

Intertwining the negative cycles

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne

ne ... pas
pas

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas

ne
ne / net
net

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne

ne ... pas
pas

ne

ne / net
net

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X

ne
ne / net
net

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

personne
person'
ne personne
'not nobody'
personne
'nobody'

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

personne
person'
ne personne
'not nobody'
personne
'nobody'

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

**Under a reasonable
definition of ‘Jespersen
Cycle’, 2 of the 3 subtypes
of the Negative Existential
Cycle are actually
Jespersen Cycles**

1

Under a reasonable definition of ‘Jespersen Cycle’, 2 of the 3 subtypes of the Negative Existential Cycle are actually Jespersen Cycles

②

Under a reasonable definition of ‘Jespersen Cycle’, **2 of the 3 subtypes of the Negative Existential Cycle are actually Jespersen Cycles**

①

Under a reasonable definition of ‘Jespersen Cycle’, 2 of the 3 subtypes of the Negative Existential Cycle are actually Jespersen Cycles

Bréal 1876, Perle 1878, Gardiner 1904, Meillet 1912, Jespersen 1917, Blancaert 1923, Pauwels 1958, Dahl 1979, Möhren 1980, Joly 1981, Schwegler 1983, Schwegler 1988, Croft 1991, Early 1994, Dahl 1995, Bernini & Ramat 1996, Beukema 1999, Roberge 2000, Horn 2001, Anderwald 2002, Roberts & Rousseau 2003, Zeijlstra 2004, Willis 2005, Kiparsky & Condoravdi 2006, Lucas 2007, Biberauer 2008, Van Gelderen (ed.) 2009, Van Gelderen 2010, Larrivée & Ingham (eds.) 2011, Chatzopoulou 2012, Devos & van der Auwera 2013, Wester 2014, Sjörs 2015, Vossen 2016, van der Auwera & Vossen in print

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Jespersen Cycle

ne

ne ... pas
pas

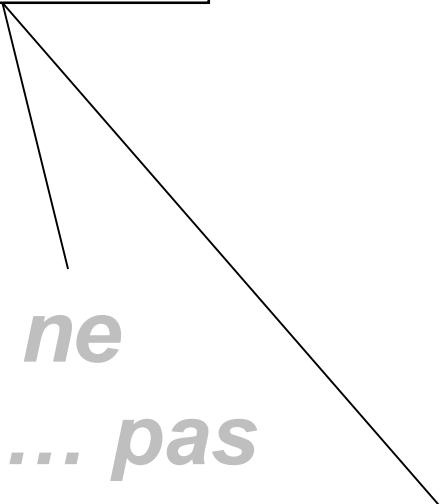
Jespersen Cycles

ne

ne ... pas
pas

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas



ne
ne ... not
not

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
not one

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

Swedish, Dutch
Brazilian Portuguese

not
not one
notone

not
not ... -ing
-ing

ne
ne ... pas
pas

ne

ne ... not
not

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
Amharic, Drehu
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
Arizona Tewa
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
Arizona Tewa, Finnish
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not ... even
even
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Bantu, South Arabian

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
notone

Greek, Latin

ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

ou
ou de hen
ouden

Greek

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles



Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

ne
ne oenum
noenum

Latin

ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

ne
ne oenum
noenum

Latin

ne
ne ... pas

van der Auwera, Vossen,

not

Jespersen Cycles

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

ne
ne oenum
noenum

Latin

ne
ne ... pas

van der Auwera, Vossen,
... Jespersen 1917

not

Jespersen Cycles

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

ne
ne oenum
noenum

Latin

ne
ne ... pas

van der Auwera, Vossen,
... Jespersen 1917

↔ Schwegler 1983, 1988

not

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

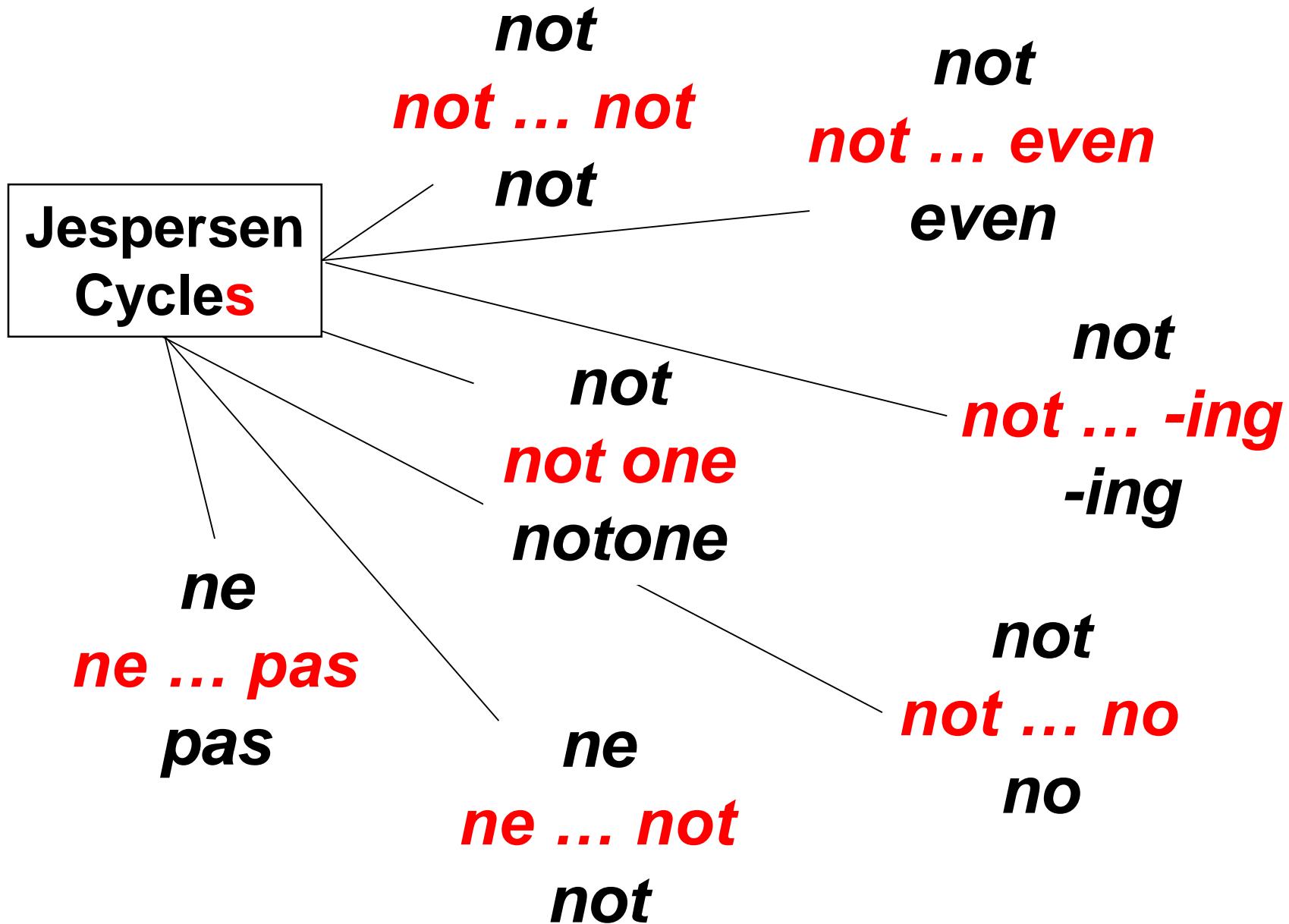
not
not one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no



Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
notone

ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not one
notone

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not
not
not one
notone
ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even
not
not ... -ing
-ing
not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne ... pas
pas

not
not ... not
not

not
not ... one
notone

ne
ne ... not
not

not
not ... even
even

not
not ... -ing
-ing

not
not ... no
no

Jespersen Cycles

ne
ne + pas
pas

not
not + not
not
not
not + one
notone
ne
ne + not
not

not
not + even
even
not
not + -ing
-ing
not
not + no
no

**Jespersen
Cycles**

NEG1 + α → NEG2

**Jespersen
Cycles**

NEG1 + α → NEG2

univerbation or doubling?

is the effect due to emphasis?

is α also a NEG?

**Jespersen
Cycles**

NEG1 + α → NEG2

univerbation or doubling? 3-ing, 4-ing, 5-ing

is the effect due to emphasis?

is α also a NEG?

**Jespersen
Cycles**

NEG1 + α → NEG2

univerbation or doubling? 3-ing, 4-ing, 5-ing

is the effect due to emphasis?

is α also a NEG?

another function for NEG1?

②

Under a reasonable definition of ‘Jespersen Cycle’, **2 of the 3 subtypes of the Negative Existential Cycle are actually Jespersen Cycles**

Negative Existential Cycle

ne
ne / net
net

**Croft 1991, Kahrel 1996,
Veselinova 2010,
Veselinova 2013, Willis,
Lucas & Breitbarth,
Veselinova 2014,
Veselinova (with Skirgård)
2015, Veselinova 2016**

Croft 1991, Kahrel 1996,
Veselinova 2010,
Veselinova 2013, Willis,
Lucas & Breitbarth,
Veselinova 2014,
Veselinova (with Skirgård)
2015, Veselinova 2016

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Veselinova 2010,
Veselinova 2013, Willis,
Lucas & Breitbarth,
Veselinova 2014,
Veselinova (with Skirgård)
2015, Veselinova 2016**

**Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova
2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016**

**Negative
Existential
Cycle**

ne
ne / net
net

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova
2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

Negative Existential Cycle

ne
ne / net
net

① doubling

‘reinforcement’, ‘emphasis’

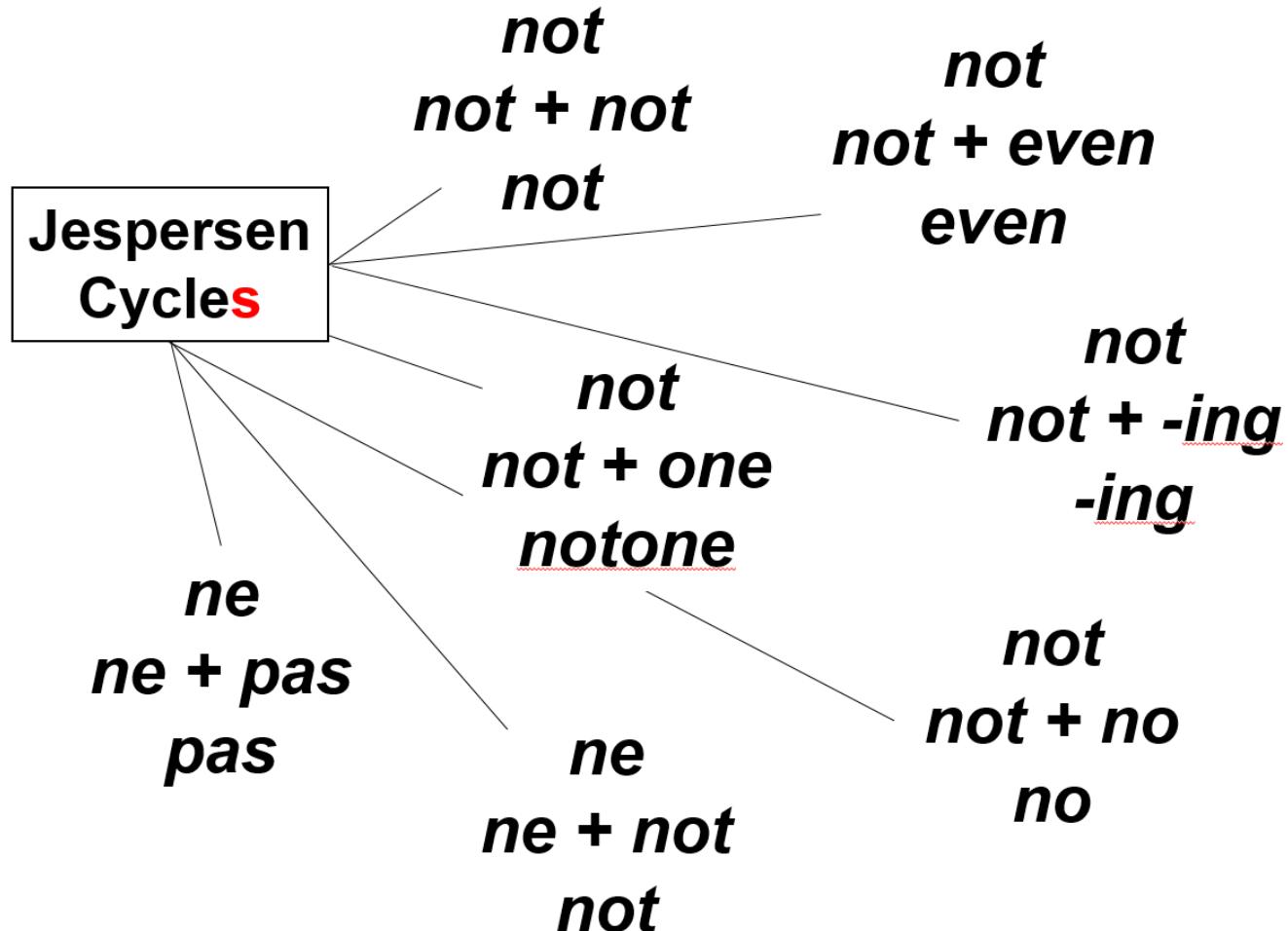
Meillet 1912, Schwegler 1983, 1988

Wintu (Croft 1991: 10; Pitkin 1984: 197)

