

Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation

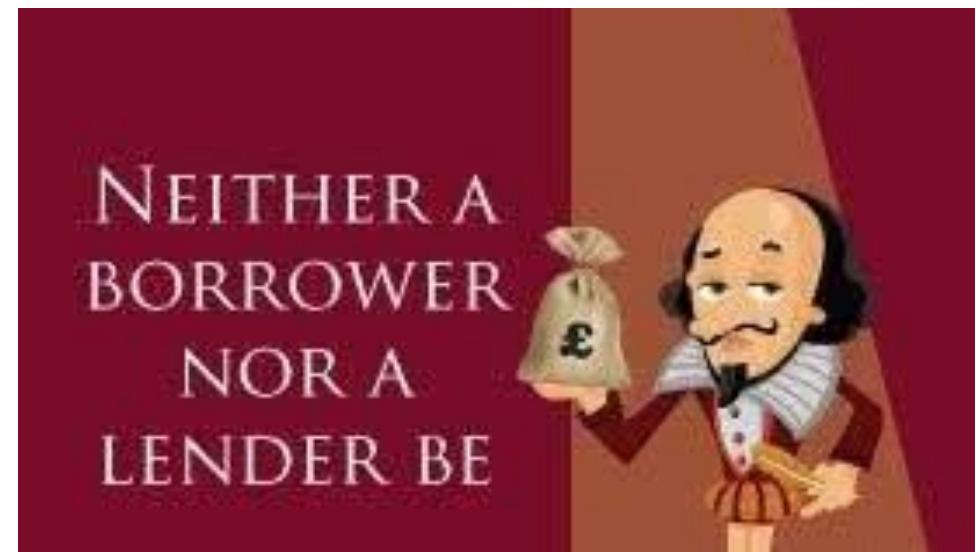
Johan van der Auwera
University of Antwerp
Belgium

Daniel Van Olmen
Lancaster University
UK

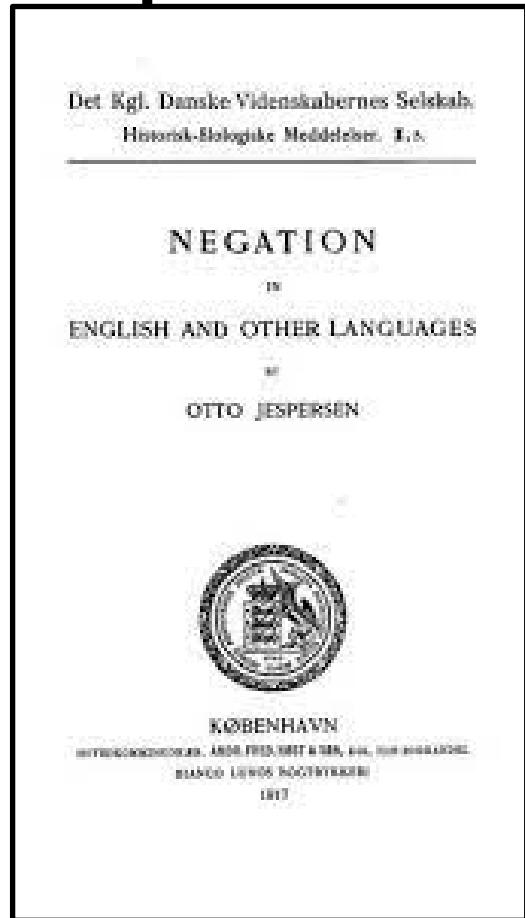
Maj-Britt Mosegaard Hansen
Manchester University
UK

Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation

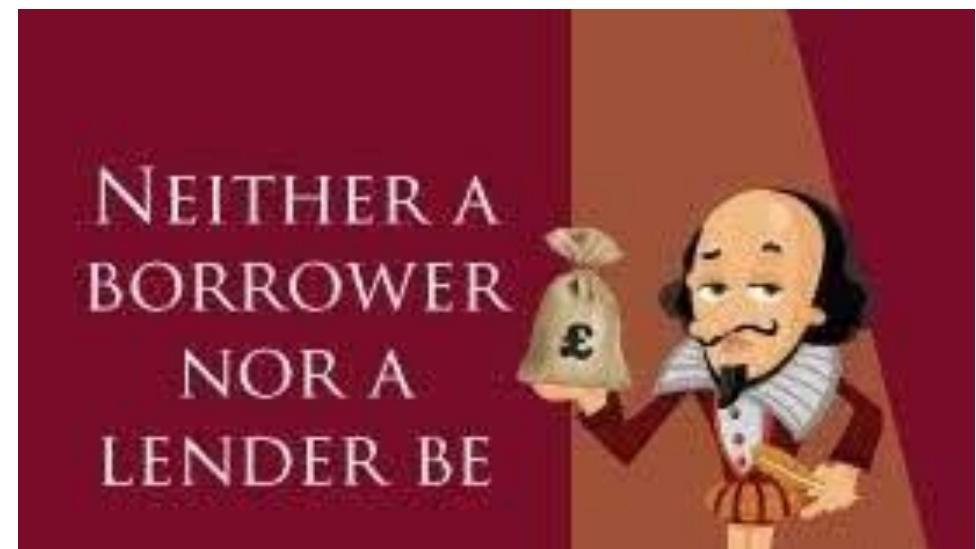
Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation



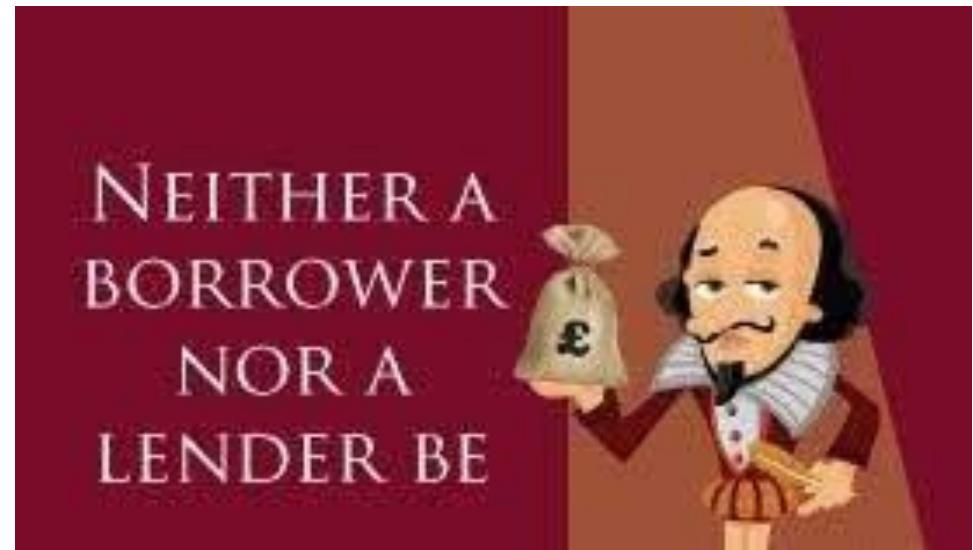
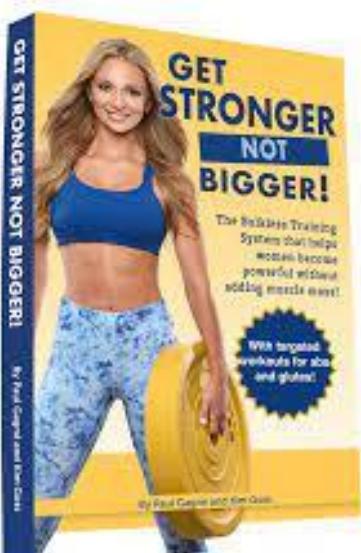
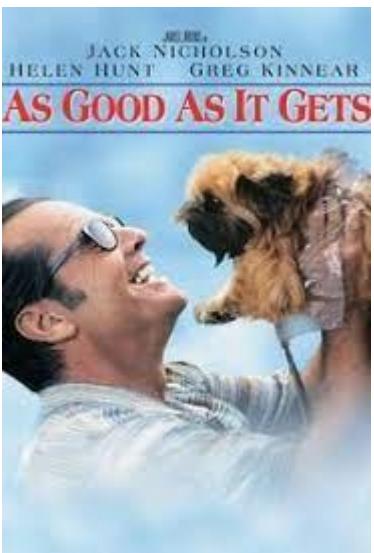
Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation



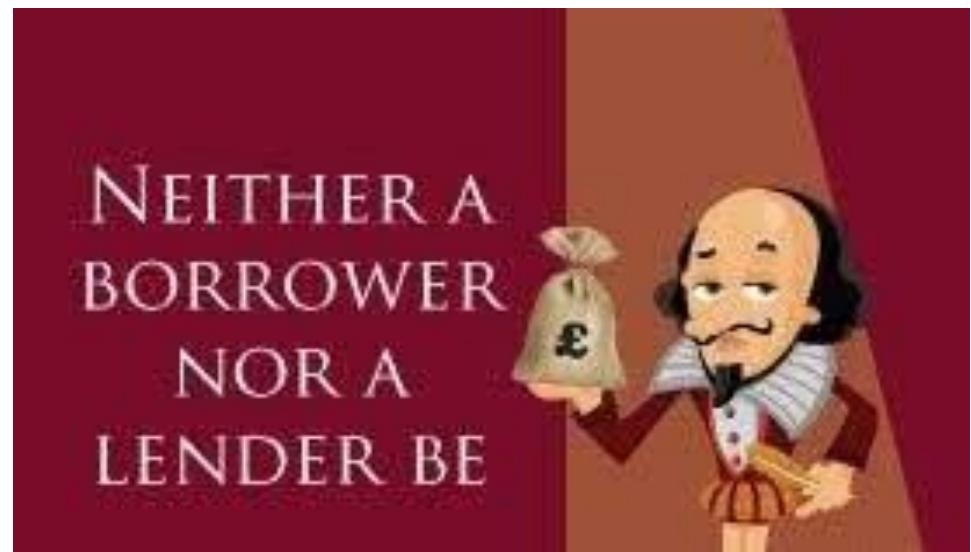
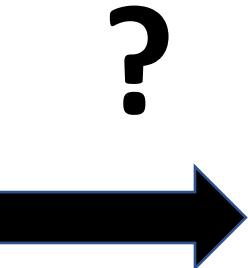
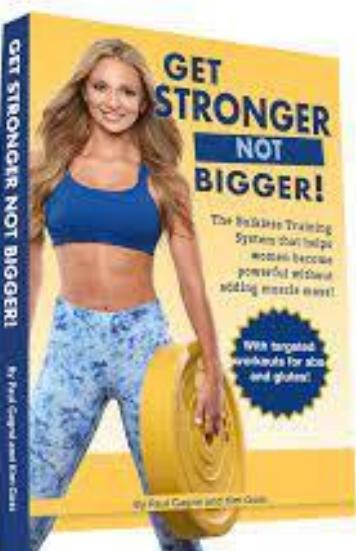
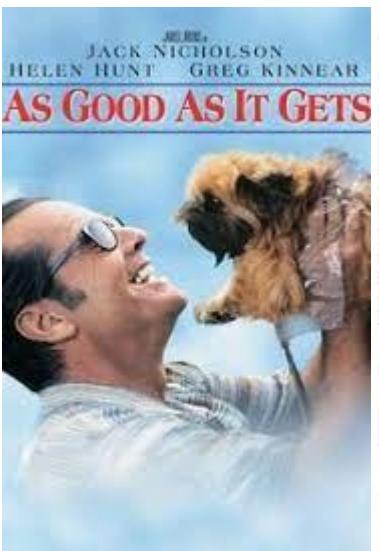
=
**'negative
connexion'**



Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation



Equatives and negative comparatives for connective negation





French 1969 (1967)

Serge: *Je t'aime.*

I you love

'I love you.'

