

# **Equatives and two theories of negative concord**

experimental evidence from Czech

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Mojmír Dočekal

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- continuation of the previous work: the distinction between strong NPIs and neg-words
- equatives: one of the contexts where strong NPIs and neg-words distribution diverge
- Czech equatives don't license NPIs (like German and many other non-English NPIs: see Krifka 1992) but license neg-words
- surprising against English and standard theories of equatives Stechow (1984); Beck (2019) a.o.

(1) Paris is as quiet as ever.

(2) Petr je tak vysoký jako {#ani jeden/žádný} jiný  
Petr is so tall how strong NPI/neg-word other  
student.  
student.

## Experiment: part 1 (example item)

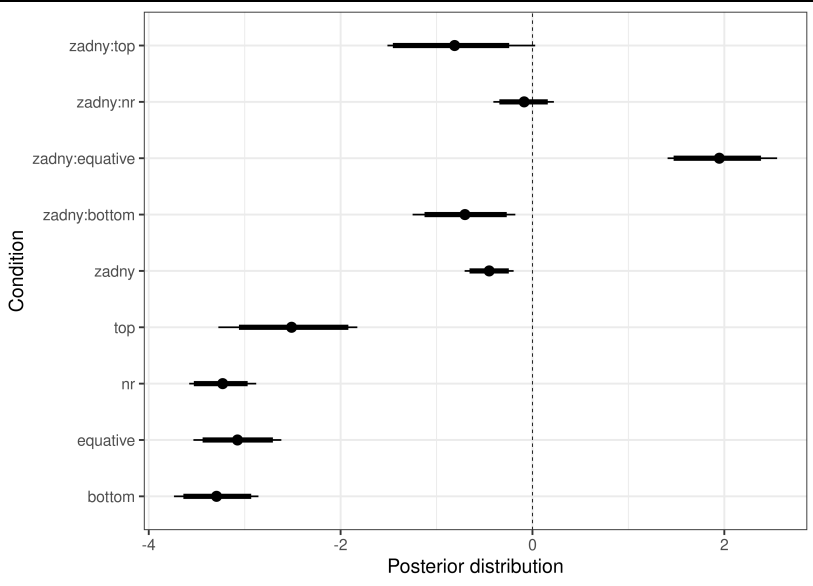
- (3) a. V království nezůstal {žádný/ani jeden} zloděj.  
in kingdom neg-remained neg-word/NPI thief  
'No thief remained in the kingdom.'
- b. Král nechce, aby v království zůstal  
King neg-wants that in kingdom remained  
{žádný/ani jeden} zloděj.  
neg-word/NPI thief  
'The king doesn't want any thief to remain in the kingdom.'
- c. Zloděj ze souostroví Qwghlm je tak šikovný jako  
thief from archipelago Qwghlm is so clever how  
{žádný/ani jeden} zloděj.  
neg-word/NPI thief  
'The thief from the Qwghlm archipelago is as clever as no other thief.'

- first part: 3x2 design

- (4) Kontext: Šikovný trpaslík ze vsi najde v těchhle dolech za den 1, 2 někdy i 3 diamanty.

Context: A clever dwarf from the village will find 1, 2 or 3 diamonds in these mines per day.

- a. Jeden šikovný trpaslík ze vsi nenašel  
one clever dwarf from village neg-found  
včera v dolech {žádný/ani 1} diamant.  
yesterday in mines neg-word/NPI 1 diamond  
'One clever dwarf from the village didn't find even one  
diamond in the mines yesterday.'
- b. Jeden šikovný trpaslík ze vsi nenašel  
one clever dwarf from village neg-found  
včera v dolech {žádné/ani} 3 diamanty.  
yesterday in mines neg-word/NPI 3 diamonds  
'One clever dwarf from the village didn't find even three  
diamonds in the mines yesterday.'



**Figure 1: Bayesian model**

## Theoretical consequences:

1. for neg-words theories: empirical evidence for the semantic type of negative-concord approaches Ovalle and Guerzoni (2004); Kuhn (2022) against the standard syntactic approach Zeijlstra (2004)
2. for the degree theories of equatives: empirical arguments for the non-standard approach to Slavic (and German) equatives – Penka (2016) against the standard theories Stechow (1984); Beck (2019)
3. no evidence of demographic related variation but the variation is still real (partially following: Burnett et al. 2015, 2018)

Thanks!





### References

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