

# Redundant negation with *ne...quidem* in Classical Latin

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## 1. Introduction

Classical Latin is a Double Negation language: sentential negation is expressed by a single morphologically negative element (a negative marker, a negative adverb or a negative indefinite); if multiple morphologically negative elements occur in a sentence, they cancel each other out (Orlandini 2001: Ch. 1, Pinkster 2015: Ch. 8, Gianollo 2016). In (1), the co-occurrence of the negative indefinite *nemo* ‘nobody’ and the negative marker *non* ‘not’ results in a positive predication:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *nemo non cum parentibus suis querebatur, quod natus esset*  
nobody not with parents their complained because born was  
‘nobody did not complain with her/his parents, because s/he was born’ (literally) =  
‘everybody complained to their parents for having borne them’ (translation M. Winterbottom, Loeb edition)  
(Sen. Rhet. *contr.* 2.5.14)

In Early and Classical Latin, exceptions to this general system are very rare (Ernout and Thomas 1953: 154–155, Molinelli 1988), and typically justified as particularly emphatic statements, where the additional negative element can be analyzed as a weakly syntactically integrated afterthought (Orlandini 2001: 67–72; Gianollo 2018: 189–191).

Against this background, the behavior of the complex negative focus particle *ne...quidem* ‘not even, not either’ poses an interesting challenge, since with this particle redundant marking of negation is observed more often and, what is more important, in a systematic fashion. Orlandini (2001: 69) notes that redundancy is connected to word order in the clause: if the constituent containing *ne...quidem* follows the finite verb, the negative marker *non* precedes the verb in a single-negation reading; if, instead, the constituent containing

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<sup>1</sup> Latin examples are cited according to the editions in the Brepols electronic corpus (LLT-A). Glosses are simply meant to allow word-by-word reading of the examples, hence morphological information is omitted. Translations are as literal as possible; sometimes they are accompanied by a more perspicuous rendering taken from the translated texts in the Loeb electronic database (Loeb Classical Library).

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*ne...quidem* precedes the finite verb, no formal redundancy is observed and *ne...quidem* is the only expression realizing sentential negation (cf. 2–3).

- (2) ***non enim praetereundum est ne id quidem***  
not in.fact to.be.overlooked is NE this QUIDEM  
‘and also this should not be overlooked’  
(Cic. *Verr.* 1.155)

- (3) ***ne illud quidem praetermittam***  
NE that QUIDEM should.omit  
‘I must not fail to mention also this’  
(Cic. *Att.* 6.3.9)

Interestingly, thus, the distribution of negatively marked items here obeys an asymmetric pattern that, as suggested by Orlandini (2001: 69), is remindful of non-strict Negative Concord varieties, such as Italian. As recently remarked by Poletto (2022), non-strict Negative Concord poses thorny theoretical problems, connected to its general diachronic instability in Italo-Romance (Poletto 2020). An improved understanding of the determinants of asymmetry in the case of Latin *ne...quidem* could lead not only to a more precise characterization of the Latin system of negation, but also to advances in the analysis of (non-strict) Negative Concord.

In this work I study *ne...quidem* in a corpus of Classical Latin to assess the extent of the word order asymmetry seen above. I propose an analysis connecting formal redundancy to the syntax of focus in Classical Latin: specifically, I analyze patterns like (2) in terms of movement-mediated doubling, following Poletto (2008), and I attribute their existence to the interaction between the syntax of negation and focus. Moreover, I argue that Latin patterns like (2) may have played a role in the development of Romance Negative Concord.

Observations concerning the role of negative focus particles in bringing about redundancy in the marking of negation are not new in the literature. Already Jespersen (1917: 68, 73) mentions the Latin pattern *non...ne...quidem* seen in (2) in his discussion of multiple morphosyntactic realizations of sentential negation. He distinguishes various sub-classes of morphosyntactic redundancy, and assigns *non...ne...quidem* to the sub-class of ‘resumptive negation’. Resumptive negation is sharply distinguished from the sub-class of ‘cumulative negation’, that is, what we nowadays call negative concord (exemplified by Jespersen through Old English, Middle High German, Spanish, Classical Greek, a.o.). According to Jespersen,

differently from cumulative negation, resumptive negation is a form of ‘supplementary negation’ corresponding to what Delbrück (1897) calls *Ergänzungsnegation* and sometimes called ‘epexegetical’ in the literature (e.g. Orlandini 2001: 67–68): «In its pure form the supplementary negative is added outside the frame of the first sentence, generally as an afterthought, as in “I shall never do it, not under any circumstances, not on any condition, neither at home nor abroad”, etc.» (Jespersen 1917: 72). This resumptive pattern is observed especially with correlative negation (*neither...nor*) and with *not even*. However, sometimes resumptive negation may end up being more closely integrated into the main predication, empirically blurring the theoretical distinction between cumulative and resumptive negation: «But as no limits of sentences can be drawn with absolute certainty, the supplementary negative may be felt as belonging within the sentence, which accordingly comes to contain two negatives.» (Jespersen 1917: 72). In the Latin textual evidence, both loosely and more tightly integrated structures containing *ne...quidem* can be distinguished and will be attributed different status in my treatment.

The structure of the discussion is as follows: in Section 2 I summarize some preliminary information on the syntactic and semantic characteristics of *ne...quidem*, and I show how the patterns of ellipsis in correlative constructions can help identify some key aspects of the particle’s syntactic distribution; in Section 3 I present data from my corpus study, concerning the relation between the position of the particle and the emergence of redundancy; in Section 4 I propose an analysis for the redundant cases, based on specific assumptions on the structure of the Latin clause and on the role of the interaction between focus and negation. Section 5 concludes the discussion.

## **2. Latin *ne...quidem* as a discontinuous focus particle**

### *2.1 Basic morphosyntactic and pragmatic properties*

The behavior of Latin *ne...quidem* ‘not even’, ‘not either’ has attracted attention from scholars interested in the syntax-semantics interface by reason of its intricate behavior and its relationship with other elements of the Latin functional lexicon.

A first relevant aspect concerns its morphosyntactic makeup: *ne...quidem* is a discontinuous particle formed by the negative morpheme *ne* and the discourse particle *quidem*. Both elements raise some interpretive issues.

As concerns the negative morpheme, there is an apparent mismatch between its long vowel (*nē*), which seems to connect it to the modality-sensitive negative complementizer *nē*

‘lest’ used in imperatives, optatives, purpose clauses, etc. (see Orlandini 2001: Ch. 2), and its meaning and functional distribution, which instead overlaps with the semantic-syntactic contexts covered by the standard negative marker *non*. The solution here consists in etymologically connecting the negative morpheme in *ne...quidem* to the pre-historical standard negative marker \**ně* instead, which also represents the negative core of the historical standard negative marker *non* < \* *ně oenum* ‘not one’, of the negative indefinites (e.g. *nemo* < \**ně homo* ‘no man’), of verbs like *nescio* ‘ignore’, etc.; the long vowel synchronically seen in *nē...quidem* could be explained as a prosodically motivated lengthening (see Fruyt 2008 for this line of explanation). What is relevant for the following discussion is that *ne...quidem* suffices to negate a sentence by itself, cf. (3), providing an (emphatic) expression of sentential negation.

As concerns the discourse particle *quidem*, the difficulty consists in reconciling its function in combination with *ne* with its very frequent use as an ‘independent’ discourse particle, which can be rendered as ‘indeed’, ‘in fact’, ‘certainly’. When it is a component of the discontinuous negative particle, instead, it contributes an additive-scalar meaning comparable to the English focus particle ‘even’. The typical rhetorical function of *ne...quidem* is to provide a particularly emphatic statement consisting in the negation of a very likely / the most likely alternative, resulting in a striking assertion: for instance in (4) the focus value of *ne...quidem* is *unam potestatem* ‘one authority’, where ‘one’ is the minimal (that is, in principle most likely) value with respect to the faculty of controlling *comitia* (assemblies).

