Negation in English and other languages

Otto Jespersen

Edited by
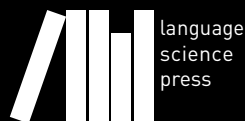
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With an introduction by

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Contents

Contents

Acknowledgments

Foreword to this edition

Otto Jespersen (1860–1943) was a renowned Danish linguist who made significant contributions to the study of English grammar and several other fields of linguistics. His monumental work *A Modern English grammar on historical principles*, published in seven volumes from 1909 to 1949, remains a landmark in English grammatical description.

The present volume, *Negation in English and other languages*, stems from Jespersen's research for volume III or IV of *A Modern English grammar*; but, as Jespersen explains in his preface, World War I prevented him from publishing the continuation of that work. And so he decided to expand the scope of his study on negation to include observations on other languages, and publish it as a separate volume. For a detailed discussion of the work's historical context and scholarly significance, readers should consult Olli Silvennoinen's excellent introduction (p. vii).

This new edition aims to make Jespersen's important work more accessible to modern readers. The text has been entirely re-typeset. We have modernized the transcription of linguistic examples and added Leipzig-style glosses to non-English examples to clarify their structure and meaning. Bibliographical references have been reformatted and expanded, with hyperlinks to source materials added where available. And we have added section titles where doing so seemed helpful.

A significant challenge in preparing this edition was dealing with Jespersen's incomplete system of abbreviations and his occasionally imprecise approach to quotation. We have endeavored to supply missing information and restore quotes to their original form wherever possible. Most abbreviations have been expanded (e.g., OE → Old English), and certain typographical conventions have been regularized, such as the capitalization of German nouns. Jespersen's addenda have been integrated into the text, with some of his original body text relocated to footnotes for better readability.

However, we have maintained Jespersen's original analyses unchanged, even where subsequent research has led to different interpretations. Our goal has been to preserve the historical value of his work while making it more accessible to contemporary scholars.

Another challenge was Jespersen's citation practice. While he usually provides both the text and location of examples, in some cases he gives only page references (sometimes as bare "ibid" citations), leaving readers to track down the examples themselves. Where possible, we have restored these examples by consulting the cited works. In several cases where we could not locate the precise example Jespersen had in mind, we have explicitly marked this fact.

This edition, based on the scanned copy[1] from the Internet Archive, began as Brett's exploration of large language models' potential in facilitating scholarly editing, with ChatGPT-4 and Claude 3 proving helpful but not without limitations in tasks such as OCR correction, LaTeX formatting, translation, and indexing. Peter later joined the project and undertook the systematic organization of the text and, as far as was feasible, the crucial work of locating and linking to Jespersen's source documents.

For sources we could not locate online, we have linked to reprints or alternative editions. So for example, the text may cite (Jespersen 1909) while its link goes to a 1961 reprint.

A note on datedness: Few readers in the 21st century are likely to take Jespersen's word on such matters as syntactic categorization, so we hardly need express any regret about, for example, his classing of *but* as a "relative pronoun". However, his estimates of the currency of particular words should also be read with care. It is true that, as he asserts, *investigable* and *invertible* have also meant 'incapable of being investigated' and 'incapable of being changed' respectively; but such uses of the pair are obsolete and seem to have been so even when he wrote. Yet we should hesitate before judging: his description of *insubstantial* as having given way to *unsubstantial* may surprise, but Google Books Ngram Viewer will confirm that this was true when he wrote it: the relative popularity of the two words was to reverse in the late 1940s.

— Brett Reynolds & Peter Evans
March 25, 2025

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[1]http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924026632947

An introduction to Otto Jespersen's *Negation in English and other languages* (1917)

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1 Introduction

Hardly any good introductory textbook to language change fails to present the following phenomenon:

> The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same developments as the original word. (this volume, p. 1)

Thus opens the first chapter of Otto Jespersen's *Negation in English and other languages* (henceforth *Negation*, following the convention of Jespersen's autobiography, Jespersen 1995). Subsequent generations of linguists have learned to call this phenomenon Jespersen's Cycle, following Dahl (1979). There are many ironies related to the study of the Cycle, not the least of which is the fact that the book after whose author it was named almost did not happen. *Negation* was published in 1917, during the First World War. Like many others of Jespersen's publications, it is a by-product of what is probably his main work, the seven-volume *A Modern English grammar on historical principles* (Jespersen 1909, henceforth *Modern English grammar*). The war had put this monumental project on hold –

it was published by a company based in Heidelberg, Germany – and because of that, Jespersen had decided to publish the parts related to negation separately, augmented by observations on other languages.

The result is a slim volume of approximately 150 pages, but, as McCawley (1995: 30) notes, it is "strikingly comprehensive". Hardly any detail of English negation, whether past or present, escapes Jespersen's scrutiny, and he also makes a considerable number of observations on the negative expressions of other, mainly European languages, especially Danish and French. While the cyclical development of negative markers has dominated the discussions around Jespersen's book, in reality *Negation* is a much richer work, and the treatment of the cyclical renewal of negative markers is not the only valuable part of it – arguably, there are topics on which Jespersen succeeds rather better than in his analysis of Jespersen's Cycle.

This introduction aims to (i) place Otto Jespersen's *Negation* in its historical and intellectual context, (ii) present the structure and content of the work, (iii) show some ways in which Jespersen's *Negation* has influenced subsequent research, and (iv) point out themes that recur in the book and which help us to understand both negation in general and Jespersen's account of it in particular. Especially for the last aim, Jespersen's work will be discussed in the light of more recent scholarship.

2 Otto Jespersen

Jens Otto Harry Jespersen was born in Randers, Denmark, on 16 July 1860. After graduating from grammar school in 1877, he initially continued a long family tradition and began to study law at the University of Copenhagen. By all accounts, this was an unhappy choice, and after four years he abandoned law. In September 1881, he began to study languages, with French as his main subject and English and Latin as subsidiary ones. In the first semester of his new studies, he attended Vilhelm Thomsen's lectures on phonetics, then a budding field outside of the largely historical mainstream of 19th-century linguistics. This was consequential in many ways: many of his early publications were to deal with phonetics and the role of spoken language in foreign language teaching. As a synchronic field, phonetics may also have contributed to Jespersen's lifelong interest in the contemporary form of the languages that he studied, rather than only their historical development and classical texts. Finally, it was Thomsen who in 1888 persuaded the freshly graduated Jespersen to consider writing his doctoral dissertation on English, a subject which was to have an opening at Copenhagen in a few years

but without a clear candidate in sight to take on the role (in the letter in which this suggestion was made, Thomsen also subtly lets on that the topic of said dissertation should be something other than phonetics). Jespersen took this up and in 1891, he defended his dissertation on English cases. Two years later in 1893, at the age of 33, Jespersen was appointed Professor of English Language and Literature at the University of Copenhagen. He held this position until 1925, when he turned 65, at the time unusually young for retiring from the university. Even though he had retired, Jespersen continued to work on his research practically until the end of his life. He died in 1943, during Nazi Germany's occupation of Denmark.

Jespersen's influence has been felt in various schools of linguistics. On the one hand, his Darwinist and teleological approach to language change (see Nielsen 1989, McCawley 1992) meshes well with the functionalist approaches that developed in the latter half of the 20th century in North America and Europe, since it points to the influence of communicative pressures on language structure (Givón 1995: 1–5). On the other hand, Jespersen's emphasis on universal principles underlying superficial variation across languages has been cited as an influence for mainstream generative grammar (e.g. Chomsky 1975). Jespersen has also been lauded by non-mainstream generativists, who have appreciated the empirical richness and theoretical depth of his studies; in an article analyzing Jespersen's *Negation*, McCawley (1995: 37) even calls him "in my opinion the most perceptive observer of human language who ever lived". Many corpus linguists recognize a precursor in Jespersen's copious use of examples taken from real texts and in his attention to minor patterns in the data (Meyer 2008: 4–5).

In spite of his wide-ranging influence, Jespersen is difficult to place in the intellectual landscape of his time. He was originally trained in the Neogrammarian school of historical-comparative linguistics, but in his own work, he criticized the assumption of exceptionless sound laws (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 344–345) and sought to pay as much attention to synchrony as to diachrony. Traditional philology is another clear intellectual debt, as shown in the carefully collected quotations from classic literary texts in his works, including *Negation* – but as a student, he campaigned against Latin as a compulsory subsidiary subject for modern language students at the University of Copenhagen, and as a professor he took part in finally abolishing it (Christophersen 1989: 7). He was contemporaneous with structuralism and his ideas do resemble it in some respects – but he was critical of structuralists in his writings (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 346; Koerner 1999: 119–132). Similarly, structuralists were ambivalent towards his work, especially those aspects of it that could be seen as overly mentalistic; but at the same time, he had a strong influence on, for example, Bloomfield (see Falk 1992).

Jespersen's iconoclasm and independence were also evident in his life beyond academia. In his farewell lecture given on his retirement as a professor in 1925, he criticized nationalism and declared conscription "one of the nineteenth century's most devilish inventions, something that has most potently contributed to detestable wars and with its systematic training in killing and its unqualified claim to obedience has had a demoralizing effect on many and many a young man" (Jespersen 1933: 3). On the other hand, his generally progressive and even radical outlook on politics has been somewhat overshadowed by the decidedly retrograde attitudes towards women and their language use displayed in his writings (Hovdhaugen et al. 2000: 346–347).

It is fair to say that Jespersen had many, partly overlapping careers in linguistics, and he left a mark in virtually all the sub-fields that he worked in (see Juul & Nielsen 1989, Falk 1992, Hovdhaugen et al. 2000). His early work focused on phonetics, especially in Danish dialects but also in English. Another early focus was language teaching. Jespersen wrote his first school grammar of English while still an undergraduate. He also wrote other school textbooks and successfully promoted the use of modern teaching methods at the expense of the then prevalent grammar–translation method. He wrote on historical linguistics, producing both descriptive work and studies of a more theoretical nature. Furthermore, Jespersen was involved in the creation of artificial languages, contributing to Ido and creating Novial.

However, it is probably Jespersen's work on grammar that has had the most profound influence on the field, and which is also the most prominent part of his published output as a scholar. His most important contribution in this field is the seven-volume *Modern English grammar* (Jespersen 1909), the last volume of which was published posthumously. As stated above, *Negation* is a side product of the *Modern English grammar*, as are many others of Jespersen's publications over the four decades that he was writing it. Another work that merits mention is *The philosophy of grammar* (Jespersen 1924). To complement the largely descriptive nature of the *Modern English grammar*, this work is more theoretical and is in many ways ahead of its time. The syntactic theory that is presented and developed in *The philosophy of grammar* is used already in *Negation*.

3 *Negation in English and other languages*

3.1 The context

Negation was published in 1917, when the First World War had been raging in Europe for three years. Denmark had managed to stay out of the war, and in

the years preceding the publication of *Negation*, Jespersen had largely been concerned with anti-war efforts together with other Scandinavian intellectuals and politicians. Much of the chapter in his autobiography dealing with the war years describes his participation in peace efforts rather lavishly funded by Henry Ford. In 1916, probably because of his position as professor of English, he was asked to go on a diplomatic mission to London to meet with journalists and politicians in order to prepare the ground for a peace deal, which would have been in Ford's financial interest. In his autobiography, Jespersen notes that the outcome of this trip was "very slender" and that he "received the impression that a corresponding expedition to Germany had borne equally meagre fruit" (Jespersen 1995: 196). He also published a peace proposal of his own, suggesting the establishment of a United States of Europe, with Strasbourg as its Washington D.C., and translated Edward Carpenter's anti-war pamphlet *Never again* into Danish.

These aspects of his life are almost completely absent from the pages of *Negation* (although the word *non-belligerent* makes an appearance in Chapter 5, as do example sentences that are thematically related to the war). In his autobiography, the publication of *Negation* merits a very brief mention:

> But I must not give the impression that during the war I was exclusively preoccupied with war and politics. Fortunately life had to go on regardless. Lectures and examinations had to be held, and were held. [...] I was still working on my large English grammar, but as the first volumes had appeared in Heidelberg and I could not expect to get a new volume published there in the very near future, I picked out some chapters which were particularly suited for comparison with other languages and reflections of a general linguistic and logical nature. This became the book *Negation in English and Other Languages*, printed in the Historical-Philological Proceedings of the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1917.
>
> (Jespersen 1995: 196–197)

When reading *Negation* or its parent work, the *Modern English grammar*, a striking feature is the large number of examples, most of them taken from authentic language use. This is particularly remarkable since Jespersen lived and worked many decades before computers, let alone linguistic corpora, were in common use. The secret to the examples is that Jespersen collected them systematically throughout his career (Jespersen 1995: 247–251). Every example (together with a source reference) was written on a small piece of paper, which was also given a number according to a system that Jespersen himself noted was reminiscent of library classification. These examples were then arranged into boxes

according to topic. The example that he gives in his autobiography is the English *ing*-form: it formed class number 33. This category was divided into subcategories such as *ing*-form used as a noun (331), noun used as a plural (3312), and so on; the category from which the examples in *Negation* have been taken, for anyone who may be interested, was 63 (Jespersen 1995: 250). If this sounds endearing, or possibly quixotic, it probably was, and at least among his colleagues, he seems to have been quite famous for the practice, as evidenced by this anecdote from his autobiography (Jespersen 1995: 250):

> One of my pupils is said to have once depicted my procedure like this: Jespersen gradually stuffs a quantity of slips into compartments in his drawers; when one compartment is full, a little bell rings, and another book is finished.

This method allowed Jespersen considerable flexibility when dealing with his data: examples could be rearranged and reclassified, and when the time came to write things up, only the examples deemed best were included. Francis (1989: 94) notes that Jespersen's use of citations in the *Modern English grammar* was influenced by the *Oxford English dictionary* and that "he intended to produce a grammatical counterpart" to it.

3.2 The book and its contents

As McCawley (1995: 29) notes, the structure of *Negation* is "rather peculiar" for a modern reader. Just by looking at the table of contents, it is difficult to discern any narrative or guiding principle for how the contents are organized, as one might expect of a monograph published today. In the following, I will divide the book's contents into three broad parts. The first part is diachronic, the other two mainly synchronic.

The first three chapters deal with the diachrony of negation. Chapter 1, titled "General tendencies", is probably the most widely cited in the book. It introduces what has come to be known as Jespersen's Cycle, illustrating it with Latin and French, Old Norse and its descendants, as well as English. Chapter 2, "Strengthening of negatives", continues with the theme, providing a list of etymological sources for negative strengtheners found in European languages. In Chapter 3, "Positive becomes negative", the focus turns to the process by which positive elements come to be reanalysed as negatives.

What I consider to be the second part of *Negation* consists of seven chapters. These chapters consider negation as a function from a synchronic perspective. Chapter 4, "Indirect and incomplete negation", treats two rather different topics.

Under the rubric of "indirect negation", Jespersen discusses various constructions that imply a polarity value that is the opposite of their literal meaning; examples include questions that imply a negative statement (e.g. *Am I the guardian of my brother?*) and conditional constructions (e.g. *If I understand thee, I am a villain*, which implies 'I am not a villain'). Since some of the examples are negative themselves, implying a positive (e.g. *if it isn't a pity* to imply 'it is a pity'), a more appropriate title might be "Polarity reversals" or "Negation and indirectness". "Incomplete negation" on the other hand refers to such words as *hardly* and *few*. Chapter 5 is titled "Special and nexal negation". Negation is *nexal* if it applies to a nexus, i.e. a combination of two positive ideas; Jespersen's example for this is *He doesn't come today*, which negates the combination of *he* and *coming today*. By contrast, negation is *special* if it relates to only one idea; examples that he cites include *never, unhappy, impossible, disorder* and *non-belligerent*. The concept of nexus is central to Jespersen's syntactic theorizing (Jespersen 1924, Francis 1989); I will return to it in Section 4.2. Chapter 6 is on "Negative attraction", i.e. the locus of negation marking in a clause. In Chapter 7 ("Double negation"), Jespersen returns to the presence of two negative expressions in one clause. Chapter 8 is entitled "The meaning of negation". Here, Jespersen discusses the interaction of negation with quantifiers and modals, treading ground that was later analysed under the notion of scalar implicature by Horn (1989) and many others. McCawley (1995) considers this chapter the weakest in the book. In Chapter 9, entitled "Weakened negatives", Jespersen turns to cases in which an explicit negative has little negative force (for example, *Won't you have a glass of beer?* is nearly equivalent to *Will you have a glass of beer?*). Chapter 10 ("Negative connectives") discusses negative connectives such as *neither* and *nor*.

While the preceding chapters discuss negation using concepts that are at least broadly applicable across languages, in the last three chapters, the focus turns to negative forms that are specific to English. Chapters 11 and 12 in particular are also as much about diachrony as about synchrony. Chapter 11 ("English verbal forms in *n't*") discusses contracted forms in English, with a lot of emphasis placed on their pronunciation. Chapter 12, entitled *But*, offers a historical treatment of the various negation-related meanings of the word. Finally, Chapter 13, "Negative prefixes", is a detailed account of *un-, in-, dis-, non-* and *a-* in English.

Put together, the chapters in *Negation* offer a detailed panorama of negation in English and other European languages. While non-specialists sometimes think of negation as a rather boring corner of grammar, a simple reversal of truth value, Jespersen's *Negation* would hopefully convince them that negation is a rich source of interesting expression types that is continually in movement, and thus an appropriate topic for showcasing the blend of synchrony and diachrony that was typical of Jespersen's work.

4 Themes: What *Negation* is and is not

In this section, I will discuss some themes that cut across chapters in *Negation* or that are important for understanding how it relates to other studies about negation, or by Jespersen. The selection of topics is not meant as exhaustive, perhaps not even as representative, and it necessarily reflects my personal biases and interests. I also try to cover ground not wholly trodden by McCawley (1995) in his article on *Negation*, although some overlap is inevitable, notably on the distinction between nexal and special negation as well as Jespersen's account of what has come to be known as pragmatic meaning.

The contents of this section are not intended as the final word on Jespersen, on *Negation* or on negation (and even if they were so intended, they could not be that). Readers who are relatively new to the area can take this section as a collection of signposts, or of things to be on the lookout for. More advanced readers may wish to read the book for themselves first, and only come back later when they have formed their own opinions, to check if they agree.

4.1 Grammaticalization and Jespersen's Cycle

For better or for worse, *Negation* is probably best-known for its account of what is today known as Jespersen's Cycle, a name given to it by Dahl (1979). While Jespersen also illustrates the phenomenon with English and Scandinavian, the classic example is French. The number of stages that have been posited has varied from three to six (van der Auwera 2009: 37–39), but the basic facts behind the varying numbers of stages are not in serious dispute. Van der Auwera (2009: 39) argues that a six-stage model "captures Jespersen (1917) better than the simpler schemes", as shown in (1) (see also Hansen 2012):

(1) Stages Strategies

1 non_{NEG}
2 ne_{NEG}
3 $ne_{NEG}...pas_{X}$
4 $ne_{NEG}...pas_{NEG}$
5 $ne_{X}...pas_{NEG}$
6 pas_{NEG}

Stage 1 is the non-reduced pre-verbal Latin negative marker *non* (*Non dico* 'I do not say'). In stage 2, *non* has phonetically reduced into *ne* but remains a negative marker (*Jeo ne dis*). Stage 3 represents the situation in Old French, whereby *ne*

was optionally accompanied by a variety of minimizers, such as *mie* 'crumb' and *pas* 'step' (*Je ne dis* (*pas*)). Over time, adverb *pas* became more frequent than the other alternatives, and it became an obligatory part of the French standard negation construction (*Je ne dis pas*). It was thus reanalyzed as a negator in its own right rather than as a minimizer; this is stage 4. Once this was done, in stage 5, the relationship between *ne* and *pas* is recast: now *pas* is the negative marker and *ne* has another function, possibly to reinforce the negation – indeed, the use of *ne* in spoken French is now pragmatically special (Fonseca-Greber 2007). Colloquial French is largely in stage 6, in which *pas* can be used to negate a clause on its own (*Je dis pas*), the alternative which has been dominant in spoken varieties of French for decades if not longer. One language can occupy several stages at once; while spoken French is somewhere between stages 5 and 6, stage 2 constructions still remain in more formal registers of French for certain verbs, and the written standard is in stage 4.

One myth needs to be dealt with right away: Jespersen was *not* the first linguist to analyse this phenomenon, let alone observe it. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, most if not all western linguists had a thorough command of both French and Latin, and the etymological connection between Latin *passum* and French *pas* seems to have been common knowledge. A few years before Jespersen published his book, Antoine Meillet (1912) had published an article that introduced the term GRAMMATICALIZATION and which also discusses the development of the French negative construction, albeit in much less detail than Jespersen. Van der Auwera (2009) cites even earlier remarks on the topic, going back to the 19th century. Meillet also describes the cyclical nature of change in negatives in terms strongly reminiscent of Jespersen's formulation as summarized above:

> Les langues suivent ainsi une sorte de développement en spirale : elles ajoutent des mots accessoires pour obtenir une expression intense ; ces mots s'affaiblissent, se dégradent et tombent au niveau de simples outils grammaticaux ; on ajoute de nouveaux mots ou des mots différents en vue de l'expression ; l'affaiblissement recommence, et ainsi sans fin.

> 'Languages thus follow a kind of spiral development: they add accessory words to obtain an intense expression; these words weaken, are reduced and fall to the level of mere grammatical tools; new words are added, or different words are added for the sake of expression; the weakening starts again, and so on without end.'   (Meillet 1921: 130–148) [my translation]

Not only did Meillet analyse the "Jespersen Cycle" earlier than Jespersen, he also seems to have done a better job in some respects. Jespersen's account leans

heavily on a phonetic explanation for the rise of *pas*: the reason for strengthening *ne* with *pas* and other minimizers is its phonetic erosion, an explanation that may reflect Jespersen's earlier interest in phonetics. By contrast, as the quote above shows, Meillet identified the speaker's wish for expressiveness as the real cause for the cycle. Later research into Jespersen's Cycle has found Meillet's explanation to be closer to the facts (see van der Auwera 2009). *Pas* originally occurred in contexts where the negated content was contextually accessible and thus its negation needed to be more forceful, given that the negation targeted something that was presumably accepted as true by the hearer (Hansen & Visconti 2009). Similarly, the double negation of Brazilian Portuguese is only felicitous in contexts where the negated content is activated (Schwenter 2005).

Still, there might be something to Jespersen's idea of phonetic weakening. Van der Auwera (2009) points out that the phonetically reduced *ne* may have been too inconspicuous for the kind of emphasis that is needed for negating contextually activated content. Thus, phonetic weakening could be integrated into the activation-based account of the Cycle.

The name "Jespersen Cycle" is thus somewhat unfortunate, but it has stuck. Part of the reason is that, despite its flaws, Jespersen's is the first relatively full account that demonstrates, rather than merely takes for granted, the parallel developments across different languages and analyses them in depth. Perhaps more importantly, a good alternative term is difficult to come by. The most obvious replacement, "negative cycle", is too vague because there are other cyclical developments related to negation, such as the negative existential cycle (sometimes called the "Croft Cycle") and the quantifier cycle (Croft 1991, Hansen 2012, van der Auwera et al. 2022). Therefore, the term *Jespersen Cycle* is probably to be preferred after all.

Jespersen only discusses single and double negatives. Subsequent research has found that two is not the upper limit for the number of negative markers in standard negation: the cycle may start again in the double negation stage. Vossen & van der Auwera (2014) cite the example of Lewo, shown in (2), which they argue to have quadruple negation:

(2)   Lewo (Austronesian; Early 1994: 405)
      pe-re   a-pim   re poli
      neg-neg 3pl.sbj-r.come neg neg
      'They didn't come.'

4.2 Nexal and special negation

The three main concepts in Jespersen's theory of grammar are RANK, JUNCTION and NEXUS (Jespersen 1924, Francis 1989). All these concepts relate to units that are at least potentially combinations of more than one word. RANK refers to levels of hierarchical structure in syntax: in *extremely hot weather*, for example, what would now be called the HEAD (*weather*) is in Jespersen's terms "primary", its dependent (*hot*) "secondary" and the dependent's dependent (*extremely*) "tertiary" (Jespersen 1924: 96). JUNCTION and NEXUS, in turn, are ways of combining elements into hierarchically ordered wholes. In JUNCTION, elements are combined to form a single idea. In NEXUS, two elements are combined that "must necessarily remain separate" (Jespersen 1924: 116). In *The philosophy of grammar*, Jespersen's go-to example for these two concepts is the pair of expressions *the furiously barking dog* (junction) and *The dog barks furiously* (nexus). In both, *dog* is primary, *bark/barking* secondary, and *furiously* tertiary (Jespersen 1924: 97, 114). In the prototypical case, the nexus contains a finite verb. However, there are also other kinds of nexus in English (Jespersen 1924: 117–131): INFINITIVAL NEXUS (*I heard HER SING* combines 'she' and 'sing'), VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE (*I heard of THE DOCTOR'S ARRIVAL* combines 'the Doctor' and 'arrive'), VERBLESS NEXUS (*the more fool I* combines 'I' and 'the more fool'), NEXUS-OBJECT (*I found THE CAGE EMPTY* combines 'the cage' and 'empty'), NEXUS SUBJUNCT (*We shall go, WEATHER PERMITTING* combines 'weather' and 'permit'), and NEXUS OF DEPRECATION (*Me dance!* combines 'I' and 'dance' and expresses an indirect negation).

Of Jespersen's three concepts, only the nexus is drawn on explicitly in *Negation*, when Jespersen makes a distinction between *nexal* and *special* negation in Chapter 5. The distinction between nexal and special negation displays the insight that clausal negation is quite different from negation of a constituent. However, the concepts are not entirely successful or clearly applied: for example, it is not clear why *never* could not effect nexal negation, despite the etymology of *never* as the negation of *ever*.

Jespersen seems to oscillate between a formal and a functional definition of nexal and special negation. On the one hand, they are meant as grammatical, and thus at least partly formal, categories: Jespersen writes accordingly that "[i]n [Modern English] the use or non-use of the auxiliary *do* serves in many, but not of course in all, cases to distinguish between nexal and special negation" (this volume, p. 57). However, two pages before this statement, he has the example *He doesn't smoke cigars, only cigarettes*, which he seems to argue is special because the negation only applies to *cigars*, not to the nexus of 'he' and 'smokes cigars'. Here, the distinction between nexal and special negation seems to be purely func-

tional. In *The philosophy of grammar*, nexus is defined in purely notional terms. Additionally, it is difficult to square Jespersen's discussion of nexal negation in *Negation* with the wide variety of nexus types in *The philosophy of grammar*, which were listed above. Many of these are not clausal at all and thus are not relevant to clausal negation.

In Jespersen's defence, this area of English grammar has been difficult to make sense of, since syntactic expression and semantic interpretation do not always seem to go hand in hand. It is probably best to keep syntactic and semantic analyses conceptually distinct, so that the syntactic distinction between clausal and constituent negation need not correspond to the semantic distinction between negating a proposition or a term (cf. Klima 1964). As a further issue, Jespersen's class of special negation is rather heterogeneous, and as McCawley (1995: 33) notes, Jespersen's generalizations of it do not really apply to all its members.

Subsequent typological research has applied the term *special negation* in a different way, as the opposite of *standard negation* (e.g. Veselinova 2013). *Standard negation* is "the basic way(s) a language has for negating declarative verbal main clauses" (Miestamo 2005: 1); *special negations* are any negative constructions that differ from the standard negation construction of the language in question. Jespersen's special negations are a subclass (or, rather, several subclasses) of the special negations of typology. For example, a language that has a separate negative marker for non-verbal predication, for existential predication or for subordinate clauses (see Miestamo 2017) would be said to have a special negative construction even though, in Jespersen's terms, that construction would apply to a kind of nexus.

4.3 Competing motivations

Several of the chapters in *Negation* are concerned with the placement of the negative marker, and Jespersen formulates several generalizations concerning this issue. The most famous of these is what Horn (1989: 449) has called the Neg-First principle: all other things being equal, negative markers precede their focus. Another principle discussed by Jespersen is what might be called the *neg-verbal* principle: negation is attracted to the finite verb. Thirdly, negation has a tendency to be attracted to "any word that can easily be made negative" (this volume p. 73). For example, *We didn't meet anybody* corresponds to *We met nobody*. For the sake of completeness, let us call this tendency the principle of *Neg-Incorporation*.

Pressures such as Neg-First, Neg-Verbal or Neg-Incorporation are functional in nature: they serve a communicative purpose. If there is a universalizing side to

Jespersen's *Negation*, it probably lies in these principles. In the terms of present-day functionalism, Jespersen thus posits *competing motivations* for the placement of the negative marker (Du Bois 1985). While Jespersen's aims cannot be said to be typological or quantitative by today's standards, at least the Neg-First and Neg-Verbal principles are borne out by later typological investigations: negative markers do tend to precede the verb that they are negating (Dryer 1992, 2013b: 97–98, 101), and the markers themselves are very commonly either verbal affixes or auxiliaries or, if they are independent words, belong to word classes that easily attach to verbs, such as particles (Dahl 1979, Dryer 2013a); see also Miestamo et al. (2022) for discussion of these findings from a competing motivations perspective.

Jespersen identifies a further competition of motivations in what McCawley (1991) later called CONTRASTIVE NEGATION, i.e. "combinations of affirmation and negation in which the focus of negation is replaced in the affirmative part of the expression" (Silvennoinen 2019: 10). Consider the pair (3a), which Jespersen cites from Oscar Wilde, and its near-equivalent in (3b):

(3)   a.   My ruin came not from too great individualism of life, but from too little.

        b.   My ruin didn't come from too great individualism of life, but from too little.

Contrastive negation allows the negation to be attached to the focus constituent rather than the nexus, as in (3a). The nexal variant is also possible, however, as shown in (3b). Contrastive negation has largely been ignored in the literature on negation post-1917. That Jespersen discusses it, and in several places, is further testament to his attention to seemingly small details of grammar.

4.4 The limits of negation (and *Negation*): Towards pragmatic meaning

Many of the synchronic chapters in *Negation* have to do with topics that would now fall under the rubric of pragmatics, or at the very least near it. In other words, they deal with uses of negation that are not literally negative, such as when Jespersen discusses PARATACTIC NEGATIVES or double negatives that do not cancel one another (Chapter 7), or expressions that are not formally negative but have negative force, such as in the section on what Jespersen calls "indirect negation" (Chapter 4), or negative expressions whose precise type of negative meaning (contradictory or contrary) needs to be determined contextually (Chapter 8). These sections have an unevenness to them: in my view, some of

these passages are among the best in the whole book: the reader truly gets a feel for the almost surgical precision with which Jespersen could observe language use, putting construction after construction and example after example under the scalpel. Unfortunately, these chapters also bring to light the defects in the theoretical apparatus that he is using.

Jespersen wrote *Negation* several decades before developments in ordinary language philosophy, sociology and anthropology coalesced into the research programme that is today known as linguistic pragmatics. Even semantics was a rather tender branch of theoretical linguistics at the time. Yet, because of its multifarious semantics and rich contextual uses, negation requires a pragmatic approach, and Jespersen is clearly aware of this. The problem for him is that the kind of approach that he would have needed had not yet been developed.

Retrospective evaluation has its risks, but it looks as if Jespersen is grasping towards something like a Gricean implicature in some of his analyses (cf. Grice 1975, Horn 1989). In Chapter 4, for example, Jespersen goes through various constructions in which the recipient makes a negative inference out of a positive expression, or vice versa. An example is the use of a question (*Am I the guardian of my brother?*) to imply a negative ('I am not the guardian of my brother'). A standard Gricean account would treat this inference as a conversational implicature. However, some of the inferences are indirect indeed: for example, comparative constructions such as *She is richer than you think* are claimed to imply 'you do *not* think that she is so rich as she really is'. While this is then connected to the pleonastic negation in the corresponding French construction (*Elle est plus riche que vous NE croyez*), the connections between the expressions of indirect negation and their inferences remain rather loose.

Another problem relates to Chapter 8, in which Jespersen treats what has since become known as scalar implicature. As in many other publications, Jespersen discusses scales through three terms, such as the ones in (4):

(4) | A | B | C |
|---|---|---|
| all | some | none |
| everybody | somebody | nobody |
| always | sometimes | never |
| must | can | cannot |

As McCawley (1995: 35) puts it,

> [Jespersen] offers generalizations about the meanings of combinations of negation with these three categories, for example, that the negations of A

and C are in the category B, for which he gives equations such as "not all, not everything = something" and that A and C applied to a negation are equivalent to C and A respectively, e.g. "*Everybody was unkind = Nobody was kind*". [...] The above equations bring Jespersen perilously close to the absurd conclusion that A = C, that is, that *everything = nothing.*

One solution for this conundrum, offered by Horn (1972, 1989) and endlessly debated ever since, is to distinguish meaning from implicature. On such an account, a scalar term such as *some* means 'at least some' and conversationally implicates 'no more than some'. Thus, the negation of an A term ('not all') can mean either B or C. Again, Jespersen is aware of the two readings, but the theoretical machinery is not yet in place.[1]

5 Conclusion

In this introduction, I have tried to show that Jespersen's *Negation* can tell us much more than what happened to the French word *pas.* Indeed, it is only when set against the backdrop of Jespersen's pragmatic conception of language that his account of Jespersen's Cycle can be properly understood and appreciated (and critiqued, as shown above). I have also tried to give the reader a glimpse of the man behind the book.

It is the fate of many classics that they end up more cited than read. I hope that this reissue will make this book available to new readers, and I also hope that, after reading *Negation*, they will feel inspired to try out some of Jespersen's other books.

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[1]There are alternatives to the standard Gricean account developed by Horn. See e.g., Chierchia (2017) and Sauerland (2012) for reviews and arguments for a view contrary to the Gricean one.

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Preface

The nucleus of the following disquisition is the material collected during many years for the chapter on Negatives in volume III or IV of my *Modern English Grammar*, of which the first two volumes appeared in 1909 and 1914 respectively (Winter, Heidelberg).[1] But as the war has prevented me (provisionally, I hope) from printing the continuation of my book, I have thought fit to enlarge the scope of this paper by including remarks on other languages so as to deal with the question of Negation in general as expressed in language. Though I am painfully conscious of the inadequacy of my studies, it is my hope that the following pages may be of some interest to the student of linguistic history, and that even a few of my paragraphs may be of some use to the logician. My work in some respects continues what Delbrück (1897: 519ff) has written on negation in Indo-European languages, but while he was more interested in tracing things back to the "ursprache", I have taken more interest in recent developments and in questions of general psychology and logic.

With regard to the older stages of Teutonic or Germanic languages, I have learned much from Delbrück (1910), supplemented by Neckel (1912). Of much less value are the treatments of the specially Old English negatives in Knörk (1907) and Rauert (1910) as well as Einenkel (1911). As in my *Grammar*, my chief interest is in Modern English; a great many interesting problems can be best treated in connexion with a language that is accessible to us in everyday conversation as well as in an all-comprehensive literature. Besides, much of what follows will be proof positive that the English language has not stagnated in the modern period, as Einenkel would have us believe (1911: 234, "Bei Caxton ist der heutige Zustand bereits erreicht"). Further literature on the subject will be quoted below; here I shall mention only the suggestive remarks in van Ginneken (1907: 199ff).

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[1]It would be published in 1940 as "Negation", chapter 23 of volume V. (Eds.)

Chapter 1

General Tendencies

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

Similar renewals of linguistic expressions may be found in other domains as well, but in this instance they are due not only to the general inconstancy of human habits, but to specific causes operating on these particular words. The negative adverb very often is rather weakly stressed, because some other word in the same sentence receives the strong stress of contrast—the chief use of a negative sentence being to contradict and to point a contrast. The negative notion, which is logically very important, is thus made to be accentually subordinate to some other notion; and as this happens constantly, the negative gradually becomes a mere proclitic syllable (or even less than a syllable) prefixed to some other word. The incongruity between the notional importance and the formal insignificance of the negative (often, perhaps, even the fear of the hearer failing to perceive it) may then cause the speaker to add something to make the sense perfectly clear to the hearer.

On the other hand, there is a natural tendency, also for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negatived (generally the verb, see below p. 3). At the very beginning of the sentence, it is found comparatively often in the early stages of some languages, thus *ou* ('not') in Homer (see, for instance, in *Odyssey* 6.33, 57, 167, 201, 241, 279, 7.22, 32, 67, 73, 159, 205, 239, 293, 309, besides the frequent instances of *ou gár* ('for not' or 'indeed not'); *ou* ('no one') is far less frequent in the middle of sentences).Readers of Icelandic sagas will similarly have noticed the numerous instances of *eigi* and *ekki* ('not') at the beginning of sentences, especially in dialogues. In later stages, this tendency, which to us seems to indicate a strong spirit of contradiction, is counterbalanced in various

ways, thus very effectively by the habit of placing the subject of a sentence first. But it is still strong in the case of prohibitions, where it is important to make the hearer realize as soon as possible that it is not a permission that is imparted; hence in Danish frequently such sentences as *ikke spise det!* ('don't eat that') with the infinitive (which is chiefly or exclusively due to "echoism", see Jespersen (1916: 164) or *ikke spis det!* with the imperative; cf. (1). Further the German *nicht hinauslehnen* ('don't lean out'), etc., corresponding to the first mentioned Danish form; and we might also include prohibitions in other languages, Latin *noli putare* ('do not think'), etc.

(1) a. Hys — hys; ikke sig   noget   endnu.
         hush   hush not   say.IMP anything yet
         'Hush—hush; don't say anything yet.'   (Ibsen, *Vildanden* 79)

     b. Men ikke fordærv øjnene!
         but   not ruin.IMP eyes.DEF
         'But do not ruin your eyes!'   (ibid 105)

Now, when the negative begins a sentence, it is on account of that very position more liable than elsewhere to fall out, by the phenomenon for which I venture to coin the term of PROSIOPESIS (the opposite of what has been termed of old *aposiopesis*): the speaker begins to articulate, or thinks he begins to articulate, but produces no audible sound (either for want of expiration, or because he does not put his vocal chords in the proper position) till one or two syllables after the beginning of what he intended to say. The phenomenon is particularly frequent, and may become a regular speech-habit, in the case of certain set phrases, but may spread from these to other parts of the language.

Some examples of *prosiopesis* outside the domain of negatives may be given here by way of illustration. Forms of salutation like English *morning* for *Good morning*, Danish (*God*) *dag*, German (*Guten*) *Tag* are frequent in many languages. Further colloquial English (2), colloquial French (3), Swedish (4).

(2) a. (Do you) see?
     b. (Do you re)member that chap?
     c. (Will) that do?
     d. (I'm a)fraid not
     e. (The) fact is …
     f. (When you) come to think of it
     g. (I shall) see you again this afternoon
     h. (Have you) seen the Murrays lately?

      i. (Is) that you, John?

      j. (God) bless you.

(3)   a. (na)turellement   ('naturally')

      b. (En)tends-tu?   ('Are you listening?')

      c. (Est-ce) convenu*?*   ('Is it agreed?')

      d. (Par)faitement   ('perfectly')

      e. (Je ne me) rappelle plus.   ('I can't recall any more.')

(4)   (Öd)mjukaste tjenare   ('most humble servant')

A rapid sketch of the history of negatives in French, Scandinavian, and English

The interplay of these tendencies—weakening and strengthening, and protraction—will be seen to lead to curiously similar, though in some respects different developments in Latin with its continuation French, in Scandinavian, and in English. A rapid sketch of the history of negatives in these three languages may, therefore, be an appropriate introduction to the more specified investigations of the following chapters.

The starting point in all three languages is the old negative *ne*, which I take to be (together with the variant *me*) a primitive interjection of disgust, accompanied by the facial gesture of contracting the muscles of the nose (Danish *rynke på nesen* ('wrinkle one's nose'), German *die Nase rümpfen*, French *froncer les narines*; the English *to turn*, or *to screw, up one's nose* is not so expressive). This natural origin will account for the fact that negatives beginning with nasals (*n, m*) are found in many languages outside the Indo-European family.

In Latin, then, we have at first sentences like

Stage 1: *ne dico*   ('do not say')

This persists with a few verbs only, *nescio, nequeo, nolo. Ne* also enters into the well-known combinations *neque, neuter, numquam, nemo, ne … quidem, quin*, etc., and is also used "as a conjunction" in subjunctival clauses; further as an "interrogative particle" in *scis-ne?* ('you know, don't you?'). But otherwise *ne* is felt to be too weak, and it is strengthened by the addition of *oenum* ('one thing'); the resulting *non* becomes the usual negative adverb and like *ne* is generally placed before the verb:

Stage 2: *non dico*   ('I do not say')

In Old French, *non* becomes *nen*, as in *nenil, nenni*, properly 'not he, not it', but more usually with further phonetic weakening *ne*, and thus we get:

Stage 3: *jeo ne di*   ('I do not say')

This form of negative expression survives in literary French till our own days in a few combinations, *je ne sais, je ne saurais le dire, je ne peux, n'importe*; but in most cases, the second *ne*, like the first, was felt to be too weak, and a strengthening was found to be necessary, though it is effected in a different way, namely by the addition after the verb, thus separated from *ne*, of some such word as *mie* ('a crumb'), *point* ('a point'), or *pas* ('a step'):

Stage 4: *je ne dis pas* (or rather: *je n' dis pas*)

Everyday colloquial French does not stop here: the weak *ne*, *n'* disappears and we have as the provisionally final stage:

Stage 5: *je dis pas*

If we turn to Old Norse, we first find some remnants of the old *ne* before the verb, inherited from Old Arian, corresponding to Gothic *ni*, Old Saxon and Old High German *ni*, Old English *ne*; thus

Stage 1: *Haraldr ne veit* ('Harald does not know'); cf. *þú gefa ne skyldir* ('thou shouldst not give' (*Lokasenna*)).

This was strengthened in various ways, by adding *at* ('one thing') corresponding to Gothic *ainata*, or *a*, which is generally explained as corresponding to Gothic *aiw*, Latin *ævum*, but may according to Kock be merely a weakened form of *at*;[1] both were placed after the verb and eventually became enclitic quasi-suffixes; the result being

Stage 2: *Haraldr ne veit-at*; or, with a different word order, *ne veit-at Haraldr*

In the latter combination, however, *ne* was dropped through prosiopesis:

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[1] Likely Axel Kock (1851–1935), a Swedish philologist who made substantial contributions to the study of Old Norse and other Germanic languages. His work on sound changes and word formation in Nordic languages was particularly influential. (Eds.)

Stage 3: *veit-at Haraldr*

This form, with -*at* or -*a* as the negative element, is frequent enough in poetry; in prose, however, another way of strengthening the negative was preferred as having "more body", namely by means of *eigi* or *ekki* after the verb; these also at first must have had a *ne* before the verb as the bearer of the negative idea, as they are compounded of *ei*, originally 'always' like the corresponding Old English *ā*, and Old Norse *eitt* 'one (neutr.)' + *ge, gi*, which was at first positive (it corresponds to Gothic *hun*, having a voiced consonant in consequence of weak stress; see Delbrück (1910) for relation to Sanskrit *caná*) but acquired a negative signification through constant employment in negative sentences. This, then, becomes the usual negative in Scandinavian languages; e.g. Danish *ej* (now chiefly poetical; colloquial only in a few more or less settled combinations like *nej, jeg vil ej*) and *ikke* (with regard to *inte* see below, p. 15). The use of the original negative *ne* with a verb has in these languages disappeared centuries ago, leaving as the only curious remnant the first sound of *nogen*, which is, however, a positive pronoun 'some, any', from *ne veit*(*ek*) *hverr* 'nescio quis'. Sic transit....

The Danish *ikke* shares with French colloquial *pas* the disadvantage of being placed after the verb: *jeg veed ikke* just as *je sais pas*, even after the verb and subject in cases like *det veed jeg ikke*; but in dependent clauses we have protraction[2] of *ikke*: *at jeg ikke veed*; *fordi jeg ikke veed*; etc.

In English the development has been along similar lines, though with some interesting new results, due chiefly to changes that have taken place in the Modern English period. The starting point, as in the other languages, was

Stage 1: *ic ne secge*

This is the prevalent form throughout the Old English period, though the stronger negatives which were used (and required) whenever there was no verb, *na* (from *ne* + *a* corresponding to Gothic *aiw*, Old Norse *ei*), *nalles* ('not at all'), and *noht* (from *nawiht*, *nowiht*, originally meaning 'nothing'), were by no means rare after the verb to strengthen the preceding *ne*. The last was the word surviving in Standard English, and thus we get the typical Middle English form

Stage 2: *I ne seye not*

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[2]With this idiosyncratic term, Jespersen means movement of the negation to an earlier position in the clause – in Danish, it follows the finite verb in main clauses (*jeg ved ikke* 'I know not'), but comes before it in most dependent clauses (*fordi jeg ikke ved* 'because I not know'). (Eds.)

Here *ne* was pronounced with so little stress that it was apt to disappear altogether, and *not* becomes the regular negative in all cases:

Stage 3: *I say not*

This point—the practical disappearance of *ne* and the exclusive use of *not*—was reached in the fifteenth century. Thus far the English development presents an exact parallel to what had happened during the same period in German. Here also we find as the earliest stage (1) *ni* before the verb, then (2) *ne*, often weakened into *n-* or *en* (which probably means syllabic *n*) before and *niht* after the verb; *niht* of course is the compound that corresponds to English *not*; and finally (3) *nicht* alone. The rules given in Paul (1894: §310ff) for the use of *ne* alone and with *niht* and of the latter alone might be applied to Middle English of about the same date with hardly any change except in the form of the words, so close is the correspondence. But German remains at the stage of development reached towards the end of the middle period, when the weak *ne*, *en* had been given up; and thus the negative continues in the awkward position after the verb. We saw the same thing in colloquial French *pas* and in Danish *ikke*; but these are never separated from the verb by so many words as is often the case in German, the result being that the hearer or reader is sometimes bewildered at first and thinks that the sentence is to be understood in a positive sense, till suddenly he comes upon the *nicht*, which changes everything; see, for instance (5). In dependent clauses *nicht*, like other subjuncts, is placed before the verb: *dass er nicht kommt* 'that he is not coming'; *wenn er nicht kommt* 'if he does not come': (7). I remember feeling the end of (6) as something like a shock when reading it in an article by von der Gabelentz (1871: 153).

(5) Das Leben ist der Güter höchstes nicht
     'Life is not the highest of goods'   (Schiller, *Messina* 4.10)

(6) Man unterschätze den deutschen Stil der Zopfzeit, den der Canzleien des
     vorigen und vorvorigen Jahrhunderts nicht.
     'One should not underestimate the German style of the wig period, or
     that of the chancelleries of the last and the second to last centuries.'

(7) a. Denn der Rigveda kennt die Lautgruppe *skh-*, die ganz den Eindruck
         einer aus dem Prakrit stammenden Lautverbindung macht,
         überhaupt nicht.
         'For the Rigveda knows the sound group *skh-*, which entirely gives
         the impression of being a sound combination originating from
         Prakrit, *not at all*.'   (Collitz, *Präteritum* 67)

> b. Das [Frühneuenglisch] hat die Neigung, das Objekt möglichst an das Verbum anzuschliessen, noch nicht.
>
> 'Early Modern English had *not yet* developed the tendency to place the object as close as possible to the verb.' (Deutschbein, *System* 27)

In English, on the other hand, we witness a development that obviates this disadvantage. The Elizabethans began to use the auxiliary *do* indiscriminately in all kinds of sentences, but gradually it was restricted to those sentences in which it served either the purpose of emphasis or a grammatical purpose. In those questions in which the subject is not an interrogatory pronoun, which has to stand first, *do* effects a compromise between the interrogatory word-order (verb–subject) and the universal tendency to have the subject before the verb (that is, the verb that means something) as in *Did he come?* (See Jespersen (1894: 93) for parallels from other languages). And in sentences containing *not* a similar compromise is achieved by the same means, *not* retaining its place after the verb which indicates tense, number, and person, and yet being placed before the really important verb. Thus we get

Stage 4: *I do not say.*

Note that we have a corresponding word-order in numerous sentences like *I will not say*; *I cannot say*; *I have not said*; etc. But in this position, *not* cannot keep up its strongly stressed pronunciation; and through its weakening, we arrive at the colloquial

Stage 5: *I don't say.*

In many combinations, even the sound [t] is often dropped here, and thus *nowiht*, *nought* has been finally reduced to a simple [n] tagged onto an auxiliary of no particular signification. If we contrast an extremely common pronunciation of the two opposite statements *I can do it* and *I cannot do it*, the negative notion will be found to be expressed by nothing else but a slight change of the vowel [aikæn du· it | aika·n du· it]. Note also the extreme reduction in a familiar pronunciation of *I don't know* and *I don't mind* as [ai dn-nou] or [ai d-nou] and [ai dm-maind] or [ai d-maind], where practically nothing is left of the original negative. It is possible that some new device of strengthening may at some future date be required to remedy such reductions.

It is interesting to observe that through the stages (4) and (5) the English language has acquired a negative construction that is closely similar to that found

in Finnish, where we have a negative auxiliary, inflected in the various persons before an unchanged main verb: *en sido* ('I do not bind'), *et sido* ('thou dost not bind'), *ei sido* ('he does not bind'), *emme sido* ('we …'), *ette sido* ('you (pl) …'), *eivät sido* ('they do not bind'). There is, however, the important difference that in Finnish the tense is marked not in the auxiliary, but in the form of the main verb: *en sitonut* ('I did not bind'), *emme sitoneet* ('we did not bind') (*sitonut*, plural *sitoneet* is a participle).

A few things must be added here to supplement the brief sketch of the evolution of English negatives. The old *ne* in some frequently occurring combinations lost its vowel and was fused with the following word; thus we have the following pairs of positive and negative words:

(a)   verbs (given in late Middle English forms):

am	nam
art	nart
is	nis
has	nas
had(de)	nad(de)
was	nas
were(n)	nere(n)
will(e)	nill(e)
wolde	nolde

These had all become extinct before the Modern English period, except *nill*, which is found rarely, e.g. (8); twice in pseudo-Shakespearian passages: (9). Shakespeare himself has it only in the combinations *will you, nill you* (*Shr* 2.273) and *will he, nill he* (*Hml* 5.1.19); and the latter combination (or *will I, nill I*; *will ye, nill ye*, which all would yield the same phonetic result) survives in modern *willy-nilly*, rarely spelt as separate words, as in (10), where both the person (*he*) and the tense shows that the whole has really become one unanalyzed adverb.

(8)   I nill refuse   (Kyd, *Spanish* 1.4.7.)

(9)   a. In scorne or friendship, nill I conster whether   (*Pilgrime* 188)
      b. I nill relate   (*Pericles* 3.prol.55)

(10) a. Will I—Nill I   (rimes with *silly*; Byron, *Juan* 6.118)
      b. [other motives] would obtrude themselves, will he, nill he, upon him
                                                                (Allen, *Woman* 64)

(b)   other words (given in Modern English forms):

one, an, a (Old English ān)   none, no
aught, ought   naught, nought, not
either   neither
or   nor
ever   never

It should be remembered that *no* represents two etymologically distinct combinations: Old English *ne ān* (as in *no man*, also in *nobody*, *nothing*), and Old English *ne + ā* (as in: *are you ill? No*; also in *nowhere*); cf. Jespersen (1914: [1914] 16.7).

The transition between stages 2 and 3 is seen, for instance, in *Maundevile* (14th c.), where *ne* by itself is rare (11) but is more frequent with some other negative word (12). But *ne* is not required, see e.g. (13). A late example of isolated *ne* is (14).

(11)   ʒif the snow ne   were
if the snow not were
'if the snow were not there'   (130)

(12)   a. it ne   reynethe not
it not rains   not
'it does not rain'   (45)

b. ʒee ne   schulle not suffre
you not shall   not suffer
'you shall not suffer'   (51)

c. ne   ben not
not be   not
'is not'   (52)

d. there nys nouther mete for hors   ne   watre
there is   neither food for horse nor water
'there is neither food for horse nor water'   (58)

e. ne   … nevere
not … never
'never'   (181)

(13)   thei may not enlargen it [sc Egypt] toward the Desert, for defaute of Watre. … For there it reyneth not but litylle   (45)

(14)   he ne can   (*Gammer* 140; the usual negative in that play is *not*)

Before the *do*-construction was fully developed, there was a certain tendency to place *not* before the verb, in all kinds of sentences, thus not only in dependent clauses (the difference in word-order between main sentences and dependent clauses, which we have alluded to in Scandinavian and German, was never carried through in English). The word-order in *And if I not performe, God let me neuer thrive* for *performe not* is considered by Puttenham (1589: 262) as a "pardonable fault" which "many times giues a pretie grace vnto the speech"; it is pretty frequent in Shakespeare, see Schmidt (1886: 779), but is rare after the seventeenth century. Examples: (15).

(15) a. it not appears to me   (Shakespeare, *H4B* 4.1.107)
  b. For who not needs, shall neuer lacke a frend
                                (Shakespeare, *Hml* 3.2.217)
  c. I meruell our mild husband Not met vs on the way
                                (Shakespeare, *Lr* 4.2.1
  d. It is the cowish terror of his spirit That dares not vndertake: Hee'l not feele wrongs Which tye him to an answer: our wishes on the way May proue effects.   (both orders closely together, ibid 4.2.50)
  e. I not doubt   (Shakespeare, *Tp* 2.1.121)
  f. if I not revenge … Thy sufferings   (Otway, *Venice* 4)
  g. the cups That cheer but not inebriate   (Cowper, *Task* 4.39)
  h. Himself not lives, but is a thing that cries   (Brooke, *Poems* 23)

When *do* became the ordinary accompaniment of *not*, it was not at first extended to all verbs; besides the well-known instances with *can*, *may*, *must*, *will*, *shall*, *am*, *have*, *dare*, *need*, *ought* we must here mention *know*, which now takes *do*, but was long used in the form *know not*, thus pretty regularly in the seventeenth and often in the eighteenth and even in the first part of the nineteenth century. In poetry, forms without *do* are by no means rare, but they are now felt as archaisms, and as such must also be considered those instances in which prose writers dispense with *do*. In some instances, this is probably done in direct imitation of Biblical usage, thus in (16); cf. (17). Perhaps also in (18) — this combination occurs in *Luke* 2.50 and elsewhere in the Bible.

(16) Somehow, in a way that Darius comprehended not
                                (Bennett, *Clayhanger* 1.47)

(17) And the light shineth in darknesse, and the darknesse comprehended it not.   (AV *John* 1.5)

(18)   "Isn't Haddington staying here?" — "I don't know. I understood not."

(Hope, *Father* 43)

There is a curious agreement among different languages in the kind of verbs that tend to keep up an old type of negative construction after it has been abandoned in other verbs; cf. Latin *nolo*, English *nill*, Middle High German *en will* and Latin *ne scio*, French *je ne sais*, Middle High German *i-n weiz*, English *I know not*. These syntactical correspondences must, of course, have developed independently in each language—in consequence of natural human tendencies on a common basis. (But I do not believe in Miklosich's explanation which is accepted by Delbrück (1897: 523).)[3]

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[3]It appears that the Slovene philologist Franz Miklosich (Franc Miklošič, 1813–1891) suggests that in some languages, including Slavic, negation is not merely an external element modifying the verb but becomes part of the verb's essence, effectively altering the verb's meaning. (Eds.)

Chapter 2

Strengthening of Negatives

There are various ways of strengthening negatives. Sometimes it seems as if the essential thing were only to increase the phonetic bulk of the adverb by an addition of no particular meaning, as when in Latin *non* was preferred to *ne*, *non* being according to the explanation generally accepted compounded of *ne* and *oenum* (or *unum*) 'one' (neuter). But in most cases the addition serves to make the negative more impressive as being more vivid or picturesque, generally through an exaggeration, as when substantives meaning something very small are used as subjuncts.[1] Some English examples will show how additions of this kind are often used more or less incongruously, no regard being taken to their etymological meaning (1). Cf. ((2)).

(1)   a. She didn't know one *bit* how to speak to a gentleman

(Eliot, *Adam* 173)

   b. I don't believe it was Peppermint's fault a *bit*

(Trollope, *Children* 1.189)

   c. [the Jackal] was not a *bit* impressed   (Kipling, *Second* 127)

   d. it's of not a *bit* of use   (Dickens, *David* 649)

   e. "an accomplice hid among them, I suppose."
      "Not a *jot*."   (Scott, *Antiquary* 2.17)

   f. Never got a *sniff* of any ticket   (Kipling, *Stalky* 58)

   g. "Am I not to care at all?" — "Not a *scrap*"   (Shaw, *Disciple* 3)

   h. "Were you tired?" — "Not a *scrap*"

   i. he does not care a *snap of his* strong *fingers* whether he ever sees me
      again   (Philips, *Glass* 93)

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[1]A SUBSTANTIVE is a noun as distinguished from an adjective. In languages like Finnish where no distinction pertains, the term NOUN is used. Pronouns are not substantives. A SUBJUNCT is a modifier of a modifier. In *extremely hot weather*, *weather* is a PRIMARY, *hot* is an ADJUNCT, and *extremely* is a subjunct. (Eds.)

