Focus-sensitive negation in Latin

Chiara Gianollo
Università di Bologna
chiara.gianollo@unibo.it

Abstract

Classical Latin displays negative particles, like *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* 'neither, not even', that can express sentential negation while at the same time narrowly focusing on some constituent of the clause. These particles are multifunctional elements that can express various types of focus (additive or scalar) and, in the case of *neque / nec*, also have a coordinative and a discourse-structuring function. In this work I investigate the complex interplay of semantic and syntactic factors that govern their distribution and interpretation. I single out the structural and meaning-related contextual conditions favoring the additive or the scalar interpretation, and I propose an analysis of the complex internal structure of the particles. I also discuss the diachronic implications of my analysis, in particular with respect to the role played by the Romance continuations of *nec*.

Keywords: negation; focus; additive particles; scalar particles; correlative negation

Resum. *La negació sensible al focus en llatí*

El llatí clàssic disposa de partícules negatives com ara *neque / nec* i *ne … quidem* 'ni, ni tan sols', que poden expressar la negació oracional i, alhora, presentar focus estret en algun component de l'oració. Aquestes partícules són elements multifuncionals que poden expressar diversos tipus de focus (additiu o escalar) i, en el cas de *neque / nec*, també tenen una funció coordinativa i d'estructuració del discurs. En aquest treball investigo la complexa interacció dels factors semàntics i sintàctics que regeixen la seva distribució i interpretació. Destaco les condicions estructurals i les contextuals relacionades amb el significat que afavoreixen la interpretació additiva o l'escalar, i proposo una anàlisi de l'estructura interna complexa de les partícules. També tracto de les implicacions diacròniques de la meva anàlisi, en concret amb relació al paper que tenen les continuacions romàniques de *nec*.

Paraules clau: negació; focus; partícules additives; partícules escalars; negació correlativa

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1. Introduction

The vast array of functional elements making up the Latin negation system comprises the negative particles *neque* (with its shortened form *nec*) and *ne…quidem*, both of which can be rendered as 'neither', 'not even', depending on the context, cf. the examples in (1).

(1) a. Caput   dolet   **neque** audio   **nec**   oculis   prospicio satis.
       head:NOM hurt:3SG and.not hear:1SG and.not eyes:ABL see:1SG   well
       'I have a headache, I can't hear, and I can't see well with my eyes'
       (Pl. Amph. 1059)

   b. **ne** id   **quidem** neglegendum est
       not this:NOM QUIDEM disregard:GER be:3SG
       'Neither should one disregard this' (Cic. de orat. 2.192)

My aim in this paper is to investigate the conditions of use of these particles, which disclose interesting phenomena at the syntax-semantics interface. I show that *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* qualify as focus-sensitive particles in their core uses. More precisely, *ne…quidem* is a focus particle in all contexts, whereas *neque / nec* is also employed as a discourse-structuring connective and only later develops uses as stand-alone focus particle. In their use as focus particles, both *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* can have an additive interpretation ('neither' = 'also not') or convey a scalar component ('even not'). I define the relations between the different uses of the particles on the basis of the contextual conditions determining their various readings. I then propose a parsimonious syntactic implementation thereof: I analyze the complex internal structure of the particles, which is more visible in the case of the discontinuous *ne…quidem* but is paralleled also by bimorphemic *neque / nec*, and I discuss how the particles are integrated in the clausal structure. I also consider the diachronic significance of the phenomena under investigation, in particular in view of the role that *nec* plays for the Romance developments.

The discussion will proceed as follows: section 2 provides a first introduction to the Classical Latin system of negation and defines the notion of focus-sensitive negation applied to the particles under investigation, as well as other notions that will be necessary for the analysis. Section 3 is devoted to *ne…quidem* and deals especially with the syntax of focus-sensitive negation. Section 4 addresses the more complex case of *neque / nec*, which shows a broader set of uses: here semantic-pragmatic criteria will be singled out to account for the various interpretations, and a syntactic analysis will be proposed, highlighting the parallelism with *ne…quidem*. Section 5 discusses the diachronic implications of the analysis provided for Classical Latin, and section 6 shortly summarizes the conclusions reached.

The Latin examples are cited according to the editions in the LLT-A database. The translations reproduce or reflect as close as possible those provided by the LOEB editions and available in the LOEB electronic database. The period referred to as Classical Latin corresponds, roughly, to the 'Antiquitas' period in the LLT-A

database (until the end of the 2nd cent. CE). Occasionally, I further distinguish the sub-periods Early Latin (until the 2nd cent. BCE) and Imperial Latin (from the 1st cent. CE to the end of the 2nd cent. CE).

2. The Classical Latin system of negation and focus

2.1. *The focus-sensitivity of negation*

Latin is a Double Negation language: each negatively marked element introduces a semantic negative operator. This means that negatively marked indefinite pronouns, determiners, and adverbs, like e.g. *nemo* 'no one', *nihil* 'nothing', *nullus* 'no', *numquam* 'never', negate a clause by themselves, without co-occurring with a negative marker and independently of their position in the clause.[1] In (2), for instance, a post-verbal negative indefinite with object function is able to convey sentential negation by itself:

(2) vocet   convivam **neminem** illa,   tu   voces
     invite:3SG guest:ACC nobody:ACC she:NOM you:NOM invite:2SG
     'She shall not invite any guest; you shall invite them' (Plaut. Asin. 768)

Co-occurrence between a negative indefinite and the negative marker (Latin *non* 'not') systematically leads to Double Negation readings in stylistically marked constructions like the following:

(3) Platon   ait   **neminem**   regem   **non** ex   servis   esse
     Plato:NOM say:3SG nobody:ACC king:ACC not   from slaves:ABL be:INF
     oriundum
     descended:ACC
     'Plato says that there is no king who does not originate from slaves' (= 'Every king springs from a race of slaves') (Sen. epist. 44.4)

In this, Latin is more similar to languages like German and Dutch than to the Romance daughter languages, which display Negative Concord systems since the first attestations.

The negative particles *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* conform to the Double Negation system of Latin and typically suffice to negate a clause by themselves, as seen in (1). Indefinites in their scope are negative polarity items like *quisquam* or *ullus* 'any'. However, they also display phenomena of redundancy in the realization of negation, whereby multiple negatively marked elements co-occur, but only one negation operator is present in the semantic representation, as in (4):

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1. For a thorough description of the system of Latin negation see Orlandini (2001a), Devine & Stephens (2013: ch. 8), Pinkster (2015: ch. 8). For a generative theoretical analysis see Gianollo (2016a).

(4) **Non** enim   praetereundum est   **ne** id   **quidem**
    not   indeed overlook:GER   be:3SG not this:NOM QUIDEM
    'and the following occurrence should not be overlooked' (Cic. Verr. 2.60)

Also due to this latter fact, Latin focus-sensitive negation particles are very interesting from a diachronic perspective. The redundancy they display is quite systematic since an early age, and independent of register. It is very likely to have played a role in the development towards the Romance Negative Concord systems, especially in consideration of the fact that *nec* represents a formative of those Romance n-words that are negatively marked (e.g. Spanish *ningún*, Italian *niente*). In Gianollo (2016b) I have proposed an account for these cases that capitalizes on the focus-sensitivity of *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem*. In this paper, however, I will mainly deal with the uses conforming to the general Double Negation system of Latin, with the aim of reaching a preliminary understanding of the structural and semantic properties of these particles. In section 5, when the diachronic aspects will be discussed, I will come back to the issue of redundancy and shortly discuss how the focus-sensitivity of *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* might be held responsible for the peculiar interaction with the expression of negation.