- (4) *hic homo popularis ne unam quidem populo comitiorum potestatem reliquit*  
 this man of.the.people NE one QUIDEM people assembly authority left  
 ‘this friend of the people has not left even one assembly authority to the people’  
 (Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.27)

The emphatic scalar component is clearly detectable in the very frequent correlative uses, which will be discussed later. In other cases, such as those seen in (2)–(3), the particle’s value is simply additive (‘neither’, ‘and also not’), with no scalar enrichment.

Orlandini (2001: Ch. 7) discusses the pragmatic values of *ne...quidem* in detail. Danckaert (2014, 2015) analyzes the pragmatic value of *quidem* in isolation and Danckaert & Gianollo (2021, *to appear*) study the differences with respect to the use in combination with *ne* and propose a diachronic account.<sup>2</sup> I will leave this issue aside, since it has no immediate

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<sup>2</sup> As both anonymous reviewers observe, there is an interesting semantic-pragmatic correlation between the positive use as expression of speaker’s certainty (‘indeed’, ‘certainly’) and the additive-scalar meaning emerging

bearing on the facts discussed here. What is relevant for the following discussion is that both attempts to a historical account and theoretical considerations tend to favor, in my opinion, an analysis according to which the relative scope of the particle's components is the mirror image of their linear ordering: namely, *quidem* has always scope over the entire proposition, in its independent use as well as in its use as an element of the complex particle; hence, it also scopes over the negative operator (see Devine & Stephens 2006: 266–277, 2019: 129–134; Gianollo 2017 for a discussion of scope facts).

A further relevant aspect has to do with the particle's discontinuous nature. In Classical Latin *ne* and *quidem* never occur adjacent: they embrace what Devine & Stephens (2006: 266–277) define as a prosodic word.<sup>3</sup> This unit may correspond to one or more morphological words (e.g. a preposition + another word, as e.g. in 8). That is, we find multiple morphological words between *ne* and *quidem* only if they form a prosodic word.<sup>4</sup> Semantically, the embraced unit can express the value on which the particle narrowly focuses (e.g. *id* 'this' in 2–3), but it can also be just a part of the focused phrase (its head, or a modifier, like *unam* in 4). The narrowly focused constituent can be of any category.

In order to account for these facts, Devine & Stephens (2006) treat *ne...quidem* as a focus particle and compare a purely phonological approach with a prosodically driven syntactic approach, opting for the latter. Here I follow Gianollo's (2017) version of the prosodically driven syntactic account, which incorporates the proposal introduced above concerning the respective scope of *quidem* and *ne*. The resulting internal structure for the particle is given in (5), cf. Gianollo (2017: 61).

In the proposal in (5), the particle's two components correspond to two layers of syntactic structure: Op–P hosts the negative morpheme *ne*, while *quidem* heads a hierarchically superior Focus projection. The structure created this way acts as a shell for the XP representing the narrow ordinary value for the focus. The negative morpheme cliticizes onto the XP (note that all outcomes of pre-historical \**ne* in Latin end up being clitic and eventually univerbated).

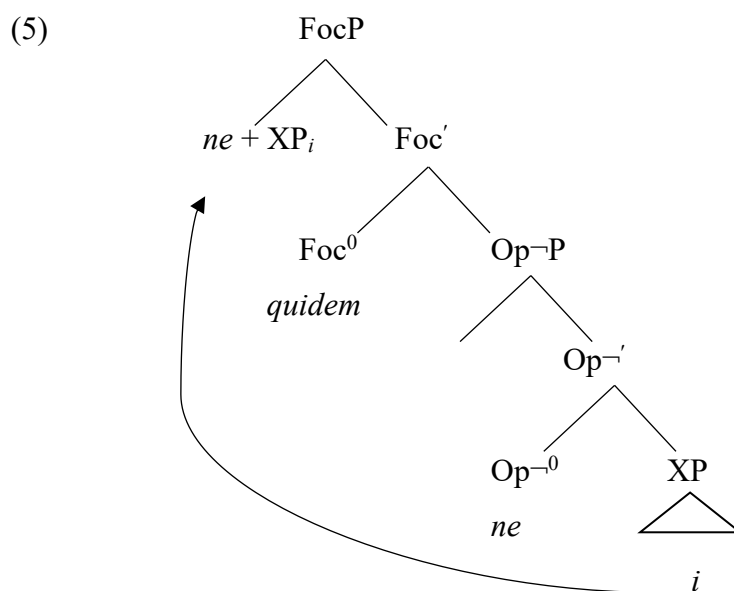
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in combination with *ne*, as both share a scalar component. Danckaert & Gianollo (*to appear*) propose a diachronic account according to which the expression of the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition emerges, through rhetorical over-use, from a more basic common-ground managing function. In turn, this development introduces scalarity in the meaning of *quidem*, as it comes to be used to mark the rhetorically strongest proposition.<sup>3</sup> In post-Classical texts adjacency between *ne* and *quidem* is occasionally observed and becomes more frequent in time (Pinkster 2015: 695–696). This is possibly the result of a process of reanalysis, which is, however, difficult to follow because *ne...quidem* decreases in frequency in Late Latin, also due to the increasing functional overlap between *ne...quidem* and *nec* 'not either', 'not even' in Late Latin (cf. Gianollo 2018: 239 for examples and references).

<sup>4</sup> Besides the already mentioned cases involving prepositions, multiple morphological words between *ne* and *quidem* are also found with complementizers, demonstratives, idiomatic combinations like *res publica* 'state', etc.. See Devine & Stephens (2006: 267–269) for fuller discussion.

In turn, *quidem* is a prosodically weak element that can act as an enclitic in Latin (see Danckaert 2014 for a more precise characterization of the particle’s prosodic properties). Hence, a prosodically motivated movement displaces the prosodic word formed by *ne* and the modified XP to a specifier preceding *quidem*, providing this way a prosodic host for it.

Note that in some cases only the XP’s edge is moved, with stranding of the remnant after *quidem*; e.g. in (4) only the numeral *unam* moves out of the DP *unam comitiorum potestatem*.<sup>5</sup> Given the ample possibilities of XP-internal scrambling in Latin, any element that can occupy the edge of the XP can be extracted out of it and moved with *ne* to the specifier preceding *quidem*.



The last point to be introduced concerns the particle’s external syntax, that is, its positioning in the clause. Devine & Stephens (2006: 225–235; 269–277) treat this topic under the heading ‘association with focus’. They identify various positions in the Classical Latin clause for ‘strong focus’, that is, pragmatically marked focus, such as a.o. focused material associated with focus particles, and state that “Latin exploits its free word order to impose clear structural requirements for association with focus-sensitive adverbs” (Devine & Stephens 2006: 312 fn. 12). Specifically, strong narrowly focused constituents, comprising constituents associated with *ne...quidem*, can be found in situ, or in a low (weak) focus position, or in a higher strong focus position in the operator layer of the clause. The latter would be most clearly instantiated in cases

<sup>5</sup> Observations on ‘postpositive’ elements in Devine & Stephens (2006: 262–277) suggest that this kind of movement to a specifier preceding the focus particle also applies elsewhere, e.g. with ‘only’ (*solum, modo*), ‘also’ (*quoque, etiam*), ‘however’ (*autem*).

where *ne...quidem* immediately follows complementizers, relative pronouns (cf. 6) or high topics, but would also be involved in at least some sentence-initial cases (Devine & Stephens 2006: 232).