> j. he doesn't care a *toss* about all that   (Doyle, *Letters* 29)
>
> k. the real world doesn't care a *tinker's*—doesn't care a *bit*
>
>   (Kipling, *Light* 112)

(2) a. not worth a *tinker's damn*/*curse*, or *curse*   (Farmer & Henley)

   b. Who now cares a *tinker's curse* for Cheops? (Lawrence, *Abolition* 328)

   c. I don't give a *blank* what you think   (T. N. Page, *Marvel* 491)

Collections of similar expressions have been made by Hein (1893) and Willert (1900). The term "bildliche Verneinung" ('figurative negation'), by the way, does not seem a very happy one for these combinations, as it is not the negation itself that is expressed figuratively; the term would be more suitably applied to some of the instances I have collected below (p. 25) under the heading of "Indirect negation".

There is a curious use of the word *cat* in this connexion which is paralleled in Danish (3) (i.e. 'nobody') in (4), cf. the old (5).

(3) der   er ikke en kat der veed   det
     there is not a   cat that knows it
     'Nobody knows it at all.'

(4) there is not a cat he knows   (Philips, *Glass* 285)

(5) it shold not auaylle me a cattes tayl   (Caxton, *Reynard* 50)

To the same order belong, of course, the well-known French words already alluded to, *mie* (obsolete), *goutte*, *pas*, *point*. Originally *pas* could only be used with a verb of motion, etc., but the etymological meaning of all these words was soon forgotten, and they came to be used with all kinds of verbs.

Similar supplements to negatives are frequent in all languages; I have noted, for instance, the Italian (6). In Danish *spor* ('trace') is the most usual addition: (7) etc., followed by partitive *af* not only before substantives, as in (8), but also before adjectives and verbs (9). One may even hear (10), where *af* has no object. Another frequent combination is *ikke skygge* ('not a shade').

(6) Non mi   batterò   un fico secco!
     not myself will fight a   fig dry
     'I won't give a damn!'   (Bersezio, *Bolla* 3.14)

(7)   han læser *ikke spor*
      he   reads not trace
      'he does not read anything at all'

(8)   der   var *ikke spor af* aviser
      there was not trace of newspapers.DEF
      'there was not a trace of the newspapers'

(9)   a. han er *ikke spor af bange*
          he   is not trace of afraid
          'he is not at all afraid'

      b. Han skulde *ikke fare op*, *ikke spor af fare op*
          he   should not rush up not trace of rush up
          'He should not lose his temper, not lose his temper at all'

                                            (Skram, *Lucie* 187)

(10) Det forstår   jeg mig *ikke spor af* på
       that understand I   me not trace of on
       'I do not understand that at all'

We must here also mention the extremely frequent instances in which words meaning 'nothing' come to mean simply 'not'; these, of course, are closely related to *not a bit*, etc., meaning 'not'. Thus Latin *nihil* (cf. also *non*, see above), Greek *oudèn*, which has become the usual Modern Greek word for 'not' *dèn* (pronounced [ðen]), English *not* from *nought*, *nawiht*, German *nicht* (cf. Old Norse *vættki*); further Old Norse *ekki* from *eittki*, Danish *ikke*, Swedish *icke*; also Danish and Swedish *inte*, in Danish now obsolete in educated speech, though very frequent within living memory even in the highest classes; in dialects it survives in many forms, *it*, *et*, *int*, etc. The expanded form *intet* is still in use as the pronoun 'nothing', chiefly however in literary style. Cf. adverbial *none* in Jespersen (1914: 16.69).

Where the word for 'nothing' becomes usual in the sense 'not', a new word is frequently formed for the pronoun: thus (probably) Latin *nihil*, when *non* was degraded, English *nothing* (besides *nought*, the fuller form of *not*), Danish *ingenting*, German *nichts*. But in its turn, the new word may be used as a subjunct meaning 'not', thus *nihil* (above), English *nothing* as in *nothing loth*, etc., see the full treatment in Jespersen (1914: 17.36ff).

Another way of strengthening the negative is by using some word meaning 'never' without its temporal signification. This is the case with Old English *nā*

(*ne* + *ā*, corresponding to Gothic *ni aiws*, German *nie*); this *nā* was very frequent in Old English and later as a rival of *not*, and has prevailed in Scotch and the northern dialects, where it is attached to auxiliaries in the same way as -*n't* in the South: *canna*, *dinna*, etc. In Standard English its rôle is more restricted; besides being used as a sentence-word in answers it is found in combinations like *whether or no*, *no better*, *no more*, see Jespersen (1914: 16.8); sometimes it may be doubtful whether we have this original adverb or the pronominal adjective *no* from Old English *nān*, *ne* + *ān*, see also ibid 16.7.

The corresponding Old Norse *nei* has given English *nay* (on which see p. 133 below); another Old Norse compound of the same *ei* is *eigi*, which gradually loses its temporal signification and becomes the ordinary word for 'not', see Delbrück (1910: 40ff) and Neckel (1912: 15ff).

English *never* also in some connexions comes to mean merely 'not' (11). A transitional case is (12).

(11) a. I never knew it was so chilly ('didn't know') (Kipling, *Light* 109)

  b. He … knew that for a moment Brown never moved (James, *Side* 6)

(12) never once looking over his shoulder (Dickens, *Dombey* 76)

Never in this sense is especially frequent before *the* (Old English *þ̄y*)[2] with a comparative (as in *nevertheless*) (13), and in the combination *never a* ('no'), which has become a kind of compound (adjunct) pronoun, used to a great extent in some dialects (see Wright (1905a: *Never a*)), and very frequent in colloquial English, especially in the phrase *never a word* (14).

(13) then we be neuer the nearer (*Gammer* 134)

(14) a. it nedeth never-a-del (Chaucer, *Pardoners* C 670)

  b. to neuer a penny coste (More, *Utopia* 264)

  c. he would … leaue you never a hen on-liue (*Gammer* 136)

  d. Canst thou tell nere a one (*Eastward* 482)

  e. thou canst not tell ne're a word on't (Marlowe, *Faustus* 759)

  f. you [quarto: they] will allow vs ne're a iourden

  (Shakespeare, *H4A* 2.1.21;
  note the difference from: *they will never allow us a jourden*.)

  g. neuer a mans thought in the world, keepes the rode-way better then thine (Shakespeare, *H4B* 2.2.62)

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[2]*Þȳ* is the instrumental case form of *sē* or *þæt* 'the'. (Eds.)

h. the man answered never a word   (Bunyan, *Progress* 232)

i. he bit his lip, and looked at her, and said never a word
                                                         (Dickens, *Friend* 445)

j. when you're married, and have got a three-legged stool to sit on, and
    never a blanket to cover you   (Eliot, *Adam* 62)

k. he answered never a word   (Stevenson, *Jekyll* 39)

l. but never a word did Dick say of Maisie   (Kipling, *Light* 218)

m. but never a beast came to the shrine   (Kipling, *Second* 53)

n. Blank slopes on either side, with never a sign of a decent beast
                                                         (Wells, *Stories* 21)

A Danish parallel is (15).

(15) Jeg seer aldrig en smuk   plet paa denne Helene.
      I   see never a   beautiful spot on this   Helene
      'I don't see any beauty at all in this Helene.'   (Holberg, *Ulysses* 1.7)

Never is also used in surprised exclamations like (16). In the same way in
Danish (18).

(16) Why, it's never Bella!   (Dickens, *Friend* 680)

(17) Why, it's never No. 406!   (Shaw, *First* 203)

(18) *det er da   vel   aldrig Bella!*
      that is then surely never Bella
      'Why, if that isn't Bella!'

Danish *aldrig* also means 'not' in the combination *aldrig så snart* ('no sooner')
as in (19).

(19) *Men aldrig saasnart var seiren   vunden, før   den hos den*
      but never so soon was victory.DEF won   before it   at   the
      Seirende   vakte   den dybeste anger
      victorious evoked the deepest regret
      'But no sooner was the victory won, than it caused the deepest regret in
      the victor'   (Goldschmidt, *Hjemløs* 1.105)

The frequent adverbial strengthenings of negatives as in *not at all*, *pas du tout*, *aldeles ikke*, *slet ikke*, *durchaus nicht*, *gar nicht*, etc., call for no remark here. It should be mentioned, however, that *by no means* and corresponding expressions in other languages are very often used without any reference to what might really be called 'means', in the same way as in the instances just referred to there is no reference to the time-element of 'never'. In colloquial Danish one may sometimes hear sentences like (20) for 'not the least'.

(20)   Jeg synes, at   brevet   var *ikke ud af stedet*   tørt
       I   think that letter.DEF was not out of place.DEF dry
       'I think that the letter was not the least uninteresting'

On the flux and reflux in Greek *oudeís* ('no one'), strengthened into *oudè heîs* ('not even one'), soldered into *outh'heîs*, which was weakened into *outheís*, and replaced in its turn by *oudeís*, see the interesting account in Meillet (1913: 290f).

On strengthening through repeated negation see Chapter 7.

Chapter 3

Positive becomes Negative

The best-known examples of a transition from positive to negative meaning are found in French. Through the phenomenon which Bréal (1900: 200ff) aptly terms "contagion" words like *pas, point, jamais, plus, aucun, personne*, which were extremely frequent in sentences containing *ne* with the verb, acquired a negative colouring, and gradually came to be looked upon as more essential to express the negative notion than the diminutive *ne*. As this came to be used exclusively in immediate juxtaposition with a verb, the other words were in themselves sufficient to express the negative notion when there was no verb, at first perhaps in answers: "*Ne viendra-t-il jamais?*" "*Jamais*."; "*Ne vois-tu personne?*" "*Personne*." Now we have everywhere quite regularly (1), etc. In a somewhat different way (2).

(1) a. *Pas* de ça
         not of that
         'Not that!'

  b. Pourquoi *pas*?
         why   not
         'Why not?'

  c. le compartiment des   *pas-fumeurs*
         the compartment of the not-smokers
         'the non-smokers' compartment'

  d. Permettez-moi de lui dire   un seul   mot, *rien*   *qu*'un seul.
         allow me   to him to say a   single word nothing but a single
         'Allow me to say just one word to him, just one.'

                                                  (Mérimée, *Héritages* 1.8)

  e. Il frissonnait *rien que* d'y penser
         he shivered   just by of it think
         'He shivered just thinking about it'   (Daudet, *Sapho* 134)

  f. une chambre et   un cabinet … la   chambre *guère* que plus grande
      a   bedroom and a   cabinet   the bedroom hardly but more large
      'a bedroom and a cabinet … the bedroom hardly larger'

<div align="right">(Daudet, Numa 105)</div>

(2) a. Mais si vous croyez que Tartarin avait peur, *pas plus*!
         but   if you believe that Tartarin had   fear   no more
         'But if you think that Tartarin was scared, not at all!'

<div align="right">(Daudet, Tartarin 252)</div>

     b. et   toute la   ligne ['tous les enfants assis   en ligne'] mangeait
         and entire the line all   the children seated in line   ate
         jusqu'à *plus*   faim   ['jusqu'à ce qu'ils   n'eussent plus
         until   no more hunger until   it that they not had   no more
         faim']
         hunger
         'and the whole line ate until they were no longer hungry'

<div align="right">(Maupassant, Bécasse 201)</div>

The next step is the leaving out of *ne* even where there is a verb. This may have begun through prosiopesis in interrogative and imperative sentences: (*ne*) *viens-tu PAS?*; (*ne*) *dis PAS ça!* Cf. also (*Il ne*) *faut PAS dire ça!* It may have been a concomitant circumstance in favour of the omission that it is in many sentences impossible or difficult to hear *ne* distinctly in rapid pronunciation: *on n'a pas | on n'est pas | on n'arrive jamais | la bonne n'a rien | je ne nie pas*, etc. Sentences without *ne*, which may be heard any day in France, also among the educated, begin to creep into literature, as in (3). (Similarly *ne* is now often omitted in those cases in which "correct grammar" requires its use without any *pas*, for instance *de peur qu'il vienne.*) In the soldiers' conversations in René Benjamin's *Gaspard*[1] there is scarcely a single *ne* left.

(3) a. c'est *pas* ces   gredins-là
         it is not these scoundrels there
         'it's not these scoundrels there'

<div align="right">(Halévy, Notes 91)</div>

     b. J'ai   *pas* fini,   qu'elle disait
         I have not finished that she said
         'I haven't finished, she said'

<div align="right">(ibid 92)</div>

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[1]A 1915 novel, winner of the Prix Goncourt, based on the author's experiences during months-long hospitalization following war injuries. (Eds.)

c. C'est *pas* de l'   eau   bénite
    it's   not of the water blessed
    'It's not holy water'   (ibid 93)

d. C'est *pas* les Prussiens … C'est *pas* comme des idiots de provinciaux
    it's   not the Prussians   it's   not like   the idiots of provincials
    'It's not the Prussians … It's not like the idiot provincials'   (ibid 240)

e. Vaut-il   *pas* mieux accepter ce   qui   est?
    is worth it not better to accept that what is
    'Isn't it better to accept what is?'   (Daudet, *Sapho* 207)

f. As   *pas* peur!
    have not fear
    'Don't be afraid!'   (Goncourt, *Germinie* 200)

g. une famille où   l'argent comptait pour *rien*
    a   family where money   counted for   nothing
    'a family where money meant nothing'   (Maupassant, *Vie* 132)

h. tu   seras   *pas* mal dans quelque temps
    you will be not bad in   some   time
    'in time, you won't look bad'   (Maupassant, *Fort* 68)

i. Est-ce *pas* votre avis,   Corbelle?
    is it   not your opinion Corbelle
    'Isn't that what you think, Corbelle?'   (ibid 69)

j. Voudrais-tu *pas* que je reprisse   la   vieille devise   de haine
    would you   not that I take up again the old   currency of hatred
    'Wouldn't you want me to take up the old currency of hatred again'
                                                    (Rolland, *Maison* 96)

In the case of *plus* this new development might lead to frequent ambiguity, if this had not been obviated in the popular pronunciation, in which [j ãn a ply] means 'there is no more of it' and [j ãn a plys] 'there is more of it' (literary *il n'y en a plus* and *il y en a plus*). In *plus de bruit* we have a negative, but in *Plus de bruit que de mal* a positive expression, though here the pronunciation is always the same. Note the difference between *Jean n'avait plus confiance* and *Jean n'avait pas plus confiance* [*que Pierre*]; cf. also *Jean n'avait pas confiance, non plus* ('nor had …').

There is a curious consequence of this negative use of *plus*, namely that *moins* may occasionally appear as a kind of comparative of its etymological antithesis (4).

(4) Plus   d'écoles, plus   d'asiles,   plus   de bienfaisance, encore
no more of schools no more of asylums no more of charity   even
moins de théologie
less   of theology
'No more schools, no more asylums, no more charity, and even less
theology'   (Mérimée, *Héritages* 2.2)

One final remark before we leave French. From a psychological point of view
it is exactly the same process that leads to the omission of *ne* in two sentences
like *il (ne) voit nul danger* and *il (ne) voit aucun danger*; but etymologically they
are opposites: in one an originally negative word keeps its value, in the other an
originally positive word is finally changed into a negative word.

In Spanish we have some curious instances of positive words turned into nega-
tive ones: *nada* from Latin *nata* (*res nata*) means 'nothing', and *nadie*, older *nadien*
with the ending of *quien* instead of *nado* from *natus*, means 'nobody'. In both I
imagine that the initial sound of *n-* as in *no* has favoured the change. Through
the omission of *no* some temporal phrases come to mean 'never' as in (5). Thus
also *absolutamente* ('durchaus nicht', 'not at all'), see Hanssen (1910: §60, 5).

(5) a. *En todo el día* Se ve apartar   de   la puerta
in all the day one sees moving away from the door
'All day long, one sees [it/someone] moving away from the door'
(Calderón, *Alcalde* 2.1)

b. A pesar de tan buen ejemplo, *en mi vida* me   hubiera
in spite of such good example in my life   myself would have
sometido a ejercer   una profesión
submitted to practising a   profession
'In spite of such a good example, I would never in my life have
submitted myself to practising a profession'   (Pérez Galdós, *Doña* 68)

In Old Norse several words and forms are changed from positive to negative,
as already indicated above: the ending *-gi* (*-ge*) in *eigi*, *einngi* (*engi*), *eittgi* (*etki*,
ekki), *hvárrgi*, *manngi*, *vættki*, *aldrigi*, *ævagi*, further the enclitic *-a* and *-at*.

In German must be mentioned *kein* from Old High German *dihhein*, orig. 'ir-
gend einer' (*dih* of unknown origin), though the really negative form *nihhein*
has of course also contributed to the negative use of *kein*; further *weder* from
Old High German *ni-wedar* (*wedar* corresponding to English *whether*).

In English, we have *but* from *ne ... but*, cf. northern dialect *nobbut* (see p. 180
(Chapter 12) below), and a rare *more* meaning 'no more', a clear instance of pro-

siopesis, which, however, seems to be confined to the South-Western part of England, see (6). (Cf. with negative verb (7).) Similarly *me either* = 'nor me either' (8).

(6)   a.   "not much of a scholar, I'm afraid."
            "More am I"   (Phillpotts, *Mother* 29)

        b.   You're no longer a child … and more am I   (ibid 144)

        c.   Couldn't suffer it—more could he.   (ibid 12)

        d.   you meant that I couldn't expect that man to like me. More I do.
                                                                     (ibid 322)

(7)   he's a man that won't be choked off a thing—and more won't I. (ibid 309)

(8)   a.   "it so happens that I have no small change about me." — "Me either",
            said Mrs. Treacher idiomatically   (Quiller-Couch, *Major* 111)

        b.   "I never could endure the instrument." — "Me either"   (ibid 181)

Similarly the order to the helmsman when he is too near the wind *Near!* is said to be shortened through prosiopesis (which is here also a kind of haplology) from *No near!* (*near* the old comparative meaning what is now called *nearer*), see *NED*, *Near adv.* 1 d.

Chapter 4

Indirect and Incomplete Negation

In this chapter we shall discuss a great many different ways of expressing negative ideas through indirect or roundabout means, and finally words that without being real negatives express approximately the same thing as the ordinary negative adverb.

Indirect negation

Questions

Questions may be used implying a negative statement: (a) nexal question, e.g. *Am I the guardian of my brother?* ('I am not...'); inversely a negative question means a positive assertion: *Isn't he stupid* ('he is (very) stupid'); — and (b) special question, e.g. *Who knows?* ('I do not know', or even 'No one knows'); *And what should they know of England who only England know?* ('they know nothing', Kipling); *where shall I go?* ('I have nowhere to go').

Examples of the first (1).

(1) a. "Would you know him again if you saw him?"
"Shall I ever forget him!"   (Shaw, *Arms* 1)

   b. Could I see his face, I wept so   ('I wept so much that I could not see')
(E. B. Browning, *Aurora* 326)

   c. Well, didn't I just get a wigging from the Sister now!
(Caine, *Christian* 34)

   d. "Did you hit Rabbits-Eggs, Stalky?" — "Did I jolly well not?"
(Kipling, *Stalky* 72)

Must I not? ('I must'), e.g. (2).

(2) a. Must I not die?   ('I must')   (Byron, *Cain* 1.1)

    b. It has been a wilderness from the Creation. Must it not be a wilderness for ever?   (Hawthorne, *Image* 53)

    c. Must I not have a voice in the matter, now I am your wife …?
(Hardy, *Return* 292)

Won't I? ('I will') (3).

(3)   a. "And wilt thou?" — "Will I not?" ('I will') (Byron, *Sardanapalus* 3.1)

        b. Oh my eye, won't I give it to the boys!   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 95)

        c. There's Waddy—Sam Waddy making up to her; won't I cut him out?
(Brontë, *Professor* 24)

        d. I say, if you went to school, wouldn't you get into rows!
(Meredith, *Ordeal* 27)

        e. I never drank much Claret before. … Won't I now, though! Claret is my wine.   (ibid 27)

The reply in (4) clearly shows that the other person rightly understood the first speaker's seeming question as a negative statement: 'there never was …'.

(4)   "Was there ever a more mild-mannered, Sunday-school young man?" — "It is true."   (Doyle, *Return* 75)

In the same way naturally in other languages as well. In Danish this form has the curious effect that after *så sandelig* the same meaning may be expressed with and without *ikke*, the word order being the same, only in the latter case we have the slight rising of the tone indicating a question: (5). In the same way in Norwegian and Swedish: (6). (In none of these quotations, however, there is any question mark.)

(5)   Ja, saa sandelig er det ikke ham! Og han kommer her til mig!
        yes so certainly is it not him and he comes here to me
        'Yes, certainly it is him! And he is coming here to me!' (Nansen, *Fred* 62)

(6)   a. Jo så sandelig glemte jeg det ikke
        yes so certainly forgot I   it   not
        'Yes, I certainly have forgotten it'   (Ibsen, *Vildanden* 61)

        b. Nä sannerligen ser han ej något   svart och stort komma
        well certainly   sees he not something black and big come
        'Well, he certainly is seeing something big and black coming'
(Lagerlöf, *Saga* 1.153)

A variant of these nexal questions is the elliptical use of a subject and a ("loose") infinitive (see Jespersen 1894: §164f) with a rising intonation, implying that it is quite impossible to combine the two ideas: (7).

(7) a. My owne flesh and blood to rebell   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.1.37)

   b. "You make fat rascalls, Mistris Dol." — "I make them? Gluttonie and diseases make them, I make them not."   (Shakespeare, *H4B* 2.4.45)

   c. Oh la! a footman have the spleen!   (Farquhar, *Stratagem* 341)

   d. you amaze me. Such a girl as you want jewels!   (Goldsmith, *Stoops*)

   e. Why! they don't come down here to dine, you know, they only make believe to dine. *They* dine here, Law bless you! They go to some of the swell clubs   (Thackeray, *Pendennis* 2.130)

   f. My son and heir marry a beggar's girl out of the gutter. D— him, if he does, let him buy a broom and sweep a crossing.
          (Thackeray, *Vanity* 180)

   g. "Gracious God!" he cried out. "My boy insult a gentleman at my table!"   (Thackeray, *Newcomes* 163)

   h. Me to sing to naked men!   (Kipling, *Second* 72)

   i. A man not know what he had on! No, no!   (Galsworthy, *Man* 8)

Examples of negative statements expressed by questions containing an interrogative pronoun: (8).

(8) a. What bootes it thee to call thyselfe a sunne? (Shakespeare, *Tit* 5.3.18)

   b. "Why she hath not writ to me?" — "What need shee, When she hath made you write to your selfe?"   (Shakespeare, *Gent* 2.1.158)

   c. Who cares?   ('no one cares', or 'I don't care')

In this way *what not*, especially after a long enumeration, comes to mean 'everything' (double negation), as in (9).

(9) a. Marrie peace it boads, and loue, and quiet life, An awfull rule, and right supremicie: And to be short, what not, that's sweet and happie.
          (Shakespeare, *Shr* 5.2.110)

   b. silver, gold, pearls, precious stones, and what not
          (Bunyan, *Progress* 121)

   c. Robin, who was butler, valet-de-chambre, footman, gardener, and what not   (Scott, *Mortality* 68)

    d. As now we put our money into railways or what not? so then the
keen man of business took shares in the new ship

(Seeley, *Expansion* 111)

    e. Whether Newfoundland, mastiff, bloodhound, or what not, it was
impossible to say   (Hardy, *Far* 314)

    f. Talking of Exhibitions, World's Fairs, and what not

(Hardy, *Ironies* 179)

    g. if I want five shillings for a charity or what not   (Galsworthy, *Joy* 1)

    h. whether he be Hindu or Mohammedan or what-not in religion

(news 1912)

    i. he wont consent unless they send letters and invitations and
congratulations and the deuce knows what not   (Shaw, *Houses* 14)

    j. they would … give me what-not for to eat and drink

(Dickens, *David* 544 (vulgar))

Hence *a what-not* as a substantive, 'piece of furniture with shelves for nick-nacks' (10).

(10)   on a what-not at the door-side of the room another photograph stood.

(Caine, *Christian* 399)

What not is used as a verb and adjective in (11).

(11)   a. Had been neglected, ill-used, and what not   (Byron, *Juan* 8.110)

         b. the Government of London, or the Council, or the Commission, or
what not other barbarous … body of fools   (Morris, *News* 46)

Pronominal questions implying a negative are, of course, frequent in all languages: Danish *hvem veed?* French *qui sait?* Spanish *quién sabe?* ('no one knows'), etc.

Here belong also questions with *why*: *Why should he?* ('there is no reason why he should', 'he should not'); *Why shouldn't he?* ('he should').

Note the continuation in (12).

(12)   Why should she, any more than I …?   (Locke, *Septimus* 197)

In the following two quotations the continuation *and not* shows clearly that the negative questions are to be taken as positive statements (13).

(13) a. why should he not be accepted for what he is, and not for what he is
not   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 28)

    b. Doesn't one develop, daddy, through one's passions, and not through
one's renunciations?   (E. F. Benson, *Arundel* 40)

In colloquial Danish one hears pretty frequently questions containing *næsten*,
which is only justified logically if the sentence is transposed into the correspond-
ing negative (14).

(14) a. Kan du   næsten se   dærhenne? ('du kan visst   næsten ikke se')
can you almost see over there   you can surely almost not see
'Can you even see over there?'

    b. hvordan kan her   næsten blive   plads til os allesammen?
how   can here almost become space for us all
'How is there even going to be room for all of us here?'

    c. Hvad skulde saadan een næsten forslaa tiden   med — andet end
what should such   one almost pass   time.DEF with   other than
med det unaturlige!
with the unnatural
'How else would such a person pass the time—other than with the
unnatural!'   (Knudsen, *Urup* 104)

    d. Tror   jeg næsten ikke, det er første gang, solen   skinner for mig
think I   almost not it   is first   time sun.DEF shines   for me
paa denne egn.
in this   region
'I think this must be the first time the sun is shining for me in this
region.'   (Pontoppidan, *Billeder* 162)

A similar phenomenon is the use of *heller* ('either'), which is not common
except with a negative, in (15).

(15) Hvorledes skulde de   heller forstaa   kæmper med lyst haar?
how   should they either understand giants   with light hair
'How else were they to understand giants with blond hair?'

(Jensen, *Bræen* 230)

In a conditional clause

Another popular way of denying something is by putting it in a conditional clause with *I am a villain* or something similar in the main clause (16).

(16)   a. If I understand thee, I am a villain   (*Devill* 534)

       b. I am a rogue if I drunke to day   (Shakespeare, *H4.A* 2.4.169)

       c. if I fought not with fiftie of them, I am a bunch of radish (ibid 2.4.205)

       d. I am a Iew if I serue the Iew anie longer   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 2.2.120)

       e. Don't you know it? No, I am a rook if I do.   (Jonson, *Epicœne* 3.195)

A variant is *the devil take me* or *I will be damned* etc. in the main clause, often with prosiopesis *Be damned* or *damned*; any substitute for *damn* may of course be used: (17).

(17)   a. You may converse with those two nymphs if you please, but the ——
           take me if ever I do.   (J. Swift, *Journal* 428)

       b. "We'll go into the Parks if you like."
           "Be damned if I do"   (Kipling, *Light* 229)

       c. "Will you leave it to me, Mount?"
           "Be damned before I do!"   (Meredith, *Ordeal* 394)

       d. Darned if I know   (Norris, *Pit* 90)

       e. I'm dashed if I know   (Kipling, *Light* 121)

       f. I'm dashed if I'll be adopted by Sinjon   (Shaw, *Married* 283)

       g. Dashed if I know!   (Dickens, *Friend* 343; Meredith, *Harrington* 346)

       h. ding me if I remember   (Eliot, *Silas* 158)

       i. Dinged ef I oughtenter be plowin'   (Read, *Colonel* 17)

       j. be dazed if he who do marry the maid won't hae an uncommon
           picture … Be jown'd if I don't learn ten new songs (Hardy, *Return* 56)

       k. hang me if I can tell   (Smedley, *Frank* 1.268)

       l. "Give me credit for a little gumption." — "Be hanged if I do!" — "*Be
           hanged then*"   (Kipling, *Light* 83)

       m. Blame me if it didnt come into my head once or twyst that he must
           be horff 'is chump   (Shaw, *Candida* 120)

       n. I'll be shot if I am   (Trollope, *Children* 1.50)

       o. I'm shot if you do   (Locke, *Adventure*)

       p. It does you honour. I'm blest if it don't   (Dickens, *Martin* 280)

       q. blest if you ain't the best old fellow ever was   (Hughes, *Days* 1.220)

With these last sentences containing *blessed* may be compared the following indirect negatives: (18).

(18)   a.   God bless you, if you ha'n't taken snuff   (J. Swift, *Conversation* 92)

   b.   why, Lord love my heart alive, if it ain't a treat to look at him!
                                                                    (Dickens, *David* 132)

We have *but* ('if not') in (19). Thus often in Shakespeare; *but* here might be taken as corresponding to Latin *sed*, as *Beshrew me* is used as a single asseveration before a main sentence, e.g. (20).

(19)   Beshrew me but I loue her heartily   ('damn me if I do not', thus 'I do')
                                                                    (Shakespeare, *Merch* 2.6.52)

(20)   Beshrew me, the knights in admirable fooling.[1]   (Shakespeare, *Tw* 2.3.85)

A curious variant is found in (21).

(21)   if that ben't fair, hang fair   (Swift, *Conversation* 110)

In Danish we have corresponding expressions, such as (22), cf. (23). In a slightly different way (24).

(22)   Du må   kalde mig Mads, om jeg gør det
        you may call   me Mads if   I   do it
        'I am never going to do that!' (lit. 'You can call me Mads if I am going to do that')

(23)   a.   Jeg er aldrig ærlig,   om det ikke er min gamle cammerat Andreas
             I   am never honest if   it   not is my old   comrade Andreas
             'I'd be lying if that isn't my old comrade Andreas!' (Holberg, *Pulver* 1)

   b.   Jeg vil aldrig døe som en honnet   kone, naar jeg de to   sidste
             I   will never die as   an honorable wife when I   the two last
             maaneder har   hørt tale om   andet end om   politik og
             months   have heard talk about other than about politics and
             italienerne.
             Italians
             'I'd be lying if I said that for the last two months I've heard talk of
             anything but politics and the Italians.' (lit. 'I will never die an
             honorable wife...')   (Faber, *Stegekjælderen* 33)

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[1]Modern editions often amend this to "Beshrew me, the knight's in admirable fooling," meaning 'Curse me, the knight is engaged in wonderful foolishness.' The First Folio's use of *knights* (plural) may be a typographical error. (Eds.)

(24)   En skielm, der nu   har flere penger   ('jeg har ikke flere penger')
        a   rogue   who now has more money   I   have no   more money
        'As if I had more money'   (Holberg, *Jeppe* 1.6)

By a further development the main clause may be left out entirely, and an isolated *if I ever heard* comes to mean 'I never heard', and *if it isn't a pity* comes to mean 'it is a pity'. There is a parallel in French *argot*, where *tu parles s'il est venu* ('you bet he has come') is an emphatic way of saying "il n'est pas venu" ('he has not come'). English examples: (25).

(25)   a. as I am a lady, if he did not make me blush so that mine eyes stood a
            water   ('he made me blush')   (*Eastward* 444)
       b. Mercy! if ever I heard the like from a lady (Richardson, *Grandison* 50)
       c. I declare if it isn't a pity   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 127)
       d. If there isn't Captain Donnithorne and Mr Irwine a-coming into the
            yard!   (Eliot, *Adam* 65)
       e. Why, Tess, if there isn't thy father riding hwome in a carriage
                                                               (Hardy, *Tess* 13)
       f. "Now if this isn't too bad!" he exclaimed in a thick voice. "If this isn't
            monstrously unkind!"   (Gissing, *Grub* 196)
       g. 'Pon me word, if this ain't what comes of trusting a woman
                                                               (Ridge, *Property* 252)
       h. Well, I'm sure! if this is English manners!   (Shaw, *Island* 102)
       i. If Dr. Davidson isna comin' up the near road
                                                   (Maclaren, *Days* 110, also 47, 107, 169)
       j. Well, if this don't lick cock-fighting!   (Doyle, *How* 511)
       k. My goodness! — if I ain't all tired a'ready!   (London, *Martin* 276)
       l. Well, if I've hardly patience to lie in the same bed!
                                                               (Jerrold, *Lectures* 56)

In Danish and Norwegian with *om* very often preceded by some adverb of asseveration: (26).

(26)   a. Næ, om jeg gjorde det!
            no if I   did   it
            'No, as if I would do that!'

b. "De lovte   før   At spede   lidt   til." — "Nej, om jeg gør!"
you promised before to contribute a little to   no if I   do
'You promised before to contribute a little bit.' — 'Not like I will!'

(Ibsen, *Peer* 195)

c. "Kan du ikke mindes   det nu   længer?" — "Nej, så sandelig om
can you not remember it   now longer   no   so truly   if
jeg kan!"
I   can
'Can you no longer remember it?' — 'No, truly I can't!'

(Ibsen, *Når* 145)

d. men nei saagu' om jeg ved,   hvad jeg har   gjort
but no damn if I   know what I   have done
'but no, I'd be damned if I knew what I've done' (Kielland, *Fortuna* 40)

e. men ved gud! om jeg vilde   undvære   oppositionen, ingen af os
but by God if I   would do without opposition.DEF none of us
vilde   undvære   den
would do without it
'but by God, as if I would want to do without the opposition, none of
us would want to do without it'   (Hørup, speech 2.267)

f. Og ja, så min sæl, om jeg ikke også ser William sidde derovre
and yes so my soul if   I   not also see William sit   over there
'And yes, by my soul, if I don't also see William sitting over there'

(N. Møller, *Koglerier* 297)

g. Om det just   er sundt   at ligge og   døse i saadan en
if   it   exactly is healthy to lie   and doze in such   a
hundekulde
freezing cold
'I wonder if it's really healthy to be napping in such a freezing cold'

(H. Bang, *Slægter* 357)

In the same way in German (27), and in Dutch (28). Cf. French (with an oath) (29).

(27)   Ob ich das verstehen   kann!
if   I   that understand can
'As if I could understand that'

(28)   Of ik niet besta! Drommels goed.
       as if not exist devilishly good
       'As if I don't exist! Devilishly good.'   (van Eeden, *Johannes* 115)[2]

(29)   Du diable si je me   souviens   de son nom
       the devil   if I   myself remember of his name
       'The devil if I remember his name'
                              (see p. 40 below on *the devil*; Droz, *Monsieur* 3)

   As if is often used in the same way: (30). In the same way in other languages:
(31).

(30)   "What college?"
       "As if you knew not!"   ('of course you know')   (Jonson, *Epicœne*)

(31)   a. Somom du   ikke vidste det!
           as if   you not knew it
           'As if you didn't know it!'

       b. Als ob du   es nicht wüsstest!
           as if you it not   knew
           'As if you didn't know it!'

       c. Comme si tu   ne   savais pas!
           as   if you not knew not
           'As if you didn't know!'

Imperatives

In (32), *let me see you play* means the same as 'don't play'; a threatening 'and I
shall punish you' is left out after *let me see*, etc.

(32)   Hence both twaine. And let me see you play me such a part againe.
                                                              (*Roister* 38)

   More often we have the imperative *see* (or *you see*) with an *if*-clause: *see if I
don't* ('I shall'): (33).

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[2]Jespersen perhaps made an editorial slip here. *Of ik besta! Drommels goed!* (without *niet*) is
  what appears in the editions of the book that we have consulted. (Eds.)

(33) a. see if the fat villain haue not transform'd him ape

                            (Shakespeare, *H4.B* 2.2.77)

       b. I see such a fine girl sitting in the corner ...; see if I don't get her for a
           partner in a jiffy!   (Brontë, *Professor* 27)

       c. Make your fortune, see if you won't   (Thackeray, *Newcomes* 529)

       d. now I'll get the day fixed; you see if I don't   (Trollope, *Love* 137)

       e. I shall rise to the occasion, see if I don't   (Gissing, *Grub.* 64)

       f. But I'll prove my case. You see if I don't.   (Wells, *Love* 94)

   Exactly the same phrase is usual in Danish, see, e.g. (34), whence (35).

(34)   Stat   op, her Ioen, och gach her-ud!   See, om jeg gør! sagde Ioen
       stand up Sir Ian   and go   here-out see if   I   will said   Ian
       "Get up, Sir Ian, and get out here!" — "See if I do!" said Ian   (*Lave og Jon*)

(35) a. "Kom ud, ridder Rap, til den øvrige   flok!" — "Ja see, om jeg
          come out knight Rap to the remaining flock   yes see if   I
          giør!" sagde Rap
          do   said   Rap
          'Come out, Sir Rap, to the rest of the flock!' — 'Yes, see if I do!' said
          Rap   (Baggesen, *Værker*)

      b. Du skal nok   see, at   bormester staaer paa pinde for dig
          you shall indeed see that mayor   stands on sticks for you
          'You will indeed see that the mayor is bending over backwards for
          you'   (Holberg, *Kandestøber* 5.1)

      c. Du skal nok   see, at   det er saa lyst   klokken fire i januarii
          you shall indeed see that it   is so bright o'clock four in January
          maaned
          month
          'You will indeed see that it is so bright at four o'clock in January'
                                           (Holberg, *Mascarade* 1.1)

You won't catch me doing it

A somewhat similar phrase is *catch me doing it* ("you won't catch me doing it",
'I shan't do it') (36); also with *at it*, *at that*; in (36f) this is combined with the
conditional way of expressing a negative.

(36) a. Catch him at that, and hang him   (J. Swift, *Conversation* 74)

     b. Catch you forgetting anything!   (Dickens, *Dombey* 108)

     c. Peggotty go away from you? I should like to catch her at it
                                       (Dickens, *David* 104)

     d. Old Copas won't say a word—catch him   (Hughes, *Oxford* 127)

     e. Catch him going down to collect his own rents! Not likely!
                                             (Shaw, *Houses* 34)

     f. but if ever you catch me there again: for I was never so frightened in
       all my life   (Fielding, *Tom* 5.526)

With this may be compared the Danish phrase with *lur* ('watch, observe') (37).

(37) a. Talen   er det eneste, der adskiller os fra   dyret;   saa
         speech.DEF is the only   that separates us from animal.DEF so
         mangen fugl synger poesi; men luur   den, om den kan holde en
         many a bird sings poetry but watch it   if it   can hold a
         tale,   men det kan jeg!
         speech but   that can I
         'Speech is the only thing that separates us from the animals; many a
         bird sings poetry; but you won't catch them making a speech, but I
         can!'   (Goldschmidt, *Hjemløs* 2.767)

     b. bladet   anmodede i fredags Hørup om   at tænke resten. Men
         paper.DEF requested on Friday Hørup about to think rest.DEF but
         lur   ham, om han gør
         watch him if   he   does
         'The paper requested last Friday that Hørup should consider the rest.
         But watch if he does.'   (Hørup 2.105)

Excuse my doing

Excuse my (*me*) *doing* is sometimes used in the positive sense ('forgive me for doing'), but not unfrequently in the negative sense ('forgive me for not doing'). Examples of the latter (cf. *NED*, *Excuse v.* 8, only one example (1726) of -*ing*): (38).

(38) a. Her mother came in and said, she hoped I should excuse Sarah's
       coming up   (Hazlitt, *Liber* 108)

     b. you will excuse my saying any thing that will criminate myself
                                           (Scott, *Mortality* 76)

c. You must excuse my telling you   ('I won't')   (Dickens, *Friend* 28)

d. Excuse my rising, gentlemen … but I am very weak

(Kingsley, *Yeast* 64)

e. you must excuse my saying anything more on the subject at the
present moment   (Philips, *Glass* 64)

Ironic incredulity

Ironical phrases implying incredulity ('I don't believe what you are just saying')
are frequent in colloquial and jocular speech, thus (39). Similarly in Danish (40).

(39)   a. Go and tell the marines!

b. "That's my father," cried Winnie.
"Go along!" said cook incredulously.   (Ridge, *Garland* 291)

c. "Oh, get out," protested the broker   (Norris, *Pit* 84)

d. Oh, come now   (ibid 86)

e. "Ah, go to bed," protested Hirsch.   (ibid 98)

(40)   a. Gå væk!
Go away!

b. Den må   du længere ud på   landet   med!
that must you farther   out into countryside.DEF with

'You'll have to try that one on someone more gullible!' (lit. 'You'll
have to go farther into the countryside with that one')

Fiddlesticks is used either by itself ('nonsense') or after a partial repetition of
some words that one wants scornfully to reject (41).

(41)   a. … twenty pounds. What did you say? *Twenty fiddlesticks?* What?

(Jerrold, *Lectures* 53)

b. "Good men have gone out to the mission field, auntie."
"Mission fiddlesticks!"   (Caine, *Christian* 351)

Similar exclamations in other languages are French *Des navets!* and German
Blech! In Danish *en god støvle* is said either by itself or after the verb (42).

(42) a. Vilhelm smilte og forsikkrede, at   man maatte opfriskes   lidt
          Vilhelm smiled and asserted   that one must   be refreshed a bit
          efter den megen læsning. — "Ja, De læser nok   en god   støvle!"
          after the much   reading   yes you read indeed a   good boot
          'Vilhelm smiled and said that one needs a bit of refreshment after so
          much reading. — "Yeah, like you're reading a lot!"'

<div align="right">(Andersen, O. T. 1.88)</div>

      b. han ligner   Themistokles … Pyt,   … Themistokles, en god
          he resembles Themistocles   no way   Themistocles a   good
          støvle!
          boot
          'he looks like Themistocles … No way, … Themistocles, good one!'

<div align="right">(Jacobsen, Niels 299)</div>

      c. Det viser   dog   "en ærlig   og   redelig vilje". Det viser   en god
          it   shows though an honest and upright will   it   shows a   good
          støvle, gør   det
          boot   does it
          'But it shows "an honest and upright will". My arse it does.'

<div align="right">(Hørup 2.228)</div>

Among other rebuffs implying a negative may be mentioned Danish *på det lag!* ('at that level'); *snak om et ting!* ('speak about a thing!'); French *plus souvent!* ('more often'; Halévy, *Notes* 247, frequent). Swift in the same sense uses a word which is now considered very low: (43).[3] Thus also formerly in Danish, see (44).

(43) a. they promise me letters to the two archbishops here; but mine a— for
          it all
<div align="right">(Journal 57)</div>

      b. In general you may be sometimes sure of things, as that about *style*,
          because it is what I have frequently spoken of; but guessing is mine
          a—, and I defy mankind, if I please.
<div align="right">(ibid 61)</div>

(44) Min fromme Knep, kan du   mig kiende?   — O, kysz mig i   min
      my pious   trick can you me recognize   oh kiss me in my
      bagendel
      backside
      'My good Knep, do you recognize me? — Oh, kiss my arse.'

<div align="right">(Ranch, Niding 322)</div>

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[3]The low word is most likely *arse.* (Eds.)

Ironic *much*

A frequent ironical way of expressing a negative is by placing a word like *much* in the beginning of a sentence (45).

(45)   a. Much I care   ('I don't care (much)')   (Stevenson, *Treasure* 27)

        b. much he cares   (Dickens, *Friend* 659)

        c. Much he cares   (Wells, *Wife* 122)

        d. "Mr. Copperfield was teaching me—"
("Much he knew of it himself!") said Miss Betsy in a parenthesis.
                                                (Dickens, *David* 8)

        e. you yawned—much my company is to you   (Hardy, *Wessex* 224)

        f. Much good that would have done   (Galsworthy, *Strife* 96)

        g. Much good your pity will do it [England]   (Shaw, *Island* 114)

        h. much good you are to wait up   (Shaw, *Disciple* 1)

        i. Much you can do to stop 'em, old fellow   (Hope, *Rupert* 37)

        j. A lot I should have cared whose fault it was   (Kipling, *Jungle* 230)

        k. Plucky lot she cared for idols when I kissed 'er where she stud!
                                                (Kipling, *Ballads* 58)

        l. His brogue! A fat lot you know about brogues!   (Shaw, *Island* 14)

        m. Livingstone tossed her head, "Fine he knows the heart of a lass …."
                                                (Hewlett, *Quair* 117)

Similarly in Danish, for instance (46).

(46)   a. [han] trak   spottende paa skuldren   og sagde: Naa, det skal
[he] pulled mockingly on shoulder.DEF and said   well that shall
vel   *stort*   hjælpe!
probably greatly help
'[he] shrugged mockingly and said: Well, that's *really* going to help a lot!'   (Fibiger, *Liv* 236)

        b. Det skulde *stort*   hjælpe, om jeg …
it   would greatly help   if   I
'It would *really* help a lot if I …'   (Ibsen, *Inger* 98)

        c. Det skulde hjælpe *fedt*
it   would help   fat
'A fat lot of good that would do me'   (N. Møller, *Koglerier* 235)

    d. men *ligemeget* hjalp   det
        but   as much helped it
        'but it didn't help at all'   (Matthiesen, *Stjærner* 30)

There is a curious use of *fejl* as a negative, only with *bryde sig om* (47).

(47)   Du bryder dig jo   feil   om   eiermanden
        you care   you indeed wrongly about owner.DEF
        'You really don't care about the owner'   (Paludan-Müller, *Adam* 1.142)

Among ironical expressions must also be mentioned English *love* ('nothing'). This, I take it, originated in the phrase *to marry for love, not for money*, whence the common antithesis *for love or money*. Then it was used extensively in the world of games, where it is now the usual word in counting the score, in tennis, for instance, *love fifteen*, meaning that one party has nothing to the other's 15, in football *winning by two goals to love*, etc. In this sense the English word has become international in the terminology of some games.

The devil

The devil (also without the article) is frequently used as an indirect negative; cf. from other languages Grimm (1856: 23f). In English we have *the devil* joined either to a verb, or to a substantive: *the devil a word* ('not a word'); *the devil a bit* ('nothing'). There is a well-known little verse (48) (sometimes quoted with *a saint* instead of *a monk*).

(48)   When the devil was ill, the devil a monk would be;
       When the devil got well, *the devil a monk* was he.

The following may serve as an illustration of the natural way in which *the devil* has come to play this part of a disguised negative (49).

(49)   "Lady Rosamund is going to take a sketch of the luncheon-party."
       "Let her take a sketch of the devil!" said this very angry and inconsiderate
       papa.   (Black, *Fortunatus* 184)

Examples of *devil*, etc. with a verb: (50).

(50)   a. the devil she won't   ('she will')   (Fielding, *Tom* 4.174)

   b. "Captain Absolute and Ensign Beverley are one and the same person."
      "The devil they are" (Sheridan, *Rivals* 1.1)

   c. "she's in the room now." — "The devil she is" (Sheridan, *School* 4.3)

   d. "[You have not heard a word] of his being dangerously wounded?"
      "The devil he is!" (ibid 5.2)

   e. "I was up at that place at Richmond yesterday."
      "The devil you were!" (Trollope, *Children* 2.52)

   f. "I am going back." — "The devil you are" (Trollope, *Love* 204)

   g. "I can't give you the money," I went on.
      "The devil you can't!" ('you can') (Hope, *Man* 102)

Examples of *devil* + substantive (in Scotch also with pronouns): (51).

(51)   a. My parents are al dead, and the diuel a peny they haue left me, but a
          bare pention (Marlowe, *Faustus* 766)

   b. The diu'll a Puritane that hee is (Shakespeare, *Tw* 2.3.159)

   c. I have been out this whole afternoon and the devil a bird have I seen
          (Fielding, *Joseph* 4.290)

   d. But now-a-days the devil a thing of their own manufacture's about
      them, except their faces. (Goldsmith, *Good-natur'd*)

   e. "has nothing been heard—about me?"
      "Devil a bit" (Dickens, *Nicholas* 76)

   f. "If she did not tell you ..."
      "Tell me? Devil a bit of it" (Quiller-Couch, *Major* 210)

   g. it [the law-suit]'s been four times in afore the fifteen, and de'il ony
      thing the wisest o' them could make o't (Scott, *Antiquary* 1.21)

   h. the de'il a drap punch ye'se get here the day (ibid 1.30)

   i. the de'il ane wad hae stirr'd (ibid 1.31)

   j. de'il ony o' them daur hurt a hair o' auld Edie's head (ibid 1.341)

The following quotations exemplify more unusual employments (Irish?) of
devil as a negative: (52).

(52)   a. Devil the other idea there is in your head this minute.
      ('there is no other idea') (Birmingham, *Whitty* 6)

   b. and devil the word I'll speak to Mr. Eccles on your behalf (ibid 34)

   c. They're good anchors ... Devil the better you'd see (ibid 185)

In Scotch there is an idiomatic use of *deil* (or *fient*) *hae't* ('have it') in the sense of a negative: (53).

(53)   a. For thae frank, rantin, ramblin billies, Fient haet o' them's ['not one of them is'] ill-hearted fellows   (Burns, *Dogs*)

       b. Tho' deil-haet ails them   ('nothing')   (ibid)

       c. "And what do you expect now, ... ?"
           "Deil haet do I expect"   (Scott, *Antiquary* 2.348)

This leads to a curious use of *hae't* ('a bit, anything'): *She has-na a haed left*; see *NED, Hate sb.*[2].

Instead of the word *devil*, (*the*) *deuce* is very often used in the same way; the word probably is identical with *deuce* from French *deux*, Old French *deus*, to indicate the lowest, and therefore most unlucky, throw at dice, but is now felt as a milder synonym of *devil*.

Examples with the verb negatived: (54).

(54)   a. "I heard what you said about Airey Newton." ...
           "The deuce you did!"   (Hope, *Intrusions*)

       b. Deuce he has   (Meredith, *Ordeal* 287)

       c. "He lies in his room upstairs ...."
           "The deuce he does!"   (Hope, *Zenda* 174)

Examples with a substantive (or pronoun) negatived: (55).

(55)   a. Mr. Secretary and I ... thought to have been very wise; but the deuce a bit, the company stayed   (J. Swift, *Journal* 130)

       b. the deuce of any other rule have I to govern myself by
                                                                (Sterne, *Tristram* 4.10)

       c. she did beguile me of my tears, but the deuce a one did she shed
                                                                (Hazlitt, *Liber* 38)

       d. The deuce a bit more is there of it.   (ibid 40)

       e. "Sit down, my good people, sit down!" But the deuce a bit would they sit down.   (Hardy, *Return* 209)

       f. if poor Harry should find me out, deuce a bit more home for me
                                                                (Meredith, *Harrington* 468)

       g. Jeuce a word I ever heard of it!   (Shaw, *Island* 38)

       h. if you stay here, the deuce a man ['nobody'] in all Ruritania will doubt of it   (Hope, *Zenda* 37)

Occasionally other words may be used as substitutes for *the devil* with negative purport (56).

(56) a. "You may give him up, mother. He'll not come here."
"Death give him up. He *will* come here."   (Dickens, *Dombey* 447)

b. "But we're not mixed up in the party fight."
"The hell you're not!"   (Page, *Southerner* 238)

c. but ne'er-be-licket could they find that was to their purpose
(Scott, *Antiquary* 1.45)

In Irish *sorrow* (pronounced "sorra", [sɔrə]) is used as a synonym of *the devil* (cf. Joyce 1910: 70), also as a negative, cf. the following quotations (57).

(57) a. when he had to cross the mountains on an empty stomach to say
Mass, and sorra a bite of bread or sip of water to stay his stomach
(Buchanan, *Anthony* 110)

b. Anthony was all for books and book-learning; and sorra a colleen
ever troubled the heart of him   (ibid 111)

c. "Is there any more news of Master Michael?"
"Sorra news, except that he's lying in the gaol"   (ibid 114)

d. "Do you think the intention was to hit the car?"
"Sorra doubt"   (ibid 163)

e. Did one of them think that Rory himself would be on the car? Sorra
one   (ibid 172)

f. Sorra the man in the town we'd rather be listening to than yourself
(Birmingham, *Whitty* 308)

g. [Irish lady:] Master Sam tells me sorra a sowl goes nigh ut
(Quiller-Couch, *Troy* 181)

h. He gets rid of one wife and saddles himself with another—sorrow a
bit will he stop at home for either of them!   (Ward, *David* 2.113)

i. But sorrow a bit o' pity will you get out o' me, my boy—sorrow a bit
(ibid 3.30)

The corresponding use of Danish *fanden* is extremely frequent in Holberg and later, see e.g. (58). Similarly with the synonym *djævelen* ('the devil') (59). This is not usual nowadays.

(58) a. jeg vil bevise af den sunde logica, at I   er en tyr. — I   skal
            I   will prove by the sound logic   that you are a bull   you shall
            bevise fanden
            prove devil
            "I will prove with sound logic that you are a bull." — "You shall prove
            nothing of the sort"   (Holberg, *Erasmus* 4.2)

      b. Havde jeg ikke været en politicus, saa   havde jeg skiøttet fanden
            had   I   not been a politician then had   I   cared   devil
            derom
            thereof
            'If I hadn't been a politician, I would have cared nothing about it'
                                                          (Holberg, *Ulysses* 2.7)

      c. "Kan vi ikke sejle fra   ham …?" — "Fanden kan vi," svarte   han
            can   we not sail from him   devil   can we answered he
            'Can we not sail away from him?' — 'Not a chance, he answered'
                                                          (Blicher, *Dagbog* 1.43)

      d. Jeg vidste fanden hvad det var
            I   knew devil   what it   was
            'I had no idea what it was'   (Andersen, *O. T.* 1.67)

      e. Jeg bryder fanden mig   om eiermanden
            I   care   devil   about the owner
            'I don't give a damn about the owner'   (Paludan-Müller, *Adam* 1.140)

      f. De er virkelig født kommentator! — Jeg er fanden, er jeg
            you are truly   born commentator   I   am devil   am I
            'You really are a born commentator! — The devil I am'
                                                          (Drachmann, *Forskrevet* 1.195)

      g. han … brydde sig fanden om   sang og   solskin
            he   cared the devil   about song and sunshine
            'he didn't give a damn about singing or sunshine' (Bjørnson, *Guds* 71)

(59) "Jeg siger, I   er en hane, og skal bevise det …" — "I   skal bevise
        I   say   you are a rooster and shall prove it   you shall prove
        divelen"
        devil.DEF
        'I say you're a rooster, and I'll prove it …' — 'You'll prove no such thing'
                                                          (Holberg, *Erasmus* 4.2)

Fanden often stands for 'not I': (60). *Fanden* (*Satan*) *heller* is also used in a negative sense ('I would rather have the devil'), thus (61).

(60)   a.   Gid   nu   fanden staae her   længer, vi   maae ogsaa have noget af
            I hope now devil   stand here longer   we must also   have some of
            byttet
            loot.DEF
            'Damned if I'll stand here any longer. We've also got to get a share of
            the loot.'   (Holberg, *Ulysses* 3.7)

       b.   Fanden forstaa   sig   paa kvindfolk!
            devil   understand himself on   women
            'Not even the devil understands women!'   (Drachmann, *Kitzwalde* 85)

       c.   Fanden véd,   om det holder.
            devil   knows if   it   holds
            'Not even the devil knows if it will hold up.'
                                                              (H. Bang, *Ludvigsbakke* 38)

       d.   Satan forstaa   sig   paa havet.
            Satan understand himself on   the sea
            'Not even Satan understands the sea.'   (Nexø, *Pelle* 2.129)

(61)   Fanden hakke mig!
       devil   chop   me
       'May the devil chop me up!'   (Blicher, *Høstferierne* 3.537)

Sometimes *fanden* is used simply to intensify an expressed negative (62).

(62)   a.   "Gaae du   til fanden ...!" Den anden Gik   *fanden ei*   til fanden
            go   you to devil   the   other   went devil   not to devil
            "Go to hell!" The other didn't *bloody well* go to hell'
                                                              (Wessel, *Polser* 204)

       b.   og   så véd   jeg *fanden ikke*, hvordan det gik   til
            and so know I   devil   not how   it   went to
            'and so I don't *bloody well* know how it happened'
                                                              (Juel-Hansen, *Historie* 186)

Two modern German examples of *den Teufel* ('nicht') may suffice (63). For older examples, see Grimm (1856), quoted above (Section 4).

