# Equatives and comparatives in connective negation

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'Connective negation' ('CONEG') is one of many terms for *neither … nor* constructions, as in Shakespeare's *Neither a lender nor a borrower be.* Until recently (Salaberri 2022) there was little cross-linguistic work on connective negation and there is still no cross-linguistic work on the use of equatives or comparatives in connective negation. Dutch (1)a illustrates an equative use: *evenmin … als* originally means 'equally little as', but it is now nearly exclusively used for connective negation. It can be used instead of the older connective negators *noch* 'neither' and *ook niet* 'also not'. French *non plus* (lit. 'NEG more') and *davantage* 'more' in (1)b illustrate comparative constructions. The French comparative connective negators must or may combine with the older connective negator *ni.*

(1)  a.  Mijn vader  houdt  niet  van  mijn vrienden, ik  evenmin.
         my  father  holds  NEG  of   my  friends      I  CONEG
     b.  Mon père    n'    aime   pas  mes amis,  ⌐ (ni)     moi non plus.
         my  father  NEG  loves  NEG  my  friends │ CONEG   me  NEG  more
                                                  │ ni        moi davantage.
                                                  └ CONEG   me  more

         'My father does not like my friends, me neither.'

This paper, based on exploratory corpus work and language-specific scholarship, is a first study of the current uses and the diachronies of equative and comparative CONEG constructions in Dutch, French, and Spanish.

The main conclusions are the following:

1 / In each of the languages, the equative and comparative constructions constitute a renewal of the CONEG system, but they have not replaced the older non-equative non-comparative constructions (Dutch *noch* and *ook niet,* French and Spanish *ni*).

2 / The main parameters of variation for the use of the various constructions are scope, register and ellipsis.

3 / The equative and comparative constructions constitute either an alternative for the older constructions (e.g. Dutch *evenmin* instead of *noch*) or an addition (e.g Spanish *tampoco* (lit. 'so.little') combining with *ni*) or both (e.g *tampoco* also occurs instead of *ni*).

4 / Equative and comparative CONEG constructions originate in at least three different ways: (i) the Dutch *min* constructions derive the CONEG uses as a conventionalization of an implicature that when a low degree is similar to a zero degree, the low degree becomes a zero degree; (ii) Spanish *tampoco* and French *plus* competed with and replaced an additive marker (the ancestors of Spanish *otrosí,* French *aussi*) in the scope of negation ; (iii) French *davantage* extended its use to connective negation in analogy with *non plus.*

Salaberri, Iker. 2022. A cross-linguistic study of emphatic negative coordination. *Studies in Language* 46.3, 647-717.