- (6) *fortes et constantes viri, qui ne vivo quidem Trebonio Dolabellae latrocinium*  
 strong and resolute men who NE alive QUIDEM Trebonius Dolabella piracy  
*in Syriam penetrare sivissent*  
 in Syria penetrate would.allow  
 ‘men of courage and resolution, who would not have allowed Dolabella’s piracy to gain  
 entrance into Syria even while Trebonius was alive’  
 (Cic. *Phil.* 11.32)

Correlative structures, thanks to their overt marking of association with focus by means of particles, are particularly telling with respect to the particle’s position in the clause. I will discuss them in some detail in Section 2.2.

## 2.2. Correlative structures and ellipsis with *ne...quidem*

The use of *ne...quidem* is especially frequent in correlative structures, where its rhetorical potential is exploited. Correlative structures come in various forms: (i) lists of negated constituents, with *ne...quidem* most typically introducing the last item (cf. 7);<sup>6</sup> (ii) expressions of logical deductions in the form ‘not *x*, hence also not *y*’ or ‘if not *x*, then also not *y*’ or ‘not *x* because not even *y*’, etc. (cf. 8); (iii) contrastive correlations in the form ‘not only not *x*, but even not *y*’ (cf. 9). The latter is particularly frequent and especially interesting in light of the elliptical nature of the involved constituents, which yields some useful insights into the syntax of Latin negation.

- (7) *non excanduit, non vindicavit iniuriam, ne remisit quidem*  
 not flared.up not avenged wrong NE forgave QUIDEM  
 ‘He did not flare up, he did not avenge the wrong, he did not even forgive it’  
 (Sen. *dial.* 2.14.3)

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<sup>6</sup> Cases where *ne...quidem* introduces an item that is not last exist but are rare, e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.128.

(8) a. *nam si dicent per legem id non licere, ne per Corneliam quidem licet*  
 for if say by law this not be.allowed NE by Corneliam QUIDEM is.allowed  
 ‘If they say this is not allowed by the law, it certainly is not also by the Cornelian law’  
 (Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.78)

b. *si Nymphae, Panisci etiam et Satyri; hi autem non sunt; ne Nymphae quidem igitur*  
 if Nymphs Pans also and Satyrs they but not are NE Nymphs QUIDEM then  
 ‘if the nymphs are (gods), the Pans and Satyrs also are gods; but they are not gods;  
 therefore the nymphs also are not’  
 (Cic. *nat. deor.* 3.43)

(9) *hoc est non modo cor non habere, sed ne palatum quidem*  
 this is not only heart not have but NE palate QUIDEM  
 ‘This is not only not to have wits, but not even palate’  
 (Cic. *fin.* 2.28.91)

Contrastive correlation, as in (9), involves a kind of scalar reasoning. In the case of the Latin constructions with *non modo / non solum / non tantum non x, sed / vero ne y quidem* (‘not only not *x*, but even not *y*’), the alternative introduced by ‘not only’ is informationally and argumentatively weaker than the contrasted alternative introduced by ‘even not’ (cf. Touratier 1994: 541–543, Orlandini 2001: 223–230, Danckaert & Gianollo 2021, *to appear*). The value expressed by the contrasted constituent introduced by *ne...quidem* can be an extreme value of the contextually relevant scale (and in this case an ‘even’ flavor emerges, cf. 10), or it can be a non-extreme value (and in this case it can be rendered with additive ‘not either’, cf. 11).

(10) *itaque talis vir non modo facere sed ne cogitare quidem quicquam audebit*  
 therefore such man not only do but NE think QUIDEM anything will.dare  
*quod non audeat praedicare*  
 which not dare proclaim  
 ‘Such a man, therefore, will not dare not only to do, but even to think anything that he  
 would not dare to openly proclaim’  
 (Cic. *off.* 3.19.77)



- (11) *non modo frumenta in agris matura non erant, sed ne pabuli quidem*  
 not only corn in fields ripe not were but NE of.forage QUIDEM  
*satis magna copia suppetebat*  
 enough big quantity was.available  
 ‘not only were the corn-crops in the fields unripe, but there was not even a sufficient supply of forage to be had’  
 (Caes. Gall. 1.16.2)

In this pattern, both contrasted propositions are negative, that is, *ne...quidem* correlates with a previous negative antecedent (this seems to be the case for antecedents of *ne...quidem* in general, not only in contrastive correlation; cf. Danckaert & Gianollo *to appear*).<sup>7, 8</sup>

The positive counterpart to the *non modo non x, sed ne y quidem* pattern is a construction in which *non modo / non solum* ‘not only’ introduces a positive proposition, which is then contrastively correlated to another positive proposition by means of *sed* ‘but’ or *sed etiam* ‘but also’, as in (12) (cf. Devine & Stephens 2006: 262):<sup>9</sup>

- (12) *ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat*  
 others fear not curia only but also forum kept.away  
 ‘The fear kept the others away not only from the curia but also from the forum’  
 (Liv. 2.23.12)

We see, thus, that *ne...quidem* can be considered the negative counterpart of the additive particle *etiam* ‘also’ (cf. Orlandini 2001: 222, Devine & Stephens 2019: 129–134). Both the positive and the negative particle can be pragmatically strengthened by the addition of a contextually motivated scalar component. The contrastive construction itself, introduced by *sed*

<sup>7</sup> In speaking of ‘antecedent’, I do not exclude the possibility that the contrasted alternative actually linearly follows the alternative introduced by *ne...quidem*, which is attested, albeit much more rarely, e.g. in structures of the type ‘even not *x*, not just not *y*’ (cf. e.g. Cic. *div.* 2.113).

<sup>8</sup> In principle, it is possible to imagine situations in which the alternatives are of different polarity: for example, in English ‘Not only did she win the cross-country race, but she did not even fall during that race’ the alternative introduced by ‘not only’ is positive and it is still possible to build a rhetorical scale, since in the context of a cross-country race ‘winning’ can be construed as less noteworthy than ‘winning without falling’. However, I did not find similar examples of differing polarity in my Latin corpus. Further research is needed to assess whether this is due to chance or rather *ne...quidem* imposes a negative polarity constraint on the contrasted alternative.

<sup>9</sup> Note that, although same-polarity correlates are more frequent, there can be a mismatch in polarity, with the first correlate being formally negative: *non modo non x, sed etiam y*. E.g. *magni enim aestimabat pecuniam non modo non contra leges sed etiam legibus partam* (Cic. *fin.* 2.17.55) ‘he highly estimated a sum that was not only not against the laws, but also acquired thanks to the laws’ (here ‘not against’ results in a pragmatically positive value).

‘but’ (or *verum* ‘but’), invites this pragmatic enrichment, since, as mentioned, the second conjunct is expected to be rhetorically stronger (see Danckaert & Gianollo *to appear* for a more detailed discussion of the relation between *quidem* and contrast). While in replacive negation constructions (‘not *x* but *y*’), the second focus alternative corrects and replaces the first one, in the ‘not only (not) *x* but also (not) *y*’ pattern a focus alternative is added and asserted (not) to hold, as well the antecedent alternative. The negation in *not only* behaves as metalinguistic negation: it does not negate the propositional content, but the exhaustivity entailments contributed by *only* (cf. Horn 1989: 248–250, 385; cf. further Horn 1989: 402–413 on the role of metalinguistic negation in contrastive constructions).