A note of caution is in order concerning the label 'focus-sensitive negation' that I use to refer to particles like *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem*. In fact, the expression of negation is always 'focus-sensitive', in the sense that it is sensitive to the background-focus partition of the clause. Under the most natural reading, sentential negation targets the information focus (Kiss 1998), i.e. the scope of event quantification (Herburger 2011). The scope of sentential negation, thus, overlaps with the information focus of the clause.

In Latin, this reading corresponds to the default position of the standard negative marker *non* before the finite verb (Kühner & Stegmann 1966: II.1,818). The example in (5) shows *non* preceding the finite auxiliary in analytic forms like the perfect of deponent verbs:

(5) quod   Quintus   nos   consecutus   **non** erat
    because Quintus:NOM us:ACC accompany:PT not   be:3SG
    'because Quintus had not come up with us' (Cic. fam. 16.3.1)

The focus of sentential negation may be narrower than the information focus of the clause (i.e. does not necessarily correspond to the whole scope of negation), but it will always be contained in it. In (6) negation takes scope over the event (no event of giving-a-break takes place) and at the same time signals emphatic focus on the recipients of the event (the sick and the wounded):

(6) **Non** aegris,   **non** vulneratis facultas   quietis datur
    not   sick:DAT not   wounded:DAT possibility:NOM rest:GEN give:PASS.3SG
    'no chance of rest was given to sick or wounded' (Caes. Gall. 5.40)

As we see, under these and similar marked readings, the position of *non* may be different from the default pre-verbal one, showing that also the standard negative marker may behave as a focus particle. This is the case, for instance, when the negation narrowly targets a non-sentential constituent (constituent negation). Another case is represented by corrections ('replace' negation in Jacobs 1991), where two focused constituents are contrasted:

(7) **non** hostem   auctorem,   **sed** rem   spectare
     not   enemy:ACC initiator:ACC but fact:ACC regard:INF
     'He had regard not to the fact that the suggestion came from the enemy, but to the situation itself' (Caes. Gall. 5.29)

More subtly (and controversially) dependent on focus is the case of emphatic polarity, which in Latin can also be expressed by displacing *non* to a high left-peripheral position in the clause, as in (8):

(8) **Non** aliquis   socios   rursus ad arma   vocat
     not   someone:NOM allies:ACC back   to arms:ACC call:3SG
     'it is not true that there is someone calling his allies back to arms'
     (Ov. rem. 281)

In cases like (8) what is denied is the assertability of the proposition altogether. There is an ongoing debate on how to treat these cases, and probably various sub-classes have to be distinguished (cf. Geurts 1998 for an overview, and Orlandini 2001a, Bortolussi 2015: 55 for Latin). Some authors analyze emphatic polarity as *verum* focus (Höhle 1992), i.e. focus on the truth value of a sentence, and represent it syntactically by positing a dedicated left-peripheral position (see Danckaert 2012 for Latin, and section 3 below). Other authors treat it as an epistemic operator expressing the speaker's certainty that the proposition should or should not be added to the Common Ground (Romero & Han 2004) or as an illocutionary operator scoping over the entire proposition and determining the type of speech act (Repp 2009).

What we can say with certainty is that the meaning conveyed by emphatic polarity syntactically involves the left periphery of the clause, in Latin as well as in other languages, and often results in the sentence-initial placement of the negative marker, like in (8). Conceptually, it is certainly necessary to distinguish between cases of denial of assertability, as (8), and cases where emphasis arises from the speaker's desire to present the negated state of affairs as particularly striking and / or unexpected. The latter should be treated as a form of scalar focus, as we will see below. In Latin, it may result as well in the sentence-initial positioning of the negative marker, as in (9).

(9) **non** edepol tu scis, mulier, quantum ego
not by.Pollux you:NOM know:2SG woman:VOC how.much:ACC I:NOM
honorem nunc illi habeo
honor:ACC now that:DAT have:1SG
'Woman, you don't know how great an honor I'm doing her now.'
(Plaut. Mil. 1074-1075)

2.2. Focus-sensitive negative particles

As the discussion in 2.1 has shown, there are clear indications that the behavior of *non* is sensitive to focus. This is not surprising, since it has been widely observed for negative markers crosslinguistically (cf. Jacobs 1991, Krifka 2007: 26, Repp 2009). What is, then, the difference between *non* and those particles that I have defined as expression of focus-sensitive negation?

Differently from *non,* focus-sensitive negation particles are specialized as focus markers, i.e. as the expression of focus operators.

Syntactically, this means that they occupy a Focus Phrase, identify the focus operator and take the focused constituent as their complement, in ways that will be explored in the rest of this paper.

Semantically, they find their quantificational domain in the set of alternatives to the denotation in focus. Following Rooth (1985), the focus operators expressed by focus particles are binary operators that take as their restriction the set of alternatives to the proposition in focus (focus semantic value), and as their nuclear scope the proposition in focus (ordinary semantic value). E.g., in (10), where 'even' identifies the focus operator, (a) informally represents the set of possible alternatives and (b) the ordinary semantic value:

(10) Even the rector came
(a) {the doctoral student came, the assistant professor came, the associate professor came, the full professor came, the dean came…}
(b) the rector came

This mechanism of quantification crucially differs from standard sentential negation, which in the default case does not operate on alternatives and takes as its restriction the backgrounded material in the clause (together with further contextually determined covert domain restriction, cf. Devine & Stephens 2013: 360).

A further difference concerns the kind of focus that negative focus-sensitive particles bring about: it is always contrastive, differently from the plain negative marker *non*, whose scope, as we saw, corresponds, in the default use, to the information focus of the clause. 'Contrastive' has to be understood in a broad sense here, following e.g. Zimmermann (2008), as the effect emerging when the speaker wants to signal to the hearer that the focused element is unexpected in view of the current state of the Common Ground.[2]

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2. Krifka (2007: 33) favors instead a narrower definition of contrastive focus, according to which a proposition with which the focus associate is contrasted has to be explicitly present in the Common Ground.

Focus particles bringing about contrastive focus may carry additional meaning components, imposing conditions on the nature of the alternatives and on the contribution of the proposition in focus.[3] I mentioned that Latin negative focus-sensitive particles can have an additive ('also not') or a scalar ('even not') interpretation: in the rest of this section I will shortly discuss the main semantic-pragmatic conditions distinguishing these two readings.

