancora* all'Uomo Nero.

'My son still believes in the Blak Man.'

(16) Stefano fa *ancora* l'avvocato.

'Steven is still a lawyer.'

(17) Nonostante l'età mio nonno è *ancora* in gamba.

'Despite his age my grandpa is still fit.'

1.2. The iterative and quantitative readings

Besides the continuation of an action, *ancora* can be used to express the repetition of an event (cfr. Tovena). In this case the fundamental element is the presence of a well-defined termination point: in fact the repetition shows the action in its single occurrences and therefore as completed. From this it follows that only telic predicates can express repetition. As suggested by Tovena: a) if the repetition shows up as iteration of the event, *ancora* corresponds to the English "again" and it has, then, iterative meaning; b) if it shows up as alteration of a participant of the event, *ancora* corresponds to English "one more", "another" and it has quantitative meaning. Therefore, I claim, in the first case, *ancora* has scope over the event, in the second case over an argument. Iterative and quantitative meaning of *ancora* represent then

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[6] This sentence can only have a spatial interpretation in a context as: 'Chiasso is still in Italy but Lugano is already in Switzerland.' which refers to a scalar relation of the cities. (See König 1977 p. 184).

two sides of a unique concept, i.e. the concept of repetition, but are licensed under different contextual conditions.

The iterative reading (the "again" construal) requires:

E. telic verbs (ex. 18-19)
F. non-unique event (ex. 19-20)
G. perfective aspect (ex. 18-26)
H. specific object (ex. 19, 21-23)

Examples[4]*:*

(18) #Maria nuota *ancora*[7].
  'Mary is still swimming.'

(19) Maria legge / ha letto *ancora* la lettera.   non-unique event/definite object
  'Mary reads / has read the letter again.'

(20) ?*Maria scrive *ancora* la lettera[7].   unique event
  'Mary writes the letter again.'

(21) #Maria legge / ha letto *ancora* una lettera.   non-unique event/indefinte object
  'Mary reads / has read another/one more letter.'

(22) Maria legge / ha letto *ancora* una lettera di sua zia.
                non-unique event / specific object
  'Mary reads / has read her aunt's letter again.'
  'Mary reads / has read another letter of her aunt.'

(23) Maria lesse *ancora* i romanzi.
  'Mary read the novels again.'

(24) Maria verrà *ancora* a trovarti.
  'Mary will came to see you again.'

(25) Maria non ti deluderà *ancora*.
  'Mary will not disappoint you again.'

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[7] The iterative reading is possible if the Present Tense has progressive value:
  «Maria sta nuotando ancora (= di nuovo)».
  'Mary is swimming again.'
  «Maria sta scrivendo ancora (= di nuovo) la lettera».
  'Mary is writing the letter again.'

(26) Maria mangia *ancora* la zuppa (e non il riso).
    'Mary eats soup again (and not rice).'
    'Mary still eats soup (and not rice).'

The sentence in (22) can have both the iterative interpretation ("again") or the quantitative one ("another"). This ambiguity is due to the different scope of *ancora*: in the former case *ancora* takes scope over the event, in the latter it takes scope over the NP object. Same explanation for the sentence in (26): *ancora* can take scope either over the state of affairs ("still" reading) or over the event ("again" reading). In this case, as suggested by Tovena, the iterative reading follows from the fact that the definite NP is coerced into a 'type' reading which transforms a unique event into a non-unique event.

The quantitative reading "one more", "another" has more applicability restrictions because it is triggered only by the presence of a direct object that therefore constitutes the element in the scope of *ancora*. The licensing conditions are the following:

I. presence of a NP object
J. presence of an event (unique or non-unique), (ex. 27-28)
K. telic verb
L. possibility of alteration of the NP, i.e. the substitution of the participant with another one of the same type
M. indefinite NP object (ex. 29).

Examples[4]*:*

(27) Maria scrive / ha scritto *ancora* una lettera.
    'Mary writes / has written one more/another letter.'

(28) Maria legge / ha scritto *ancora* una lettera.
    'Mary reads / has read one more / another letter.'

(29) #Maria ha letto *ancora* la lettera.
    'Mary has read the letter again.'