?elew-be:sken hara:-wer-mina

NEGEX-you.IMPF go-FUT-NEG

'You were not supposed to go.'



not

not + not.exist

not.exist

Jespersen
Cycles

not

not + not
not

not

not + even
even

not

not + -ing
-ing

ne

ne + pas

pas

not

not + one
notone

not

not + no
no

ne

ne + not

not

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova
2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

Negative Existential Cycle

ne
ne / net
net

- ① **doubling**
- ② **reinterpretation**

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova
2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

**Negative
Existential
Cycle**

ne
ne / net
net

① **doubling**

reinterpretation

② **reinterpretation**

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova 2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

**Negative
Existential
Cycle**

ne
ne / net
net

① doubling

reinterpretation

② reinterpretation

Could these be Jespersen cycles too?

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova 2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

**Negative
Existential
Cycle**

ne
ne / net
net

① doubling

reinterpretation

② reinterpretation

Could these be Jespersen cycles too?
Yes

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova 2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

**Negative
Existential
Cycle**

ne
ne / net
net

① doubling

reinterpretation

② reinterpretation

Could these be Jespersen cycles too?
Yes, for one type

Croft 1991, Veselinova 2010, Veselinova 2013, Veselinova 2014, Veselinova (with Skirgård) 2015, Veselinova 2016

Negative
Existential
Cycle

ne
ne / net
net

① doubling

reinterpretation

② reinterpretation

Could these be Jespersen cycles too?
Yes, for one type, one out of two.

Two types of negative existentials

Veselinova (2013: 137)

Univerbation of SN and another word e.g. NEG + 'exist'	17 (27 %)
Reinterpretation of negative lexical item e.g. 'absent', 'lack'	25 (39.7 %)

Two types of negative existentials

Veselinova (2013: 137)

Univerbation of SN and another word e.g. NEG + 'exist'	17 (27 %)
Reinterpretation of negative lexical item e.g. 'absent', 'lack'	25 (39.7 %)
Unknown	21 (33.3 %)

Two types of negative existentials

Veselinova (2013: 137)

Univerbation of SN and another word e.g. NEG + 'exist'	17 (27 %)
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Two types of negative existentials

Veselinova (2013: 137)

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**Univerbation of SN and another word
e.g. NEG + 'exist'**

17 (27 %)

Univerbation of SN and another word

Univerbation of SN and another word
e.g. NEG + 'exist'

17 (27 %)

Univerbation of SN and another word

Latin NEG + *oenum*, Greek NEG + *de* + *hen*

Univerbation of SN and another word

17 (27 %)

e.g. NEG + ‘exist’

**Reinterpretation of ‘another word’ collocating with NEG
NEG + minimizer, negative pronoun, scalar
particle, subordinator, answer particle**

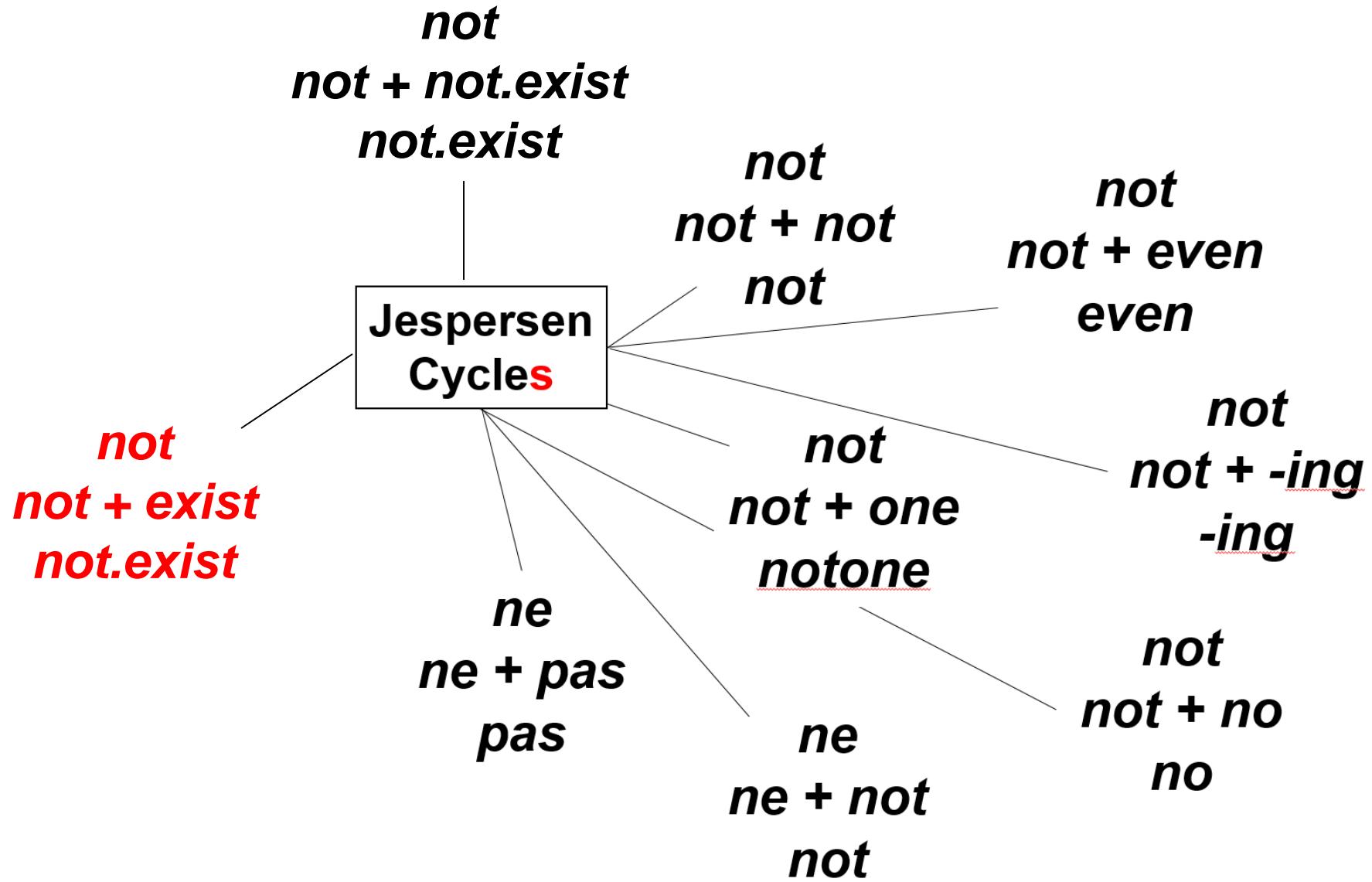
Univerbation of SN and another word

Latin NEG + *oenum*, Greek NEG + *de* + *hen*

Univerbation of SN and another word

17 (27 %)

e.g. NEG + ‘exist’



**Reinterpretation of ‘another word’ collocating with NEG
NEG + minimizer, negative pronoun, scalar
particle, subordinator, answer particle**

Univerbation of SN and another word

Latin NEG + *oenum*, Greek NEG + *de* + *hen*

Univerbation of SN and another word

17 (27 %)

e.g. NEG + ‘exist’

Reinterpretation of ‘another word’ collocating with NEG
**NEG + minimizer, negative pronoun, scalar
particle, subordinator, answer particle**

Univerbation of SN and another word

Latin NEG + *oenum*, Greek NEG + *de* + *hen*

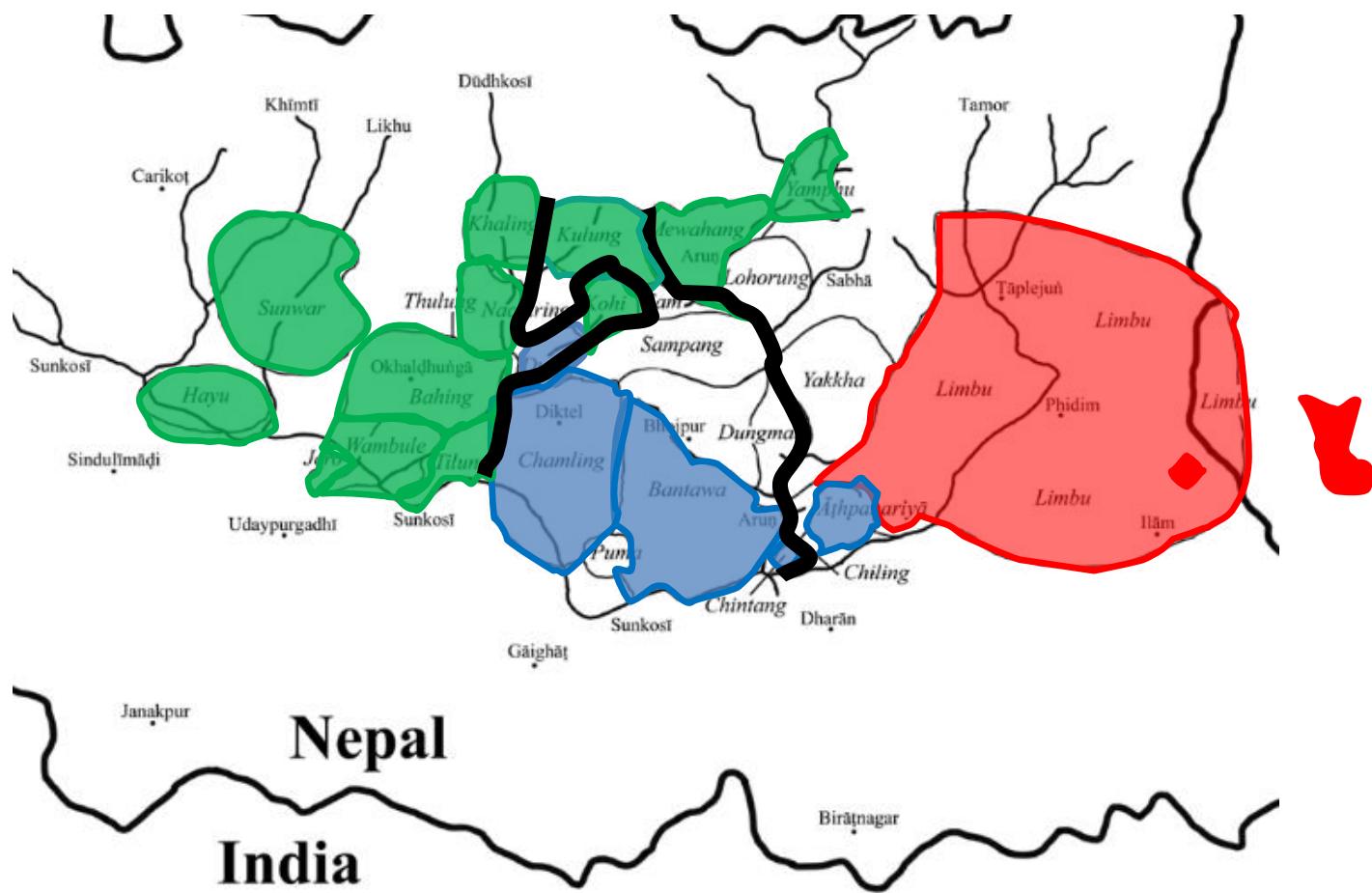
Univerbation of SN and another word

17 (27 %)

e.g. NEG + ‘exist’