Additive particles (e.g. 'also', 'too') carry the presupposition that an alternative to the proposition in focus holds as well (existential presupposition):

(11) additive presupposition

p: focus associate

q: alternative to p in context C

$\exists q \, [\, q \in C \land q \neq p \,]$

Crucially, this alternative has to be explicitly available in the conversational background. As amply discussed in the literature, an out-of-the-blue use of 'too', like in (12), where no alternatives to the element in focus (e.g. 'John' or 'have dinner in New York') have been provided, is unfelicitous:

(12) # John had dinner in New York too

That is, additive particles are strictly anaphoric and the lack of a proper antecedent leads to presupposition failure: presupposition accommodation with additive operators is impossible or highly restricted (cf. Schwenter & Waltereit 2010 for references and discussion). The diachronic implications of this constraint will be discussed in section 4.

Scalar particles (e.g. 'even', cf. Italian *perfino*, French *même*, German *sogar* and negative *nicht einmal*) convey that the proposition in focus is the least likely candidate among a set of alternatives ranked along a pragmatically determined scale, in a strongly context-dependent way.[4] Differently from additive particles, thus, alternatives of scalar particles are ordered, as shown in (13):

(13) scalar presupposition based on likelihood

p: focus associate

q: alternative to p in context C

l: likelihood scale

$\forall q \in C \, [q \neq p \rightarrow p <_l q]$

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3. In current analyses of focus particles, this additional meaning component is modeled either in terms of a presupposition or of a conventional implicature. For my expository purposes, I will treat it as a presupposition, but see discussion in König (1991: 54-56), Gast & van der Auwera (2011).

4. In fact, the likelihood scale assumed by most treatments of scalar focus particles can be subsumed by a more general scale of informational strength, cf. König (1991), Krifka (1995), Gast & van der Auwera (2011), Chierchia (2013).

In the Late Latin example in (14), *nec* clearly has a scalar value: the assumed like-lihood scale sees the infant as the most plausible candidate for purity. An emphatic effect ensues when it is negated that purity holds even for the most likely alternative.

(14) a. nemo   mundus, **nec**   infans
        nobody:NOM pure:NOM and.not infant:NOM
        'No one is pure, not even an infant' (Leo M. Serm. 21, 5th cent. CE)

  b. EVEN > NOT > *x*

Importantly, in order for the inferences triggered by the scalar particle to be felicitous, the *even*-operator has to scope above the element creating the downward-entailing context. The scope relation I assume is given in (14.b): scalar *nec* requires its focus to be the least likely alternative; in (14.a) this will only be possible if the most likely alternative (that an infant is pure) is negated.[5]

The rhetorical effect associated with scalar focus operators (sometimes also called emphatic focus operators, cf. Krifka 2007: 33-34) motivates the frequent use of scalar focus particles as reinforcers of negation. The same kind of scalar focus is found in cases like (9) seen before: there, the predicate *scio* 'know' suggests a scale of degrees of knowledge, and the focused expression of negation amounts to denying that even the smallest amount of knowledge holds.

With scalar focus, alternatives need not be picked up anaphorically from the preceding context: the relevant dimension along which alternatives are evoked is suggested by the element in focus itself (in ways that can be quite intricate, as discussed by Gast & van der Auwera 2011).

With these notions in place, we can now proceed to analyze the behavior of Latin *ne…quidem* and *neque / nec*.

3. The discontinuous particle *ne…quidem*

The discontinuous particle *ne…quidem* expresses additive focus ('not either'), cf. (15) or scalar focus ('not even'), cf. (16). The latter qualifies as an emphatic expression of negation in virtue of its scalar component, according to what we discussed in section 2. The additive use has a broader discourse function, since it triggers the anaphoric retrieval of a previous alternative in the preceding context, providing, this way, an overt signal of cohesion.

(15) Quae   cum dixisset in Albucium   inludens,
    which:ACC as   say:3SG in Albucius:ACC mock:PT
    ne a   me   **quidem** abstinuit
    not from me:ABL QUIDEM abstain:3SG
    'And after this hit at Albucius he did not keep his tongue off me either'
    (Cic. de orat. 3.171)

5. Here I am glossing over the ongoing discussion concerning the scopal properties of *even* and similar
    operators, and on the difference between the scope-based theory and the ambiguity analysis for
    even. See König (1991: 71-73), Lahiri (1998: 82-85) for a summary of the debate.

(16) ut   **ne** unum   **quidem** nostrorum impetum   ferrent
    so.that not one:ACC QUIDEM our:GEN   attack:ACC stand:3PL
    ac   statim   terga   verterent
    and immediately back:ACC turn:3PL
    '…so that the Gauls did not stand even one of our attacks and immediately
    turned and ran' (Caes. Gall. 3.19.3)

The readings are disambiguated by a number of factors, among which the lexical nature of the focused element plays a prominent role: for example, in (16) the fact that the element in focus is the scalar minimum 'one' forces a scalar interpretation. The additive reading of (15), instead, is due to the presence of an explicit alternative (*Albucius*) in the context.

The two elements forming the complex particle embrace the focused constituent or part of it, as we will see in more detail later on. In (16) *unum* is part of the bigger DP *unum nostrorum impetum*, which is broken down by the presence of *quidem* following the semantic focus. Traditionally, *ne* and *quidem*, although being discontinuous and being able to occur separately, are understood as forming a unit of some sort, hence the analysis as complex particle proposed by Devine & Stephens (2006: 266-277). I understand the notion 'complex particle' as 'lexically conventionalized syntactic combination': the conventionalization of the combination emerges from the fact that both elements are subject to special conditions of use when they occur together.

The negative particle *ne*, in particular, despite the long vowel evidenced by its treatment in metrical texts, is not to be confused with Latin modality-sensitive negation *nē*, used e.g. in prohibitions. Rather, as convincingly shown by Fruyt (2008), it belongs to the functional domain of the prehistoric negative particle **ne*, which in Latin is usually continued by the bound morpheme *n(ĕ)-*, as e.g. in *nescio* 'ignore' < **nĕ + scio* 'know', *non* 'not' < **nĕ + ūnum* 'one', *nēmo* 'no one' < **nĕ homo* 'no man' and, most importantly for our argument, *neque / nec* 'neither' < **nĕ + -que* 'and'. The combination with *quidem* represents the only systematic case where a continuation of **nĕ* appears as free-standing morpheme; as we will see, however, the prosodic phenomena it causes can be considered evidence for a conventionalized syntactic relation with *quidem*, i.e. for the fact that *ne* is not really morphosyntactically free-standing.[6]

As for *quidem*, it occurs in positive contexts as an independent particle, variously rendered as 'indeed', 'truly', 'in fact'.[7] Danckaert (2012, 2014) has proposed

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6. The combination of *quidem* with negative particles other than *ne* is very rare, cf. e.g. *hau(d)… quidem* in Pl. Poen. 1355, *nec…quidem* in Cic. Fam. 6.6.2; 12.1.1, and the later examples listed by Ribbeck (1869: 58). A proper evaluation of the combination of *quidem* with *nec* is, however, made difficult by the uncertainty in the manuscript tradition and the ensuing tendency of ancient and modern editors to normalize these cases, printing *ne…quidem*.