(30) Maria mangia *ancora* cioccolata.
    'Mary eats more chocolate.'

(31) Maria mangia *ancora* un piatto di lenticchie.
    'Mary eats one more / another plate of lentils.'

(32) Maria ha nuotato *ancora* per due ore.
    'Mary has swum for two more hours.'

The last two examples suggest interesting observations. In (31) *ancora* can only have quantitative reading and not iterative (cfr. example (22)). I think this is

probably due to the quantificational properties of the NP "un piatto" which behaves as a unit of measure.

In (32) *ancora* can have only a quantitative and not a continuative meaning as one might think. It is true that this sentence too implies a continuation of the action expressed by the verb, but such continuation is different from the one seen in (1) because it goes, so to speak, in the opposite direction, i.e. starting from a reference point (not necessarily coincident with the utterance time) towards the future. The semantic difference between the two sentences is mirrored in the syntactic structure: in (32) *ancora* modifies the Adverbial Phrase (AdvP) and not the verb, as the comparison with the English translation shows.

1.3. The comparative reading

Another meaning attributed to *ancora* by traditional grammar is that of comparative adverb, because it modifies adjectives or adverbs in the comparative degree. With this reading *ancora* corresponds to English "even":

(33) Maria è *ancora* più giovane di Piera.
    'Mary is even younger than Piera.'

(34) Maria è *ancora* più vecchia di Antonio.
    'Mary is even older than Anthony.'

(35) Maria mangia *ancora* più lentamente di Antonio.
    'Mary eats even more slowly than Anthony.'

In this case the element under the scope of *ancora* is the comparative adjective or adverb. Nevertheless, the comparative sense does not seem to represent a really distinct construal of *ancora*, because it can be easily reduced to another value, i.e. the quantitative meaning. Actually, in the examples (33)-(35) *ancora* can be interpreted as indicating a further degree, a greater extent of some property expressed by the adjective or the adverb. We could say that the term "comparative" indicates the function performed by *ancora* in the sentence more than its meaning, which can be rather considered quantitative. I will come back to this point later.

In the "comparative" construal *ancora* can modify alterable or non-alterable predicates. On the other hand, when it modifies superlatives, *ancora* has only the continuative meaning and therefore it is sensitive to the opposition alterable/non-alterable:

(36) Maria è *ancora* bellissima.
    'Mary is still very beautiful.'

(37) *Maria è *ancora* vecchissima.
    *'Mary is still very old.'

1.4. The additive reading

Finally *ancora* can be used also as an additive conjunction ("also", see It. "anche") and in Old Italian also as an adversative conjunction ("nevertheless", "however", see It. "tuttavia"). In the first case the origin of such use should be probably led back to a common etymological ancestor of these two forms (*hinc ad horam* or a reconstructed root *anc), which specialized later in the two different forms *ancora* and *anche*. Even if it is not clear which form derives from which, it is undeniable that for some time in Old Italian these two forms were used in a very flexible way, appearing in the same contexts. They later specialized and undertook the modern meaning. Nevertheless, in modern Italian traces persist of this overlap. If, in general, they determine different readings of the same sentence and are not interchangeable (see the example in (38)), in some contexts they are (39-42), while in others they show parallelisms (43-44):

(38) a. Oggi esistono *anche* i computer portatili.
'Today we have *also* laptop computers.'
b. Oggi esistono *ancora* i computer portatili.
'Today we *still* have laptop computers.'

(39) a. Ieri e *ancora* oggi.
'Yesterday and *still* today.'
b. Ieri e *anche* oggi.
'Yesterday and *also* today.'

(40) a. *Ancora* di più.
'*Still* more.'
b. *Anche* di più.
'*Also* more.'

(41) a. Viene *anche* Antonio.
'*Also* Anthony is coming.'
b. C'erano Luca, Paolo, Giovanni e *ancora* Carlo, Roberto, Alfredo.
'There were Luca, Paul; John and *still* Karl, Robert, Alfred.'

(42) a. Gli ho anche detto.
'I *also* told him.'
b. Gli ho ancor detto. (obsolete)
'I *still* told him.'