As for the particles introducing the first conjunct in Latin, I treat *non* ‘not’ as a form of constituent negation modifying the focus particle ‘only’ (*modo* or *solum* or *tantum*) and negating exhaustivity (for *non modo* / *non solum* as complex focus particles, see Devine & Stephens 2006: 262–265). Importantly, here *non* has no influence on the polarity of the correlate, which can be positive (and in this case, typically, the second correlate will be introduced by *sed etiam*) or negative (and in this case, typically, *sed ne...quidem* will introduce the second correlate). This is in line with the metalinguistic nature of negation in ‘not only’, as metalinguistic negation is well known for having no effect on the polarity of the conjunct in its scope (Horn 1989: 397–402). In my analysis, this connects to its syntactic status as a form of constituent negation external to the conjunct proper.<sup>10</sup>

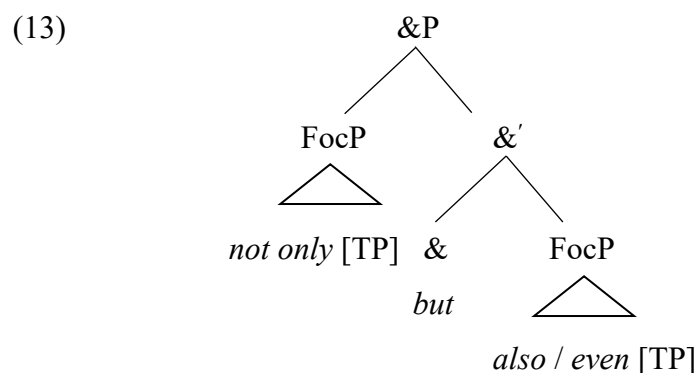
In the case of *ne...quidem*, instead, the negative operator contained in the particle has sentential scope over the whole correlate (which for this reason is necessarily negative). The logical structure of the correlation is therefore *not only* [not *x*], *but also* / *even* [not *y*], where *non* of *non modo* is outside the first correlate, whereas *ne* of *ne...quidem* scopes inside the second correlate. The ‘even’ (*quidem*) part scopes over the entire second correlate, hence also over negation.

The syntax of this kind of correlative structure can be analyzed along the lines of Bianchi & Zamparelli (2004), as schematically shown in (13). Each correlate is a TP which is taken as its complement by a focus particle hosted in a Focus Phrase; the narrowly focused constituent in each of the correlates may remain in situ or move to the Specifier of the Focus Phrase (Bianchi & Zamparelli’s ‘edge coordination’). In turn, the two Focus Phrases are coordinated by means of a functional projection &P, headed by ‘but’ in our case. The correlates are always

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<sup>10</sup> I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer, who pointed out to me how the metalinguistic nature of the negation in ‘not only’ can explain the lack of influence over the conjunct’s polarity, independently of the specific syntactic analysis adopted for *non* in *non solum*.

sentential, but one of the correlates may be subject to ellipsis phenomena (conjunction reduction).<sup>11</sup>



In negative correlations involving *ne...quidem*, ellipsis may take place in one of the correlates, leaving only the narrowly focused constituent as pronounced material and eliding the pragmatically given syntactic material.

Since, as we saw, *non* of *non modo* is outside the first correlate, the first correlate is expected to host a further expression of negation taking sentential scope within the correlate (recall that *ne...quidem* requires a negative antecedent). However, looking at the data we see that, if the correlate subject to ellipsis is the one introduced by *non modo*, this correlate may or may not contain an overt expression of negation (cf. Touratier 1994: 542–543). This is due to the way ellipsis applies. Compare (11), where ellipsis does not take place and the first correlate contains the negated predicate *non erant* ‘were not’, to (10), where the first correlate only contains the infinitive *facere*, with no overt negation. Clearly here we have an elliptical structure, where the two focused infinitives *facere* ‘do’ and *cogitare* ‘think’ are contrasted and the pragmatically recoverable material in the first correlate undergoes ellipsis; in order to obtain

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<sup>11</sup> Bianchi & Zamparelli (2004) also account for the fact that both correlates may appear to be reduced (e.g. may appear as DPs, like in (i)): according to their analysis, in this case the TP has moved out of the correlates (ATB-movement) to the Specifier of a Ground Phrase above &P, cf. (ii):

- (i) *I invited not only Mary, but also Lucy*  
(ii) [<sub>GroundP</sub> [I invited <sub>t<sub>i/j</sub></sub>]<sub>k</sub> [<sub>&P</sub> [<sub>FocP</sub> not only Mary<sub>i</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ] ] [& but [<sub>FocP</sub> also Lucy<sub>j</sub> [<sub>TP</sub> t<sub>k</sub> ]]]]]

For simplicity, I will not adopt this analysis in the case of Latin and I will assume that the TP is realized in one of the correlates and elided in the other. Note, however, that in (10) the positioning of the subject *talis vir* ‘such a man’ high in the structure before the correlating particles indeed suggests an analysis in terms of movement to a GroundP outside of the correlates.

the correct interpretation, we must assume that the negated predicate *non audebit* (together with the indefinite object of the infinitive) is elided in the first correlate, cf. (14), reproducing (10):<sup>12</sup>

- (14) *itaque talis vir non modo facere [quicquam non audebit] sed ne cogitare quidem*  
therefore such man not only do anything not will.dare but NE think QUIDEM  
*quicquam audebit quod non audeat praedicare*  
anything will.dare which not dare proclaim

That is, the two correlated propositions are: (i) *non audebit quicquam facere* ‘he did not dare to do anything’; (ii) *non audebit quicquam cogitare* ‘he did not dare to think anything’. In the second conjunct, though, the negation of *audebit* is realized by the *ne* morpheme in *ne...quidem*. Following a structural approach to ellipsis and treating it as deletion under identity with an antecedent, we have to suppose that in this case identity is evaluated at the level of the interpretational component (truth-conditional equivalence between elided material and antecedent), and holds despite the mismatch in the morphosyntactic realization of the negative operator in the two correlates. This morphosyntactic mismatch would be similar to the kind of inflectional variance (e.g. in phi-features, or in NPI / non-NPI realization of existential quantifiers) tolerated by ellipsis more in general (cf. Merchant 2013, Lipták 2015): the realization of the negative operator as *ne* would be an inflectional choice determined by the presence of the c-commanding particle *quidem*, similarly to the realization of existential quantification under negation as *anyone* in (15):<sup>13</sup>

- (15) *John didn't see anyone, but Mary did [see someone / \*see anyone]*

When the first conjunct introduced by *non modo* is not elliptical, negation can be realized by the sentential negative marker (cf. 11), but also by negative indefinites (cf. 16):

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<sup>12</sup> What is elided, therefore, is the remnant of a structure from which the infinitive has moved out, to land in the Specifier of the Focus Phrase.

<sup>13</sup> An anonymous reviewer casts some doubts on the proposed similarity, since the morphosyntactic makeup of a negative marker should be considered intrinsically negative, whereas inflectional variance is thought to apply to featurally dependent elements, as a form of agreement. What I am trying to capture here is that the ‘special’ realization of the negative operator as *ne* (as opposed to the standard realization as *non*) is indeed due to a syntactic relation with *quidem*.