7. Its etymology is not completely clear. Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr (1977: 467) reconstruct it as **id-que-dem* (German 'und das eben'): *-dem-* is the same formative found in the pronoun *idem* (cf. also *totidem* 'just as many', *ibidem* 'in the same place'), originating from the re-segmentation of *id-em* in *i-dem* (cf. Leumann, Hofmann & Szantyr 1977: 467, de Vaan 2008 s.v. *idem*).

to analyze it as a marker of emphatic polarity, i.e. as a focus-sensitive particle signaling focus on the (positive) polarity of the clause and sitting in a high left-peripheral Polarity Phrase:

(17) Position of the Polarity Phrase in Latin according to Danckaert (2012: 90)
      [ForceP [TopP* [PolP [FocP [TopP* [FinP …]]]]]]

The negative *ne…quidem* in its scalar use may be argued, analogously, to emphatically focus the negative polarity of the clause. Danckaert (2014: 125-126) briefly discusses *ne…quidem* to support his analysis of simple *quidem* as a focus particle. He says that *ne…quidem* 'invariably scopes over a single constituent' (p. 125), whereby the constituent can be of different sizes, also comprising embedded CPs. Simple *quidem*, instead, never expresses narrow focus on a single constituent, but is the expression of a *verum* operator located in a high left-peripheral position. However, at least the facts concerning the interpretation of negation point to a connection to the higher part of the clause for *ne…quidem* as well. Also in those cases where *ne…quidem* narrowly focuses on one constituent, the negative operator typically takes sentential scope (cf. Orlandini 2001a: 215), cf. (18):

(18) **ne** eo   **quidem** tempore quisquam loco   cessit
      not that:ABL QUIDEM time:ABL any:NOM   position:ABL withdraw:3SG
      'Not even then did any man yield his ground' (Caes. Gall. 7.62.7)

Also the phenomena of redundancy in the expression of negation, exemplified in (4) and analyzed by Gianollo (2016b), can be interpreted as showing the necessity of establishing a syntactic relation with a Focus position in the CP left periphery, as further discussed in section 5.

The constituent in focus may be of various syntactic categories. In the default case (cf. 16), only one word, corresponding to the semantic focus, occurs in between the two particles. The focus particle *quidem* 'marks the right hand edge of the focus' (Devine & Stephens 2006: 268). This means that focusing by *ne…quidem* systematically gives rise to discontinuous constituents, since the part of the phrase that is outside the semantic focus is stranded.

But prosodic factors clearly interact here: multiple words can be found between *ne* and *quidem* if one or more of them are prosodically light. This is consistently the case with prepositions, as in (15), as well as with other functional elements (e.g. the intensifier *ipse* 'self, in person'). Devine & Stephens (2006: 268) propose that multi-word combinations are possible if they correspond to a single prosodic unit (prosodic word). Especially fixed idioms like e.g. *res publica* or *tribunus militum* qualify as possible combinations in this respect.[8]
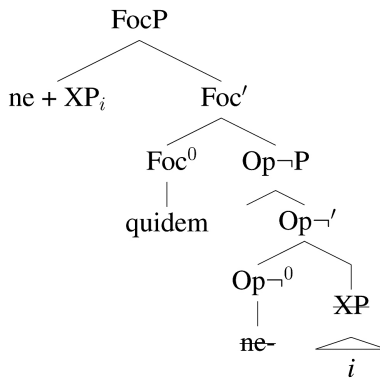
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8. Similarly, the positioning of simple positive *quidem* is subject to prosodic conditioning: the unit obligatorily preceding it has to be characterized in prosodic terms, as a phonological word, and is not necessarily a syntactic constituent (cf. Danckaert 2014: 130).

When the element in focus is an embedded CP, the particle encloses the complementizer and an additional element, which forms a prosodic unit with the complementizer:

(19) **ne** cum in Sicilia   **quidem** fuit
     not when in Sicily:ABL QUIDEM be:3SG
     'in just the same way, when there was war in Sicily' (Cic. Verr. 2.5.6)

In order to account for the syntactic and prosodic factors just seen, I propose the analysis summarized by the structure in (20):

(20) Structure for *ne…quidem*

```
                          FocP
                         /    \
                ne + XP_i      Foc′
                              /    \
                          Foc⁰     Op¬P
                           |        \
                        quidem      Op¬′
                                   /    \
                               Op¬⁰     XP
                                |       /\
                               ne-     i
```

Each element composing the particle is the head of a functional projection: *quidem* heads a superordinate Focus Phrase, whereas *ne* is the head of a subordinate phrase hosting the negative operator, dubbed Op¬P in order not to confuse it with a clausal NegP.[9] The complement of this functional structure represents the focused element. The complex FocP + Op¬P forms a sort of structural shell that can be superimposed to any syntactic category.[10]

The hierarchical structure mirrors the scope relation that we have seen in (14.b) when describing the semantics of scalar focus particles. This is a fundamental difference with respect to Devine and Stephens' (2006: 275-278) analysis, where the

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9. Following Gianollo (2016a), which in turn is based on the analysis of Double Negation languages by Zeijlstra (2004), I assume that Classical Latin projects no NegP. The negative operator is always inserted as a shell to a maximal projection, be it the TP projection in the case of sentential negation or a DP projection in the case of negative indefinites. Under this perspective, the way negation is inserted in negative focus-sensitive particles conforms to the general strategy for Latin.

10. If, as Gianollo (2016a) proposes, Classical Latin has no specific functional projection for sentential negation and *non* attaches to the verb's inflectional projection as an adjunct, the syntactic similarities between *non* and focus-sensitive negative particles become apparent once again: both the negative adverb *non* and the focus-sensitive negative particles are syncategorematic categories, able to attach to maximal projections of any category, and invisible for c-selection / subcategorization (cf. Cinque 1999: 108-126, Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts 2014: 213).

order Neg > Foc is assumed. Depending on contextual conditions (most notably, the way alternatives are retrieved, as seen in section 2), the focus operator realized by *quidem* will be additive or scalar. The negative operator takes scope below the Focus operator in both cases.

The word order comes to be the reverse of the scope relations due to prosodic factors. First of all, the prosodically deficient negative particle *ne* proclitically attaches to the first prosodic word of the phrase in its complement. This satisfies syntactically the boundedness requirement of the negative morpheme discussed above. Then the whole prosodic unit formed by *ne* + the prosodic host raises to the specifier of the superordinate Focus projection headed by *quidem*. I agree with Devine & Stephens (2006) that also this movement is prosodically motivated, and conforms to 'the general spirit of specifier syntax (OV syntax)' of Latin (Devine & Stephens 2006: 276), captured by Ledgeway (2012: ch. 5) through the mechanism of left-edge fronting. Specifically, *quidem* behaves like a second-position particle and has to be preceded by an independent prosodic unit within its prosodic phrase.[11] In many cases this unit also corresponds to the semantic focus, which can be a subpart of the syntactic focus phrase; e.g. it can be an adjective embedded in a bigger DP, as in (21):

(21) **ne** minima   **quidem** societate
     not minimal:ABL QUIDEM association:ABL
     'not in the remotest degree of association' (Cic. de orat. 144)

In other cases, discussed by Devine & Stephens (2006: 272-277), the material ending up between *ne* and *quidem* is not the narrow semantic focus, but is rather backgrounded material belonging to the constituent in focus. This can be made sense of if the movement to the specifier of the Focus Phrase is prosodically motivated by a second-position requirement, in principle independent of the informational role of the prosodic unit to which *ne* attaches.