**Reinterpretation of ‘another word’ of the ‘exist’ type
collocating with NEG**





Double obligatory: Limbu, Lepcha

Double possible: Athpare, Bantawa, Belhare, Camling, Chintang, Dumi, Kulung

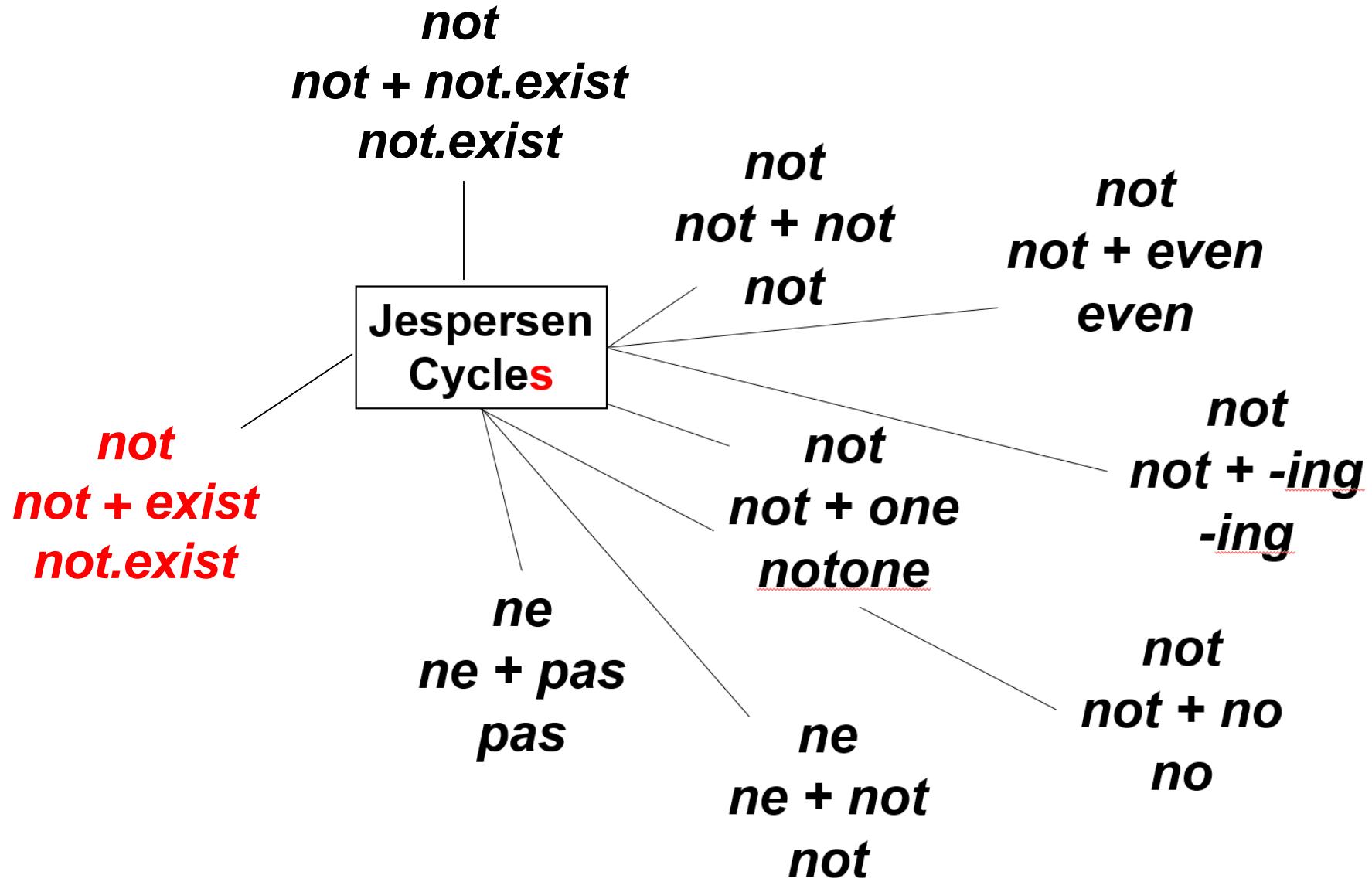
Single obligatory: Bahing, Hayu, Jero, Khaling, Sunwar, Thulung, Tilung, Wambule, Kulung, Mewahang, Yamphu

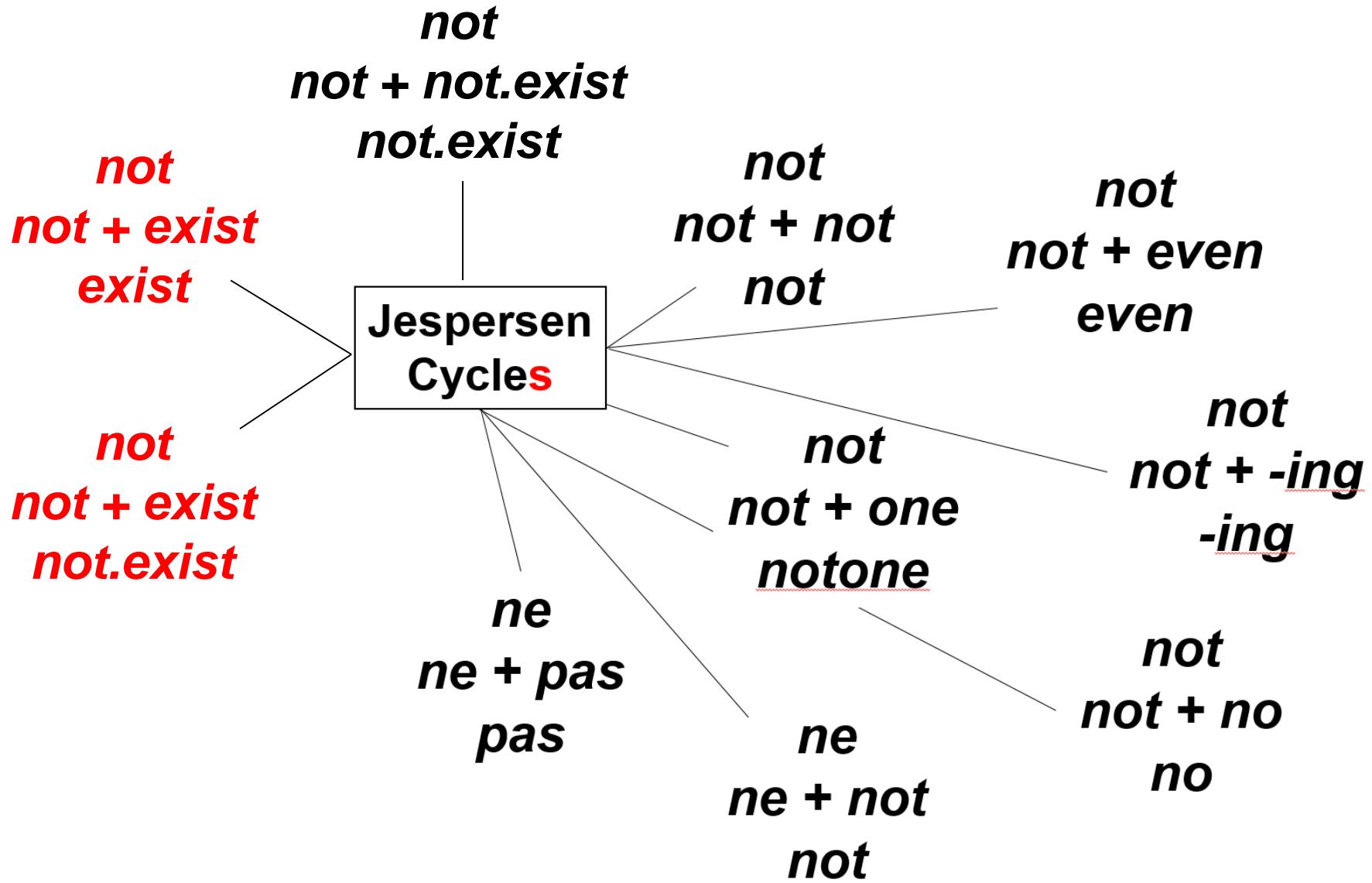
Dumi (van Driem 1993: 124, 149)

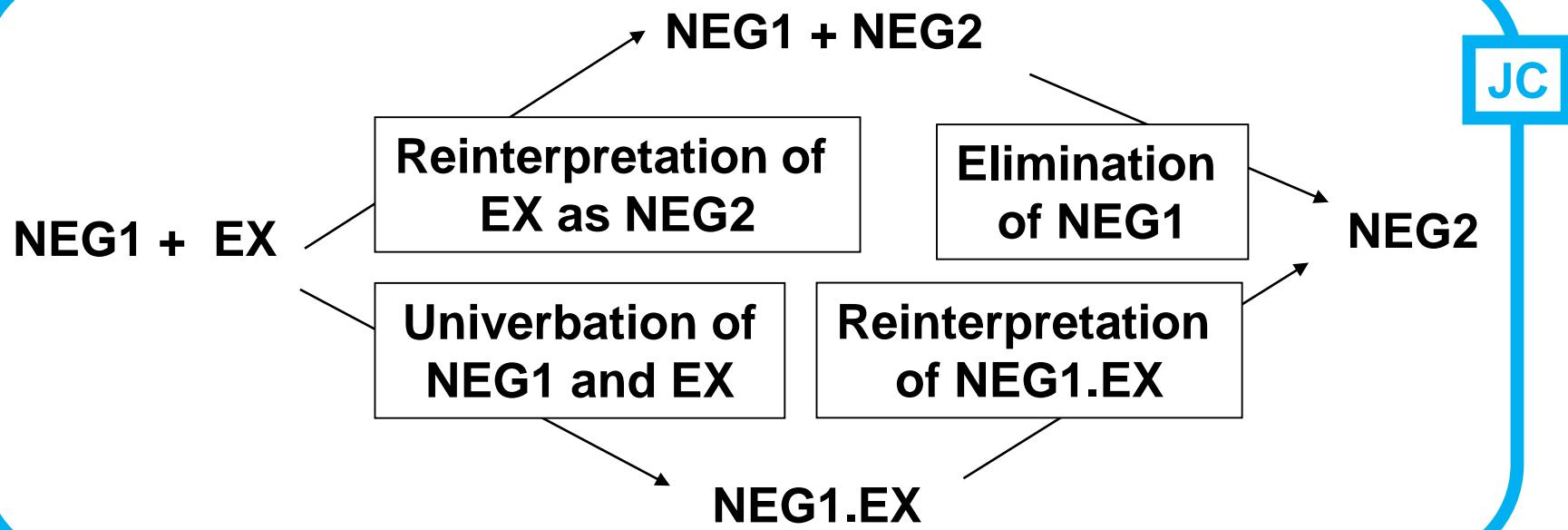
ape: ηə ham-mə-ye:-Ø-nə?