- (16) *non modo nemo edixit, sed ne metuit quidem quisquam nequis ediceret*  
 not only nobody decreed but NE feared QUIDEM anybody that.someone decreed  
 ‘Not only nobody decreed it, but nobody has even feared that someone decreed it’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.111)

It is interesting to note, in connection with the issue of inflectional variance, that in (16) the indefinite in the first correlate is the negative indefinite *nemo*, negating by itself; it is paralleled, in the second conjunct, by the NPI *quisquam*. In the second conjunct the high position of realization for the negation (within *ne...quidem*) c-commands all the other polarity-sensitive elements in the clause, comprising the indefinite subject, which therefore receives an NPI realization. Similarly, see the contrast between the negative indefinite *nullus* (first correlate) and the NPI *ullus* (second correlate) in (17):

- (17) *non modo oppidum nullum, sed ne domus quidem ulla paulo locupletior*  
 not only town no but NE house QUIDEM any a.bit richer  
*expers huius iniuriae reperietur*  
 free.from this outrage will.be.found  
 ‘not only no single town, but no single house will be found, whose owner was at all well  
 off, that escaped this outrage’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.48)

This further confirms that the negative particle in *non modo* does not have any influence on the polarity of the introduced conjunct, whereas the negative particle in *ne...quidem* scopes inside the introduced conjunct.

Note that ellipsis can also apply in the conjunct introduced by *ne...quidem*, as in (9): in this case, however, differently from what we observed in the conjunct introduced by *non modo*, the elided material will never contain negation, since negation is expressed by the particle included by the fragment in the Specifier of the Focus Phrase that introduces the correlate. Touratier (1994: 542) observes that in these cases the predicate shared by both conjuncts ends up preceding *ne...quidem*, resulting linearly in a sequence where a negated verb precedes *ne...quidem*. These structures may superficially give the impression of redundancy in the marking of negation. However, if we treat the correlates as independent sentential constituents undergoing ellipsis, we see that structurally each constituent contains only one negation, cf. (18), reproducing (9):

- (18) *hoc est non modo cor non habere, sed ne palatum quidem [habere]*  
 this is not only heart not have but NE palate QUIDEM

To summarize in concluding this section, *ne...quidem* is an emphatic expression of negation, which negates a sentence by itself and can be used as a focus particle introducing alternatives in contrastive correlation. Both the semantic-pragmatic prerogatives and the syntactic properties of *ne...quidem* in contrastive correlative constructions lead to the assumption that *ne...quidem* can be realized in a high position in the clause that can be identified as a Focus position. I will come back to this hypothesis in Section 4, when I will analyze the redundant cases presented in Section 3.

### 3. The evidence for redundancy

#### 3.1 Aim of the study and methods for data collection

We are now in the position to go back to the almost-minimal pair seen in (2–3) and address the possible causes of the redundancy in the marking of negation observed in structures like (2). As discussed in Section 1, Orlandini (2001: 69) notes the correlation between the appearance of redundancy with the negative marker *non* and the post-verbal position of the constituent modified by *ne...quidem*: «Si la locution adverbiale [sc. the constituent introduced by *ne...quidem*] suit le prédicat, la négation *non* en tête de phrase est demandée». This distributional pattern leads her to draw an intriguing comparison with Italian non-strict Negative Concord, where a negative expression before the finite verb is required if another negatively marked expression follows the verb and the negative operator has to take sentential scope.

In this section I present the results of a small corpus study over the works by Cicero, in order to assess which patterns of redundancy are attested and to what extent the word order correlation holds. As mentioned in Section 1, redundant structures differ in the degree of integration of the constituent introduced by *ne...quidem* in the clause. Cases of loosely integrated resumptive negation (resumptive negation proper) do not qualify as structural redundancy in my approach, since they are due to (possibly elliptical) parenthetical material outside the main clausal spine.

I proceeded as follows: I used the LLT-A database, which allows to search for the co-occurrence of multiple forms within a given word span. I selected Cicero's works and I looked

for co-occurrences of *non*, *ne* and *quidem* in free order within a span of five words (Unordered Proximity Search: /5 *non ne quidem*). The five-word span allows for the presence of a sentential predicate after *non* and for the occurrence of multiple words between *ne* and *quidem*.<sup>14</sup>

My aim was to find structures in which *ne...quidem* co-occurs with the sentential negative marker *non*, to be able to check for the respective order and for the conditions of co-occurrence. This query retrieved 237 instances, which had to be cleaned up manually, since most of them were irrelevant.<sup>15</sup> After the manual filtering, 16 relevant instances remained. The low number is not surprising, as we are certainly dealing with a low-frequency phenomenon. Necessarily this kind of work cannot provide quantitatively relevant results, since after a time-consuming manual filtering operation the remaining relevant structures are very few, and one cannot exclude that more could be found within a larger word span. Nonetheless, some generalizations can be drawn based on the available evidence.

I also performed an additional query over Cicero's works in order to check possible patterns of redundancy with the negative indefinite *nemo* 'nobody', following the same method (Unordered Proximity Search: /5 *nem\* ne quidem*, where *nem\** retrieves all the inflected forms of the indefinite; 33 results, of which 7 are relevant).

In the discussion of the data below, I will sometimes integrate the occurrences extracted by the queries with additional examples from the literature or from less systematic queries over the texts. The behavior of redundancy found in Cicero is paralleled by my preliminary findings over a broader corpus of Early and Classical Latin authors (LLT-A period 'Antiquitas', until ca. 200 CE), which I queried by imposing a fixed order in which *non* precedes *ne...quidem* (Ordered Proximity Search: %5 *non ne quidem*), in order to keep the amount of extracted data within reasonable limits.

### 3.2 *The redundant patterns*

The 16 relevant instances of co-occurrence of *non* and *ne...quidem* in the same sentence can be classified as shown in (19):

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<sup>14</sup> Data collection is complicated by the particle's discontinuous nature, which hinders an automatic lexeme-based search on digitized text: despite being worth of 16 columns in the largest Latin dictionary, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL IX.1 s.v. *ne* pp. 320–336), *ne...quidem* is not lemmatized as such in Latin corpora. Searching separately for *ne* or for *quidem* is not helpful, given that *ne* is lemmatized together with the negative complementizer *nē* and positive *quidem* is a high-frequency particle, hence the queries retrieve too many irrelevant instances.

<sup>15</sup> In particular, the query retrieves many instances of *non* used as constituent negation in the structure *non modo x, sed ne y quidem*, in lists of negated constituents introduced by *non* and *ne...quidem*, and similar correlative constructions. As discussed in Section 2, in these cases there is no structural redundancy, hence these instances must be eliminated for the purposes of this specific study.

(19) Classification of co-occurrence of *non* and *ne...quidem*

- (i) parenthetic afterthought: 2 instances
- (ii) *non* > *ne* > *quidem*: 10 instances (all with single-negation reading)
- (iii) *ne* > *quidem* > *non*: 3 instances (all with double-negation reading)
- (iv) *ne* > *non* > *quidem*: 1 instance (double-negation reading)

A first important generalization emerges from this prospect: a single-negation reading is found only when *ne...quidem* follows *non* (pattern (ii)). The cases in (iii), where *ne...quidem* precedes *non*, yield a double-negation reading, as in the conditional clause in (20):

- (20) *nulla fraus est ne si iuratus quidem id non feceris*  
no deception is NE if sworn QUIDEM this not will.do  
'that is no deception, not even if you will not do it after having sworn'  
(Cic. *off.* 3.29.107)

Hence, cases in (iii) are not cases of redundancy in the realization of negation, since each negative element is a carrier of semantic negation.

The single case classed under (iv) is shown in (21):

- (21) *ut in foro et in iudicio quamquam praesidiis salutaribus et necessariis saepti*  
so.that in court and in jury though troops safeguarding and necessary surrounded  
*sumus, tamen ne non timere quidem sine aliquo timore possimus*  
are still NE not fear QUIDEM without some fear can  
'so that here in a court of law and before a jury, though surrounded by troops who are a  
safeguard and a necessity, still even not fearing is impossible for me without some fear'  
= 'still even my immunity from fear cannot but have a touch of fear in it' (translation  
N. H. Watts, Loeb edition)  
(Cic. *Mil.* 2)

Here the unusual word order is motivated by the fact that the element on which *ne...quidem* narrowly focuses is the negated infinitive *non timere* 'not fear', which ends up being embraced



by the discontinuous particle. The fact that *ne* precedes *non* is enough to convey an unambiguous double-negation reading.