(63) a. Die fremden Weiber gingen mich den Teufel was   an
         the foreign   women go-PST me   the devil something on
         'Those strange women didn't mean a damn thing to me'
                                              (Sudermann, *Fritzchen*)

      b. Im Theaterstück sagt ein Mann zu seiner stets keifenden,
         zanksüchtigen Frau: "Ich weiss ja doch, dass ich einen sanften Engel
         zur Frau habe"—worauf sie mit "artigem" Widerspruch schreit: "Den
         Teufel hast du", wobei sie zunächst nur an Widerspruch denkt, als ob
         sie sagen wollte "nein, gar nichts hast du"
         'In the play, a man says to his constantly nagging, quarrelsome wife:
         "I know indeed that I have a gentle angel as a wife"—to which she
         shouts in "polite" contradiction: "The devil you have," where her first
         thought is simply of contradicting, as if she wanted to say "no, you
         have nothing at all."'   (Bruchmann 1888: 172)

As *pox* (originally the name of a disease) was popularly used as a kind of
substitute for *the devil* in imprecations, it can also be used in indirect negation,
as in (64).

(64)   The Dean friendly! the Dean be poxed   ('he is not') (J. Swift, *Journal* 22)

In the same way Danish *pokker* is used, as in (65). Also with *heller*; as above:
(66).

(65) a. I   kiørte pokker, I!   og ikke til majoren
         you drove pox   you and not to major.DEF
         'Oh sure you drove off, but not to the major'   (Wessel, *Kierlighed* 4)

      b. Han tror   vistnok, at   han gør mig en hel   glæde … Han gør
         he   believes surely   that he does me a whole joy   he does
         pokker, gør   han
         pox,   does he
         'He surely thinks that he is doing me a great favour … He does
         nothing of the sort!'   (Topsøe, *Skitseb.* 107)

      c. Han har pokker, har han!
         he   has the pox has he
         'He has done nothing of the sort!'   (Hørup 2.173)

(66)   "Det retter   sig   med aarene."   — "Det gjør pokker heller"
       it   corrects itself with years.DEF   that does pox   either
       'It will sort itself out over the years.' — 'That will be the day!'
                                              (Kielland, *Jacob* 67)

God (or *Heaven*) *knows* is in all languages a usual way of saying 'I don't know'; the underlying want of logic is brought out in (67).

(67)   "wheres thy maister?" — "God in heauen knowes." — "Why, dost not thou know?" — "Yes I know, but that followes not."   (Marlowe, *Faustus* 200)

But inversely *Heaven knows* also serves as a strong asseveration, as in (68).

(68)   "For we were very happy then, I think."
      "Heaven knows we were!" said I.   (Dickens, *David* 786)

Elsewhere (Jespersen 1911: 36), I have mentioned that in Danish *gud veed* ('God knows') is used to express uncertainty, and *det veed gud* ('God knows that'), certainty; cf. *Gud må vide om han er dum* ('God must know if he is foolish'); uncertainty, but *gud skal vide, han er dum* ('God shall know he is foolish'); certainty.

Hypothetical clauses

Hypothetical clauses, like *if I were rich* (nowadays also in the indicative: *if I was rich*) or *if I had been rich* are often termed "clauses of rejected condition", but as it is not the condition that is rejected but that which is (or would be) dependent on the condition, (for instance, *I should travel*, or *I should have travelled*) a better name would be "clauses of rejecting condition". At any rate they express by the tense (and mood) that something is irreal, implying 'I am not rich'.
    The negative idea may be strengthened in the same way as a pure negative, cf. (69), implying: 'she does not care a button for you'.

(69)   What your poor wife would do if she cared *a button* for you, I don't know.
                                                              (Hope, *Dialogues* 202)

Other more or less indirect ways

There are other more or less indirect ways of expressing a negative, e.g. (70).

(70)   a.   recollections which were *any thing rather than* agreeable
                                                          (Scott, *Antiquary* 1.65)
       b.   leaving her lover in *anything but* a happy state of mind
                                                          (Trollope, *Warden* 85)
       c.   it is *the reverse of* important to my position   (Dickens, *Friend* 275)

    d. the constitution of his mind made it *the opposite* of natural for him to credit himself with …   (Gissing, *Born* 339)

    e. I am *at a loss* to understand it.

Cf. Danish (71). Below we shall see a further development of *andet end*.

(71)   Der   havde været tidsafsnit, hvor   han laa *alt*   *andet end* paa den
        there had   been periods   where he lay anything other than on the
        lade side.
        lazy side
        'There had been times when he was anything but lazy.'
                                 (Drachmann, *Forskrevet* 2.190)

On the whole it may be said that words like *other* (*otherwise*, *else*, *different*) in all languages are used as negative terms; cf. also *I had to decide upon the desirability or otherwise* ('or the undesirability') *of leaving him there*.

Negation is also implied in expressions with *too* (*she is too poor to give us anything* ('she cannot' …)) and in all second members of a comparison after a comparative (*she is richer than you think* 'you do not think that she is so rich as she really is'); hence we understand the use of French *ne* (72) and the development of negatives to signify 'than', as in (73), and often *nor* as dialectal (74). See Holthausen (1913: 339) and for Slavonic Vondrák (1908: 336).

(72)   elle est plus riche que vous ne croyez

(73)   you are more used to it *nor* I, as Mr. Raymond says (J. Swift, *Journal* 499)

(74)   a. a fine sight more schoolin' *nor* I ever got   (Eliot, *Mill* 1.6)
        b. I'd sooner be a dog *nor* a trainer.   (Shaw, *Cashel* 69 (vulgar))

Continuation with *much less*

The indirect way of expressing the negative notion is responsible for a pretty frequent continuation with *much less* (which is practically synonymous with *not to speak of* and corresponds very nearly in many instances to Danish *endsige*, German *geschweige denn* to introduce a stronger expression), as in (75).

(75)   a. How very long since I have thought Concerning—much less wished for—aught Beside the good of Italy   ('I have not long thought')
                                      (R. Browning, *Italian*)
        b. it would need long years, not a few crowded months, to master the history of Venice, much less that of Italy, for the whole Middle Ages ('it is impossible in the course of a few months') (Harrison, *Ruskin* 73)

c. Why did he ever write, much less publish, his memoirs?
('he should not have') (Harrison (on Mark Pattison))

d. Why were you so weak, mother, as to admit such an enemy to your house—one so obviously your evil genius—much less accept him as a husband? (Hardy, *Ironies* 46)

e. a place of Dantesque gloom at this hour, which would have afforded secure hiding for a battery of artillery, much less a man and a child ('where you could not see … much less') (ibid 201)

f. the child thought it was a marvellous feat to read it, much less know precisely how to chant it ('it was not easy') (Zangwill, *Child*)

g. Is it right to entrust the mental development of a single child, much less a class of children, to a man who is ignorant of mental science?
(news 1907)

Thus also in Danish, e.g. (76).

(76) a. hvem skulde ta sig det nær, langt mindre blive hidsig
who should take oneself it near far less become angry
'who should take it to heart, let alone become angry'
(Gravlund, *Kristrup* 86)

b. Det er vistnok første gang, at han overhovedet har været i
it is surely first time, that he at all has been in
Rømersgade — langt mindre talt der
Rømersgade far less spoken there
'It is surely the first time that he has been in Rømersgade at all—let alone spoken there' (news 1915)

In a similar way, we have *impossible* followed by *much less* ('much less possible'): (77).

(77) a. It was impossible that this should be, much less in the labour ghetto south of Market. (London, *Martin* 314)

b. it is impossible for a Prime Minister to follow, far less to supervise, the work of individual Ministers (news 1914)

c. to make any extracts from it—still less to make any extracts which should do justice to it—is almost impracticable (Dobson, *Fielding* 105)

By a similar confusion, Carlyle uses *much more*, because he is thinking of something like: 'it is impossible for … to foster the growth of anything' (78).

(78)   How can an inanimate, mechanical Gerund-grinder … foster the growth
       of any thing; much more of Mind, which grows … by mysterious contact
       of Spirit?   (*Sartor* 73)

Much more would have been more apposite than *much less* in (79).

(79)   I loved you hard enough to melt the heart of a stone, much less the heart
       of the living, breathing woman you are.   (London, *Martin* 181)

Incomplete negation

Among APPROXIMATE NEGATIVES, we must first mention *hardly*, which from sig-
nifying 'with hardness', i.e. 'with difficulty' comes to mean 'almost not'; the neg-
ative import is shown by the possibility of strengthening *hardly* by adding *at all*
(which is only found with negative expressions). In this sense, *hardly* follows the
general tendency to place negatives before the notion negatived (see above, p. 1):
I hardly know. Cf. Sweet (1898: §1847) on the difference between *I hardly think
we want a fire* and *to think hardly of a person*.
    Corresponding words in other languages, like Danish *vanskeligt*, German
schwerlich, French *à peine*, also have approximately the value of a negative,
though perhaps not quite so much as *hardly*.
    Scarcely (obsolete adverb *scarce*) also is what the *NED* terms "a restricted nega-
tive" ('not quite'); in the same way Danish *knap*, *næppe*, *knebent*, German *kaum*.
    Note the use after words meaning *before* in (80).

(80)   a. Recollection returned before I had scarcely written a line
                                                         (*NED*, *Scarcely* 2 b, quot. 1795)

       b. Avant de   savoir à peine écrire ses lettres, il s'évertua   à
           before of to know hardly write his letters he endeavoured to
           griffonner
           scribble
           'Even before he could properly write his letters, he strove to scribble'
                                                                   (Rolland, *Aube* 168)

       c. Og før   han knap   selv   vidste deraf, gik   Berg med en
           and before he   scarcely himself knew thereof walked Berg with a
           politiker i maven
           politician in stomach.DEF
           'And before he scarcely knew it himself, Berg was harbouring a
           politician within him'   (Henrichsen, *Mændene* 108)

In English *scarcely any* / *scarcely ever* is generally preferred to the combinations *almost no, almost never.*

But *almost* with *no, nothing, never* is not quite so rare as most grammarians would have us think; it is perhaps more Scotch (and American) than British, hence Boswell in later editions changed *I suppose there is almost no language* (*Life*~A~ 2.222) to *we scarcely know of a language* (*Life*~B~ 2.785). In the following quotations, I have separated British (81), Scotch (82), and American examples (83).

(81)   a. here is almost no fier   (*Gammer* 104)

       b. [unidentified]   (Bacon, see Bøgholm (1906: 74))

       c. I shall remember almost nothing of the matter
                                                                   (Cowper, letter, 6 March 1782)

       d. she had … found almost nothing   (Austen, *Mansfield* 362)

       e. almost nothing definite (Ward, *David* 2.51; also see Storm (1896: 942))

(82)   a. rites … which are now rarely practised in Protestant countries, and
           almost never in Scotland   (Scott, *Antiquary* 2.66)

       b. open to all, seen by almost none   (T. Carlyle, *Heroes* 76)

       c. Nothing, or almost nothing, is certain to me, except the Divine
           Infernal character of this universe   (T. Carlyle, *Life* 3.62)

       d. what … could he look for there? Exasperated Tickets of Entry answer:
           Much, all. But cold Reason answers: *Little, almost nothing*
                                                                 (T. Carlyle, *Revolution* 406)

       e. On first entering I could see almost nothing   (Buchanan, *Anthony* 97)

(83)   a. He himself was almost never bored   (James, *American* 1.265)

       b. the academies paid almost no attention whatever to English
           instruction   (Carpenter, *Teaching* 44)

Little and *few* are also incomplete negatives; note the frequent collocation with *no*: there is LITTLE OR NO *danger*; *There have been* FEW OR NO *attempts at denial*; note also the rise of *yet* in (84). Other examples (the last with *little* before a plural): (85).

(84)   I have yet seen little of Florence   (Shelley, *Prose* 2.299)

(85)   a. There's few or none do know me   (Shakespeare, *John* 4.3.3)

       b. with few wise longings and but little love (Wordsworth, *Prelude* 3.626)

       c. the situation showed little signs of speedy development
                                                                            (Hope, *Father* 38)

The negative force of *little* is seen very clearly when (like other negatives, see p. 1) it is placed before the verb. "This use is confined to the vbs. *know*, *think*, *care*, and synonyms of these" (*NED*, *Little* C *adv.* 1 b with examples so far back as 1200): (86). It may be mentioned for the curiosity of the thing that *little* and *much* (see p. 39) mean exactly the same in *Little* (*much*) *she cares what I say.*

(86) a. I little thought, when I mounted him [John Gilpin] on my Pegasus, that he would become so famous (Cowper, letter, 30 April 1785)

    b. They little think what mischief is in hand (Byron, *Juan* 5.1)

    c. I little thought to have seen your honour here (Scott, *Antiquary* 1.21)

    d. Little they thought, the brutes, how I was plotting for their amusement (Kingsley, *Hypatia* 236)

    e. He little knew the cause of what he saw (Hope, *Rupert* 205)

This negative *little* is frequent with verbs and adjectives, but rarer with substantives; in (87) we have it with verbal substantives,[4] and *or* in (87b) shows clearly the negative value of *little*.

(87) a. reading in her two nieces' minds their little approbation of a plan (Austen, *Mansfield* 55)

    b. as he or I had little interest in that (T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 294)

While *little* and *few* are approximate negative, *a little* and *a few* are positive expressions: *he has little money* and *he has few friends* express the opposite of *much money* and *many friends* and therefore mean about the same thing as *no money* and *no friends*; but *he has a little money* and *he has a few friends*, generally with the verb stressed rather strongly, mean the opposite of *no money* and *no friends*, thus nearly the same thing as *some money* and *some friends*. *Little* means 'less than you would expect', *a little* 'more than you would expect' (88). Cf. p. 110 below on *not a little*, *not a few*. Note in (88d) the stress on *are*.

(88) a. Unfortunately, little is left of the former splendour

    b. Fortunately, a little is still left of the former splendour

    c. Unfortunately, there are few who think clearly

    d. Fortunately, there are a few who think clearly

Shakespeare uses *a few* in some cases where now *few* would be used without the article e.g. (89). The difference between *a little* and *little* is well brought out in (90). On the other hand, *little* is positive in (91).

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[4]For example, *little understanding* or *little reduction in costs*. (Eds.)

(89)   Loue all, trust a few, Doe wrong to none

(*All* 1.1.73, see Schmidt (1886: *Few*))

(90)   when he is best, he is a little worse then a man, and when he is worst, he
       is little better then a beast   (*Merch* 1.2.95)

(91)   love me *little* and love me long

(mentioned as a proverb as early as 1548, *NED*, *Little* C *adv.* 1)

Note the different idioms with the two synonyms *but* and *only*: *there is* BUT
LITTLE *difference* ('there is *only a little* difference'); *there are* BUT FEW *traces left*
('there are *only a few* traces left'). See e.g. (92).

(92)   a.   "How many gentlemen haue you lost in this action?" — "But few of
            any sort, and none of name"   (Shakespeare, *Ado* 1.1.7)

       b.   The fog has lifted only a little; only a few big landmarks are yet
            visible.   (Lippmann, *Speaks* 341)

       c.   For but few of them that begin to come hither do shew their face on
            these mountains   (Bunyan, *Progress* 156)

       d.   a passion such as a few only are capable of attaining

(Merriman, *Sowers* 124)

In America, *a little* is to such an extent felt as a positive term that it can be
strengthened by *quite*: *quite a little* means nearly the same thing as 'a good deal',
and *quite a few* as 'a good many'. This is rare in England, see (93).

(93)   In quite a little time Mrs. Britling's mind had adapted itself

(Wells, *Britling* 264)

Practically the same distinction as between *little* and *a little* is made between
French *peu* and *un peu*, Italian and Spanish *poco* and *un poco*, German (Middle
High German) *wenig* and *ein wenig*. Has this developed independently in each
language? In Danish, the corresponding differentiation has been effected in an-
other way: *lidet* (literary) or generally *kun lidt* ('little'), *lidt* or very often *en smule*
('a little').

Small has not exactly the same negative force as its synonym *little*, cf. however
(94) where *either* is due to the negative notion. Cf. also *slight* in (95).

(94)   Small thanks you get for it either   (Caine, *Christian* 36)

(95)   she had slight hope that any other caller would appear   (Gissing, *Born*)

The comparative of *little* has a negative meaning, especially in the old combination Old English *þy læs þe*, which has become *lest* and is the equivalent of 'that not'. (With a following *not* it means the positive 'in order that' as in (96).) With this should be compared the Latin *minus* in *quo minus* and *si minus*.

(96)   But least you should not vnderstand me well, … I would detaine you here
       some month or two   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.2.7)

Chapter 5

Special and Nexal Negation

The negative notion may belong logically either to one definite idea or to the combination of two ideas (what is here called the nexus).

The first, or special, negation may be expressed either by some modification of the word, generally a prefix, as in

n*ever* (etc., see p. 8)
un*happy*
im*possible*, in*human*, in*competent*
dis*order*
non-*belligerent*

(see on these prefixes Chapter 13)—or else by the addition of *not* (*not happy*) or *no* (*no longer*). Besides there seem to be some words with inherent negative meaning though positive in form: compare pairs like

absent	*present*
fail	*succeed*
lack	*have*
forget	*remember*
exclude	*include*

But though we naturally look upon the former in each of these pairs as the negative (*fail* = 'not succeed'), nothing hinders us from logically inverting the order (*succeed* = 'not fail'). These words, therefore, cannot properly be classed with such formally negative words as *unhappy*, etc.

A simple example of negatived nexus is *he doesn't come*: it is the combination of the two positive ideas *he* and *coming* which is negatived. If we say *he doesn't come today*, we negative the combination of the two ideas *he* and *coming today*; compare, on the other hand, *he comes, but not today*, where it is only the temporal idea *today* that is negatived.

Though the distinction between special and nexal negation is clear enough in principle, it is not always easy in practice to distinguish the two kinds, which accounts for some phenomena to be discussed in detail below. In the sentence *he doesn't smoke cigars* it seems natural to speak of a negative nexus, but if we add *only cigarettes*, we see that it is possible to understand it as 'he smokes, but not cigars, only cigarettes'.

Similarly, it seems to be of no importance whether we look upon one notion only or the whole nexus as being negatived in *she is not happy* ('she is [positive] not-happy' or 'she is not [negative nexus] happy'); thus also *it is not possible to see it*, etc. In these cases, there is a tendency to attract *not* to the verb: *she isn't happy, it isn't possible to see it*, but there is scarcely any difference between these expressions and *she is unhappy, it is impossible to see it*, though the latter are somewhat stronger. If, however, we add a subjunct like *very*, we see a great difference between *she isn't very happy* and *she is very unhappy*.

The nexus is negatived in (1).

(1)   *Many of us didn't want the war*, but many others did   (news 1917)

which rejects the combination of the two ideas *many of us* and *want the war* and thus predicates something (though something negative) about *many of us*. But in *Not many of us wanted the war* we have a special negative belonging to *many of us* and making that into *few of us*; and about these it is predicated that they wanted the war. Cf. p. 112ff (in Chapter 8) below on *not all, all … not*.

Note also the difference between *the disorder was perfect* (*order* negatived) and *the order was not perfect* (nexus negatived, which amounts to the same thing as: *perfect* negatived).

In a sentence like *he won't kill me* it is the nexus (between the subject *he* and the predicate *will kill me*) that is negatived, even though it is possible by laying extra emphasis on one of the words seemingly to negative the corresponding notion; for ʜᴇ *won't kill me* is not 'not-he will kill me', nor is *he won't* ᴋɪʟʟ *me* 'he will do the reverse of killing me', etc.[1]

Cf. also the following passage from Jevons (1893: 175):

> It is curious to observe how many and various may be the meanings attributable to the same sentence according as emphasis is thrown upon one word or another. Thus the sentence "The study of Logic is not supposed

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[1]Jespersen notes in his Addenda that on this page "or in some other place combinations like *he regretted that* ᴍᴏʀᴇ *Englishmen did* ɴᴏᴛ *come here* (news 1917) should have been mentioned". (Eds.)

to communicate a knowledge of many useful facts," may be made to imply that the study of Logic *does* communicate such a knowledge although it is not supposed to; or that it communicates a knowledge of a *few* useful facts; or that it communicates a knowledge of many *useless* facts.

There is a general tendency to use nexal negation wherever it is possible (though we shall later on see another tendency that in many cases counteracts this one); and as the (finite) verb is the linguistic bearer of a nexus, at any rate in all complete sentences, we therefore always find a strong tendency to attract the negative to the verb. We see this in the prefixed *ne* in French as well as in Old English, and also in the suffixed *-n't* in Modern English, which will be dealt with in Chapter 11, and in the suffixed *ikke* in modern Norwegian, as in *Er ikke (erke) det fint?* ('Is not (archaic *not*) that nice?') and *Vil-ikke De komme?* ('Will-not you come?'), where Danish has the older word-order *Er det ikke fint?* ('Is it not nice?') and *Vil De ikke komme?* ('Will you not come?').

In Modern English the use or non-use of the auxiliary *do* serves in many, but not of course in all, cases to distinguish between nexal and special negation; thus we have special negation in (2).

(2)   He seems *not certain* of his way   (Shaw, *Profession* 160)

Combinations like (3) should also be mentioned.

(3)   He regretted that *more* Englishmen *did not* come here   (news 1917)

In French we have a distinction which is somewhat analogous to that between nexal and special negation, namely that between *pas de* ('not any') and *pas du* ('not some'): *je ne bois pas de vin* ('I do not drink (any) wine'); *ceci n'est pas du vin, c'est du vinaigre* ('this is not (some) wine, it's (some) vinegar'), see the full treatment in Storm (1911: p. 87ff). Good examples are found in (4), but see (5).

(4)   ce   n'   était *plus de* la   poésie, ce   n'   était *pas de la*   prose, ce   était
       this not was more of the poetry this not was not of the prose this was
       de la   poésie, mise en   prose
       of the poetry put   into prose
       'it was no longer poetry, nor was it prose, but poetry put into prose'
                                                            (Rolland, *Buisson* 192)

(5) Il n' y   a   *pas d'* amour, *pas de* haine, *pas d'* amis,   *pas d'* ennemis,
   it not there has not of love   not of hate   not of friends not of enemies
   pas de foi,   *pas de* passion, *pas de* bien, *pas de* mal.
   not of faith not of passion not of good not of evil

   'There is no love, no hate, no friends, no enemies, no faith, no passion, no
   good, no evil.'   (ibid 197)

With the partitive force of *pas* with *de* should be compared the well-known use
of the genitive for the object in Russian negative sentences and with *nět* ('there is
not'), etc., also the use of the partitive case for the subject of a negative sentence
in Finnish.

In the case of a contrast we have a special negation; hence the separation of *is*
(with comparatively strong stress) and *not* in (6). *Do* is not used in such sentences
as (7).

(6)   the remedy is, not to remand him into his dungeon, but to accustom him
     to the rays of the sun   (Macaulay, *Milton* 1.41)

(7)   a. I came not to send peace, but a sword   (AV *Matthew* 10.34)

     b. my ruin came not from too great individualism of life, but from too
        little   (Wilde, *Profundis* 135)

     c. We meet not in drawing-rooms, but in the hunting-field
                                                       (Dickinson, *Symposium* 14)

Even in such contrasted statements, however, the negative is very often at-
tracted to the verb, which then takes *do*, the latter part being then equivalent to
but we meet in the hunting-field (8).

(8)   we do not meet in the drawing-room, but in the hunting-field

(9)   a. I do not complain of your words, but of the tone in which they were
        uttered

     b. I do not admire her face, but [I do admire] her voice

     c. He didn't say that it was a shame, but that it was a pity

     d. I did not come to curse thee, Guinevere
                                      (Tennyson, *Guinevere*; contrast not expressed)

In such cases, the Old English verb naturally had no *ne* before it, see e.g. (10).
The exception in (11) may be accounted for by the Latin word-order *non veni*

pacem mittere, sed gladium. But in Ælfric we have (12), where the meaning is 'it happened not-unprovidentially', as shown by the indicative *wæs* and by the necessity of the repetition *hit getimode*. Cf. also the Middle English version: (13).

(10)   a.   wen   ic þæt ge   for wlenco nalles   for wræcsiðum ac   for
             expect I that you for pride   not at all for misery   but for
             higeþrymmum Hroðgar   *sohton*
             high spirits   Hrothgar sought
             'I expect that you did not seek Hrothgar out of dire straits but out of
             boldness and strength of heart'   (*Beowulf* 338)

       b.   ðæt he nalæs to idelnesse, swa sume oðre,   ac   to gewinne, in   ðæt
             that he not   to idleness   as   some others but to labour   into that
             mynster   *eode*
             monastery went
             'that he did not go into the monastery for idleness, as some others,
             but to labour'   (*Bede* 4.3)

       c.   ðe   ic lufode na for galnesse   ac   for wisdome
             whom I   loved   not for wantonness but for wisdom
             'whom I did not love for lust but for wisdom'   (*Apollonius* 255)

(11)   ne   com ic sybbe to sendanne, ac   swurd
        not come I peace to send   but sword
        'I did not come to send peace, but a sword'   (WG *Matthew* 10.34)

(12)   Ne getimode þam   apostole Thome unforsceawodlice, þæt he
        not happened to the apostle   Thomas by chance   that he
        ungleafful   wæs Cristes æristes,   ac hit getimode þurh   Godes
        unbelieving was Christ's resurrection but it   happened through God's
        forsceawunge
        providence
        'It did not happen to the apostle Thomas by chance that he doubted
        Christ's resurrection, but it occurred through God's providence'
                                                    (Ælfric, *Homilies* 1.234)

(13)   For Crist   ne sende noȝt me for to baptyze, bote for-to preche þe gospel
        for Christ not sent   not me to   baptize but to   preach the gospel
        'For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel'
                                                    (MEV *1 Corinthians* 1.17)

Other examples of constructions in which *not* is referred to the verb instead of some other word (14).

(14)   a. I did not step into the well-known boat Without a cordial greeting ('I stepped ... not without')

(Wordsworth, *Prelude* 4.16)

    b. Don't pay only the arrears, pay all you can. ('Pay, not only')   (Hope, *Quisanté* 132)

    c. it doesn't only concern myself   (Galsworthy, *Freelands* 332)

Note also (15a), where the sentence *we aren't here* in itself is a contradiction in terms. (Differently in (15b), where *not* belongs more closely to what follows.)

(15)   a. We aren't here to talk nonsense, but to act

    b. We are here, not to retire till compelled to do so

When the negation is attracted to the verb (in the form *n't*), it occasions a cleaving of *never*, *ever* thus standing by itself. In writing the verbal form is sometimes separated in an unnatural way: (16, representing the spoken *Can't she ever ...*); and thus we get seemingly *not ever* ('never', 17, different from the old *not ever* as in More, *Utopia* 244, which meant 'not always'). Compare the rare *not any* as in (19).

(16)   *Can she not ever* write herself?   (Hallam, letter)

(17)   a. You shan't *touch* those hostels ever again. Ever.   (Wells, *Wife* 422)

    b. I suppose you don't ever write to him?   (Hope, *Dialogues* 40)

    c. I can't ever see that man again.   (Ward, *Marriage* 242)

    d. Don't you ever go down beneath the surface of things?

(Locke, *Septimus* 26)

    e. so don't you ever be troubled about that   (Caine, *Prodigal* 219)

(18)   a. let not euer The soule of Nero enter this firme bosome

(Shakespeare, *Hml* 3.2.411)

    b. A light around my steps which would not ever fade

(Shelley, *Revolt* 4.34)

    c. Do you not ever go?   (Trollope, *Children* 2.40)

    d. you shall not—not ever   (Shaw, *Houses* 40)

(19)   "Had any gentleman heard of a dauphin killed by small-pox?" No; *not any*
        gentleman *had* heard of such a case.   (Quincey, *Murder*)

A special case of frequent occurrence is the rejection of something as the cause
of or reason for something real, expressed in a negative form: 'he is happy, not on
account of his riches, but on account of his good health' expressed in this form
he is not (isn't) happy on account of his riches, but on account of his good health.
It will easily be seen that *I didn't go because I was afraid* is ambiguous ('I went
and was not afraid', or, 'I did not go, and was afraid'), and sentences like this are
generally avoided by good stylists. In (20), the clause gives the reason for the
speaker not wanting to be patronized. Similarly (21).

(20)   Don't patronize *me*, Ma, because I can take care of myself

                                                    (Dickens, *Friend* 348)

(21)   I have not drunk deep of life because I have been unathirst

                                                    (Locke, *Morals* 151)

In the spoken language a distinction will usually be made between the two
kinds of sentences by the tone, which rises on *call* in *I didn't call because I wanted
to see her* (but for some other reason), while it falls on *call* in *I didn't call because
I wanted to avoid her* (the reason for not calling). In (22 & 23), the clause indicates
the reason for the prohibition.

(22)   You mustn't come whining back to me, because I won't have you

                                                    (Mason, *Water* 95)

(23)   We have not gagged our Press because we disliked our freedom, but
        because to this extent the Prussian has triumphed   (*Parable*)

In other languages we have corresponding phenomena. G. Brandes's (24) is
ambiguous; and when Ernst Møller writes (25), I suppose that most readers will
misunderstand it as if *opløses* were to be taken in a positive sense; it would have
been made clearer by a transposition: (26). Also, (27).

(24)   [Napoleon] handlede ikke saadan, fordi   han trængte til sine generaler
        [Napoleon] acted   not thus   because he needed to his generals
        'Napoleon did not act like this, as he needed his generals'
        'Napoleon did not act thus because he needed his generals [but for some
        other reason]'   (*Napoleon* 52)

(25) Men retningens   magt opløses,   som alt   fremhævet,
      but movement.DEF.POSS power is dissolved as   already emphasized
      ikke fordi   dens argumenter og læresætninger eftergås   og
      not because its   arguments and doctrines   are examined and
      optrævles;   dens magt vil blive   stående
      are unraveled its   power will remain standing
      'But, as already emphasized, the power of the movement will not be
      dissolved because its arguments and doctrines are examined and
      unraveled; its power will continue to stand'
                        (*Inderstyre* 249, in speaking of "Christian Science")

(26) Men som alt   fremhævet opløses   retningens   magt
      but as   already emphasized is dissolved movement.DEF.POSS power
      ikke …
      not
      'But, as already emphasized, the power of the movement is not
      dissolved …'

(27) Jeg elsker ikke mit sprog,   fordi   det er eller har været herligt   og
      I   love   not my language because it   is or   has been glorious and
      skjønt … jeg elsker det, fordi   det er mine fædres   og mit
      beautiful I   love   it   because it   is my   fathers.POSS and my
      folks   sprog
      people.POSS language
      'I do not love my language because it is or has been glorious and
      beautiful … I love it because it is the language of my ancestors and my
      people'   (Madvig, *Kjönnet* 90)

Not unfrequently *not* is attracted to the verb in such a way that an adverb, which belongs to the whole proposition, is more or less awkwardly placed between words which should not properly be separated, as in (28). The tendency to draw the auxiliary and *not* together has, on the other hand, been resisted in (29). In most of these, *not* evidently is a special negative, belonging to the following word.

(28)   a. you *are not probably* aware …
           ('probably you are not aware', or: 'you are probably not aware')
                                            (Trollope, *Children* 1.76)
       b. were he at that moment Home Secretary and in the cabinet, he *would
           not probably* be reading it   (Ward, *Marriage* 228)

    c. Edward Manisty, however, *was not apparently* consoled by her
       remarks   (Ward, *Eleanor* 2)

    d. This is a strong expression. Yet it *is not perhaps* exaggerated.
                                                (news 1917)

(29)   a. You *will of course not* meet him until he has spoken to me
                                         (Shaw, *Houses* 27)

    b. he *is clearly not* a prosperous man   (Shaw, *Dilemma* 21)

    c. they *had clearly not* been unfavourable to him   (Black, *Phaeton* 280)

    d. a fashionable music-master, whose blood *was certainly not* Christian
                                       (Ward, *Marriage* 133)

    e. It*'s simply not* fair to other people   ('is simply unfair')
                                      (Galsworthy, *Box* 55)

    f. the smashing up of the Burnet family … *was disagreeably not* in the
       picture of these suppositions   (Wells, *Wife* 120)

It has sometimes been said that the combination *he cannot possibly come* is illogical; *not* is here taken to the verb *can*, while in Danish and German the negative is referred to *possibly*: (30). There is nothing illogical in either expression, but only redundance: the notion of possibility is expressed twice, in the verb and in the adverb, and it is immaterial to which of these the negative notion is attached.

(30)   a. han kan umuligt   komme [Danish]
       he   can impossibly come
       'he can't possibly come'

    b. er kann unmöglich kommen [German]
       he can   impossibly come
       'he can't possibly come'

When *not* is taken with some special word, it becomes possible to use the adverb *still*, which is only found in positive sentences: (31) is different from *the officers were not yet friendly* (*not yet* nexal negative) insofar as the latter presupposes a change having occurred after that time, which the former does not. Cf. also (32).

(31)   The officers were still not friendly   (news 1917)

(32)   a. Although I wrote to him a fortnight ago, I have still not heard from
       him   (letter 1899)

b. my head is still in no good order   ('is still bad', slightly different from 'is not yet well')   (J. Swift, *Journal* 503)

Yet not is rare: (33).

(33)   Pekuah was yet not satisfied ...   (Johnson, *Rasselas* 112)

Not a or *not one* before a substantive (very often *word*) is a kind of stronger *no*; at any rate, the two words may be treated as belonging closely together, i.e. as an instance of special negative, the verb consequently taking no auxiliary *do*; cf. Jespersen (1914: 16.73), where many examples are given; see further (34).

(34)   a. Say not a word of it   (Austen, *Mansfield* 395)
       b. The Face seemed to smile, but answered not a word
                                                              (Hawthorne, *Image* 46)
       c. he mentioned not a word   (Hardy, *Return* 356)
       d. she said not a word about their interview   (Bennett, *Babylon* 66)
       e. he lost not an hour in breaking entirely with the murderer
                                                              (Doyle, *Return* 5.230)

In a similar way *not* is attracted to *the least*, *the slightest*, and in recent usage *at all*, as shown by the absence of the auxiliary *do* (35). Cf. (36).

(35)   a. his Majesty took not the least notice of us   (J. Swift, *Travels* 200)
       b. my resignation of the wardenship need offer not the slightest bar to its occupation by another person   (Trollope, *Warden* 243)
       c. He rested but two hours and slept not at all   (Phillpotts, *Mother* 350)
       d. an urgency that helped him not at all   (Wells, *Love* 65)
       e. this explanation enlightened the Commandant not at all
                                                              (Quiller-Couch, *Major* 59)
       f. they talked not at all for a long time   (Galsworthy, *Freelands* 209)

(36)   he ... cared not the snap of one of his thin, yellow fingers   (ibid 415)

Where we have a verb connected with an infinitive, it is often of great importance whether the negation refers to the nexus (main verb) or to the infinitive. In the earlier stages of the language, this was not always clear: *he tried not to look that way* was ambiguous; now the introduction of *do* as the auxiliary of a negative nexus has rendered a differentiation possible: *he did not try to look that*

way; *he tried not to look that way*; and the (not yet recognized) placing of *not* after *to* serves to make the latter sentence even more unambiguous: *he tried to not look that way*. The distinction is clear in (37).

(37)   She *did not wish* to reflect; she strongly *wished not to* reflect
                                                        (Bennett, *Wives* 2.187)

Other examples with *not* belonging to an infinitive: (38)–(41).

(38)   a. *Try not to do* it again   (Dickens, *David* 112)
        b. *Try not to associate* bodily defects with mental   (ibid 432)
        c. the more he *endeavoured not to think*, the more he thought
                                                        (Dickens, *Carol* 20)
        d. the fool … who *resolved not to go* into the water till he had learnt to swim   (Macaulay, *Milton* 1.41)
        e. Tommy *deserved not to be* hated   (Hope, *Intrusions* 38)
        f. if one were to live always among those bright colours, one would *get not to see* them   (Black, *Phaeton* 61)
        g. I soon *got not to care*   (Galsworthy, *Justice* 91)
        h. I may *come not to feel* such unbearable shame as I do now
                                                        (Swinburne, *Cross-currents* 158)
        i. I knew he'd *come not to care* about the book-selling
                                                        (Ward, *David* 3.132)

(39)   a. I beseech you before you go, not perhaps to return, once more to let me press the hand   (Thackeray, *Vanity* 200)
        b. the Prime Minister himself was personally too much absorbed in the zeal of his cause not sometimes to run counter to the feelings … of men less earnest   (McCarthy, *History* 2.521)

(40)   I wished to not treat you to more tears   (J. Carlyle, *Letters* 3.24)

(41)   "I might not have gone," I mused. "I might easily not have gone."
                (Hope, *Dialogues* 94; cf. p. 62 above and p. 124ff (Chapter 8) below)

When *do* cannot be used, it is not always easy to see whether *not* belongs to the main verb or the infinitive, as in (42),[2] where, however, the next line shows

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[2]Jespersen's Addenda include the example *Sylvia was determined* NOT TO BE *disappointed* (Mason, *Water* 104). (Eds.)

that what is meant is 'it was not my purpose to have seen you here', and not 'it was my purpose not to have …'. This paraphrase further serves to show that in some cases word-order may remove any doubt as to the belonging of the negative, thus very often with a predicative; cf. also such frequent cases as (43). And in the spoken language the use of *wasn't* [wɔznt] in one case, and unstressed *was* [wəz] followed by a strongly stressed *not* in the other, will at once make the meaning clear of such sentences as the one first quoted here.

(42)   My purpose was not to haue seene you heere

<div align="right">(Shakespeare, Merch 3.2.230)</div>

(43)   He was beginning not to despise the day of small things

<div align="right">(Locke, Septimus 232)</div>

Don't let us is the idiomatic expression, where logically it would be preferable to say *let us* with *not* to the infinitive (an injunction not to …): (44).

(44)   Do not let us, however, be too prodigal of our pity upon Pegasus

<div align="right">(Thackeray, Pendennis 2.213)</div>

In the old construction without *do* we see the same attraction of *not* to *let*: (45, though the last two quotations show *not* placed with the infinitive).

(45)   a. let not vs rent it   (AV *John* 19.24)
       b. let not my behaviour seem rude   (Jonson, *Epicœne* 3.183)
       c. let not the prospect of worldly lucre carry us beyond your judgment
                                                      (Congreve, *Love* 255)
       d. And let not those Londoners whose eyes have been accustomed to …
          suppose that …   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 443)
       e. let not another dare suspect it   (Meredith, *Harrington* 219)
       f. let us not add guilt to our misfortunes   (Goldsmith, *Good-natur'd* 5)
       g. let us not imagine evils which we do not feel   (Johnson, *Rasselas* 101)

While now *not* is always in natural language placed before the infinitive it belongs to, there is a poetic or archaic way of placing it after the infinitive, as in (46).

(46) a. one object which you might pass by, Might see and *notice not*

(Wordsworth, *Michael*)

b. a continuance of enduring thought. Which then I can *resist not*

(Byron, *Manfred* 1.1)

c. God bless you, my son, … and when he smiles on you, may the frown of man *affect you not*! (Caine, *Christian* 69)

In other languages, difficulties like those mentioned in English are obviated in different ways. Thus in Greek *mē* is used to negative an infinitive, while *ou* is used with a finite verb. In Danish, a certain number of combinations like *jeg beklager ikke at kunne hjælpe Dem* ('I am sorry I cannot help you') may be ambiguous, though less so in the spoken than in the printed form; but in some instances the colloquial use of a preposition shows where *ikke* belongs; instead of the literary *prøv ikke at se derhen* ('try not to look over there') it is usual to say either *prøv ikke på at se derhen* ('don't try to look over there') or *prøv på ikke at se derhen*. There is another colloquial way out of the difficulty, by means of the verbal phrase *lade være* or rather *la vær* (literally 'leave be'): *prøv at (å) la vær at (å) se derhen* ('Avoid looking over there'). Thus also *du skal lade vær at se derhen* ('You must refrain from looking over there'), different from *du skal ikke se derhen* ('You must not look over there').

In Latin, the place of *non* before the main verb or before the infinitive will generally suffice to make the meaning clear. Similarly in French: *il ne tâche pas de regarder* ('he doesn't try to look'); *il tâche de ne pas regarder* ('he tries not to look'); *il ne peut pas entendre* ('he cannot hear'); *il peut ne pas entendre* ('he can not hear (as he chooses)') — whence the possibility of saying *non potest non amare* ('he cannot not love'); *il ne peut pas ne pas aimer* corresponding to Danish *han kan ikke lade være at elske*, English *he cannot but love*, *cannot help loving* (*cannot choose but love*). Cf. Chapter 8 below.

In this connexion, I must mention an interesting phenomenon frequent in Russian; I take my examples from Holger Pedersen (1916: 12); *a pět' už ne stal* 'but sing now he not began' which is explained as standing for the logical 'not-to-sing he began', i.e. 'he ceased to sing'; *ne véleno étogo dělat'* 'order is not given to do this' instead of the logical 'order is given not to do this', i.e. 'it is prohibited to do this'. Similarly with *dolžen* ('must/should'). But how comes it that the negative *ne* is in such expressions attached to the wrong word? There is another way of viewing these sentences, if we take the negative to mean not the contradictory, but the contrary term: *ne stal* 'did the opposite of beginning', i.e. 'ceased'; *ne velmo* 'the opposite of order, i.e. prohibition, is given'. And in Vondrák (1908: 400), I find:

> mitunter wird der Begriff des Verbs nicht durch *ne* aufgehoben, sondern in sein Gegenteil verwandelt: [altkirchenslawisch] nenaviděti 'hassen' ([böhmisch] náviděti 'lieben'), [serbisch] nèstati 'verschwinden'

> 'sometimes the concept of the verb is not negated by *ne*, but transformed into its opposite: in Old Church Slavonic, *nenaviděti* means "to hate" (Czech *náviděti* "to love")„ and in Serbian, *nèstati* means "to disappear"'

This closely resembles a Greek idiom, see:

> Einzelne Begriffe werden besonders durch *ou* aufgehoben, ja zuweilen ins Gegenteil verwandelt, wie *oú phēmi* nego, verneine ... *ouk axiô* verlange dass nicht, *ouk eô* veto, verwehre, widerrate (auch erlaube nicht)

> 'Individual concepts are especially negated by *ou*, and sometimes even transformed into the opposite, as in *oú phēmi* (*nego* in Latin, 'I deny') ... *ouk axiô* ('I do not deem worthy'), *ouk eô* (*veto* in Latin, 'I forbid, I refuse, I advise against'—also 'I do not permit')'   (Krüger 1875: §67 1.a.2)

> Eine ähnliche Litotes liegt vor, wenn *phēmí* die Negation an sich zieht, die logisch richtiger beim abhängigen Infinitive stehen würde: *oú phēmi toûto kalôs ékhein* nego hoc bene se habere

> 'A similar litotes occurs when *phēmí* attracts the negation to itself, which logically would more correctly stand with the dependent infinitive: *oú phēmi toûto kalôs ékhein* (*nego hoc bene se habere* in Latin, 'I deny that this is in a good state')'   (Kühner 1904: 180)

This is explained as change into the contrary:

> ouk eô *prohibeo* ... ou stérgō *odi* ... ou sumbouleúō *dissuadeo*

> 'I prohibit, I hate, I dissuade'   (Kühner 1904: 182)

As an "accusative with an infinitive" can be considered as a kind of dependent clause, the mention of Latin *nego Gaium venisse* ('I say that Gaius has not come') naturally leads us to the strong tendency found in many languages to attract to the main verb a negative which should logically belong to the dependent nexus. In many cases, *I don't think he has come* and similar sentences really mean 'I think he has not come'; though *I hope* (*expect*) *he won't come* is more usual than the less logical *I do not hope* (*expect*) *he will come*, which is usual in Danish and

German, and also, according to Joyce (1910: 20) among the Irish, who will say, e.g. *It is not my wish that you should go to America at all*, by which is meant the positive assertion: 'It is my wish that you should not go', — as well as *I didn't pretend to understand what he said* for 'I pretended not to understand'.

A few Scandinavian examples may be given of this tendency to insert the negative in the main sentence: (47).

(47) a. saa vil jeg *aldrig* ønske, at   du maa blive   gift
          then will I   never wish   that you may become married
          '… then I wish that you will never get married'

                                                  (Hostrup, *Gjenboerne* 3.6)

      b. Jeg tror   *ikke*, at   mange har   læst Brand og   at   færre har
          I   believe not   that many have read Brand and that fewer have
          forstaaet   den
          understood it
          'I believe that not many have read Brand and that fewer have
          understood it'   (Schandorff, news 1897; note here the continuation,
                          which shows that what is meant is: *tror at ikke mange …*)

      c. Men det lot   'o [= hun] ikke, som 'o   hørte
          but that pretended she   not   as if she heard
          'But she acted as if she hadn't heard that'   (Bjørnson, *Guds* 21)

      d. Han trodde   *icke* presterna   voro annat än   examinerade
          he   believed not priests.DEF were other than examined
          studenter *och* att   deras besvärjelseord bara var   mytologi
          students and that their incantations   just were mythology
          'He believed that priests were nothing but graduated students, and
          that their incantations were mere mythology'
                  (Strindberg, *Giftas* 2.134; note also here the positive continuation)

Compare from French (48).

(48) il ne faut pas que tu   meures
       it not need not that you die
       'you must not die'   (Tobler, *Beiträge* 1.164)

In English, we must note the distinction between *I don't suppose* (*I am not afraid*), where the main nexus is negatived, and *I suppose not* (*I am afraid not*) where the nexus is positive, but the object (a whole sentence understood) is negative; how old is this use of *not* for a whole sentence? Examples: (49).

(49)   a. I'm afraid not   (Congreve, *Love* 121)

         b. " … whether it ever came to my knowledge until this moment?" — "I believe not directly" …. — "Why, you know not"   (Dickens, *David* 93)

         c. "I am afraid you can't learn it, my poor fellow." — "I am afraid not"
                                                           (Dickens, *Nicholas* 311)

         d. "can you bear the thought of that?" — … "I should imagine not, indeed!"   (ibid 590)

         e. "I should not mind" …. — "I daresay not, because you have nothing particular to say." … — "But I have something particular to say." — "I hope not." — "Why should you hope not?"   (Trollope, *Children* 2.81)

         f. "I'll tell the boys and they'll draw you like a badger." — "Please not, old man."   (Kipling, *Light* 217)

         g. I believe I asked him to hold his tongue about them—he says not.
                                               (Conway, *Called* 1)

Inversely, we have a negative adverb standing for a whole main sentence, *not that* meaning 'I do not say that' or 'the reason is not that' as in (50). We shall see in Chapter 12 the use of *not but* (*that*) and *not but what* in the same sense.

(50)   a. Not that I lou'd Cæsar lesse, but that I lou'd Rome more
                                        (Shakespeare, *Cæs* 3.2.22)

         b. Not that the heart can be good without knowledge
                                         (Bunyan, *Progress* 113)

         c. Not that I agree with everything I have said in this essay
                                         (Wilde, *Intentions* 212)

         d. Not that he had forgotten them   (Locke, *Year* 309)

In other languages correspondingly: (51).

(51)   a. Ikke at   han havde (or: skulde ha) glemt   dem
              not that he had   should have forgotten them
              'Not that he had forgotten them'

         b. nicht dass er sie   vergessen hätte
              not   that he them forgotten would have
              'not that he would have forgotten them'

         c. Non pas qu'il   parlât à personne
              not   not that he spoke to anyone
              'Not that he spoke to anyone'   (Rolland, *Foire* 306)

When we say ("He'll come back") *Not he!* it is not really *he* that is negatived, but the nexus, although the predicative part of it is unexpressed; the exclamation is a complete equivalent of *He won't!* (with stress on *won't*): (52).

(52) a. Who, I rob? I a theefe? Not I.   (Shakespeare, *H4A* 1.2.153)

      b. Please not, old man.   (Kipling, *Light* 217)

      c. Were I a Steam-engine, wouldst thou take the trouble to tell lies of me? Not thou!   (T. Carlyle, *Sartor* 169)

      d. Meg don't know what he likes. Not she!   (Dickens, *Chimes* 30)

      e. They wouldn't have touched *us* … Not they!
                                                    (Galsworthy, *Freelands* 255)

      f. "it'll perhaps rain cats and dogs to-morrow …" … — "Not *it*"
                                                    (Eliot, *Silas* 44)

      g. "Do you think it will last long?" — "Not it!"   (Bennett, *Wives* 1.263)

      h. "Bit late now, isn't it?" — "Not it."   (Bennett, *Card* 244)

      i. All sorts of things accumulate, sir.… Not *you*, of course, in particular.
                                                    (Wells, *Stories* 49)

The following examples (53) show the accusative used as a modern (vulgar or half-vulgar) "disjointed" nominative.

(53) a. We sha'n't hang up on any misunderstanding. Not us.
                                                    (Wells, *Veronica* 338)

      b. "you were all in the same room together, were not you?"
              "No, indeed, not us."   (Austen, *Sense* 269)

In Old English we have the corresponding *nic* (54). *Nic* is spelt *nîc* and *nyc* (*John*, ed. Skeat, 1.21), spelt *nicc* and *nicht* (ibid 18.17). This (with the positive counterpart *I*, which is probably the origin of *ay* ('yes'), and *ye we* in (55)) closely resembles the French *naje* 'not I' (in the third person *nenil*) and the positive *oje* 'hoc ego' (in the third person *oïl, oui*), see Tobler (1877: 423; 1886: 1); Paris (1878: 465).

(54) Wilt þu fon   sumne hwæl? — Nic
        want you catch some   whale   not I
        'Do you want to catch a whale? — No.'   (Wright & Wülcker 1.94)

(55) wille ye doo this … — … ye we, lorde   (Caxton, *Reynard* 58)

Chapter 6

Negative Attraction

While the preceding chapter has shown the universal tendency to attract the negative to the verb even where it logically belongs to some other word, there is another tendency to attract the negative notion to any word that can easily be made negative. In colloquial language the former is the stronger tendency, but in literary English the latter often predominates because it yields a more elegant expression. Thus to the colloquial *we didn't meet anybody* corresponds a more literary *we met nobody*. Cf. also *union won't be an easy matter* and *union will be no easy matter.*

   In the following sentences (1) the negative really belongs to the nexus and should therefore be placed with the verb; note especially the tag question (*have we*? as after a negative *we haven't got*) in (1f).

(1)   a. those of thy tribe give nothing for nothing
           ('don't give anything for nothing')   (Scott, *Ivanhoe* 89)
      b. She was aware of having done nothing wrong (Hay, *Breadwinners* 68)
      c. she found that she could count certainly upon nobody
                                                           (Hewlett, *Quair* 50)
      d. we ask him to do nothing against his cousin. We ask only his silence
                                                           (Hope, *Rupert* 230)
      e. she loves you so well that she has the heart to thwart you in nothing
                                                           (Gilbert, *Charity* 1)
      f. we've got a glass o' nothing in the house, have we, Bessy?
                                                           (Eliot, *Mill* 2.114)
      g. 'tis none of my business, or any part of my design (Defoe, *Farther* 299)

(The continuation of (1g) with *or any* shows that the beginning is felt to correspond to 'it isn't any …'.) Cf. also the examples in *Modern English grammar* (Jespersen 1914: 16.74).

   This is particularly frequent with *need* (2). Cf. with a comparative: (3).

(2) a. Of ladders I need say nothing   (J. Swift, *Tub* 26)

b. you need be under no uneasiness   (Goldsmith, *Vicar*; and ibid, ibid)

c. ye need say nothing about that foolish story   (Scott, *Antiquary* 1.63)

(3) a. I need tell you no more   (J. Swift, *Journal* 461)

b. We need detain you no longer   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 125)

A curious example is (4), where *hardly any* is used as a mitigated *no*; the logical expression would be: *I have hardly succeeded in throwing any light.*

(4) the whole subject … is so obscure, that I have succeeded in throwing
     hardly any light on it   (Darwin, *Expression* 93)

Note also (5).

(5) a. to be able to do nothing ['unable to do anything'] without hurting
         someone   (Galsworthy, *Flower* 101)

b. you and I will go to the smoking-room, and talk about nothing at all
    subtle   ('something that is not subtle')   (E. F. Benson, *Dodo* 50)

c. I'm no Bear any longer   ('am a Bear no longer')   (Norris, *Pit* 183)

Storm (1896: 694) has a few curious quotations like (6).

(6) O'Brien … stated that we were officers, and *had no right* to be treated like
     common soldiers   ('and had a right not to be treated').
                                        (Marryat, *Peter*, 1.324)

This tendency leads to the use of combinations like *he was no ordinary boy* in preference to the unidiomatic *he was a not ordinary boy*; for examples see *Modern English grammar* (Jespersen 1914: 16.751).
Similarly in Spanish, (7).

(7) Era un santo varón piadoso y   de *no común*   saber
     was a   holy man   pious   and of not common knowledge
     'He was a pious holy man with uncommon knowledge'
                                        (Pérez Galdós, *Doña* 39)

The attraction of the negative element is the reason why a pronoun, like *ingen*, *ingenting*, *intet* is very often in Danish placed in a position which would be impossible in the case of a positive pronoun, but is the one required for the adverb

ikke: (8), or, more popularly, (9), etc. Cf. also the following quotations (10), the last two or three of which are, perhaps, not quite natural, though the attraction in them is easy to understand. Bjørnson's (11) would in natural Danish be rather *bærer ingen over med*.

(8)   a.   det fører ingenting til
           that leads nothing   to
           'that leads to nothing'

      b.   det er ingen skade til
           that is no   harm to
           'there is no harm in that'

      c.   når   man ingenting har
           when one nothing   has
           'when one has nothing'

(9)   når   ingenting man har
      when nothing   one has
      'When one has nothing'

(10) a.   Thi man må   ingen gjøre uret
           for one may/must no one do   injustice
           'For one may not commit injustice against anyone'
                                                    (Petersen, *Uddrag* 14)

      b.   Det franske sprog   har ingen   fordærvet, men den franske
           the French language has no one corrupted but   the French
           gouvernante har gjort det
           governess   has done it
           'The French language has corrupted no one, but the French governess
           has'   (ibid 17)

      c.   lad pøblen   intet   mærke
           let crowd.DEF nothing notice
           'don't let the crowd notice anything'   (Goldschmidt, *Hjemløs* 2.841)

      d.   Tage mærkede imidlertid ingen kølighed til
           Tage noticed   however no   coldness to
           'However, Tage noticed no coldness'   (Jacobsen, *Fønss* 2.406)

      e.   Den samme jordlod, som   for 20 aar   siden intet   eller lidet
           the same   plot   which for 20 years ago   nothing or   little

udbytte gav, fordi   der   intet   eller lidet arbejde var nedlagt
yield   gave because there nothing or   little work   was laid down
i   dens drift
in its   cultivation
'The same plot of land, which 20 years ago gave little or no yield
because little or no work had been invested in its cultivation'

(G. Bang, *Husmanden* 386)

f. Jeg veed ogsaa, at   jeg intet   af alt dette har gjort selv
I   know also   that I   nothing of all this   have done myself
'I also know that I have done none of this myself'

(Johs. Jørgensen, news 1915)

g. for   at   jeg ingenting andet skulde ha'   at hæfte mig   ved
in order that I   nothing   else   should have to attach myself by
'in order that I would have nothing else to cling to'(Ibsen, *Solness* 204)

(11)   de   bærer over med ingen
they bear   over with no one
'they tolerate no one'   (Norwegian: *Flager* 48)

Whenever there is logically a possibility of attracting the negative element to either of two words, there seems to be a universal tendency to join it to the first. We may say NO ONE EVER *saw him angry* or NEVER *did* ANY ONE *see him angry*, but not ANY ONE NEVER *saw him angry* nor EVER *did* NO ONE *see him angry*. In the same way in Danish INGEN *har* NOGENSINDE *set ham vred* or ALDRIG *har* NOGEN *set ham vred*, but not otherwise. Instead of NO *woman would* EVER *think of that* it is impossible to say ANY *woman would* NEVER *think of that*, though it is possible to say A *woman would* NEVER *think of that*, because *no* is not (now) felt to be a combination of the negative element and the indefinite article.

The negative is also attracted to the first word in well-known Latin combinations *neque quisquam* 'and no one' (not *et nemo*), *neque ullus* 'and nothing', *nec unquam* 'and never'; thus also *ne quis*, *ne quid*, etc., in clauses of purpose. The same tendency is found in combinations like *without any danger*, *uden nogen fare*, *sine ullo periculo*, where, however, English sometimes has *with no danger* (*to any one*); cf. (12).

(12)   a. it is a spot which has all the solemnity, with none of the savageness,
of the Alps   (Ruskin, *Selections* 1.9)

b. she went out, with not another word or look (Williamson, *Powers* 231)

It strikes one as contrary to this universal tendency to find in Old English poetry combinations in which *æfre* or *ænig* precedes a verb with prefixed *ne*, as in *Andreas* (13), and lines 499, 553 etc. Both combined: (14).