(43) a. *Anche* se fosse stanco. (= irreal)
'*Even* if it was tired.'

b. *Ancor*ché fosse stanco. (= real).
'*Although* he was tired.'

(44) a. Ne*anche*.
'Neg-*anche.'*
b. Ne*ancora*. (= non *ancora*, dialectal)
'Neg-*ancora.'*

According to Tovena's analysis [1996] the overlap of meanings of *ancora* and *anche* takes place in the presence of coordinated structures: in this case a new participant is explicitly introduced into the action, unlike what happens in the iterative reading "again" (where there is only one participant), or in the quantitative reading "one more" (where the participant in the predication is substituted for by another of the same type).

1.5. The adversative reading

Finally, *ancora* in Old Italian was used with an adversative meaning:

(45) Se voi mi concedete ch'io vada, io v'andrò e se voi non me lo concedete *ancora* andrò. (Boccaccio, I, 270)
'If you let me go, I will go and if you do not, *still* I will go.'

It must be noticed that in Old Italian the adverb *tuttavia*, indicating the persistence of a situation or condition in the present or in the past, could be interchanged with *ancora*:

(46) Essendo il freddo grande e nevicando *tuttavia* forte. (Boccaccio)
'Being really cold and snowing *still* a lot.'

(47) Dall'una e dall'altra di quelle terre correvano e corrono *tuttavia* strade e stradette più o meno ripide o piane. (Manzoni)
'From one and another of these grounds run in the past and *still* run streets and little streets more or less steep or flat.'

An interesting parallelism can be observed in the history of English: according to the Oxford English Dictionary the adversative meaning displayed by *still* is probably derived from the temporal meaning:

(48) Nothing can make such a room healthy. Ventilation would improve it, but *still* it would be unhealthy. (Flor. Nightingale, Nursing, 1861, 22)

In this sense, if we suppose the same thing for *ancora*, the Italian adverb would have under its scope the state of affairs expressed by the verb in the adversative reading as well.

To summarize, we have seen that each reading exhibited by *ancora* is determined by different licensing conditions. We also noted that in each construal *ancora* takes scope over a different entity. We argue, then, that the cases of multiple reading of a sentence are due to scope differences.

2. Uniform classification

So far we have seen that *ancora* has different readings according to the context in which it is used. I will now try to show that such polysemy is only apparent, i.e., it represents the manifestation at the contextual level of a unique more general and abstract meaning that interplays with the features of the elements of the syntactic context. Many are the proposals of a unitary classification of the meanings of *ancora*, or of its counterparts in different languages. The majority of these theories makes use of the concepts of assertion and presupposition: when *ancora* is applied to a sentence F, the presupposition holds that F is true for the entire timespan at which the situation is in progress. This induces the persistence of a situation started in the past until the moment expressed by the tense of the sentence where it is contained. Such presupposition does not say anything about the state of affairs after utterance time, which therefore remains undetermined.

Starting from this concept, König [1977] defines the temporal and non-temporal (spatial, comparative, adversative) meanings of the German *noch* as manifestations of a basic scalar meaning because both interpretations imply the selection of some points in time or entities of different type fixed in an ordered relation. But such scalar meaning cannot account for the additive meaning of *noch*. Consider (49):

(49) Ich kenne nóch einen Mann, der flieβend Russisch spricht.
      'I know another person who speaks Russian fluently.'

Here the additive reading of *noch* should be reduced to the non-temporal use. Anyway, it cannot be accounted for within the framework of this analysis because it does not introduce a set of ordered elements.

In Barker [1991] *still*F means that the state of affairs in F has persisted, against some conditions. *Still* takes as argument the constituent to whose denotation the concept of persistence can somehow be applied. This happens directly in the temporal case, by analogy in the other ones. Then, in general, what unifies the different construals of *still* is an analogical extension stemming from the prototypical case, i.e., the temporal one.

Nef [1981] proposes to reduce temporal, iterative and quantitative meanings of French *encore* to a "schéma formel d'implicature" which is interpreted in a different way for each case. I do not enter into the details of his analysis. It is enough to say that he too keeps distinct temporal cases as "Paul est encore malade" ('Paul is

still ill') from quantitative cases as "Marie a mangé encore deux gâteaux" ('Mary ate two more gâteaux').