Jane: *Moi non plus. / Ni moi non plus. /*Ni moi.*

me NEG more CONEG me NEG more CONEG me

'Me neither.'



French 1969 (1967)

Serge: *Je t'aime.*

I you love

'I love you.'

Jane: *Moi non plus. / Ni moi non plus. /*Ni moi.*

me NEG more CONEG me NEG more CONEG me

'Me neither.'



Spanish

Serge: *Te amo.*

you love

'I love you.'

Jane: *Yo tampoco. / Ni yo tampoco. / Ni yo.*

I as.little CONEG I as .ittle I CONEG

'Me neither.'

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

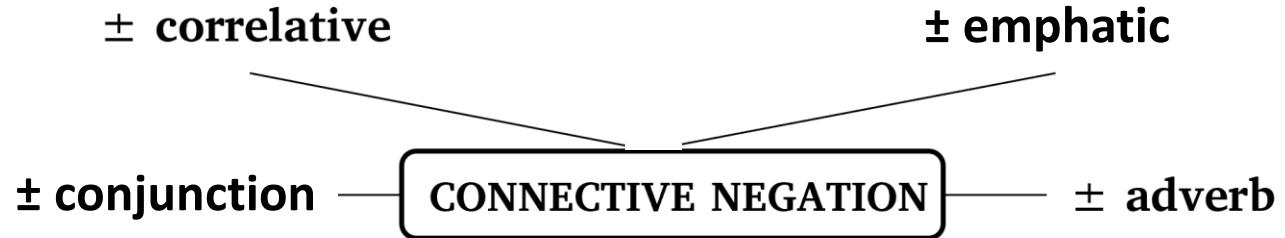
1. Connective negation

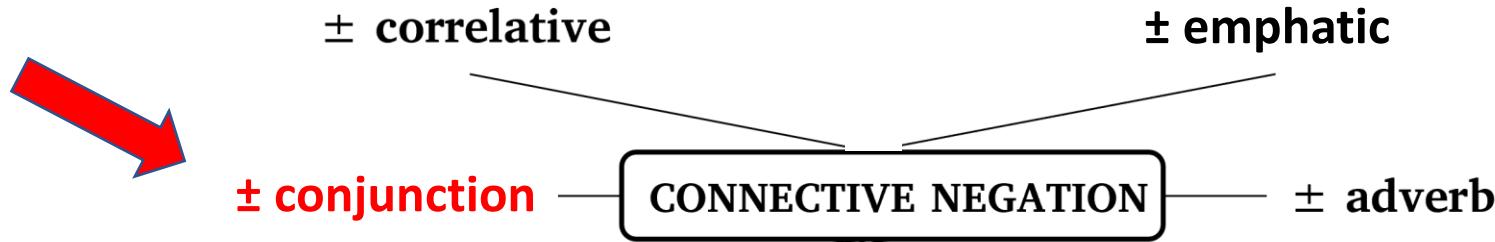
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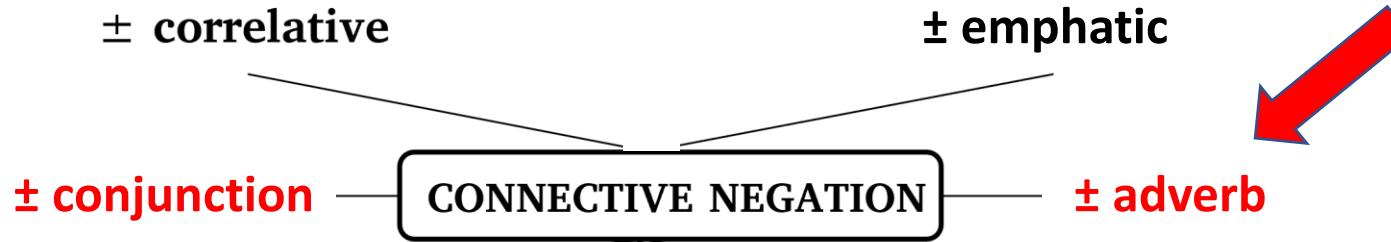




Hansen, Maj-Britt Mosegaard (2021) 'Cyclic changes to the **negative coordinating conjunction** from Latin to Modern French', *Folia Linguistica Historica* 42.223-254.

French

Je n'aime ni le théâtre, ni l'opéra.
 I NEG love CONEG the theatre CONEG the opera
 'I like neither theatre nor opera.'

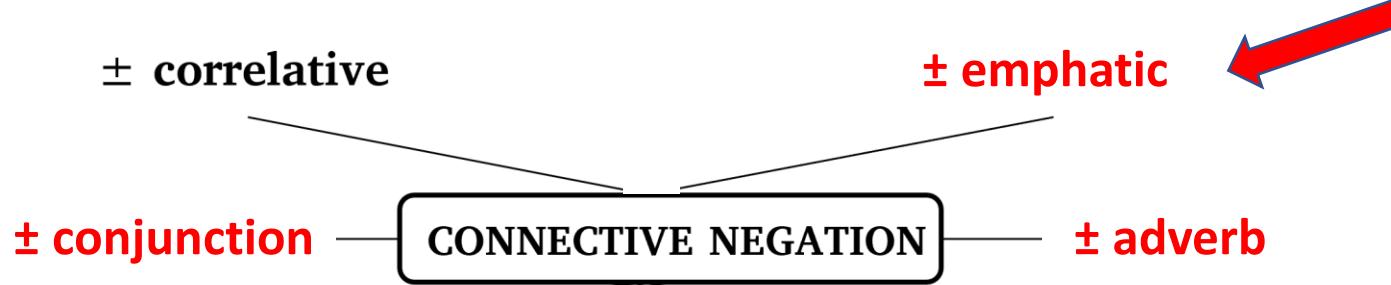


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Moi non plus.
 me not more
 ‘Me neither’



Salaberri, Iker (2022) 'A cross-linguistic study of **emphatic** negative coordination', *Studies in Language* 46.647-717.

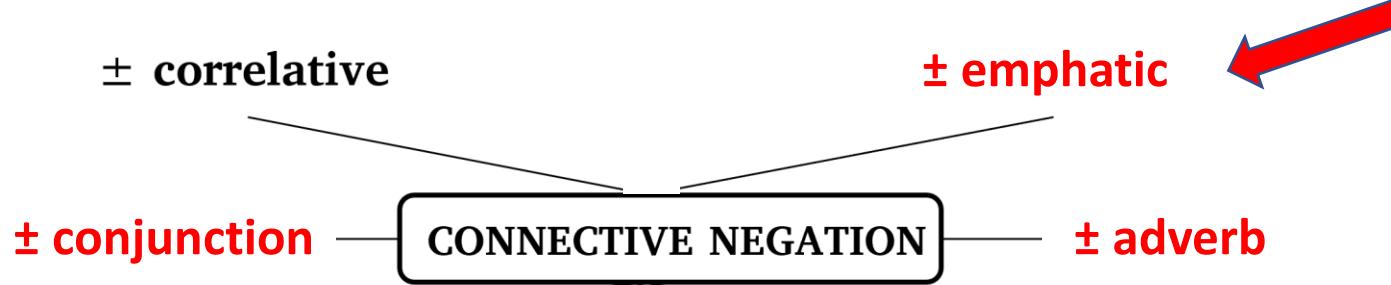
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French

Je n'aime ni le théâtre, ni l'opéra non plus.

I NEG love CONEG the theatre CONEG the opera no more

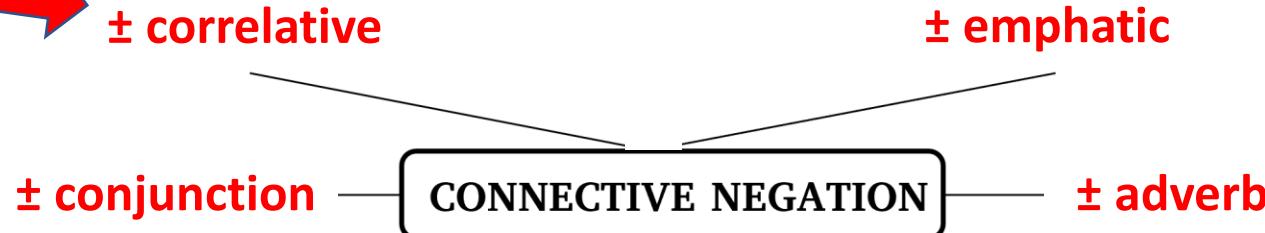
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Gianollo, Chiara (2018) *Indefinites between Latin and Romance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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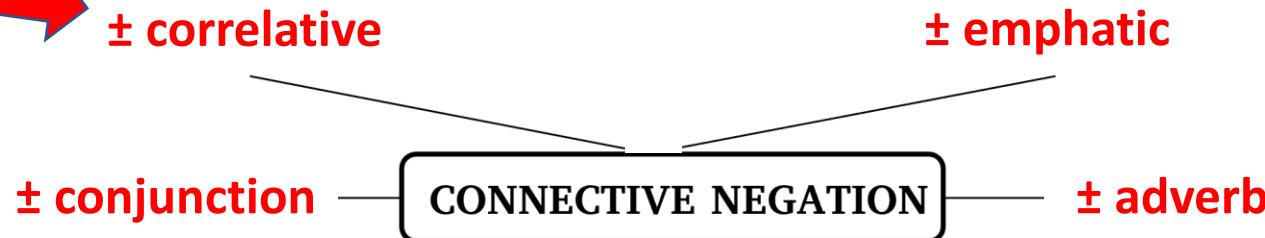
Ni l'instituteur ni le curé n'ont besoin d'avoir un nom [...]
 CONEG the teacher CONEG the priest NEG have need of have a name [...]
 ‘Neither the teacher nor the priest need to have a name [...]’