The two cases in (i), one of which is given in (22), are only marginally relevant: I consider them afterthoughts, that is, examples of resumptive negation which lack full integration in the clause and, as stated in Section 3.1, result from parenthetical insertion of possibly elliptical material. In these cases redundancy, even in a Double Negation language like Latin, is not surprising and is not expected to yield diachronically significant developments.

- (22) *Cum autem omnes non possint, ne multi quidem, aut iuris periti esse aut disert*  
though then all not can NE many QUIDEM either law experts be or eloquent  
'But though not all —not even many— can be learned in the law or eloquent'  
(Cic. *off.* 2.19.67)

Incidentally, these cases are more frequent, in Cicero and in the rest of my Classical Latin corpus, after negative indefinites (cf. 23) and negative adverbs, often immediately following them (in 23.a adjacency is interrupted by a second-position particle, which does not create true syntactic discontinuity in Latin, cf. Gianollo 2005: 68, 89).

- (23) a. *nil igitur ne ei quidem litterarum?*  
no then NE to.him QUIDEM letters  
'no letters not even to him?'  
(Cic. *Att.* 13.24.1)

- b. *adventus noster fuit nemini ne minimo quidem sumptui*  
arrival our was to.nobody NE minimal QUIDEM expense  
'My coming caused nobody even the slightest expense'  
(Cic. *Att.* 5.14.2)

Veritable instances of redundancy, with a single-negation reading, are exemplified in (24–26). In these cases, like in (2), only one semantic negative operator is present in the logical structure.

- (24) *Non habes ne ex his quidem hominibus qui nuper fuerunt*  
 not have NE from these QUIDEM men who just were  
*ullum auctorem istius aestimationis*  
 any exemplar such appraisalment  
 ‘You do not have even from these men who are our contemporaries any exemplar of  
 such appraisalment (of the corn’s value)’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.210)
- (25) *Non fugio ne hos quidem mores*  
 not refuse NE these QUIDEM uses  
 ‘I do not refuse even these standards of behaviour’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.210)
- (26) *non dicam ne illud quidem*  
 not will.say NE that QUIDEM  
 ‘I won’t even say that’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.20)

Of the 10 instances classed under (ii), 4 are found in contexts involving embedding under a modal verb (*oportere* ‘be necessary’, *posse* ‘be possible’) or, in one case shown in (27), the verb *intellego* ‘understand, perceive’.

- (27) *non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem*  
 not perceive NE in these QUIDEM very pleasures lack appreciation old.age  
 ‘I am not aware that old age is wanting in appreciation even in the case of these very  
 pleasures’  
 (Cic. *Cato* 46)

In these contexts, a number of factors, such as clause union, neg-raising, the presence of correlative elements or of predicates with an intrinsically negative semantics like *carere* ‘lack’ in (27), may contribute to redundancy in the marking of negation and require an *ad hoc* analysis, therefore I will leave these examples aside here.<sup>16</sup> I will just note that in Classical Latin it is in

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<sup>16</sup> The remaining three are Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.72; Cic. *Mil.* 78; Cic. *Att.* 9.13.2.

principle possible for the infinitive embedded under a modal verb like *posse* to be negated independently of the governing modal, cf. (28), where the infinitive is negated by *non*. However, when the infinitive is accompanied by *ne...quidem*, it is not actually negated; *ne...quidem* ends up emphatically reinforcing the negated modal verb, as in (29), without contributing an independent negative operator.

(28) *sed tamen quae tum acta sunt non possum non probare*  
 but though what then done were not can not approve  
 ‘all the same I can’t but approve of what was done on that occasion’  
 (Cic. *fam.* 13.20.4)

(29) *quidam tam mites sunt, ut non possint in caput ne testimonium quidem dicere*  
 some so gentle are that not can in capital.sentence NE testimony QUIDEM say  
 ‘some are so gentle that they cannot even give testimony in a court case involving capital punishment’  
 (Sen. *Rhet. contr.* 7.1.14)

Concentrating our attention on the more straightforwardly mono-clausal cases in (ii), the data from Cicero as well as from the supplementary Classical Latin corpus show that the pattern occurs with a wide array of predicates, which leads to conclude that the predicate’s meaning has no particular influence. In some cases, the predicate itself raises negative implications (*praetereo* ‘overlook’; *desino* ‘desist’; *fugio* ‘avoid’) which could be argued to contribute to the redundancy; however, we also find ‘neutral’ predicates like *dico* ‘say’, *habeo* ‘have’, *gaudeo* ‘rejoice’, etc.. It is also possible to note that the sentences are relatively simple, so that it is not plausible to assume an anacoluthon.

As for the positioning within the clause, we observe, first of all, that the data (both in Cicero and in the supplementary Classical Latin corpus) confirm Orlandini’s (2001: 69) observation that in the redundant cases the negative marker *non* is found at the beginning of the sentence.

Furthermore, in all the 6 examples from Cicero *ne...quidem* follows the finite verb. This seems to be the case also in the supplementary Classical Latin corpus. The case in (30), where instead both *non* and *ne...quidem* precede the finite verb, should probably receive an explanation in terms of a cleft structure, as it is found in a rhetorical question (‘Isn’t it true that...’):

- (30) *et cum illum contumeliae sexus eripuisse debuerat, non ne aetas quidem eripiet?*  
 and though him abuse sex take.away should.have not NE age QUIDEM take.away  
 ‘and although his sex should have saved him from this abuse, not even age will save him?’  
 (Sen. *epist.* 122.7)

Things are different when we consider the examples where *ne...quidem* follows a negative indefinite. In this case, both elements can be found preceding the finite verb, as in (31), and the determining factor in the positioning seems to be the strong preference for *ne...quidem* to occur immediately following the (phrase hosting the) negative indefinite.

- (31) *me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit umquam*  
 me indeed nothing of.these NE young QUIDEM moved ever  
 ‘As for me, even when I was young I was never attracted by anything of that sort’  
 (Cic. *fam.* 9.26.2)

In the case of redundancy with negative indefinites, thus, we do not necessarily have an asymmetry between the pre- and post-verbal positioning. However, the generalization still holds that in the linear order *ne...quidem* always follows the indefinite, independently of the degree of syntactic integration (cf. Gianollo 2018: 268).

Finally, although the pattern of redundancy with *non* in the case of post-verbal *ne...quidem* is remarkably systematic, I did find one case, shown in (32), in which *ne...quidem* follows the finite verb without it being preceded by *non*:

- (32) *nam habeo ne me quidem ipsum quicum tam audacter communicem quam te*  
 for have NE me QUIDEM self with.whom so boldly talk than you  
 ‘for I don’t have even myself to talk to so unrestrainedly as to you’  
 (Cic. *Att.* 12.36.1)

Further research, investigating in detail the positioning of *ne...quidem* in the clause, will have to assess if there are more cases like this and if the apparent optionality can receive a principled explanation.