Also Tovena [1996] thinks that the different readings of *ancora* depend on its sensitivity to the context, in particular on the type of event which it is applied to. For Tovena *ancora* is a binary operator schematically represented as ANCORA (A, B). The basic meaning of *ancora* is identified, then, in two components: a mapping of the argument A instantiated by a proposition (e.g. "to be young") with the argument B which contains an "eventuality identifier" (the information provided by the verb) and an effect of continuation. Such continuation is realized in different ways according to the entity which it is applied to: if the event lacks a terminal point such continuation is an extension in time, if the event has a definite terminal point the continuation is a repetition (iterative or quantitative construal). But I think that also this explanation implies an ordering of entities as in König's proposal because this "effect of continuance" seems to suggest the idea of " before" and "after", that is a continuance in a linear dimension. Therefore it can hardly account for an example like (49).

In all these theories, then, the quantitative meaning of *ancora* (or whatever counterpart in other languages) is the most difficult to insert in a unitary classification.

In the present work I will put forward an explanation that can account for the temporal value and the non-temporal one (and all the others) at the same time. To do this I think it is worth starting from an approach opposite to that used by the authors quoted above. On the basis of the fact that the additive meaning should be connected to the others, it might be worth trying the opposite path, namely to assume the additive meaning as basic and assign a component of this type to all other meanings. Such idea was already implicitly suggested by Doherthy [1973] (who says that "a mere additive function […] lies at the bottom of all the various *nochs*"), and was afterwards assumed by König e Stark [1987] in terms of a basic additive meaning. Following the analysis of van der Auwera [1993] for German *noch*, I will show that each construal of Italian *ancora* can be expressed as addition of an entity to another entity of the same type or of a different type, if this is possible according to the features of the arguments taking part in the predication. But to consider the additive reading the basic component of the meaning of *ancora* does not mean that we set aside the presuppositional component that previous works reveal indispensable. I think, therefore, a unitary theory of the meanings of *ancora* should integrate in some way both these elements, presupposition and additive component.

The additive component is clearly visible in the quantitative reading of *ancora*. Consider the following sentence:

(50) t = Prendo *ancora* un biscotto.

    'I will take another / one more biscuit.'

In this case *ancora* indicates that some entity x (a biscuit) introduced at the utterance time t is added to an entity x' previously introduced at the moment t.' This sentence presupposes then a sentence like (51) or at least an act of taking a biscuit:

(51) t' = Prendo un biscotto.
    'I will take a biscuit.'

The quantitative reading conveys, therefore, the presupposition of existence of another entity of the same type. At this point the component of meaning I called addition means that the entity x is added to the one presupposed and both constitutes the set of elements that are the subject of the predication.

It should be noted that at this level of the analysis it is not important to know the type of participant targeted by *ancora*, i.e. whether it is a count or a mass noun: this does not imply differences in the interpretation of what we are testing here, the presence of the additive feature.

At this point the hypothesis I formulated for the quantitative reading can account for all other construals of the adverb. We only need to substitute for the discourse referent x the element under the scope of *ancora*. I will show how this works for each reading I have discussed above.

Recall the definition of the continuative reading where *ancora* implies an interval at which the situation is in progress

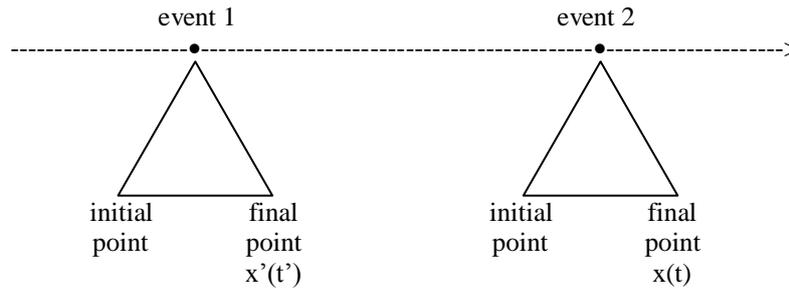(52) Maria abita *ancora* qua.
    'Mary still lives here.'