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French

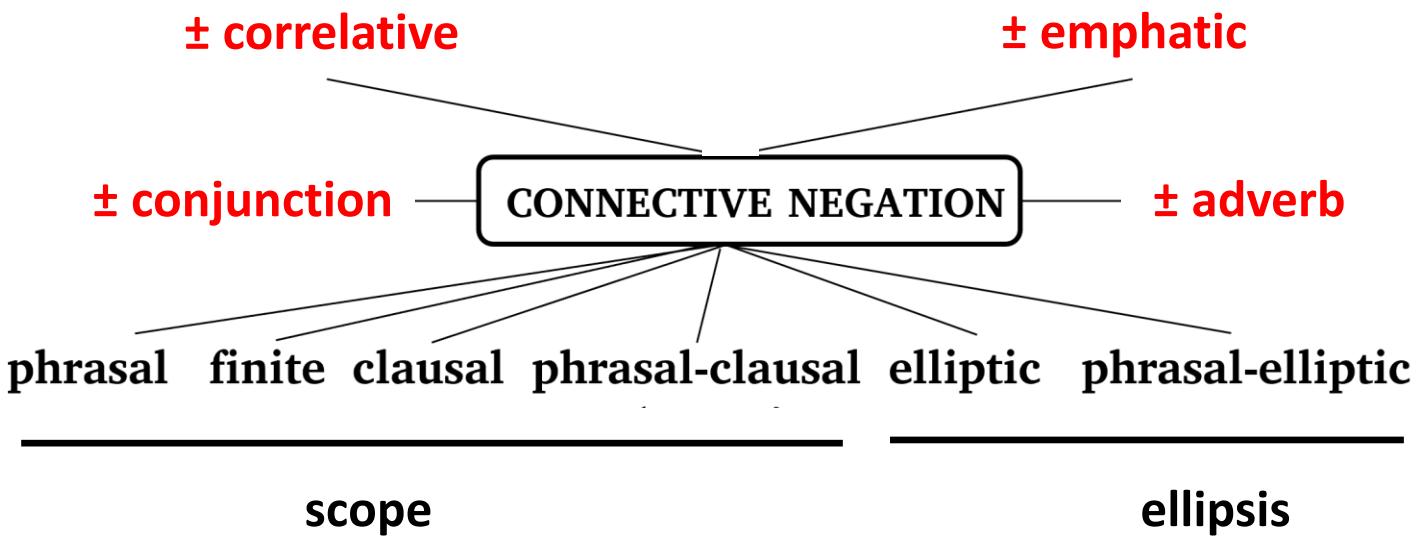
\emptyset *L'instituteur ni le curé n'ont besoin d'avoir un nom [...]*
 \emptyset the teacher CONEG the priest NEG have need of have a name [...]
 ‘Neither the teacher nor the priest need to have a name [...]’

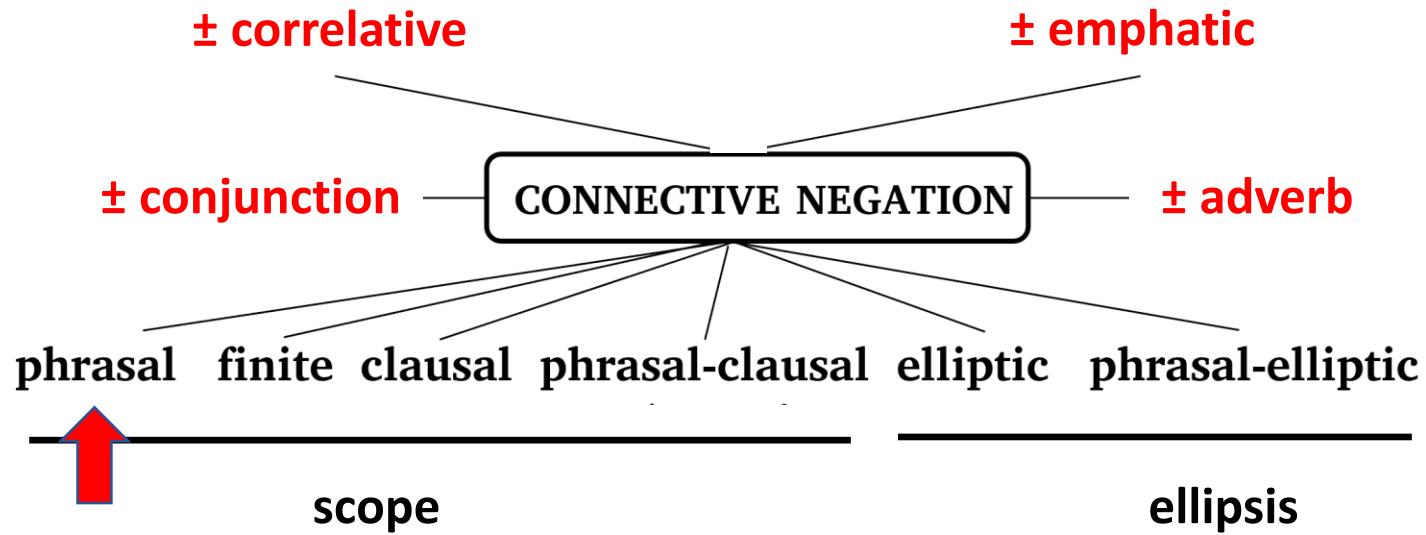


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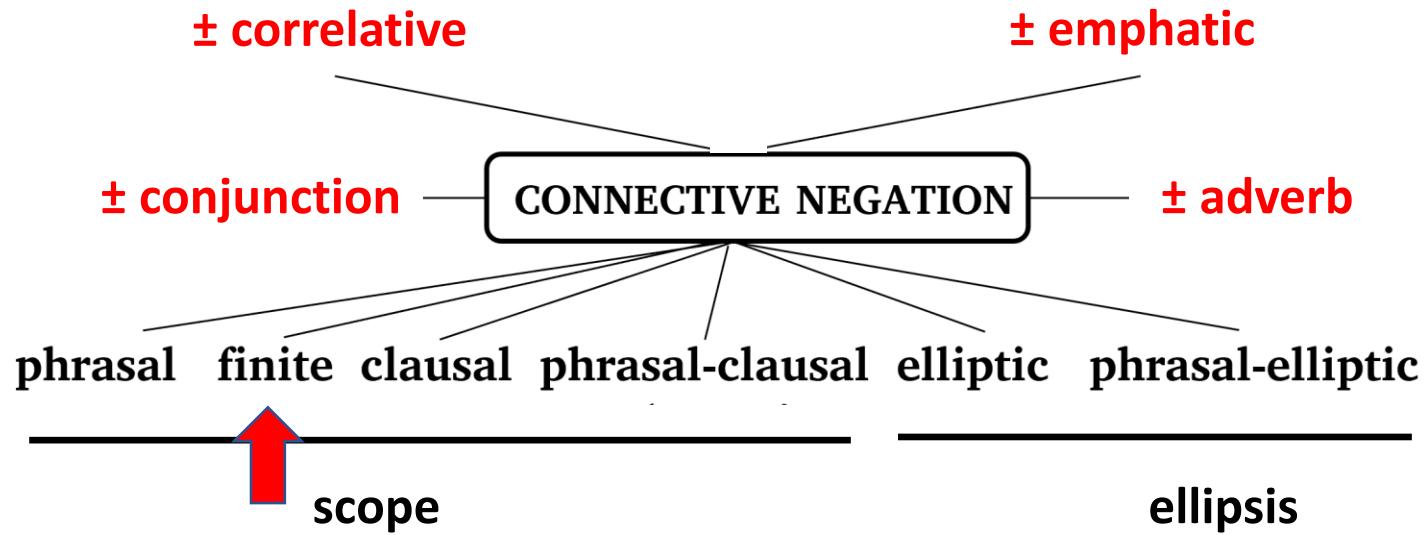
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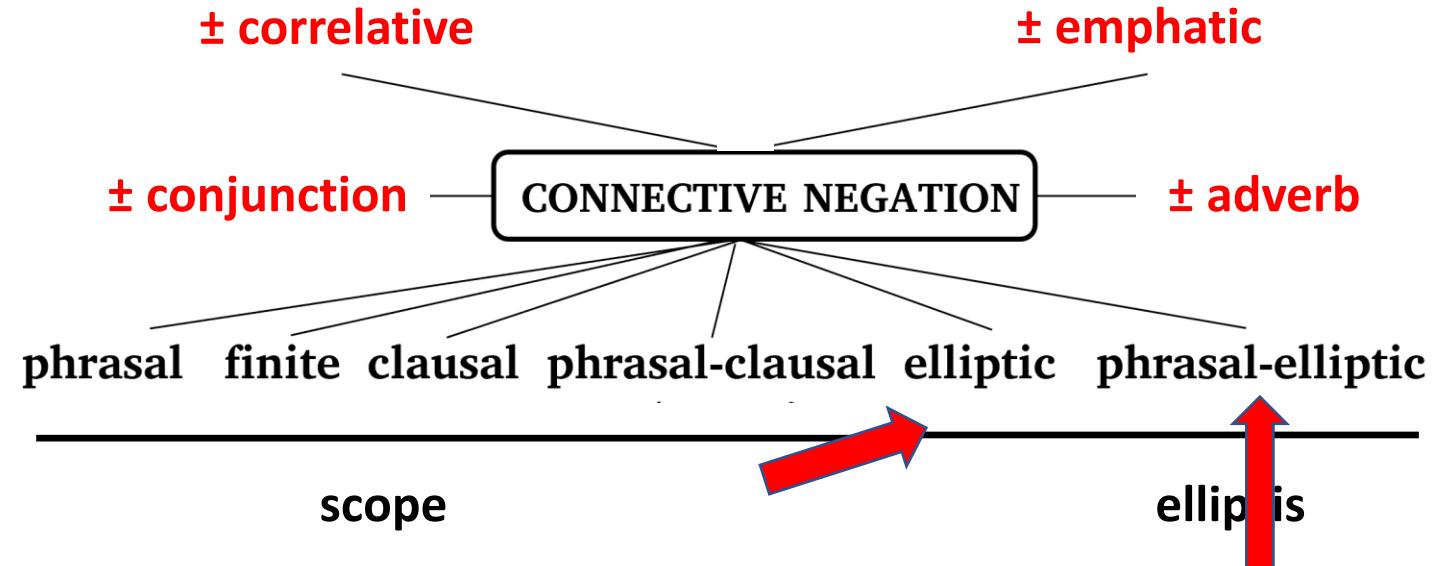