In the next section I move on to investigate to what extent this analysis can be carried over to *neque / nec*.

4. The multiple functions of *neque / nec*

The etymology of *neque* 'neither' is transparent: it originates from the combination of the prehistoric negative morpheme **ne* with the postpositive enclitic coordination particle *-que*. The form *nec* is its functionally equivalent shortened variant, with apocope of the last syllable (cf. the pair *atque / ac* 'and').

In addition to the uses as focus particle, shared with *ne…quidem*, *neque / nec* has two further functions, both roughly coordinative ('and not'): it can be

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11. See Danckaert (2014) for a detailed analysis of the prosodic conditions governing the distribution of simple *quidem*. Danckaert, applying Cardinaletti & Starke's (1994) typology of structural deficiency, argues that the particle belongs to a series of prosodically (and plausibly syntactically) differentiated elements: strong ĕquĭdem (prefixed with the interjection ĕ)*,* weak *quĭdem* and clitic *-quĭdem*. The second-position properties of *quidem* in combination with *ne* qualify it as weak.

a discourse-structuring particle and a correlative negation. Orlandini & Poccetti (2008) speak, respectively, of connective coordination and copulative coordination.[12] These coordinative functions are historically primary for *neque / nec*. The use as focus particle starts to increase in Imperial Latin and becomes particularly frequent in Late Latin.

I will first address the coordinative functions (4.1), in order to argue that also in the correlative use *neque / nec* can be analyzed as an additive focus particle. In 4.2 we will then more specifically evaluate the uses as stand-alone focus particle.

4.1. The coordinative functions

As a discourse-structuring particle, *neque / nec* is a stand-alone element and introduces a full clause, which may be connected in the discourse to a previous clause independent of the polarity of the latter. That is, the preceding clause can also be positive, as in the examples in (22), and the ensuing discourse relation may have an adversative flavor, as in (22.b):

(22) a. Ex   his   omnibus longe sunt   humanissimi   qui
        from they:ABL all:ABL far   be:3PL civilized:SUP.NOM who:NOM
        Cantium incolunt, quae   regio   est   maritima
        Kent:ACC inhabit:3PL which:NOM region:NOM is:3SG maritime:NOM
        omnis, **neque** multum a   Gallica   differunt consuetudine
        all:NOM and.not much   from Gallic:ABL differ:3PL habit:ABL
        'Of all the Britons the inhabitants of Kent, an entirely maritime district, are by far the most civilised, differing but little from the Gallic manner of life. ' (Caes. Gall. 5.14)

   b. Omnia   habeo, **neque** quicquam   habeo
      everything:ACC have:1SG and.not anything:ACC have:1SG
      'I have everything, and nonetheless I have nothing' (Ter. Eun. 243)

In its function as correlative negation, instead, *neque / nec* relates two or more negative constituents. This function is productively continued by the correlative particles of Romance languages, which formally derive from *nec* (e.g. Italian *né…né*; French *ni…ni*; Spanish *ni…ni*) or from *neque* (Romanian *nicĭ*).

The correlated constituents can be of various sizes, comprising sentential constituents; however, unlike with the discourse-structuring version, they belong to the same discourse unit. Examples are given in (23), respectively for correlation of DPs and correlation of sentential constituents:

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12. Early Latin also knows a different *nec*, which functions like a plain sentential negation, with no correlative or discourse-structuring function. Possibly this element has a different etymology, cf. Orlandini & Poccetti (2008), and will be left out of the present discussion.

(23) a. **non** iudicio   **neque** disceptatione, sed vi   atque
     not process:ABL and.not debate:ABL   but violence:ABL and
     impressione
     pressure:ABL
     'Not through a process or a debate, but with violence and aggression'
     (Cic. fam. 5.2.8)

   b. ut   omnes intellegant **nec**   me   benevolentiori
     so.that all:NOM understand:3PL and.not I:ACC benevolent:COMP.DAT
     cuiquam succedere **nec**   te   amiciori   potuisse
     any:DAT replace:INF and.not you:ACC friend:COMP.DAT can:INF
     provinciam tradere
     province:ACC hand.over:INF
     'so that all may understand that I could have had no more benevolent
     predecessor and that you could not have handed over your province to a
     better friend.'
     (Cic. fam. 3.3.1)

In the first conjunct, negation can be expressed by *neque / nec* or by another
negative item, like the negative marker (cf. 23.a) or negative indefinites.

The discourse-structuring use, where the preceding conjunct can be positive,
clearly shows that *neque / nec* is the bearer of a semantic negation operator and
can perform a switch in polarity, expressing sentential negation by itself. This
possibility, which is still attested in the Old Romance varieties (Doetjes 2005 for
Old French, Zanuttini 2010 for Old Italian), is lost in Modern Romance (Orlandini
& Poccetti 2008: 5, Torrego 2009: 479). In Italian, for instance, the use of *né* in a
structure like (22.b) would be ungrammatical, witness (24):

(24) a. *Ho   tutto   **né** ho   niente
        have:1SG everything né have:1SG nothing

   b. Ho   tutto   **ma non** ho   niente
     have:1SG everything but not have:1SG nothing
     'I have everything, and nonetheless I have nothing'

In the discourse-structuring use, *neque / nec* has, therefore, the meaning $\land \neg$,
where the negation is outscoped by the conjuction: this is consistent with the par-
ticle's etymology and ensures that the negation only takes scope over the conjunct
directly introduced by the particle. I thus propose the following structure:

(25) Structure for discourse-structuring *nec / neque*
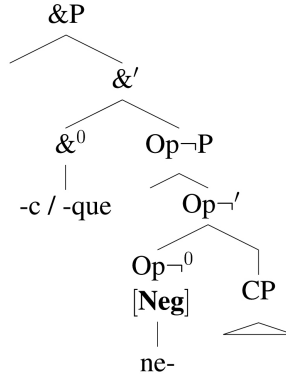
  According to the analysis in (25), *-que / -c* is the head of a Conjunction Phrase &P (BooleanP in Munn 1993, ConjP in Kayne 1994), which takes the CP it introduces as its complement.[13]
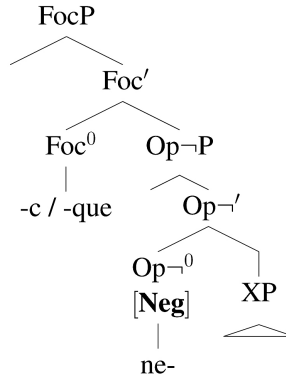
  The reverse surface structure is due, once again, to prosodic factors, namely to the enclitic status of *-que / -c*, which forces prosodic inversion. As we saw for *ne…quidem*, *ne* is itself proclitic: the two elements together form a prosodically acceptable unit for Latin, as confirmed by the fact that *neque* and *nec* can themselves host prosodically weak elements in Classical Latin (cf. Wanner 1987: 228).