In this reading *ancora* says that the state holding at time t, specified by the adverb, already held in the immediately preceding interval[8], and that such state persists until the time t, i.e., the state holding in the past is still in progress at the reference time t. It is important to notice that such persistence holds for each moment of time of the interval including the final one but not the first one. It is evident that within an interval the initial point, i.e., the starting point of the state, cannot be considered continuation of itself. The starting point represents the change of state from a "negative" situation, in which the state does not hold, to a positive one in which the state comes to existence.

As an example, consider the following: the sentence (53) presupposes (54):

(53)   Maria vive *ancora* qua.
    'Maria still lives here.'

(54) Maria viveva qua precedentemente.
    'Mary has been living here previously.'

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[8] I do not consider the internal length of such interval that might be a second or many years.

In (53) *ancora* conveys an interval projecting backwards, from utterance time to an undetermined moment in the past, the starting point of the interval, i.e., the point at which Maria went in the house for the first time. Therefore such moment indicates the change from a phase in which Maria did not live in the house, and it is expressed lexically by another adverb, the adverb *già* ("already"):

(55) Maria già vive qua.

  'Mary already lives here.'

Applying to this reading my hypothesis we have that the state holding at time t already held at a time t' preceding t. Because of the fact that the state persists unchanged, going through the interval up to the moment t, this condition holds at any moment of the interval but the initial one. This follows directly from the fact the continuative reading of *ancora* is allowed only with durative verbs. Then it is not necessary to postulate a condition of contiguity of the moments t' and t as suggested by van der Auwera since the state is homogeneous.

On the basis of the additive analysis the entity x in the continuative reading stands for a state, so to speak, added to a previous state of the same type: addition means that we have something more of a same state, a further moment in which the state of living persists. I will make this explicit with a graphic representation:

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--------------|————————————————————————————————————————|----------------->|
      initial point                                    final point
        già                    abitava x'(t')            ancora x(t)
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In the picture the continuous line indicates the interval at which the situation (except the initial point lexicalized by *già*) persists and it is made up of infinitesimal states of living; x(t), the state identified by *ancora*, coincides with the final point, while x'(t') can represent any of the infinitesimal states inside the interval. So the living of Mary in that place is the sum of all the infinitesimal states of the interval including the final one but not the first one.

The iterative reading of *ancora* presupposes the existence of an event x' holding at t' previous to the event x holding at t. In this case, too, it is not necessary to postulate a condition of non-contiguity of the elements x and x', as van der Auwera does, because such condition is directly inferred by the features of the element under the scope of *ancora*:

(56) Vieni a trovarmi *ancora*, Maria.

  'Come to see me again, Mary.'

In fact in this case the variable x does not stand for a state but for an event. As I noticed above, the event is telic and reaches a terminal point, while the state is atelic and can have infinite duration. Events are expressed by verbs of accomplishment or

achievement that show the situation as completed. The visits of Mary are the set of all single events repeated. This concept is shown in the following scheme:

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            event 1                                    event 2
  -------------------•----------------------------------•------------------->
                    / \                                 / \
                   /   \                               /   \
                  /     \                             /     \
                 /       \                           /       \
                /_____\                         /_____\
           initial    final                   initial     final
           point      point                   point       point
                      x'(t')                              x(t)
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In the graphic the black dots represent two events of the same type. Such events have their specific internal duration represented by the triangles indicating the beginning and the end of the event. In this way we can clearly see that we are dealing with two different events that take place in the temporal axis (the dotted line from left to right).

As for the so-called comparative reading the explanation of the meaning of *ancora* in terms of addition confirms the hypothesis that the comparative reading could be considered a case of quantitative construal.

(57) Pietro è alto, ma Paolo è *ancora* più alto.
'Peter is tall, but Paul is even taller.'

In this case x stands for the comparative function "essere più alto" ('to be taller') and clearly presupposes another less tall element. Therefore we can say that the quantitative reading of *ancora* depends upon the element under its scope: a) when it is a NP (Noun Phrase) *ancora* has, strictly speaking, quantitative construal, b) when it is a degree adjective or adverb *ancora* has a "comparative" construal.