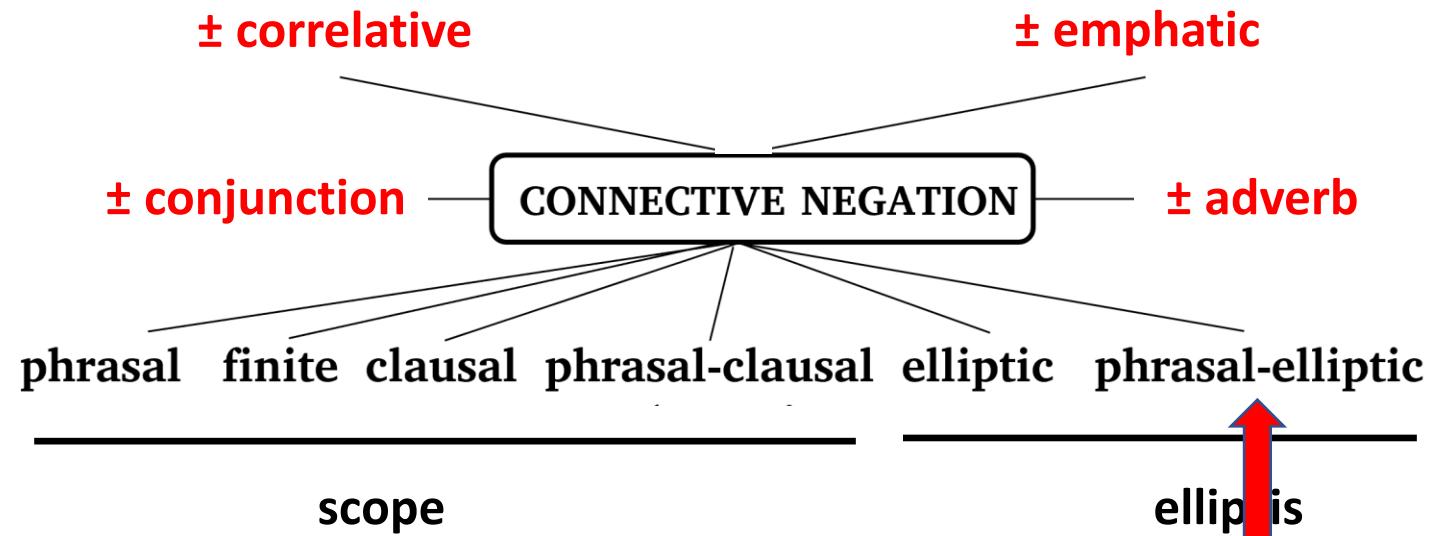
French

Il ne parlait pas ni ne mangeait.
he NEG talked NEG CONEG NEG ate
'He neither talked nor ate.'

Spanish

No/Ni *puedo ni debo exponerla a ciertos riesgos.*
NEG/CONEG can CONEG must expose.her to certain risks.
'I neither nor must expose her to certain risks.'





French

Serge: *Je t'aime.*

I you love

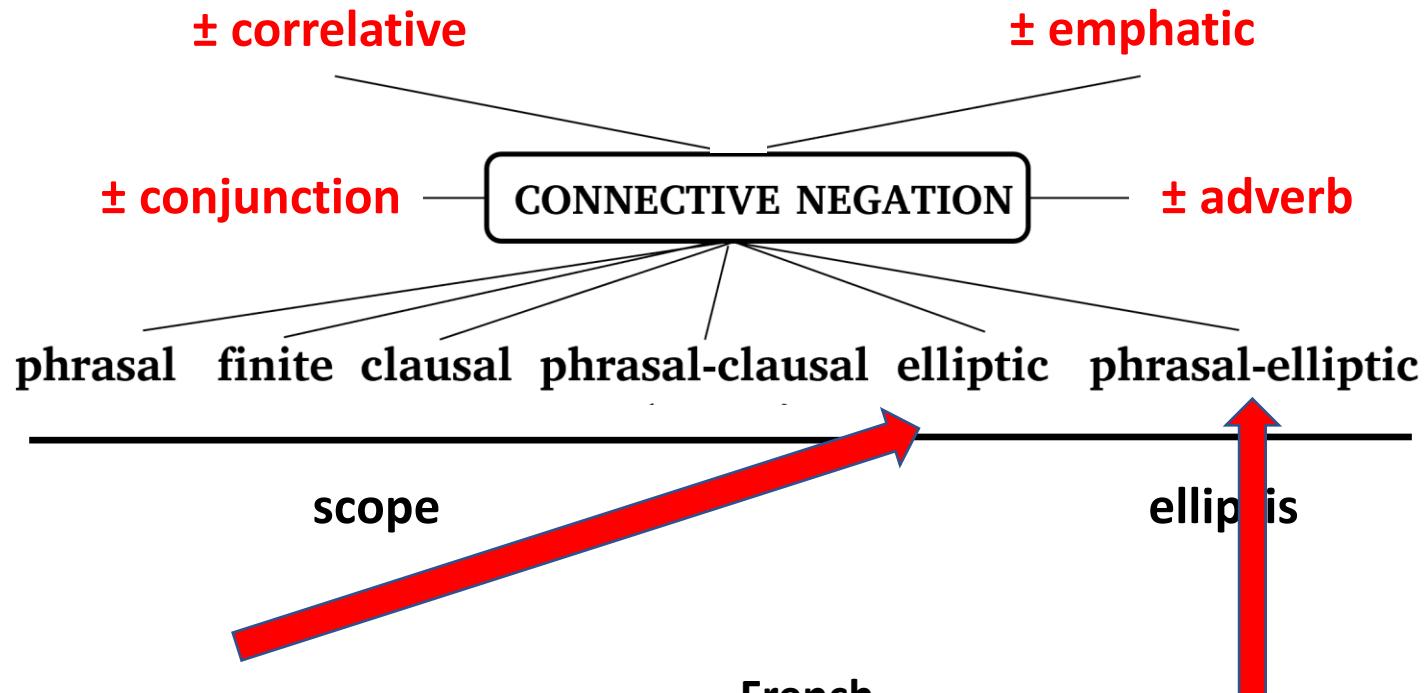
'I love you,'

Jane: *Moi non plus.* / *Ni moi non plus.* /**Ni moi.*

me NEG more CONEG me NEG more

CONEG me

'Me neither.'



French

A: *Je ne suis pas malade. Est-ce que Jean est malade?*

I NEG am NEG sick is-it that Jean is sick

'I am not sick. Is John sick?'

B: *Non plus.* / **Ni.* / **Ni non plus*

NEG more CONEG no CONEG NEG more

'He isn't either.'

French

Serge: *Je t'aime.*

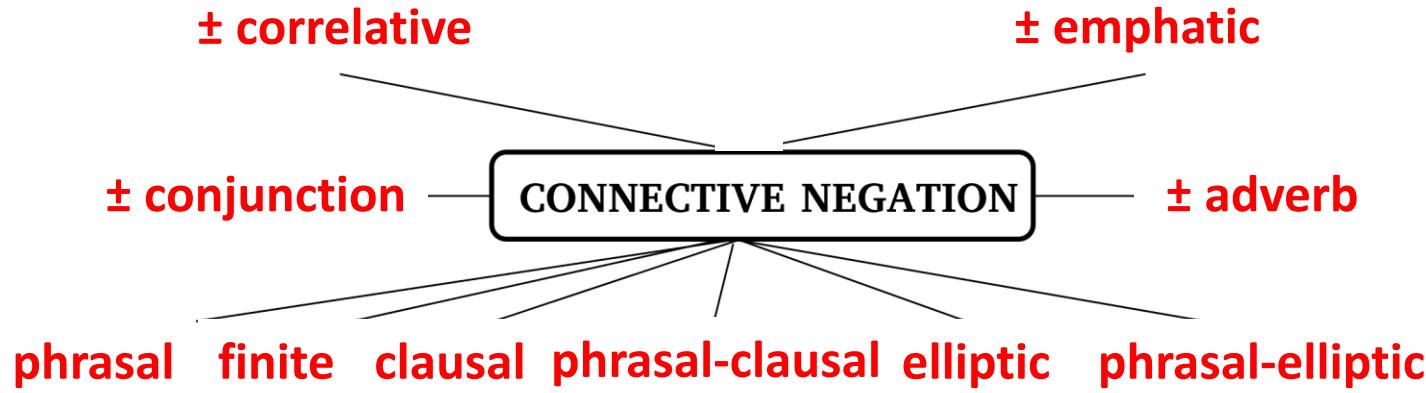
I you love

'I love you,'

Jane: *Moi non plus.* / *Ni moi non plus.* /**Ni moi.*

me NEG more CONEG me NEG more

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Other parameters ?

Jespersen, Otto (1917) & Salaberri (2022)

Bond, Oliver (2011) 'Negation in clause linkages', In Julia Sallabank (ed.) *Language documentation and description*. Vol. 8, 77-120. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.

van der Auwera, Johan & Sepideh Koohkan (2020) 'Extending the typology: negative concord and connective negation in Persian', *Linguistic Typology at the Crossroads* 2.1-36.