  The fact that *neque / nec* conveys a negative operator is confirmed by the Double Negation reading resulting from the combination *nec non / neque non* 'and it is not true that not…', which becomes a very frequent lexicalized litotes with a discourse-structuring function ('and moreover'), cf. Ernout & Thomas (1953: 154), Orlandini (2001a: 68 fn. 50).

  Similarly, a meaning $(\neg x \wedge \neg y)$ can be attributed to the correlation introduced by *neque / nec*. As Orlandini (2001b) discusses, some pragmatic conditions may favor the logically equivalent reading where the correlation by *neque / nec* is interpreted as a disjunction outscoped by negation: $\neg (x \vee y)$, according to one of De Morgan's Laws (the conjunction of two negated propositions is logically equivalent to the negation of their disjunction). In the analysis I propose, this variability in the interpretation of the conjunction operator is favored by the fact that the correlative particle itself does not contain a Boolean conjunction operator in its lexical entry. Rather, the correlative particle is a focus particle with an additive component: in the case of correlative *neque / nec*, the morpheme *-que / -c* realizes an additive Focus operator, not a conjunction. The structure I propose is given in (26):

13. Following the spirit of Poletto's (2014) analysis for the Old Italian discourse particle *e* 'and, also', the specifier of &P may be argued to host a silent propositional anaphor, accounting for the connection to the preceding context.

(26) Structure for correlative *neque / nec*

```
                        FocP
                       /    \
                           Foc′
                          /    \
                     Foc⁰       Op¬P
                      |         /    \
                   -c / -que        Op¬′
                               /         \
                           Op¬⁰           XP
                           [Neg]         /\
                             |
                            ne-
```

The parallelism with the structure proposed for *ne…quidem* becomes apparent when comparing (26) with (20). The only difference between the internal syntax of the two particles concerns the absence of movement of (a portion of) the complement to Spec, FocP, which is expected since *neque / nec*, differently from *quidem*, is not a second-position particle.

Correlative elements have been analyzed as focus particles also in languages like English and German (cf. in particular Hendriks 2004, den Dikken 2006, Wurmbrand 2008). I combine insights from these analyses with the proposal for the syntax of 'edge coordination' by Bianchi & Zamparelli (2004) and argue that correlative structures whose conjuncts are introduced by *neque / nec* represent the asyndetic coordination of Focus Phrases. The analysis is summarized in the diagram in (27). The &P hosts the Focus Phrases introduced by *neque / nec* in its specifier and in its complement. The head of &P remains phonologically unrealized.

In turn, as in (26), the complement of the Focus Phrase can be of any category: this is possibly a gross simplification, in view of the fact that these Focus Phrases are often elliptical and could be argued to originate as full sentential constituents, which then undergo ellipsis processes, cf. the analysis by Bianchi & Zamparelli (2004), Repp (2009). Before making a precise proposal in this respect, a thorough study of ellipsis in Latin should be conducted. In this work, I will keep treating the FocP headed by the focus particle as a syncategorematic structural shell, so that in principle it can attach also to smaller, non-sentential constituents.

(27) Structure for correlation by means of *neque / nec*
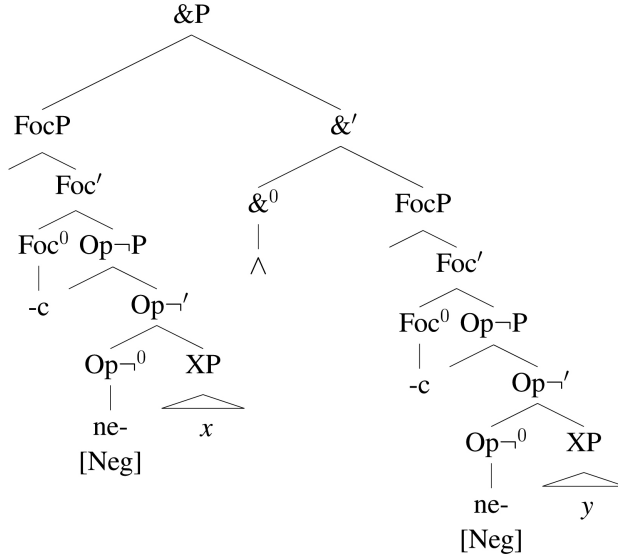
The structure proposed above has the advantage of positing the same scope relation between the negative morpheme and *-que / -c* for both coordinative functions. The difference resides in the meaning contribution of *-que / -c*, which is a conjunction in the discourse-structuring use and an additive focus particle in the correlative use. The use of coordinative conjunctions as additive focus particles is a crosslinguistically frequent phenomenon, cf. König (1991: 60-64).

The proposal also allows us to treat *neque / nec* as an unambiguously negative across its uses: each particle in the correlation contributes its own negative operator. Notice that this has changed for the Romance continuations of the correlative particle: they behave as n-words (i.e. elements of Concord), confirming Bernini & Ramat's (1996) observation that the behavior of correlative negation conforms to the general negation system (Double Negation vs. Negative Concord) of the language.[14]

According to the present analysis, *ne...quidem* and correlative *neque / nec* share their nature as negative focus particles. But *neque / nec* also has a further focus-sen-

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14. In the non-strict Negative Concord languages Italian and Spanish, under the right syntactic conditions (i.e. when preceding the inflected verb), correlative negation particles suffice to express sentential negation by themselves and do not co-occur with a further negative marker, cf. (i). This is not the case in strict Negative Concord varieties like French and Romanian, where the correlative particle must always co-occur with an additional marker of sentential negation, cf. (ii):

(i) Juan **no** comía **ni** hablaba   (Spanish)
     'Juan was not speaking nor he was eating'
(ii) M. Guitrel **ne** parlait **ni ne** mangeait   (French)
     'M. Guitrel was not speaking nor he was eating''(from de Swart 2001: 109)

sitive use as stand-alone focus particle, which is even closer to the function of *ne…quidem*. I will deal with it in the next section.

4.2. The use as focus particle

The use of *neque / nec* as focus-sensitive particle emerges when the particle is a stand-alone element and no coordination is present. The particle can then have an additive or a scalar interpretation. The internal syntax for this stand-alone use remains unchanged and conforms to the structure in (26). The task of this section will be to determine under which conditions the additive or the scalar reading come about. This issue assumes particular relevance in view of the fact that the stand-alone focus particle use for Latin *neque / nec* appears to be diachronically later (Orlandini 2001a) and, especially under the scalar reading, plays a very important role in the grammaticalization of the new Romance n-words (Gianollo 2016b). In Early Latin *neque / nec* is exclusively used in the coordinative functions. In Classical Latin, examples of stand-alone focus particle use are still quite rare. The use as stand-alone focus particle gains ground in Imperial Latin, starting with Livy and becomes very frequent in Late Latin.

