Towards an account of the emergence, evolution and variability of emphatic negative coordination in Indo-European, part 2: A diachronic perspective

Iker Salaberri

(University of the Basque Country)

Correlative constructions that both negate and coordinate, such as Armenian *oč'... oč'...*, English *neither... nor...* and Hindi *nə... nə...* are widespread in Indo-European (IE) languages (Salaberri 2022: 679). These so-called *emphatic negative coordination* (ENC) (Haspelmath 2007) constructions can be reconstructed for the proto-language (Pokorny 1959: 756–757). Even though comprehensive studies on this topic have been recently published (Badiou-Monferran 2004, Liljegren 2016: 349–350, Gajić 2018, Briceño 2019: 123–127, Van der Auwera et al. 2021, Van der Auwera & Koohkan 2022, among others), it is unclear exactly how this clause linkage strategy emerged in the proto-language, how it developed in the various IE branches, and what led to the considerable variation found in the modern languages.

As the second (diachronic) part of a larger study on ENC constructions, this paper analyzes four features: (i) the diachronic origin of ENC markers; (ii) the syntactic complexity of the elements coordinated in ENC constructions, i.e., whether these are phrases, clauses or sentences; (iii) the degree of independence of ENC markers, i.e., whether they suffice on their own or must be accompanied by reinforcing elements such as standard negators and coordinating conjunctions; (iv) the number of ENC strategies in each language. A sample of 240 IE languages with data from reference grammars and dedicated publications is analyzed by means of Cramer's V (Cramer 1946) test, whereby the aforementioned four features are treated as dependent variables and controlled through Theil's uncertainty coefficient (Theil 1966). The results of correlation analysis are used to trace the diachronic evolution of ENC constructions and form a typologically informed hypothesis concerning how these constructions originated in the proto-language.

The results suggest the existence of a four-way typology of ENC constructions: the most frequent type involves correlative ENC markers of the type *nV... nV...* (1a), which link all kinds of coordinands and are attested in most historical stages. However, there are also languages with only non-correlative ENC constructions (1b), languages where ENC markers must be obligatorily reinforced and those where the original *nV... nV...* pattern has been replaced by innovative forms. In addition, some languages display multiple ENC constructions, the choice of which sometimes depends on the syntactic complexity of the coordinands.

(1)   a.   *Unio*   *kule*   *bôlben*   *na, amio*
              3SG.also   open.PP   speak.3SG.H.FUT   ENCM 1SG.also
              na   *jene*   *charbô*   *na*
              ENCM   know.PP   leave.1SG.FUT NEG
              ‚Neither would he tell me straight nor was I willing to let it go without knowingʻ (Thompson 2012: 302)

                                                   (Bengali)

       b.   *Ní*   *frithalim-se*   *rucai*   *na-mmebuil*
              NEG   expect-1SG   shame   nor-disgrace
              ‚I expect neither shame nor disgraceʻ (Thurneysen 1946: 540)

                                                (Early Irish)

The data likewise suggest that, much like other negative elements, ENC markers bleach over time and are regularly reinforced and renovated. Accordingly, it is argued that ENC markers of the kind *nV... nV...* must have originated in the proto-language from the univerbation of negator and conjunction or another kind of emphatic element. They have been subsequently reinforced and renovated in different ways in different IE languages, therefore the variation observable nowadays.

Abbreviations

1/3	1st/3rd person
ENC	emphatic negative coordination
ENCM	emphatic negative coordination marker
FUT	future
H	honorific
NEG	negator
PP	perfective participle
SG	singular

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