

## Polarity Focus and the Latin particle *quidem* in adverbial clauses

Lieven Danckaert, University of Ghent

**1. Introduction.** This paper focuses on the syntax of the Latin discourse particle *quidem*, and more specifically its distribution in adverbial clauses (ACs). I will show that *quidem* can only be licensed in the functional domain of those adverbial clauses that tend to allow Main Clause Phenomena. I will argue that *quidem* encodes polarity focus. The paper thus provided additional evidence that markers of polarity focus may also be categorized as a MCP (see also Haegeman 2009b).

**2. Two types of adverbial clauses.** Following Haegeman (2007, 2009a,b), I distinguish between central and peripheral ACs, the former modifying the event described by the vP/VP-complex, the latter being merged higher in the structure, viz. in the discourse-related CP-domain. Latin (1) and (2) illustrate this difference: *quia* introduces an event-related, central AC, whereas the *quoniam*-clause serves as a justification of a speech act (cfr. Mellet 1995):

- (1) *Nam quia dentibus carent, aut lambunt cibos, aut integros hauriunt.*  
partcl. because teeth.ABL lack.3.PL either lick up.3.PL food.ACC.PL or entire.ACC.PL swallow.3.PL  
'Because they have no teeth, they either lick up their food or swallow it whole.'  
(= Columella, *Res Rustica* VIII.17.11)
- (2) *Quoniam de frumentis abunde praecepimus, de leguminibus deinceps disseramus.*  
since about cereals.ABL.PL sufficiently instruct.PF.3.PL about pulses.ABL.PL now discuss.SUBJ.1.PL  
'Since we gave sufficient instructions about cereals, let's now discuss pulses.'  
(= Columella, *Res Rustica* II.10.1)

For central ACs, which includes temporal ACs and event-related conditionals, Haegeman (2007, 2009a,b and to appear) adopts a derivation according to which a *wh*-operator moves to the left periphery. Other movement operations targeting positions in the left periphery, such as focalization and topicalization, are then excluded due to locality effects. Peripheral ACs (relevance conditionals, concessive and adversative ACs,...), on the other hand, are either derived by a very short operator movement, or they lack operator movement altogether, and are predicted to be compatible with MCP. Furthermore, central ACs are generally incompatible with the highest adverbs from the Cinque hierarchy (1999) and with modal particles (Coniglio 2007, 2008 on German and Italian resp.). Haegeman (2009a,b) proposes that this too can be derived as an effect of intervention.

**3. The Latin particle *quidem*.** Traditional descriptions of the particle *quidem* (Kühner & Stegmann 1912, Glare 1968) focus mainly on its semantics. In Solodow (1978) *quidem* is attributed a host of semantic values, including contrastive, concessive, explanatory and emphasizing. Kroon (2005: 577) offers a unified account, arguing that *quidem* is a discourse marker which characterizes its host constituent as a separate discourse unit: '... *quidem* is used with a text unit which, from a communicative point of view, constitutes an autonomous discourse act, while from a grammatical perspective it is integrated in the semantico-syntactic structure of a preceding unit'. She argues that the different 'meanings' commonly associated with *quidem* are contextually determined rather than being an intrinsic property of the particle. Among others *quidem* typically occurs in parentheticals (3) and appositives relative clauses (4). (5) illustrates another use of *quidem*, viz. as marker of constituent focus. In this usage, *quidem* is always combined with the negator *ne*, the focused XP typically being included between *ne* and *quidem* (Devine & Stephens 2006: 266):

- (3) *Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem.*  
in general as me.DAT quidem seems passions.GEN.PLall.GEN.PL disgust.NOM of life causes disgust.ACC.SG  
'In general, at least to my opinion, a disgust of all passions induces a disgust of life itself.'  
(= Cicero, *De Senectute* 20.76)
- (4) *Merito hoc nobis fit, qui quidem huc venerimus.*  
rightly this.NOM us.DAT happens who.REL quidem here come.PF.SUBJ.1.PL  
'This rightly happens to us, who came here.'  
(= Plautus, *Bacchides* 1123)
- (5) *Nam hoc de cella ne Lepidus quidem fecerat.*  
for this.ACC concerning granary.ABL not Lepidus.NOM even do.PLUPF.3.SG  
'For not even Lepidus had done this regarding the granary'.  
(= Cicero, *In Verrem* II.3.212)

**4. Adverbial clauses and *quidem*.** With respect to the distribution of *quidem* in ACs Glare (1968) reports two lexicalized combinations consisting of an adverbial conjunction and *quidem*: *si quidem* ('assuming that', '(even) supposing that', 'if it is the case that') and *quando quidem* ('seeing that, since'). In terms of Haegeman's distinction, both of these are clearly peripheral (6-7):

- (6) *Aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quando quidem virtute superavit aetatem.*  
 age his surely from that opinion nobody.ACC deter.FUT.3.SG since quidem virtue.ABL defeat.PF.3.SG age  
 'His age surely will not change anyone's opinion, since he defeated old age by means of his virtue'  
 (= Cicero, *Philippicae* 14.28)
- (7) *Bono praesidio munitur existimatio tua, si quidem in Aproni constituitur diligentia atque auctoritate.*  
 by good protection is guarded reputation yours. if quidem in A.'s is put in care and influence  
 'Your reputation is well protected, if indeed it depends on Apronius' care and influence'.  
 (= Cicero, *In Verrem* II.3.154)

A small survey of the distribution of *quidem* in a corpus of prose texts (approx. 1.500.000 words) shows that, like other discourse markers (cf. Coniglio 2007, 2008) *quidem* is restricted to peripheral ACs. These data thus corroborate the distinction between central and peripheral ACs.

Central ACs		Peripheral ACs	
	# occurrences		# occurrences
<i>quia quidem</i> ('because')	0 (1698)	<i>quoniam quidem</i> ('since')	8 (705)
<i>postquam quidem</i> ('after')	0 (766)	<i>si quidem</i> ('supposing that')	76 (8045)
<i>antequam quidem</i> ('before')	0 (165)	<i>quando quidem</i> ('given that')	18 (268)

Table 1: distribution of *quidem* in a sample of Latin ACs  
 Between brackets: total number of occurrences of the conjunction.

In the final part of the paper I discuss the syntactic status of *quidem*. According to Kroon (2005: 579) 'the truth of the statement made with *quidem* is always insisted on'. I will explore an account according to which *quidem* encodes polarity focus (cf. Verum Focus (Höhle 1992)) and is associated with a functional (Focus) projection in the left periphery (cf. Breitbarth & Haegeman (2009) and Haegeman (2009b) for recent discussion of the syntax of polarity focus). Adopting Haegeman's movement account of central AC the relevant projection will lead to an intervention effect in central ACs and *quidem* is correctly excluded.

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