In the stand-alone focus-particle use, the task of ensuring syntactic and semantic-pragmatic cohesion with the previous discourse is accomplished by other elements in the clause (e.g. *ita* 'thus' in 28); *neque / nec* indicates rather that the interpretation requires the consideration of alternatives to the denotation of the constituent in its scope. In the example in (28) the commander Maharbal is evaluated with respect to other candidates, who might have managed to resist the attack by the Roman cohorts:

(28) Ita primis   repulsis   Maharbal   cum maiore   robore
    so first:ABL repulsed:ABL Maharbal:NOM with greater:ABL strength:ABL
    virorum missus   **nec**   ipse   eruptionem cohortium
    men:GEN sent:NOM and.not himself:NOM sally:ACC   cohorts:GEN
    sustinuit
    sustain:3SG
    'Thus, after the first forces had been repulsed, Maharbal himself, who had been sent with greater manpower, did not sustain the cohorts' sortie' (Liv. 23.18.4)

The precise meaning contribution of *neque / nec* in cases like (28) depends on the way alternatives are retrieved, which in turn influences the structure that the set of alternatives has.

When alternatives are retrievable by way of anaphoric linking to the previous context, we have an additive interpretation. This patterns with the interpretation proposed for the correlative particle, which I have analyzed as a focus-sensitive particle. The difference resides in the more indirect link to the alternatives, which are not explicitly correlated by syntactic means and may have to be accommodated from elements that have been mentioned in the previous context. In the example in

(28), for instance, the contextually present alternative is provided by the syntactic insert *primis repulsis*. The link is more indirect, in that there is no explicit syntactic correlation (as there would be in a correlative structure *nec primi nec Maharbal*).

The example in (28) also suggests a further possible interpretation for the focus particle: namely, if we have reasons to consider Maharbal as the most probable candidate to sustain the assault, a scalar reading 'even not *x*' may become appropriate. The scalar reading is invited more explicitly in instances like (29), which become frequent in Late Latin.

(29) dico   autem vobis   quoniam **nec**   Salomon   in omni
       say:1SG then   you:DAT that   and.not Solomon:NOM in all:ABL
       gloria   sua   coopertus est   sicut unum   ex   istis
       glory:ABL his:ABL dressed:PT is:3SG as   one:ACC from them:ABL
       'Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendor was dressed like one of these'
       (Vulg. Matth. 6.29, 4th cent. CE)

In this and similar cases, differently from the additive reading, the set of alternatives is made up by elements ranked according to a probability measure. In (29), for instance, the relevant scalar dimension is the probability of being splendidly dressed, and King Solomon is taken to be a very likely element of this scale. Under the scalar reading the link to the previous context may be even looser, since no anaphoric retrieval of the alternatives is required: it is sufficient for the focused element itself to suggest a scale.

The co-occurrence of a focus-particle use with a more general coordinative function is crosslinguistically frequent for correlative particles, and is attested for instance for Polish *ani*, Russian *ni*, Albanian *as*, Modern Greek *oute*, Hungarian *sem*, Romanian *nicĭ*, Spanish *ni* (König 1991: 60-64, Haspelmath 2007: 16). This behavior is expected under an account, like the one proposed in 4.1, according to which also correlative negative particles are focus markers. Something that needs further explanation, however, concerns the fact that, in the stand-alone use, the focus particle has not only the additive reading, but also the scalar one.

This pattern is, again, crosslinguistically frequent: all the particles just mentioned can be interpreted as 'even' under the right contextual conditions. We saw that this applies also to Latin *neque / nec*: in order to account for the ambiguity, I proposed an explanation in terms of the strategy used to retrieve the relevant alternatives for the element in focus, according to what I discussed in section 2.

Along similar lines, Tovena (2006) accounts for the interpretation of Italian *neanche*, which is likewise ambiguous between an additive and a scalar reading. If the alternatives are retrievable from the previous context, both interpretations are possible, but the scalar reading becomes obligatory when the anaphoric link fails: in that case alternatives have to be accommodated by evoking a scale.

It is plausible that this interpretational mechanism may have consequences for the diachronic development: studies on semantic change have shown that accommodation processes on the part of the hearer are costly and, if systematic

enough, may lead to a reanalysis of the conditions imposed by the lexical entry (cf. Traugott & Dasher 2002, Eckardt 2006, and for presupposition accommodation especially Schwenter & Waltereit 2010). In view of the increase in scalar readings observed in Late Latin, a process of semantic reanalysis has arguably applied to *neque / nec*: one can assume that the uses as stand-alone focus particle (where no explicit correlation is present) may have enhanced the frequency of cases where the additive presupposition has to be accommodated by assuming a contextually relevant scale. Principles of economic interpretation could have then triggered a hearer-based reanalysis, according to which the scalar component is innovatively assumed to be a lexically encoded, and thus indispensable, meaning component for the particle. This reconstruction could explain how the new scalar use of *neque / nec* becomes established in Late Latin, and is successfully continued in the Romance languages.

5. Diachronic implications

In this section I discuss the implications of the diachronic processes targeting focus-sensitive negation after the Classical Latin stage. In section 4.2 we have already seen one such process: the establishment of a new function for *neque / nec* as stand-alone negative focus particle. The aim of this section is to highlight the relevance of this development in a Romance perspective, and to delineate the consequences that my analysis has for the understanding of the change globally targeting the system of negation from Latin to Romance.

In Late Latin, at least since the 3rd cent. CE (but early signs are observable already in Imperial Latin) the form *nec* prevails over the form *neque* (see Löfstedt 1942: 331-357 for a quantitative evaluation) and encroaches on the functional domain of *ne…quidem*, taking over its uses. In Late Latin the two morpho-syntactic components of *ne…quidem* are sometimes found adjacent or *quidem* is dropped, probably attesting to an ongoing reanalysis, which preludes to the merger with *nec* (examples in Pinkster 2015: 696). This also favors a formal confusion between *nec* and *ne*, which is reflected in later Merovingian texts and anticipates the loss of the velar component in most Romance continuations.

The expansion of *nec* in Late Latin is the prerequisite for its diachronic pertinacity. The particle is continued in three core domains in Romance: (i) as correlative negation (e.g. Italian *né…né*; Catalan *ni…ni*, etc.); (ii) as independent negative focus particle (e.g. Spanish *ni*), or as morphological formative of newly grammaticalized negative focus particles (e.g. Italian *neanche*); (iii) as morphological formative of the new indefinites of the Romance Negative Concord systems (e.g. Italian *nessuno*, Portuguese *nenhum*, etc.).

While the functional domains in (i) and (ii) were already covered by *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* in Classical Latin, (iii) represents an innovation, with far-reaching consequences for the system of negation. Signs of this latter development are already clearly observable in Late Latin: examples like (30) plausibly represent the triggering structure for the univerbation later observed in the Romance indefinites:

(30) quis   enim   mundus   a   sordibus? **nec   unus**,   etiam si
     who:NOM indeed clean:NOM from sins:ABL and.not one:NOM even if
     unius   diei   sit   vita   eius   in terra
     one:GEN day:GEN be:3SG life:NOM he:GEN in earth:ABL
     'Who is indeed clean from sins? not even one, even if his life on earth is one
     day long'
     (Cypr. testim 3.54, 3rd cent. CE)

The version of *nec* combining with the cardinal numeral 'one' and with other
end-of-scale elements is the scalar focus particle that, as we saw in 4.2, flourished
in Late Latin. In section 2 I remarked that scalar focus particles frequently func-
tion as negation strengtheners. The new Romance indefinites originate, thus, as
emphatic reinforcers of negation, according to a well known diachronic mechanism
linked to Jespersen's Cycle (cf. Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013 for a comparative
assessment of this phenomenon). Negative polarity items and negative indefinites
formed with a particle meaning 'even' are widely attested crosslinguistically. They
have been an important research topic in recent years (cf. Lahiri 1998, Chierchia
2013 a.o.), since they show that focus crucially interacts with the licensing of
polarity-sensitive items.