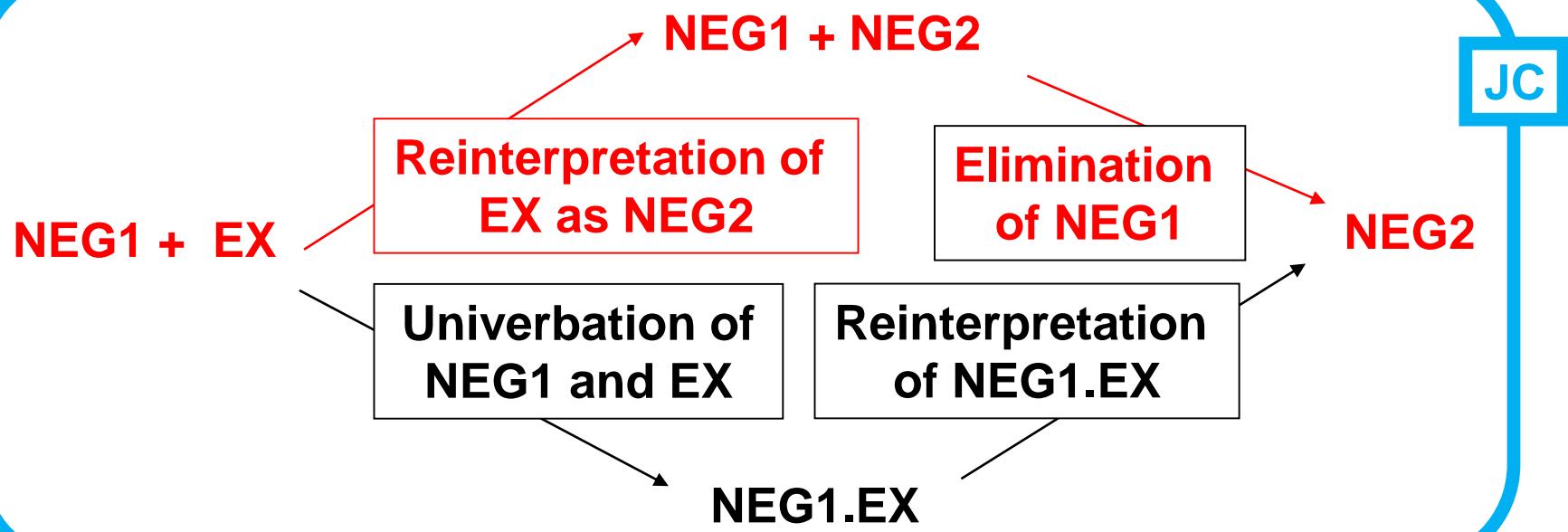
before EMPH 3PL-NEG1-come.down-PST-NEG2

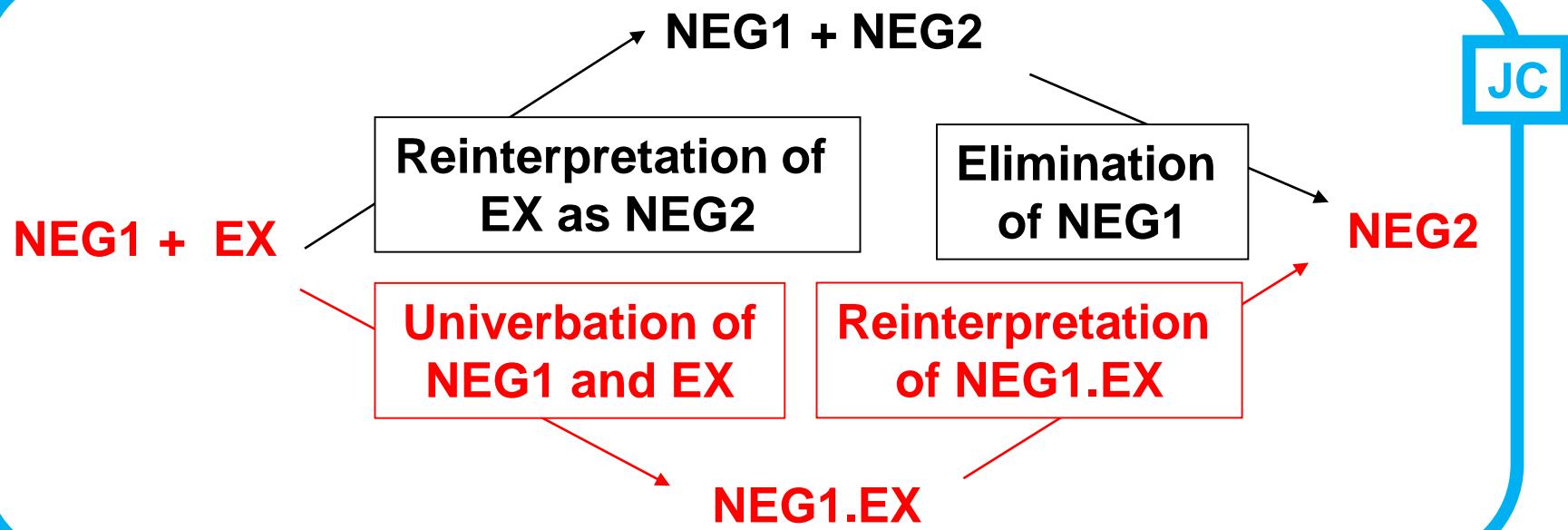
'Haven't they already come down?'