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

noch
‘neither’

en ook niet
‘and also not’

min
‘little’

noch
'neither'

en ook niet
'and also not'

min
'little'

niet X ... en ook niet Y
geen X ... en ook geen Y
niet/geen X ... | ook niet/geen Y

noch
'neither'

en ook niet
'and also not'

min
'little'

niet/geen X ... noch Y
noch X ... noch Y
X noch Y

niet X ... en ook niet Y
geen X ... en ook geen Y
niet/geen X ... | ook niet/geen Y

noch
'neither'

en ook niet
'and also not'

min
'little'

niet/geen X ... noch Y
noch X ... noch Y
X noch Y

niet X ... en ook niet Y
geen X ... en ook geen Y
niet/geen X ... | ook niet/geen Y

14
constructions

noch
'neither'

en ook niet
'and also not'

min
'little'

niet/geen X ... noch Y
noch X ... noch Y
X noch Y

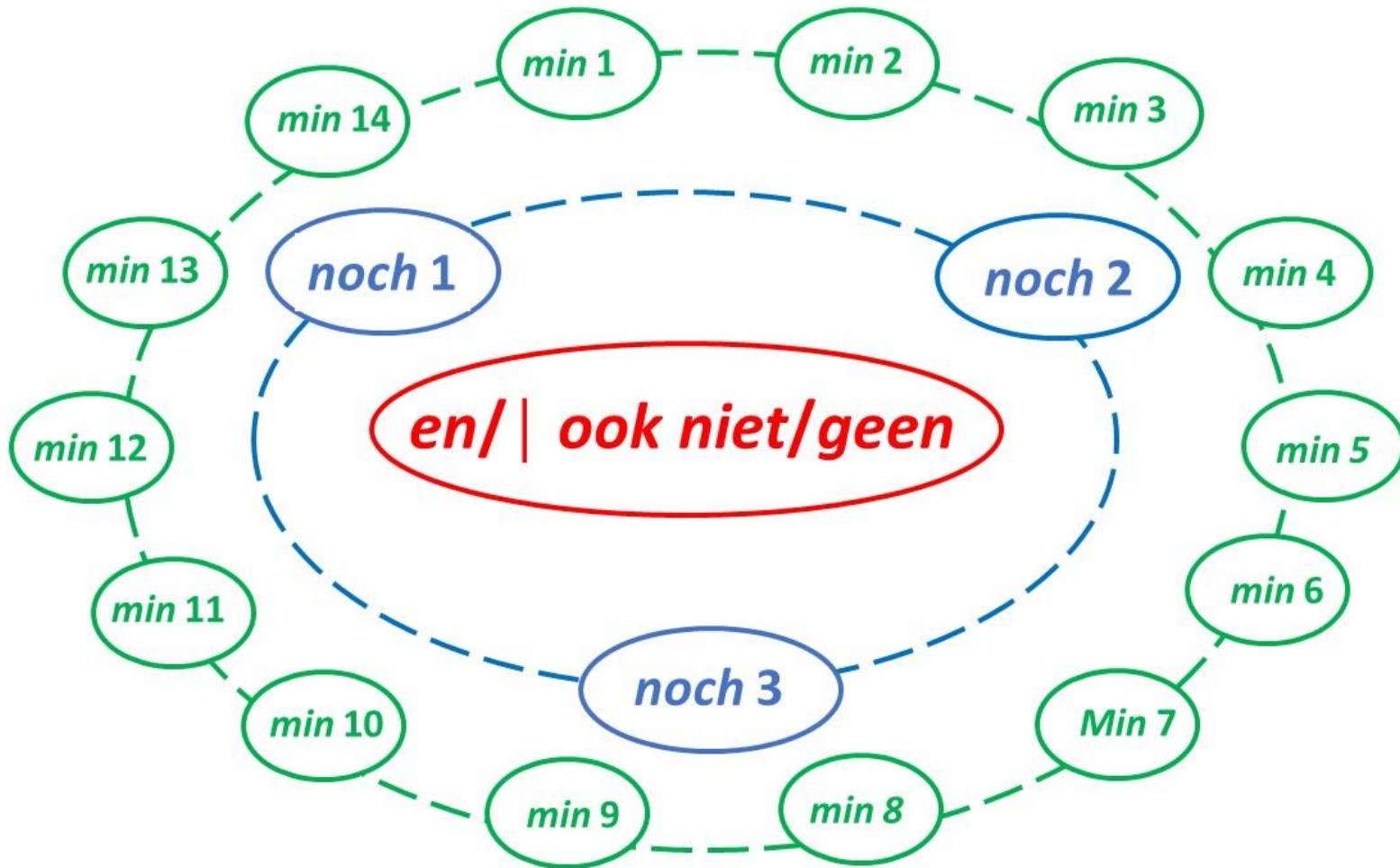
niet X ... en ook niet Y
geen X ... en ook geen Y
niet/geen X ... | ook niet/geen Y

**14
constructions**

300,005

1,363,812

386



Detges, Ulrich (2020) Future markers in Western Romance. Cyclic change, synchronic variation and diachronic competition, *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 21.289-314.
 von Wartburg, Walther (1970³) *Einführung in Problematik und Methodik der Sprachwissenschaft*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

noch

‘neither’

en ook niet

‘and also not’

min

‘little’

Elliptic

0

333

36

300,005

1,363,812

386

noch

‘neither’

en ook niet

‘and also not’

min

‘little’

< ne (u)h

< ne wiht

300,005

1,363,812

386

noch

‘neither’

en ook niet

‘and also not’

min

‘little’

< ***ne (u)h***

< ***ne wiht***

Origin and current distribution suggest that ***noch*** is the older CONEG
and that ***en ook niet*** therefore ousted ***noch*** in the top position

300,005

1,363,812

386

<i>Er was geen geld</i>	<i>en evenmin</i>	<i>voedsel.</i>
there was no money	and equally.little	food
	<i>evenmin als</i>	
	<i>equally.little as</i>	
	<i>zo min als</i>	
	as little as	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
	just as little as	
<i>Er was geld</i>	<i>evenmin als</i>	
there was money	<i>zo min als</i>	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
	<i>en even min</i>	
<i>Er was</i>	<i>geld als</i>	
	<i>evenmin</i>	
	<i>zo min</i>	
	<i>zomin</i>	
	<i>net zo min</i>	
	<i>net zomin</i>	

X

<i>Er was geen geld</i>	<i>en evenmin</i>	voedsel.
there was no money	and equally.little	food
	<i>evenmin als</i>	
	equally.little as	
	<i>zo min als</i>	
	as little as	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
	just as little as	
<i>Er was geld</i>	<i>evenmin als</i>	
there was money	<i>zo min als</i>	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
	<i>en even min</i>	
	<i>geld als</i>	
<i>Er was</i>	<i>evenmin</i>	
	<i>zo min</i>	
	<i>zomin</i>	
	<i>net zo min</i>	
	<i>net zomin</i>	

X

Er was geld
there was money

Er was

- evenmin*
- zo min*
- zomin*
- net zo min*
- net zomin*

evenmin als
zo min als
net zo min als
en even min

geld als

Er was geen geld
there was no money

en evenmin
and equally.little
evenmin als
equally.little as
zo min als
as little as
net zo min als
just as little as

voedsel.
food

Y

<i>Er was geen geld</i>	<i>en evenmin</i>	voedsel.	104
there was no money	and equally.little	food	
	<i>evenmin als</i>		3
	equally.little as		
	<i>zo min als</i>		1
	as little as		
	<i>net zo min als</i>		1
	just as little as		
<i>Er was geld</i>	<i>evenmin als</i>		66
there was money	<i>zo min als</i>		8
	<i>net zo min als</i>		3
	<i>en even min</i>		1
<i>Er was</i>	<i>geld als</i>		1
	<i>evenmin</i>		
	<i>zo min</i>		1
	<i>zomin</i>		8
	<i>net zo min</i>		6
	<i>net zomin</i>		1

The *min* constructions would seem to have a semantically transparent structure, because the components exist with their original meanings.

evenmin
even min 'equally little'

zomin
zo min 'as little'

net zomin
net zo min 'just as little'

Er was geen geld
there was no money

Er was geld
there was money

Er was

voedsel.
food

en evenmin
and equally.little

evenmin als
equally.little as

zo min als
as little as

net zo min als
just as little as

evenmin als

zo min als

net zo min als

en even min
geld als

evenmin
zo min
zomin
net zo min
net zomin

The *min* constructions would seem to have a semantically transparent structure, because the components exist with their original meanings.

evenmin
even min

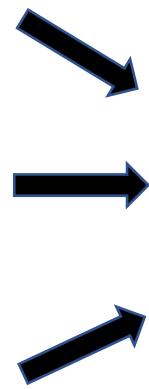
'equally little'

zomin
zo min

'as little'

net zomin
net zo min

'just as little'



19th-20th c.

CONEG
'neither'

<i>Er was geen geld</i> there was no money	<i>en evenmin</i> and equally.little	voedsel. food
	<i>evenmin als</i>	
	<i>evenmin als</i>	
	<i>evenmin als</i>	
<i>Er was geld</i> there was money	<i>zo min als</i>	
	<i>zo min als</i>	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
	<i>net zo min als</i>	
<i>Er was</i>	<i>evenmin</i> <i>zo min</i> <i>zomin</i> <i>net zo min</i> <i>net zomin</i>	

'equally little' → 'no'
In a bridging context

Er was geen geld en evenmin voedsel.
'There was no money and equally little food.'

**no money
equally little food
hence also no food**

'equally little' → 'no'
In a bridging context

Er was geen geld en evenmin voedsel.
'There was no money and equally little food.'

no money
equally little food
hence also no food

no X & Y as little as X hence also no Y

'equally little' → 'no'
In a bridging context

Er was geen geld en evenmin voedsel.
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no X & Y as little as X hence also no Y