The analysis as focus particle that I provided for *nec* in this work indicates that
also the history of Romance n-words belongs to this research landscape, since the
origin of those n-words incorporating *nec* is linked to the expression of scalar focus.

The present analysis also suggests a way to tackle the process of reanalysis
that lies at the core of the change from the Latin Double Negation system to the
Romance Negative Concord ones. In Negative Concord systems the n-words, i.e.
the indefinites that express existential quantification under the scope of negation,
are not inherently negative, but carry an uninterpretable formal negative feature
[uNeg] (Zeijlstra 2004). This feature allows them to enter an Agree relation with a
superordinate negative operator bearing the interpretable counterpart [iNeg]. The
operator may be realized overtly (e.g. by the negative marker), or it can be covert
(giving, in certain contexts, the impression that the n-word negates by itself).

Now, in those Romance n-words that are negatively marked, the negative
morpheme finds its origin in *nec*.[15] This means that at some point the particle *nec*,
which in Classical Latin realized a contentful semantic operator, must have been
reanalyzed as the bearer of a formal uninterpretable feature [uNeg]. A full-fledged
analysis would exceed the limits of this paper, and I refer the reader to Gianollo
(2016b: ch. 5) for the particulars. Here I will just indicate which elements of the
analysis provided for Classical Latin focus-sensitive negation are relevant for
the explanation.

Recall from section 2 that *neque / nec* and *ne…quidem* show examples of redun-
dancy with a further expression of negation in a single-negation reading since an

15. As is well known, not all n-words contain a negative morpheme, cf. e.g. Spanish *nada* 'nothing'
    < Latin (REM) NATAM 'born thing', and the Modern French n-words *personne* 'no one' < Latin
    PERSONAM 'person', *rien* 'nothing' < Latin rem 'thing', *aucun* 'no' < Latin *ALICUNUM 'any'.

early age. We saw an example with *ne…quidem* from Classical Latin in (4); (31) is a much later example, with *neque* functioning as a focus particle:

(31) **non** est   relictus ex   eis   **neque** unus
     not be:3SG left:PT from they:ABL and.not one:NOM
     'not even one of them was left' (Agnell. lib. pont. 121, 9th cent. CE)

In Classical Latin, especially with *ne…quidem*, the possibility of redundancy seems to be dependent on the position that the Focus Phrase headed by the particle takes in the clause. If *ne…quidem* follows the finite verb (Infl), the presence of a 'doubling' negative element is quite regular (Orlandini 2001a: 69), whereas it is exceptional if *ne…quidem* is found before the verb. Compare the example of redundancy seen in (4), where *ne…quidem* is post-verbal, with the example in (1.b), where *ne…quidem* precedes and occurs with no further negative item.

The pre-/post-verbal (pre-/post-Infl) alternation is obviously remindful of the alternation we see in non-strict Negative Concord Romance varieties with n-words. Herburger (2003) shows this to be the case also with the Spanish emphatic focus particle *ni siquiera* 'not even', which can express sentential negation by itself when pre-Infl (32.a) and must co-occur with a further expression of negation if post-Infl (32.b). The particle *ni* < Latin *nec* is optional if the expression is post-Infl, showing that the expression of negation is 'superfluous' there:

(32) a. *(**Ni**)   siquiera Héctor lo sabía.
         and.not even   Héctor it knew

     b. **Non** lo sabía (**ni**)   siquiera Héctor.
        not   it knew and.not even   Héctor
        'Not even Héctor knew it' (Spanish, Herburger 2003: 248)

In Classical Latin, the pre-verbal position is actually the most frequent one for *ne…quidem*, which consistently raises to the left periphery (cf. Devine & Stephens 2006: 276). A high left-peripheral position is occupied also by the 'doubling' element in redundancy cases, which occurs clause-initially or following topicalized material. In Gianollo (2016b: ch. 5) I took this as an indication of the fact that the Focus Phrase associated with *ne…quidem* has to establish a syntactic relation with the focus operator hosted in the CP left periphery (either in FocP or in PolP, according to the structure in 17). I therefore proposed a mechanism of Focus Concord, whereby *quidem* is the bearer of an uninterpretable formal focus feature [uFoc], which must enter an Agree relation with the higher interpretable counterpart [iFoc]. I further proposed that the 'redundant' negative element seen in the high left-peripheral position when *ne…quidem* remains post-Infl is the realization, at the same time, of the high focus operator and of the negative operator, both of which take scope over the entire clause:

(33) (a) *non* [iFoc, Neg]   … *ne…quidem* [uFoc]

     (b) *non* [iFoc, iNeg] … *ne…quidem* [uFoc, uNeg]

As shown in (33.a), in this configuration the insertion of the negative opera-tor [Neg] usually connected to *ne* is delayed until also the requirements imposed by focus are taken care of. This procedure is remindful of what we have seen in (32.b), where the negative morpheme that forms part of the Spanish focus particle *ni siquiera* can be omitted if negation is expressed higher up in the clause. In Latin the morpheme is still present, but the negative operator is omitted.

A similar mechanism must have been extended to *nec* as the latter took over the functions of *ne…quidem* in Late Latin.[16] At a subsequent point, given the changes in the system of Latin negation discussed in Gianollo (2016a), the syntactic relation established because of Focus Concord must have been reanalyzed as also involv-ing an uninterpretable formal feature for negation [uNeg], i.e. a form of Negative Concord, as shown in (33.b).

In sum, if the analysis sketched above is on the right track, the focus-sensitivity of particles like *ne…quidem* and *neque / nec* would have been the trigger for the establishment of a formal syntactic dependency which involves, at the same time, focus and negation.

6. Conclusions

This work has explored the interaction between the expression of focus and the syntax of negation in Classical Latin. I have provided an account for the semantic and syntactic behavior of two particles, *ne…quidem* and *neque / nec*. I have put for-ward a homogeneous syntactic analysis for the internal structure of these particles. The analysis as negative focus particle proposed for *ne…quidem* was extended to *neque / nec* in its correlative use, explaining this way also the development of further focus-sensitive uses as stand-alone particle from the Imperial age. The pragmatic and semantic prerequisites for a felicitous use of the particles under investigation interact with the syntactic environment in which they appear. In particular, the use as additive focus particle is possible only when suitable alternatives for the element in focus are explicitly provided in the context, either by means of correlation or by anaphoric linking to the previous discourse. In the absence of these preconditions, only a scalar interpretation is possible. I argued that a process of presupposition accommodation may have been responsible for the development of a scalar meaning for *neque / nec*, with important diachronic consequences in the Romance languages.

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16. A further factor favoring the reanalysis of *nec* as a [uNeg] element must have been the redundancy observed with correlative constructions, on which see Gianollo (2016b).

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