#### 4. Analysis of the redundant cases

The basic intuition on which my analysis of the redundant cases relies is that the focusing nature of *ne...quidem* plays a crucial role in the redundancy patterns. This happens not only in the loosely integrated cases of resumptive negation, which are due to parenthetical material inserted as an afterthought for correction or emphasis, but also in the more tightly integrated cases (most clearly, those cases in which the element narrowly focused by *ne...quidem* is an argument of the verb), where the particle contributes an additive or a scalar component. Focus enables the creation of an interpretive chain between two negatively marked elements, an option which is otherwise unavailable in a Double Negation language like Latin. Differently from Gianollo (2018: 263–278), where I interpreted this dependency as a case of Focus Concord, here I argue that in Classical Latin we are dealing with a case of semantically motivated doubling, and Focus Concord only emerges at a subsequent stage of reanalysis, as a prelude to Romance Negative Concord.

In order to reach a formal implementation of the intuition concerning the interplay of focus and negation in the redundant patterns, I have to shortly introduce my main assumptions concerning Classical Latin clause structure. First of all, I assume that, notwithstanding the well-known flexibility of Latin word order, the unmarked linear order is verb-final (that is, TP-final), and I derive it following Danckaert’s (2012, 2017) proposal, according to which the entire VP raises to a functional projection above TP for EPP satisfaction. The assumed structure is schematically represented in (33):

(33) [CP ... [FocP ... [FP [VP S O V]<sub>i</sub> [Op-P [TP [VPFocP [VP t<sub>i</sub> ]]]]]]]]]

The head of TP is occupied either by a synthetic finite form of the lexical verb, or by an auxiliary (see further Devine & Stephens 2006: 25–29, Ledgeway 2012: 119–150, Danckaert 2017: Ch. 1 for the debated status of TP in Latin). The (remnant) VP raises to FP for EPP-related requirements. This way, the verb’s arguments end up linearly preceding the negative marker *non*, which has a phrasal status and attaches to the TP projection, in the position labelled Op-P in (33) (Gianollo 2018: Ch. 4).

With many other scholars (including Polo 2004, Salvi 2004, Devine & Stephens 2006, Spevak 2010, Ledgeway 2012), I assume that focus causes displacement in Latin. As we saw in Section 2, it is possible to identify two Focus Phrases. One is located in the high left periphery and leads to the positioning of elements expressing ‘strong’ focus either at the immediate

beginning of the clause or following a topic-like constituent. In addition, Devine & Stephens (2006: 225–235) provide evidence for a lower Focus position, which they consider VP-peripheral, and which hosts weak focus (that is, pragmatically unmarked elements that belong to the rhematic part of the clause) in instances of neutral word order. This position, labelled VPFOcP in (33), is parallel to the Focus projection in the low IP area proposed by Belletti (2004) for contemporary Italian and shown by Poletto (2014) to account for residues of OV in Old Italian. In addition, elements may be focused in situ (cf. also Salvi 2004: 47–50).

Also the negative marker *non* can occupy the high Focus position, for instance when it is clause-initial and separated from the verb by one or more constituents (Gianollo 2018: 184–186).

Going back to the redundant cases, I assume that *non* occupies the high Focus position in the fully integrated instances like (24–26). I repeat (26) as (34) below for ease of reference:

- (34) *non dicam ne illud quidem*  
 not will.say NE that QUIDEM  
 ‘I won’t even say that’  
 (Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.20)

Recall that in these and similar cases *non* is found at the beginning of the clause, either as the first constituent or following topic-like elements and second-position particles (Gianollo 2018: 268). Since in the redundant cases *non* is always adjacent to the verb, it is plausible that the whole complex formed by the negation and the verb is raised to the high Focus position.

As for the post-verbal constituent introduced by *ne...quidem* in the redundant examples (e.g. 34), it can be either in situ or in the low Focus position on top of the VP.<sup>17</sup> In principle, it could also be in the FP position (reached for EPP-related requirements), if we assume that the verb raises further, together with *non*, to FocP, linearly preceding the constituent introduced by *ne...quidem*. However, I think that it is more plausible to assume that its obligatorily focused status allows the argument to escape the EPP-related VP movement to the FP landing site preceding the inflected verb, remaining in the lower TP phase. At the same time, this position seems to create a problem for the appropriate computation of the scope of focus and negation alike, given that when *ne...quidem* remains postverbal it systematically co-occurs with clause-initial *non* (with rare exceptions, cf. 32).

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<sup>17</sup> Having it in the low VP-peripheral position would allow a unification with cases of minimizers in the NegP2 position discussed by Zanuttini (1997) and Poletto (2008).

In order to provide a motivation for the ensuing redundancy in the marking of negation, I propose that in these cases clause-initial *non* is required for setting the correct sentential scope that negation has to take in order to obtain the intended interpretation in sentences like (24–26), and to let the scopal domain of negation and focus coincide. I interpret the configuration yielding redundancy as an instance of semantically motivated doubling, analyzed as the spell-out of multiple copies of the same item. Accordingly, the redundancy involving *non* and *ne...quidem* would be a case of doubling involving an interpretive dependency between morphologically non-identical forms, such as those investigated by Poletto (2008).

Poletto (2008) puts forward an analysis of these cases in terms of splitting, that is, splitting of higher and lower portion of a complex constituent and remnant movement of one of the portions (the lower in the cases she studies, involving doubling with clitics, *wh*-items, negation), e.g. to satisfy Operator positions. Specifically for negation, Poletto (2008) proposes to interpret instances of discontinuous negation as forms of doubling deriving from the splitting of a complex (internally layered) NegP.

For the Latin case at stake, this amounts to postulating that the negative operator contained in the Op–P projection inside the particle’s structure proposed in (5) moves out of the particle (without violating Lexical Integrity, since the particle is discontinuous and internally complex), and is spelled out as *non* in a high Focus projection. At the same time, the lower copy (*ne*) is still pronounced, yielding a doubling configuration; recall from Section 2 that, in discussing the ellipsis cases, we already came to the conclusion that there is interpretational equivalence between *ne* and *non*, which can be considered inflectional variants.

Since, as mentioned, it is plausible that *non* and the verb form a complex when they are clause-initial (that is, in FocP) in the redundant configurations, the movement of *non* finds an intermediate landing site in the sentential Op–P indicated in (33), where the complex with the finite verb is formed.

In the proposed account, movement is a way to derive the presence of multiple copies of the same negation operator as the spell out of multiple sites for it when it combines with a focus operator. One site is the site of attachment of the negative focus particle to the narrowly focused constituent (a constituent that we analyzed as sitting in situ or in the low VP-peripheral Focus projection); the other site is the high Focus projection in the clausal left periphery. An interpretive chain holds between the two positions, involving both focus and negation. This way, the single-negation reading is obtained without resorting to formal features, a welcome result in light of the Double Negation nature of Latin and a point to which I will come back in concluding this section.

In commenting (32), we observed that the clause-initial realization of *non* in case of postverbal *ne...quidem* must be optional to a certain extent. That is, under certain pragmatic conditions, to be clarified by means of further data collection, post-verbal *ne...quidem* can take sentential scope even in the absence of the pre-verbal negative marker.

As for the lower copy (*ne*), is it obligatory or optional? Since *quidem* exists as an independent particle, in principle we could expect to find configurations where clause-initial *non* co-occurs with simple *quidem* in the same sentence. These configurations are possible at all stages of Latin, and frequent in archaic texts (where, conversely, *ne...quidem* is found more rarely than during the Classical stage, cf. Danckaert & Gianollo 2021). Danckaert & Gianollo (*to appear*) discuss cases of co-occurrence of simple *quidem* with various negative elements, comprising *non*, in negative sentences (cf. 35), and show that in these cases *quidem* has a different pragmatic value: it functions as a lexical marker of common ground (‘indeed’, ‘in fact’, ‘certainly’) to indicate (expected) uncontroversiality, exactly as in positive polarity contexts. The scalar enrichment found with *ne...quidem* is absent.

