6   Negation in the history of Low German and Dutch

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6.1 Introduction: Low German and Dutch

Low German and Dutch are languages spoken in the northwest of the Continental

West Germanic dialect continuum, which includes also High German and Frisian. For

Dutch, a standard has developed on the basis of the Hollandish dialect, which is used

as the national standard in the Netherlands and the northern part of Belgium. Low

German on the other hand is spoken in dialects in the northern part of Germany

alongside the High German standard language, but has no written standard of its own.

Historically, Dutch dialects belong to the Low Franconian group of West Germanic

dialects, while Low German dialects derive from (Low) Saxon dialects.[i] Several

dialects in the east of the Netherlands are historically Saxon dialects too (Achterhoek,

Drenthe and Overijssel), while conversely some dialects on German national territory

belong to the Low Franconian group.

6.1.1   Low German

Old Low German (Old Saxon) is the language spoken by a group of Germanic tribes

calling themselves Saxons and living in what is now northwestern Germany and parts

of what are now the Netherlands from *c*. 800 to 1200 (cf. Klein 2000: 1245). The first

monasteries – and with these the first (mostly Latin) writing – were founded in the

area after the so-called Saxon wars (end of 8th c.), though only in the south of the

area. Old Low German is only poorly attested textually: the bulk of it is biblical

poetry (*Heliand, Genesis*) (9th c.), the rest consisting of more minor texts such as

verses, ecclesiastical and secular functional prose, and glosses. The *Heliand* (*c*. 830) is the largest work by far; at *c*. 6000 lines, it makes up around 80% of all Old Low German material (Klein 2000; Sanders 2000).

Middle Low German refers to the dialects spoken in northern Germany between 1200 and 1650 (Stellmacher 1990: 39, Peters 2000b: 1482). In the 14th and 15th centuries, it developed into an international lingua franca in connection with the expansion of the Hanseatic League, spoken all around the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, which led to a certain standardization of the written language incorporating features of different Low German dialects (Härd 1973, 2000; Peters 2000a). Middle Low German was replaced as the written language in the area by (Early New) High German between 1550 and 1650, though Low German continued to exist in spoken dialects.[ii]

The scribal dialects of Middle Low German are subdivided into those of the *Altland* (lit. 'old land') and those of the *Neuland* (lit. 'new land') dialects, referring to the colonization history of the area. *Altland* designates the Saxon heartland in the west, *Neuland* the territories east of the river Elbe and along the coast of the Baltic Sea (Peters 2000a). The scribal dialects from west to east in the south of the area are Westphalian, Eastphalian, Elb-Eastphalian and Brandenburgish and in the north the North Low Saxon dialects East-Frisian-Oldenburgish, Northalbingian and Eastelbian. The dialects form a continuum bordering Middle Dutch in the west and Middle High German (before 1350), later Early New High German (after 1350), in the south (Peters 1984, 2000a).

6.1.2 Dutch

The Old Dutch period is usually assumed to have lasted from *c*. 700–1150, although exact delimitation is impossible due to the extremely poor textual attestation. Essentially, only the *Wachtendonck Psalms* (9th or 10th c.) and the *Leiden* (or *Egmond*) *Willeram* (late 11th c.) are recognized as Old Dutch texts, besides smaller fragments and glosses (Quak 1981, Vries et al. 1993, Quak and Van der Horst 2002). Both texts are problematic: the *Wachtendonck Psalms* are an interlinear translation of a Latin psalter and the *Leiden Willeram* is a more or less superficial adaptation of a late Old High German text (cf. e.g. Schützeichel & Meinecke 2001), making statements about the syntax of Old Dutch in general, and the expression of negation in particular, very complicated.[iii]

The Middle Dutch period (1150–1500/1600) is much more richly attested. Besides a rich literary transmission, mainly from the southern dialects of Flemish and Brabantish, there are also substantial records of charters (Gysseling 1977, Van Reenen & Mulder 2000). Because the bulk of the (especially earlier) textual transmission comes from the south, the linguistic literature mainly focuses on southern (Flemish and Brabantish) texts for this period, though Van der Horst & Van der Wal (1979) and Burridge (1993) look at texts from both north and south.

The political independence of the northern provinces as a consequence of the Eighty Years' War against Spain (1568–1648) and the economic upturn during the 'Golden Age' (*Gouden Eeuw*, roughly, the 17th century) caused an even greater divergence in the development of the northern and southern dialects. The increased economic importance of the northern provinces from the *Gouden Eeuw* on also shifted the focus of linguistic interest to the textual production of the north, cf. Beheydt (1998) and literature cited there.