(13) a. þær   ænig þa git elþeodigra eðles ne mihte blædes   brucan
           where any   then yet of foreigners land not might prosperity enjoy
           'Where no foreigners could yet enjoy the land and prosperity'
                                                                           (15b–17a)

      b. *Æfre* ic *ne* hyrde
           ever I not heard
           'never have I ever heard'   (360b)

      c. *ænig ne* wende, / þæt he lifgende land begete
           any   not thought   that he living   land would reach
           'no one thought that he, while living, would reach land'   (377b–378a)

(14) swa ic *æfre ne* geseah *ænigne* mann
      so   I ever not saw   any   man
      'so I never saw any man'   (ibid 493)

When the negative is attracted to the subject, the sentence is often continued in such a way that the positive counterpart of the first subject must be understood. In ordinary life, such sentences will cause no misunderstanding, and it is only the critical, or even hyper-critical, grammarian that sees anything wrong in them. Examples: (15).

(15) a. Not one should scape, but perish by our swords   ('but all perish')
                                                        (Marlowe, *Tamburlaine* 4.2)

      b. I pray him That none of you may liue his naturall age, But by some
          vnlook'd accident cut off   (Shakespeare, *R3* 1.3.213)

      c. none of them are hurtful, but loving and holy   ('but they are')
                                                           (Bunyan, *Progress* 147)

      d. no man may judge another by looking down upon him, but must
          needs descend into the crowd   (Merriman, *Vultures* 265)

      e. Neither spoke, but lay silently listening   ('both lay'; Jacobs, *Lady* 51)

      f. Don't let any of us go to bed to-night, but see the morning come
                                                          (E. F. Benson, *Second* 130)

      g. Nobody 'll get anything till eight, and then [they'll get] *only cold
          shoulder*   (Galsworthy, *Joy* 2)

    h. None of these versions throw any further light upon the original
        form, and are therefore not important for our analysis of it
        ('These versions throw no …')   (Paton, *Tower* 23)

We find the same phenomenon with *few*, as that, too, has a negative purport: (16).

(16)   a. few of the princes had any wish to enlarge their bounds, but passed
           their lives in full conviction that they had all   (Johnson, *Rasselas* 40)

      b. Few thought of Jessop,—only of themselves
           ('they thought only of themselves')   (Mulock, *Halifax* 2.152)

Similarly in the following quotations (17): *forget* = 'do not remember'; *unfrequented* = 'frequented by (of) no one'.

(17)   a. new made honor doth forget mens names (Shakespeare, *John* 1.1.188)

      b. I forget, without looking back to some old letters …, whether it was
           my great-grandfather   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 607)

      c. I quite forget the details, only that I had a good deal of talk with him
                             (T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 2.317)

      d. the house vnfrequented, onely of their owne housholde
                                   (Wilkins, *Pericles* 67)

      e. it is idle to consider how much territory may come up for settlement,
           nor how it may be disposed of   (idle = 'no use'; Dickinson, *War* 22)

Danish examples of sentences begun negatively and continued as if begun positively: (18).

(18)   a. Intet af de finniske sprog   adskiller   kjøn, hvori   de
           none of the Finnish languages distinguishes gender wherein they
           ligne   grønlandsken, men have ellers   en vidtløftig
           resemble Greenlandic   but have otherwise an extensive
           deklinering.
           declension
           'None of the Finnish languages distinguish gender, in which they
           resemble Greenlandic, but they otherwise have an extensive
           declension.'   (Rask, *Undersögelse* 97)

b. Ingen pil   bliver   længe hængende derved [ved hjertet],   men
   no   arrow remains long   hanging   thereby by   heart.DEF but
   flyver tvert   igjennem
   flies   across through
   'No arrow stays lodged by the heart for long, but flies straight
   through'   (P. Møller, letter)

c. ingen begivenhed havde interesse uden   som del   af hans indre
   no   event   had   interest without as   part of his   inner
   historie eller fik kun ved denne sin rette   farve
   story   or   got only by   it   its proper color
   'no event was of interest unless as a part of his inner story, or only
   through this it obtained its true color'   (Goldschmidt, *Hjemløs* 5.116)

d. Bare   ingen   vil   skoptisere over mig, men lade mig have ro!
   if.only no one will scoff   over me   but let   me have peace
   'If only no one will scoff at me, but leave me in peace!'
                                                       (Goldschmidt, *Ravnen* 332)

e. Intet   betragtede han som tilfældigt, men som et led i   den store
   nothing considered he   as   random   but as   a link in the great
   kjæde
   chain
   'He considered nothing as random, but as a link in the great chain'
                                                       (Andersen, *Baronesser* 2.66)

f. jeg havde den tilfredsstillelse, at   ikke en eneste af mine 10 tilhørere
   I   had   the satisfaction   that not a   single of my   10 listeners
   forlod mig, men holdt alle ud til den sidste time
   left   me but held all out to the last   hour
   'I had the satisfaction that not one of my ten listeners left me, but all
   endured until the last hour'   (Molbech, letter 155)

g. Intet menneskeligt forhold   kan have værdi i   sig selv, men har
   no   human   circumstance can have value in it   self but   has
   kun værdi, naar   det bevidst   underordnes   ...
   only value when it   consciously is subordinated
   uendelighedssynspunktet
   infinity perspective.DEF
   'No human condition can have value in itself, but only has value
   when it is consciously subordinated to the perspective of infinity'
                                                       (Høffding, *Humor* 104)

h. Når   korn blev kørt   hjem, drak ingen af   sin egen flaske,
   when grain was driven home drank no one from his own bottle
   men fik brændevin af   manden
   but got brandy   from man.DEF
   'When grain was brought home, no one drank from his own bottle,
   but received brandy from the man'   (Feilberg, *Snaps* 117)

i. jeg saa, at   ingen elskede hende, men forførte hende og   handlede
   I   saw that no one loved   her   but seduced her   and dealt
   ilde   med hende
   badly with her
   'I saw that no one loved her; instead, they seduced her and treated
   her badly.'   (Nielsen, *Tilskueren* 1898. 694)

j. Ingen af dem [teorierne]   kan siges   at være fyldestgørende og
   none of them theories.DEF can be said to be   comprehensive and
   forbigaas   derfor   her
   are omitted therefore here
   'None of the theories can be said to be comprehensive, and they are
   therefore omitted here'   (Johannsen, *Salmonsen* 9.184)

k. Ikke ên af hundrede læsere gör sig   rede   for hvorfor, og
   not one of hundred   readers do themselves clarity for why   and
   vil   også have nogen vanskelighed ved at indse grunden
   will also have some difficulty   by to grasp reason
   'Not one out of a hundred readers considers why, and will also have
   quite some difficulty grasping the reason.' (Sörensen, *Ariadnetråd* 52)[1]

The following quotations are somewhat different: (19).

(19) a. Jeg kand skaffe attester   fra   hele byen, at   jeg er ingen
         I   can obtain certificates from whole town that I   am no
         hane   eller at   nogen af mine forældre har   været andet end
         rooster or   that either of my   parents have been other than
         christne   mennisker
         Christian people
         'I can provide certificates from the entire town, proving that I am no
         rooster or that neither of my parents has been anything other than a
         Christian person'   (Holberg, *Erasmus* 4.2)

---

[1]Negative continued as if positive: A reference has here unfortunately fallen out to Siesbye (1899: 8ff) and Siesbye (1903: 44) (from Jespersen's Addenda). (Eds.)

    b. Langtfra alle   vil samstemme med prof. Steenstrup … men
         far from everyone will agree   with Prof. Steenstrup   but
         vil   hellere slutte sig   til Bricka's beskedne tvivl   [mange
         would rather join themselves to Bricka's modest   doubt   [many
         vil ikke…]
         will not]
         'Far from everyone will agree with Prof. Steenstrup … but will instead
         lean towards Bricka's modest doubt'   (Friis, *Politiken*)

Thus also with Danish *de færreste* ('the fewest', or 'de fleste … ikke'): (20).

(20)   a. de færreste af disse tropper er   imidlertid bevæbnede med nye
         the fewest   of these troops are however   armed   with new
         gode rifler, men nøjes   med gamle flintebøsser
         good rifles but make do with old   flintlocks
         'however, only very few of these troops are armed with new
         high-quality rifles, and most make do with old flintlocks' (news 1892)
    b. De færreste forstod   meningen   eller vilde   ikke forstaa
         the fewest   understood meaning.DEF or   wanted not   understand
         den
         it
         'Only a few understood the meaning, and most did not want to
         understand it'   (Arnskov, *Nielsen* 29)

And with a negative infinitive means the same thing as *without -ing*. This is felt to be perfectly natural in positive sentences (21), but there is a growing awkwardness about the construction in the following groups: negative sentences (22), interrogative sentences, generally equivalent to negative statements (23), and negative interrogative sentences (24); the sentence in (25) is, strictly speaking, quite unanalyzable. In *I couldn't see you, and not love you* (22a) *couldn't* refers at the same time to *see you*, and to *not love you*, the latter in a way that would be quite unidiomatic if used by itself: *I couldn't not love you* (cf. Latin *non possum non amare*); we see that the expression is unimpeachable if we substitute: *Impossible* (*to see you and*) *not to love you*. But it is difficult to apply the same test to all our quotations.

(21)   a. Strangers and foes do sunder, and not kisse (Shakespeare, *Alls* 2.5.91)
      b. that glib and oylie art, To speak and purpose not

                                   (Shakespeare, *Lr* 1.1.228)

(22)   a. I couldn't see you, and not love you   (Dickens, *David* 570)

         b. But he could not look at her and not be afraid of her

                                                    (Dickens, *Dombey* 473)

         c. I cannot love my lord and not his name   (Tennyson, *Enid*)

         d. I could not live in a house where such a thing was half conceivable, and not probe the matter home   (Stevenson, *Merry* 179)

         e. what are we to do? … Can't bury the poor chap and say nothing about it   (Merriman, *Sowers* 13)

         f. I could not live, and not be true with him   (Henley, *Beau* 20)

         g. I must not stay here and do nothing   (Hardy, *Wessex* 265)

         h. no one can read it and not be moved   (Stevenson, *Art* 84)

         i. No one could have had such a splendid old father as I have, and not believe in them   (Harraden, *Fowler* 54)

(23)   a. how then can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a traitor?

                                             (Bunyan, *Progress* 68)

         b. Who can touch pitch, and not be defiled?   (Richardson, *Grandison* 28)

         c. how Shall I descend, and perish not?   (Shelley, *Epipsychidion*)

         d. But oh!—what we can bear and not die!   (Ward, *Eleanor* 244)

(24)   a. May not a man then trifle out an hour With a kind woman and not wrong his calling?   (Otway, *Venice* 3.2)

         b. why can't you marry me, and live here with us, and not be a Methodist preacher any more?   (Hardy, *Wessex* 270)

(25)   I'm doing just as little as I can and not be punished ('without being punished')   (M. I. Swift, *Humanizing* 172)

Conditional conjunctions also have a strong attraction for the negative notion in many languages (cf. Latin *nisi*, Danish colloquial *hvis ikke* (*at*) *han kommer* instead of *hvis han ikke kommer*). Thus we have in English the negative conjunction *unless* (formerly *onles, onles that*) meaning 'if … not'; *lest* (Old English *þy læs þe*) meaning 'that … not'; *for fear* often is equivalent to '(in order) that … not'; cf. also *but* (*but that, but what*), Chapter 12; Danish *medmindre*; French *à moins que*, Spanish *á menos que*.

Chapter 7

Double Negation

When logicians insist that "two negatives make an affirmative" their rule is not corroborated by actual usage in most languages. But it would be wrong to divide languages into some that follow this rule and others that do not, for on closer inspection we find that in spite of great differences between languages in this respect there are certain underlying principles that hold good for all languages. We shall deal first with those instances in which the rule of the logicians is observed; and afterwards with those in which the final result of two negatives is in itself negative.

First, it seems to be a universal rule in all languages that *two negatives make an affirmative*, if both are special negatives attached to the same word; this generally happens in this way that *not* is placed before some word of negative import or containing a negative prefix. But it should be noted that the double negative always modifies the idea, for the result of the whole expression is somewhat different from the simple idea expressed positively. Thus *not without some doubt* is not exactly the same thing as *with some doubt*; *not uncommon* is weaker than *common*, and *not unhandsome* (Kipling, *Light* 246) than *handsome*, the psychological reason being that the *detour* through the two mutually destroying negatives weakens the mental energy of the hearer and implies on the part of the speaker a certain hesitation absent from the blunt, outspoken *common* or *handsome*, as in (1). Assertion by negative of opposite is a common feature of English as spoken in Ireland (see Joyce 1910: 16): *this little rasher will do you no harm* meaning it will do you good; *Paddy Walsh is no chicken now* meaning he is very old, etc. This is really on a par with *not untragical*, *not unentitled to speak*, *not unpromptly*, etc. which abound in Carlyle (Krummacher 1883: 388); with him *not without* has become quite a mannerism for which he is taken to task by Sterling (letter): *not without ferocity*, *not without result*, *not without meditation*, etc. etc.

(1)   Tis not vnknowne to you, Anthonio   ('you are to some extent aware')
                                                    (Shakespeare, *Merch* 1.1.122)

A special instance of this detour is Latin *non-nunquam* ('not never'), *non-nulli* ('not none'), on the meaning of which see p. 119 (Chapter 8).

Next, the result is positive if we have a nexal negative in a sentence containing an implied negative, as in *I do not deny*; this, of course, closely resembles the first case. Here belong such frequent French phrases as *il n'était pas sans être frappé par la différence*; the meaning of the round-about expression is 'you will readily understand that he was struck …'.

In this place should, perhaps, be mentioned the French *il n'y a pas que ça* ('there is not only this'), which means the opposite of *il n'y a que ça*, thus 'there is more than this'.

The negation of words like *nobody* resulting in the meaning of 'everybody' (*nemo non videt*) will be treated in Chapter 8 (p. 120f).

Yet another way of affirming through a double negative is seen in (2). But this hardly belongs in this chapter.

(2)   a. For I am nothing, if not criticall   (Shakespeare, *Oth* 2.1.120)

  b. The old Scots poets … were nothing if not plain-spoken
      ('were plain-spoken to a high degree')   (Henley, *Burns* 3.297)

If now we proceed to those cases in which *a repeated negation means, not an affirmative, but a negative*, we shall do well to separate different classes in which the psychological explanation is not exactly the same.

Double attraction

In the first place we have instances of DOUBLE ATTRACTION. Above we have seen the two tendencies, one to place the negative with the verb as nexal negative, and the other to amalgamate a negative element with some word capable of receiving a negative prefix. We have seen how now one, now the other of these tendencies prevails; but here we have to deal with those instances in which both are satisfied at once in popular speech, the result being sentences with double, or even treble or quadruple, negation.

This was the regular idiom in Old English, so regular indeed that in the whole of *Apollonius* there is only one sentence containing *ne* with the verb in which we have another word that might take *n-* and does not—*ne ondræt þu ðe æniges þinges* ('do not fear anything') (Appolonius: 22)—while there are nine instances of *ne* + various forms of *nan*, three of *ne* + *naht* ('nothing' or 'not') and fifteen of *ne* + some negative adverb beginning with *n-* (*nahwar* 'nowhere', *næfre* 'never',

na 'not', *naðer* 'neither'). There are 40 instances of *ne* or *n-* with the verb without any other word that might take *n-*, and four of *na* as special negative without any verb. In this text there are no instances of treble or quadruple negation, but these are by no means rare in Old English prose, as in (3). In the same way in Middle English, e.g. (4).

(3) a. *n*an man *n*yste   *n*an þing
         no   man not knew no   thing
         'no one new anything'

     b. *ne n*an neat   *n*yste   nænne andan *ne n*ænne ege to oðrum
         not no   animal not knew no   malice nor no   fear to others
         'no creature knew any malice nor any fear towards others'
                                                          (Boethius, *Orpheus*)

(4) a. He *n*euere yet *n*o vileynye *ne* seyde In al his lyf unto *n*o maner
         He never   yet no villainy   nor said   in all his life unto no manner of
         wight
         person
         'He never yet spoke any villainy in all his life to any kind of person'
                                                     (Chaucer, *Prologue* A 70)

     b. *n*e   takeþ *n*oþing   to holde of *n*oman *ne* of *n*o womman, *ne*
         nor takes anything to hold   of no man nor of no woman,   nor
         *n*oiþer of þe seruauntz *ne* bere non uncouþ tales
         neither of the servants   nor bear any uncouth tales
         'Nor takes anything to consider from no man nor woman, nor from
         the servants, nor to bear any uncouth tales'   (*Recluse* 200)

Early Modern English examples of double negation: (5).

(5) a. the prouostis harneis was hole, and *n*ought dammaged of *n*othyng
                                                     (Caxton, *Blanchardyn* 48)

     b. whan he coude *n*owher *n*one see   (Caxton, *Reynard* 38)

     c. *ne n*euer shal *n*one be born fairer than she   (ibid 84)

     d. they *n*euer make *n*one [i.e. 'no leagues'] with anye nacion
                                                          (More, *Utopia* 238)

In Elizabethan English this kind of repeated negation is comparatively rare; from Shakespeare I have only two instances (6; but I may, of course, have overlooked others). Bøgholm (1906) has one from Bacon (*Observations*): *his lordship was never no violent and transported man.*

I cannot explain how it is that this particular redundancy seems to disappear for two centuries; it can hardly be accidental that I have no examples from the beginning of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century, when Pegge (1814: 80) mentions this kind of "luxuriance" among the cockneys (*I* DON'T *know* NOTHING *about it*) and says that he has heard in Yorkshire, *No, I shall* NOT *do* NO *such thing* and that a citizen is said to have enquired at a tavern, *if* NOBODY *had seen* NOTHING *of* NEVER-A *hat* NOWHERE'S?

(6) a. I will *not* budge for *no* mans pleasure I (*Rom* 3.1.58)

  b. I haue one heart, one bosome, and one truth, And that no woman has, *n*or *n*euer *n*one Shall mistris be of it, saue I alone (*Tw* 3.1.171)

Recent examples, put in the mouths of vulgar speakers (sometimes, no doubt, with some exaggeration of a tendency ridiculed at school, however natural in itself): (7).

(7) a. *Nobody never* went and hinted *no* such a thing, said Peggotty
  (Dickens, *David* 19)

  b. all he [the butler] hopes is, he may *never* hear of *no* foreigner *never* boning *nothing* out of *no* travelling chariot (Dickens, *Dombey* 279)

  c. We *never* thought of *nothing* wrong (Thackeray, *Pendennis* 3.85)

  d. there was *niver nobody* else gen ['gave'] me *nothin'* (Eliot, *Mill* 1.327)

  e. I *can't* do *nothing* without my staff (Hardy, *Wessex* 23)

  f. you *wont* care to spar with *nobody* without youre well paid for it
  (Shaw, *Cashel* 24)

  g. *No* compensation *nowhere* for being cut off innocent in the pride of youth and strength! (Zangwill, *Mystery* 209)

  h. you *won't* lose *nothing* by it (Herrick, *Memoirs* 87)

  i. there *won't* be *no* hung jury (ibid 89)

Cumulative negation exactly resembling that of Old English was very frequent in Middle High German, for example (8).

(8) a. diz *en*-mac nu *nieman* bewarn
  this not-may now no-one prevent
  'now no one can prevent this' (Delbrück, *Syntax* 6)

  b. *nu* en-kan ich *niemanne* gesagen
  now not-can I no-one say
  'now I cannot say [it] to anyone' (ibid 6)

> c. ir   ougen diu   *en*-wurden *nie*   ... naz
> your eyes   those not-become never   wet
> 'your eyes have never become wet'   (ibid 6)

This was continued in later centuries, though as in English it was counteracted by schoolmasters. Luther (*Bücher* 314) has *Wir sind* NIEMAND NICHTS *schuldig* ('We owe no one anything at all') and Goethe (*Faust* I) *Man sieht, dass er an* NICHTS KEINEN *anteil nimmt* ('One sees that he takes no interest at all in anything'), Schiller (*Tod* 3.15) *alles ist partei und* NIRGEND KEIN *richter* ('Everything is partisan, and nowhere is there any judge at all'), etc. (Andresen 1892: 209). This is particularly frequent in vulgar language. In Weise (1896: 78) I find the following:

> Die Verneinung wird nachdrücklich wiederholt, damit sie recht ins Gewicht fällt. In Angelys Fest der Handwerker wird einem Gesellen auf die Frage: 'Hat keener Schwamm?' nicht geantwortet; als er dann aber der Frage die Form giebt: 'Hat denn *keener keinen* Schwamm *nich*?' findet er Gehör. Doch kann einer der Anwesenden seinen Unwillen darüber nicht zurückhalten, dass er nicht gleich ordentlich deutsch geredet habe.

> 'Negation is emphatically repeated to make it impactful. In Angely's Festival of the Craftsmen, a question from a journeyman, "Does nobody have a sponge?" goes unanswered; but when he reformulates it as "Ain't nobody got no sponge?" he finds an audience. Yet one of those present could not conceal his annoyance that proper German was not used from the start.'

In Danish similar expressions are extremely rare. Leonora Christina writes (9).

> (9)   saa hand kiøbte *aldrig intet*   for mig
> so   he   bought never nothing for me
> 'so he never bought anything for me'   (132)

In French, *nul* with *ne* to the verb (NUL NE *vient* 'no one comes at all'; *on* NE *le voit* NULLE *part* 'you don't see him anywhere at all') is a case in point, though now it is hardly felt to be different from the corresponding usage with *aucun*, which was originally positive ('some'), but has now acquired negative force ('(not) any'), as we have seen above.

In Spanish, repeated negation is not at all rare; I may quote (10).

(10) a. Estarémos, *sin* que *nadie, Ni* aun el mismo sol, hoy
          we-will-be *without* that *anyone nor* even the same   sun today
          sepa   De nosotras
          knows of us
          'We will be, without anyone, or even the sun itself, knowing of us
          today'   (Calderón, *Alcalde* 1.10)

      b. Aquí *no* vienen casi   *nunca* soldados
          here *not* come   almost *never* soldiers
          'Soldiers almost never come here'   (Pérez Galdós, *Doña* 23)

Thus also in Slavonic languages, Delbrück (1897: 526) gives among the other
instances Serbian (11). For Russian, in the first few pages of Boyer & Spéranski
(1905: 3f), I find: (12), etc.

(11) i   nikto   mu   ne mogaše odgovoriti riječi
      and nobody to him no could   answer   words
      'and nobody could say a word in reply'

(12) a. i   nikomú zla ne dělaem
          and to no one evil not do
          'and we do no evil to anyone'

      b. ničegó ne berët
          nothing not takes
          'he takes nothing'

      c. ne daváĭ že   mužikú   ničegó
          not give-IMP EMPH to peasant nothing
          'don't give the peasant anything'

      d. Filipók ničegó ne skazál
          Filipok nothing not said
          'Filipok said nothing'

      e. na kryl'čé nikogó nět
          on porch no one isn't
          'there is no one on the porch'

In Greek, repeated negation is very frequent, see any grammar. Madvig (1873:
§209) quotes for instance (13).

(13) Áneu   toútou oudeìs eis oudèn oudenòs   àn humôn oudépote
      without this   no-one into nothing from-anyone PTL of-you never
      génoito   áxios.
      would-become worthy
      'Without this, none of you would ever become worthy of anything from
      anyone.'   (Platon)

In Hungarian (Magyar) we have corresponding phenomena, see J. Szinnyei,
Ungarische Sprachlehre (1912: §119): Negative pronouns like *sënki* ('nobody'),
sëmmi ('nothing') and pronominal adverbs like *sëhol* ('nowhere'), *sëhogy* ('in no
wise') are generally used in connexion with a negative particle or verbal form,
e.g. SËNKI SËM *volt ott* (or: NËM *volt ott* SËNKI, 'there was nobody there'); SËMMIT
SËM *hallottam* (or: NËM *hallottam* SËMMIT, 'I have heard nothing'). Sometimes
there are three negative words in the same sentence: NËM *felejtëk el* SËMMIT SËM
'I forget nothing'. Negative words begin with *s-* or *n-*.

Repeated negation is found in many other languages. I shall mention only
a few examples from Bantu languages. In H. G. Guinness's *Mosaic history and
gospel story epitomised in the Congo language* (1882), I find, for example, (14), etc.
In D. Jones and S. T. Plaatje, *A Sechuana reader* (1916: 15), a sentence is translated
'not will-not you-be-destroyed by-nothing'; other examples occur on pp. 33, 41.

(14) a. ka bena   mambu mambiko
         not there are words   evil.NEG
         'there are no evil words'   (1)

      b. Yetu katulendi kuba monako.
         we   NEG.can   them see.NEG
         'We cannot see them.'   (2)

      c. kavangidi kwandi wawubiko, kamonanga kwandi nganziko,
         NEG.did   he   evil.NEG, NEG.feeling he   pain.NEG,
         kaba   yelanga kwa-u ko
         NEG.they sick   they NEG
         'he did no evil, he felt no pain, they were not sick'   (3)

Various explanations have been given of this phenomenon, but they mostly
fail through not recognizing that this kind of repeated negation is really differ-
ent from that found, for instance, when in Latin *non* is followed by *ne … quidem*;
this will form our second class, but the explanation from "supplementary nega-
tion" (*Ergänzungsnegation*), which is there all right, does not hold in the cases

here considered. Van Ginneken is right when he criticizes (1907: 200) the view of Romance scholars, who speak of a "half-negation" (*demi-négation*)—an expression which may be more true of French *ne* than of other negatives, but even there is not quite to the point. Van Ginneken's own explanation is that "negation in natural language is not logical negation, but the expression of a feeling of resistance". He goes on to say:

> L'adhésion négative logique ou mathématique (dont deux se compensent) est leur signification figurée, née seulement dans quelques centres de civilisation isolés; jamais et nulle part elle n'a pénétré dans le domaine populaire.

> 'The negative logical or mathematical adhesion (two of which compensate each other) is their figurative meaning, born only in a few isolated centers of civilization; never and nowhere has it penetrated the popular domain.'

It is true that if we look upon *not*, etc., as expressing nothing but resistance, it is easy to see why such an element should be repeated over and over again in a sentence as the most effective way of resisting; but I very much doubt the primitivity of such an idea, and the theory looks suspiciously as having been invented, not from any knowledge of the natural mind of people in general, but from a desire to explain the grammatical phenomenon in question. I cannot imagine that when one of our primitive ancestors said *he does not sleep*, he understood this as meaning 'let us resist the idea of sleep in connexion with him'—or how is otherwise the idea of resistance to come in here? I rather imagine he understood it exactly as we do nowadays.

But I quite agree with van Ginneken, when he emphasizes the emotional character of repeated negation; already H. Ziemer, *Junggrammatische Streifzüge* (1883: 142) says in this connexion:

> Der sondernde, unterscheidende Verstand blieb bei ihrer Bildung ganz aus dem Spiel; während das erregte Gefühl und der auf den Eindruck gerichtete Trieb frei schaltete.

> 'The separating, discriminating intellect remained completely out of play in their formation; while the excited feeling and the drive directed towards the impression operated freely.'

(though Mourek (1902) is probably right when he says that the strengthening is a result, rather than the motive, of the repetition). I may also, like van Ginneken, quote with approval Cauer's clever remark (1903: 50):

das negative Vorzeichen ist, allerdings höchst unmathematisch, zugleich vor und in der Klammer gesetzt, indem sich die negative Stimmung über den ganzen Gedanken verbreitete

'the negative sign is placed, albeit in a highly unmathematical way, both in front of and in the bracket, so that the negative mood spreads over the entire idea'

There is one theory that has enjoyed a certain vogue of late years (though it is not mentioned by van Ginneken) and which I must deal with a little more in detail. It was started by Gebauer[1] with regard to Old Bohemian, but was made better known through Mourek's (1902) work on negation in Middle High German and has been faithfully repeated in the above-named (p. xxv) works on Old English by Knörk, Rauert and Einenkel. These writers go back to Kant's table of categories, where the three categories of *Position* (or *Realität*), *Negation*, *Limitation* are ranged under the heading of *Qualität*, while under the heading of *Quantität* we find the three *Einheit*, *Vielheit*, *Allheit* ('unity, plurality, totality'). This leads to the distinction between qualitative and quantitative negation; in the former the verb and by that means the whole sentence (*die ganze Aussage*) is negatived, while in the latter only one part of the sentence is negatived. As examples of qualitative negation are given *the man is not truly happy* and *my guests have not arrived*; of quantitative negation *no man is truly happy, the man is never truly happy, the man is nowhere truly happy* (I translate *der Mensch* as *the man*, though perhaps the generic *man* is meant) and *none of my guests have arrived, I see nowhere any of my guests*. Now the supposition is that language started by having qualitative and quantitative negation separately, and that later the combination of both was arrived at in some languages, such as Middle High German and Old English, and this is looked upon as representing a higher and more logical stage.

Diese Art der Negation beruht auf der rein logischen Forderung, dass, wenn ein Satzteil quantitativ verneint auftritt, der ganze Inhalt des Satzes qualitativ verneint wird: Dies sei an einem Beispiel verdeutlicht: *ne mæg nan man twam hlafordum hieran*. In diesem Satz wird ausgesagt, dass kein mensch zwei herren zugleich dienen kann. Wenn sich nun kein Mensch findet, der 2 Herren zugleich dienen kann, so kann eben nicht mehr von einem 'können', sondern logischerweise nur von einem 'nicht können' die Rede sein, daher in dem angeführten Satz ganz richtig bei *mæg* 'ne' steht.

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[1]Jan Gebauer (1838–1907), scholar of the Czech language. (Eds.)

> 'This type of negation is based on the purely logical requirement that if a part of a sentence appears quantitatively negatived, the entire content of the sentence is qualitatively negatived. This is illustrated by an example: *ne mæg nan man twam hlafordum hieran*. This sentence states that no person can serve two masters at the same time. If there is no person who can serve two masters at the same time, then there can no longer be talk of a 'can', but logically only of a 'can't', therefore in the sentence quoted, 'ne' is quite correct with *mæg*.'   (Rauert 1910: 76)

To this line of reasoning several observations naturally offer themselves. Kant's table of categories is not unobjectionable, and in Chapter 8 (p. 121) I shall venture to propose an improvement on the tripartition of *Einheit*, *Vielheit*, *Allheit*. Kant does not look upon negation as sometimes qualitative and sometimes quantitative, but thinks it always qualitative. It would seem to be more logical to consider it as always quantitative; for even in such a simple sentence as *he does not sleep* we indicate the amount of sleep he obtains, though it is true that the amount is $= 0$. The true distinction between the two kinds of sentences cited does not, then, depend on two kinds of negation, as this is everywhere the same, but on two kinds of ideas negatived. In the so-called "qualitative" negation the idea negatived is in itself non-quantitative, while in the other it is in itself quantitative, for *none*, *never* and *nowhere* negative *one* (or *any*), *ever*, and *anywhere* respectively, and these are all quantitative terms. But however this may be, it is curious here to find that language ranged highest that explicitly indicates the negativity of the sentence; containing a quantitative negation (a negatived quantity); for if it is logically self-evident that such sentences are in themselves negative, why should it need to be expressed? And if some nations are praised because they have reached this high stage of logical development that they have understood the distinction between qualitative and quantitative negation and have been able to combine both, it seems rather sad that they should later on have lost that faculty, as the Germans and the English have (at any rate the educated classes), for they say *kein Mensch kann zwei Herren dienen* and *no man can serve two masters*. Cf. also Delbrück's (1910: 36 ff) criticism of the same theory from partly different points of view, which I need not repeat here.

We note incidentally the curious fact that the "logically highest" standpoint in this theory is exactly the reverse of what it was in van Ginneken's.

My own pet theory is that neither is right; logically one negative suffices, but two or three in the same sentence cannot be termed illogical; they are simply a redundancy, that may be superfluous from a stylistic point of view, just as

any repetition in a positive sentence (*every and any, always and on all occasions*, etc.), but is otherwise unobjectionable. Double negation arises because under the influence of a strong feeling the two tendencies specified above, one to attract the negative to the verb as nexal negative, and the other to prefix it to some other word capable of receiving this element, may both be gratified in the same sentence. But repeated negation seems to become a habitual phenomenon only in those languages in which the ordinary negative element is comparatively small in regard to phonetic bulk, as *ne* and *n-* in Old English and Russian, *en* and *n-* in Middle High German, *on* (sounded *u*) in Greek, *s-* or *n-* in Magyar. The insignificance of these elements makes it desirable to multiply them so as to prevent their being overlooked. Hence also the comparative infrequency of this repetition in English and German, after the fuller negatives *not* and *nicht* have been thoroughly established—though, as already stated, the logic of the schools and the influence of Latin has had some share in restricting the tendency to this particular kind of redundancy. It might, however, finally be said that it requires greater mental energy to content oneself with one negative, which has to be remembered during the whole length of the utterance both by the speaker and by the hearer, than to repeat the negative idea (and have it repeated) whenever an occasion offers itself.

Resumptive negation

A second class comprises what may be termed RESUMPTIVE NEGATION, the characteristic of which is that after a negative sentence has been completed, something is added in a negative form with the obvious result that the negative effect is heightened. This is covered by Delbrück's expression "Ergänzungsnegation" (1897: §177). In its pure form the supplementary negative is added outside the frame of the first sentence, generally as an afterthought, as in *I shall never do it, not under any circumstances, not on any condition, neither at home nor abroad*, etc. A Danish example from Kierkegaard is (15). But as no limits of sentences can be drawn with absolute certainty, the supplementary negative may be felt as belonging within the sentence, which accordingly comes to contain two negatives. This is the case in a popular Swedish idiom, in which the sentence begins and ends with *inte*, as in (16). Similarly in a Greek instance like *Odyssey* 3.27, where the second *ou* might be placed between two commas: *ou gàr oíō Oú se theôn aékēti genésthai te traphémen te* ('For I believe that neither of gods nor of men will he ever be born and raised'). On account of the difficulty of telling whether we have two sentences or a sentence with a tag it may sometimes be doubtful whether

we have to do with this or the preceding class, as in Shakespeare, *As You Like It* 2.4.8 *I cannot goe no further*, which might be divided: *I cannot go, no further*.

(15) saa afskyeligt   har aldrig, aldrig nogensinde (,) ikke den værste tyran
      so abhorrently has never never ever   not the worst tyrant
      handlet
      acted
      'not even the worst tyrant has ever, ever acted so abhorrently'
      <div style="text-align:right">(*Afhandlinger* 41)</div>

(16) a. Inte ha   vi några åsikter   inte!
         not have we any   opinions not
         'We do not have any opinions at all!'   (Strindberg, *Röda* 283)

      b. Inte märkte han mig inte.
         not noticed he me not
         'He did not notice me at all.'   (Wägner, *Norrtullsligan* 108)

The most important instances of this class are those in which *not* is followed by a disjunctive combination with *neither … nor* or a restrictive addition with *not even*: (17) etc. Cf. also (18).

(17) a. he cannot sleep, neither at night nor in the daytime
      b. he cannot sleep, not even after taking an opiate
      c. he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know from
         whence those blasphemies came   (Bunyan, *Progress* 80)

(18) You'll do no such thing—not until you've told me about the flat
      <div style="text-align:right">(Locke, *Septimus* 174)</div>

In the same way in other languages, e.g. Latin *nan … neque … neque*, *non … ne … quidem*, Greek *ou … oudé … oudé* etc. Examples are needless. (In Danish also with insertion of *ikke* in the main sentence, (19).)

(19) Jeg troer   ikke, at   hverken De eller jeg skal tage nogen bestemmelse
      I   believe not   that neither you nor   I   shall take any   decision
      'I do not believe that either you or I should make any decision'
      <div style="text-align:right">(Christiansen, *Fædreland* 135)</div>

It is perhaps in consequence of the scholastic disinclination to repeated negation that some modern writers use *even* instead of *not even*, as in (20).

(20)   I cannot give my Vivie up, even for your sake.   (Shaw, *Profession* 182)

A few similar examples are given by Bøgholm, *Anglia n. f.* 26.511.

I am inclined to reckon among the cases of resumption (with the last negative originally outside the sentence) also the repetition *it' ikke* or *itik*, which in various phonetic forms is very frequent in Danish dialects (Seeland, Fyn, some of the southern islands, some parts of Jutland); Feilberg also in his dictionary (1886) quotes from various places in Jutland the combination *ik hæjer it* and from Fjolde *oller ek* (*aldrig ikke*); for the exact phonetic form I refer to the dictionary).[2]

In colloquial Danish we have also an emphatic negative [*gu gør jeg*] *ikke nikke nej*, where *nikke*, which is otherwise unknown, is a contamination of *ikke* and *nej*. In literature I have found this only in (21).

(21)   Pipmanden   har delirium! … Gu'   ha'de jeg ikke nikke nej!
        tweet man.DEF had delirium   EMPH had I   not not   no
        'Pipman was delirious! … I most certainly was not!'   (Nexø, *Pelle* 3.19)

An English case of special interest is with *hardly* (on the negative value of this see p. 50) in combination with a preceding negative word, which is felt to be too absolute and is therefore softened down by the addition; the two negatives thus in this case neither neutralize nor strengthen one another. Examples (none in Shakespeare): (22).

(22)   a. it … gave us not time hardly to say, O God   (Defoe, *Robinson* 50)

        b. and nobody hardly took notice of him   (J. Swift, *Journal* 372)

        c. nothing hardly is welcome but childish fiction

                                                        (Cowper, letter, 19 Oct. 1781)

        d. I've never hardly known him to miss church before (Eliot, *Adam* 197)

        e. that no one has hardly a right to examine the question of species who
            has not minutely described many   (Darwin, *Life* 2.39)

        f. I do not suppose I could be of hardly any use   (ibid 2.165)

        g. "Who was there?" — "Nobody hardly"   (Hardy, *Return* 192)

        h. nobody hardly understands criticism as badly as you do

                                                        (Hope, *Quisanté* 119)

        i. you cant hardly tell who anyone is or isnt   (Shaw, *Married* 194)

        j. He wasn't changed at all hardly   (Kipling, *Stalky* 192)

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[2]Fyn is Denmark's third largest island, and the site of Odense; Fjolde (German name Viöl) is in Nordfriesland (Schleswig-Holstein). (Eds.)

> k. they don't seem hardly able to help it (Wells, *Wife* 112)
>
> l. I don't hardly care to stay (Bennett, *Twain* 354)
>
> m. he couldn't hardly speak (Bennett, Hilda)

Examples of *scarce*(*ly*) after a negative: (23).

(23) a. me not worthy scarce to touch Thy kind strong hand

(Swinburne, *Pilgrimage* 137)

b. There is not a yard of it, scarcely, that hasn't been *made* by human hands (Ward, *Eleanor* 411)

c. but no one scarcely could throw himself down (Morris, *News* 129)

Hardly and *scarcely* are also used after *without* and other indirect negatives: (24).

(24) a. The black, however, without hardly deigning A glance at that

(Byron, *Juan* 5.66)

b. without scarcely hearing a word (Thackeray, *Vanity* 476)

c. refusing to acknowledge hardly any fiction that was not classic

(Norris, *Pit* 52)

d. I'll be dinged if I hardly know (Read, *Toothpick* 17)

Cf. also (25).

(25) Og Edith og Gerhard trykkede hinanden i haanden — uden   at
and Edith and Gerhard pressed   each.other in handDEF   without that
de   knap   vidste deraf.
they barely knew thereof
'And Edith and Gerhard pressed each other's hands—hardly aware that
they were doing so.' (Drachmann, *Forskrevet* 1.425)

Some instances of double negation with words like *nor* and *neither*, which are not exactly analogues of those given here, will be found in the chapter on Negative connectives (p. 135).

Paratactic negation

Closely connected with resumptive negation is what might perhaps be termed PARATACTIC NEGATION: a negative is placed in a clause dependent on a verb of

negative import like 'deny, forbid, hinder, doubt'. The clause here is in some way treated as an independent sentence, and the negative is expressed as if there had been no main sentence of that particular kind. It is well known how this develops in some languages to a fixed rule, especially if the negative employed has no longer its full negative force: I need only very briefly refer, for instance, to the Latin use of *ne*, *quin*, *quominus*, and to the French insertion of *ne* (which, by the way, is now disappearing like the other *ne*'s). But even in languages which do not as a rule admit a negative in such clauses, it is by no means rare even in good writers, though generally looked upon as an error by grammarians, see for English e.g. (26).

(26) a. You may deny that you were not the meane Of my Lord Hastings late imprisonment   (Shakespeare, *R3* 1.3.90)

  b. we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows … that they doe not shew any naturall worke   (Bacon, *Atlantis* 43.34)

  c. What hinders in your own instance that you do not return to those habits   (Lamb, *Elia* 2.185)

  d. It never occurred to me for a moment to doubt that your work … [would] not advance our common object in the highest degree
                                                            (Darwin, *Life* 3.69)

Parallel instances from German may be found, for instance, in *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen* (Andresen 1892: 209ff).
Danish examples: (27).

(27) a. forbøden, att   ingen   skulle lade mig faa naale
      forbidden that no one should let   me get needles
      '[She had] forbidden that anyone should let me have needles'
                                                   (Leonora Christina 62)

  b. forhindre, att   hun icke satte løgn sammen om   mig
      prevent,   that she not put lie   together about me
      'prevent her from concocting lies about me'   (ibid 85)

  c. efftersom quinden   saa høyt   haffde forsoeren icke att sige ded
      since   woman.DEF so loudly had   forsworn not to say it
      'since the woman had so loudly sworn not to say it'   (ibid 107)

  d. Hand næctede ded altiid,   att   ded icke war ham
      he   denied   it always that it   not was him
      'He always denied that it was him'   (ibid 120)

e. forhindre ... icke
    prevent   not
    'prevent'   (ibid 201, 213)

f. for at hindre at   misundelsens sæd ikke skal saaes   iblandt os
    for to prevent that envy.DEF.POSS seed not   shall be.sown among us
    'to prevent the seeds of envy from being sown among us'
                    (Holberg, *Ulysses* 2.7; also Holberg, *Peder* 1.2, *Peder* 1.4, etc.)

g. mine venner burde forhindre at   ingen af mine digte, der   kun
    my   friends should prevent   that none of my   poems which only
    vare poetiske misfostre,   kom for lyset
    were poetic   miscarriages came to light
    'my friends should prevent any of my poems, which were only poetic
    miscarriages, from coming to light'   (Andersen, *Improvisatoren* 2.136)

h. alt   skulde anvendes for at forebygge, at   min lille pige
    everything should be.used   for to prevent   that my   little girl
    ikke skulde blive   koparret
    not   should become pockmarked
    'everything should be done to prevent my little girl from becoming
    pockmarked'   (Sibbern, *Breve* 1.130)

i. at   jeg af al magt skal stræbe ... at bidrage   til at afværge, at
    that I   of all power shall strive   to contribute to to prevent, that
    dette ikke skeer
    this   not happens
    'that I shall strive with all my power ... to contribute to preventing
    this from happening'   (Kierkegaard, *Øieblikket* 7)

j. vogtede hun sig   for ikke at tale for meget om   Carl
    guarded she herself for not to talk too much about Carl
    'she was careful not to talk too much about Carl' (H. Bang, *Fædra* 161)

(Note here the difference between the usual Danish idiom (28a) and the cor-
responding English; cf. also (28b) and German (28c).)

(28) a. man må   vogte sig for at overdrive
          one must guard self for to exaggerate
          'one must take care *not* to exaggerate'

      b. jeg advarede ham mod   at gøre det
          I   warned   him against to do   it
          'I warned him *not* to do it'

c. ich warnte ihn, das zu tun
   I   warned him that to do it
   'I warned him *not* to do it'

In this connexion I must mention a Danish expression which is extremely frequent in colloquial speech, but which is invariably condemned as illogical and put down as one of the worst mistakes possible: (29).

(29)   man kan ikke *nægte andet end at* hun er sød
       one can not deny other than that she is sweet
       'One cannot deny that she is sweet'

This, of course, is illogical if analyzed with *andet* as the sole object of *nægte*: 'one can deny nothing else except that she is sweet' but to the actual speech-instinct *andet end … at hun* goes together as one indivisible whole constituting the object of *nægte*; this is often marked by a pause before *andet*, and *andet-end-at* thus makes one negative conjunction comparable with Latin *quin* or *quominus*.

In the same way one hears, e.g. (30). From Norwegian I have noted (31).

(30)   a. Der er ikke to   meninger om,   andet end (at) han er en
           there are not two opinions about other than that he   is a
           dygtig   mand
           competent man
           'There is no disagreement about his being a competent man'
     b. Der er ikke noget   i vejen for, andet end at   han skal nok
           there is not anything in way of   other than that he   shall indeed
           gøre det
           do   it
           'There is nothing preventing him from indeed doing it'
     c. Jeg kan ikke komme bort fra, andet end at   han har ret
           I   can not get   away from other than that he   is   right
           'I cannot deny that he is right'

(31)   og   det var ikkje fritt, annat dei [draumar] tok hugen   burt fraa
       and it   was not   free other they [dreams]   took mind.DEF away from
       boki   med
       book.DEF with
       'and it was undeniable that they [i.e. dreams] took his attention away
       from the book'   (Garborg, *Bondestudentar* 33)

The following quotations may serve to illustrate the transition of *andet* (*end*) to a negative conjunction or adverb: (32)–(34).

(32) a. det er ellerss   wmweligt *andet end at*   han ey skall fare vild
           it   is otherwise impossible other than that he   not shall get   lost
           'it is otherwise impossible, except that he should not get lost'
                                                            (Pedersen, *Skrifter* 4.493)

      b. Det er sgu   da   ikke *andet end* til at lee   ad
           it   is damn then not other than for to laugh at
           'It is damn well nothing but to laugh at'   (Goldschmidt, *Ravnen* 65)

      c. han bestilte ikke det, man kan tænke   sig   *andet, end* at drikke
           he did   not that one can imagine himself other than to drink
           portvin
           port
           'He did nothing imaginable, except to drink port.'
                                                            (Pontoppidan, *Billeder* 155)

      d. men det var umuligt   *annet æn* i hennes omgang at komme til
           but it was impossible other than in her   company to come   to
           at gå for langt
           to go too far
           'but it was impossible, except in her company, to go too far'
                                                            (Norwegian: Bjørnson, *Flager* 432)

      e. Stodderen laa stille som en mus,   *andet end at*   hun kunde høre
           bum.DEF lay still as   a mouse other than that she could hear
           ham trække vejret   tungt
           him draw   breath.DEF heavily
           'The bum lay still as a mouse, except that she could hear him breathe
           heavily'   (Grundtvig, *Folkeæventyr* 65)

(33) það var ekki að sjá á   honum *annað en*   hann væri ungur maður
       it   was not to see on him   other than that was young man
       'There was nothing to see in him except that he was a young man'
                                                            (Icelandic: Þorkelsson, *Nekrolog* 163)

(34) a. De war ett got   *anned*
           it   was not good other
           'It wouldn't be good otherwise'   (Jutlandic: Blicher, *Bindstouw* 51)

    b. "Maaske højesteretssagføreren   kender mig?" — "Bevares …, det
       maybe   supreme.court.solicitor.ᴅᴇꜰ knows me   goodness   it
       vilde   være mærkeligt *andet*"
       would be   strange   other
       "Maybe the Supreme Court solicitor knows me?" — "Goodness, it
       would be strange otherwise."   (E. Brandes, *Lykkens* 3)

    c. begge dele   har   deres betydning, det   kan man ikke sige *andet*
       both   parts have their meaning   that can one   not   say   other
       'both things have their meaning, one cannot say otherwise'
                                                   (Giellerup, *Romulus* 98)

    d. Det er   jeg vis   på,— det er umuligt *andet*
       that am I   sure on   fin it is   impossible other
       'I am sure of that—it is impossible otherwise'   (Giellerup, *Minna* 311)

The related use of English *but* (*but that*, *but what*) will be treated in chapter 12 (p. 169).

Langtfra ikke 'far from …'

There is a curious use of a seemingly superfluous negative in Danish, which cannot be explained exactly in the same way as any of the phenomena hitherto dealt with, namely *langtfra ikke* ('far from it', literally 'far from not'), which used to be the regular idiom in phrases like *hun er langtfra ikke så køn som søsteren* ('she is nowhere near as pretty as her sister') from the time of Holberg[3] till the middle of the 19th century, when it was superseded by *langtfra* without *ikke*: *hun er langtfra så køn som søsteren*; English here has the positive form, but often inserts the verbal substantive in *-ing*: *she is far from being as pretty as her sister*. (English does not always require *being* after *far from*: *she is far from pretty*.) *Langtfra ikke* would be explicable as an instance of blending (contamination) if it could be proved that *langtfra* was used as in recent times before the rise of *langtfra ikke*, but I have no material to decide this question. (Cf. Levin 1861.)

Instances of confusion

I collect here several partly heterogeneous instances of confusion in negative sentences, which I have found some difficulty in placing, either in this or in any other chapter. Such confusion will occur frequently, especially if two or more

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[3]Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) was most active as a writer from the 1720s to the 1750s. (Eds.)

negative or half-negative words are combined, but more frequently, of course, in everyday speech than in printed literature. Shakespeare, in accordance with the popular character of Elizabethan plays, destined to be heard much more than to be read, pretty frequently indulges in such carelessness (see Schmidt 1886: 1420, *Shakespeare-lexicon*), e.g. (35).

(35)   a.   wanted lesse impudence
             ('had less impudence' or 'wanted impudence more')
                                                    (Shakespeare, *Wint* 3.2.57)

       b.   a begger without less quality
             ('with less quality')   (Shakespeare, *Cymb* 1.5.23)

       c.   "Tullus Auffidious, is he within your walles?" — "No, nor a man that
             feares you lesse then he"   ('fears you more')[4]
                                                    (Shakespeare, *Cor* 1.4.14)

A doubtful instance is (36), for, as Koppel (1899: 70) remarks, everything is correct, if we understand 'you are *still* less capable of valuing her than she is capable of scanting her duty'. But (37) evidently is a confusion of two ideas: *thou art nothing less than …* and: *thou art in nothing* ('in no respect') *more than ….*

(36)   You lesse know how to value her desert, Then she to scant her dutie
                                                    (Shakespeare, *Lr* 2.2.141)

(37)   ile proue [folio: make] it on thy heart Ere I tast bread, thou art in nothing
       lesse Then I haue heere proclaimd thee [a traitor] (Shakespeare, *Lr* 5.3.94)

   In (38), some editors change *if not* into *if that*, but this is not at all necessary: the sentence is meant to be continued: *if not these suffice*, or: *are strong enough*, but is then continued in a different way, as is very often the case in everyday speech.

(38)   if not the face of men, The sufferance of our soules, the times abuse; If
       these be motiues weake, breake off betimes   (Shakespeare, *Cæs* 2.1.114)

   Modern instances of a similar character: (39).

(39)   a.   He can have nothing to say to me that anybody need not hear   ('that
             anybody may not hear'; 'that it is necessary that nobody hears')
                                                    (Austen, *Pride* 133)

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[4]Rather than careless, this is a rhetorical use of understatement for emphasis. The speaker is saying that not only is Tullus Auffidious not within their walls, but neither is anyone who fears them less than he does—implying that Auffidious fears them very little. (*That's lesser then a little*, which follows, reinforces this.) Thus "The brave Auffidious is not there, and neither is anyone braver." (Eds.)

b. There was none too poor or too remote not to feel an interest

(news 1899)

c. A married man ... cannot live at all in the position which I ought to occupy *under less than* six hundred a year   (Huxley, letter)

d. You know what a weak softy the heir-apparent is. If there was *hardly any* mischief to be had he'd be in the thick of it   ('if there was any, even the slightest, mischief', 'there was hardly any mischief, but ...')

(Matthews, *Son* 243)

German instances of confusion have been collected by F. Polle (*Wie denkt das Volk über die Sprache* 1889: 14), e.g. (40). I remember seeing (41) in a notice in the Tirol, the meaning evidently being *nicht weit = unweit*.

(40)   a. Wie wild er schon   war, als   er nur hörte, dass der Prinz   dich
           how wild he already was when he just heard that the prince you
           jüngst   *nicht ohne   Misfallen*   gesehen!
           recently not   without displeasure seen
           'How furious he was just on hearing that the prince had recently been ogling you!'   (Lessing, *Emilia* 2.6)

       b. Man *versäume nicht*, die günstige Gelegenheit *unbenutzt*
           one neglect   not,   the favorable opportunity unused
           vorübergehen zu lassen.
           pass by   to let
           'One should not let the favorable opportunity pass by unused'

(41)   *Nicht unweit* von   hier, in dem Walde ...
       not   not-far from here in the   forest
       'Not far from here, in the forest ...'

Siesbye (1876: 241), and Mikkelsen (1911: 328) collect some examples like (42).

(42)   a. Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus,   amator, Nemo adeo ferus
           envious wrathful   lazy   given-to-wine lover   no one so   wild
           est, ut   non mitescere possit
           is   that not soften   can
           'Slave to envy, anger, sloth, wine, lewdness, No one is so savage that he cannot be tamed.'   ('... anyone can be tamed')   (Horace, *Epistola*)

  b. Musik, Rollen und Schuhe, Wäsche und italiänische Blumen ...,
    music rolls and shoes laundry and Italian flowers
    keines verschmähte die Nachbarschaft des andern
    none disdained   the neighborhood of the other
    'Music, rolls and shoes, laundry and Italian flowers ..., none disdained
    the company of the others'
    ('... all were harmonious')   (Goethe, *Lehrjahre*)

  c. Pistolets, sabres recourbés et coutelas, rien ne manquait
    pistols sabres curved   and knives nothing not was missing
    pour lui donner l' apparence du   plus expéditif ... tueur d'
    for him give   the appearance of the most expedient killer of
    hommes
    men
    'Pistols, curved sabres, and knives, nothing was missing to give him
    the appearance of the most efficient ... killer of men.'
    ('... everything gave him the appearance ...')   (Sand, *Consuelo*)

  d. sangene, indskrifterne, jordbærrene, intet blev glemt
    songs.DEF inscriptions.DEF strawberries.DEF nothing was forgotten
    'The songs, the inscriptions, the strawberries, nothing was forgotten'
    ('... everything was provided')

But Mikkelsen's description is not quite correct, and the real explanation evidently is that the writer begins his sentence with the intention of continuing it in a positive form (*the envious, angry ... all can be mollified*, etc.) and then suddenly changes the form of his expression. Nor is it necessary, as Mikkelsen says, to have a whole series of words, as seen in (43). Cf. Danish (44).

(43) People, nobody, can do as they like in this world. (Wells, *Veronica* 258)

(44) Mændene og endnu mindre kvinderne kender begrebet linned [i
   men.DEF and even less   women.DEF know concept.DEF linen in
   Japan]
   Japan
   'Few men, and even fewer women, are familiar with the concept of linen
   [in Japan]'   (news 1915)

 The confusion is somewhat similar to the one found when an enumeration of things that are wanting ends with *no nothing* (*no paper, no pen, no ink, no nothing*), which is meant as a negation of *everything*: the origin of the phrase is,

of course, to be explained from a desire to go on with *no* + some other noun, but as the speaker can hit upon no more things to enumerate, he breaks off after *no* and finishes with *nothing*; *no* thus is only seemingly an adjunct to *nothing* (45).

(45)   no milk in the house! no nothing!   (T. Carlyle, *Life* 4.223)

NED, *Help v.* 11 c says "Often erron. with negative omitted (*can* instead of *cannot*), e.g. *I did not trouble myself more than I could help | your name shall occur again as little as I can help.*" But it would certainly be unidiomatic to say, as Whately (1866: 296) demands, *more than I can NOT help*; the idiom is caused by the fact that every comparison with *than* really implies a negative idea (*he has more than necessary* implies 'it is not necessary to have more', etc.) and it is on a par with the logic that is shown, for instance, in the French use of *ne* (*plus qu'il ne faut*) and in the dialectal *nor* for 'than'.

But there is some difficulty in explaining this meaning of *help*; note that where in England it is usual to say *I could not help admiring her*, Americans will often prefer the negative expression with *but*: *I could not help but admire her.*

Seldom or never and *seldom if ever* are blended into *seldom or ever*, which is said to be frequent where the influence of the school is not strong; Ellis (*Address* 12) says *Seldom or ever could I detect any approach to a labial.*

Chapter 8

The Meaning of Negation

A linguistic negative generally changes a term into what logicians call the contradictory term (A and not-A comprising everything in existence) and is thus very different from a negative in the mathematical sense, where −4 means a point as much below 0 as 4 (or +4) is above 0. We have, however, seen instances in which a negative changes a term into the "contrary term", as when *he begins-not to sing* (for *he begins not-to-sing*) comes to mean 'he ceases singing' (p. 67).