- (35) *Non erat illud quidem verum*  
 not was that QUIDEM true  
 ‘That was certainly not true’  
 (Cic. *Sest.* 122)

Hence, it seems that the lower copy *ne* is needed in the cases like (24–26) where, unambiguously, what is required is scalar focus expressed by the complex particle *ne...quidem* (and not by *quidem* alone, which has a different pragmatic value, cf. Section 2.1).

In turn, the post-verbal positioning of the narrowly focused constituent introduced by *ne...quidem*, which in the unmarked, non-redundant cases, typically surfaces pre-verbally, must have a pragmatic motivation. What is possible to observe across the instances retrieved by the corpus study is that in Cicero the constituent on which *ne...quidem* narrowly focuses is always represented by a deictic element (*illud* ‘that’; *hic* ‘this’; *id* ‘this’); this is not an absolute rule in the supplementary Classical Latin corpus, but the phenomenon is widespread there as well. Possibly, then, text-internal anaphoric-cataphoric relations motivate the post-verbal positioning in these cases (the referential function is indeed often cataphoric).

Note that in Classical Latin negative items different from *ne...quidem* (and from *non*) can appear post-verbally and still ensure that negation obtains sentential scope. As shown in Gianollo (2018: 193), the post-verbal positioning of pronominal and determiner-like negative



indefinites is dispreferred but possible, and these elements are the only exponents of sentential negation in the clause; cf. (36), where the sentence-final negative indefinite appears to be emphatically focused.

- (36) *Miseroiorem ego ex amore quam te vidi **neminem***  
more.miserable I from love than you saw nobody  
'I've never seen anyone more lovesick than you'  
(Plaut. *Cas.* 520)

This fact leads me to the conclusion that the necessity to mark the scope of negation pre-verbally is not a generalized requirement in Classical Latin; rather, the mechanism yielding redundant negation with *non* and *ne...quidem* must be specifically motivated by some distinguishing quality of *ne...quidem*, which appears to be the only element yielding systematic redundancy when post-verbal. This quality, I believe, consists in its being an intrinsically focused expression of negation, in virtue of the additive-scalar operator lexically combining with negation, according to the analysis I gave in Section 2. Negative indefinites, on the contrary, are not intrinsically focused. They can receive focus due to discourse dynamics, but they do not encode it lexically.

Note, in this connection, that redundancy involving a negative indefinite and *ne...quidem* of the kind exemplified in (23) and (31) appears to have a different nature than redundancy involving *non* and *ne...quidem*. As observed in Section 3.2, when *ne...quidem* co-occurs with negative indefinites, its syntactic integration is looser, and redundancy can be found independently of the pre- vs. post-verbal positioning of *ne...quidem*. Moreover, typically the negative indefinite (be it a nominal or an adverbial element) and *ne...quidem* are adjacent, with *ne...quidem* and the constituent it introduces immediately following the negative indefinite. These cases are remindful of instances of emphatic negation observed by Zeijlstra (2004: 67–73) in a Double Negation language like Dutch, which are also subject to an adjacency constraint. According to Zeijlstra, in at least some of these cases the two negative elements form a single constituent. Also Giannakidou (2006: 356), in commenting a similar example from German, observes that also in this Double Negation language negative quantifiers “occasionally form branching structures”.<sup>18</sup> I will refrain from proposing an analysis of the

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<sup>18</sup> I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for pointing me to Giannakidou’s discussion of this point.

Latin cases involving negative indefinites at this stage, but I think that it is quite clear that scope marking does not play a role here, differently from the cases involving doubling with *non*.

To sum up, what the proposed analysis captures is that:

- (i) a semantic dependency is created between a lower and a higher exponent of negation, resulting in a single-negation reading;
- (ii) the higher negation exponent is realized in a high position in the clause (identified as a left-peripheral Focus Projection) to mark the scope of focused sentential negation;
- (iii) the lower negative particle is attached to the narrowly focused constituent that represents the ordinary semantic value from which the focus semantic value, that is, the set of alternatives, is computed.

To conclude, let me go back to the supposed similarity between redundant cases involving *non* and *ne...quidem* in Classical Latin on the one hand, and non-strict Negative Concord in a language like Italian on the other hand. According to my proposal, the two mechanisms are different: redundancy in Latin comes about as the result of movement-mediated doubling, creating two copies of the same element; Romance Negative Concord, instead, is the result of an operation of Agree between formal negative features characterizing the relevant portion of the functional lexicon (Zeijlstra 2004). Importantly, in the Latin redundancy cases the involved elements have identical semantic content (focus and negation), whereas Negative Concord creates dependencies among elements with distinct semantic content (a negative marker and an existential pronoun, for instance). Moreover, Negative Concord can involve multiple elements (e.g., a negative marker and more than one existential pronoun), whereas we never encountered more than two elements in the Latin redundant constructions.

This, however, does not exclude the possibility of a diachronic connection between the two phenomena. The point under (i), that is, the nature of the semantic dependency, is especially important in a diachronic perspective. In Gianollo (2018: 263–278) I proposed that a form of Focus Concord applies in the redundant cases involving *ne...quidem*, as well as in the redundant cases increasing in post-Classical Latin and involving the negative focus particle *nec* ‘not even, not either’. Focus Concord involves a pair of [iFoc, uFoc] formal features, which would originally implement the semantic dependency through Agree. In turn, this dependency would be diachronically reanalyzed as also involving a pair of negative [iNeg, uNeg] formal features, providing the trigger to assume Negative Concord across the board. In the analysis presented here, I have revised Gianollo’s (2018) conclusions, proposing a way to derive the single-negation reading without resorting to formal features at the Classical Latin stage. Focus

Concord can be considered a subsequent stage in the diachronic development, belonging to the Late Latin stage (from the IV cent. CE on), that is, closer to the time when the further, natural reanalysis as Negative Concord actually happens.

## 5. Conclusions

The syntax of the Latin discontinuous focus particle *ne...quidem* ‘not even, not either’ stands out as a particularly intricate phenomenon of Classical Latin grammar, which can provide insights on the nature of the interaction between focus and negation, as well as on general aspects of Latin clause structure and word order. In this paper I first provided an overview of its semantic-pragmatic properties and of its positioning in the clause; the discussion of contrastive correlative structures helped determine a default high positioning of *ne...quidem* in the clausal left periphery and its relation with the syntax of focus. I then presented the results of a small corpus study investigating in particular the patterns of redundancy in the marking of negation observed with *ne...quidem*, that is, of single-negation readings in cases in which *ne...quidem* co-occurs with other morphosyntactic exponents of negation. Word order was shown to be a determining factor in the appearance of redundancy: when *ne...quidem* occupies a lower position in the clause, remaining in situ or being hosted by a low VP-peripheral Focus Phrase, it quite systematically co-occurs with another higher expression of negation. In particular, when it co-occurs with *non* in a single-negation reading, *non* sits in a high Focus Phrase and builds an interpretive chain with it. I proposed an analysis according to which the semantic dependency is obtained through movement-mediated doubling, motivated by the necessity of marking the sentential scope of negation and focus alike. Differently from Negative Concord, no Agree between formal features is involved, but the redundant pattern sets the prerequisites for its further reanalysis in this direction.

The case of doubling with Latin *ne...quidem* is reminiscent of an observation formulated by Poletto (2008: 44): «doubling occurs more frequently with those elements that have more functional information. The more an element has a complex feature composition (which is of semantic origin, but is reflected into its syntax, i.e., in the number of internal functional projections that contain a feature and in its morphological makeup) the more probable doubling will be». In the Latin case specifically, interaction of negation and focus in a complex element like *ne...quidem* was shown to yield the doubling pattern.

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