NEG1 + NEG.EX

**Reinterpretation of
NEG.EX as NEG2**

NEG1 + NEG2

NEG1 + EX

**Reinterpretation of
EX as NEG2**

**Elimination
of NEG1**

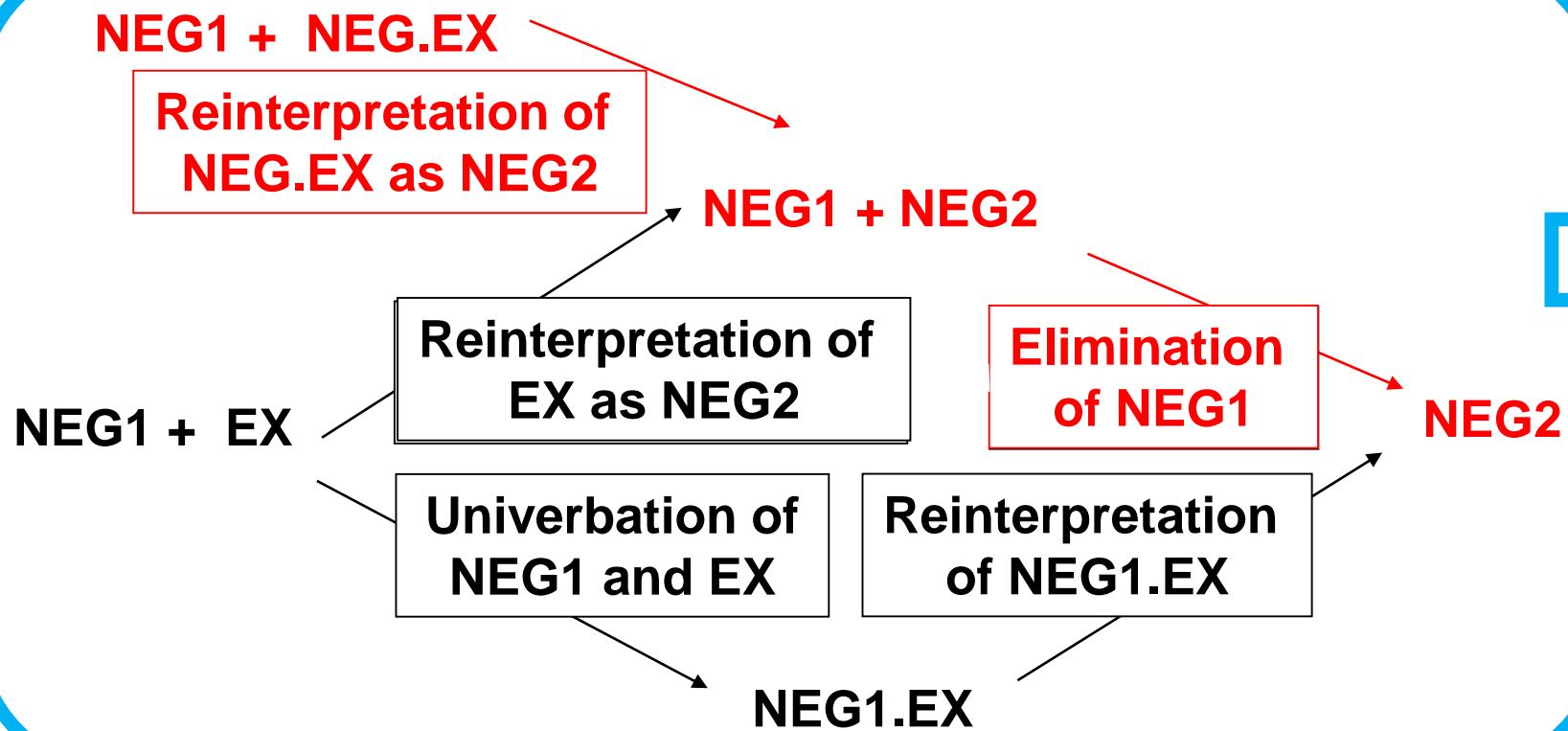
NEG2

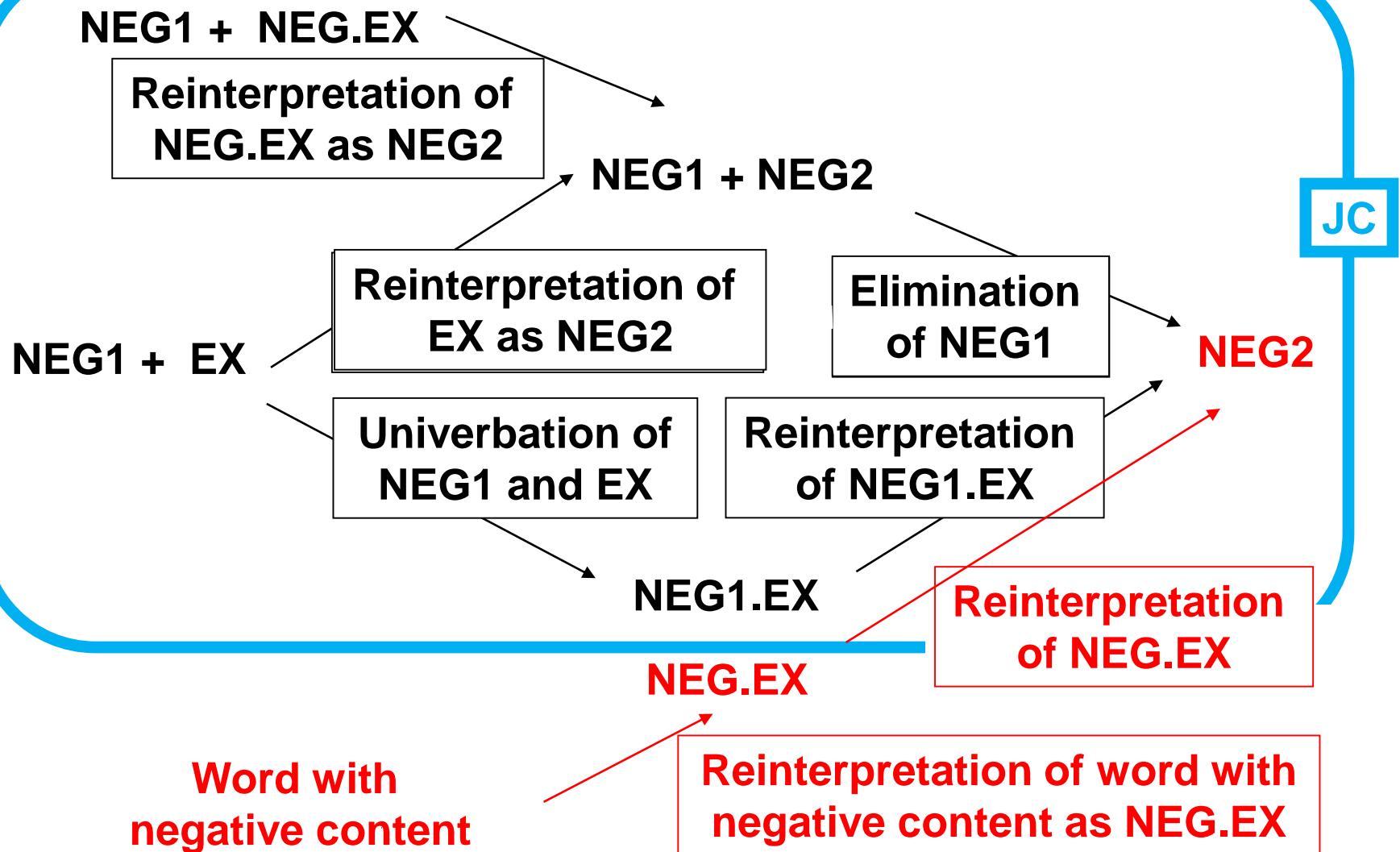
**Univerbation of
NEG1 and EX**

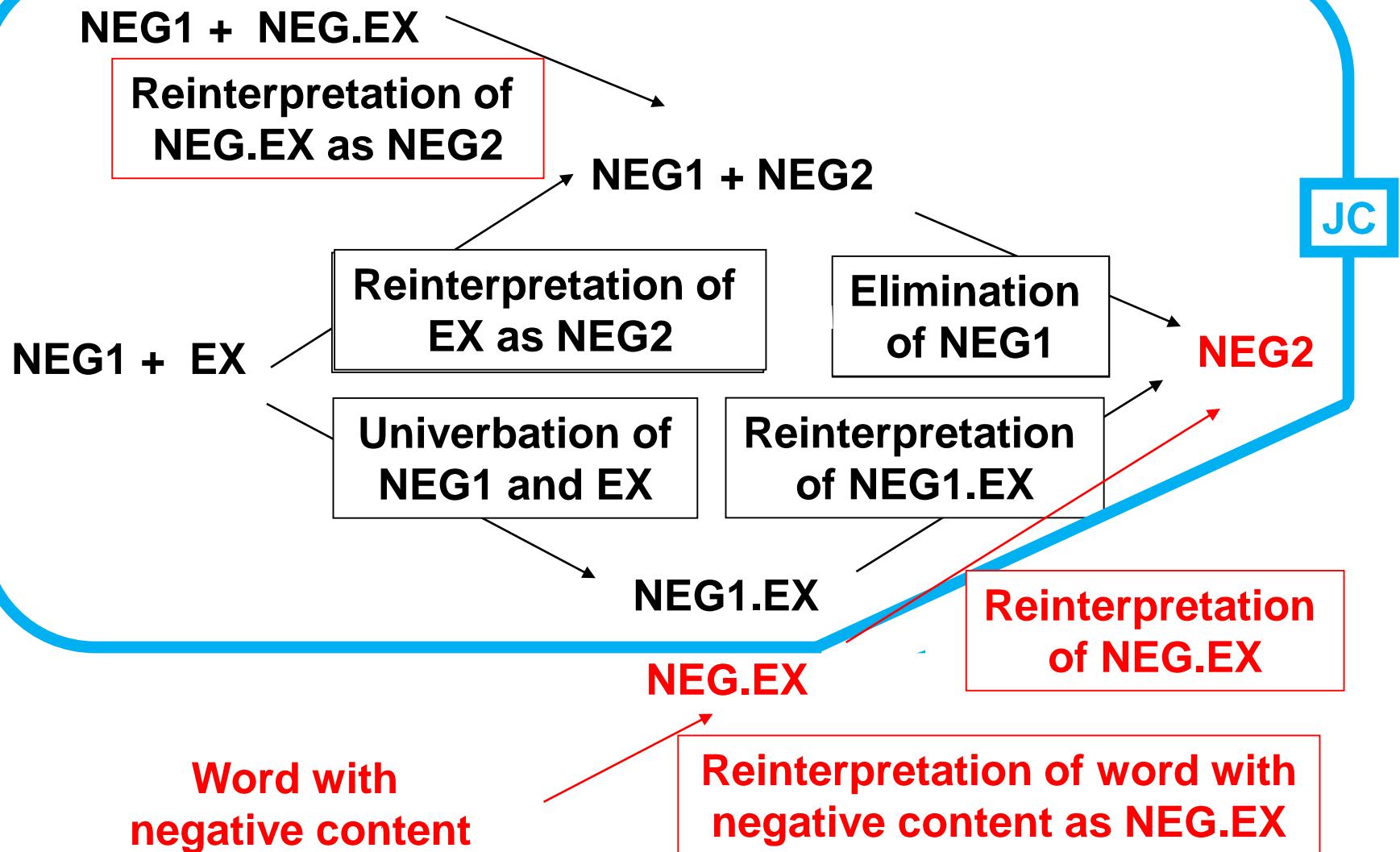
**Reinterpretation
of NEG1.EX**

NEG1.EX

JC







Word with
negative content

Reinterpretation of word with
negative content as NEG2

NEG1 + NEG.EX

Reinterpretation of
NEG.EX as NEG2

NEG1 + NEG2

JC

NEG1 + EX

Reinterpretation of
EX as NEG2

Elimination
of NEG1

NEG2

Univerbation of
NEG1 and EX

Reinterpretation
of NEG1.EX

NEG1.EX

Reinterpretation
of NEG.EX

NEG.EX

Word with
negative content

Reinterpretation of word with
negative content as NEG.EX

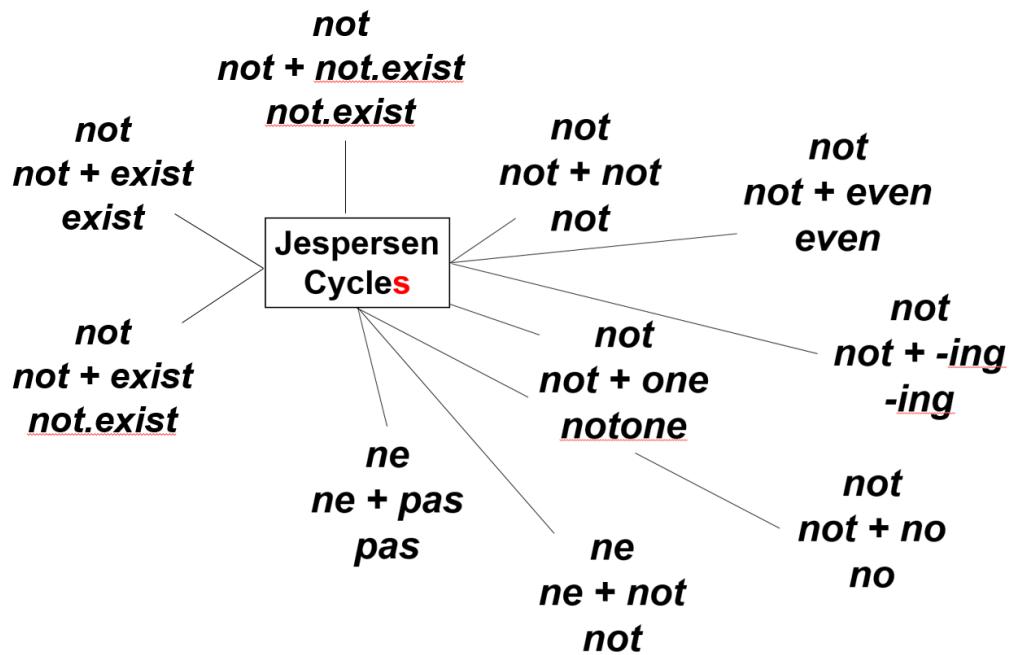
Interim Conclusion

Interim Conclusion

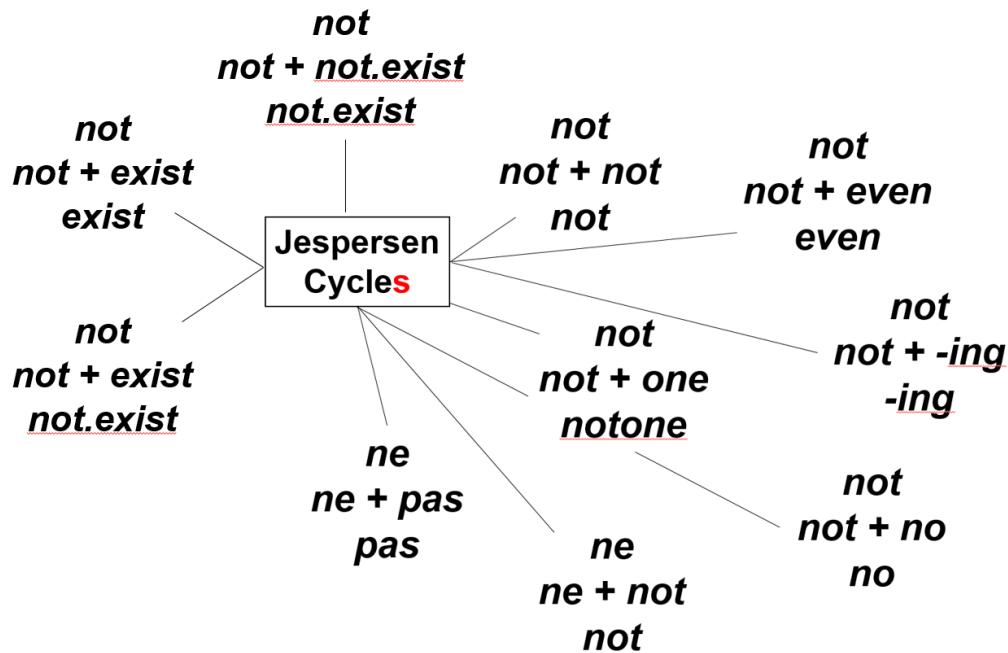
**Reasonable
definition of
‘Jespersen
Cycle’**

Interim Conclusion

Reasonable definition of 'Jespersen Cycle'



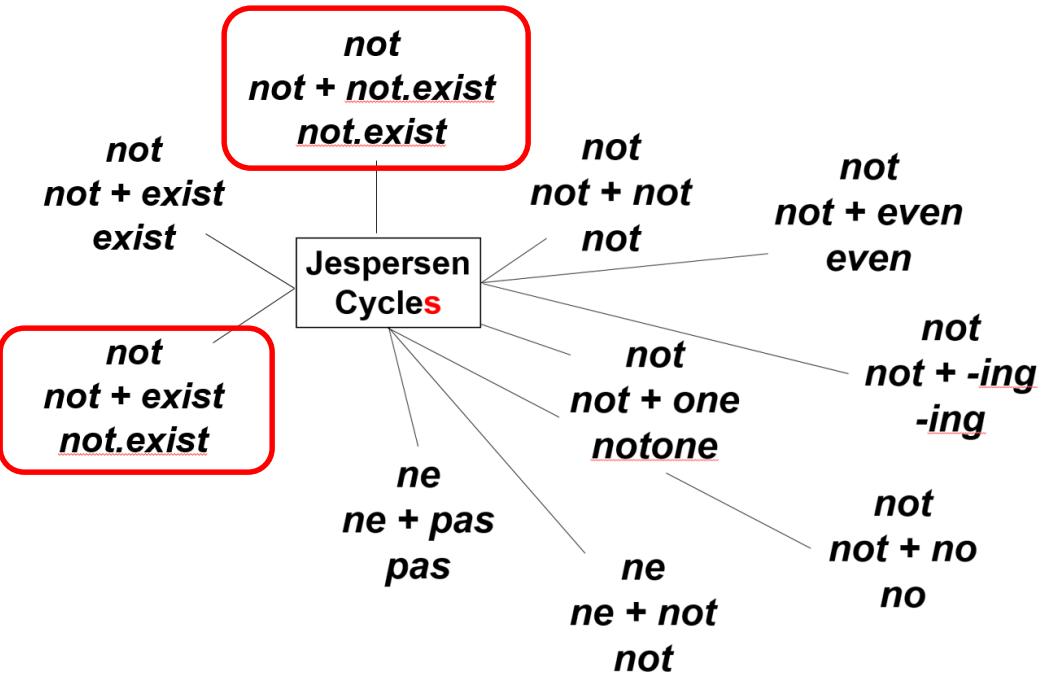
Interim Conclusion



Reasonable definition of
'Jespersen Cycle'

It
contains
two
Negative
Existential
Cycles

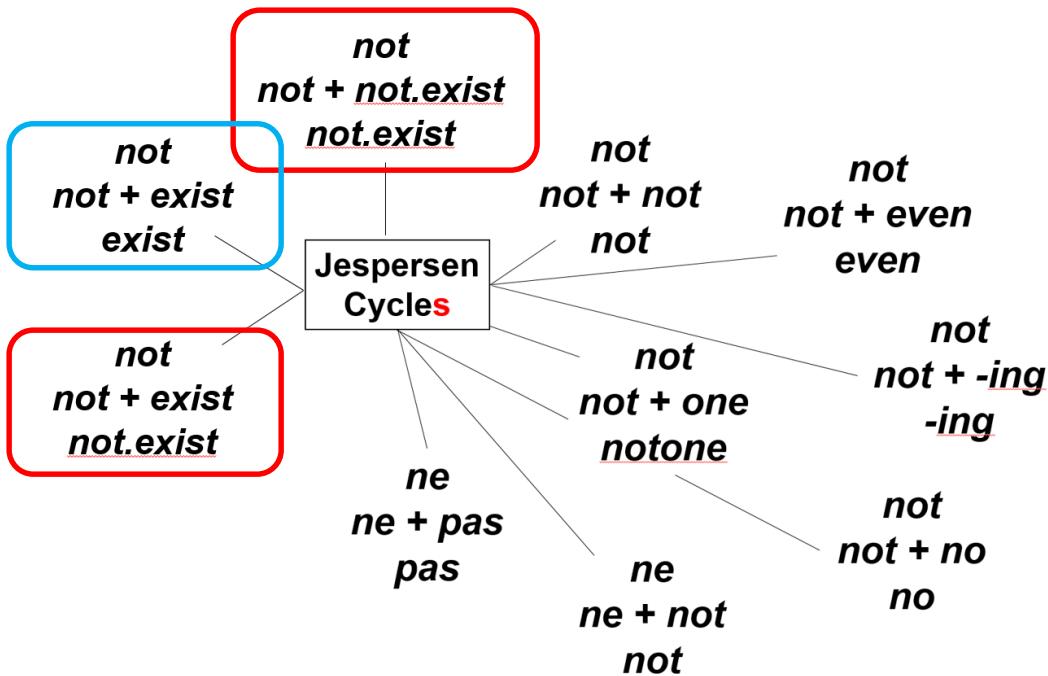
Interim Conclusion



Reasonable definition of
'Jespersen Cycle'

It
contains
two
Negative Existential Cycles

Interim Conclusion



And a 'Positive'
Existential Cycle!