If we say, according to the general rule, that *not four* means 'different from four', this should be taken with a certain qualification, for in practice it generally means, not whatever is above or below 4 in the scale, but only what is below 4, thus less than 4, something between 4 and 0, just as *not everything* means something between everything and nothing (and as *not good* means 'inferior', but does not comprise 'excellent'). Thus in *He does not read three books in a year*; *the hill is not two hundred feet high*; *his income is not £200 a year*; *he does not see her once a week.*

This explains how *not one* comes to be the natural expression in many languages for 'none, no', and *not one thing* for 'nothing', as in Old English *nan = ne-an*, whence *none* and *no*, Old English *nanþing*, whence *nothing*, Old Norse *eingi*, whence Danish *ingen*, German *k-ein*, etc. Cf. also (1). See also p. 64. In French similarly (2), etc.

(1)   That *not one* life shall be destroy'd … That *not a* worm is cloven in vain

<div align="right">(Tennyson, Memoriam 53)</div>

(2)   *Pas un bruit n'* interrompit le   silence
       not a   noise not interrupted the silence
       'Not a sound broke the silence'

When *not* + a numeral is exceptionally to be taken as 'more than', the numeral has to be strongly stressed, and generally to be followed by a more exact indication: (3).

(3)   a. the hill is not *two* hundred feet high, but *three* hundred

       b. his income is not 200, but at least 300 a year

       c. Not one invention, but fifty—from a corkscrew to a machine-gun

             (Locke, *Septimus* 321)

       d. not once, but two or three times   (Defoe, *Robinson* 342)

       e. books that well merit to be pored over, not once but many a time

             (Gissing, *Henry* 149)

       f. he would bend to kiss her, not once, not once only

             (E. F. Benson, *Arundel* 220)

But *not once or twice* always means 'several times', as in (4).

(4)   a. Not once or twice in our rough island-story, The path of duty was the way to glory   (Tennyson, *Wellington*)

       b. He bullied and punished me; not two or three times in the week, nor once or twice in a day, but continually.   (Brontë, *Jane* 4)

In Russian, on the other hand, *ne raz* 'not (a) time', thus really without a numeral, means 'several times, sometimes' and in the same way *ne odin* 'not one' means 'more than one'; corresponding phenomena are found in other languages as well, see Schuchardt (1894), a valuable little article. He rightly connects this with the use in Russian of the stronger negative *ni* with a numeral to signify 'less than', *ni odin* 'not even one'.

What the exact import is of a negative quantitative indication may in some instances depend on what is expected, or what is the direction of thought in each case. While the two sentences *he spends £200 a year* and *he lives on £200 a year* are practically synonymous, everything is changed if we add *not*: *he doesn't spend £200 a year* means 'less than'; *he doesn't live on £200 a year* means 'more than'; because in the former case we expect an indication of a maximum, and in the latter of a minimum.

Or, perhaps, the explanation is rather this, that in the former sentence it does not matter whether we negative the nexus or the numeral (*he does-not-spend £200*; *he spends not-£200*), but in the latter it changes the whole meaning, for *he does-not-live on 200* states the impossibility of living on so little, and *he lives on not-200 a year* (which is rendered more idiomatic if we add an adverb: *on not quite 200 a year*) states the possibility of living on less than 200. In the former sentence the numeral thus is not negatived at all. Compare also: *he is not content with 200 a year* and *he is content with not 200 a year.*

In the proverb *Rome was not built in a day* (where *a* is the old numeral and equals *one*) the meaning also, of course, is that it took more than one day to build Rome. Thus also in (5).

(5) On ne bâtit pas un art musical en un jour
    one not builds not an art musical in a day
    'One doesn't establish a musical tradition in a day.'   (Rolland, *Amies* 98)

Where a numeral is not used as a point in an ascending scale, its negative is really contradictory: *the train doesn't start at seven* says nothing about the actual time of starting, which may be either before or after seven. But *he won't be here at seven* implies 'we can't expect him till after seven', because an arrival before 7 o'clock would naturally imply his being here also at that hour.

As *half* is a numeral, *not half* generally means 'less than half': *the bottle is not half full.* In slang, *not half bad* means, however, 'not at all bad, quite good'. In the following quotation (6), *not half-alive* (with strong stress on *half*) means 'more than half alive', as shown also by the continuation. In the same way, in rustic speech, *she didn't half cry* means that she made a tremendous noise (Wright 1913: 117).

(6) At any rate she was not half alive; she was alive in every particle of
    herself   (Bennett, *Clayhanger* 1.286)

Not quite the average generally means 'below the average'; sometimes, however, *average* is taken as a depreciating epithet, and then the negative may be appreciatory: (7).

(7) Here is another piece of work which is not quite average; it is better than
    the average.   (Dewey, *School* 61)

Not above 30 means either 30 or less than 30. But *less than 30* may in English be negatived in two ways: *not less than 30* means either 30 or more than thirty, and *no less than 30* means exactly 30, implying surprise or wonder at the high number. *He has not less than ten children*—I am not certain of the exact number, but it is at least ten. *He has no less than ten children*—he has ten, and isn't that a large family? In the same way with *more.* On this distinction between *not* and *no* with comparatives, cf. Jespersen (1914: 16.83ff) and Stoffel (1894: 87ff).

In Latin both *non magis quam* and *non minus quam* are favourite expressions for equality, though of course used in different connexions (8).

(8) a. Cæsar non minus operibus   pacis   florebat   quam rebus in
          Caesar not less   with works of peace flourished than   deeds in
          bello gestis
          war   carried out
          'Caesar flourished no less through his peacetime achievements
          through his deeds carried out in war'

     b. Pericles non magis operibus   pacis   florebat   quam rebus in
          Pericles not more with works of peace flourished than   deeds in
          bello gestis
          war   carried out
          'Pericles flourished no more through his peacetime achievements
          than through his wartime deeds'   (Cauer, *Grammatica* 51)[1]

There is really no perfect negative corresponding to *as rich as*, comprising both
'richer' and 'poorer', for *not so rich as* (note the change of the first conjunction)
excludes 'richer' and means 'less rich'.

We have already seen (p. 52) that *a little* and *little* differ, the former being a
positive and the latter almost a negative term. We may arrange these terms (with
a few and *few*) into a scale like this:

1   *much*   *much* (money)   *many* (people)   *very* (careless)
2   *a little* *a little* (money) *a few* (people)   *a little* (careless)
3   *little*   *little* (money)   *few* (people)   *little* (careless)

only that *little careless* is not quite idiomatic, as *little* is not often used with
depreciatory adjectives; cf. on the other hand, *little intelligent*.

Now if we try the negatives of these we discover that negativing 1 turns it into
3: *not much* (*money*) = 'little (money)'; *not many* (*people*) = 'few (people)'; *not
very intelligent* = 'little intelligent'. But a negative 2 becomes nearly synonymous
with 1 (or stands between 1 and 2): *not a little* (*money*) = 'much (money)'; *not a
few* (*people*) = 'many (people)'; *not a little intelligent* = 'very intelligent'.

Examples of *a few* and *a little* negatived: (9).

(9) a. I am solicited not by a few. And those of true condition
          ('by not a few')   (Shakespeare, *H8* 1.2.18)

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[1]These sentences about Caesar and Pericles are not direct quotations but rather Jespersen's
   imagined examples based on Cauer's discussion of comparative constructions where he sug-
   gests that such constructions could be applied to figures like Caesar and Pericles. (Eds.)

b. Sister, it is not a little I haue to say, Of what most neerely appertaines to vs both   (Shakespeare, *Lr* quarto 1.1.286 (folio: *not little*))

c. at which they were not a little sorry   (Bunyan, *Progress* 147)

d. that which did not a little amuse the merchandizers was ...   (ibid 124)

e. [it] gained me at once ... the friendship of not a few whose friendship was worth having   (Allen, *Æsthetics* 46)

f. a phenomenon which puzzles me not a little   (Ruskin, *Things*)

While it seems to be usual in all languages to express *contradictory* terms by means either of derivatives like those mentioned in chapter 5 (p. 55ff) or of an adverb corresponding to *not*, languages very often resort to separate roots to express the most necessary *contrary* terms. Hence such pairs as *young–old*, *good–bad*, *big–small*, etc. Now, it is characteristic of such pairs that intermediate stages are found, which may be expressed negatively by *neither young nor old*, etc.; the simple negation of one of the terms (for instance *not young*) comprising both the intermediate and the other extreme. Sometimes a language creates a special expression for the intermediate stage, thus *indifferent* in the comparatively recent sense of 'neither good nor bad, what is between good and bad', *medium-sized* between *big* and *small*. There may even be a whole long string of words with shades of meaning running into one another and partially overlapping, as in *hot* (*sweltering*)—*warm*—*tepid*—*lukewarm*—*mild*—*fresh*—*cool*—*chilly*—*cold*—*frosty*—*icy*. If one of these is negatived, the result is generally analogous to the negativing of a numeral: *not lukewarm*, for instance, in most cases means less than lukewarm, i.e., cold or something between cold and lukewarm.

If we lengthen the series given above (*much—a little—little*) in both directions, we get on the one hand *all* (*everything*), on the other hand *nothing*. These are contrary terms, even in a higher degree than *good* and *bad* are, as both are absolute. Whatever comes in between them (thus all the three quantities mentioned above) is comprised in the term *something*, and we may now arrange these terms in this way, denoting by *A* and *C* the two absolutes, and by *B* the intermediate relative:[2]

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
A & B & C \\
\textit{all} \text{ (n.)} & & \\
\textit{everything} & \Big\} \; \textit{something} \; \{ & \textit{nothing}
\end{array}
$$

---

[2]Jespersen's use of "(n.)" here likely indicates the independent use of *all* (e.g. ALL is lost), distinguishing it from its use with a noun (e.g. ALL RECORD is lost). This notation is atypical for Jespersen, who usually prefers the term "substantive" for such uses. (Eds.)

and correspondingly

all (pl.)		*some*		*none*
everybody	}	*somebody*	{	*nobody*
all girls	}	*some girls* (*a girl*)	{	*no girl(s)*
all the money	}	*some money*	{	*no money*

In exactly the same way we have the adverbs:

always	}	*sometimes*	{	*never*
everywhere	}	*somewhere*	{	*nowhere*

Let us now consider what the result is if we negative these terms. A negative *A* means *B*:

Negative A		*means B*
not all, not everything	=	*something*
not all, not everybody	=	*some*
not all girls	=	*some girls*
not all the money	=	*some* (*of the*) *money*
not always	=	*sometimes*
not everywhere	=	*somewhere*

This amounts to saying that in negativing an *A* it is the *absolute* element of *A* that is negatived. Thus always when the negative precedes the absolute word of the *A*-class: (10).

(10)   a. We are not cotton-spinners all, But some love England and her honour yet   (Tennyson, *1852*)

   b. They are not all of them fools

   c. I do not look on every politician as a humbug

   d. This change is not all gain   (news 1917)

   e. Not all Hugh's letters were concerned with these grim technicalities
                                                              (Wells, *Britling* 325)

   f. It seemed … that not all the pallor was due to the lamp
                                                              (Mason, *Water* 179)

   g. He is not always so sad

> h. Non omnis moriar
>   Not all   will-I-die
>   'I shall not wholly die'   (Horace, *Odes* 3.30)

When a negatived *all* in this sense is the subject, we may have the word-order *not all* before the verb as in the sentences just quoted from Wells and Mason, or in the Danish and German proverbs (11). Or the subject may in some way be transposed so as to allow the negative to go with the verb, as in (12). Tobler quotes the pair (13). Cf. also (14).

(11) a. Ikke alt hvad der   glimrer er guld   (Danish)
          not   all what there glitters is gold
          'Not all that glitters is gold'

      b. Nicht alles, was   glänzt, ist Gold   (German)
          not   all   what glitters is gold
          'Not all that glitters is gold'

(12) a. Det er ikke guld alt som   glimrer   (Danish, more usual form)
          it   is not gold all which glitters
          'Not all that glitters is gold'

      b. Es ist nicht alles Gold, was   glänzt   (German)
          it is not   all   gold what glitters
          'Not all that glitters is gold'

(13) a. ez en-ist nicht allez gold daz da   glizzit   (Middle High German)
          it not-is not   all   gold that there glitters
          'not all that glitters is gold'

      b. n' est pas tout or   quanqu'   il reluit
          not is not all   gold that-which it shines
          'not all that glitters is gold'   (Rutebeuf, *Pharisian*)

(14) a. Es   sind nicht alle frei, die   ihrer Ketten spotten.
          they are not   all free who their chains mock
          'Not all are free who mock their chains.'   (Lessing, *Nathan* 4.4)

      b. Es   sind nicht alle Jäger,   die   das Horn gut blasen.
          they are not   all hunters who the horn well blow
          'Not all are hunters who blow the horn well.'   (proverb)

But very often *all* is placed first for the sake of emphasis, and the negative is attracted to the verb in accordance with the general tendency mentioned above (p. 57). This is often looked upon as illogical, but Tobler (1886: 159ff), in an instructive article on the French proverb *Tout ce qui reluit n'est pas or*, rightly calls attention to the difference between sentences like *nicht Mitglieder können eingeführt werden* ('non-members may be introduced'), where only one member of a positive sentence is negative (what I call special negative) and the French proverb, where the negation is connected with the verb, "dem Kern der Aussage" ('the core of the statement'), and the expression consequently is

> ein im höchsten Grade angemessener, indem er besagt: von dem Subjekte "alles Glänzende" darf "Gold sein" nicht prädiziert werden

> 'a highly appropriate one, in that it says: "to be gold" cannot be predicated from the subject "all that glitters"'

English examples of this arrangement are very frequent (15).

(15) a. but *every man may nat* have the perfeccioun that ye seken
  (Chaucer, *Melibeus* B 2708)

  b. *All that glisters is not* gold (Shakespeare, *Merch* 2.7.65)

  c. *All's not* offence that indiscretion findes, And dotage termes so
  (Shakespeare, *Lr* 2.2.199)

  d. All things are lawfull vnto mee, but *all things are not* expedient
  (AV *1 Corinthians* 6.12)

  e. *every one cannot* make musick (Walton, *Angler* 106)

  f. Thank Heaven, *all scholars are not* like this
  (Richardson, *Grandison* 72)

  g. *every one is not* able to stem the temptations of public life
  (Johnson, *Rasselas* 152)

  h. As *every person may not* be acquainted with this primeval pastime
  (Goldsmith, *Vicar*)

  i. All is not lost (Milton, *Lost* 1.106 and Shelley, *Revolt* 7.36)

  j. But *all men are not* born to reign (Byron, *Mazeppa* 7)

  k. *All Valentines are not* foolish (Lamb, *Elia* 1.103)

  l. *All women are not* mothers of a boy, Though they live twice the length of my whole life (R. Browning, *Pompilia*)

m. Well, any fool can get up a Blue Book. Only—luckily for me—*all the fools don't.* (Ward, *Marriage* 16)

n. "Every one is lonely," he said, "*but every one does not* know it." (Harraden, *Ships* 62)

o. For each man kills the thing he loves, Yet *each man does not* die. (Wilde, *Gaol* 3)

p. *All ᴏᴜʀ men aren't* angels (Wells, *Britling* 281)

French examples from old and modern times have been collected by Tobler; I add from my own reading (16).

(16) a. *Tout le monde n' a pas* l' esprit de comprendre les
all the world not has not the spirit of understanding the
chefs-d'œuvre.
masterpieces
'Not everyone has the spirit to understand masterpieces.'
(Mérimée, *Héritages* 4.2)

b. *Tout le monde n' est pas* fait pour l'art
all the world not is not made for the art
'Not everyone is made for art' (Rolland, *Foire* 162)

c. *Tout le monde ne peut pas* tirer le gros lot
all the world not can not draw the big prize
'Not everyone can win the jackpot' (ibid 295)

In Danish the same order is not at all rare: *ᴀʟᴛ ᴇʀ ɪᴋᴋᴇ tabt* ('all is not lost'), etc. Note the positive continuation, which shows that 'some' (or 'many') is meant, in (17).

(17) Men *alle ere ikke* saa vise, som Socrates, og indlade sig ofte
but all are not as wise as Socrates and engage themselves often
ganske alvorligt med een, der gjør et dumt spørgsmaal.
quite seriously with one who makes a silly question
'But not all are as wise as Socrates, and they often engage quite seriously
with someone who asks a silly question.' (Kierkegaard, *Stadier* 138)

In German Tobler mentions the possibility of the same, e.g. (18).

(18) *Alle* Druckfehler können hier *nicht* aufgezählt werden
all printing-errors can here not listed be
'Not all printing errors can be listed here' (*Beiträge* 162)

With regard to Greek, Krüger (1875: §67) insists on the distinction (19), but he admits exceptions for the sake of emphasis, especially with contrasts with *mén* and *dé*; he quotes from Xenophon: (20).

(19)   a. ou pánta orthôs epoíēsen
            not all   correctly did
            'he did not do everything correctly' (but probably some things)

    b. pánta ouk orthôs   epoíēsen
            all   not correctly did
            'he did not do everything correctly' (but rather wrongly)

    c. orthôs   pánta ouk epoíēsen
            correctly all   not did
            'he did not do everything correctly' (but rather omitted some)

(20)   Pántes mèn   ouk êlthon, Ariaíos dè kaì Artáoxos.
       all   indeed not came   Ariaíos but and Artáoxos
       'Not all came, but Ariaíos and Artáoxos did.'

On the other hand, when a word of the A-class (*all*, etc.) is placed in a sentence containing a special negative (or an implied negative), the result is the same as if we had the corresponding word from the C-class (*none*, *nobody*, etc.) and a positive word; thus the assertion is absolute:

Negative A		*means C*
all this is unnecessary	=	'nothing is necessary'
everybody was unkind	=	'nobody was kind'
he was always unkind	=	'he was never kind'
everybody fails	=	'nobody succeeds'
he forgets everything	=	'he remembers nothing'

The same effect is rare when we have a nexal negative with one of the A-words; cf. (21). Tobler also has a few examples from French, thus (22). I know no English examples of this.

(21)   Tous ces   gens   -là   ne sont pas humains.
       all   these people there not are   not human
       'None of these people is human.'   (Rolland, *Amies* 141)

(22)   a.   maxime usée   et   triviale que tout le   monde sait,   et   que
            maxim worn-out and trivial that all   the world   knows and that
            tout le   monde ne   pratique pas
            all   the world not practises not
            'a worn-out and trivial maxim that everyone knows, and that no one
            practises'   (La Bruyère, *Caractères* 11.149)

       b.   *Toute jalousie   n'   est point* exempte de   quelque sorte d' envie …
            all   jealousy not is   at all exempt   from some   kind of envy
            l'envie au   contraire est quelquefois séparée   de   la jalousie.
            envy   on the contrary is   sometimes   separated from the jealousy
            'Jealousy is never free from some kind of envy; envy, though, is
            sometimes separate from jealousy.'   (ibid 11.85; Tobler, *Beiträge* 162f)

   The difference between the two possible results of the negation of a word like
all is idiomatically expressed by the contrast between two adverbs, as seen in
(23), result B, and (24), result C.

(23)   a.   he is *not altogether* happy

       b.   I am *not altogether* an asse   (Shakespeare, *Wiv* 1.1.175)

       c.   *pas tout-à-fait*   (French)
            not completely

       d.   *ikke helt*   (Danish)
            not entirely

       e.   *nicht ganz*   (German)
            not   fully

(24)   a.   he is *not at all* happy (he is *not* happy *at all*)

       b.   *pas du tout*   (French)
            not of all
            'not at all'

       c.   *slet   ikke*   (Danish)
            at all not
            'not at all'

       d.   *gar   nicht*   (German)
            at all not
            'not at all'

Here should be mentioned words for 'never' like German *nimmer* and *nie*, Old English *nā*; but then the constituent *ie*, *ā* does not exclusively belong to class *A*, but also to some extent to class *B*.[3]

The effect of stress and tone in these cases is sometimes analogous to what we have seen with numerals; cf. Danish (25), which with strong stress and high tone on *hele* may mean 'he was only sick during part of the voyage', but otherwise means 'not at all'.

(25) han var ikke syg på hele   rejsen
      he   was not sick on whole trip.DEF
      'he was not sick during the entire trip'

A negative may, of course, be annulled by an indirect negative, as in (26).

(26) Comment, vous me connaissez? dit-il.   — *Comme si tout le   monde ne*
      how   you me know   said he   as   if all   the world not
      se   connaissait pas à Paris!
      itself knew   not in Paris
      'What, you know me? he said. — As if everyone didn't know each other in Paris!'   (Rolland, *Amies* 142)

It may perhaps be doubtful whether we have B or C as a result in the common phrase (27) (English *I shouldn't like to do it for anything in the world* more often than *... for all the world*). It is, however, more natural to take it to be an equivalent of 'nothing', and in the corresponding French idiom *rien* is used, see e.g. (28).

(27) a. Det gjorde jeg *ikke for alt i   verden.*   (Danish)
          that did   I   not for all in world
          'I would not do that for anything in the world.'
      b. Das täte   ich *um alles in der Welt   nicht.*   (German)
          that would do I   for all   in the world not
          'I would not do that for anything in the world.'

(28) [des   mondains,] ... *qui pour rien   au   monde n' eussent*
      of the worldly ones   who for   nothing in the world not would have
      renoncé   à l' honneur
      renounced to the honour
      'worldly ones, ... who would not have renounced the honour for anything in the world'   (Rolland, *Foire* 83)

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[3]Jespersen uses "constituent" here to refer to the elements *immer*, *ie* and *ā* within these words. In modern linguistic terminology, these might be described as morphemes or formatives. Jespersen's point is that, while words like *nimmer*, *nie*, and *nā* mean 'never', the elements that compose them are not exclusively associated with absolute negation (class A), but also have some relation to less absolute meanings (class B). (Eds.)

There is a third possibility, when *not* is for the sake of emphasis put before *all* in the sense of 'not even', though it should properly go with the verb as a nexal negative; *all* here means 'the sum of'. Cf. the distinction made in Jespersen (1914: 5.4) between *all the boys of this form are stronger than their teacher* (if working together) and *all the boys of this form are able to run faster than their teacher* (i.e., each separately). Thus (29). Cf. with nexal negative (30).

(29)   a. *Not all* the water in the rough rude sea Can wash the balme from an anoynted king   (Shakespeare, *R2* 3.2.54)

   b. *Not all* the trying of Zora and all the Ladies Bountiful of Christendom could give her her heart's desire   (Locke, *Septimus* 341)

(30)   a. On me, whose *all not equals* Edwards moytie
                                                          (Shakespeare, *R3* 1.2.250)

   b. *toutes* les idées *ne   comptent guère*, quand on   aime
       all   the ideas not count   hardly when one loves
       'all the ideas count for nothing, when one is in love'
                                                          (Rolland, *Maison* 193)

If now we examine what results when a word belonging to the C-class is negatived, we shall see corresponding effects, only that immediate combinations are not frequent except in Latin, where *non-nemo, non-nulli* means 'some', *non-nihil* 'something', *non-nunquam* 'sometimes'. Here thus the result clearly belongs to class B.

The same is true in the frequent idiom *not for nothing* ('not in vain' or 'to good purpose'), as in (31).

(31)   a. it was *not for nothing* that my nose fell a bleeding on blacke monday last   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 2.5)

   b. *Not for nothing* have I led the Pack   (Kipling, *Second* 66)

   c. She would *not* have done so *for nothing*   (Hope, *Change* 190)

   d. He was *not* the eldest son of his father *for nothing*
                                                          (Raleigh, *Shakespeare* 42)

In the same way in other languages: (32).

(32)   a. Han er *ikke for intet*   (*ikke for ingenting*) sin faers   søn.
       he   is not for nothing (not for nothing)   his father.POSS son
       'He was not the son of his father for nothing.'   (Danish)

> b. Ce *n'* était *pas pour rien*   qu' elle avait ces   yeux hardis
>   it not was not for   nothing that she had   these eyes bold
>   'It was not for nothing that she had those bold eyes'
>
> <div align="right">(Rolland, Révolte 314)</div>

It is more usual to place the two negatives in two sentences, as in *one cannot say that nothing is finer* ('something is finer') or in an infinitival combination, as in (33), ('it is good to have some gods'). Here too the result belongs to class B.

(33)   It's not good for a man to have no gods   (Locke, *Septimus* 285)

Inversely if we begin with a word from class C and place the negative adverb after it. Thus again in Latin *nemo non videt* ('everybody sees'); *nihil non videt* ('he sees everything'); (34). The result belongs to class A.

(34)   cum ipsum dicere nunquam sit non ineptum
       since itself talking never   is not foolish
       'since talking itself is always foolish'   (Cicero, *De oratore* 1.24.112)

The same result is obtained when one of those words is followed by a word with a negative prefix or with implied negative meaning:

Negative Phrase		*Positive Equivalent*
nothing is unnecessary	=	'everything is necessary'
nobody was unkind	=	'everybody was kind'
he was never unkind	=	'he was always kind'
nobody fails	=	'everybody succeeds'
he forgets nothing	=	'he remembers everything'

When the negative is a separate word, the result is the same; but in English as in Danish such sentences are generally avoided because they are not always clear or readily understood: it is rare to find combinations like (35). There is, however no difficulty if the two negatives are placed in separate sentences, as in *There was no one present that did not weep* ('everybody wept'); here *that not* is often replaced by *but*, *but that*, *but what*, see chapter 12 (p. 169).[4] In Danish, (36), or, with a curious negative force of *jo*: *… som jo græd*. Similar constructions are frequent in other languages as well; cf. Dr. Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith (37).

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[4]Each of Jespersen's examples *one cannot say that nothing is finer* and *There was no one present that did not weep* contains a main clause and a subordinate clause, not two separate sentences as his text suggests. This usage is inconsistent with both modern linguistic terminology and Jespersen's normal use of *clause* and *sentence*, e.g. in Jespersen (1914). (Eds.)

(35) a. not a clerk in that house did not tremble before her
('all the clerks trembled')   (Thackeray, *Newcomes* 55)

   b. no other man but you would not have despised the woman
('every other man would have despised')   (Locke, *Septimus* 228)

(36) der   var ingen   tilstede, som ikke græd
       there was no one present who not cried
       'there was no one present who did not cry'

(37) Nihil   tetigit   quod   non ornavit
       nothing touched which not he-adorned
       'He touched nothing [= no kind of writing] that he did not adorn'[5]

'Everything' is also the result in such combinations as (38).

(38) L'art est toujours pur; *il   n'   y   a   rien   que* de chaste en lui.
       art   is always pure there not there has nothing that of chaste in it
       'Art is always pure; there is nothing in it but chasteness.'

                                                         (Rolland, *Foire* 133)

The ordinary treatment of both A- and C-words when negatived may be
brought under one general rule: when the absolute notion (A or C) is mentioned
first, the absolute element prevails, and the result is the contrary notion (A …
not = C; C … not = A). If, on the other hand, *not* comes first, it negatives the
absolute element, and the result is the intermediate relative (not A = B; not C =
B).

It seems to me that the tripartition here established, —

A. *all*
B. *some*
C. *none,*

is logically preferable to the tripartition in Kant's famous table of categories, —

A. Allheit
B. Vielheit
C. Einheit

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[5]Johnson instead wrote *nullum quod tetigit non ornavit* (Boswell 1791: 91–92), which appears
unchanged on the memorial in Westminster Abbey (*Oliver Goldsmith* n.d.). (Eds.)

as *many* (*Vielheit*) and *one* (*Einheit*) are both of them comprised under 'some'; Kant does not take 'none' here, but unintelligibly places negation under the heading "quality", though it is clearly a quantitative category. (See on the confusion caused by these Kantian categories in some philologists' treatment of negation, p. 91ff.)

The following remarks may also be of some interest to the student of logic. We may establish another tripartition between

A. necessity
B. possibility
C. impossibility,

and if closely inspected, these three categories are found to be nothing else but special instances of our three categories above, for necessity really means that *all* possibilities are comprised. Note now: *not necessary* means 'possible'; *not impossible* 'possible'; *it is impossible not to see* 'necessary'. The verbal expression for these three categories is:

A. *must* (or, *need*)
B. *can* (or, *may*)
C. *cannot*,

and we see their interrelation in instances like these:

> *He* MUST *run = he* CANNOT *but run* (CANNOT *help running*)
> *no one* CAN *deny = every one* MUST *admit*
> *nobody* NEED *be present = everybody* MAY *be absent*
> *he* CANNOT *succeed = he* MUST *fail*
> *he* CANNOT *forget = he* MUST *remember*

In the same way we have the Latin expression for necessity *non potest non amare*, and the corresponding French as in (39); even with *ne plus*, (40). With indirect negation we have the same, (41), different from *Pas moyen de faire la comparaison* ('impossible').

(39) a. car   il *ne pouvait pas ne pas* voir qu' ils   se
           because he not could   not not   see that they themselves
           moquaient de lui
           mocked   of him
           'because he could not but see that they were mocking him'

                                                    (Rolland, *Foire* 54)

  b. une variation … qui   *ne peut pas n'   être pas* ancienne
      a   variation   which not can not not be   not ancient
      'a variation that cannot but be ancient'   (Meillet, *Caractères* 50)

(40) il l' entendait partout,   il *ne pouvait plus   ne plus*   l'
      he it heard   everywhere, he not could   no more not no more it
      entendre
      hear
      'he heard it everywhere, he could not but hear it'   (Rolland, *Buisson* 12)

(41) Et le moyen de ne pas faire la comparaison!
      and the way   of not not make the comparison
      'And how could one not make the comparison!'   ('you must')   (ibid 49)

If to the three categories just mentioned we add an element of will with regard to another being, the result is:

A. command
B. permission
C. prohibition

But these three categories are not neatly separated in actual language, at any rate not in the forms of the verb, for the imperative is usually the only form available for A and B. Thus *take that!* may have one of two distinct meanings, (A) a command: 'you must take that', (B) a permission: 'you may take that', with some intermediate shades of meaning (request, entreaty, prayer). Now a prohibition (C) means at the same time (1) a positive command to not (take that), and (2) the negative of a permission 'you are not allowed to (take that)'; hence the possibility of using a negative imperative as a prohibitive: *Don't take that! Don't you stir!* But hence also the disinclination in many languages to use a negative imperative, because that may be taken in a different and milder sense, as a polite request, or advice, not to, etc. And on the other hand formulas expressive at first of such mild requests may acquire the stronger signification of a prohibition. In Latin, the negative imperative is only found poetically (42), otherwise we have a paraphrase with *noli* (43), or a subjunctive (44). In Spanish the latter has become the rule (*no vengas* 'don't come').

(42) Tu ne cede malis   ('do not yield')   (Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.95)

(43) Noli me tangere   ('don't touch me')   (*Vulgate John* 20.17)

(44)   ne nos inducas in tentationem   ('lead us not into temptation')

<div align="right">(*Vulgate Matthew* 6.13)</div>

In Danish, where *Tag det ikke!* is generally employed to mean 'I ask/advise you not to take it', a prohibition is expressed by *La vær å tage det* (*lad være at tage det*, literally 'let be to take it'), which has also the advantage of presenting the negative element first, or colloquially often by *Ikke ta*(*ge*) *det!* (*not* + infinitive), which, like the corresponding German formula (*Nicht hinauslehnen* 'don't lean out'), has developed through children's echo of the fuller sentence: *Du må ikke tage det!* (*Du darfst nicht hinauslehnen!* 'you aren't allowed to lean out').

In other languages, separate verb-forms ("jussive") have developed for prohibitions, or else negative adverbs distinct from the usual ones (cf. Greek *mē̄*), see Misteli (1893: 22).

This will serve to explain some peculiarities in the use of English *must* and *may*. As we have seen, a prohibition means (1) a positive command to not ...; thus: *you must* (positive) *not-take that* (negative); and (2) the negative of a permission: *you may-not* (negative) *take* (positive) *that*. But in (1) we have the usual tendency to attract the negation to the auxiliary (see p. 55), and thus we get *you mustn't take that*, which never has the sense of 'it is not necessary for you to take that' (negative *must*), but has become the ordinary prohibitive auxiliary. On the other hand, in (2) we have the competition with the usual combination of (positive) *may* + negative infinitive, as in *He may not be rich, but he is a gentleman*; this makes people shrink from *may-not* in a prohibition, the more so as *may* is felt to be weaker and more polite than the more brutal *must*. The result is that to the positive *we may walk on the grass* corresponds a negative 'we mustn't walk on the grass'.

See on such semantic changes as a result of negatives Wellander (1916: 38).

The old *may not* in prohibitions, which was extremely common in Shakespeare, is now comparatively rare, except in questions implying a positive answer (*mayn't I?* = 'I suppose I may') and in close connexion with a positive *may*, thus especially in answers. In our last quotation (45k), it is probably put in for the sake of variation: (45).

(45)   a.   "I must needs after him ..." — "... stay with vs ..." — "I may not ..."

<div align="right">(Shakespeare, *Lr* 4.4.16)</div>

      b.   such a one, as a man may not speake of, without he say sir reuerence

<div align="right">(Shakespeare, *Err* 3.2.92)</div>

      c.   "You may not in, my lord." — "May we not"   (Marlowe, *Edward* 939)

      d.   Mayn't my cousin stay with me?   (Congreve, *Love* 249)

  e. How it is that I appear before you in a shape that you can see, I may
    not tell.   (Dickens, *Carol* 17)

  f. Meanwhile, may n't I see the Dowager's?   (Hope, *Dialogues* 59)

  g. May not I accompany you …?   (ibid 90)

  h. "Perhaps I may kiss your hand?" — "No, you may not"
                    (Hardy, *Return* 73)

  i. "May I tell you?" — "No, you may not"   (E. F. Benson, *Judgment* 164)

  j. They may study maps beforehand … but they may not carry such
    helps. They must not go by beaten ways   (Wells, *Utopia* 302)

  k. a Polish Jew must not leave the country, may not even quit his native
    town, unless it suits a paternal government that he should go
    elsewhere   (Merriman, *Vultures* 175)

Positive *may* and negative *must not* are frequently found together: (46).

(46) a. Your labour only may be sold; your soul must not. (Ruskin, *Time* 102)

  b. Prose must be rhythmical, and it may be as much so as you will; but
    it must not be metrical. It may be anything, but it must not be verse.
                  (Stevenson, *Art* 26)

  c. "I mustn't kiss your face," said he, "but your hands I may kiss"
                   (Hope, *Rupert* 86)

  d. you may call me Dolly if you like; but you musnt call me child
                   (Shaw, *Never* 251)

May is thus used even in tag questions after *must not*: (47).

(47) a. I must not tell, may I, Elinor?   (Austen, *Sense* 62)

  b. "You mustn't marry more than one person at a time, may you,
    Peggotty?" — "Certainly not" … — "But if you marry a person, and the
    person dies, why then you may marry another person, mayn't you,
    Peggotty?" — "You *may* … if you choose, my dear."(Dickens, *David* 16)

On the other hand, *must* begins to be used in tag questions, though it is not
possible to ask *Must I?* instead of *May I?* (48).

(48) a. I must not go any farther, I think, must I?   (Eliot, *Mill* 2.50)

  b. I suppose I must not romp too much now, must I?
                 (Caine, *Prodigal* 136)

I may add here a few examples (49) of *may* denoting possibility with a negative infinitive (*you may not know* = 'it is possible that you do not know'); in the first two quotations *not* is attracted to the verb.

(49)   a. You mayn't know it, Brown, but …   (Hughes, *Oxford* 222)

          b. What may be permissible to a scrubby little artist in Paris … mayn't be permitted to one who ought to know better.   (Locke, *Year* 269)

          c. newcomers whom they may not think quite good enough for them
                                                                (Shaw, *Houses* 16)

          d. I may not be an earl, but I have a perfect right to be useful.
                                                     (Hope, *Dialogues* 91)

With *may* we see another semantic change brought about by a negative: to the positive *may, might* corresponds a negative *cannot, could not* (not *may not, might not*): (50).

(50)   a. This *cannot* do harm and *may* do good   (news 1917)

          b. I *might* prudently, perhaps, but I *could not* honestly, admit that charge [of careless writing]   (Cowper, letter, 27 February 1786)

          c. Raphael's dialectic, too, though it *might* silence her, *could not* convince her.   (Kingsley, *Hypatia* 357)

          d. "He *might* be a Turk," said Father Henaghan. — "No, he *couldn't.*"
                                                (Birmingham, *Whitty* 94)

Chapter 9

Weakened Negatives

Negative words or formulas may in some combinations be used in such a way that the negative force is almost vanishing. There is scarcely any difference between questions like *Will you have a glass of beer?* and *Won't you have a glass of beer?*, because the real question is 'Will you, or will you not, have …'; therefore, in offering one a glass, both formulas may be employed indifferently, though a marked tone of surprise can make the two sentences into distinct contrasts: *Will you have a glass of beer?* then coming to mean 'I am surprised at your wanting it', and *Won't you have a glass of beer?* the reverse. (In this case, *really* is often added.)

In the same way in Danish: *Vil De ha et glas øl?* ('Will you have a glass of beer?') and *Vil De ikke ha et glas øl?* ('Won't you have a glass of beer?'). A Dutch lady once told me how surprised she was at first in Denmark at having questions like *Vil De ikke række mig saltet?* ('Will you not pass the salt?') asked her at a table in a boarding-house; she took the *ikke* literally and did not pass the salt. *Ikke* is also used in indirect (reported) questions, as in (1).

(1) saa har madammen bedt   Giovanni, om han ikke vil   passe lidt   paa
     so   has lady.DEF   asked Giovanni if   he   not   will look   a bit on
     barnet
     child.DEF
     'so, the lady has asked Giovanni if he wouldn't mind looking after the
     child a bit'   (Faber, *Stegekjælderen* 28)

A polite request is often expressed by saying *Would* (or, *Do*) *you mind taking …* and, as *mind* means 'object to', the logical answer is *no* ('I don't mind'), but very frequently *yes* or some other positive reply (*By all means!* etc.) is used, which corresponds to the implied positive request: (2).

(2) a. Drummle: "When you two fellows go home, do you mind leaving me
         behind here?" — Misquith: "Not at all." — Jayne: "By all means."
                                                            (Pinero, *Second* 21)

     b. "Do you mind my asking you a question?" ... — "By all means!—What
         can I do?"   (Ward, *Eleanor* 128)

Not at all is frequent as an idiomatic reply to phrases of politeness, which do
not always contain words to which *not at all* can be logically attached: (3).

(3) a. "I'm sorry to give you so much trouble, Towlinson" — "Not at all miss"
         [does not negative the other's feeling sorry, but the giving trouble]
                                                            (Dickens, *Dombey* 32)

     b. "I'm really excessively sorry, Dombey, that you should have so much
         trouble about it;" to which Mr. Dombey answers, "Not at all."
                                                            (ibid 363)

     c. "Oh, thank you very much for that!" — "Not at all," I said, loftily.
         "There is no reason why you should thank me."   (Dickens, *David* 355)

     d. Undershaft: "My dear sir, I beg your pardon." — Lomax: "Not at all.
         Delighted, I assure you." ... — Undershaft: "I beg your pardon." —
         Stephen: "Not at all"   (Shaw, *Major* 205)

     e. Excuse me: I had a word to say to the servant. (Trench is heard
         replying "Not at all", Cokane "Dont mention it, my dear sir.")
                                                            (Shaw, *Houses* 48)

In exclamations, a *not* is often used though no negative notion is really implied;
this has developed from the use of a negative *question* for a positive statement:
How often have we not seen him? for 'we have often seen him'; *What have we not
suffered?* for 'we have suffered everything' (or, 'very much'). As an exclamation
of this form is a weakened question (as shown also by the tone), we see that in
these sentences (4) the import of the negation is also weakened, so that it really
matters very little whether a *not* is added or not, as illustrated clearly by the
varied sentences in our first quotation (4a).

(4) a. What a long, long and true friendship was here sundered! Through
         what strange vicissitudes of life had they not followed me! What wild
         and varied scenes had we not seen together! What a noble fidelity
         these untutored souls had exhibited!   (Stanley, *Dark* 2.482)

     b. What good to his country or himself might not a trader have done
         with such useful tho' ordinary qualifications?   (*Spectator* 166)

    c. Ah, my friends, what did I not feel at that moment!   (Doyle, *How* 505)

    d. How often have I not watched him … How often have I not seen them coming back, tired as cats   (Galsworthy, *Motley* 34)

Somewhat differently in (5).

(5)   a. I don't know how long I should not have gone on grumbling
                                 (Harraden, *Ships* 71)

    b. no one could say how soon he might not come to himself
                                 (Bennett, *Babylon* 121)

    c. What Chaucer might not have produced had he lived ten years longer no one can endure to conjecture.   (Gosse, *History* 23)

In Danish exclamations *ikke* is extremely frequent: (6).

(6)   a. Hvor var han dog ikke rar!
      how was he   yet not nice
      'How nice he was!'

    b. Hvor har ei da   du liidt!
      how have not then you suffered
      'How you have suffered!'"   (Paludan-Müller 6.380)

    c. Hvilken større   glæde kunde jeg ikke faa her   paa jorden.
      which   greater joy   could I   not get here on earth.DEF
      'What greater joy could I possibly receive here on earth.' (AKC, letter)

In German, *nicht* was frequent in exclamations in the 18th century *wie unge-sucht war nicht der gang seines Glücks* ('How unsought was the course of his happiness'), now the positive form is preferred (Paul 1908: 383).

In concessive clauses and phrases, *never* (*so*) is often used concurrently with *ever*, which seems to be gaining ground. (Cf. Abbott (1894: §52); Storm (1896: 702); Alford (1888: 62); Bøgholm (1906: 88).)

Never so after *though* and *if*: (7), (8).

(7)   a. For though his wyf be cristned never so whyte, She shal have nede to wasshe awey the rede   (Chaucer, *Lawe* B 355)

    b. he shall sterue for honger, … though the commen wealthe floryshe neuer so muche   (More, *Utopia* 299)

    c. they neuer so willingly offer them selfes therto   (ibid 54)

> d. the numbre of shepe increase neuer so fast   (ibid 55)
>
> e. thoughe leagues be neuer so faythfully obserued and kept … (ibid 241)
>
> f. If I make my handes neuer so cleane, yet shalt thou plunge me in the ditch   (AV *Job* 9.30)
>
> g. any deceased author, though never so famous in his life time
>   (Milton, *Areopagitica* 30)
>
> h. had I but seen a priest (though never so sordid and debauched in his life,)   (Bunyan, *Grace* 11)

(8) a. yf it were neuer so muche   (More, *Utopia* 38)

b. if thou dost intend Neuer so little shew of loue to her, Thou shalt abide it   (Shakespeare, *Mids* 3.2.34)

It is very frequent in clauses with inverted word-order and no conjunction: (9). Cf. also (10).

(9) a. were she never so glad, Hir loking was not foly sprad
>   (Chaucer, *Duchesse* 873)

b. be hit never so derke, Me thinketh I se her ever-mo   (ibid 913)

c. Me thoghte no-thing mighte me greve, Were my sorwes never so smerte   (ibid 1106)

d. A wower be he neuer so poore Must play and sing before his bestbeloues doore   (*Roister* 48)

e. they thinke it not lawfull to touch him with mannes hande, be he neuer so vityous   (More, *Utopia* 286)

f. and creepe time nere so slow, Yet it shall come, for me to doe thee good   (Shakespeare, *John* 3.3.31)

g. wisest men Have err'd … And shall again, pretend they ne're so wise
>   (Milton, *Samson* 210)

h. forgive her all her sins, be they never so many   (Fielding, *Tom* 4.301)

i. go they never so glibly   (Ruskin, *Fors* 95)

j. there was a sullen silence, which Paul could not charm away, charm he never so wisely   (Merriman, *Sowers* 179)

(10) a. lette neuer so little a gappe be open, And … the worst shall be spoken
>   (*Roister* 81)

b. curb her never so little, she kicks up, and you're flung in a ditch
>   (Goldsmith, *Stoops*)

Other examples of *never so*: (11).

(11) a. Thou … wilt know againe, Being ne're so little vrg'd another way
   (Shakespeare, *R2* 5.1.64)

  b. There will not again be any man, never so great, whom his
   fellowmen will take for a god. (T. Carlyle, *Heroes* 39)

  c. [the pain] ceased, except when the wounded limb was meddled with
   never so little (T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 2.258)

  d. I have heard a hundred anecdotes about William Hazlitt …; yet
   cannot by never so much cross-questioning even form to myself the
   smallest notion of how it really stood with him. (T. Carlyle, *Life* 2.209)

  e. Private men keep their promises, never so trivial.
   (Emerson, *Traits* 308)

Some examples of *ever so* (12) may serve to show that the signification is exactly
the same as of the negative phrase.

(12) a. Every man desired to put off death for sometime longer, let it
   approach ever so late (J. Swift, *Travels* 271)

  b. There is something of farce in all these mournings, let them be ever
   so serious. (J. Swift, *Journal* 492)

  c. Pray write to me a good-humoured letter immediately, let it be ever
   so short (ibid 545)

  d. The honest man, tho' e'er sae poor, Is king o' men for a' that.
   (Burns, *Man*)

  e. how easily my watchful reason, if ever so slightly provoked, would
   drag me back to life (Kinglake, *Eothen* 113)

  f. A chance of being useful, in ever so little a way (Ruskin, *Crown* 68)

  g. no one will be vexed or uneasy, linger I ever so late (Gissing, *Henry* 8)

In Danish concessive clauses with *om* we may similarly use either *aldrig* or
nok: (13). The negative purport of *aldrig* is here so little felt that one may even
sometimes find *ikke* after it (14).

(13) a. Jeg gør det ikke, om han så   ber mig aldrig så meget om   det
    I   do it   not if he   then asks me never so much about it
    'I won't do it, no matter how much he asks me to'

  b. … om han så   ber mig nok   så meget om   det
     if   he   then asks me enough so much about it
    '… no matter how much he asks me to'

(14) Det er så, om hun så   aldrig så meget ikke ved   om   det.
      it is so if she then never so much not knows about it
      'It is so, however ignorant she may be of it.'   (Skram, *Lucie* 193)

In Russian, *ni* after a relative (interrogative) pronoun has the same generalizing effect as English *-ever*: (15).

(15) a. kto by   ni sprosil
          who would not asked
          'whoever asked'

      b. kak ni dumal
          how not thought
          'however much he thought'   (Pedersen 1916: 152)

In the Scandinavian languages, there is a curious way of using *ikke for aldrig det* in the signification 'not for the whole world': (16). Rarely without *ikke*: (17).

(16) a. Ak! jeg tør   ikke spørge et menneske om   noget,   ikke for aldrig
          alas I dare not ask   a person about anything not for never
          det
          it
          'Alas! I wouldn't dare ask anyone about anything, not for anything in
          the world'   (Kierkegaard, *Stadier* 234)

      b. Man vilde   ikke have gjort det samme, "ikke for aldrig det"
          one would not have done the same   not   for never it
          'One would not have done the same, not for anything in the world'
                                                    (Goldschmidt, *Hjemløs* 1.48)

      c. A vel   ikke træk kjowlen aa ham faar aalle de
          I well not pull coat.DEF off him for all   it
          'I surely wouldn't take the coat off him for anything'
                                                    (Jutlandic; Blicher, *Bindstouw* 48)

      d. hun vilde   ikke truffet toldinspektøren i nattrøye   for aldrig det
          she would not met   customs.inspector in nightgown for never it
          'not for anything would she have met the customs inspector in her
          nightgown'   (Norwegian; Lie, *Sol* 5)

      e. Han ville   icke sälja den för aldrig det
          he   would not sell it   for never it
          'He would not sell it for all the world'
                                                    (Swedish; Strindberg, *Utopier* 51)

(17) Han vilde   have givet aldrig det for at kunne have bekæmpet sin uro.
      he   would have given never it   for to can   have fought   his dread
      'He would have given anything to be able to quell his dread.'

<div align="right">(Larsen, Punkt 138)</div>

Among weakened negatives should also be mentioned *nay* (Old Norse *nei*): when one has used a weak expression and finds that a stronger might be properly applied, the addition is partly a contradiction, partly a confirmation, as going further in the same direction. Hence, both *nay* and *yea* may be used in the same sense (note that both were in Middle English and early Modern English less strong than *no* and *yes*, respectively). Thus: (18).

(18) a. We are betroathd: nay more, our mariage how're With all the cunning
          manner of our flight Determin'd of   (Shakespeare, *Gent* 2.4.179)

      b. threatned me To strike me, spurne me, nay, to kill me too

<div align="right">(Shakespeare, Mids 3.2.313)</div>

      c. I should be as bad, nay worse, than I was before

<div align="right">(Bunyan, Progress 189)</div>

      d. The Mediterranean Sea ... the chief, nay, almost the one sea of history

<div align="right">(Seeley, Expansion 89)</div>

Cf. *yea* (19).

(19) here I tender it for him in the Court, Yea, twice the summe, if that will
      not suffice   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 4.1.210)

Nay is preserved with the old negative meaning in connexion with *say*, probably for the sake of the rime: (20).

(20) a. no one had the right to say him nay   (Ridge, *Son* 64)
      b. With no one to say him nay   (Parker, *Right* 77)

In Danish, both *ja* and *nej* may be used in correcting or pointing out a statement: (21).

(21) a. han er millionær, nej mangemillionær
          he   is millionaire no multi-millionaire
          'he is a millionaire, no [correction:] a multi-millionaire'

      b. han er millionær, ja   mangemillionær
          he   is millionaire yes multi-millionaire
          'he is a millionaire, yes [emphasizing:] a multi-millionaire'

A weakened negative is also found in the colloquial exaggeration *no time* (or humorously *less than no time*) meaning 'a very short time': (22).

(22)   a.   Gip ... got it in no time.   (Wells, *Stories* 17)
       b.   The news will filter through the town in no time.   (Hope, *Rupert* 203)
       c.   And all this in five minutes less than no time at all

                                                        (Sterne, *Tristram* 3.38)

A different case is found with *no end*, which is used colloquially for 'an infinite quantity', i.e., 'very much' or 'very many'; in recent times, this is even found where no quantity is thought of: *no end of a fine fellow* ('a very fine fellow'), *no end of a man* ('a real man' or 'a great man'): (23).

(23)   a.   the Alderman had sealed it with a very large coat of arms and no end
            of wax   (Dickens, *Chimes* 101)
       b.   Every man ... must make no end of melancholy reflections

                                                        (Thackeray, *Snobs* 128)
       c.   I have sometimes no end of trouble to get rid of the alliteration.

                                                        (Tennyson, comment)
       d.   Parliament had passed no end of laws against it

                                                        (McCarthy, *History* 2.402)
       e.   We'll take an interest in the house. We'll take no end of interest in the
            house!   (Kipling, *Stalky* 119)
       f.   I'm doing a lot of work. No end of work—more than I've ever done.

                                                        (Gissing, *Grub* 96)
       g.   Mrs. Horrocks has had no end of a good time.   (Hankin, *Works* 2.16)
       h.   there'll be no end of a scandal   (ibid 2.187)
       i.   he got up and followed (in no end of a maze one would think)

                                                        (Swinburne, *Cross-currents* 188)
       j.   They'll make me out no end of a fine fellow   (Ward, *Marriage* 17)
       k.   I feel no end of a man   (Pinero, *Magistrate* 38)
       l.   this beastly scrape of Theophila's has been no end of a shocker for me

                                                        (Pinero, *Benefit* 12)
       m.   We're no end of moral reformers   (Kipling, *Stalky* 171)
       n.   About noon there was no end of a snowstorm   (ibid 272)
       o.   I sent him no end of an official stinger   (ibid 284)
       p.   you ought to make no end of a good hitter in time ... It was a jolly
            good rod, and quite fresh, with no end of buds on

                                                        (Swinburne, *Cross-currents* 43)

Chapter 10

Negative Connectives

It is, of course, possible to put two negative sentences together without any connective (*he is not rich; his sister is not pretty*) or conversely joined by means of *and* (*he is not rich, and his sister is not pretty*); but when the two ideas have at least one element in common, it is usual to join them more closely by means of some negative connective: *he is neither rich nor pretty | neither he nor his sister is rich | he neither eats nor drinks*. Negative connexions may be of various orders, which are here arranged according to a purely logical scheme: it would be impossible to arrange them historically, and nothing hinders the various types from coexisting in the same language. If we represent the two ideas to be connected as A and B, and understand by c a positive, and by nc a negative connective (while n is the ordinary negative without any connective force), we get the following seven types:

(1) nc A   nc B

(2) nc A   nc^2 B (c^1 and c^2 being different forms)

(3) nc A   c B

(4)   A   nc B

(5) n A   nc B

(6) n A   nc^1 B nc^2

(7) n A   n B nc

Not unfrequently an ordinary negative is found besides the negative connective.

What is here said about two ideas also applies to three or more, though we shall find in some cases simplifications like nc A, B, C, nc D instead of nc A nc B nc C nc D.

In the first three types the speaker from the very first makes the hearer expect a B after the A; in (4), (5), and (6) the connexion is indicated after A, but before B; and finally in (7) it is not till B has been spoken that the speaker thinks of showing that B is connected with A.

The connectives are often termed disjunctive, like (*either …*) *or*, but are really different and juxtapose rather than indicate an alternative; this is shown in the formation of Latin *neque … neque*, which are negative forms of *que … que* ('both … and'), and it very often influences the number of the verb (*neither he nor I* WERE), see Jespersen (1914: 6.62). *Neither … nor* thus is essentially different from *either not … or not*, which gives the choice between two negative alternatives, as in (8).

(8)   he [Carlyle] either could not or would not think coherently

(Spencer, *Autobiography* 1.380)

nc A nc B

The best-known examples of this type—the same connective before A and B—are Latin *neque … neque* with French, Spanish *ni … ni*, Italian *né … né*, Rumanian *nicĭ … nicĭ*, and Greek *oúte … oúte, méte … méte*. In the old Germanic languages we had correspondingly Gothic *nih … nih*, and (with a different word) Old High German (Tatian[1]) *noh … noh*; but in *ne … ne* as found in Old Norse, Old Saxon,[2] and Old English the written form at any rate does not show us whether we have this type (*ne* corresponding to Gothic *nih*) or the unconnected use of two simple negatives, corresponding to Gothic *ni … ni*; see on the latter Neckel (1912: 11ff). There can be little doubt that the close similarity of the two words, one corresponding to *ni* (Latin *ne*) and the other to *nih* (*neque*), contributed to the disappearance of this type in these languages.

A late (1581) English example is (9).

(9)   they *ne* could *ne* would help the afflicted   (*NED*, *Ne* B *conj.* 1 a)

There is another and fuller form of this type in English, namely *nother … nother* (from *ne* + *ōhwæðer*), which was in use from the 13th century to the beginning of the Modern English period, e.g. (10). In the shortened form *nor … nor* it was

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[1]St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS Cod. Sang. 56: *Evangelienharmonie des Tatian*, a ninth-century translation from the Latin of Tatian. (Eds.)

[2]Jespersen has *OS*, which is not listed in any of his lists of abbreviations that we have seen. Old Saxon seems the likeliest interpretation. (Eds.)

formerly extremely frequent, as in (11). This is found as an archaism even in the 19th century, e.g. (12).

(10)   whether they belyue well or no, nother the tyme dothe suffer us to discusse, nother it ys nowe necessarye. (More, *Utopia* 211)

(11)   Thou hast nor youth, nor age. (Shakespeare, *Meas* 3.1.32)

(12)   Nor seeks nor finds he mortal blisses. (Shelley, *Prometheus* 1.740)

nc¹ A nc² B

The type nc1 A nc2 B that is, with two different connectives, both of them negative, has prevailed over nc A nc B in later stages of the Germanic languages. Thus we have Old Norse *hvártki* (*hvárki*) … *né* ('neither … nor'); *hvártki* corresponds to Gothic *ni-hwaþar-hun* with dropping of the original negative *ne*, the negative sense being attached to *-gi* (*ki*). In German we have *weder … noch*, in which similarly initial *ne* has been dropped; *weder* has quite lost the original pronominal value ('which of two') which *whether* kept much longer in English.

In English, on the other hand, the *n*-element has never been lost, but is found both in the old formula *nother* (*nahwæðer, nohwæðer, nawðer, nowðer*) … *ne* and in the later (from the Middle English period) *neither* (*naiðer, nayther*) … *ne* as well as in the corresponding forms with *nor* instead of *ne*.

In the second member, the old *ne* as in (13) was used archaically by Spenser and sometimes by his imitators (Shenstone, *Schoolmistress*; Byron, *Childe Harold* 1 and 2, etc.).

(13)   I shal neyther hate hym ne haue enuye at him (Caxton, *Reynard* 88)

Apart from this, the normal formula in the Modern English time is *neither … nor* (14).

(14)   a. neither he nor his sister has come
        b. he has neither wit nor money
        c. I could neither run with speed, nor climb trees (J. Swift, *Travels* 336)
        d. he neither loves nor hates her

Where there are more than two alternatives, it is not at all rare to omit the connective with the middle ones or one of them: (15).