Consider now the adversative reading. I said above that the Oxford English Dictionary suggests for English the derivation from the temporal meaning. In my analysis I will adopt this point of view and therefore, also in this case, the entity substituted for x will be a state that persists against some contrary conditions.

(58) Se voi mi concedete ch'io vada, io v'andrò e se voi non me lo concedete *ancora* andrò. (Boccaccio, I, 270)
'If you let me go, I will go and if you do not let me *still* I will go.'

When *ancora* is used as conjunction ("anche") the theory makes the right prediction again because, even if in this case a new participant takes part in the predication and x and x' are elements of different type, the element x (a nursery) pre-

suppose the existence of another element. All these elements constitute the set of charities made by Mary.

(59) Luisa è una grande benefattrice: nel 1972 ha costruito un ospedale e *ancora* una casa di riposo nel 1975.

'Louise is a great benefactress: she built an hospital in 1972 and also a nursery in 1975.'

To summarize, with this analysis I propose that the basic meaning of *ancora* conveys a presupposition and is essentially additive. The hypothesis proposed puts together these two components and is sufficiently general to account for all readings of *ancora* simply by substituting for the variable x the entity focalized by *ancora*, i.e. the entity falling under its scope. This hypothesis does not imply an ordering of the entities but refer to them as a set of elements which constitute the argument of the predication. Therefore it can account for the example in (49) repeated below:

(49) Ich kenne nóch einen Mann, der flieβend russisch spricht.

'I know another man who speaks fluent Russian.'

So, in this case the presupposition is that I know (at least) a man who speaks fluent russian; to this man (corresponding to x') the man (corresponding to x) referred to in (49) is added. These men constitute, therefore, the set of men who speak fluent Russian that I know.

In this analysis we also saw that the application of *ancora* to any entity takes place in the temporal dimension which can be directly or indirectly implicated. The intuition that the use of *ancora* was related to the temporal dimension induced grammars to classify *ancora* as a time adverb in the same group of deictic adverbs such as *ieri* "yesterday", *oggi* "today", *domani* "tomorrow", *adesso* "now". If *ancora* has temporal value this must be understood not in the deictic sense but as relation of two not necessarily contiguous subsequent moments.

By taking as fundamental the additive meaning this new classification of the readings of *ancora* can easily and economically account for all interpretations. The hypothesis bases its functionality on the element under the scope of *ancora*: once established that it is different for each reading we do not need more specifications. Each reading follows directly from the element under the scope and the aktionsart of the sentence as resumed in the table below:

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                                    ANCORA
processes /states                          events      NP        AdjP

continuative                               iterative  quantitative  comparative
adversative                                                         additive
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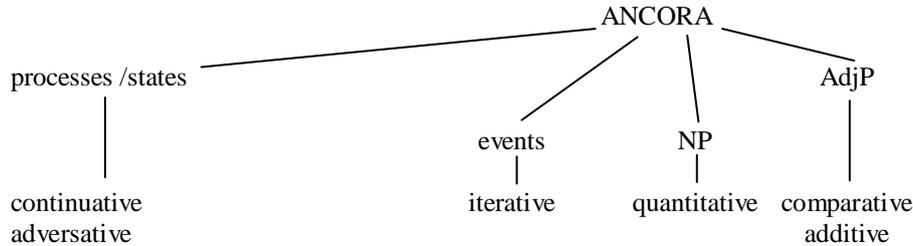
The hypothesis proposed for *ancora* might work also for all adverbs corresponding to *ancora* in other European languages. As a matter of fact the counterparts of *ancora* in Spanish (*todavía*/*aún*), English (*still*), French (*encore*) and German (*noch*), all have at least three different readings: continuative, adversative, and comparative. However, other construals, such as the iterative one, can be recovered in the previous historical stages of these languages. This is the case for Spanish and English, while French and German associate to *encore* and *noch* a large cluster of readings.

Therefore I would like to suggest that the meaning of *ancora* can be decomposed in a modular way: each language associates a higher or lower number of readings to a unique basic adverb with the meaning of *ancora*, while the other ones are attributed to independent lexical items. I will leave this point open to further research.