CONTEXT-DEPENDENT, EASY, AND NON-CANCELABLE

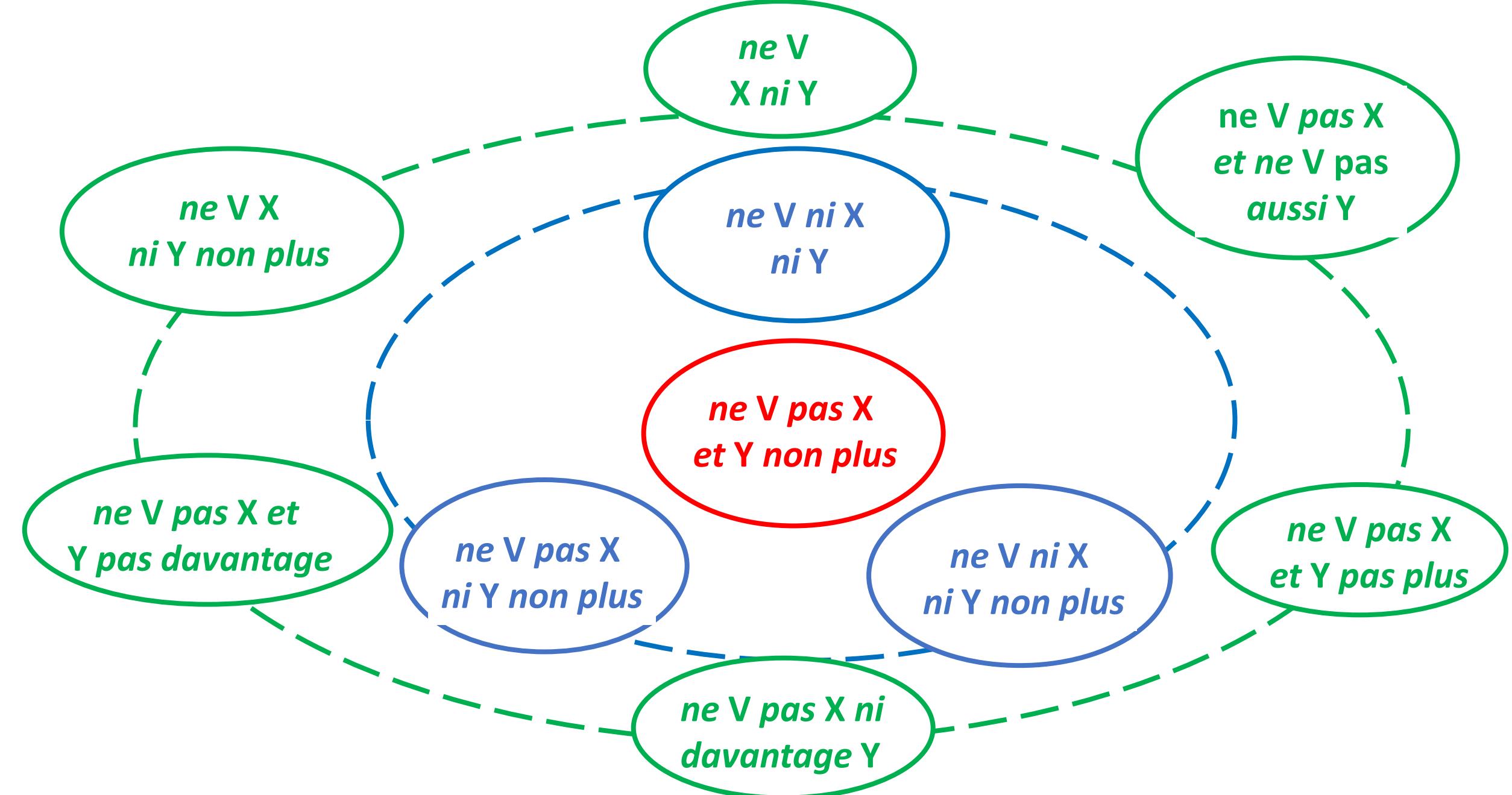
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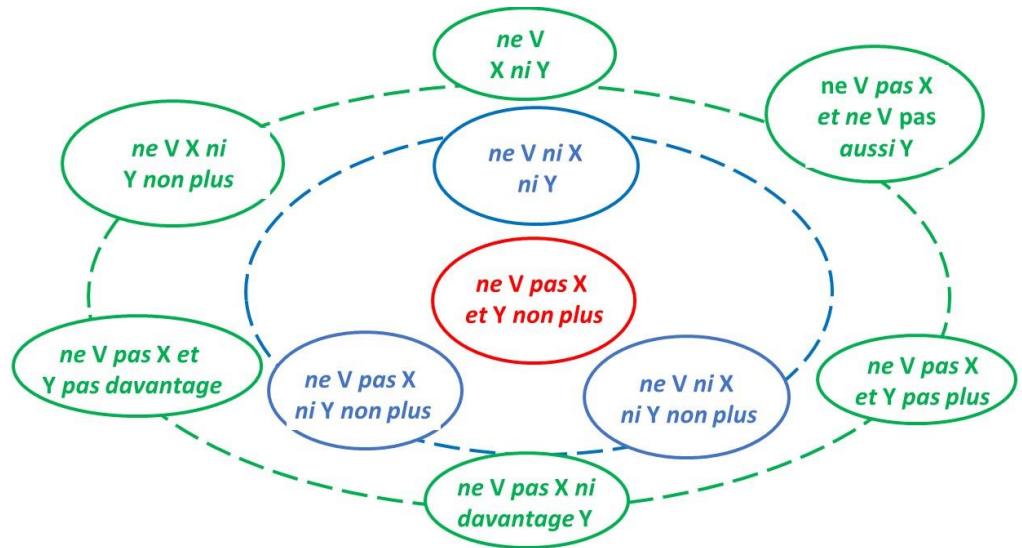
3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

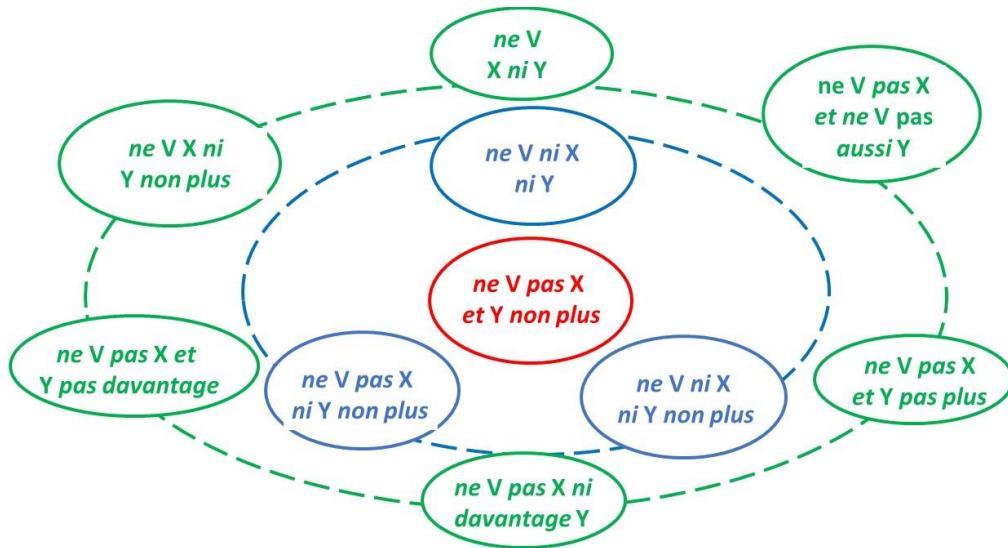


1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop



1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop

2 / Negative comparative, not an equative



1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop

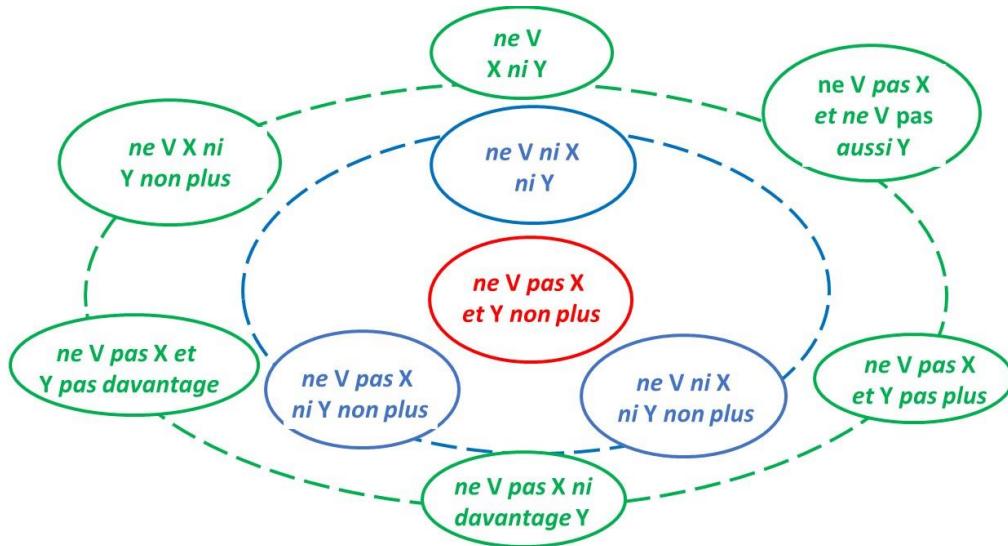
2 / Negative comparative, not an equative