(15) a. thou hast neither heate, affection, limbe, nor beautie

                             (Shakespeare, *Meas* 3.1.37)

     b. I haue neyther writ nor words, nor worth, action nor vtterance, nor the power of speech   (Shakespeare, *Cæs* 3.2.226)

The conjunction may even be omitted poetically before all except the first alternative (16). This type, which is found only with more than two alternatives, has been placed here for convenience, but might have been given as an independent type: nc A B C D ....

(16) a. Nor raine, winde, thunder, fire are my daughters

                             (Shakespeare, *Lr* 3.2.15)

     b. Neyther presse, coffer, chest, trunke, well, vault

                             (Shakespeare, *Wiv* 4.2.62)

     c. she loved him, as Nor brother, father, sister, daughter love

                             (Byron, *Juan* 10.53)

     d. connected In neither clime, time, blood, with her defender (ibid 10.57)

nc A c B

Next, we come to the type: nc A c B. This is different from the preceding one in that the second connective is a positive one, the same as is used in alternatives like *either ... or, aut ... aut, on ... on, entweder ... oder*. Here the negative force of nc is strong enough to work through A so as to infect B. This is the type in regular use in modern Scandinavian, as in Danish *hverken ... eller*, Swedish *varken ... eller*. Examples: (17), etc.

(17) a. han er hverken rig   eller smuk
         he   is neither rich nor handsome

     b. hverken han eller hans søster er rig
         neither he   nor his   sister is rich

     c. han hverken spiser eller drikker
         he   neither eats   nor drinks

In English *neither ... or* is by no means uncommon (18), though now it has been generally discarded from literary writings through the influence of schoolmasters.

(18)　a.　That you swerue not from the smallest article of it, Neither in time, matter, or other circumstance. (Shakespeare, *Meas* 4.2.108)[3]

　　　b.　they neither can speak, or attend to the discourses of others (J. Swift, *Travels* 199)

　　　c.　I had neither the strength or agility of a common Yahoo (ibid 336)

　　　d.　many answers and replies which are neither witty, humorous, polite, or authentic (J. Swift, *Conversation* 6)

　　　e.　I neither saw, or desir'd to see any people (Defoe, *Robinson* 26)

　　　f.　I neither had any business in the ship, or learn'd to do any. (ibid 17)

　　　g.　I lay a-bed all day, and neither eat or drank. (ibid 101)

　　　h.　I would neither see it my self, or learn to know the blessing of it from my parents (ibid 106) etc.

　　　i.　having neither sail, oar, or rudder (ibid 58)

　　　j.　I had neither food, house, clothes, weapon, or place to fly to (ibid 81)

　　　k.　a cloak … , neither fit to defend the wearer from cold or from rain (Scott, *Ivanhoe* 167)

　　　l.　Am I neither to be obeyed as a master or a father? (Scott, *Antiquary* 2.36)

　　　m.　thrifty men who neither fell into laggard relaxation of diligence or were stung by any madness of ambition (T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 1.73)

　　　n.　He neither wore on helm or shield The golden symbol of his kinglihood (Tennyson, *Coming*)

　　　o.　I am suffering neither from one or the other (Trollope, *Children* 2.140)

Defoe, who very often has *neither … or*, has the following sentences, which are interesting as showing the effect of distance: where *neither* is near, *or* suffices; where it is some distance back, the negative force has to be renewed: (19).

(19)　a.　I neither knew how to grind or to make meal of my corn, or indeed how to clean it and part it; nor if made into meal, how to make bread of it (*Robinson* 138)

　　　b.　having neither weapons or cloaths, nor any food (ibid 291)

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[3]According to Schmidt (1886: *Neither*), only three or four times in Shakespeare. (Jespersen)

In (20) *brother or sister* forms so to speak one idea (Ido[4] epicene *frato*), hence *nor* is not used between them. (21) also shows that *or* is preferred when two words are closely linked together; if we substitute *nor*, we should be obliged to continue: *nor how to speak*. A closely similar sentence is found in (22); here if we substitute *nor*, it will be necessary to repeat *thy* before *actual*; but if we change the word-order, it will be possible to say *thou seest neither thy original nor actual infirmities*. (In other places Bunyan uses *neither … nor*, thus (23).)

(20)   neither she nor your brother or sister suspected a word of the matter

(Austen, *Sense* 253)

(21)   He knew neither how to walk or speak   (news 1905)

(22)   a. they neither know how to do for, or speak to him

(Bunyan, *Progress* 107)

　　　 b. thou neither seest thy original or actual infirmities   (ibid 204)

(23)   a. There is there neither prayer, nor sign of repentance for sin (ibid 106)

　　　 b. they can neither call him Brother, nor Friend   (ibid 108)

The use of *or* after *neither* cannot be separated from the use of *or* after another negative, as in the following instances; it will be seen that *or* is more natural in (24), because the negative word can easily cover everything following, than in (25) or (26):

(24)   a. Faustus vowes neuer to looke to heauen, Neuer to name God, or to pray to him   (Marlowe, *Faustus* 718)

　　　 b. Talke not of paradice or creation

(ibid 729, 1616 edition; but the 1604 edition has *nor*)

　　　 c. he … lived alone, and never saw her, or inquired for her

(Dickens, *Dombey* 156)

　　　 d. She knew not what to think, or how to account for it.

(Austen, *Pride* 310)

　　　 e. I haven't seen Palgrave yet or Woolner … I have not written to Browning yet or seen him   (Tennyson, diary)

　　　 f. Nobody was singing or shouting   (Wells, *Britling* 179)

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[4]A derivative of Esperanto; Jespersen was an early and notable proponent. (Eds.)

(25)   a. a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them   (Defoe, *Robinson* 359)

        b. there were no looking-glasses or any bedroom signs about it

                                                         (Wells, *Stories* 70)

        c. there were no clinging hands, or stolen looks, or any vow or promise

                                                      (Parker, *Right* 240)

(26)   a. and not a hair of her head, or a fold of her dress, was stirred

                                                         (Dickens, *David* 114)

        b. not a word was said, or a step taken   (ibid 125)

        c. because your religion is not my religion or your God my God

                                                    (Caine, *Christian* 95)

Note also the change in *No one supposes that the work is accomplished now or could be accomplished in one day* and *… … … is accomplished now, nor could it be accomplished in one day.*

The continuation with *hardly* is interesting in (27).

(27)   because he never trifled or talked gallantry with them, or paid them, indeed, hardly common attentions   (Lamb, *Elia* 1.155)

A nc B

A nc B, that is, a negative conjunction "looking before and after" and rendering both A and B negative, is comparatively frequent in Old Norse and Old English with *ne*; from Wimmer's *Læsebog* I quote (28); from Old English, (29). (The passages mentioned in Grein (1912: 493), are not parallel: in *Beowulf* 1604 *wiston ond ne wendon* must be understood 'they wished, but did not think'; in *Andreas* 303 and *Gu.* 671 the great number of preceding *ne*'s account for the omission in one place, cf. above p. 137f.)

(28)   a. kyks né dauðs nautka   ek karls   sonar
            alive nor dead enjoyed not I   farmer's son
            'Whether alive or dead, I had no use for the farmer's son'   (13)

        b. hönd um þvær   né höfuð kembir
            hand PART washes nor head   combs
            '[He] neither washes his hand nor combs his hair'   (117)

(29)   a. suð   ne   norð
           south nor north
           'neither south nor north'   (*Beowulf* 858a)

       b. wordum ne   worcum
           by   words nor   by deeds
           'neither by words nor by deeds'   (ibid 1100a)

See Delbrück (1910: 55f), where also instances of Old High German *noh* may be found: (30), etc. Paul (1908) has a few modern instances: (31). The examples show that Delbrück's restriction to "einem zweigliedrigen nominalen Ausdruck" ('a nominal phrase with two heads') is too narrow; nor can I admit the correctness of his explanation that "*ni* erspart wurde, weil eine doppelte Negation in dem kurzen Satzstück als störend empfunde wurde" ('*ni* is not used, because a double negative in the short sentence is considered jarring'). Neckel (1912) says, more convincingly: "In solchen Ausdrücken steht *ni*(*h*) apò koinoû. Die unmittelbare Nachbarschaft mit beiden Gliedern erlaubt, es auf beide zu beziehen." ('In such expressions, *ni*(*h*) is used as a double negative. The close proximity of the two words allows it to be applied to both.') And then prosiopesis comes into play, too.

(30)   a. laba   noh gizami
           sustenance nor salvation
           'neither sustenance nor salvation'

       b. kind noh quena
           child nor woman
           'neither child nor woman'

(31)   a. in Wasser noch in Luft
           in water   nor   in air
           'neither in the water nor in the air'   (Wieland, *Oberon*)

       b. da   ich mich   wegen eines Termins der   Herausgabe noch
           where I   myself because a   deadline of the publication nor
           sonst   auf irgend eine Weise binden oder verpflichten kann
           otherwise in any   one way   commit or   oblige   can
           'where I cannot commit myself to a publication deadline or in any
           other way'   (Goethe, letter)

In later English, though not often in quite recent times, we find *nor* used in the same way without a preceding negative: (32).

(32) a. my fadre nor I dyde hym neuer good   (Caxton, *Reynard* 89)

      b. for Iak nor for gill will I turne my face   (*Noah* 336)

      c. The king of England, nor the court of Fraunce, shall haue me from my gratious mothers side   (Marlowe, *Edward* 1633)

      d. so closely convaide that his new ladie nor any of her friendes know it   (*Eastward* 439)

      e. Tongue nor heart cannot conceiue, nor name thee   (Shakespeare, *Mcb* 2.3.69)

      f. they threatned, that the cage nor irons should serve their turn   (Bunyan, *Progress* 127)

      g. [they] were both strongly prepossessed that she nor her daughters were such kind of women   (Austen, *Sense* 227)

      h. She … struggled against this for an instant or two (maid nor nobody assisting)   (T. Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 2.257)

      i. My father, nor his father before him, ever saw it otherwise   (Hawthorne, *Wonder* 126)

It will be seen that all these are examples of principal words (substantives or pronouns); it is very rare with verbs, as in (33), where *no longer* shows that the negative notion is to be applied to both auxiliaries. Cf. also (34).

(33)   but I can nor will stay no longer now   (J. Swift, *Journal* 117)

(34)   he moved nor spoke, Nor changed his hue, nor raised his looks to meet The gaze of strangers   (Shelley, *Revolt* 5.22)

On a different use of the same form (A nc B), where A is to be understood in a positive sense, see below p. 148.

n A nc B

In this type the negativity of A is indicated, though not by means of a connective. The negative connective (nc) before B is the counterpart of *also* or *too*; and some languages, such as German, have no special connective for this purpose, but use the same adverb as in positive sentences (*auch nicht*); in French the negative comparative *non plus* is used either with or without the negative connective *ni*. Danish has a special adverb used with some negative word, *heller ikke*, *heller*

ingen, etc.; *heller* (Old Norse *heldr*) is an old comparative as in the French expression and signifies 'rather, sooner'. In English, the same negative connectives are used as in the previous types, but in rather a different way; *but no more* may also be used.

Examples of this type: (35).

(35) a. I speake not this, that you should beare a good opinion of my knowledge …. *neither* do I labor for a greater esteeme

(Shakespeare, *As* 5.2.61)

b. My ventures are not in one bottome trusted …. *nor* is my whole estate Vpon the fortune of this present yeere   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 1.1.43)

c. as yet he had not got rid thereof, *nor* could he by any means get it off without help   (Bunyan, *Progress* 17)

d. never attaching herself much to us, *neither* us to her

(Ruskin, *Præterita* 1.120)

e. the royal Dane does not haunt his own murderer,—*neither* does Arthur, King John; *neither* Norfolk, King Richard II.; *nor* Tybalt, Romeo   (Ruskin, *Fors*)

f. Nothing, again, makes us think. … *Nor*, I believe, are the facts ever so presented. … *Neither*, lastly, do we receive the impression.…

(Bradley, *Tragedy* 29)

g. She said nothing, *neither* did he.   (Locke, *Septimus* 186)

But neither is used in the same way: (36). And *nor* in the same sense is rarer: (37).

(36) a. She had no great talents …; but neither had she any deficiency or vice

(Brontë, *Jane* 118)

b. He did not for a moment under-estimate the danger; but neither did he exaggerate its importance   (McCarthy, *Short history* 2.52)

c. They were not exactly studious youths, but neither did they belong to the class that Godwin despised   (Gissing, *Born* 63)

(37) Thackeray, for instance, didn't take a degree, *and nor* did—oh, lots of others   (*Trifles* 194)

Very often the sentence introduced by *neither* or *nor* is added by a different speaker, as in (38).

(38)   a. "Hath no man condemned thee?" — "No man." — "*Neither* doe I condemne thee"   (AV *John* 8.10–11)

        b. Did no one condemn you? … No one. *Nor* do I condemn you.
                            (in the 20th century translation)

A repetition of the negation is very frequent in these sentences (39).

(39)   a. I neuer did repent for doing good, Nor shall not now
                            (Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.4.11)

        b. I know not loue (quoth he) nor will not know it
                            (Shakespeare, *Ven* 409)

        c. Nor they will not utter the other   (Bacon, *Parents*;
                quoted Bøgholm (1906: 86) with other examples)

        d. I don't quarrel at that, nor I don't think but your conversation was very innocent   (Congreve, *Love* 231)

        e. nor you shall not know till I see you again   (J. Swift, *Journal* 61)

        f. Steele …. came not, nor never did twice, since I knew him   (ibid 115)

        g. Nor shall we not be tending towards that point
                          (Wordsworth, *Prelude* 8.451)

        h. I have never told any one but you; nor I should not have mentioned it now, but …   (Hazlitt, *Liber* 15)

        i. I cannot live without you—nor I will not.   (ibid 23)

        j. I never saw anything like her, nor I never shall again   (ibid 97)

        k. For the life of them vanishes and is no more seen, Nor no more known
            (Swinburne, *Songs* 42; probably in imitation of Elizabethan English)

Bacon, according to Bøgholm (1906: 85) nearly always carries through the distinction *neither* + verb + subject (*neither do I say*) without *not*, and *nor* + subject + verb with *not* or other negative (*nor they will not utter*); it will be seen from my examples that the latter construction is the more frequent one with other writers as well.

Instead of *neither* or *nor* we also have the combination *no more* (cf. French above), used in a similar context but without the original meaning of negation: (40). The same with repeated negation (41). Cf. also (42).

(40)   a. You don't like Wagstaff? *No more* do I much[5]   (Jerrold, *Lectures* 60)

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[5]This *much* shows that *no more* is used without any consciousness of its original meaning. (Jespersen)

b. "Brown says you don't believe a gentleman can lick a cad …." — "*No more* I do."   (Hughes, *Oxford* 133)

(41)   "I would swear to speak ne'er a word to her to-day for't." — "By this light, *no more* I will *not*"   (Jonson, *Epicœne* 3.182)

(42)   *Nor more* you wouldn't!   (Dickens, *David* 132 (vulgar))

n A nc^1 B nc^2

This differs from type 5 in having a supplementary connective placed after B. *Nor* with subsequent (*nother* or) *neither*: (43).

(43)   a. nor so nother   (More, *Utopia* 197)

b. "It is not for your health. … " — "Nor for yours neither"
                                                         (Shakespeare, *Cæs* 2.1.327)

c. Loue no man in good earnest, nor no further in sport neyther
                                                           (Shakespeare, *As* 1.2.31)

d. it stops but one breach of licence, nor that neither
                                                          (Milton, *Areopagitica* 34)

e. nor I don't know her if I see her; nor you neither (Congreve, *Love* 4.1)

f. I can know nothing, nor themselves neither.   (J. Swift, *Journal* 364)

g. I could not keep the toad from drinking himself, nor he would not let me go neither, nor Masham, who was with us.   (ibid 130)

n A n B nc

Here the connexion between the two negative ideas is not thought of until both have been fully expressed, and *neither* comes as an afterthought at the very last. Examples: (44).

(44)   a. "Nay it makes nothing sir." — "If it marre nothing neither, The treason and you goe in peace away together."   (Shakespeare, *LLL* 4.3.191)

b. I'll not spend beyond it. … I'll ne're run in debt neither.
                                                           (Defoe, *Gentleman* 66)

c. They would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither.
                                                              (Defoe, *Farther* 47)

d. they were too full of apprehensions of danger, to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither (Defoe, *Robinson* 312)

e. To which the other making no answer. ... Allworthy made no answer to this neither (Fielding, *Tom* 4.302)

f. blush not. ... and do not laugh neither (Scott, *Ivanhoe* 481)

g. I hope, sister, things are not so very bad with you neither (Austen, *Mansfield* 25)

h. I had no companions to quarrel with, neither (Ruskin, *Præterita* 1.53)

i. Fifteen feet thick, of not flowing, but flying water; not water, neither,—melted glacier rather (ibid 2.130; frequent in Ruskin, e.g. *Præterita* 2.288, *Selections* 1.206, *Crown* 201)

j. I did not come to recommend myself ... and perhaps Miss Carew might not think it any great recommendation neither. (Shaw, *Cashel* 147)

Instead of the afterthought-*neither* which we have now seen so frequently in this chapter, most people now prefer *either*, which seems to have come into use in the 19th century, probably through the war waged at schools against double negatives. Examples after negative expressions: (45).

(45) a. thy sex cannot help that either (Scott, *Chronicles*; via *NED*, *Either* 5 b)

b. I ... am unmoved by men's blame or their praise either. (R. Browning, *Andrea*)

c. Poor chap, he had little enough to be cheery over either. (Doyle, *Letters* 180)

d. Maud, tell the boy he needn't wait. You needn't either unless you like. (E. F. Benson, *Dodo* 10)

After a positive expression *either* is used as an afterthought adverb to emphasize the existence of alternatives; the *NED* has an example in *Either* 5 a from about 1400; Shakespeare has it once only: (46). Cf. also (47).

(46) "Wilt thou set thy foote o'my necke?" — "Or o'mine either?" (*Tw* 2.6.206)

(47) a. "A beautiful figure for a nutcracker; ..." — "Not ugly enough," said Tackleton. — "Or for a firebox, either" ... (Dickens, *Cricket*)

b. Ah, if all my priests were but like them! or my people either! (Kingsley, *Hypatia* 274)

As this use after a positive expression is much older than that after a negative, Storm (1896: 698) cannot be right in believing that the former is "übertragen" ('carried over') from the latter.

It should be noted that we have very frequently sentences connecting with previous *positive* sentences in the same ways as we have seen in the last three types: n A nc B; n A nc[1] B nc[2]; n A n B nc (pp. 144–148) with negative ones. This generally serves to point out a contrast, but sometimes the logical connexion between the two sentences is very weak, and the final *neither* then merely "clinches the argument" by making the negative very emphatic. In (48), we have two illustrations corresponding to types n A nc B and n A n B nc.

(48)   Speake the speech as I pronounc'd it. … But if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as liue the town-cryer had spoke my lines: *Nor* do not saw the ayre with your hand thus. … Be not too tame *neyther*.

(Shakespeare, *Hml* 3.2.4ff)

Other examples: (49). Cf. also the frequent literary formulas of transition *Nor is this all* and *Nor do we stop here*.

(49)   a.   I sawe Marke Antony offer him a crowne; yet 'twas not a crowne neyther, 'twas one of these coronets   (Shakespeare, *Cæs* 1.2.233)

b.   "The best thing I ever read is not yours, but Dr. Swift's on Vanbrugh"; which I do not reckon so very good neither.   (J. Swift, *Journal* 66)

c.   There, I say, get you gone; no, I will not push you neither, but hand you on one side   (ibid 121)

d.   I resolv'd to run quite away from him. However, I did not act so hastily neither as my first heat of resolution prompted

(Defoe, *Robinson* 5)

e.   I travelled among unknown men, In lands beyond the sea; Nor, England! did I know till then What love I bore to thee.

(Wordsworth, *Travelled*)

While this use of *nor* is perfectly natural, there is another way of using it which is never found in prose though it is a favourite formula with some poets. *Nor* here connects not two complete sentences, but only two verbs, of which the first is to be taken in a positive sense (cf. Dyboski 1907: 2). Thus (50).

(50)   a.   Ida stood nor spoke   ('she stood and did not speak, she stood without speaking')   (Tennyson, *Princess*)

    b. He that gain'd a hundred fights, Nor ever ['and never'] lost an
       English gun   (Tennyson, *Wellington*)

    c. it concerns you that your knaves Pick up a manner nor discredit you
         ('and (do) not')   (R. Browning, *Lippo*)

    d. things we have passed Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see
                                                (ibid)

    e. wait death nor be afraid!   (R. Browning, *Rabbi* 19)

These instances may be compared with the Old Norse quotations given by Neckel (1912: 10): (51), etc.

(51)   a. sat hann, né hann svaf, ávalt
         sat he   nor he   slept always
         'he sat and did not sleep'

      b. gumnum hollr, né gulli
         to-men   loyal nor to-gold
         'loyal to men, but not to gold'

The negative connectives *neither* and *nor*, which we have treated in this chapter, are characteristic elements of idiomatic English; thus *nor do I see any reason* is always preferred to *and I see also no reason* (cf. the cause of this, above p. 76). In some few cases, however, we find *also* in a negative sentence, but there is generally some special reason for its use, as in (52). In (52d) the contrast is expressed more elegantly than in: *but neither is any one rooted.*

(52)   a. But I must *also not* forget that …
         ('also remember')   (Defoe, *Journal* 44)

      b. but then too was there *not also* a national virtue?
         ('wasn't there a national virtue besides')   (Wells, *Britling* 117)

      c. "Everything may recover," he admitted. "But *also nothing* may
        recover"   (*also* meaning 'there is another possibility')   (ibid 194)

      d. No one is tied, but *also no one* is rooted
        ('but on the other hand, no one')   (Dickinson, *Letters* 6)

In rare instances, a negative is put only with one of two (or three) verbs though it belongs to both (or all): (53).

(53)   He sette nat his benefice to hyre, And leet[6] his sheep encombred in the myre, And ran to London … But dwelte at hoom

<div align="right">(Chaucer, *Prologue* A 507)</div>

(54)   Didst thou not write thy name in thine own blood and drewst the formall deed   (*Devill* 524)

(55)   The winds play no longer and sing in the leaves
('no longer play and sing')   (Cowper, *Poplar*)

A frequent way of making one *not* serve to negative two verbs is seen in *The winds do not play and sing in the leaves* ('… are not playing and singing …').

In Danish, *ikke* sometimes is put only with the last of two verbs connected by means of *og*, but only when their signification is closely related, as in (56). Otherwise *ikke* has to be repeated (57). But if the first verb indicates only a more or less insignificant state or circumstance of the main action denoted by the second verb, *ikke* is put with the first verb: (58). The explanation is that *og* in this case is a disguised *at*, originally followed by the infinitive, see Jespersen (1896: 167ff) and Siesbye et al. (1896: 249ff).

(56)   jeg hykler   og   lyver ikke
       I   pretend and lie   not
       'I neither pretend nor lie'   (Goldschmidt, *Levi* 8.60)

(57)   han spillede ikke klaver og   sang ikke (heller)
       he   played not piano and sang not either
       'he neither played the piano nor sang'

(58)   a. sid ikke der   og   sov
           sit not there and sleep
           'do not sleep there'

       b. jeg går ikke hen   og   glemmer det
           I   go not there and forget   it
           'I won't forget it'

Where a positive and a negative sentence are combined, English uses the adversative conjunction *but* (like Danish *men*, German *aber*), whereas French prefers *et* (59). Negation thus is more vividly present in an English consciousness than in a French mind, since the combination of positive and negative is always felt as a contrast.

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[6]Skeat (1900) explains *and leet* as 'and left (not)', adding "We should now say—'*Nor* left.' … *Leet* is the [past tense] of *leten*, to let alone, let go". (Eds.)

(59) a. i. I eat, but I don't drink
          ii. the guard dies, but does not surrender
      b. i. je mange, et je ne bois pas
          ii. la garde meurt et ne se rend pas

Chapter 11

English Verbal Forms in *n't*

Not was attracted to the verb, even before it was reduced to *n't* as an integral part of a coalesced verbal form; thus instead of *will I not* we find *wol not I* as early as Chaucer (*Miller's Prologue* A 3131); both positions in (1).

(1) Wol nat oure lord yet leve   his vanytee? Wol he nat wedde?
     will not our   lord yet leave his vanity   will he not wed
     'Will our lord not yet abandon his vanity? Will he not marry?'
                              (Chaucer, *Clerkes* E 250)[1]

  From Modern English times may be noted (2).

(2) a. art not thou Pryamus sone … art not thou one of the possessours
                                      (Caxton, *Reynard* 84)
     b. Will not ye, then will they   (*Roister* 52)
     c. Did not you make me a letter brother?   (ibid 56)
     d. doe not ye. … be not ye. …   (ibid 79)
     e. Is not the causer …   (Shakespeare, *R3* 1.2.117)
     f. So do not I   (ibid 1.4.286)
     g. Cannot my Lord Stanley sleepe   (ibid 3.2.6)
     h. Had not you come   (ibid, quarto, 3.4.29)[2]
     i. Are not you the chief womã   (Shakespeare, *LLL* 4.1.51)
     j. Now will not I deliuer his letter   (Shakespeare, *Tw* 3.4.202)
     k. Am not I your Rosalind   (Shakespeare, *As* 4.1.89)
     l. Doe not I hate them … and am not I grieued   (AV *Psalms* 139.21)

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[1]This and the following two chapters deal exclusively with English grammar. (Jespersen)
[2]The first folio instead has *Had you not come*. (Eds.)

m. did not I execute the scheme, did not I run the whole risque? Should not I have suffered the whole punishment if I had been taken? and is not the labourer worthy of his hire? (Fielding, *Jonathan* 3.431)

n. were not these men of honour? (ibid 448)

o. Had not you better sell them? (Franklin, *Autobiography* 159)

p. They are wanted in the farm, Mr. Bennet, are not they?[3]

(Austen, *Pride* 40)

q. … had not he instinctively felt … (Disraeli, *Lothair* 7)

There is some vacillation between the two word-orders; for Shakespeare, see (3). Swift in his *Journal to Stella* generally has *did not I, should not I*, etc., but sometimes as p. 17 *Did I not say*; and the latter word-order is even nowadays affected by many writers, though *Didn't I say* has now for generations been the only natural form in everyday speech.

(3) a. Doth not she thinke me an old murtherer

(Shakespeare, *Rom* 3.3 (first folio))

b. Doth she not thinke me an olde murderer

(Shakespeare, *Rom* 3.3 (first quarto))

The contracted forms seem to have come into use in speech, though not yet in writing, about the year 1600. In a few instances (extremely few) they may be inferred from the metre in Shakespeare, though the full form is written, thus (4)

(4) a. "*Are not* you a strumpet?" — "No, as I am a Christian." (*Oth* 4.2.82)

b. But neuer taynt my loue. I *cannot* say whore (ibid 4.2.161)

(but *cant* in Shakespeare, *Alls* 1.3.171 stands for *can it* [be][4]).

Van Dam's (1900: 155) examples are most of them questionable, and some unquestionably wrong. König (1888: 39) has only the following instances: *Othello* 4.2.161 (as (4b) above), *I Henry VI* 2.2.47 (*may not*), *Henry V* 4.5.6 (but the folio arranges the line: *O meschante Fortune, do not runne away*—with *do not* as two syllables), *Errors* 2.1.68 (*know not*; line metrically doubtful).

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[3]Thus continually in conversations: *is not he…*; *will not you…*; *could not he…*; etc. (ibid). (Jespersen)

[4]The line is Helena's, "So I were not his sister, cant no other." She is expressing a wish not to be perceived as Bertram's sister, rhetorically asking if there is no other possible way: 'If only I were not seen as his sister—can it be no other way?' (Eds.)

In writing, the forms in *n't* make their appearance about 1660 and are already frequent in Dryden's, Congreve's, and Farquhar's comedies. Addison in the *Spectator* no. 135 speaks of *mayn't, cann't, sha'n't, won't,* and the like as having "very much untuned our language, and clogged it with consonants". Swift also (in a letter) brands as examples of "the continual corruption of our English tongue" such forms as *cou'dn't, ha'n't, can't, shan't*; but nevertheless he uses some of them very often in his *Journal to Stella.*

Among the forms there are some that are so simple that they call for no remark, thus

mayn't	[meint]
hadn't	[hædnt]
didn't	[didnt]
couldn't	[kudnt]
wouldn't	[wudnt]
shouldn't	[ʃudnt]
mightn't	[maitnt]
daren't	[dɛ·ənt]
mustn't	[mʌsnt] with natural dropping of [t]

(Jespersen 1909: 7.73)

Thus also

hasn't	[hæznt]
isn't	[iznt]
doesn't	[dʌznt]
haven't	[hævnt]
aren't	[a·nt]

are simple enough, but it should be noted that these are recent restitutions after *has, is,* etc., which have succeeded, partially at least, in ousting other forms developed formerly through phonetic shortening, see below.

Cannot [kæn(n)ɔt] becomes *can't* with a different vowel, long [a·]; Otway (*Venice preserv'd*) writes *cannot,* but pronounces it in one syllable. Congreve (*Love for love* 4.1) has *can't.* In the same way, with additional dropping of [l], *shall not* becomes [ʃa·nt]. The spelling was not, and is not yet, settled; *NED, Shall v.* 6 b records *sha'nt* from 1664, *shan't* from 1675, *shann't* from 1682 (besides Dryden's *shan'not* 1668); now both *shan't* and *sha'n't* are in use. For the long [a·] in these see Jespersen (1909: 300 §10.552).

In a similar way, I take it that *am not* has become [aˑnt] with lengthening of the vowel and dropping of [m]. This may have been the actual pronunciation meant by the spelling *an't* (cf. *can't, shan't*) in earlier times, see e.g. (5).

(5) a. I a'n't well   (J. Swift, *Conversation* 90; also ibid 97)

  b. I an't vexed.   (J. Swift, *Journal* 75)

  c. I an't sleepy   (ibid 83)

  d. an't I a reasonable creature?   (ibid 152)

  e. I an't to be a trades-man; I am to be a gentleman: I an't to go to school.   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 98)

  f. I an't deaf   (Congreve, *Love* 3.3)

  g. I an't calf enough   (ibid 251)

  h. [Sir Oliver:] an't I rather too smartly dressed   (Sheridan, *School* 3.1)

  i. [Sir Peter:] an't I to be in a good humour   (ibid 3.1)

  j. I an't the least astonished at it   (Austen, *Sense* 280)

  k. I an't so fond of his company   (Dickens, *Carol* 59 (vulgar))

  l. An't I good enough?   (Bennett, *Wives* 1.152)

  m. You are what my wife calls intellectual. I an't, a bit.

                                                          (James, *American* 1.37)

Cf. below (p. 158), on *ain't*.

Elphinston (1765: 1.134) mentions *an't* for *am not* with "sinking" of *m* and *o* but does not specify the vowel sound.

Nowadays [aˑnt] is frequently heard, especially in tag-questions: *I'm a bad boy,* [aˑnt ai] *?*; but when authors want to write it, they are naturally induced to write *aren't*, as *r* has become mute in such combinations, and the form then looks as if it originated in a mistaken use of the plural instead of the singular (which is in itself absurd, as no one would think of using [aˑnt it] or [aˑnt hiˑ]). I find the spelling *aren't I* or *arn't I* pretty frequently in George Eliot (6), but only to represent vulgar or dialectal speech.

(6) a. I'm no reader, I aren't.   (*Mill* 1.34)

  b. Aren't I a good brother to you?   (ibid 1.43)

  c. I aren't frighted   (ibid 1.63)

  d. [unidentified]   (ibid 2.164)

  e. I aren't like a bird-clapper   (*Adam* 441)

    f. Am I a gardener as knows his business, or aren't I, Mills?   (ibid 451)

    g. "I aren't a-going to try and 'bate your price...." — "... I aren't a turn-tail cur."   (*Silas* 84)

    h. mother 'ull be in trouble as I aren't there   (ibid 226)

In the younger generation of writers, however, it is also found as belonging to educated speakers: (7).

(7)   a. I am always smart. Aren't I, Mr. Worthing?   (Wilde, *Importance* 10)

    b. Aren't I a wise woman, Jack?   (E. F. Benson, *Dodo* 126)

    c. I am a very wonderful woman, aren't I   (E. F. Benson, *Second* 192)

    d. [aristocrat:] I'm a first-class ass, aren't I?   (R. H. Benson, *None* 319)

    e. "I think you're precious lucky to get such a girl." — "Yes, aren't I?"   (Hope, *Courtship* 100)

    f. Well, aren't I, my lord?   (Pinero, *Quex* 203)

    g. [an M.P.:] Aren't I in a net?   (Wells, *Machiavelli* 513)

    h. Aren't I always at your service?   (Wells, *Wife* 41)

    i. [Ann Veronica:] Aren't I asking—asking plainly now?   (Wells, *Veronica* 245)

    j. I *am* pretty, aren't I?   (Hankin, *Works* 2.154)

    k. Are n't I going to get you to do your frock, Miss Joy?   (Galsworthy, *Joy* 2)

    l. [unidentified]   (ibid 73)

    m. I'm always right, aren't I, Stephen?   (Bennett, *Twain* 53)

    n. I'm only sixteen, aren't I   (Bennett, *Clayhanger* 1.113)

    o. aren't I lucky?   (Oppenheim, *Millionaire* 180)

This form is mixed up with other forms in (8).

(8)   That's a wall, ain't et? An' I'm a preacher, arn't I? An' you be worms, bain't 'ee?   (Quiller-Couch, *Troy* 113)

The form [aˑnt ai] is found convenient and corresponds to the other *n't*-forms; it obviates the clumsy *am I not* and the unpronounceable *amn't I*, which I find written in Olive Schreiner's *Peter Halket* 202.

But as [aˑnt] may be taken as developed from *aren't*, it may sometimes in children's speech lead to the substitution of *are* for *am* in positive sentences, as

when one of Darwin's little boys remarked, "I are an extraordinary grass-finder" (Darwin, *Life* 1.116).

Are not becomes [arnt], which regularly becomes [aˑnt]; we find spellings like *ar'n't you sorry* (J. Swift, *Conversation* 90), *ar'n't you asham'd?* (ibid 94).
Thus frequently in the 19th century.
But there is also another frequent form, which *may* have developed phonetically from the older alternate form with long Middle English [aˑ], see Jespersen (1909: 4.432), and dropping of *r* (7.79); this gives the result [eint]; compare the spellings in (9) and (10). *An't* in Trollope's *Barchester Towers* also in the speech of educated people, e.g. (9j).

(9)   a.   an't you an impudent lying slut   (J. Swift, *Journal* 81)

     b.   an't you an impudent slut   (ibid 93)

     c.   an't you ashamed   (ibid 131)

     d.   An't you rich   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 129)

     e.   [Mrs. Honour:] if two people who loves one another a'n't happy
                          (3rd person pl.; Fielding, *Tom* 4.98)

     f.   you an't half a man   (ibid 1.86)

     g.   you ant the first gentleman …   (ibid 4.256)

     h.   [lady:] they are very pretty, ma'am—an't they?   (Austen, *Sense* 234)

     i.   you an't well   (ibid 237)

     j.   i.   you always forget that I an't a young man
                         (Trollope, *Barchester* 411)

        ii.   I an't cross … No, I an't angry   (ibid 483)

(10)   a.   [old lady:] Mind me, now, if they ain't married by Midsummer.
                         (Austen, *Sense* 196)

     b.   youre joking, aint you?   (Shaw, *Cashel* 116)

     c.   Ain't you glad you aren't short of wheat these days? (Norris, *Pit* 245)

Ain't in the first person singular probably has arisen through morphological analogy, as nowhere else the persons were distinguished in the *n't*-forms. Examples: (11). It is probable that some at least of the 19th century quotations above for *an't I* are meant as [eint ai].

(11)   a.   Ain't I a beast for not answering you before?   (Tennyson, letter)

     b.   [young lord:] I ain't a diplomatist   (Meredith, *Harrington* 346)

Have not became [heint]; note the older pronunciation of *have* as [heiv], also [hei], written so often *ha'* (12); the spelling *han't* or *ha'n't* is frequent, e.g. (13), etc., (14).

(12)   Ha' not [2 syllables] you seene Camillo   (Shakespeare, *Wint* 1.2.267)

(13)   a. han't you four thousand pound   (Congreve, *Love* 230)

        b. Of these spellings the publick will meet with many examples in the following book. For instance, *can't, han't, sha'nt, didn't, coodn't, woodn't, is n't, e'n't*, with many more   (J. Swift, *Conversation* 32)

        c. you ha'n't taken snuff   (ibid 92)

        d. I han't eaten it   (ibid 155)

        e. Han't I brought myself   (J. Swift, *Journal* 22)

        f. Han't I said   (ibid 40)

        g. I han't time to say more   (ibid 43)

        h. Han't you done things like that   (ibid 63)

(14)   a. I han't the impudence   (Defoe, *Farther* 153)

        b. Han't you a vast estate?   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 129)

        c. I han't words   (ibid 132)

        d. han't you heard   (Fielding, *Tragedy* 1.377)

        e. I ha'n't a moment to lose   (Sheridan, *Critic* 1.2.401)

        f. I han't been here for so long   (Hardy, *Return* 34)

        g. Ha'n't I nussed her?   (Hardy, *Ironies* 201)

Instead of *han't* the spelling *ain't* also occurs as a vulgarism (*h* dropped).

Do not becomes *don't* [dount], which is found, e.g. in (15), etc., (16), and innumerable times since then.

(15)   Pray don't let that puppy Parvisol sell him   (J. Swift, *Journal* 17)

(16)   a. we don't care to do it   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 12)

        b. I don't know   (ibid 45)

        c. your son will … delight in them too, perhaps, tho' you don't (ibid 137)

For *will not* we have *won't* [wount], developed (through *wonnot*, found in Dryden and other writers of that time) from the Middle English form *wol*. It is written *wont* in Defoe (R. 2. 166), but generally *won't*, thus (17), etc., etc.

(17) a. that won't do   (Villiers, *Rehearsal* 41)

     b. "she won't let him come near her" ... — "I won't be seen in't"

                                           (Congreve, *Love* 237)

     c. the Justices won't give their own servants a bad example

                                     (Farquhar, *Stratagem* 335)

     d. we won't dispute   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 48)

     e. I won't lessen it   (ibid 66)

     f. I won't give it up neither   (Fielding, *Tom* 1.237)

The [z][5] was frequently dropped in *isn't, wasn't, doesn't,* (thus expressly Elphinston 1765: 1.134) and this gives rise to various forms of interest. For *isn't* we find *'ent* ("facilitatis causa", Cooper 1685: 79) and in the 18th century the form *i'n't*, which Hall (1873: 236) quotes from Foote, Richardson, and Miss Burney. But the vowel is unstable; J. Swift, *Conversation* 32 writes *e'n't*; and if we imagine a lowering and lengthening of the vowel (corresponding pretty exactly to what happened in *don't, won't,* and really also in *can't*, etc.), this would result in a pronunciation [eint]; now this must be written *an't* or *ain't*, and would fall together with the form mentioned above as possibly developed from *aren't. An't* is found in the third person as early as (18). In the 19th century, *an't* and *ain't* are frequent for *is not* in representations of vulgar speech; see quotations in Storm (1896: 709) and Farmer & Henley (1909: 50), also e.g. (19).

(18) a. Presto is plaguy silly to-night, an't he?   (J. Swift, *Journal* 105)

     b. An't that right now?   (ibid 147)

     c. it an't my fault   (ibid 179)

     d. no, her name an't Hannah   (ibid 273)

(19) a. I don't pretend to say that there ain't.   (Austen, *Sense* 125)

     b. What an ill-natured woman his mother is, an't she?   (ibid 270)

     c. if Lucy an't there   (ibid 287)

But now it is not felt as so vulgar as formerly; Dean Alford (1888: 71) says: "*I ain't certain. I ain't going* ... . are very frequently used, even by highly educated persons." And in Anthony Hope (20) people of the best society are represented as saying *it ain't* and *ain't it*. Dr. Furnivall,[6] to mention only one man, was particularly fond of using this form.

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[5]The original edition has "[s]", likely an error. (Eds.)

[6]Frederick James Furnivall (1825–1910), a co-founder of *A new English dictionary*. (Eds.)

(20) a. That vow of his is all nonsense, ain't it?   (*Father* 40)

      b. I ain't to have any birds unless I field at long-leg.   (ibid 45)

      c. It ain't over and above flattering to him, though.   (*Courtship* 57)

The form *wa'nt* or *wa'n't* for *was not* is pretty frequent in Defoe, e.g. (21).

(21) a. You was nurst abroad, wa'nt you?   (*Gentleman* 51)

      b. I warrant you were frighted, wa'n't you   (*Robinson* 8)

I find the same form frequently in American writers: (22).

(22) a. we wa'n't ragged   (Howells, *Rise* 10)

      b. I wa'n't   (often, in all persons)   (ibid 15)

      c. he wa'n't all greenhorn   (London, *Valley* 329)

      d. I wa'n't after no money. ... I wa'n't after you. ... 'T wa'n't me.
                                                (T. N. Page, *Marvel* 350 (vulgar))

A variant is written *warn't*, where *r* of course is mute, the sound represented being [wɔˑnt]; it is frequent vulgarly in Dickens, e.g. (23).

(23) a. If I warn't a man on a small annuity   (*Dombey* 77)

      b. it warn't him   (ibid 223 (vulgar))

      c. Look and see if he warn't.   (*Friend* 24)

      d. It warn't their duty to take my wife ... that 'adn't done nothing.
                                                (Galsworthy, *Box* 86)

Don't for *does not* is generally explained from a substitution of some other person for the third person; but as this is not a habitual process,—as *do* in the third person singular is found only in some few dialects, but not in standard English, and as the tendency is rather in the reverse direction of using the verb form in *s* with subjects of the other persons (*says I, they talks*, etc.), the inference is natural that we have rather a phonetic process, *s* being absorbed before *n't* as in *isɴ'ᴛ*, etc., above. The vowel in [dount] must have developed in the same way as in *do not*, if we admit that the mutescence of *s* took place before the vowel in *does* was changed into [ʌ]. *Don't* in the third person is found in (24) and very frequently in the 19th century. Byron uses it repeatedly in the colloquial verse of *Don Juan* (25), where *doesn't* is probably never found, though *does not* and *doth not* are found. Dickens has it constantly in his dialogues, chiefly, but not exclusively, in representing the speech of vulgar people (see e.g. 26); and he sometimes even

uses it in his own name (as 27). The form is used constantly in the conversations in such books as Hughes's *Tom Brown*. Kingsley makes a well-bred man say *She don't care for me* (*Hypatia* 76; cf. 28), and similarly Meredith has an MP say (29), Philips a perfect gentleman (30), Egerton a lady (31).

(24)   a. "He don't belong to our gang." — … "he don't belong to our fraternity"

(Farquhar, *Stratagem* 321)

      b. my brother don't kno'   (Defoe, *Gentleman* 47)

      c. why don't my girl play me such a trick   (Sheridan, *Duenna* 2.1)

(25)   a. it don't ask much to mar   (Byron, *Juan* 3.10)

      b. she don't pin men's limbs in   (ibid 9.44)

      c. she don't forget the infant girl   (ibid 10.51)

      d. Indifference, certes, don't produce distress   (ibid 13.35)

      e. that fair clime which don't depend on climate   (ibid 14.29)

(26)   a. don't she, my dear?   (Dickens, *Dombey* 13)

      b. "She don't worry me" — "that don't matter … it don't follow …" — "Well, it don't matter"   (ibid 16)

      c. [unidentified]   (ibid 22)

      d. She don't gain on her papa in the least.   (ibid 31)

      e. I think he knows it, though he pretends he don't. (Dickens, *David* 84)

      f. Mr. Dick is his name here, and everywhere else, now—if he ever went anywhere else, which he don't.   (ibid 188)

      g. it don't signify   (ibid 191)

      h. It don't matter   (ibid 376)

      i. It don't matter how much   (ibid 476)

      j. he'll think she don't like him any more   (ibid 590)

      k. [educated young man:] He don't do any good with it. He don't make himself comfortable with it. … He don't lose much of a dinner.

(Dickens, *Carol* 45)

(27)   a. How Susan does it, she don't know   (Dickens, *Dombey* 500)

      b. he don't appear to break his heart   (ibid 541)

(28)   Why don't she marry some hero?   (ibid 146)

(29)   my stomach don't like cold bathing   (Meredith, *Harrington* 489)

(30)   a man don't like waiting for his breakfast   (Philips, *Glass* 226)

(31)   that don't matter   (Egerton, *Keynotes* 101)

A characteristic illustration of the way in which educated people look upon *don't* in the third person singular is found in the conversation in Jack London's *Martin Eden*, p. 64f.[7]

> "There's something else I noticed in your speech. You say 'don't' when you shouldn't. 'Don't' is a contraction and stands for two words. Do you know them?"
>
> He thought a moment, then answered, "'Do not'."
>
> She nodded her head, and said, "And you use 'don't' when you mean 'does not'."
>
> He was puzzled over this, and did not get it so quickly.
>
> "Give me an illustration," he asked.
>
> "Well—" She puckered her brows and pursed up her mouth as she thought, while he looked on and decided that her expression was most adorable. "'It don't do to be hasty.' Change 'don't' to 'do not', and it reads, 'It do not do to be hasty', which is perfectly absurd."
>
> He turned it over in his mind and considered.
>
> "Doesn't it jar on your ear?" she suggested.
>
> "Can't say that it does," he replied judicially.
>
> "Why didn't you say, 'Can't say that it do'?" she queried.
>
> "That sounds wrong," he said slowly.

That this use of *don't* could not by any means be called a vulgarism nowadays, however much schoolmasters may object to it, will also appear from the following quotations: (32) (the two last American (32p, 32q)).

(32)   a. I have just heard from Peacock, saying that he don't think that my tragedy will do, and that he don't much like it.   (Shelley, letter)

        b. It don't signify talking   (Austen, *Sense* 193)

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[7]This remark is from Jespersen's Addenda; London's conversation itself is our addition. (Eds.)

   c. [a lord:] Well, it don't matter   (Ward, *David* 184)

   d. [a celebrated traveller:] But that don't matter   (Ward, *Marriage* 86)

   e. [a young diplomatist:] It don't sound much   (Ward, *Eleanor* 64)

   f. he don't take Manisty at his own valuation   (ibid 65)

   g. [an ambassador:] That don't count.   (ibid 254)

   h. [a lady:] He don't care   (ibid 258

   i. [Mr. Lewisham:] It don't matter a bit   (Wells, *Love* 19)

   j. [Sir Patrick:] Why dont he live for it to some purpose?

                                             (Shaw, *Dilemma* 93)

   k. it don't matter   (Shaw, *Houses* 4)

   l. he looks cheerful, don't he?   (Shaw, *Profession* 174)

   m. it don't matter   (ibid 178)

   n. it don't matter whether they're father and son, husband and wife, brother and sister   (ibid 203)

   o. Don't it make your flesh creep ever so little?   (ibid 204)

   p. it stands to reason, don't it   (Norris, *Octopus* 231)

   q. It don't make any difference   (Herrick, *Memoirs* 187)

Here, as with *ain't*, the distinction of person and number has been obliterated in the negative forms.

Daren't stands for both *dare not* (*dares not*) and *dared not*, the latter through a natural phonetic development (Jespersen 1909: 7.72; cf. also Jespersen 1896: 461). The use in the present needs no exemplification (33); in the preterite we have, e.g. (34).

(33)   I darent talk about such things   (Shaw, *Profession* 198)

(34)   a. Her restlessness wakened her little bedfellows more than once. She daren't read more of "Walter Lorraine": father was at home and would suffer no light.   (Thackeray, *Pendennis* 3.83)

      b. Her spirit failed her a little. She daren't climb after him in the dark.

                                          (Ward, *David* 1.99)

      c. the ship's charts were in pieces and our skipper daren't run south

                                         (Kipling, *Light* 126)

      d. you know you darent have given the order to charge the bridge if you hadnt seen us on the other side.   (Shaw, *Destiny* 195)

      e. otherwise … I darent have brought you here.   (Shaw, *Cashel* 114)

      f. We were halted before I could see. And I daren't look round

                                         (Bennett, *Twain* 326)

Chapter 11 English Verbal Forms in n't

Dare not is often written as a preterite, even by authors who do not use *dare* (without *not*) as a preterite;[8] this, of course, represents a spoken [dɛ·ənt]:

(35) a. I dare not strike a light, so I felt about in the darkness until my hand came upon something wet, which I knew to be his head.

(Doyle, *How* 506)

  b. He dare not have done it if I had been with him   (Shaw, *Disciple* 1)

  c. His simple face wore a strange expression of joy and fear, as if he wished to smile and dare not.   (Caine, *Christian*)

  d. [He was] the man who had saved him from hanging, to whom he owed a debt he dare not acknowledge.   (Parker, *Right*)

There is a negative form of the (obsolescent) preterite *durst*, in which the first *t* is often omitted; it is sometimes used as a present (thus 36). Recent examples, (37), to which are added some dialectal forms: (38).

(36) a. [a Norfolk speaker:] We dursn't do it.   (Dickens, *David* 407)

  b. [Captain Cuttle:] Dursn't do it, Wal'r   (Dickens, *Dombey* 75)

(37) a. they dursn't do it   (Kipling, *Seas* 166)

  b. They dussent ave nothink to do with me   (Shaw, *Candida* 91)

(38) a. I durn't.   (Masefield, *Mercy* 39)

  b. Even the potatoes daurna look like potatoes.   (Barrie, *Margaret* 100)

  c. I dasn't scratch it   (Twain, *Huckleberry* 1.17)

The sound [t] is also left out in the colloquial form [juˑsnt] for *used not*; an American lady told me that this was childish: "no grown-up person in America would say so", but in England, it is very often heard, and also often written, see (39).

(39) a. my face is covered with little shadows that usen't to be there

(Pinero, *Second* 189)

  b. "I am not one of her admirers." — "I usen't to be, but I am now."

(Wilde, *Fan* 37)

  c. Usent it to be a lark?   (Shaw, *Cashel* 11)

  d. I'm blest if I usent to have to put him up   (ibid 193)

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[8]Jespersen names "Tennyson, Doyle, Kipling, Shaw, Hall Caine, Parker" as six such authors but does not provide quotations. The selection of quotations for four of these authors is ours. We have not found examples for Tennyson or Kipling. (Eds.)

  e. Usen't we to be taught that it was our duty to love our enemies?

                 (Hankin, *Works* 2.47)

  f. Usen't the monks to keep peas in their boots …?

                (E. F. Benson, *Second* 288)

Ben't seems now extinct except in dialects (*bain't*); it was heard in educated society in Swift's time, see (40).

(40) a. So will you be, if you ben't hang'd when you're young.

              (J. Swift, *Conversation* 105)

  b. Well, Tom, if that ben't fair, hang fair.   (ibid 110)

Dialectal *n't*-forms for the second person singular occur, for instance in Fielding, *Tom Jones* (Squire Western): *shatunt* '(thou) shalt not', *wout unt* = 'wouldst not', *o'n't* or *at unt* 'art not', and others.

For *needn't* I find an abbreviated American form several times in Opie Read's *Toothpick tales*, e.g. (41).

(41) Yer neenter fly off'n the handle   (108)

There is a curious American form *whyn't* = 'why didn't' or 'why don't' (Payne 1909); in T. N. Page's *John Marvel, assistant*, a negro asks: (42).

(42) Whyn't you stay where you is?   (57)

In children's speech, there is a negative form corresponding to *you better do that* (from *you'd better*), namely *Bettern't you* ('had you not better') (Sully 1903: 177).

The *n't* forms are colloquial, but may be heard in university lectures, etc. They are not, however, used much in *reading*, and it sounds hyper-colloquial, in some cases even with a comical tinge, when too many *don't*, *isn't* are substituted for *do not*, *is not*, etc., in reading serious prose aloud. In poetry, the contracted forms are justified only where other colloquial forms are allowed, e.g. (43).

(43) They vow to amend their lives, and yet they don't; Because if drowned, they can't—if spared, they won't.   (Byron, *Juan* 5.6)

Naturally, the full forms admit of greater emphasis on the negative element than the contracted forms; [kænɔt] is hardly ever heard in colloquial speech unless exceptionally stressed, and then the second syllable may have even stronger stress than the first (cf. the emphasis in Dickens, *David Copperfield* 241 *I cannot say — I really can*NOT *say*). In Byron's *Don Juan* a distinction seems to be carried through between *cannot* when the stress is on *can*, and *can not* when it is on *not*. *Will not* is more emphatic than *won't* in *I won't have it! I will not have it!* (Ridge, *Garland* 219) But this does not apply to the two forms in Pinero, *Quex* 213 *It's not true! it isn't true!*

The difference between the full and the contracted form is sometimes that between a special and a general negative (see chapter 5); cf. Sweet (1892: §366):

> In fact such sentences [as *he is not a fool*] have in the spoken language two forms (hij iznt ə fuwl) and (hijz not ə fuwl). In the former the negation being attached specially to an unmeaning form-word must necessarily logically modify the whole sentence, just as in *I do not think so* (ai dount þiŋk sou), so that the sentence is equivalent to 'I deny that he is a fool'. In the other form of the sentence the *not* is detached from the verb, and is thus at liberty to modify the following noun, so that the sentence is felt to be equivalent to *he is no fool*, where there can be no doubt that the negative adjective-pronoun *no* modifies the noun, so that (hijz not ə fuwl) is almost equivalent to 'I assert that he is the opposite of a fool'.

On the distinction between *may not* and *mayn't*, *must not* and *mustn't* in some cases see p. 124ff.

The contracted forms are very often used in tag questions (*He is old, isn't he? you know her, don't you?* etc.), and in such questions as are hardly questions at all, but another form of putting a positive assertion (44).

(44)　a.　Isn't he old?
　　　　　　('he is very old': you cannot disagree with me on that point)
　　　b.　Don't you know?　　('you surely must know')

In a real question, therefore, it is preferable to say and write, for instance (45).

(45)　Did I meet the lady when I was with you? If not, *did you not* know her at that time?

because *didn't you know her?* would seem to admit of only one reply.

With regard to the standing of the contracted forms and the way in which they are regarded by the phonetician as opposed to many laymen, there is a characteristic passage in Wyld (1906: 379):

> We occasionally hear peculiarly flagrant breaches of polite usage, such as (iz nɔt it) for (iznt it) or (æm nɔt ai), for the now rather old-fashioned, but still commendable, (ɛint ai) or the more usual and familiar (a·nt ai), or, in Ireland, (æmnt ai). These forms, which can only be based upon an uneasy and nervous stumbling after 'correctness', are perfectly indefensible, for no one ever uttered them naturally and spontaneously. They are struck out by the individual, in a painful gasp of false refinement.

In Northern English and Scottish, we have an enclitic *-na* (from Old English *nā*); thus frequently in George Eliot's *Adam Bede donna, mustna, wasna, wonna, thee artna, ye arena*; in Burns *dinna, winna, wadna, wasna*, etc.

Canna is used by Goldsmith (46) as vulgar, not as specifically Scottish.

(46)   I'm sure it canna be mine   (Goldsmith, *Stoops* 560)

Chapter 12

But

The word *but*, in many of its applications, has a negative force. At first, it is a preposition, Old English *be-utan*, formed like *without*, and acquiring the same negative signification as that word. But gradually, it came to be used in a variety of ways not shared by *without*. It is only with the negative applications that we are here concerned.

But is a kind of negative relative pronoun, meaning 'that (who or which) ... not', but only used after a negative expression.

Examples: (1).

(1)   a. There's not a man I meete but doth salute me (Shakespeare, *Err* 4.3.1)

       b. There is no voice so simple, but assumes Some marke of vertue on his outward parts   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.2.81)

       c. There's not a nose among twenty, but can smell him that's stinking   (Shakespeare, *Lr* 2.2.71)

       d. seeing no man who hath tasted learning, but will confesse the many waies of profiting   (Milton, *Areopagitica* 56)

       e. there are none that deserve commendation but may be justified   (Walton, *Angler* 15)

       f. there is no existing highest-order art but is decorative   (Ruskin, *Selections* 1.370)

       g. there was not one but had been guilty of some act of oppression or barbarity   (Stevenson, *Arrow* 110)

       h. I see around me none but are shipwrecked too   (Dickinson, *Symposium* 117)

In most cases, the relative pronoun represented by *but* is the subject of the clause, but it may also be the object of a verb (2); rarely, however, the object of a preposition placed at the end of the clause: (3).

(2)   no iutty frieze, Buttrice, nor coigne of vantage, but this bird Hath made
      his pendant bed   (Shakespeare, *Mcb* 1.6.9)

(3)   there is not a touch of Vandyck's pencil but he seems to have revelled in
                                                   (Ruskin, *Selections* 1.261)

This relative *but* is extremely frequent after an incomplete sentence (without
a verb), as in (4).