3. Application of the theory

Consider now whether the hypothesis proposed for *ancora* can be extended to other adverbs, i.e., whether there exist other adverbs whose meaning is given by the same components as for *ancora*: presupposition and addition.

Going back to the readings *ancora* can have in Italian, we noticed that in other languages some of these are expressed by independent lexical items: so in English the readings of *ancora* that we have considered here are expressed by "still", "again", "one more", "another", "even", "nevertheless", "also". I claim that my hypothesis can account for the interpretation of these adverbs. Since the meaning of each of these adverbs corresponds to one of the possible meanings of *ancora*, it should follow that their meaning could be understood in terms of presupposition and addition.

Consider, then, the following group of English adverbs: *again, one more, another*, *even* and the conjunctions *also* and *nevertheless*.

(60) It is raining *again*.

(61) She read the letter *again*.

(62) She came back *again*.

(63) She read *one more*/*another* letter.

(64) She ate *more* chocolate.

(65) She drank *one more/another* beer.

(66) John is *even* more intelligent than Bob.

(67) She won the first and *also* the second prize.

In these sentences the hypothesis is easy to apply. In the equivalent Italian sentences these adverbs would be all translated by *ancora*.

Consider now an example in which my proposal seems to apply less straightforwardly and, more interestingly, the adverb could not be translated by *ancora*:

(68) *Even* a child could do so.
'Perfino un bambino potrebbe farlo.'

In (68) *even* would be translated as "perfino". The element under the scope of *even* is "a child" corresponding therefore to the entity x(t) of the hypothesis: the presupposition is that everybody is able to do that thing.

However, it should be noted that Italian, too, has independent lexical items for each of the meanings exhibited by *ancora*, i.e., *di nuovo* ("again"), *un altro* ("one more"), *perfino* ("even"), *anche* ("also"), *tuttavia* ("nevertheless"), *più* ("more"), *sempre* ("always"). Consider briefly the two last adverbs, which we did not mention before.

Syntactically, the Italian adverb *più*, can be an indefinite adjective (without article and plural) when it modifies a noun (69.a), an adverb when it modifies adjectives, adverbs or verbs (69.b), or a substantivized pronoun (neuter and singular) as in (69.c):

(69) a. Dammi *più* pesche che fragole.
'Give me more peaches than strawberries.'
    b. Maria è *più* intelligente di Luca.
'Mary is more intelligent than Luca.'
    c. Il *più* è fatto.
'The most of it is done.'

Semantically, *più* is a quantifier and can form comparative clauses. It is interesting to notice that a) if used adverbially (ex. 70-71) *più* has always comparative meaning, b), if used as an adjective, it has comparative meaning when it modifies mass nouns (ex.72), but when it modifies count nouns it has comparative meaning only if there is a second element of comparison in the textual or extratextual context (ex. 73). Otherwise, *più* works as non-comparative quantifier expressing an indefinite quantity equivalent to adjective such as *parecchi, molti, svariati* ("quite a lot", "many", "various") (ex. 74):

(70) Marco è più alto di Luca.
'Mark is taller than Luca.'

(71) Marco mangia più lentamente di Luca.
    'Mark eats more slowly than Luca.'

(72) Giovanni ha più esperienza.
    'John has more experience.'

(73) Marco ha più libri di Luca.
    'Mark has more books than Luca.'

(74) Ho mangiato più volte in questo ristorante.
    'I have eaten many times in this restaurant.'

So *più* exhibits a double function: it is a comparative or an additive quantifier. In both cases the behaviour of *più* is predicted by my hypothesis, since in the first case it behaves exactly as "comparative" *ancora*, in the latter as quantitative *ancora*.

The adverb *sempre* as well, when expressing a continuation limited to the present time, can replace *ancora* and therefore it can be accounted for in my perspective:

(75) Pronto? – Sono sempre io.
    'Hallo? – It is me again.'

(76) Sei *sempre* in collera con me?
    'Are you still angry at me?'