3 / More than one

viz. *non plus*

pas plus

pas davantage



1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop

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3 / More than one

viz. *non plus*

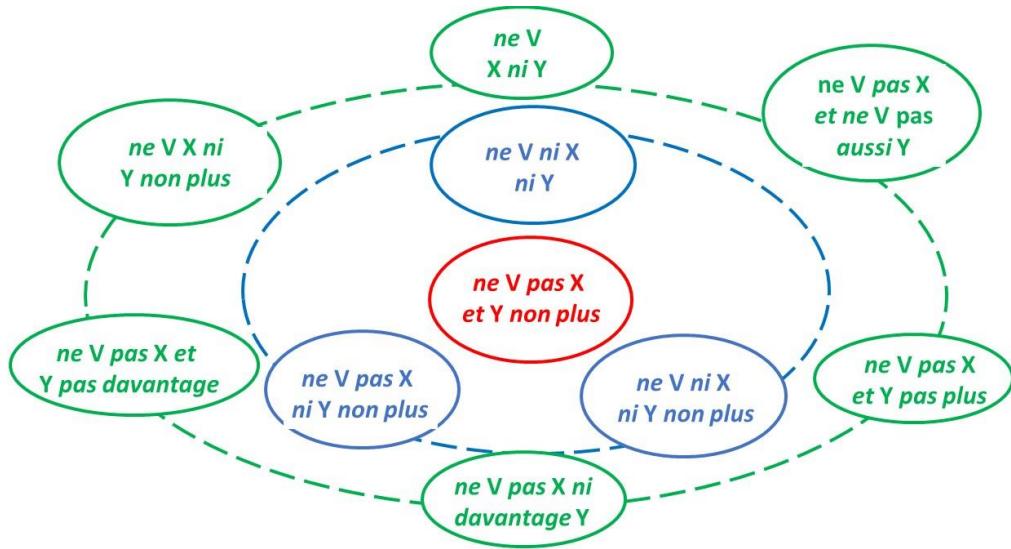
pas plus

pas davantage

4 / Combinable with *ni*

ni davantage

ni ... non plus



1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop

2 / Negative comparative, not an equative

3 / More than one

viz. *non plus*

pas plus

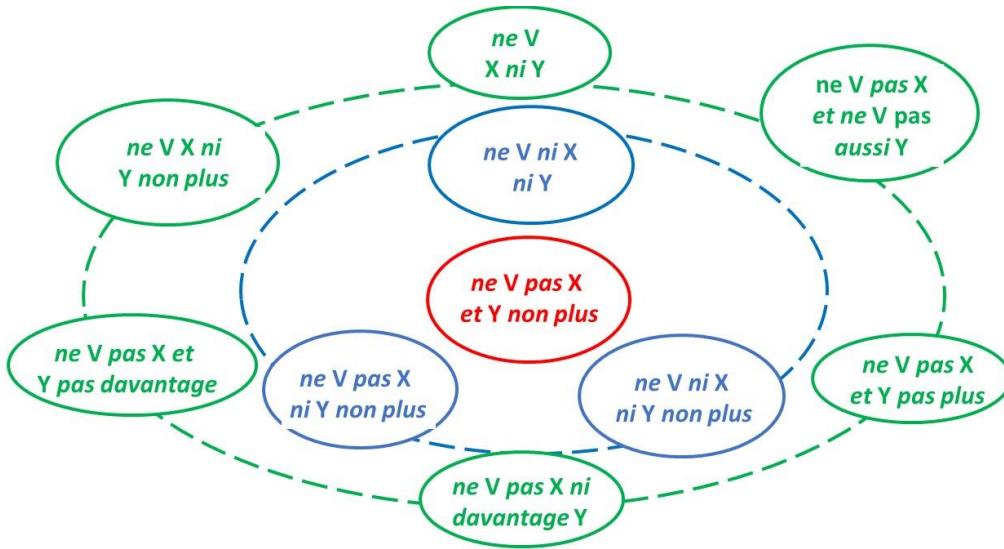
pas davantage

4 / Combinable with *ni*

ni davantage

ni ... non plus

5 / *ni ... non plus* has two negators



1 / Still incomplete, *ne* drop

2 / Negative comparative, not an equative

3 / More than one

viz. *non plus*

pas plus

pas davantage

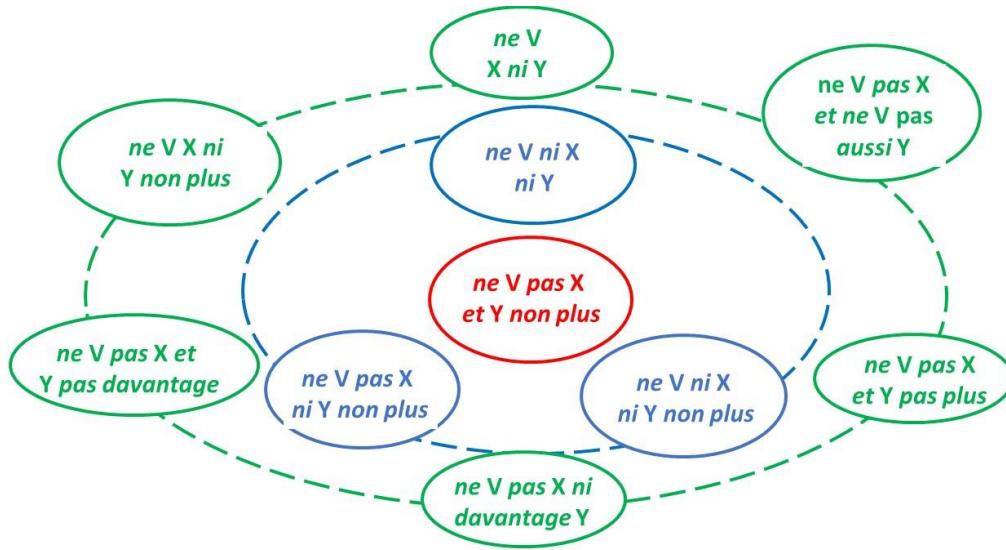
4 / Combinable with *ni*

ni davantage

ni ... non plus

5 / *ni ... non plus* has two negators

6 / pattern with *aussi* exists, but it is very marginal...



Just two points

1. *ne/ni ... aussi* was more common

But, according to Kjelman (1924: 191), Antoine (1958: 333-334, 1100-1102), Badiou-Monferran (2006: 237, 2020: 1661)

ne/ni ... aussi → *ni ... non plus*

Calvin (1550) FRANTEXT

Car ce n'est point en vain que Jesis Christ a promics que la porte sera ouverte à ceulx qui heurteront. Ce n'est point aussi en vain que le Pere luy a donné esprit de jugement et de discretion, mais à fin qu'il nous en face participans. Ce n'est point en vain non plus que Dieu declare par son Prophete Esaie qu'il sera comme le magister ou pedagogue de son peuple, se tenant tousjours à son dos pour le guider.

'It is not in vain that ... It is not in vain either ...

Several questions:

Several questions:

Is this true?

Several questions:

Is this true?

If it is true, why did this process take place?

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Is this true?

If it is true, why did this process take place?

If it is true, is this the process through which *non plus* entered the domain of connective negation?

Several questions:

Is this true?

If it is true, why did this process take place?

If it is true, is this the process through which *non plus* entered the domain of connective negation?

No – *non plus* entered the domain of connective negation before it collocated with *ne/ni*.

Preclassical French (1500-1650) FRANTEEXT

In a sample of 152 attestations of *non plus*
21 instantiate connective negation

All just *non plus*, not a single *ne/ni non plus*

La Gessée (1583) FRANTEXT

Je n'ayme point espandre un deluge de larmes, Coustume, et vray
loyer, d'un Amant socieus: Ni que l'aveugle Archer, Archer malicieus, s'empare
de mon coeur en si douces alarmes. Encore aymé je moins suivre le peuple
bas, ou m'exerçer folatre à mille vains esbas: Et suis non plus amy de pompe,
ni de gloire.

La Gessée (1583) FRANTEXT

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I don't like ... Neither ... No more am I a friend of pomp.

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no X & Y no more than X hence also no Y

La Gessée (1583) FRANTEEXT

Je n'ayme point espandre un deluge de larmes, Coustume, et vray
loyer, d'un Amant socieus: Ni que l'aveugle Archer, Archer malicieus, s'empare
de mon coeur en si douces alarmes. Encore aymé je moins suivre le peuple
bas, ou m'exerçer folatre à mille vains esbas: Et suis non plus amy de pompe,
ni de gloire.

I don't like ... Neither ... No more am I a friend of pomp.

no X & Y no more than X hence also no Y

≈ no X & Y as little as X hence also no Y

2. In Dutch *ook niet* is the main exponent of connective negation and the equative constructions remain satellites, with little hope of ‘promotion’.

2. In Dutch *ook niet* is the main exponent of connective negation and the equative constructions remain satellites, with little hope of ‘promotion’.

But in French *ne/ni aussi* was demoted a long time ago. *Ni* has been in decline for centuries. No wonder that the French negative comparative connective negotiators are doing so well!

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion



TE AMO...YO TAMPOCO
POR MARICHE HUERTAS

OPULIX
WWW.OPULIX.COM

tampoco



tampoco

Like Dutch *zomin* – ‘as little’



tampoco

Like Dutch *zomin* – ‘as little’

Like French – it combines with *ni* and there is no/?little ‘also not’



tampoco

Like Dutch *zomin* – ‘as little’

Like French – it combines with *ni* and there is no/?little ‘also not’

Unlike French (and Dutch) – *ni* is not in decline, *tampoco* functions in non-strict negative concord, *tampoco* has widened its use in the direction of standard negation

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-Biologiske Meddelelser. I. A.

NEGATION

in

ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

by

OTTO JESPERSEN



KØBENHAVN

MATHEMATISKE OG FYSISKE MEDDELELSE
FRA DEN KONGELIGE MUSEUM
1917

Det. Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs
Historisk-Biologiske Meddelelser. I. A.

NEGATION
IN
ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES
BY
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KØBENHAVN
INTERESSANTER, ÅRHOLDT MEDDELELSE, VOL. 100
FRADE LIVSOM NOGTHEDEN
1917

Page 110, 112
In English connective negation
('negative connexion') can be
expressed by

no more

No grammarian has picked this up, as far as we know, but it found its way to social media

<https://english.stackexchange.com/questions/530287/any-more-less-than>

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He didn't like Lutherans any more than the Pope did.

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He didn't like Lutherans any more than the Pope did.

X not more than Y & not Y, hence also not X

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<https://english.stackexchange.com/questions/530287/any-more-less-than>

He didn't like Lutherans any more than the Pope did.

X not more than Y & not Y, hence also not X

context-dependent, cancellable, easy,
and the connective negation works backwards

100 random relevant ‘not any more’ attestations (total 1,065 in 36 billion <https://www.sketchengine.eu/entenen-english-corpus/>)

We don't know the family any more than Freeman does. 2/3

Mutation does not cause evolution any more than a wheel causes a car to go. 1/3

100 random relevant ‘not any more’ attestations (total 1,065 in 36 billion <https://www.sketchengine.eu/entenen-english-corpus/>)

We don't know the family any more than Freeman does. 2/3

Mutation does not cause evolution any more than a wheel causes a car to go. 1/3

Not grammar, still pragmatics.

But a fair amount of conventionalization has occurred.

1. Connective negation

2. Dutch

3. French

4. Spanish & English

5. Conclusion

not X

&

Y

**as little as x
no more than**

Er was geen geld

there was no money

en

and

evenmin voedsel.

equally little food

SEM GIVEN

not X

& Y { as little as x
 no more than }

Er was geen geld
there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

SEM GIVEN

not X

&

Y

as little as
no more than

X

→

neither Y

Er was geen geld

there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

noch voedsel
nor food

SEM GIVEN

not X

&

Y

as little as
no more than

X

→

neither Y

Er was geen geld
there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

noch voedsel
nor food

ne pas

non plus
not more

ni
nor

SEM GIVEN

not X

&

Y

as little as
no more than

X

→

neither Y

Er was geen geld

there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

noch voedsel
nor food

ne pas

non plus
not more

ni
nor

[as little] X [as]
[no more] X [than] Y

*He liked Lutherans no more
than the Pope did.*

SEM GIVEN

not X

&

Y

as little as
no more than

X

→

neither Y

Er was geen geld
there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

noch voedsel
nor food

ne pas

non plus
not more

ni
nor

[as little] X [as]
[no more] X [than] Y &

*He liked Lutherans no more
than the Pope did.*

PRAGM GIVEN

not Y

*The Pope didn't
like Lutherans.*

SEM GIVEN

not X

&

Y

as little as
no more than

X

→

neither Y

Er was geen geld
there was no money

en
and

evenmin voedsel.
equally little food

noch voedsel
nor food

ne pas

non plus
not more

ni
nor

[as little] X [as]
[no more] X [than] Y &

PRAGM GIVEN

*He liked Lutherans no more
than the Pope did.*

not Y

→ not X

*The Pope didn't
like Lutherans.*

*He didn't like
Lutherans either.*

Postscript

Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab
Historisk-Helologiske Meddelelser. T. 5.