Reasonable
definition of
'Jespersen
Cycle'

It
contains
two
Negative
Existential
Cycles

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

Negative
Existential
Cycle

Quantifier
Cycle

ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

personne
person'
ne personne
'not nobody'
personne
'nobody'

A tale of three cycles

Jespersen
Cycle

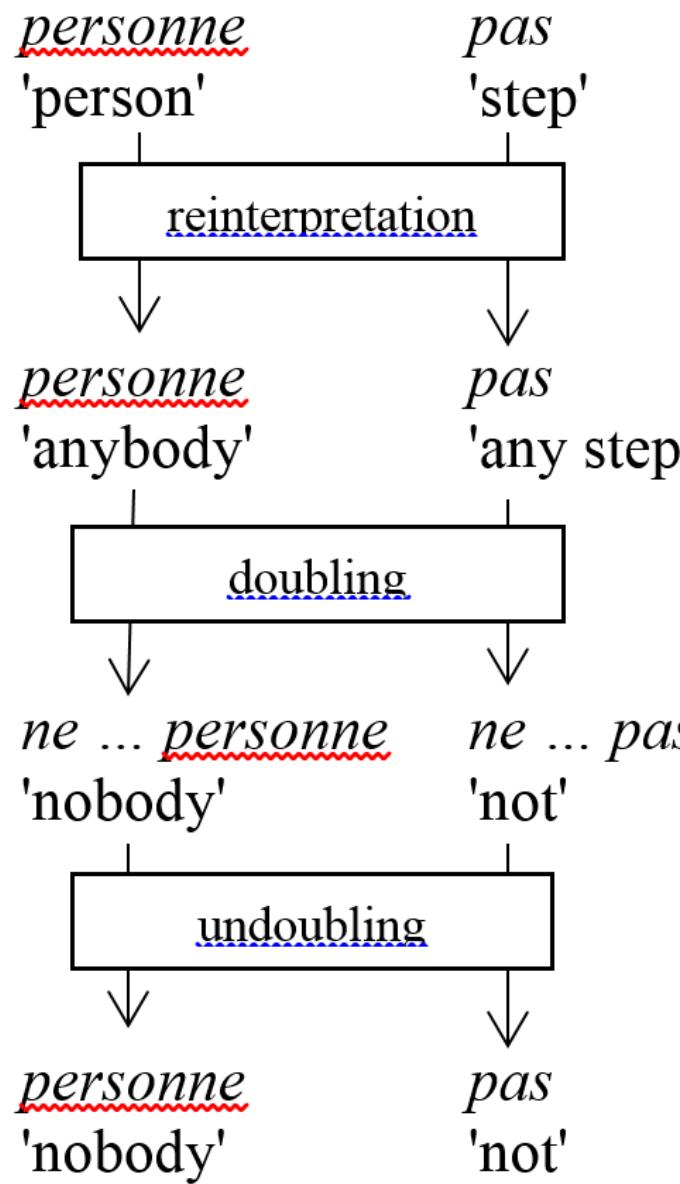
Negative
Existential
Cycle

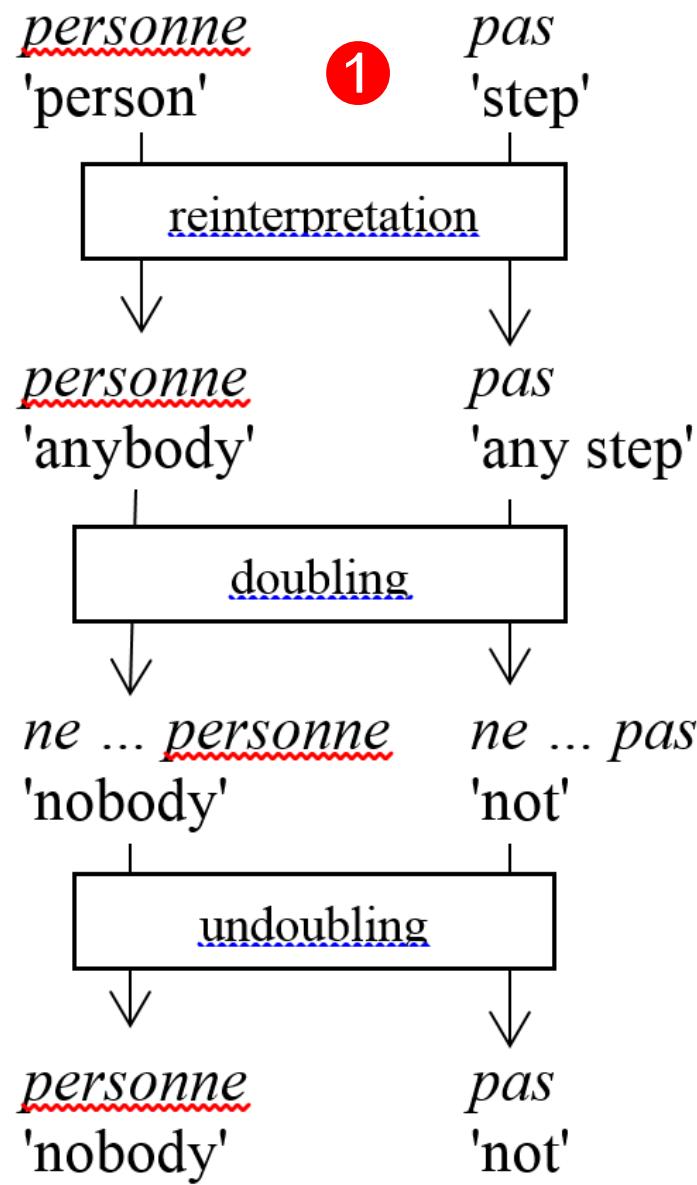
Quantifier
Cycle

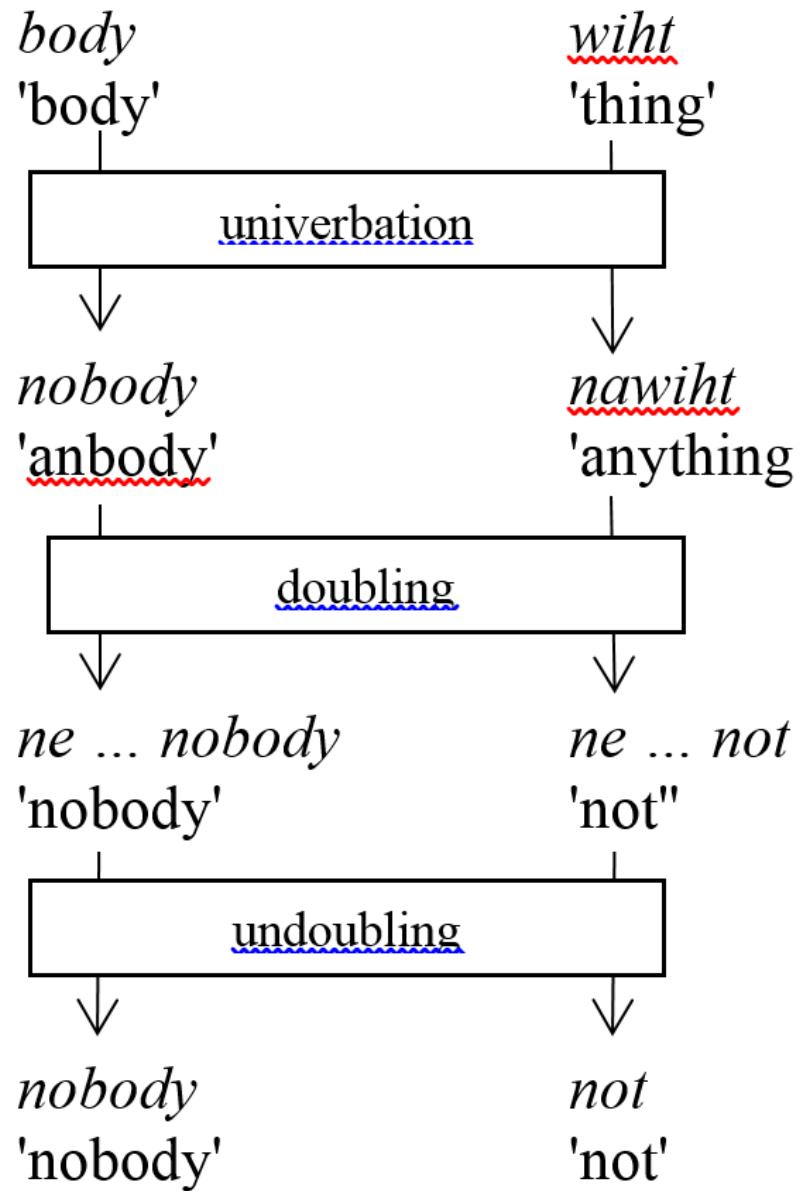
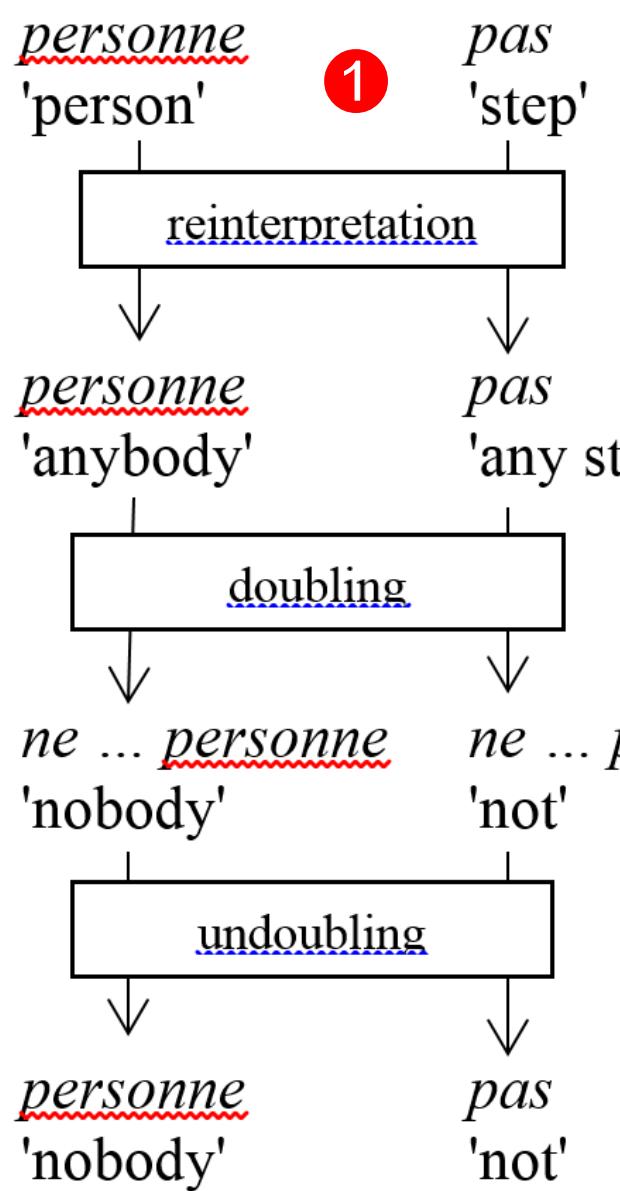
ne
ne ... pas
pas
pas ... X
X