4. Particular cases

Until now we have seen that the general meaning of *ancora* is typical of other adverbs and conjunctions. Such hypothesis, proposed to give an economical and global account of the readings of a single adverb, acquires general value, explaining the behaviour of a determined group of adverbs and conjunctions. *Ancora* then represents a kind of "hyperonym" of such class of words. But the most interesting thing is that the hypothesis works not only for the adverbs that are "hyponimous" of *ancora* but also for independent adverbs such as *even/perfino* (68), *più* and for two other conjunctions, as I will try to show now.

It seems plausible to think that also the conjunctions *e* ("and") and *con* ("with") should be interpreted in terms of presupposition and addition. Conjunction *e* has basically the logical meaning of AND combining two syntactic categories which in the sentence have the same function, including sentences:

(77) Tu *e* io.
    'You and me.'

(78) Bello *e* buono.
    'Nice and good.'

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(79) Chi va piano, va sano *e* lontano.
'Who goes slowly, goes healthy and far.'

(80) Canta *e* balla tutte le sere.
'She sings and dances every night.'

In these sentences we consider only the second element: it is evident that it presupposes the existence of another element to which it is associated. Evidences of this hypothesis come from Old Italian where *e* meant *anche* ("also"), and from mathematics, where *e* is used in the sense of the additional operator *più*: "2 + 5 = 7" is read "2 *e* 5, 7". We have already shown that *anche* and *più* satisfy the hypothesis, therefore, by transitivity, the conjunction *e* does as well.

A similar argument holds for the conjunction *con* when used to express companionship and union:

(81) Vengo *con* te.
'I will come with you.'

(82) Cioccolata *con* panna.
'Chocolate with cream.'

In this case too the second element of the sentence presupposes the existence of another element which it combines with to express the sense of the sentence.

I claimed that adverbs and conjunctions can be uniformly accounted for under my hypothesis, i.e., they have the same basic meaning. But conjunctions differ from adverbs: if it is true that both conjunctions and adverbs lack inflection and agreement, only the former and not the latter are unstressed and occur in fixed positions. Therefore their behaviour differs from that of adverbs: while adverbs are essentially modifiers and represent a functional category, conjunctions set up a relation of subordination or coordination between functional categories.

Consider, then, how this difference of function affects the theory put forward in this paper. We saw that the adverbs my hypothesis applies to associate an assertion with the sentence that they presuppose: they state the persistence of a determined action against the opposite expectation of the hearer. In the example considered in (52) (repeated below as (83)) *ancora* indicates the persistence of the living of Maria in the same place against the supposition that she moved away:

(83) Maria abita *ancora* qui. $\Rightarrow$ Maria abitava qua precedentemente.
$\quad$ x(t) $\qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad$ x'(t')

On the other hand the conjunctions dispatch their action inside the sentence relating two phrasal constituents or two clauses.

(84) Cioccolato *con* panna.

   x' $\Leftarrow$ x

(85) Maria canta *e* balla.

   x' $\Leftarrow$ x

Comparing the symbolic representation of the sentences in (84-85) and the one in (83) we note that the former lacks the symbol t. In these cases the temporal relation is not relevant because the presupposition is realized in the dimension of simultaneity.

Conclusion

In this paper we have seen that the polysemy of the Italian adverb *ancora* is only apparent. It has a single lexical entry and all the different readings it can assume depend upon the context where it is inserted: each reading derives by compositionality of *ancora* basic meaning and the semantic properties of the argument structure of the verb.

I got to define the basic meaning of *ancora* by considering what element it has scope on: I showed, then, that in each reading the element falling under its scope is different.

I claim that the basic meaning of *ancora* is made up of two components: presupposition and addition. The entity falling under the scope of *ancora* is added to the one presupposed.

Then I have shown that there is a group of adverbs, *di nuovo*, *un altro*, *sempre*, *perfino*, *più* and conjunctions *e*, *con*, *tuttavia*, *anche* that share the same basic, general meaning found for *ancora*.

This is important with respect to the issue of parts of speech classification. It would be an example of the fact that adverbs and conjunctions are not categories completely isolated from each other and impermeable, but share some features. In this work I studied only a little number of adverbs and conjunctions but we have seen that they can be considered a homogeneous group on the basis of the semantic features they share. This is only a preliminary attempt to open the way to an integrated study of these two word classes to try to define a new classification on the basis of new criteria.

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