NEGATION

IN

ENGLISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES

BY

OTTO JESPERSON



KØBENHAVN

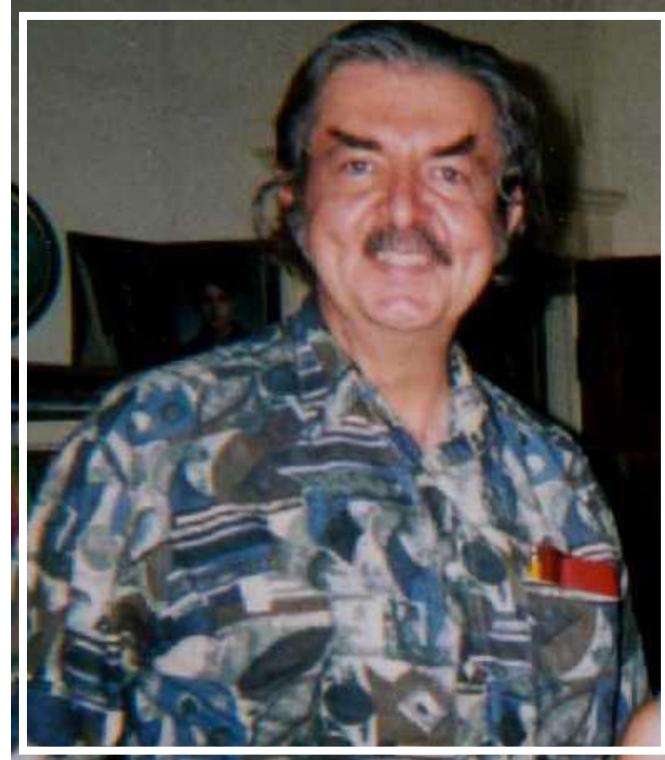
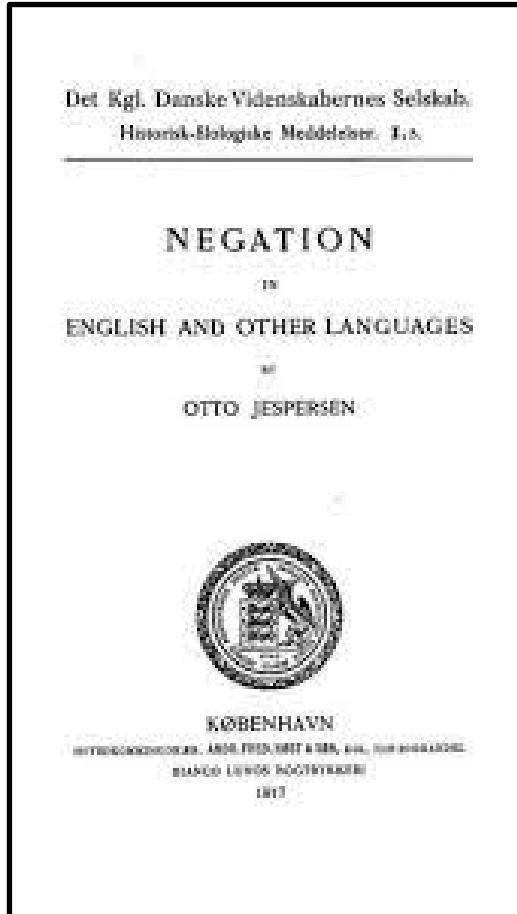
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BLAND DEGENS MØDTÆRKEDE

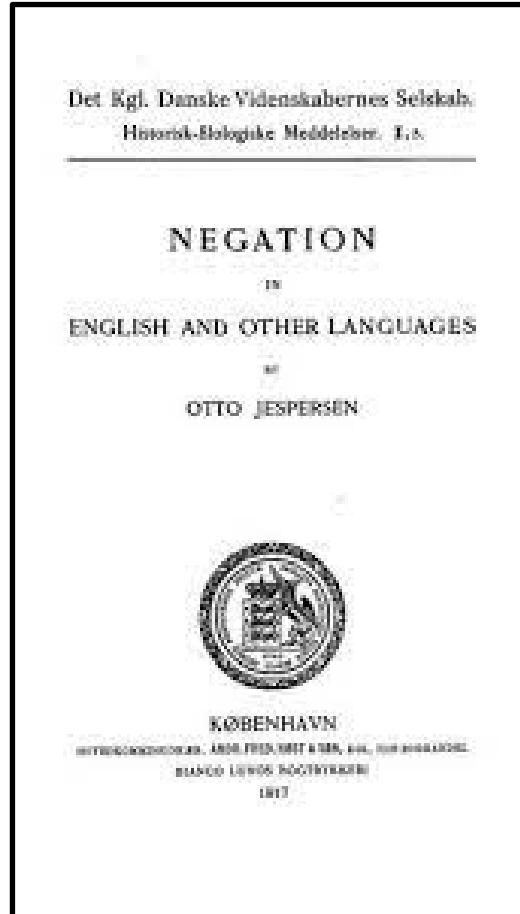
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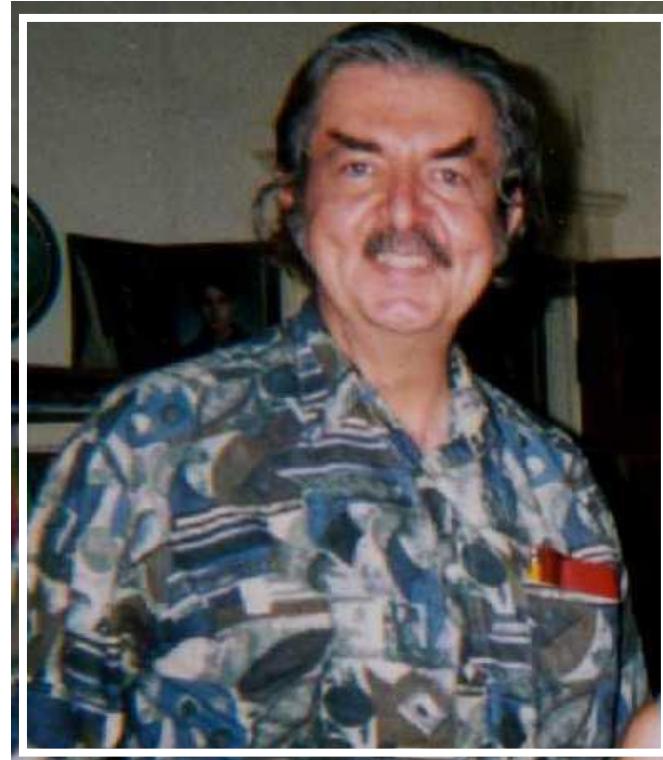


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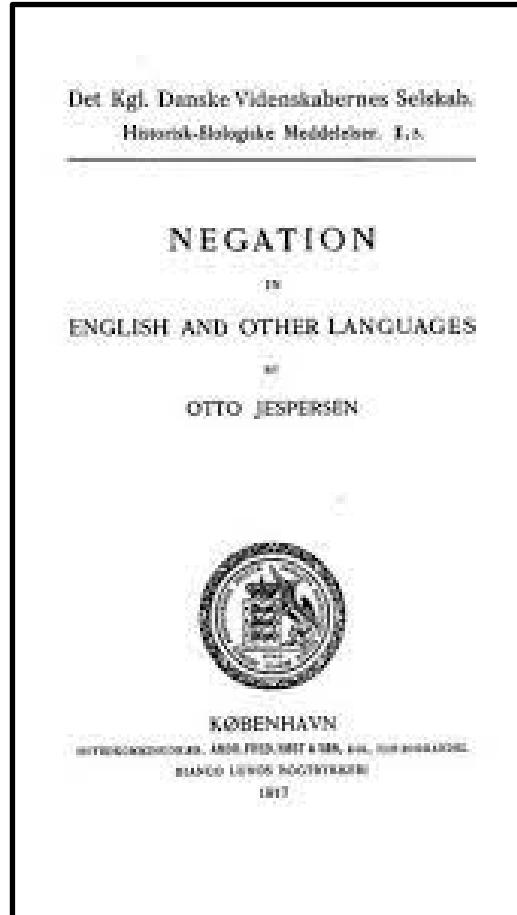


Reviewed by

in 1995

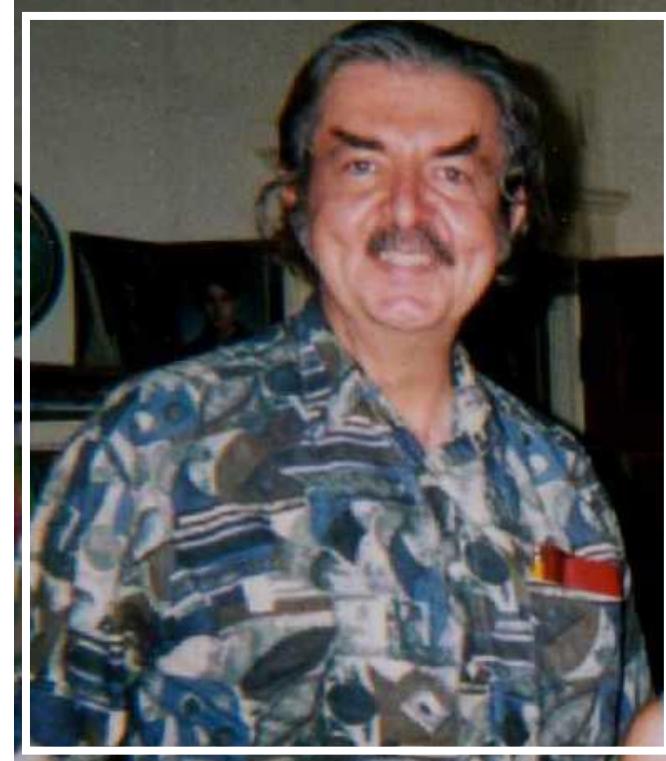


Postscript



Reviewed by

in 1995



'... Jespersen, in my opinion the most perceptive observer of human language who ever lived ...'
(37)