(4)   a. Not one of those, but had a noble father   (Shakespeare, *Alls* 2.3.68)

      b. Not a tree, not a bush, scarce a wildflower in their path, but revived in
          Rosamund some tender recollection   (Lamb, *Rosamund* 39)

      c. and probably not one of the whole brigade but excelled myself in
          personal advantages   (Quincey, *Mail-coach*)

      d. no one of us, I suppose, but would find it a very rough defective thing
                                                         (T. Carlyle, *Heroes* 132)

      e. Not one of the Gandishites but was after a while well-inclined to the
          young fellow   (Thackeray, *Newcomes* 205)

      f. nothing so great but it [a mob] will forget in an hour
                                                         (Ruskin, *Sesame* 46)

      g. no gentleman but wishes to avoid a scene   (Stevenson, *Jekyll* 8)

The negative idea that conditions this use of *but* may be expressed indirectly,
or it may be what has been termed above an incomplete negative. It is sometimes
wrongly asserted that Shakespeare did not use this *but* after an interrogative
sentence with negative import. Examples: (5)–(7).

(5)   a. What waxe so frozen but dissolues with tempring
                                                         (Shakespeare, *Ven* 565)

      b. What could he see but mightily he noted? What did he note, but
          strongly he desired?   (Shakespeare, *Lucr* 414)

      c. what murtherer … but may plead it   (Milton, *Samson* 834)

      d. What tender maid but must a victim fall To one man's treat, but for
          another's ball?   (Pope, *Rape* 1.95)

(6) a. Scarce a man but felt Barnes was laughing at him

(Thackeray, *Newcomes* 674)

    b. There is scarce any parent, however friendly or tender with his children, but must feel sometimes that they have thoughts which are not his or hers (ibid 235)

    c. Scarcely a locality but has its history of fortunes thrown away over some impossible project (Spencer, *Education* 22)

    d. Scarcely a word of the evening's conversation but gave him … the feeling … (Galsworthy, *Freelands* 277)

(7) a. Few young ladies but in this sense keep a dog (Lamb, *Elia* 2.219)

    b. And few of the men who were there, I know, but judged me a happy man (Wells, *Stories* 111)

    c. Few of these men but at some time of their lives had worn the clog (Bennett, *Clayhanger* 1.102)

In some cases, *but* is followed by a personal pronoun in such a way that both together make up a relative pronoun (*but they* meaning 'who … not', etc.); the phenomenon may be compared with the popular use of *that* or *which* followed by *he* or *him*, etc. *But*, in this case, is not a real relative pronoun, but rather a "relative connective". Examples: (8).

(8) a. there were but few knyghtes in all the courte, but they demed the quene was in the wronge (Malory, *Morte* 732)

    b. There's not a one of them but in his house I keepe a seruant feed.

(Shakespeare, *Mcb* 3.4.131)

    c. You can propound nothing but he has either a theory about it ready-made, or will have one instantly … (Stevenson, *Memories* 161)

    d. Not a man but he is some deal heartened up! (Stevenson, *Arrow* 115)

    e. not one great man of them, but he will puzzle you, if you look close, to know what he means (Ruskin, *Selections* 1.172)

    f. Women are a decorative sex. They never have anything to say, but they say it charmingly (with intentional ambiguity; Wilde, *Picture* 81)

In the same sense as the relative pronoun *but* we have also, from the beginning of the 18th century, the combination *but what*. As applied to persons (meaning 'who … not') this is now considered vulgar, but does not seem to have always been felt as such: (9).

(9) a. there is not one of the Ministry but what will employ me
                                           (J. Swift, *Journal* 489)

   b. I had … no agreeable diversion but what had some thing or other of
       this in it   (Defoe, *Farther* 4)

   c. scarce a farmer's daughter within ten miles round but what had
       found him successful and faithless   (Goldsmith, *Vicar*)

   d. not that I think Mr. Martin would ever marry any body but what had
       had some education   (Austen, *Emma* 29)

   e. There is not one of his tenants or servants but what will give him a
       good name.   (Austen, *Pride* 306)

   f. political economy … is eminently an organic science (no part, that is
       to say, but what acts on the whole, as the whole again reacts on and
       through each part)   (Quincey, *Confessions* 220)

   g. there's nobody round that hearth but what's glad to see you
                                             (Eliot, *Adam* 98)

   h. there is nothing else about me but what is intolerable
                                        (E. F. Benson, *Second* 129)

   i. there is no village lane within a league but what offers a gaunt and
       ludicrous travesty of rural charms   (Bennett, *Anna* 20)

But as a conjunction ('that not') is frequent in an object clause after a negative
expression, e.g. (10).

(10) a. My master knowes not but I am gone hence
                                     (Shakespeare, *Rom* 5.3.132)

   b. it must not be denied but I am a plaine dealing villaine
                                      (Shakespeare, *Ado* 1.3.32)

   c. Doe not beleeue, But I shall doe thee mischiefe in the wood
                                     (Shakespeare, *Mids* 2.1.237)

   d. then doubt not but the art will … prove like to vertue
                                         (Walton, *Angler* 11)

   e. I know not but some other enemy may be at hand.
                                         (Bunyan, *Progress* 75)

   f. I don't know but she may come this way   (Congreve, *Dealer* 2.7)

   g. it is not impossible, but I may make discoveries   (*Spectator* 5)

   h. I doubt not but it will take   (J. Swift, *Journal* 284)

    i. I make no doubt but he reacht it with ease   (Defoe, *Robinson* 25)

    j. I make no question, but … I shall be able to introduce you

                         (Fielding, *Jonathan* 3.420)

    k. "Nor can I deny," continued he, but "I have an interest in being first …"

                         (Goldsmith, *Vicar*)

    l. Much I rejoiced, not doubting but a guide Was present

                         (Wordsworth, *Prelude* 5.81)

    m. There was no knowing but she might have been childish enough

                         (Eliot, *Adam* 247)

    n. Doubt not but he will lend a favourable ear.   (Stevenson, *Arrow* 113)

But evidently in all these cases means the same thing to the popular speech instinct; it stands as the natural conjunction where the notion is negative. But it is easy to see that it really stands for two strictly opposite ideas, according as the main sentence is simply negative or doubly negative, i.e., positive. In the former case *but* gives a negative force to the dependent clause, in the latter case it does not. Thus, (10a) above means 'my master knows not otherwise than that I am gone hence', he believes that I am gone, he does not know that I am not gone; but in (10b), if for *it must not be denied* we substitute the equivalent *it is certain*, we must say *that I am a plain-dealing villain* without any *not*. The use of *but* in such cases, therefore, is on a par with the redundant use of negatives in popular speech (above, p. 96) and, like that, has now been generally discarded in educated speech and writing, so that the usual expression now is *it must not be denied that I am.* … ("Here, *that* is now considered more logical"—*NED*, *But* C *conj.* 21.)

In the same sense, *but that* is also used: (11).

(11)   a. I neither can nor will denie, But that I know them

                         (Shakespeare, *Alls* 5.3.167)

    b. I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment

                         (Milton, *Areopagitica* 5)

    c. It cannot be deny'd but that he … had need to be a man above the common measure   (ibid 28)

    d. 'Tis not to be questioned, but that it is an art   (Walton, *Angler* 11)

    e. not doubting, but that there was more   (Defoe, *Robinson* 91)

    f. I made no doubt but that his designs were strictly honourable

                         (Fielding, *Tom* 3.81)

    g. I cannot be persuaded but that marriage is one of the means of happiness.   (Johnson, *Rasselas* 102)

   h. I have no doubt but that bolts and bars will be entirely useless

(Sheridan, *Critic* 1.1.199)

   i. it is hardly possible but that some of the family must have been bitten

(Cowper, letter, 3 Aug. 1782)

   j. not knowing but that he might be in the right

(Franklin, *Autobiography* 181)

   k. I fear not but that my father Cedric will do his best

(Scott, *Ivanhoe* 288)

   l. They can hardly persuade themselves but that there is something
unbecoming, if not wicked, in the conduct   (Dickens, *Dombey* 151)

  m. I didn't know but that perhaps somebody might be passing up or
down the stairs   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 682)

   n. Let no man dream but that I love thee still.   (Tennyson, *Guinevere*)

   o. It is not to be supposed but that much pain will spring out of this
unnecessarily raised question.   (Trollope, *Warden* 115)

   p. I do not doubt but that I shall set many a reader's teeth on edge

(Ruskin, *Time* 212)

   q. I do not doubt but that all the other governors … would at once
confirm what I say   (ibid 148)

   r. I have no fear but that you will one day understand all my poor words

(Ruskin, *Fors* 35)

   s. he could not doubt but that she would face it   (Ward, *Marriage* 234)

And finally *but what* may be used; this, however, is recent and generally considered more or less vulgar: (12).

(12)   a. "Wouldn't it be much nicer …?" — "I don't know but what it would"

(Dickens, *Nicholas* 131)

   b. he didn't know but what he might change his condition even yet

(ibid 608)

   c. There is no knowing but what you may see things different after a
while.   (Eliot, *Adam* 28; frequent in Eliot)

   d. I am not going to say but what I am gratified.

(Trollope, *Children* 3.153)

   e. I am not saying but what I was a villain   (ibid 230)

   f. I shouldn't wonder but what that young chap out in Portugal'll want
to be one, too   (Meredith, *Harrington* 5)

g. We'd no thought but what we should bring you thirty pound in cash
(Bennett, *Anna* 209)

h. I shouldn't be surprised but what it could be recognized
(Housman, *John* 333)

i. I shall never hear it but what this evening will come pouring back over me.
(Wells, *Veronica* 196)

j. I am not so sure but what yesterday's terrible affair might have been avoided.
(Norris, *Octopus* 546)

The use of *but what* cannot be easily accounted for; the *NED* attempts no explanation, but simply brands the use as "erroneous" in all cases (*But* C *conj.* 12c, C *conj.* 30). Perhaps *but what* first began in the relative employment (see p. 171f), where *what* has sometimes approximately its usual force (as in the quotation on p. 172 from Defoe), and as *but what* was thus felt to be the equivalent of *but that*, it was substituted for that combination in other cases as well.

The negative idea in the main sentence may of course be expressed indirectly or by such a word as *little*. Examples include (13).

(13) a. Who denies but that it was justly burnt   (Milton, *Areopagitica* 12)

b. How can you tell but that the Turks had as good scriptures … as we have …?   (Bunyan, *Grace* 32)

c. who knows but the devil may fly off with the supper?
(Scott, *Ivanhoe* 482)

d. Who knows but the world may end to-night?   (R. Browning, *Ride*)

e. there is little doubt but he soon tired   (Hewlett, *Quair* 150)

By the side of the elliptical expression *Not that …* mentioned above (p. 70), we find *not but*, *not but that*, and *not but what*, e.g. (14).

(14) a. not but he confess'd Charlot had beauty   (Behn, *Mistake*)

b. not but that the difficulty of launching my boat came often into my head   (Defoe, *Robinson* 149)

c. Thus we lived several years in a state of much happiness, not but that we sometimes had those little rubs which Providence sends
(Goldsmith, *Vicar*)

d. Not but that I should be very sorry   (Cowper, letter, 4 Dec. 1784)

e. Not but what I'm glad to hear o' anybody respectable coming into the parish   (Eliot, *Adam* 297)

f. As long as Wilkins was here things were better. Not but what we had
    our quarrels in the servants' hall even then.   (Hankin, *Works* 2.10)

An infinitive is also found after *doubt not but* (obsolete), as in (15).

(15) a. I doubt not but to ride as fast as Yorke   (Shakespeare, *R2* 5.2.115)
      b. not doubting but to find it presently   (Bunyan, *Grace* 23)
      c. I doubt not but to relate to you many things   (Walton, *Angler* 17)
      d. The other … doubted not but to subvert any villainous design
                                                      (Fielding, *Jonathan* 3.548)

After verbs like *hinder*, *prevent*, *forbid*, etc., the use of *but* (*that*) = 'that not' is
now obsolete, e.g. (16).

(16) The heauens forbid But that our loues and comforts should encrease
                                                      (Shakespeare, *Oth* 2.1.195)

But (*but that*, *but what*) is also used in the negative sense of 'that … not' after
a comparison with *not so*: (17)–(19).

(17) a. the bandes can neuer be so sure nor so stronge, but they wyll fynde
          some hole open to crepe owte at   (More, *Utopia* 239)
      b. She is not yet so old But she may learne … Shee is not bred so dull but
          she can learne   (Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.2.163)
      c. they were not therein so cautious but they were as dissolute in their
          promiscuous conversing   (Milton, *Areopagitica* 8)
      d. There is nothing so monstrous but we can believe it of ourselves.
                                                      (Stevenson, *Virginibus* 25)
      e. Pepys was not such an ass, but he must have perceived … the
          extraordinary nature of the work   (Stevenson, *Men* 301)

(18) a. I was not so moche a fool but that I fonde the hole wel
                                                      (Caxton, *Reynard* 38)
      b. I am not yet so low, But that my nailes can reach vnto thine eyes.
                                                      (Shakespeare, *Mids* 3.2.298)
      c. even Scrooge was not so dreadfully cut up by the sad event, but that
          he was an excellent man of business on the very day of the funeral
                                                      (Dickens, *Carol* 3)

d. I was not so thoughtless but that I slacked my pace

(Stevenson, *Treasure* 221)

e. "You'll bury the king?" — "Not so deep but that we can take him out again, poor fellow." (Hope, *Rupert* 128)

f. You are not too ill but that they may be a happiness to you also.

(Harraden, *Ships* 11)

(19) a. not so long ago but what there were people living who remembered it (Eliot, *Silas* 100)

b. She did not however go so fast but what she heard the signora's voice

(Trollope, *Barchester* 399)

Similarly, after a comparative: (20).

(20) a. that I should have no more wit, but to trifle away my time

(Bunyan, *Grace* 24)

b. What more natural but there's something for yourself?

(Caine, *Manxman* 138)

But was formerly very frequent after *no sooner* (21)–(23), where now *than* is always used; thus also more rarely *but that*: (24). The last quotations show *but* in the same way after similar expressions: (25).

(21) I was no sooner in the middle of the pond, but my horse vanisht away

(Marlowe, *Faustus* 1191)

(22) a. he no sooner entred, but a lusty peale of welcomes was shot out of kannes in stead of canons (Dekker, *Sinnes* 12)

b. No sooner was he aduaunced vp into the moste famous streetes, but a number of shops for ioy beganne to shut in (ibid 25)

c. I had no sooner thus conceived in my mind, but suddenly this conclusion was fastened upon my spirit (Bunyan, *Grace* 12)

d. This thought had no sooner passed through my heart but these words began thus to kindle in my spirit (ibid 30, etc.)

e. No sooner wer't thou gone, and I alone, Left in the pow'r of that old son of mischief; No sooner was I laid on my sad bed, But that vile wretch approacht me (Otway, *Venice* 3.2)

f. He was no sooner gone but Lord Orkney sent to know whether he might come and sit with me (J. Swift, *Journal* 484)

(23)   a. He was no sooner landed upon the Earth, but he moved forward
           towards me   (Defoe, *Robinson* 102)

       b. [unidentified]   (Defoe, R. 2. 40)

       c. He no sooner got rid of his impotent enemy, but he marched up to
           the wood   (*Spectator* 92)

       d. the building of a house to meet in was no sooner propos'd …, but
           sufficient sums were soon receiv'd to procure the ground and erect
           the building   (Franklin, *Autobiography* 125)

(24)   The breath no sooner left his fathers body, But that his wildness …
       Seem'd to dye too   (Shakespeare, *H5* 1.1.24)

(25)   a. He's scarce gotten out of one scrape, but he's running his head into
           another   (Goldsmith, *Good-natur'd*)

       b. Scarce was his entrance blown abroad, but the banckrupt, the fellon,
           and all that owed any mony, and … had like so many snayles kept
           their houses ouer their heads al the day before, began now to creep
           out of their shels   (Dekker, *Sinnes* 25)

       c. He had not run far from his own door, but his wife and children,
           perceiving it, began to cry after him to return   (Bunyan, *Progress* 3)

But serves to introduce the necessary result 'so that … not'. The *NED*, *But* C
conj. 14 says "Now generally expressed by *without* and gerund: 'you cannot look
but you will see it', i.e. without seeing it. Formerly sometimes *but that*." This
expression "formerly" perhaps is too severe: I give an example of *but that* (27)
from a very recent (American) novel; also one of *but what* (28).

(26)   a. It never rains but it pours
       b. Ye passe not by, but they laugh   (*Roister* 18)
       c. nothing dies but something mourns   (Byron, *Juan* 3.108)
       d. I'll not consent but Seth shall have a hand in it too   (Eliot, *Adam* 102)

(27)   You can't look up or down the river but that on every hill you see a
       château   (Williamson, *Lightning* 87)

(28)   the child would never pass one of the unfettered on the road but what he
       spat at him and called him names   (Stevenson, *House* 178)

But, or more frequently *but that*, serves to introduce a clause of condition, 'if … not'. An old combination, which has long been obsolete, was *but if*. Examples of all three: (29)–(31).

(29)   How shold ony man handle hony, but yf he lycked his fyngres

(Caxton, *Reynard* 64)

(30)   a. This man is angry but he haue his [gains] by and by   (*Roister* 85)
       b. I here do giue thee that with all my heart, Which but thou hast [? for: *hadst*] already, with all my heart I would keepe from thee.

(Shakespeare, *Oth* 1.3.194)

(31)   a. And since I haue not much importun'd you, Nor now I had not, but that I am bound To Persia   (Shakespeare, *Err* 4.1.3)
       b. I had been here sooner, but that … I slept   (Bunyan, *Progress* 51)
       c. I would have stayed … but that I knew I had further to go   (ibid 55)
       d. I … should have taken Collins with me but that he was not sober

(Franklin, *Autobiography* 40)

       e. Such defects as these … would not be mentioned here, but that they serve to explain some of the misconceptions which were formed

(McCarthy, *History* 2.151)

       f. I would offer myself for the post … but that I feel perfectly sure that you would never follow anybody's advice   (Ward, *Marriage* 78)
       g. But that I considered it to be beneath my dignity as a man, I should have wept too.   (Locke, *Vagabond* 64)

The same *but* = 'if not' is also found in the following idiom: (32).

(32)   a. It shall goe hard but I will better the instruction

(Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.1.75)

       b. It will go hard with me but I will requite it   (Scott, *Ivanhoe* 89)

The same idea is very often expressed in betting terms as in the following quotations. But it should be noted that though *ten to one but he comes* means originally 'you may bet ten to one if he does not come', the negative idea has now disappeared, and it means 'the chances are that he does come'; to the old phrase *it is odds but he comes* therefore corresponds the modern *the odds are that he comes*. Besides *but* we find in the 18th century also *but that* (35).

(33)   a.   it is odds but this Mr. Dyot will be hanged   (J. Swift, *Journal* 26)

      b.   the odds are a hundred to one, but Swillenhausen Castle would have been ....   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 66)

(34)   a.   'tis twenty to one but we have them   (Jonson, *Epicœne* 3.198)

      b.   a hundred to one but he dies there   (Bunyan, *Progress* 143)

      c.   it would be a thousand to one but he would repent

(Defoe, *Farther* 189)

      d.   it is ten to one but you learn something of her gown and petticoat

(*Spectator* 28)

      e.   it is two to one but it lives   (Fielding, *Tom* 1.11)

      f.   Give a girl an education, and introduce her properly into the world, and ten to one but she has the means of settling well

(Austen, *Mansfield* 4)

(35)   a.   Whenever the people flock to see a miracle, it is an hundred to one but that they see a miracle   (Goldsmith, *Citizen* letter 111)

      b.   'tis ten to one but that many of them would be worse mounted

(Sterne, *Tristram* 1.8)

With *but* in the sense 'if … not' should also be placed the common elliptical idiom *but for*: *But for him we should have succeeded*, i.e. 'if it had not been for him', 'if he had not hindered it'.

By a curious transition *but* has come to mean the same thing as 'only'; at first it required a preceding negative: *I will not say but one word*, i.e., 'not except (save) one word'; compare the form used in northern dialects *nobbut*. But then the negative was dropped out, and *I will say but one word* came to be used in exactly the same signification. The curious thing is that exactly the same thing has happened in German, where *nur* at first required a negative word before it (it originated in *ne wäre*); cf. also vulgar French *je dis qu' ça*. In English, the old negative idiom may still be used to some extent with *can*, as in (36).

(36)   a.   I can't but say   ('I can but say')   (Byron, *Juan* 2.208)

      b.   I can't come to but one conclusion   (Read, *Colonel* 64)

Similarly, in (37), the words *for no purpose* might be omitted without changing the meaning of the whole.

(37)   Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him

(Macaulay, *Clive* 4.79)

Old examples of *but* in this way after a negative are easily found in the dictionaries; I shall therefore give only one: (38). The expression is strengthened by *only* in (39).

(38)   *Nan* man *ne* bið gehealden *buton* þurh   gife   Hælendes Cristes
        no   man not is saved   except through grace of Savior   Christ
        'No man is saved except through the grace of Jesus Christ'
                            (thus before another preposition; Ælfric, *Homilies* 1.114)

(39)   Discourse [will] grow commendable in *none onely but* parrats

(Shakespeare, *Merch* 3.5.51).

The same redundancy is found when the negative is not expressed: (40).

(40)   a. I finde *but only* two sorts of writing which the Magistrate car'd to
            take notice of   (Milton, *Areopagitica* 6)
        b. caring *only but* to catch the public eye   (Ruskin, *Selections* 1.261).

As *but* and *only* are thus synonyms, by a natural reaction *only* acquires some of the properties at first belonging exclusively to *but.*

Only that comes to mean 'except that' (or something very similar to that) and eventually even 'if … not', exactly like *but that.* Examples: (41).

(41)   a. I wille not graunte the thy lyf … only that thou frely relece the quene
                                                        (Malory, *Morte* 736)

        b. I will not answer a word of it, only that I never was giddy since my
            first fit   (J. Swift, *Journal* 86)

        c. He would have been more antagonistic at this stage, only that the
            doorkeeper's wife was a good, burly soul   (Ridge, *Son* 41)

        d. She'd have done it sooner only that in her heart she credits me with a
            tragedy.   (Hope, *Dialogues* 227)

        e. We should not have troubled you, only that our friend … has been
            forced to return to the East.   (Doyle, *Memoirs* 4.116)

Only when meaning 'except when': (42).

(42)   a.   "Do you come every week to see Mrs. Pomfret?" — "Yes, sir, every
           Thursday, only when she's got to go out with Miss Donnithorne."
                                                            (Eliot, *Adam* 110)
       b.   I'll never fight any man again only when he behaves like a scoundrel.
                                                                   (ibid 141)

Only also by itself, without *that*, may stand for 'if … not' or at any rate come
near to that signification: (43).

(43)   a.   Two pretty young ladies … waited for an answer: which they would
           have had, only the old lady began rattling on a hundred stories
                                              (Thackeray, *Samuel* 20)
       b.   I should not have noticed this one [letter] only it happened to come
           alone.   (Doyle, *Hound* 169)
       c.   I'd introduce you to her, only you'd win her.   (London, *Martin* 42)

Only for is sometimes used like the more usual *but for*, meaning 'if it had not
been for' (cf. above, p. 180): (44).

(44)   a.   I should have thought she was a beggar woman only for her good
           clothes.   (Eliot, *Adam* 374)
       b.   Only for his exile I shouldn't have been here at all
                                   (Caine, *City* 112; very frequent in Caine)
       c.   We should have been here quarter of an hour ago only for his
           nonsense.   (Shaw, *Philanderer* 143)
       d.   only for me there'd never have been the pier built
                                       (Birmingham, *Whitty* 308)
       e.   he would have sworn that this man was Wilhelm Müller …, only for
           the fact that he knew that Müller was dead   (Stacpoole, *Cottage* 168)
       f.   He wouldn't have had any community property only for you.
                                         (London, *Valley* 515)

In American slang, I find *only* with a preceding negative: (45). This shows
another reaction on the use of *only* from *but*.

(45)   I could *n't* turn up *only* sixty cents.   (Ade, *Artie* 84)

Let me also mention the possibility of a negative answer after *only* because it
is = *none but*.

If we were to ask the question 'Had you only the children with you?' a person south of the Tweed[1] would answer '*no*', and a person north of the Tweed '*yes*', both meaning the same thing—viz, that only the children were there. I think I should myself, though a Southron, answer *yes*.

(Quoted from an English correspondent (Storm 1896: 703), who also gives literary quotations for *no* in answers to questions with *only*, from Miss Burney, George Eliot, Trollope, Sweet.)

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[1]Loosely, a person from south of the River Tweed is English and another from north of it is Scots. (Eds.)

Chapter 13

Negative Prefixes

Un-, *in-*

The most important negative prefixes are *un-* and *in-*, both etymologically going back to the same Arian form, *n-* (syllabic), reduced from the negative word *ne* (which gave also the Greek *a-* "privativum", see p. 192 below). *Un-* is the native English form, while *in-* is the Latin form, known to the English through numerous French and Latin words, and to some extent also productive in English itself. A good deal of hesitation has prevailed between the two prefixes, though now in most cases one or the other has been definitely preferred. We shall speak first of the form, next of the choice between the two prefixes, and finally of their meaning.

In-, according to the rules of Latin phonology, has the alternate forms *ig-* as in *ignoble*, *il-* as in *illiterate*, *im-* as in *impossible*, *ir-* as in *irreligious*.

In a few words, the sound of a word is changed, when this prefix is added:

pious	[paiəs]	*impious*	[impiəs]
finite	[fainait]	*infinite*	[infinit]
famous	[feiməs]	*infamous*	[infəməs]

In the last word, the signification too is changed (see p. 190).

Pretty often *un-* is preferred before the shorter word, and *in-* before the longer word derived from it, which is generally also of a more learned nature; thus we have these contrasts, as in (1).

unable	*inability*
unjust	*injustice*
unequal	*inequality*

(1)   some excuse for incivility if I *was* uncivil   (Austen, *Pride* 239).

Un- is preferred where the word has a distinctly native ending, as in

    ungrateful   ingratitude.

Hence also the following examples (2) of participles in *-d* with *un-*, while the adjectives in *-able* have *in-*.

(2)   a. all the *unnumber'd* and *innumerable* multitudes   (Byron, *Cain* 1.1)

        b. Their faces, *undistinguished* and *indistinguishable* in the crowd
                                      (Page, *Marvel* 175)

        c. the two great fragments we possess of Shakespeare's *uncompleted* work are *incomplete* simply because the labour … was cut short by his timeless death   (Swinburne, *Shakespeare* 212)

        d. *unmitigated* and *immitigable*   (Gissing, *Grub* 90)

        e. after an *unexplained*, but not *inexplicable* delay   (news 1917)

It should also be noted that while most of the *in-* words are settled once for all, and have to be learned by children as wholes, there is always a possibility of forming new words on the spur of the moment with the prefix *un-*, see, for instance the contrast in (3).

(3)   the *irresponsible* and *unresponsive* powers   (Whiteing, *Five* 267)

Hence also the difference between *unavoidable* from the existing verb *avoid*, and *inevitable*: there is no English verb *evite*.

In other instances we find *un-* alternating with some other prefix in related words:

    unfortunate   misfortune
    unsatisfactory   dissatisfaction
    uncomfortable   discomfort

In a great many cases, the prefix *un-* was formerly used, either alone or concurrently with *in-*, where now the latter is exclusively used. Examples are:

    unactive (Shakespeare, Milton), *uncapable* (Shakespeare, Defoe, J. Swift, *Spectator*), *unconstant* (Shakespeare, Lyly), *uncredible* (More), *uncurable* (More, Shakespeare), *undecent* (Lyly), *undocile* (Defoe), *unhonest* (More), *unmeasurable* (Shakespeare), *unnoble* (Lyly, Shakespeare, Fletcher), *unnumerable* (More), *unperfect* (Shakespeare, *AV*), *unplausible* (Milton), *unpossible* (Lyly,

Shakespeare, *AV*, Goldsmith (vulgar)), *unproper* (Shakespeare), *unsatiable* (More), *unsatiate* (Shakespeare), *unsufferable* (Defoe), *unsufficient* (More), *untractable* (Defoe)[1]

Many of these, and similar *un-* words, are still in use in dialects, see Wright (1905b) and Wright (1913: 31).

Words in which *in-* was formerly used while *un-* is now recognized:

incertain (Shakespeare), *incharitable* (Shakespeare), *inchaste* (Peele), *infortunate* (Kyd, Shakespeare), *ingrateful* (Shakespeare, Milton), *insubstantial* (Shakespeare)

(It is not, of course, pretended that these words occur only in the authors named; in most cases, it would be very easy to find examples in other writers as well.)

Both *unfrequent* and *infrequent* are in use, the latter, for instance in (4). *Unelegant* and *unfirm* are rarer than *inelegant* and *infirm*.

(4)   in not infrequent communication   (Zangwill, *Mystery* 199)

The distinction now made between *human* and *humane* is recent; *inhuman* has the meaning corresponding to *humane*, while the negative of *human* is generally expressed by *non-human*, rarely as in (5).

(5)   he was so unaffectedly *unhuman* that he did not recognise the human
       intention and essence of that teaching   (Stevenson, *Men* 166)

Corresponding to *apt* we have the Latin and French *inept* with change of vowel and of meaning ('foolish') and the English formation *unapt*; the corresponding substantives are *ineptitude* and *unaptness*, rarely as in (6)—evidently with a sly innuendo of the other word.

(6)   women … their *inaptitude* for reasoning   (Shaw, *Ibsenism* 10)

Inutterable was in use in the 17th century (Milton, etc.), but has been superseded by *unutterable*; it has been revived, however, in one instance by Tennyson (7), no doubt to avoid two successive words beginning with *un-*.

(7)   killed with inutterable unkindliness   (*Merlin*)

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[1]Jespersen specifies the authors who use these—as well as the words prefixed *in-* in the following list—but not where the uses occur. Our choices are arbitrary. (Eds.)

Words beginning with *in-* or *im-* do not admit of the prefix *in-*; hence *un-* even in long and learned words like *unimportant*, *unintelligible*, *unintentional*, *uninterrupted*, etc. *Unimmortal* (Milton, *Lost* 10.611) is rare. Note also *disingenuous* (e.g. Shelley, *Letters* 729).

It is sometimes felt as an inconvenience that the negative prefix is identical in form with the (Latin) preposition *in*. The verb *inhabit* contains the latter; but *inhabitable* is sometimes used with negative import, thus in (8). The ambiguity of this form leads to the use of two forms with *un-*, a rarer one as in (9) (but the form *inhabited* is used in the positive sense (10)); and the more usual *uninhabitable*, which is found in (11) and has now completely prevailed. The corresponding positive adjective ('what can be *inhabited*') is *habitable*. Ambiguities are also found in other similar adjectives, as seen by definitions in dictionaries: *investigable* (1) that may be investigated, (2) incapable of being investigated; *infusible* (1) that may be infused or poured in, (2) incapable of being fused or melted; *invertible* (1) capable of being inverted, (2) incapable of being changed. *Importable*, which is now used only as derived from *import* ('capable of being imported') had formerly also the meaning 'unbearable', and *improvable* similarly had the meaning of 'incapable of being proved', though it only retains that of 'capable of being improved'. *Inexistence* means (1) the condition of existing in something, and (2), rarely, the condition of not existing. Cf. Jespersen (1905: §140) for a few more examples.

(8)   a.   In Ynde and abouten Ynde, ben mo than 5000 iles, gode and grete,
            that men duellen in, with outen tho that ben inhabitable
            'In Ind and about Ind, are more than 5000 isles, good and great, that
            men dwell in, excepting those that are not habitable' (*Maundevile* 161)

      b.   Euen to the frozen ridges of the Alpes, Or any other ground
            inhabitable   (Shakespeare, *R2* 1.1.65)

(9)   the *unhabitable* part of the world   (Defoe, *Robinson* 156)

(10) the island was *inhabited*   (ibid 188)

(11) Though this island seeme to be desert. … *Vninhabitable*, and almost
      inaccessible   (Shakespeare, *Tp* 2.1.37)

With regard to the employment and meaning of these two prefixes it is, first, important to note that their proper sphere is with adjectives and adverbs. They are found frequently with substantives, but exclusively with such as are derived

from adjectives, e.g. *unkindness, injustice, unimportance, incomprehensibility.* Similarly *unemployment*, which does not mean the same as *non-employment*, but refers to the number of unemployed. Cf. also the rare *unproportion*, from *proportionate*, in (12). *Unfriend* (frequent in Scotch) also smacks of *unfriendly*; it is found in (13). Carlyle's "Thinkers and *unthinkers*" (*Revolution* 107) is a nonce-word.

(12)   the wide unproportion between this slender company, and the boundless plain of sand   (Kinglake, *Eothen* 178)

(13)   a. They were unfriends of mine   (Kipling, *Kim* 202)
        b. not distinguishing friend from unfriend   (Hewlett, *Quair* 30)

The negative prefixes *un-* and *in-* are not used with verbs, though *un-* is very frequent with participles, because these are adjectival: *undying, unfinished.* (*In-* with Latin participles, which in English are simply adjectives: *inefficient, imperfect.*) On the privative *un-* with verbs see below p. 193.

Not all adjectives admit of having the negative prefix *un-* or *in-*, and it is not always easy to assign a reason why one adjective can take the prefix and another cannot. Still, the same general rule obtains in English as in other languages, that most adjectives with *un-* or *in-* have a depreciatory sense: we have *unworthy, undue, imperfect*, etc., but it is not possible to form similar adjectives from *wicked, foolish*, or *terrible*. Van Ginneken (1907: 208 §240) counted the words in *un-* in a German dictionary and found that 98% of the substantives and 85% of the adjectives had "une signification défavorable" ('an unfavorable meaning'). Noreen (1904: §567) found similar relations obtaining in Swedish.

The modification in sense brought about by the addition of the prefix is generally that of a simple negative *unworthy* = 'not worthy', etc. The two terms are thus contradictory terms. But very often the prefix produces a "contrary" term or at any rate what approaches one: *unjust* (and *injustice*) generally imply the opposite of *just* (*justice*); *unwise* means more than *not wise* and approaches *foolish, unhappy* is not far from *miserable*, etc. Still, in most cases we have only approximation, and *unbeautiful* (which is not very common, but is used, for instance, by Carlyle, *Reminiscences* 1.118, Swinburne, *Cross-currents* 187, Zangwill, and others) is not so strong as *ugly* or *hideous*. Sometimes the use of the negative is restricted: *unwell* refers only to health, and we could not speak of a book as *unwell printed* (for *badly*).[2] *Unfair* is only used in the moral sense, not of outward looks.

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[2]*Unwell* has only ever been an adjective; this rules out *unwell printed*. (Eds.)

While *immoral* means the opposite of *moral*, i.e., what is contrary to (the received ideas of) morality, the necessity is sometimes felt of a term implying 'having nothing to do with morality, standing outside the sphere of morality'; this is sometimes expressed by *amoral* (thus frequently by the late ethnologist A. H. Keane), sometimes by *unmoral* (14). Cf. from French (15).

(14) a. There is a vast deal in life and letters both which is not immoral, but simply a-moral   (Stevenson, *Memories* (*NED*, *Amoral*))

  b. They [children] are naturally neither moral nor immoral—but merely unmoral. They are little savages, living in a civilized society that has not yet civilized them   (Lindsey, *Beast* 779)

  c. the universe was unmoral and without concern for men
                (London, *Valley* 255)

(15) Moralité, *immoralité, amoralité* — tous ces   mots   ne   veulent rien
  morality immorality amorality   all   these words not want   nothing
  dire.
  say
  'Morality, immorality, amorality — none of these words means anything.'
                (Rolland, *Foire* 130)

As *irreligious* is very often used as the opposite of *religious*, Carlyle in one passage avoids this word, in speaking of University College, London, (16).

(16) "it will be *unreligious*, secretly *anti-religious* all the same," said Irving to us   (*Reminiscences* 1.293)[3]

Infamous has been separated from *famous* as in sound (cf. p. 185), so in sense; the negative of *famous* is now rather *unfamed*.

Other examples, in which the word with the negative prefix has been separated in sense from the simplex, are

different   *indifferent*
pertinent   *impertinent*

Invaluable means 'priceless', 'very valuable' while the negative of *valuable* is *worthless*.

Un- (rarely *in-*) may be prefixed to participial groups: *unheard-of, uncalled-for, uncared-for* (17).

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[3]The speaker is the Scottish clergyman Edward Irving (1792–1834). (Eds.)

(17)   the offer of the 872 moidores, which was *indisposed of*

(Defoe, *Robinson* 341)

To the same category may be referred (18).

(18)   a. that the time was out of joint and life *unworth living*

(Bennett, *Wives* 2.235)

   b. were a generation of infants to grow up *untaught to speak*

(Whitney, *Studies* 1.286)

   c. you haue very rare, and *vn-in-one-breath-vtter-able* skill

(Jonson, *Humour* 1.5)

There is an interesting Scotch way of using the negative prefix *on-* ('un-') before participles, as in (19). This is sometimes mistakenly written *ohn*, as if from German *ohne*: (20).

(19)   I'm nae responsible to gae afore Sir Simon on-hed my papers upo' me
('without having')   (Alexander, *Johnny* 235)

(20)   ohn been ashamed   (Wright 1905a: 364 ON-, *pref.*)

Instead of prefixing *un-* to adjectives in *-ful* it is usual to substitute *-less* for *-ful*, thus *careless* corresponding to *careful*, *thoughtless*, *hopeless*, *useless*; but *unfaithful*, *unmerciful* are used by the side of *faithless*, *merciless*; *unlawful* does not mean the same as *lawless*; *uneventful* and *unsuccessful* are preferred to *eventless* and *successless*; *unbeautiful* is used, but there is no *beautiless*.

Dis-

The prefix *dis-* (from Latin) besides various other meanings also has that of a pure negative, as in *dissimilar*, *dishonest*, *dispassionate*, *disagree* (*-able*), *disuse*, *dislike*, *disbelieve* generally implying contrary rather than contradictory opposition, as is seen very distinctly in *dissuade*, *disadvise* (21), *disreputable*, etc. Sometimes the prefix has the same privative meaning as *un-* before verbs (see p. 193), as in *disburden*, *disembarrass* (22); *discover* has been specialized and differentiated from *uncover*.

(21)   he *disadvised* you from it   (Trollope, *Warden* 231)

(22)   *diswhipped* Taskmaster   (nonce-word, T. Carlyle, *Revolution* 268)

A difference is made between *dis-* and *un-* in (23), the former referring to egoism, the latter to more ideal motives. (In Ido the two would be *sen-interesta ma ne sen-interesa*.)

(23)   The entrance of a fresh and powerful neutral [U. S.], honestly
       disinterested but not *uninterested*   (American news 1916)

As with *in-* we have sometimes here a linguistic drawback arising from the ambiguity of the prefix. *Dissociable* may be either the negative of *sociable* ('unsociable') or derived from the verb *dissociate* ('separable'); in the former case the *NED* will pronounce a double [s], while Mr. Daniel Jones (1917: 136) has single [s] in both, but pronounces the ending in the former [-ʃəbl], in the latter [ʃiəbl] or [ʃjəbl].

Disannul means practically the same thing as *annul* and thus contains a redundant negative (cf. Spanish *desnudar*).

Non-

A great many words (substantives, not so often adjectives) are formed with the Latin *non-*, especially in those cases where no formations with *un-* or *in-* are available. Juridical terms are probably responsible for the extent to which this prefix has been made use of. Shakespeare has *nonage*, *non-payment*, *non-performance*, *non-regardance*, and *non-suit*. It will be seen that *non-* is chiefly used with action-nouns; but it is also frequent with agent-nouns, such as *non-combatant*, *non-belligerent*, *non-communicant*, *non-conductor*, cf. also *non-conducting*, *non-member*. See also (24).

(24)   a. the *non-arrival* of her own carriage   (Dickens, *Nicholas* 50)
       b. in a *non-natural* way   (Wells, *Anticipations* 303)
       c. this tangled, *nonunderstandable* conflict   (London, *Valley* 199)
       d. their *non-importation* resolutions   (MacDonald, *Account* 245)
       e. the United States was born *non-viable*   (ibid 309)
       f. a *non-stopping* train

An-, a-

The Greek prefix *an-* before a vowel, *a-* before a consonant, etymologically identical with *un-* and *in-* (see p. 185), is chiefly found in Greek words like *anarchy*,

amorphous, *achromatic*, but is also in rare instances used in English to form new words (from Latin roots), such as *amoral* (above p. 189), *asexual* in (25).

(25)   the truly emancipated woman … is almost asexual   (Gissing, *Born* 267)

No-

No (the pronoun) is sometimes used as a kind of prefix, as illustrated in Jespersen (1914: 430 §16.79) with examples like *no-education*, *no-thoroughfare*, *no-ball*, etc. Cf. also (26).

(26)   a. must himself, with such *no-faculty* as he has, begin governing
                                                    (T. Carlyle, *Revolution* 57)

      b. The Constitution which will suit that? Alas, too clearly, a
          No-Constitution, an Anarchy   (ibid 199)

      c. there can be no settlement which is not a world-settlement. Even the
          no-settlement which a stalemate would involve would be an
          unsettlement of the whole world
                        (The latter to the following prefix; Pollard, *Prevention* 313)

The privative *un-*

Old English had the prefix *ond-*, *and-*, which was liable to lose its *d* before a consonant; it corresponds etymologically to Greek *anti-* and German *ent-*. In *answer* it is no longer felt as a prefix; and in *dread* the only thing left of the prefix is *d*: Old English *ondrædan* ('advise against'), cf. German *entraten* ('forego'), was felt as containing the preposition *on*, and when that was subtracted, *drædan* ('dread') remained (Pogatscher 1903: 182).

In other instances the prefix remained living, but the vowel was changed into *u*, probably through influence from the negative prefix, (cf. *unless*, Middle English *on lesse* (*that*), where also the negative notion caused confusion with *un-*). Thus the old *onbindan*, *ontiegan* became *unbindan*, *untigan* in Ælfric, modern *unbind*, *untie*. The two prefixes are now different through stress, the negative words having even and the privative end stress. The privative *un-* serves to make verbs, such as *uncover* ('deprive of cover'), *untie* ('loose'), *undress* ('take off dress'), *undo* ('reverse what has been done, annul, untie'), *unmask*, etc., also for instance

unman ('deprive of the qualities of a man'), *unking* ('dethrone', Shakespeare), *un-lord.*

The following quotations may serve to illustrate the freedom with which new verbs are formed with this prefix: (27).

(27) a. she treads the path that she *vntreads* againe   (Shakespeare, *Ven* 908)

     b. *Vn-sweare* faith sworne   (Shakespeare, *John* 3.1.245)

     c. thou hast *vnwished* fiue thousand men   (Shakespeare, *H5* 4.3.76)

     d. Then who created thee lamenting learne, When who can *uncreate* thee thou shalt know   (Milton, *Lost* 5.895)

     e. [he] wishes, he could *unbeget* Those rebel sons

                            (Dryden, *Aureng-Zebe* 1)

     f. to say or to *unsay*, Whate'er you please   (Dryden, *All* 4)

     g. they were, as it were, alarmed, and *un-alarmed* again

                             (Defoe, *Journal* 25)

     h. before the end of the year …, I shall have my wings *unbirdlim'd*

                             (Coleridge, letter)

     i. do not poison all My peace left, by *unwishing* that thou wert A father

                         (Byron, *Sardanapalus* 4.1)

     j. Death quite *unfellows* us   (E. B. Browning, *Aurora* 170)

     k. it makes and *unmakes* whole worlds   (T. Carlyle, *Sartor* 82)

     l. [she] *Unhandkerchiefs* one eye   (Twain, *Mississippi* 190)

While infinitives and other pure verb-forms beginning with *un-* can only be privatives, participles with the same beginning may be either negatives or privatives, the written and printed forms being identical in the two cases. Thus *uncovered* may be [ˈʌnˈkʌvəd] 'not covered' and [ʌnˈkʌvəd] 'deprived of cover' *unlocked* [ˈʌnˈlɔkt] 'not locked' and [ʌnˈlɔkt] 'opened'; similarly *untied, undressed, unstrapped, unbuttoned, unharnessed, unbridled, unloaded, unpacked*, etc.

In some cases, it may be doubtful whether we have one or the other prefix, e.g.: (28).

(28) a. those *unsexed* intellectuals   (Wells, *Veronica* 124)

     b. all sorts of clothing, made and *unmade*   (Dickens, *David* 117)

     c. [an anonymous book] has been by some attributed to me—at which I ought to be much flattered and *unflattered*   (Darwin, *Life* 1.333)

     d. Love or *unlove* me, *Unknow* me or know, I am that which unloves me and loves   (Swinburne, *Songs* 83)

(I reckon here also Swinburne's *unlove* and *unknow*, though according to the ordinary rules these should be only privatives.)

The two prefixes are brought together neatly in (29).

(29)   If charity covers a multitude of sins, *uncharitableness* has the advantage
        of *uncovering* them   (Locke, *Septimus* 246)

Shakespeare and the Authorized Version have the illogical verb *unloose* with confusion of *untie* and *loose*(*n*).

From the privative verb *to undress* is formed the substantive *undress* (stress on the first syllable, Jespersen 1909: 175 §5.72) meaning 'plain clothes' (not uniform), e.g. (30).

(30)   in a military undress   (Scott, *Antiquary* 1.298)

NB. The rules here given for stress of the two kinds of formations are probably too absolute; as a matter of fact there is a good deal of vacillation. Mr. Daniel Jones (1917: 488) does not seem to recognize any distinction between the two prefixes. Most of the unphonetic pronouncing dictionaries give end-stress in all cases.

Appendix A:

Negative Lexical Items

- Core English negators
  - Basic negators: *not, -n't, never, no, none, nothing, nobody, neither, nor*
  - Obsolete/variant forms: *nought, naught, nay, na*

- Variants and contractions
  - Contractions: *don't, won't, can't, shan't, ain't*
  - Old/Middle English: *ne, nam* (for *am not*), *nis* (for *is not*), *nill* (for *will not*), *nolde* (for *would not*)

- Intensifiers and emphatic negators
  - Idiomatic intensifiers: *not a bit, not a jot, not a scrap, not a whit, not a damn, not a toss, not a tinker's curse, zilch, diddly-squat*
  - Phrases: *by no means, not at all, not in the least, never a one, never a word, never a thought, never a sound*

- Exclamatory and emphatic negation
  - Exclamations: *damn, damned, blame, blest, be hanged, be shot*
  - Expressions: *be damned if I do, I'll be shot if I am, hang me if I can tell*

- Lexicalized negation with *devil* and related terms
  - Devil and variants: *devil, de'il, fanden, djævelen* (Danish), *the devil knows, devil a bit, devil a word, the devil you say, devil the other idea*
  - Deuce: *deuce a word, the deuce he does*
  - Irish English: *sorra* (e.g., *sorra a bit, sorra a word*)

- Negative prefixes and suffixes
  - Prefixes: *un-, in-, dis-, non-, a-*
  - Suffixes: *-less* (e.g., *hopeless, careless*)

Appendix A Negative Lexical Items

- Mitigated or softened negation
    - Mitigated negatives: *hardly, scarcely, barely*
    - Comparative of *little*: *least* in *lest* (e.g., *lest you forget*)

- Idiomatic and playful uses
    - Sports terminology: *love* (in tennis, meaning *nothing*)
    - Curses as negation: *pox* (as in *the pox take me*)

- French negators
    - *ne, pas, point, mie, jamais, personne, aucun, rien, guère*

- German negators
    - *nicht, kein, nichts, nie*

- Scandinavian/Danish/Norse negators
    - *ikke, ej, ingen, intet, eigi, ekki*

- Latin negators
    - *ne, non, nullus, nullus est*

- Greek negators
    - *ouden, oudeis, ou gar*

- Scots and dialectal negation
    - *fient* (e.g., *fient haet*, meaning *not a bit*)

- Old and Middle English forms
    - Middle English: *ne seye* (for *say not*), *ne can* (for *cannot*), *nese* (for *no*)
    - Old English: *ne, nan* (for *none*), *nalles* (for *not at all*), *na* (for *not*)
    - Compound forms: *nawiht* (for *nothing*), *nawiht at all*

- Indirect or softened negation
    - Comparative and superlative negatives: *none, neither, less, least*

- Cross-linguistic and historical terms
    - *ainata* (Old Norse for *one thing* used in negation)
    - *ou gar* (Ancient Greek for *not indeed*)

- Idioms and figurative negation
    - Figurative negatives: *not worth a fig, not worth a straw, not worth a farthing, not worth a brass farthing, not worth a curse*

Appendix B:

List of sources

The first edition of *Negation* explains only a frequently used dozen among its many abbreviations for quoted sources, for the rest referring the reader to the lists in both volume II (1914) of *A Modern English grammar* and (if it ever appeared) volume III. A typical entry in the former list provides author(s); title; publisher or place of publication (but not both); and year of publication. Volume III contains no list; but volume VII (1949) contains the forty-page "Abbreviations and list of books quoted in vols II–VII", for whose items "The original year of publication is often added in parenthesis." A number of abbreviations in *Negation* for English-language sources appear in neither list, and, unsurprisingly, *A Modern English grammar* does not cite from languages other than English; thus neither list explains such cryptic attributions in *Negation* as "Chr. Pedersen 4. 493", "Goldschm. Ravn. 65", or "Pontopp. Landsbyb. 155".

Where we believe we can identify the edition to which Jespersen refers, we may augment the information he provides; otherwise we simply relay what he writes.

In his quotations, Jespersen is careful to retain the original spelling (although not the original capitalization); so we have treated titles in the same way: thus for example *Gammer Gurtons nedle* rather than *Gammer Gurton's needle.*

"Perf.", "pub.", and "wr." indicate "first performed", "first published", and "written" respectively. In order to save space, these gloss over numerous distinctions, such as old- versus new-style calendar and serial versus book publication. To the same end, we have also deleted most subtitles and the like.

An abbreviation in brackets—such as "[L]" or "[Ca.St]"—shows how to interpret the numbering provided for a quoted work: **A**, act; **Bk**, book; **Ca**, canto; **Ch**, chapter; **L**, line; **Let**, letter; **Ps**, psalm; **Sc**, scene; **St**, stanza; **V**, verse. Thus "Milton, *Samson* 210" refers to line 210 of *Samson agonistes* (marked "[L]" below); and "Byron, *Juan* 10.53" to canto 10, stanza 53 of *Don Juan* ("[Ca.St]"). Unless noted otherwise, the three numbers for a quotation from a play by Shakespeare specify the act, scene, and line in the first folio. For other works whose numbering is not

explained within brackets below, interpret a single number as page and a pair as volume and page; thus "Austen, *Sense* 253" means *Sense and sensibility*, p. 253, and "Scott, *Antiquary* 2.36" means *The antiquary*, vol. 2, p. 36.

Reference	Details
Ade, *Artie*	George Ade (b. 1866). *Artie* (pub. 1896). Chicago, 1897.
Ælfric, *Homilies*	Ælfric of Eynsham (b. c. 955). Homilies (wr. c. 990–995).
AKC, letter	Anna Katrine C. (b. c. 1832). Letter (wr. 1864). In Karl Larsen (ed.), *Under vor sidste krig* (pub. 1897). Copenhagen, 1897. 124.
Alexander	William Alexander (b. 1826)
Johnny	*Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (pub. 1869). Edinburgh, 1897.
Allen	Grant Allen (b. 1848)
Æsthetics	"*Physiological æsthetics* and *Philistia*." In Walter Besant et al., *My first book*, 43–52. London, 1894.
Woman	*The woman who did* (pub. 1895). Tauchnitz, 1895.
Andersen	Hans Christian Andersen (b. 1805)
Baronesser	*De to baronesser* (pub. 1848).
Improvisatoren	*Improvisatoren* (pub. 1835).
O. T.	*O. T.* (pub. 1836).
Andreas	*Andreas*. Anonymous Old English poem, found in a manuscript dated to the second half of the 10th century. In George Philip Krapp (ed.), *"Andreas" and "The fates of the apostles": Two Anglo-Saxon narrative poems*. Boston, 1906. [L]
Apollonius	*Apollonius of Tyre*. Anonymous Old English prose translation, surviving in an 11th-century manuscript, of the Latin *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri*.
Arnskov, *Nielsen*	L. Th. Arnskov. "Anders Nielsen." *Tilskueren* 1914. 29–44.
Austen	Jane Austen (b. 1775)
Emma	*Emma* (pub. 1815). Tauchnitz, 1877.
Mansfield	*Mansfield Park* (pub. 1814). London, 1897.
Pride	*Pride and prejudice* (pub. 1813). London, 1894.
Sense	*Sense and sensibility* (pub. 1811). London, n.d.

Reference	Details
AV *1 Corinthians*	*First epistle to the Corinthians. The Holy Bible* (pub. 1611). [Ch.V]
AV *Job*	*Book of Job. The Holy Bible* (pub. 1611). [Ch.V]
AV *John*	*Gospel of John. The Holy Bible* (pub. 1611). [Ch.V]
AV *Matthew*	*Gospel of Matthew. The Holy Bible* (pub. 1611). [Ch.V]
AV *Psalms*	*Book of psalms. The Holy Bible* (pub. 1611). [Ps.V]
Baggesen, *Værker*	Jens Baggesen (b. 1764). *Jens Baggesens danske værker.* Copenhagen, 1845.
G. Bang	Gustav Bang (b. 1871)
Husmanden	"Husmanden." *Tilskueren.* 1902. 372–388.
H. Bang	Herman Bang (b. 1857)
Fædra	*Fædra. Brudstykker af et livs historie* (pub. 1883).
Ludvigsbakke	*Ludvigsbakke* (pub. 1896).
Slægter	*Haabløse slægter* (pub. 1880).
Barrie, *Margaret*	J. M. Barrie (b. 1860). *Margaret Ogilvy* (pub. 1896). Tauchnitz, 1897.
Bede	Late 9th-century Old English translation, traditionally attributed to King Alfred, of Bede's 8th-century *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. [Bk.Ch]
Behn, *Mistake*	Aphra Behn (b. 1640). *The lucky mistake* (pub. 1689). In Ernest A. Baker (ed.), *The novels*. London, 1904.
Bennett	Arnold Bennett (b. 1867)
Anna	*Anna of the five towns* (pub. 1902). London, 1912.
Babylon	*The Grand Babylon Hotel* (pub. 1902). London, 1912.
Card	*The card* (pub. 1911). London, 1913.
Clayhanger	*Clayhanger* (pub. 1910). Tauchnitz, 1912.
Hilda	*Hilda Lessways* (pub. 1911). Tauchnitz, 1912.
Twain	*These twain* (pub. 1915). London, 1916.
Wives	*The old wives' tale* (pub. 1908). Tauchnitz, 1909.
E. F. Benson	E. F. Benson (b. 1867)
Arundel	*Arundel* (pub. 1914). London, 1915.
Dodo	*Dodo: A detail of the day* (pub. 1893). Tauchnitz, 1894.
Judgment	*The judgment books* (pub. 1895). London, 1895.
Second	*Dodo the second* (pub. 1913). Tauchnitz.
R. H. Benson	Robert Hugh Benson (b. 1871)
None	*None other gods* (pub. 1911). London, n.d.

Reference	Details
Beowulf	*Beowulf.* Old English epic poem, surviving in a manuscript dated to c. 1000 CE. [L]
Bersezio, *Bolla*	Vittorio Bersezio (b. 1828). *Una bolla di sapone* (pub. 1870). Milano, 1870. [A.Sc]
Birmingham	George A. Birmingham (b. 1865)
Whitty	*The adventures of Dr. Whitty* (pub. 1913). London, 1913.
Bjørnson	Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (b. 1832)
Flager	*Det flager i byen og på havnen* (pub. 1884).
Guds	*På guds veje* (pub. 1889).
Black	William Black (b. 1841)
Fortunatus	*The new Prince Fortunatus* (pub. 1890). Tauchnitz, 1890.
Phaeton	*The strange adventures of a phaeton* (pub. 1872). London, n.d.
Blicher	Steen Steensen Blicher (b. 1782)
Bindstouw	*E bindstouw: Fortællinger og digte i jydske mundarter* (pub. 1842).
Dagbog	*Brudstykker af en landsbydegns dagbog* (pub. 1824).
Høstferierne	"Høstferierne" (pub. 1840). In *Samlede noveller og skizzer.* Copenhagen, 1882.
Boethius, *Orpheus*	"The story of Orpheus." Within a 9th-century translation (attributed to King Alfred) of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae.*
Bøgholm, *Anglia*	Niels Bøgholm. Contribution to *Anglia* n. f. 26.
Boswell	James Boswell (b. 1740)
Life$_A$	*Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (pub. 1791).
Life$_B$	*Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (pub. 1793 or later). Roger Ingpen (ed.). London, 1907.
Bradley, *Tragedy*	A. C. Bradley (b. 1851). *Shakespearean tragedy* (pub. 1904). London, 1904.
E. Brandes	Edvard Brandes (b. 1847)
Lykkens	*Lykkens blændværk fortælling.* 1898.
G. Brandes	Georg Brandes (b. 1842)
Napoleon	"Napoleon." *Tilskueren* 1915. 32–60.