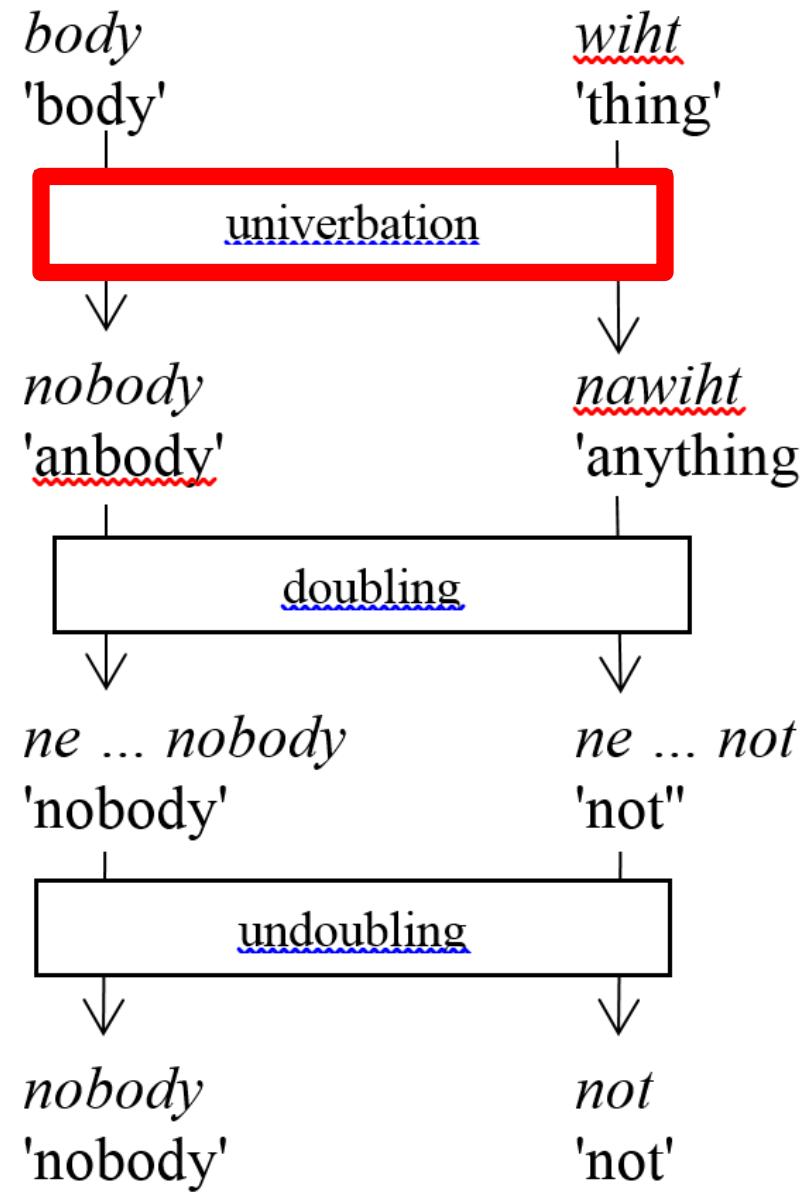
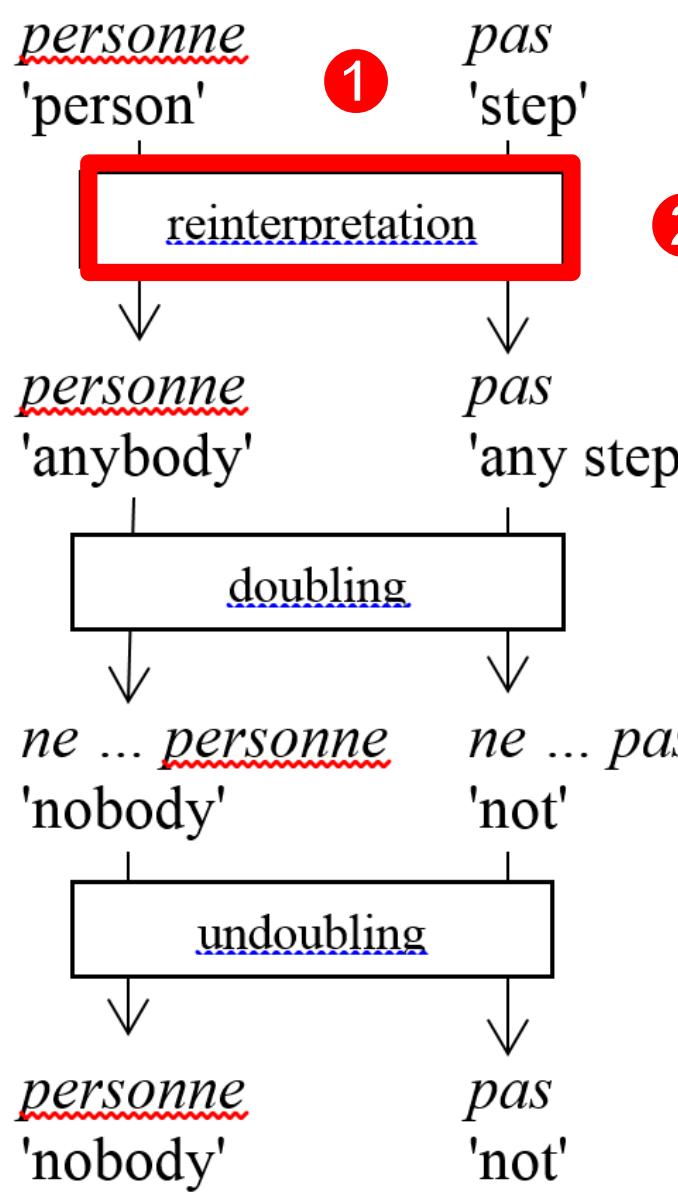
ne
ne / net
net
net / X
X

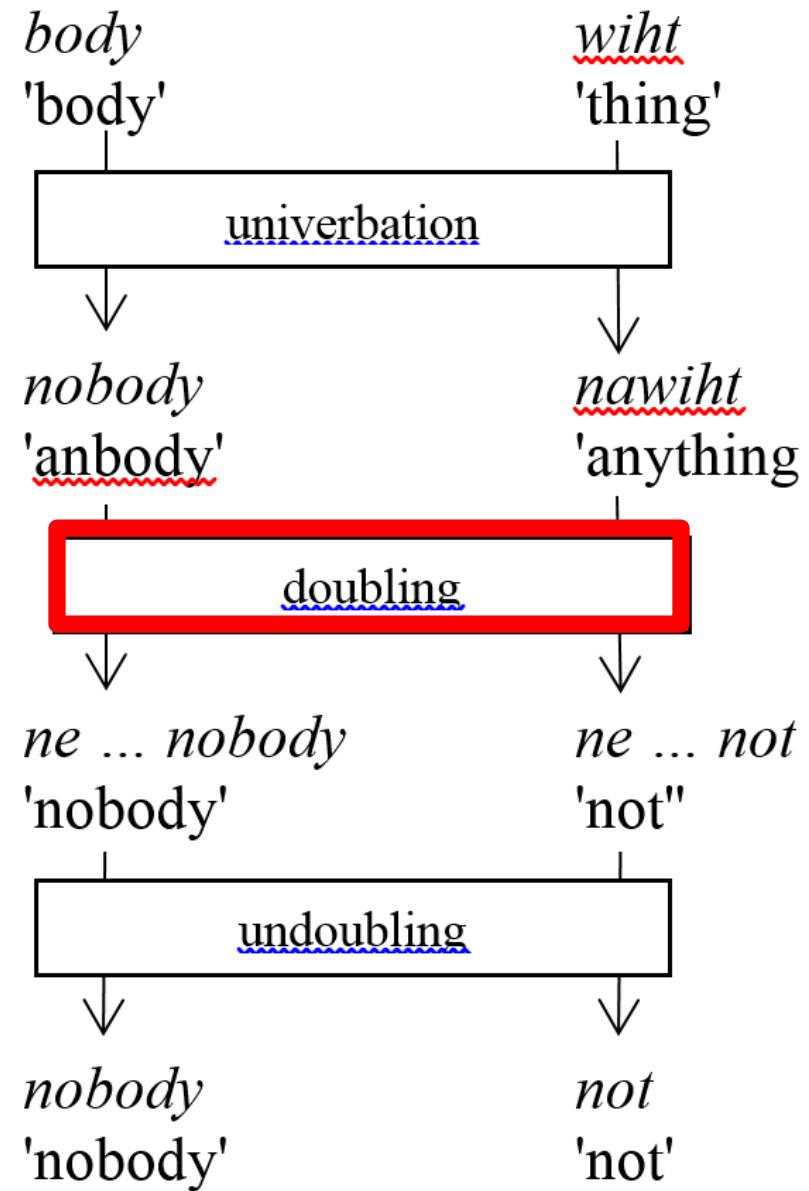
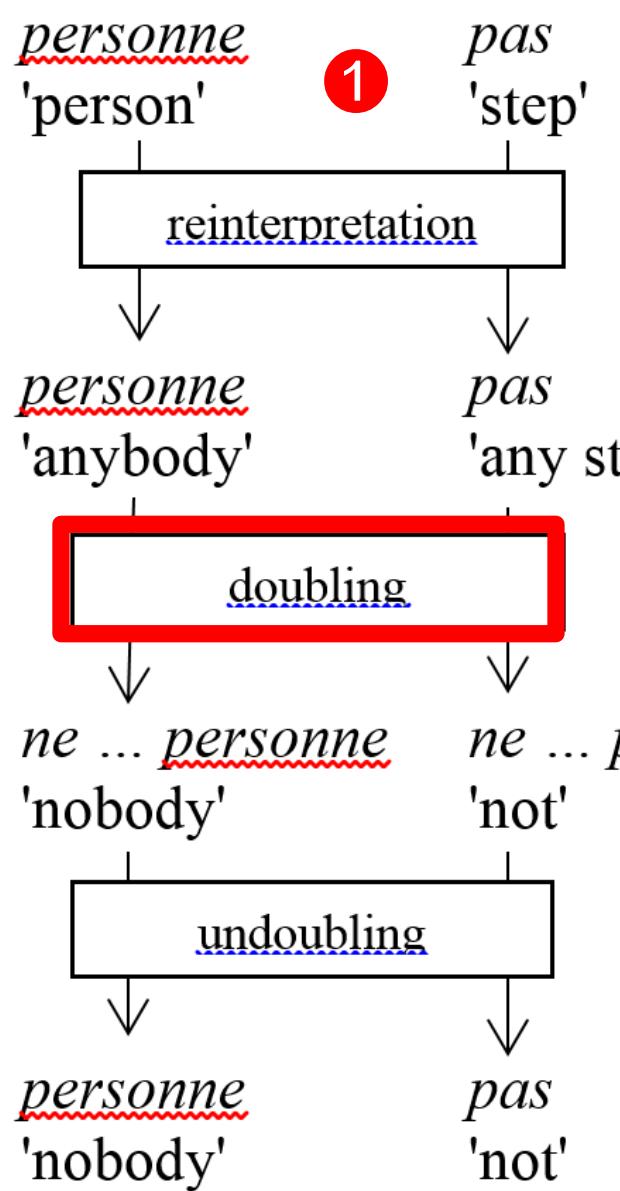
personne
person'
ne personne
'not nobody'
personne
'nobody'