Reference	Details
Brontë	Charlotte Brontë (b. 1816)
Jane	*Jane Eyre* (pub. 1847). London, 1847.
Professor	*The professor* (wr. 1846, pub. 1857). London, 1867.
Brooke, *Poems*	Rupert Brooke (b. 1887). *Poems.* London, 1911.
E. B. Browning	Elizabeth Barrett Browning (b. 1806)
Aurora	*Aurora Leigh* (pub. 1856). Tauchnitz, n.d.
R. Browning	Robert Browning (b. 1812)
Andrea	"Andrea del Sarto" (pub. 1855).
Italian	"The Italian in England" (pub. 1845).
Lippo	"Fra Lippo Lippi" (pub. 1855).
Pompilia	"Pompilia." In *The ring and the book* (pub. 1868–69).
Rabbi	"Rabbi Ben Ezra" (pub. 1864). [St]
Ride	"The last ride together" (pub. 1855).
Buchanan	Robert Buchanan (b. 1841)
Anthony	*Father Anthony* (pub. 1898). New York, 1900.
Bunyan	John Bunyan (b. 1628)
Grace	*Grace abounding to the chief of sinners* (wr. 1660s–1672, pub. 1666). John Brown (ed.). Cambridge, 1907.
Progress	*The pilgrim's progress* (wr. 1660s–1677, pub. 1678). London, 1678.
Burns	Robert Burns (b. 1759)
Dogs	"The twa dogs" (pub. 1786).
Man	"A man's a man for all that" (pub. 1795).
Byron	George Byron (b. 1788)
Cain	*Cain: A mystery* (pub. 1821). [A.Sc]
Childe Harold	*Childe Harold's pilgrimage* (pub. 1812–18). [Ca]
Juan	*Don Juan* (pub. 1819–24). [Ca.St]
Manfred	*Manfred: A dramatic poem* (pub. 1817). [A.Sc]
Mazeppa	*Mazeppa* (pub. 1819). [St]
Sardanapalus	*Sardanapalus: A tragedy* (pub. 1821). [A.Sc]
Caine	Hall Caine (b. 1853)
Christian	*The Christian* (pub. 1897). London, 1897.
City	*The eternal city* (pub. 1901). London, 1901.
Manxman	*The Manxman* (pub. 1894). London, 1894.
Prodigal	*The prodigal son* (pub. 1904). London, 1904.
Calderón, *Alcalde*	Pedro Calderón de la Barca (b. 1600). *El alcalde de Zalamea* (perf. 1636). [A.Sc]

Appendix B List of sources

Reference	Details
J. Carlyle, *Letters*	Jane Carlyle (b. 1801). In James Anthony Froude (ed.), *Letters and memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle.* London, 1883.
T. Carlyle	Thomas Carlyle (b. 1795)
Heroes	*On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history* (pub. 1841). London, 1890.
Life	In James Anthony Froude, *Life of Carlyle.* (Vols 1 & 2: *Thomas Carlyle: A history of the first forty years of his life.* Vols 3 & 4: *Thomas Carlyle: A history of his life in London.*) London, 1882/1884.
Reminiscences	Thomas Carlyle. *Reminiscences* (wr. 1832–, pub. 1881). James Anthony Froude (ed.). London, 1881.
Revolution	*The French revolution* (pub. 1837). London.
Sartor	*Sartor resartus* (wr. 1831–, pub. 1833–34). London, n.d.
Carpenter	
Teaching	George R. Carpenter, Franklin T. Baker, & Fred N. Scott. *The teaching of English in the elementary and the secondary school.* New York, 1913.
Cauer	Paul Cauer (b. 1854)
Grammatica	*Grammatica militans: Erfahrungen und Wünsche im Gebiete des lateinischen und griechischen Unterrichtes.* Berlin, 1903.
Caxton, *Reynard*	William Caxton (b. c. 1422) (trans.). *Historye of Reynart the foxe* (pub. 1481). In Edward Arber (ed.), *The history of Reynard the fox.* London, 1880.
Chaucer	Geoffrey Chaucer (b. c. 1343)
Clerkes	"The clerkes tale" (wr. 1387–1400). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]
Duchesse	"The book of the duchesse" (wr. 1368–72). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The minor poems.* Oxford, 1896. [L]
Lawe	"The tale of the man of lawe" (wr. c. 1387). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]
Melibeus	"The tale of Melibeus" (wr. 1387–1400). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]

Reference	Details
Miller's prologue	"The miller's prologue" (wr. 1387–1400). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]
Pardoners	"The pardoners tale" (wr. 1387–1400). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]
Prologue	"The prologue" (wr. 1387–1400). In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Canterbury tales: Text.* Oxford, 1894. [Gr.L]
Christiansen	Einar Christiansen (b. 1861)
Fædreland	*Fædreland* (pub. 1910).
Cicero, *De oratore*	Marcus Tullius Cicero. *De oratore* (wr. 55 BCE).
Coleridge, letter	Samuel Taylor Coleridge (b. 1772). Letter of 21 April 1800.
Collitz, *Präteritum*	Hermann Collitz. *Das schwache Präteritum und seine Vorgeschichte.* Göttingen, 1912.
Congreve	William Congreve (b. 1670)
Dealer	*The double-dealer* (perf. 1693). In *Works*, 6th edn., vol. 1. The Hague, 1753.
Love	*Love for love* (perf. 1695).
Conway, *Called*	Hugh Conway (b. 1847). *Called back* (pub. 1883). Tauchnitz, 1884.
Cowper	William Cowper (b. 1731)
letter	Letter. In J. G. Frazer (ed.), *Letters.* London, 1912.
Task	*The task* (pub. 1785). In *Poetical works.* London, 1889.
Darwin	Charles Darwin (b. 1809)
Expression	*The expression of the emotions in man and animals* (pub. 1872). London, 1872.
Life	In Francis Darwin (ed.), *The life and letters of Charles Darwin.* London, 1887.
Daudet	Alphonse Daudet (b. 1840)
Numa	*Numa Roumestan* (pub. 1881).
Sapho	*Sapho* (pub. 1881). Paris, 1884.
Tartarin	*Tartarin sur les Alpes* (pub. 1885).
Defoe	Daniel Defoe (b. c. 1660)
Farther	*The farther adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (pub. 1719). London, 1719.

Reference	Details
Gentleman	*The compleat English gentleman* (wr. 1720s, pub. 1890). Karl D. Bülbring (ed.). London, 1890.
Journal	*A journal of the plague year* (pub. 1722). E. W. Brayley (ed.). London, n.d.
Robinson	*Robinson Crusoe* (pub. 1719). Facsimile edn. London, 1883.
Dekker, *Sinnes*	Thomas Dekker (b. c. 1572). *The seuen deadly sinnes of London* (pub. 1606). Edward Arber (ed.). London, 1879.
Delbrück, *Syntax*	Berthold Delbrück. *Germanische Syntax* I: *Zu den negativen Sätzen*. Leipzig, 1911.
Deutschbein	Max Deutschbein
System	*System der neuenglischen Syntax*. Cöthen, 1917.
Devill	*The merry devill of Edmonton* (perf. c. 1602, pub. 1608). In Charles Mills Gayley (ed.), *Representative English comedies*, vol. 2, *Later contemporaries of Shakespeare*. New York, 1913.
Dewey, *School*	John Dewey (b. 1859). *The school and society* (pub. 1899).
Dickens	Charles Dickens (b. 1812).
Carol	*A Christmas carol* (pub. 1843). In *Christmas books*. London, 1892.
Chimes	*The chimes* (pub. 1844). In *Christmas books*. London, 1892.
Cricket	*The cricket on the hearth* (pub. 1845). In *Christmas books*. London, 1892.
David	*David Copperfield* (pub. 1849–50). London, 1897.
Dombey	*Dombey and son* (pub. 1848). London, 1887.
Friend	*Our mutual friend* (pub. 1865). London, 1912.
Martin	*The life and adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (pub. 1843). London, n.d.
Nicholas	*The life and adventures of Nicholas Nickleby* (pub. 1839). London, 1900.
Dickinson	G. Lowes Dickinson (b. 1862)
Letters	*Letters from John Chinaman* (pub. 1901). London, 1904.
Symposium	*A modern symposium* (pub. 1905). London, 1906.
War	*After the war* (pub. 1915).

Reference	Details
Disraeli, *Lothair*	Benjamin Disraeli (b. 1804). *Lothair* (pub. 1870). London, n.d.
Dobson, *Fielding*	Austin Dobson (b. 1840). *Fielding* (pub. 1883). London, 1889.
Doyle	Arthur Conan Doyle (b. 1859)
Hound	*The hound of the Baskervilles* (pub. 1901). Tauchnitz, 1902.
How	"How the King held the brigadier." *The exploits of Brigadier Gerard. The Strand Magazine* 9 (1895). 501−514.
Letters	*The Stark Munro letters* (pub. 1895). Tauchnitz, 1895.
Memoirs	*The memoirs of Sherlock Holmes* (pub. 1894). Tauchnitz.
Return	*The return of Sherlock Holmes* (pub. 1905). Tauchnitz.
Drachmann	Holger Drachmann (b. 1846)
Forskrevet	*Forskrevet* (pub. 1890).
Kitzwalde	*Kitzwalde: En lille munter ridderroman* (pub. 1895).
Droz, *Monsieur*	Gustave Droz (b. 1832). *Monsieur, madame et bébé* (pub. 1866). Paris, 1882.
Dryden	John Dryden (b. 1631)
All	*All for love* (perf. 1677). [A]
Aureng-Zebe	*Aureng-Zebe* (perf. 1675, pub. 1676). [A]
Eastward	George Chapman, Ben Jonson & John Marston. *Eastward hoe* (perf. 1605, pub. 1605). In Charles Mills Gayley (ed.), *Representative English comedies*, vol. 2, *The later contemporaries of Shakespeare*. New York, 1913.
Egerton, *Keynotes*	George Egerton (b. 1859). *Keynotes* (pub. 1893). London, 1893.
Eliot	George Eliot (b. 1819)
Adam	*Adam Bede* (pub. 1859). London, 1900.
Mill	*The mill on the floss* (pub. 1860). Tauchnitz.
Silas	*Silas Marner* (pub. 1861). Tauchnitz.
Ellis, *Address*	Alexander J. Ellis (b. 1814) *First annual address of the president to the Philological Society* (pub. 1874). In *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1−34.

Reference	Details
Emerson, *Traits*	Ralph Waldo Emerson (b. 1803). *English traits* (pub. 1856).
Faber	Peter Faber (b. 1810)
Stegekjælderen	"Stegekjælderen eller Den fine verden" (pub. 1849). Copenhagen, 1883.
Farmer & Henley	John S. Farmer & W. E. Henley. *Slang and its analogues past and present.* 1890–1904.
Farquhar	George Farquhar (b. c. 1677)
Stratagem	*The beaux' stratagem* (perf. 1707). In *Restoration plays.* 1912.
Feilberg, *Snaps*	Henning Frederik Feilberg (b. 1831). "Den fattige mands snaps." *Dania* 5 (1898) 88–123.
Fibiger, *Liv*	Johannes Fibiger (b. 1867). *Mit liv og levned, som jeg selv har forstaaet det.* Karl Gjellerup (ed.). Copenhagen, 1898.
Fielding	Henry Fielding (b. 1707)
Jonathan	*The history of the life of the late Mr. Jonathan Wild the great* (pub. 1743).
Joseph	*Joseph Andrews* (pub. 1742).
Tom	*The history of Tom Jones, a foundling* (pub. 1749). London, 1782.
Tragedy	*The tragedy of tragedies* (pub. 1731).
Franklin	
Autobiography	*The autobiography* (wr. 1771–1790). In William MacDonald (ed.), *The autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.* London, 1905.
Friis, *Politiken*	Aage Friis (b. 1870). In *Politiken*, 1906.
Galsworthy	John Galsworthy (b. 1867)
Box	*The silver box: A comedy in three acts* (perf. 1906). London, 1910.
Flower	*The dark flower* (pub. 1913). Tauchnitz, 1913.
Freelands	*The Freelands* (pub. 1915). London, 1916.
Joy	*Joy: A play on the letter "I"* (perf. 1907). [A]
Justice	*Justice: A tragedy in four acts* (perf. 1910).
Man	*The man of property* (pub. 1906).
Motley	*A motley* (pub. 1910). Tauchnitz, 1910.
Strife	*Strife: A drama in three acts* (perf. 1909).

Reference	Details
Gammer	*Gammer Gurtons nedle* (pub. 1575). In John Matthews Manly (ed.), *Specimens of the pre-Shaksperean drama*. Boston, 1897.
Garborg	Arne Garborg (b. 1851)
Bondestudentar	*Bondestudentar* (pub. 1883). Bergen, 1883.
Giellerup	Karl Gjellerup (b. 1857)
Minna	*Minna* (pub. 1889). Copenhagen, 1889.
Romulus	*Romulus* (pub. 1889).
Gilbert, *Charity*	W. S. Gilbert (b. 1836). *Charity* (perf. 1874). In *Original plays*. London, 1884.
Gissing	George Gissing (b. 1857)
Born	*Born in exile* (pub. 1892). London, 1892.
Grub	*New Grub Street* (pub. 1891). London, 1908.
Henry	*The private papers of Henry Ryecroft* (pub. 1903). London, 1912.
Goethe	Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (b. 1749)
Faust I	*Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil* (pub. 1808).
Lehrjahre	*Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (pub. 1795–96).
letter	Letter (21/5936) to Behrendt, 21 March 1810.
Goldschmidt	Meïr Aron Goldschmidt (b. 1819)
Hjemløs	*Hjemløs* (pub. 1853).
Levi	"Levi og Ibald." *M. Goldschmidts poetiske skrifter, udgivene af hans søn.* vol. 8. Copenhagen, 1898.
Ravnen	*Ravnen.* Copenhagen, 1867.
Goldsmith	Oliver Goldsmith (b. 1728)
Citizen	*The citizen of the world* (pub. 1760–62). [Let]
Good-natur'd	*The good-natur'd man* (perf. 1768).
Stoops	*She stoops to conquer* (perf. 1773).
Vicar	*The vicar of Wakefield* (wr. 1761–62, pub. 1766). Facsimile edn. London, 1885.
Goncourt, *Germinie*	Edmond de Goncourt (b. 1822) & Jules de Goncourt (b. 1830). *Germinie Lacerteux.* Paris, 1864.
Gosse, *History*	Edmund Gosse (b. 1849). *A short history of modern English literature* (pub. 1897). London, 1908.
Gravlund, *Kristrup*	Thorkild Gravlund (b. 1879). "Kristrup ved Randers." *Danske Studier* (1909). 85–103.

Reference	Details
Grundtvig	Svend Grundtvig (b. 1824)
Folkeæventyr	*Danske folkeæventyr* (pub. 1876–83).
Gu.	[unidentified]
Halévy, *Notes*	Ludovic Halévy (b. 1834). *Notes et souvenirs 1871–1872* (pub. 1889). Paris, 1889.
Hallam, letter	Henry Hallam (b. 1777). Letter (wr. 1845) to Alfred Tennyson, in Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A memoir by his son.*
Hardy	Thomas Hardy (b. 1840)
Far	*Far from the madding crowd* (pub. 1874). London, 1906.
Ironies	*Life's little ironies* (pub. 1894). London, 1908.
Return	*The return of the native* (pub. 1878). London, 1912.
Tess	*Tess of the d'Urbervilles* (pub. 1891). London, 1892.
Wessex	*Wessex tales* (pub. 1888). London, 1889.
Harraden	Beatrice Harraden (b. 1864)
Fowler	*The fowler* (pub. 1899). London, 1899.
Ships	*Ships that pass in the night* (pub. 1893). London.
Harrison	Frederic Harrison (b. 1831)
on Mark Pattison	[unidentified]
Ruskin	*John Ruskin* (pub. 1902). London, 1902.
Hawthorne	Nathaniel Hawthorne (b. 1804)
Image	*The snow image and other twice-told tales* (pub. 1851). New York, n.d.
Wonder	*A wonder book for girls and boys* (pub. 1851).
Hay, *Breadwinners*	John Hay (b. 1838). *The breadwinners* (pub. 1883). Tauchnitz, 1883.
Hazlitt, *Liber*	William Hazlitt (b. 1778). *Liber amoris* (pub. 1823). London, 1823.
Henley, *Beau*	W. E. Henley (b. 1849) & Robert Louis Stevenson (b. 1850). *Beau Austin* (perf. 1884). London, 1897.
Henley, *Burns*	William E. Henley (b. 1849) & Thomas F. Henderson (b. 1844). *The poetry of Robert Burns* (pub. 1897). Edinburgh, 1897.
Henrichsen	Erik Henrichsen (b. 1865)
Mændene	*Mændene fra forfatningskampen* (pub. 1913).
Herrick, *Memoirs*	Robert Herrick (b. 1868). *The memoirs of an American citizen* (pub. 1905). New York, 1905.

Reference	Details
Hewlett, *Quair*	Maurice Hewlett (b. 1861). *The Queen's quair* (pub. 1904). London, 1904.
Høffding, *Humor*	Harald Høffding (b. 1843). *Den store humor* (pub. 1916). Copenhagen, 1916.
Holberg	Ludvig Holberg (b. 1684)
Erasmus	*Erasmus Montanus* (wr. 1722, pub. 1731, perf. 1747). [A.Sc]
Jeppe	*Jeppe paa bierget* (pub. 1722). [A.Sc]
Kandestøber	*Den politiske kandestøber* (pub. 1722). [A.Sc]
Mascarade	*Mascarade* (pub. 1724). [A.Sc]
Peder	*Peder Paars* (pub. 1720). [Bk.Ca]
Pulver	*Det arabiske pulver* (pub. 1724). [Sc]
Ulysses	*Ulysses von Ithacia* (pub. 1723). [A.Sc]
Hope	Anthony Hope (b. 1863)
Change	*A change of air* (pub. 1893). Tauchnitz, 1893.
Courtship	*Comedies of courtship* (pub. 1896).
Dialogues	*The Dolly dialogues* (pub. 1894). London, 1894.
Father	*Father Stafford* (pub. 1891). London, 1900.
Intrusions	*The intrusions of Peggy* (pub. 1902). London, 1907.
Man	*A man of mark* (pub. 1890). London.
Quisanté	*Quisanté* (pub. 1900). London.
Rupert	*Rupert of Hentzau* (pub. 1898). Tauchnitz, 1898.
Zenda	*The prisoner of Zenda* (pub. 1894). London, 1894.
Horace	Quintus Horatius Flaccus
Epistola	"Epistola I. ad Mæcenatem". *Epistolarum liber primus* (wr. c. 20 BCE).
Odes	*Carmina* (wr. 23 BCE).
Hørup	Viggo Hørup (b. 1841). *V. Hørup i skrift og tale, udvalgte artikler og taler.* Copenhagen, 1902–1905.
Hostrup, *Gjenboerne*	Jens Christian Hostrup (b. 1818). *Gjenboerne* (pub. 1844). [A.Sc]
Housman, *John*	Laurence Housman (b. 1865). *John of Jingalo* (pub. 1912). London, 1912.
Howells, *Rise*	William Dean Howells (b. 1837). *The rise of Silas Lapham* (pub. 1885). Tauchnitz.

Reference	Details
Hughes	Thomas Hughes (b. 1822)
Days	*Tom Brown's school days* (pub. 1861). London, 1886.
Oxford	*Tom Brown at Oxford* (pub. 1856). London, 1886.
Huxley, letter	Thomas Henry Huxley (b. 1825). Letter (wr. 1854), in Leonard Huxley. *Life and letters of Thomas Henry Huxley* (London, 1900), 1.118.
Ibsen	Henrik Ibsen (b. 1828)
Inger	*Fru Inger til Østråt* (perf. 1855). Copenhagen, 1874.
Når	*Når vi døde vågner* (pub. 1899). Copenhagen, 1899.
Peer	*Peer Gynt* (pub. 1867, perf. 1876). Copenhagen, 1891.
Solness	*Bygmester Solness* (pub. 1892, perf. 1893). Copenhagen, 1892.
Vildanden	*Vildanden* (pub. 1884, perf. 1885). Copenhagen, 1884.
Jacobs, *Lady*	W. W. Jacobs (b. 1863). *The lady of the barge* (pub. 1902). London, 1902.
Jacobsen	J. P. Jacobsen (b. 1847)
Fønss	"Fru Fønss" (pub. 1882).
Niels	*Niels Lyhne* (pub. 1880).
James	Henry James (b. 1843)
American	*The American* (pub. 1877). Tauchnitz.
Side	*The soft side* (pub. 1900). London, 1900.
Jensen, *Bræen*	Johannes V. Jensen (b. 1873). *Bræen* (pub. 1908). Copenhagen, 1908.
Jerrold, *Lectures*	Douglas Jerrold (b. 1803). *Mrs Caudle's curtain lectures* (pub. 1846). London.
Johannsen	W. Johannsen
Salmonsen	In *Salmonsens konversationsleksikon*.
Johnson, *Rasselas*	Samuel Johnson (b. 1709). *History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (pub. 1759). Oxford, 1887.
Jonson	Ben Jonson (b. 1572)
Epicœne	*Epicœne* (perf. 1609/10). [A.L]
Humour	*Every man in his humour* (perf. 1598). [A.Sc]
Juel-Hansen	Erna Juel-Hansen (b. 1845)
Historie	*En ung dames historie* (pub. 1888). Copenhagen, 1888.
Kielland	Alexander Kielland (b. 1849)
Fortuna	*Fortuna* (pub. 1884). Copenhagen, 1884.
Jacob	*Jacob* (pub. 1891).

Reference	Details
Kierkegaard	Søren Kierkegaard (b. 1813)
Afhandlinger	*Tvende ethisk-religieuse smaa-afhandlinger* (pub. 1849).
Øieblikket	*Øieblikket Nr. 1–9* (pub. 1855). 3rd edn. Copenhagen, 1895.
Stadier	*Stadier paa livets vei* (pub. 1845).
Kinglake, *Eothen*	A. W. Kinglake (b. 1809). *Eothen* (pub. 1844). D. G. Hogarth & Vere H. Collins (eds.). Oxford, 1914.
Kingsley	Charles Kingsley (b. 1819)
Hypatia	*Hypatia* (pub. 1853). London, n.d.
Yeast	*Yeast: A problem* (pub. 1848).
Kipling	Rudyard Kipling (b. 1865)
Ballads	*Barrack-room ballads* (pub. 1890). 1892.
Jungle	*The jungle book* (pub. 1894). 1897.
Kim	*Kim* (pub. 1901). 1908.
Light	*The light that failed* (pub. 1890).
Seas	*The seven seas* (pub. 1896).
Second	*The second jungle book* (pub. 1895). Tauchnitz, 1897.
Stalky	*Stalky & Co* (pub. 1899). Tauchnitz.
Knudsen, *Urup*	Jakob Knudsen (b. 1858). *Lærer Urup* (pub. 1909).
Kyd, *Spanish*	Thomas Kyd (b. 1558). *The Spanish tragedie* (wr. 1580s). In Frederick Boas (ed.), *The works of Thomas Kyd*. London, 1901. [A.Sc.L]
La Bruyère	Jean de La Bruyère (b. 1645)
Caractères	*Les Caractères ou Les Mœurs de ce siècle* (pub. 1688).
Lagerlöf, *Saga*	Selma Lagerlöf (b. 1858). *Gösta Berlings saga* (pub. 1891).
Larsen, *Punkt*	Karl Larsen (b. 1860). *Det springende punkt* (pub. 1911). Copenhagen, 1911.
Lave og Jon	"Lave og Jon." No. 390 in Svend Grundtvig & Axel Olrik (eds.), *Danmarks gamle folkeviser*. Copenhagen, 1899–1904. 7.52–65.
Lawrence, *Abolition*	C. E. Lawrence. "The abolition of death." *Fortnightly Review* 101 (no. 602, 1917). 326–331.
Leonora Christina	Leonora Christina Ulfeldt (b. 1621). *Jammers minde* (wr. 1674, pub. 1869).

Reference	Details
Lessing	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (b. 1729)
Emilia	*Emilia Galotti* (perf. 1772). [A.Sc]
Nathan	*Nathan der weise* (pub. 1779, perf. 1783). [A.Sc]
Lie, *Sol*	Jonas Lie (b. 1833). *Naar sol gaar ned.* Copenhagen, 1895.
Lindsey, *Beast*	Ben B. Lindsey (b. 1869). "The beast and the jungle." *Everybody's Magazine* 21 (1909), 779.
Lippmann, *Speaks*	[Walter Lippmann (b. 1889)]. "America speaks." *The New Republic*, 27 January 1917. 340–342.
Locke	William J. Locke (b. 1863)
Adventure	"The adventure of the kind Mr. Smith" (pub. 1911).
Morals	*The morals of Marcus Ordeyne* (pub. 1905). New York, 1907.
Septimus	*Septimus* (pub. 1909). London, 1916.
Vagabond	*The belovéd vagabond* (pub. 1906). London, 1906.
Year	*The wonderful year* (pub. 1916). London, 1916.
Lokasenna	*Lokasenna.* Old Norse narrative poem, known from a 13th-century manuscript.
London	Jack London (b. 1876)
Martin	*Martin Eden* (pub. 1909). London, 1915.
Valley	*The valley of the Moon* (pub. 1913). London, 1914.
Luther, *Bücher*	Martin Luther (b. 1483). *Alle Bücher und Schrifften: Vom XXII Jar an, bis auff den christlichen vnd seligen Abschied aus diesem Leben des hochlöblichen Herrn Friderichen, Hertzogen vnd Churfürst. zu Sachssen, im Meien des XXV. Jars.* Jena, 1558.
Macaulay	Thomas Babington Macaulay (b. 1800)
Clive	"Lord Clive" (pub. 1840, review of John Malcolm, *The life of Robert Lord Clive*).
Milton	"Essay on Milton" (pub. 1825, review of Milton, *A treatise on Christian doctrine*, trans. Charles R. Sumner).
MacDonald	William MacDonald (b. 1863)
Account	"Some account of Franklin's later life." In William MacDonald (ed.), *The autobiography of Benjamin Franklin.* 205–314. London, 1905.

Reference	Details
Maclaren, *Days*	Ian Maclaren (b. 1850). *The days of auld lang syne* (pub. 1895). London, 1896.
Madvig, *Kjönnet*	Johan Nikolai Madvig (b. 1804). *Om kjönnet i sprogene især i Sanskrit, Latin og Græsk*. Copenhagen, 1835.
Malory, *Morte*	Thomas Malory. *Le morte Darthur* (wr. c. 1470, pub. 1485). H. Oskar Sommer (ed.). London, 1889.
Marlowe	Christopher Marlowe (b. 1564)
Edward	*Edward the second* (pub. 1594). Tucker Brooke (ed.). Oxford, 1910.
Faustus	*Doctor Faustus* (wr. c. 1592). *Marlowes Werke, historische-kritische Ausgabe*, vol. 2. Hermann Breymann & Albrecht Wagner (eds.). Heilbronn, 1889.
Tamburlaine	*Tamburlaine the great* (wr. c. 1587). *Marlowes Werke, historische-kritische Ausgabe*, vol. 1. Hermann Breymann & Albrecht Wagner (eds.). Heilbronn, 1885.
Marryat, *Peter*	Frederick Marryat (b. 1792). *Peter Simple* (pub. 1834). London, 1834.
Masefield, *Mercy*	John Masefield (b. 1878). *The everlasting mercy* (pub. 1911). London, 1912.
Mason, *Water*	A. E. W. Mason (b. 1865). *Running water* (pub. 1907). London.
Matthews, *Son*	Brander Matthews (b. 1852). *His father's son* (pub. 1895). New York, 1896.
Matthiesen	Oscar Matthiesen (b. 1861)
Stjærner	*Stjærner og striber*. Copenhagen, 1874.
Maundevile	*The voiage and travaile of Sir John Maundevile, Kt* (wr. 1357–71). J. O. Halliwell (ed.). London, 1883.
Maupassant	Guy de Maupassant (b. 1850)
Bécasse	*Contes de la bécasse* (pub. 1887).
Fort	*Fort comme la mort* (pub. 1889).
Vie	*Une vie* (pub. 1883, also titled *L'Humble Vérité*).
McCarthy	Justin McCarthy (b. 1830)
History	*A history of our own times* (pub. 1879–). New York, 1880.
Short history	*A short history of our own times.*
Meillet, *Caractères*	A. Meillet (b. 1866). *Caractères généraux des langues germaniques* (pub. 1917). Paris, 1917.

Reference	Details
Meredith	George Meredith (b. 1828)
Harrington	*Evan Harrington* (pub. 1861). London, 1889.
Ordeal	*The ordeal of Richard Feverel* (pub. 1859). London, 1895.
Mérimée, *Héritages*	Prosper Mérimée (b. 1803). *Les Deux Héritages ou Don Quichotte* (pub. 1850). In *Les Deux Héritages: suivis de L'Inspecteur général et des Débuts d'un aventurier*. Paris, 1853. [A.Sc]
Merriman	Henry Seton Merriman (b. 1862)
Sowers	*The sowers* (pub. 1896). London, 1905.
Vultures	*The vultures* (pub. 1890). London, 1902.
Milton	John Milton (b. 1608)
Areopagitica	*Areopagitica* (pub. 1644).
Lost	*Paradise lost* (pub. 1667). [Bk.L]
Samson	*Samson agonistes* (pub. 1671). [L]
Molbech, letter	Christian K. F. Molbech (b. 1821). Letter (wr. 1855). In Harald Høffding (ed.), *Hans Brøchner og Christian K. F. Molbech: en brevvexling (1845–1875)*. Copenhagen, 1902.
E. Møller, *Inderstyre*	Ernst Møller (b. 1860). *Inderstyre: Veje og midler for herredömmet over de indre kræfter og for sjæleligt fremarbejde* (pub. 1914). 1914.
N. Møller, *Koglerier*	Niels Møller (b. 1859). *Koglerier* (pub. 1895). Copenhagen, 1895.
P. Møller, letter	Poul Møller (b. 1794). Letter of 25 June 1820.
More, *Utopia*	Thomas More. *Utopia* (pub. 1551). Ralph Robynson (b. 1520) (trans.). In J. H. Lupton (ed.), *The Utopia of Sir Thomas More*. Oxford, 1895.
Morris, *News*	William Morris (b. 1834). *News from nowhere* (pub. 1890). London, 1908.
Mulock, *Halifax*	Dinah Maria Mulock (b. 1826). *John Halifax, gentleman* (pub. 1858). Tauchnitz.
Nansen, *Fred*	Peter Nansen (b. 1861). *Guds fred* (pub. 1895).
NED	*A new English dictionary on historical principles*. Oxford, 1884–.[1]
news	newspaper or periodical[2]
Nexø, *Pelle*	Martin Andersen Nexø (b. 1869). *Pelle erobreren* (pub. 1906–10). Copenhagen, 1906–10.

Reference	Details
Nielsen	[unidentified]
Noah	*Noah and the ark* (wr. mid-16th century). In George England (ed.), *The Towneley plays*. London, 1897. [L]
Norris	Frank Norris (b. 1870)
Octopus	*The octopus: A story of California* (pub. 1901). London, 1908.
Pit	*The pit: A story of Chicago* (pub. 1903). London, 1908.
Odyssey	Hómēros. *Odýsseia.* (Homer. *The Odyssey.* Wr. 8th/7th c. BCE.)
Oppenheim	E. Phillips Oppenheim (b. 1866)
Millionaire	*A millionaire of yesterday* (pub. 1900).
Otway, *Venice*	Thomas Otway (b. 1652). *Venice preserv'd; or, A plot discover'd* (pub. 1682). In Charles F. McClumpha (ed.), *The orphan* and *Venice preserved*. Boston, 1908.
T. N. Page, *Marvel*	Thomas Nelson Page (b. 1853). *John Marvel, assistant* (pub. 1907). New York, 1909.
W. H. Page	Walter Hines Page (b. 1855)
Southerner	*The southerner* (pub. 1909).
Paludan-Müller	Frederik Paludan-Müller (b. 1809)
Adam	*Adam Homo, et digt* (pub. 1841–48). Copenhagen, 1857.
Parable	"A parable of the war." *Times Literary Supplement.* 3 August 1917.
Parker, *Right*	Gilbert Parker (b. 1862). *The right of way* (pub. 1901). London, 1906.
Paton, *Tower*	Lucy Allen Paton (b. 1865). "The story of Vortigern's tower: An analysis." *Radcliffe College Monographs* 15 (1910). 13–23.
Pedersen, *Skrifter*	Christiern Pedersen (b. c. 1480). In *Christiern Pedersens danske skrifter.* C. J. Brandt (ed.). Copenhagen, 1854.
Pérez Galdós, *Doña*	Benito Pérez Galdós (b. 1843). *Doña perfecta* (pub. 1876).
Pericles	William Shakespeare & George Wilkins (attributed). *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (pub. 1609). [A]
Petersen, *Uddrag*	Niels Matthias Petersen (b. 1791). *Nogle uddrag af forelæsninger, vedkommende de nordiske sprog. Samlede afhandlinger* 4. 107–294. Copenhagen, 1861.

Reference	Details
Philips, *Glass*	F. C. Philips (b. 1849). *As in a looking glass* (pub. 1885). Tauchnitz, 1886.
Phillpotts, *Mother*	Eden Philpotts (b. 1862). *The mother* (pub. 1908). London, 1908.
Pilgrime	Various authors. *The passionate pilgrime* (pub. 1599). [L]
Pinero	Arthur W. Pinero (b. 1855)
Benefit	*The benefit of the doubt* (perf. 1895). London, 1895.
Magistrate	*The magistrate* (perf. 1885). London, 1897.
Quex	*The gay Lord Quex* (perf. 1899). London, 1900.
Second	*The second Mrs. Tanqueray* (perf. 1893). London, 1895.
Pollard, *Prevention*	A. F. Pollard (b. 1869). "The prevention of war." *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 July 1917.
Pontoppidan	Henrik Pontoppidan (b. 1857)
Billeder	*Landsbybilleder* (pub. 1883).
Pope, *Rape*	Alexander Pope (b. 1688). *The rape of the lock* (pub. 1714). In *Poetical works*. London, 1892.
Quiller-Couch	Arthur Quiller-Couch (b. 1863)
Major	*Major Vigoureux* (pub. 1907). London, 1907.
Troy	*The astonishing history of Troy town* (pub. 1888). London, [1888].
Quincey	Thomas De Quincey (b. 1785)
Confessions	*Confessions of an English opium-eater* (pub. 1821). London, 1901.
Mail-coach	"The English mail-coach" (pub. 1849).
Murder	"On murder considered as one of the fine arts" (pub. 1827).
Raleigh	Walter Raleigh (b. 1861)
Shakespeare	*Shakespeare* (pub. 1907). London, 1907.
Ranch, *Niding*	Hieronymus Justesen Ranch (b. 1539). *Karrig Niding* (wr. c. 1600). In S. Birket Smith (ed.), *Hieronymus Justesen Ranch's danske skuespil og fuglevise*. Copenhagen, 1876–77.
Rask	Rasmus Kristian Rask (b. 1787)
Undersögelse	*Undersögelse om det gamle nordiske eller islandske sprogs oprindelse* (pub. 1818). Copenhagen, 1818.

Reference	Details
Read	Opie Read (b. 1852)
Colonel	*A Kentucky colonel* (pub. 1890).
Toothpick	*Toothpick tales* (pub. 1892). Chicago, 1892.
Recluse	"The recluse" (wr. 1375–1400). Excerpted in A. C. Paues, "A XIVth-century version of the *Ancren riwle.*" *Englische Studien* 30 (1902). 344–346.
Richardson	Samuel Richardson (b. 1689)
Grandison	*The history of Sir Charles Grandison* (pub. 1753). London, 1764.
Ridge	W. Pett Ridge (b. 1859)
Garland	*Name of Garland* (pub. 1907). Tauchnitz.
Property	*Lost property* (pub. 1902). London, 1902.
Son	*A son of the state* (pub. 1899). London, n.d.
Roister	Nicholas Udall. *Roister Doister* (wr. c. 1552, pub. 1567). Edward Arber (ed.). Birmingham, 1869.
Rolland	Romain Rolland (b. 1866)
Amies	*Les Amies* (pub. 1910, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 8).
Aube	*L'Aube* (pub. 1904, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 1).
Buisson	*Le Buisson ardent* (pub. 1911, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 9).
Foire	*La Foire sur la place* (pub. 1908, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 5).
Journée	*La Nouvelle Journée* (pub. 1912, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 10).
Maison	*Dans la maison* (pub. 1908, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 7).
Révolte	*La Révolte* (pub. 1905, *Jean-Christophe*, vol. 4).
Ruskin	John Ruskin (b. 1819)
Crown	*The crown of wild olive* (pub. 1866). London, 1904.
Fors	*Fors clavigera* (pub. 1871–84). London, 1902.
Præterita	*Præterita* (pub. 1885–89). London, 1902.
Selections	*Selections.* London, 1893.
Sesame	*Sesame and lilies* (pub. 1865). London, 1904.
Things	"Things to be studied." Appendix to *The elements of drawing* (pub. 1857).
Time	*Time and tide* (pub. 1867). London, 1904.
Rutebeuf, *Pharisian*	Rutebeuf. "Du Pharisian", ou "C'est d'ypocrisie" (wr. 1257).
Sand, *Consuelo*	George Sand (b. 1804). *Consuelo* (pub. 1842–43).

Reference	Details
Schiller	Friedrich Schiller (b. 1759)
Messina	*Die Braut von Messina* (perf. 1803). [A.Sc]
Tod	*Wallensteins Tod* (perf. 1799). [A.Sc]
Schreiner	Olive Schreiner (b. 1855)
Peter Halket	*Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland* (pub. 1897). London, 1897.
Scott	Walter Scott (b. 1771)
Antiquary	*The antiquary* (pub. 1816). Edinburgh, 1821.
Chronicles	*Chronicles of the Canongate*, 2nd series (pub. 1828).
Ivanhoe	*Ivanhoe* (pub. 1819). London.
Mortality	*Old mortality* (pub. 1816). Oxford, 1906.
Seeley, *Expansion*	J. R. Seeley (b. 1834). *The expansion of England* (pub. 1883). London, 1883.
Shakespeare	William Shakespeare (b. 1564).[3]
Ado	*Much adoe about nothing* (wr. 1598–99).
Alls	*All's well, that ends well* (wr. 1598–1608).
As	*As you like it* (wr. 1599).
Cæs	*The tragedie of Ivlivs Cæsar* (perf. 1599).
Cor	*The tragedy of Coriolanus* (wr. 1605–08).
Cymb	*The tragedie of Cymbeline* (perf. 1611).
Err	*The comedie of errors* (perf. 1594).
Gent	*The two gentlemen of Uerona* (wr. c. 1590).
Hml	*The tragedie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* (wr. 1599–1601).
H4A	*The first part of Henry the Fourth* (wr. 1596–97).
H4B	*The second part of Henry the Fourth* (wr. 1596–99).
H5	*The life of Henry the fift* (wr. c. 1599).
H6A	*The first part of Henry the sixt* (wr. 1591–92).
H8	*The life of King Henry the eight* (wr. 1613).
John	*The life and death of King Iohn* (wr. 1590s, pub. 1623).
LLL	*Loues labour's lost* (wr. 1595–97).
Lr	*The tragedie of King Lear* (perf. 1606).
Lucr	*Lvcrece* (pub. 1594). Quarto: London, 1594. [L]
Mcb	*The tragedie of Macbeth* (wr. 1596–98).
Meas	*Measvre, for measure* (perf. 1604).
Merch	*The merchant of Venice* (wr. 1596–98).
Mids	*A midsommer nights dreame* (wr. c. 1595).

Reference	Details
Oth	*The tragedie of Othello, the moore of Venice* (wr. c. 1603).
R2	*The life and death of Richard the second* (perf. 1595).
R3	*The tragedy of Richard the third* (wr. 1592–94).
Rom	*The tragedie of Romeo and Ivliet* (wr. 1591–95).
Shr	*The taming of the shrew* (wr. 1590–92).
Tit	*Titus Andronicus* (wr. c. 1590).
Tp	*The tempest* (wr. 1610–11).
Tw	*Twelfe night, or What you will* (wr. 1601).
Ven	*Venvs and Adonis* (pub. 1593). Quarto: London, 1593. [L]
Wint	*The winters tale* (wr. 1609–11, pub. 1623).
Wiv	*The merry wiues of Windsor* (pub. 1602).
Shaw	George Bernard Shaw (b. 1856)
Arms	*Arms and the man* (perf. 1894). In *Plays pleasant.* London, 1898. [A]
Candida	*Candida: A mystery* (wr. 1894, pub. 1898). In *Plays pleasant.* London, 1898.
Cashel	*Cashel Byron's profession* (wr. 1882). London, 1901.
Destiny	*The man of destiny: A trifle* (perf. 1897). In *Plays pleasant.* London, 1898.
Dilemma	*The doctor's dilemma* (perf. 1906, pub. 1909). London, 1911.
Disciple	*The Devil's disciple* (perf. 1897). In *Three plays for puritans.* London, 1901. [A]
First	*Fanny's first play* (perf. 1911). In *Misalliance, The dark lady,* and *Fanny's first play.* London, 1914.
Houses	*Widowers' houses* (perf. 1892). In *Plays unpleasant.* London, 1898.
Ibsenism	*The quintessence of Ibsenism* (wr. 1891). London, 1891.
Island	*John Bull's other island* (wr. 1904). London, 1907.
Major	*Major Barbara* (perf. 1905, pub. 1907).
Married	*Getting married: A disquisitory play* (perf. 1908).
Never	*You never can tell* (wr. 1897, perf. 1899). In *Plays pleasant.* London, 1898.
Philanderer	*The philanderer: A topical comedy* (wr. 1893, perf. 1902). In *Plays unpleasant.* London, 1898.
Profession	*Mrs. Warren's profession* (wr. 1893, perf. 1902). In *Plays unpleasant.* London, 1898.

Appendix B List of sources

Reference	Details
Shelley	Percy Bysshe Shelley (b. 1792)
Epipsychidion	*Epipsychidion* (pub. 1821). In Thomas Hutchinson (ed.), *The complete poetical works of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* London, 1914.
Letters	Roger Ingpen (ed.), *The letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* London, 1914.
Prometheus	*Prometheus unbound* (pub. 1820). In Thomas Hutchinson (ed.), *The complete poetical works of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* London, 1914.
Prose	Richard Herne Shepherd (ed.), *The prose works of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* London, 1914.
Revolt	*The revolt of Islam* (wr. 1817). In Thomas Hutchinson (ed.), *The complete poetical works of Percy Bysshe Shelley.* London, 1914.
Shenstone	William Shenstone (b. 1714)
Schoolmistress	"The schoolmistress" (wr. 1737).
Sheridan	Richard Brinsley Sheridan (b. 1751)
Critic	*The critic* (perf. 1779). In *Dramatic works.* Tauchnitz. [A.Sc.L]
Duenna	*The duenna* (perf. 1775). In *Dramatic works.* Tauchnitz. [A.Sc]
Rivals	*The rivals* (perf. 1775). In *Dramatic works.* Tauchnitz. [A.Sc]
School	*The school for scandal* (perf. 1777). In *Dramatic works.* Tauchnitz. [A.Sc]
Sibbern, *Breve*	Frederik Christian Sibbern (b. 1785). *Gabrielis breve* (wr. 1813–14, pub. 1826).
Skeat, *John*	In Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The gospel according to Saint John: In Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian versions synoptically arranged.* Cambridge, 1878.
Skram, *Lucie*	Amalie Skram (b. 1846). *Lucie* (pub. 1888). Copenhagen, 1888.
Smedley, *Frank*	Frank E. Smedley (b. 1818). *Frank Fairlegh* (pub. 1850). Tauchnitz.
Sörensen	Axel Sörensen (b. 1851)
Ariadnetråd	*En Ariadnetråd* (pub. 1902). Copenhagen, 1902.

Reference	Details
Spectator	Joseph Addison (b. 1672) et al. *The Spectator* (pub. 1711–14). Henry Morley (ed.). London, 1888.
Spencer	Herbert Spencer (b. 1820)
Autobiography	*An autobiography* (pub. 1904). London, 1904.
Education	*Education: Intellectual, moral, and physical* (pub. 1861). London, 1882.
Spenser	Edmund Spenser (b. c. 1552). *The faerie queene* (pub. 1590/96).
Stacpoole, *Cottage*	Henry de Vere Stacpoole (b. 1863). *The cottage on the fells* (pub. 1908). Toronto, n.d.
Stanley, *Dark*	Henry M. Stanley (b. 1841). *Through the dark continent* (pub. 1878). London, 1878.
Sterling, letter	John Sterling (b. 1806). Letter of 29 May 1835 to Thomas Carlyle. In Thomas Carlyle, *The life of John Sterling*.
Sterne, *Tristram*	Laurence Sterne (b. 1713). *Tristram Shandy* (pub. 1759–67). In David Herbert (ed.), *The complete works*. Edinburgh, 1885.
Stevenson	Robert Louis Stevenson (b. 1850)
Arrow	*The black arrow* (pub. 1883). London, 1904.
Art	*Essays in the art of writing* (pub. 1905). London, 1905.
House	"The house of Eld" (pub. 1896). In *The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, with other fables*. London, 1896.
Jekyll	*The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (pub. 1886). In *The strange case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, with other fables*. London, 1896.
Memories	*Memories and portraits* (pub. 1887). London, 1900.
Men	*Familiar studies of men and books* (pub. 1882). London, 1901.
Merry	*The merry men* (pub. 1887). London, 1896.
Treasure	*Treasure island* (pub. 1881–82). Tauchnitz.
Virginibus	*Virginibus puerisque and other papers* (pub. 1881). London, 1894.
Strindberg	August Strindberg (b. 1849)
Giftas	*Giftas* (pub. 1884/86). Stockholm, 1886.
Röda	*Röda rummet* (pub. 1879).

Reference	Details
Utopier	*Utopier i verkligheten* (pub. 1885). Stockholm, 1885.
Sudermann	Hermann Sudermann (b. 1857)
Fritzchen	*Fritzchen.* In *Morituri. Teja, Fritzchen, Das Ewig-Männliche* (pub. 1896).
J. Swift	Jonathan Swift (b. 1667)
Conversation	*A compleat collection of genteel and ingenious conversation* (wr. 1731, pub. 1738). George Saintsbury (ed.). 1892.
Journal	*A journal to Stella* (wr. 1710–13, pub. 1766). George A. Aitken (ed.). London, 1901.
letter	Letter to Isaac Bickerstaff. *The Tatler* no. 230. 28 September 1710.
Travels	*Volume III of the author's works. Containing travels into several remote nations of the world* (pub. 1726, *Gulliver's travels*). Dublin, 1735.
Tub	*A tale of a tub* (wr. 1694–97, pub. 1704). London, 1760.
M. I. Swift	Morrison I. Swift (b. 1856)
Humanizing	"Humanizing the prisons." *The Atlantic Monthly.* August 1911. 170–179.
Swinburne	Algernon Charles Swinburne (b. 1837)
Cross-currents	*Love's cross-currents* (pub. 1877). As *A year's letters*: Tauchnitz, 1905.
Pilgrimage	"The last pilgrimage." Canto 8 of *Tristram of Lyonesse* (pub. 1882). In *Tristram of Lyonesse, and other poems.* London, 1884.
Shakespeare	*A study of Shakespeare* (pub. 1880). London, 1895.
Songs	*Songs before sunrise* (pub. 1871). London, 1903.
Tennyson	Alfred Tennyson (b. 1809)
1852	"The third of February, 1852." *Enoch Arden, and other poems.* In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
Coming	"The coming of Arthur" (pub. 1869). *Idylls of the king.* In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
comment	Reported comment. In Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A memoir by his son.*
diary	Diary entry (1872). In Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A memoir by his son.*

Reference	Details
Enid	"Enid" (pub. 1859). *Idylls of the king.* In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
Guinevere	"Guinevere" (pub. 1859). *Idylls of the king.* In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
letter	Letter (1847). In Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A memoir by his son.*
Memoriam	*In memoriam A. H. H.* (pub. 1850). In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
Merlin	"Merlin and Vivien" (wr. 1856). *Idylls of the king.* In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
Princess	*The Princess: A medley* (pub. 1847). In *Poetical works.* London, 1894.
Wellington	"Ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington." *Maud, and other poems* (pub. 1855).
Thackeray	William Makepeace Thackeray (b. 1811)
Newcomes	*The Newcomes* (pub. 1854–55). London, 1901.
Pendennis	*The history of Pendennis* (wr. 1848–50). Tauchnitz.
Samuel	*The history of Samuel Titmarsh and the great Hoggarty diamond* (pub. 1841). London, 1878.
Snobs	*The book of snobs* (pub. 1846–47). London, 1900.
Vanity	*Vanity fair* (pub. 1847–48). London, 1848.
Tobler, *Beiträge*	Adolf Tobler. *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik.* Leipzig, 1886.
Topsøe, *Skitseb.*	Vilhelm Topsøe (b. 1840). [unidentified]
Trifles	[George Nugent-Bankes (b. 1860), anonymously.] *Cambridge trifles, or splutterings from an undergraduate pen.* London, 1881.
Trollope	Anthony Trollope (b. 1815)
Barchester	*Barchester Towers* (pub. 1857).
Children	*The duke's children* (pub. 1879–80). Tauchnitz, 1880.
Love	*An old man's love* (pub. 1884). Tauchnitz.
Warden	*The warden* (pub. 1855). London, 1913.
Twain	Mark Twain (b. 1835)
Huckleberry	*Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (pub. 1884). Tauchnitz, n.d.
Mississippi	*Life on the Mississippi* (pub. 1883). London, 1887.

Reference	Details
van Eeden	Frederik van Eeden (b. 1860)
Johannes	*De kleine Johannes* (pub. 1885).
Villiers, *Rehearsal*	George Villiers (b. 1628). *The rehearsal* (perf. 1671). Edward Arber (ed.). London, 1895.
Virgil, *Aeneid*	Publius Vergilius Maro. *Aeneid* (wr. 29–19 BCE).
Vulgate John	*Jesu Christi evangelium secundum Joannem, Vulgate* (wr. 4th century).
Vulgate Matthew	*Jesu Christi evangelium secundum Matthæum, Vulgate* (wr. 4th century).
Wägner	Elin Wägner (b. 1882)
Norrtullsligan	*Norrtullsligan* (pub. 1908).
Walton, *Angler*	Izaak Walton (b. 1593). *The compleat angler* (pub. 1653). London, 1653.
Ward	Mrs Humphry Ward (b. 1851)
David	*The history of David Grieve* (pub. 1892). Tauchnitz, 1892.
Eleanor	*Eleanor* (pub. 1900). London, 1900.
Marriage	*The marriage of William Ashe* (pub. 1904–05). London.
Wells	H. G. Wells (b. 1866)
Anticipations	*Anticipations* (pub. 1901). London, 1902.
Britling	*Mr. Britling sees it through* (pub. 1916). London, 1916.
Love	*Love and Mr. Lewisham* (pub. 1900). London, 1906.
Machiavelli	*The new Machiavelli* (pub. 1911). London, 1911.
Stories	*Twelve stories and a dream* (pub. 1903). London.
Utopia	*A modern utopia* (pub. 1904–05). London, 1905.
Veronica	*Ann Veronica* (pub. 1909). London, 1909.
Wife	*The wife of Sir Isaac Harman* (pub. 1914). London, 1914.
Worlds	*New worlds for old* (pub. 1908). London, 1908.
Wessel	Johan Herman Wessel (b. 1742)
Kierlighed	*Kierlighed uden strømper* (pub. 1772). In J. Levin (ed.), *J. H. Wessels samlede digte.* Copenhagen, 1862.
Polser	"Mosters Polser." In J. Levin (ed.), *J. H. Wessels samlede digte.* Copenhagen, 1862.
WG *Matthew*	Gospel of St. Matthew. *Wessex gospels*, or *West-Saxon gospels* (wr. c. 995).
Whiteing, *Five*	Richard Whiteing (b. 1840). *No. 5 John Street* (pub. 1899).

Reference	Details
Whitney, *Studies*	William Dwight Whitney (b. 1827). *Oriental and linguistic studies*. New York, 1873.
Wieland, *Oberon*	Christoph Martin Wieland (b. 1733). *Oberon: Ein Gedicht* (pub. 1780–96).
Wilde	Oscar Wilde (b. 1854)
Fan	*Lady Windermere's fan* (perf. 1892).
Gaol	*The ballad of Reading gaol* (pub. 1898). London, 1898.
Importance	*The importance of being earnest* (perf. 1895). London, n.d.
Intentions	*Intentions* (pub. 1891). 1891.
Picture	*The picture of Dorian Gray* (pub. 1891). New York, n.d.
Profundis	*De profundis* (wr. 1897, pub. 1905). London, 1905.
Wilkins, *Pericles*	George Wilkins. *The painfull aduentures of Pericles prince of Tyre* (pub. 1608). In Tycho Mommsen (ed.), *Pericles prince of Tyre*. Oldenburg, 1857.
Williamson	C. N. Williamson (b. 1859) & A. M. Williamson (b. 1858)
Lightning	*The lightning conductor* (pub. 1902). London.
Powers	*The powers and Maxine* (pub. 1907). London.
Wimmer, *Læsebog*	Ludvig F. A. Wimmer. *Oldnordisk læsebog*. Copenhagen, 1870.
Wordsworth	William Wordsworth (b. 1770)
Michael	"Michael: A pastoral poem" (pub. 1800). In *Lyrical ballads*, etc.
Prelude	*The prelude* (wr. 1798–1850). [Bk.L]
Travelled	"I travelled among unknown men." (In *Poems: In two volumes* (1807), etc.)
Wright & Wülcker	Thomas Wright. *Anglo-Saxon and Old English vocabularies*. Richard Paul Wülcker (ed.). London, 1884.
Zangwill	Israel Zangwill (b. 1864)
Child	"A child of the ghetto." *Cosmopolis* 1897. (Also in Israel Zangwill, *Dreamers of the ghetto*.)
Mystery	*The big bow mystery* (pub. 1892). In *The grey wig: Stories and novelettes*. London, 1903.

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Þorkelsson *Nekrolog*	Jón Þorkelsson (b. 1822) "Nekrolog öfver Guðbrandur Vigfússon." *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 6 (1890). 156–163.

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[1]*NED* was published in installments from 1884 to 1933 (when a corrected edition was retitled *The Oxford English dictionary*); by 1917 its coverage extended from A to Sh. (Eds.)

[2]Originally "NP"; Jespersen (1914: xxii) explained this as "Newspaper (or periodical; among those most frequently quoted are *The Times, Daily News, Daily Chronicle, Westminster Gazette, The Tribune; New York Times, Evening News; Everyman, Public Opinion; The Outlook; The Bookman, Review of Reviews, The World's Work*)." Where we have found the particular source, we have specified it rather than cite "news". (Eds.)

[3]Unless noted otherwise, all quotations from plays by Shakespeare are from the text of the first folio (*Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies*, 1623), and are specified [A.Sc.L]. (Eds.)

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Name index

Name index

Language index

Subject index

Negation in English and other languages

Otto Jespersen's landmark study of negation provides a wide-ranging analysis of how languages express negative meaning. Drawing on an impressive array of historical texts and comparative examples, primarily from Germanic and Romance languages, Jespersen examines the forms, functions, and historical development of negative expressions. The work traces the evolution of negative markers, analyzes how negative prefixes modify word meanings, and reveals coherent patterns in how languages structure negative expressions.

Through meticulous analysis of authentic examples, Jespersen documents both common patterns and language-specific variations in negative expressions. His treatment of topics such as double negation, the distinction between special and nexal negation, and the various forms of negative particles provides a methodical account of negation's complexity. The work's enduring importance stems not only from its analysis of the cyclical renewal of negative markers (later termed "Jespersen's Cycle") but from its comprehensive scope and detailed examination of negative expressions across multiple languages and historical periods.

This new critical edition makes this classic work accessible to modern readers while preserving its scholarly depth. The text has been completely re-typeset, with examples presented in contemporary numbered format and non-English examples given Leipzig-style glosses. A new introduction contextualizes Jespersen's achievement and demonstrates its continued significance for current linguistic research.