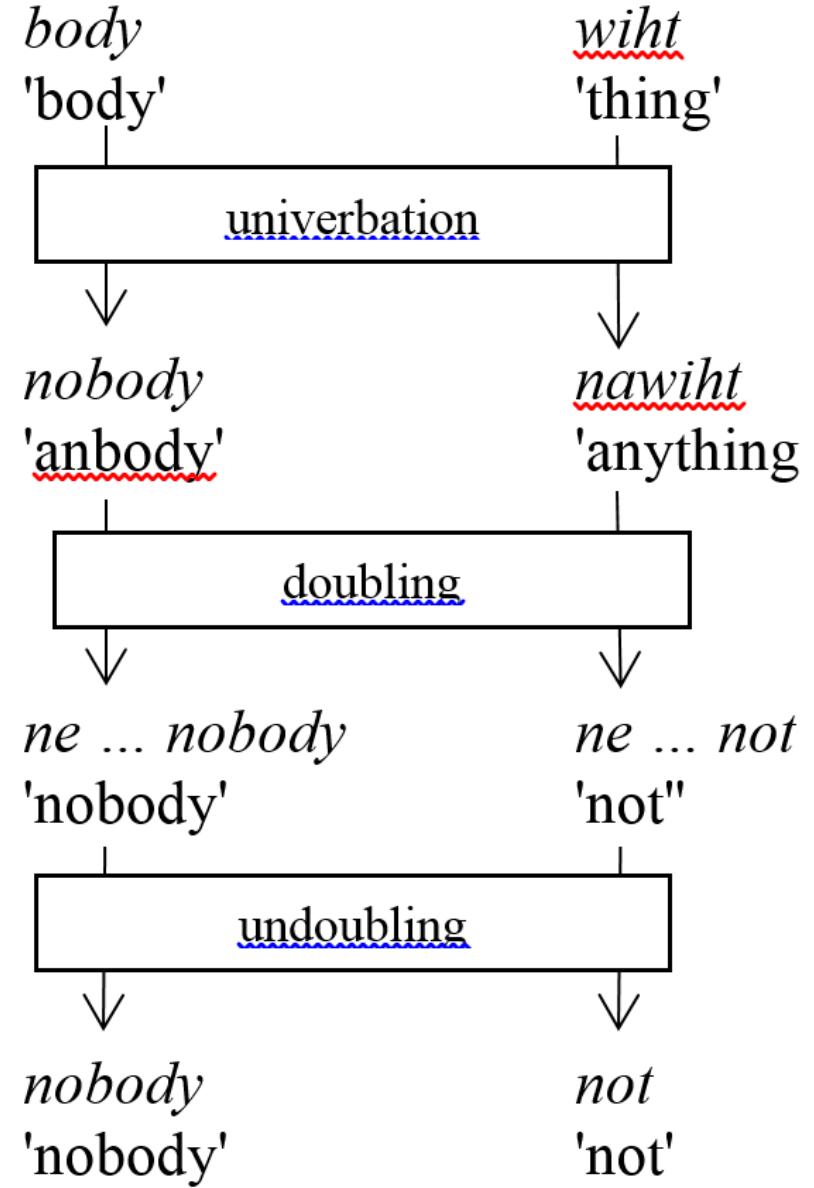
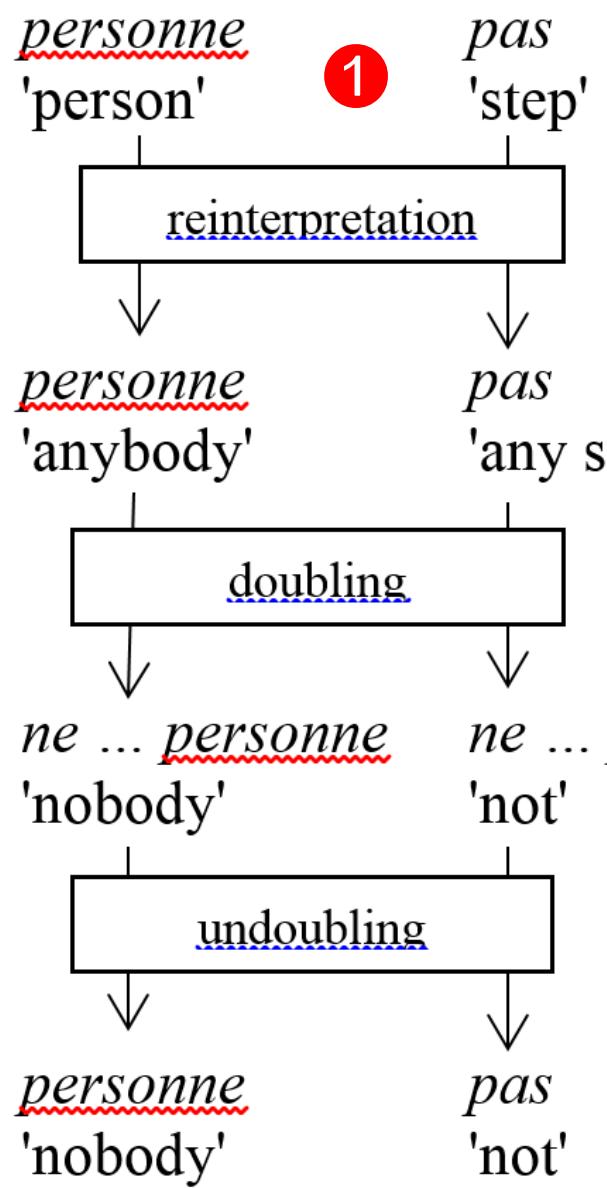


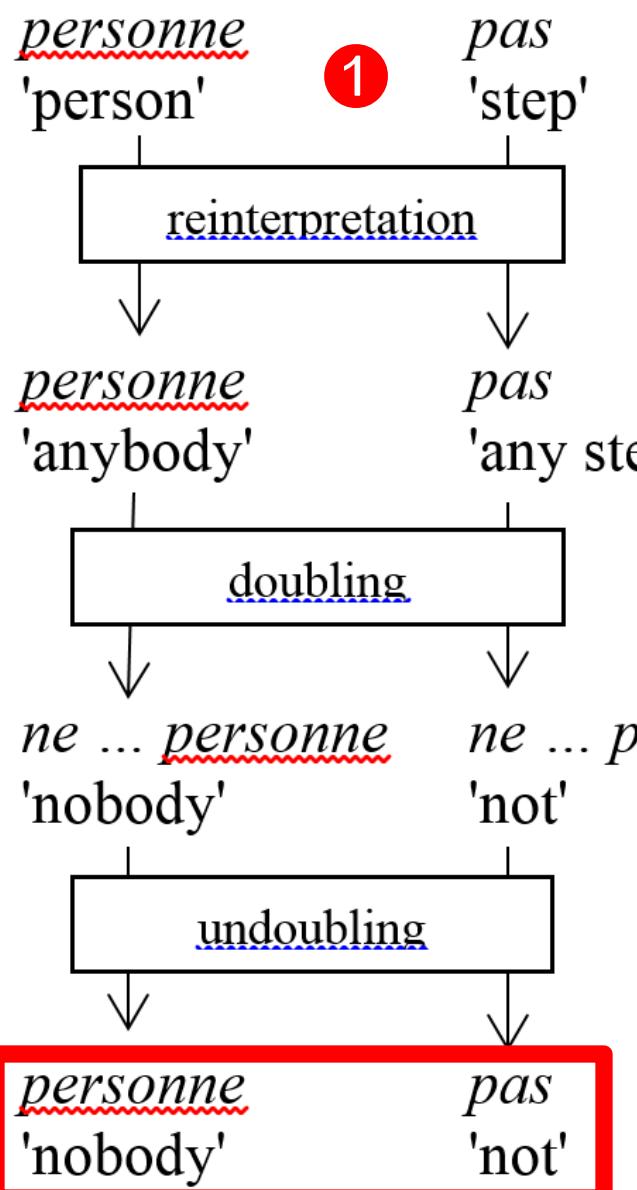




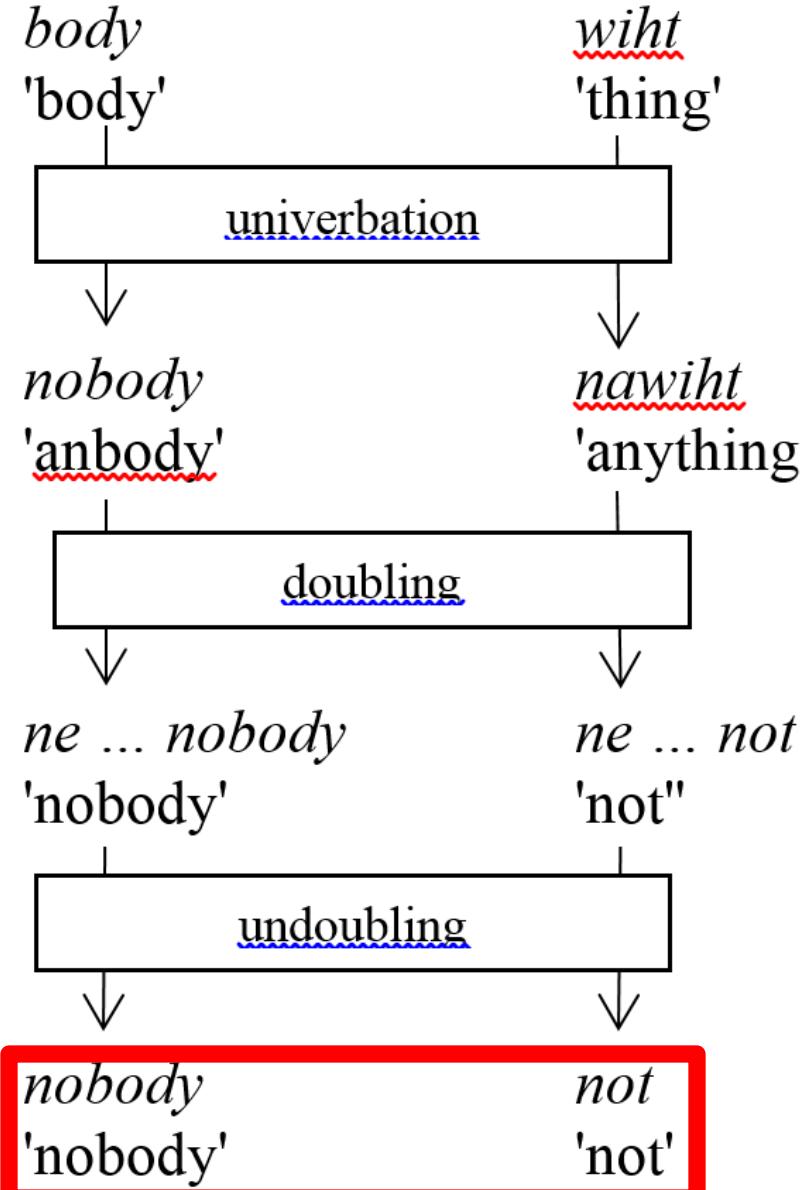








5



But also differences!

But also differences!

0. Quantifier Cycle NOT a Cycle

But also differences!

- 0. Quantifier Cycle NOT a Cycle**
- 1. Different motivation for redoubling
JC vs. solve the Homer/Carroll problem**

But also differences!

0. Quantifier Cycle NOT a Cycle
1. Different motivation for redoubling
JC vs. solve the Homer/Carroll problem
2. Depolarization
 - Fre. *Nul NEG* -> NPI
 - Brab Belg Dutch
 - niemand niet* -> *iemand niet*
 - ‘nobody not’ ‘somebody not’

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NC -> Double NEG

But also differences!

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 - niemand niet* -> *iemand niet*
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NC -> Double NEG is rare
0 in 179 languages

CONCLUSIONS

1917 – 2017 JC

1991 – 2017 NEG EXI C

1993 – 2017 NC ‘change’

CONCLUSIONS

1917 – 2017

JC

What?

1991 – 2017

NEG EXIC

Why?

Where?

1993 – 2017

NC ‘change’

CONCLUSIONS

1917 – 2017

JC

What?

1991 – 2017

NEG EXIC

Why?

Where?

1993 – 2017

NC ‘change’

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented
Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

South America
High proportion of verb-final NEG
Last stage of a classical JC?
NEG EXI C?
Yet another source?

A privative marker?
A ‘do’/‘happen’ verb?

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

	NI > NV	NV > NI	
Strict NC (Polish)			
	NI > V or NI > NV	NV > NI	
Non-strict NC (Catalan)			
NI > V or NI > NV	V > NI or NV > NI	NI > V	NV > NI
Non-strict NC (French)		Non-strict NC (Spanish)	
	NI > V	V > NI or NV > NI	
Non-strict NC (Brabantic Belgian Dutch)			
	NI > V	V > NI	
Strict NQ (Dutch)			
	NI > V	V > NI or NV > I	
Non-strict NQ (English)			
NI > V or I > NV	V > NI or NV > I	NI > V	NV > I
Non-strict NQ (Hiberno-English)		Non-strict NQ (Nahuatl)	
	NI > V or I > NV	NV > I	
Non-strict NQ (??)			
	I > NV	NV > I	

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

Synchrony ... also usually underdocumented

	NI > NV	NV > NI	
Strict NC (Polish)			
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NI > V or NI > NV	V > NI or NV > NI	NI > V	NV > NI
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	NI > V	V > NI	
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NI > V or I > NV	V > NI or NV > I	NI > V	NV > I
Non-strict NQ (Hiberno-English)		Non-strict NQ (Nahuatl)	
	NI > V or I > NV	NV > I	
Non-strict NQ (???)			
	I > NV	NV > I	

I:

polarity neutral
or
NPI?

Diachrony ... usually underdocumented

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Strict NC (Polish)			
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	NI > V or I > NV	NV > I	
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	I > NV	NV > I	

I:

polarity neutral
or
NPI?

If NPI
what kind?