This divergence is still apparent in Modern Dutch. Due to the economic superiority of the northern provinces since the *Gouden Eeuw*, the modern standard language, for both the Netherlands and Belgium, is based on the northern Hollandish dialect. Because of the separate history, and the later formation of a Belgian state with Dutch as one of its standard languages, the Dutch dialects in Belgium have preserved a number of archaic features compared to Standard Dutch. This is particularly evident in the expression of negation, as will be seen below.

6.1.3   The corpus

The corpus this chapter is based on consists of:

• the *Heliand* epos (*c*. 830), the *Genesis* fragments (*c*. 840), and the minor texts (verse, ecclesiastic and secular functional prose, glosses; end of 9th–11th century) for Old Low German (in total, 696 negative clauses);

• the collections of charters and other official texts of from ten cities, dioceses and convents (Barsinghausen, Börstel, Braunschweig, Lübeck, Mariengarten, Oldenburg, Scharnebeck, Steinfurt, Stralsund and Uelzen) from 1325–1575 for Middle low German (2829 negative clauses in total); and

• the *Wachtendonck Psalms* and the *Leiden Willeram* for Old Dutch (185 negative clauses in total).

For Middle (and Early Modern) Dutch, the rich existing literature on the development and expression of negation was consulted (Van der Horst & Van der Wal 1979, de Meersman 1980, De Haan & Weerman 1984, Burridge 1993, Hoeksema 1997, Beheydt 1998, Postma 2002, Postma & Bennis 2006).

6.2 The development of sentential negation in Low German and Dutch

Like all other West Germanic languages, Low German and Dutch underwent the directional development in the expression of negation known as Jespersen's cycle (Dahl 1979). All three steps can be seen in Low German (1) and Dutch (3):

(1)a. Old Low German (Old Saxon): stage I

'**ni**   bium ic', quað   he,   'that barn godes ...'

NEG am   I   spoke he   the   child God.GEN

'I am not the child of God, he said.' (*Heliand*, 915)

b.   Middle Low German: stage II

dar   **en**   scullewii se **nicht** ane hinderen

there   NEG shall we them NEG from bar

'we shall not bar them from it.' (Lübeck 06/01/1450)[iv]

(2)   c. Modern Low German: stage III

Man   pass op,   suust mi dor   **nich** daal.

but watch   out,   scoot me there NEG down

'But watch out, don't you scoot down there (on me).' (Schleswig-Holstein

dialect, http://inesbarber.de/ib_vertelln.html)

(3)a. Old Dutch (Old Low Franconian): stage I

ne   farlāt   tu   mi!

NEG   forsake you   me

'Do not forsake me!' (WP LXX.9.2)

b.   Middle Dutch: stage II

Want   ic **ne**   wille **niet**, broeder, dat ghi onwetende   sijt

because   I NEGwant NEG brother that   you   unknowing   be

'Because I do not want you to be unknowing, brother.' (*Lectionarium*

Amsterdam 1348)

c.   Modern (Standard) Dutch: stage III

Ik will   het **niet**   zien.

I want it   NEG   see

'I do not want to see it.'

Thus, at stage I, sentential negation is expressed by means of a single, strictly

preverbal element *ni* or *ne*. At stage II, this is done by a bipartite form consisting of

the descendant of *ni/ne*, weakened to *en* (or *ne*), and an adverbial element *nicht* or

niet, which historically derives from a negative indefinite pronoun, *ni-eo-wiht*

('nothing', lit 'NEG.ever.thing'). At stage III, only the adverbial element survives.

Low German and Dutch differ in the details of how this development proceeds, as

will become clear in the following sections.

In this chapter, the following terminology will be used. Following common

practice, albeit potentially confusing in the context of OV-languages, I will refer to

the newly arising adverbial negator as *postverbal*. An indefinite (pronoun or adverb)

will be called *n-marked* if it shows negative morphology. In Low German and Dutch,

such indefinites were formed historically by prefixation of the old negative marker

ni/ne to an (NPI) indefinite, e.g. *ni-ioman* 'NEG-anyone' > *nioman* 'n.one' or *ni-io* >

nio 'n.ever'. NPI-indefinites in the scope of negation without such morphological

marking will be called *n-free*, e.g. *enig* 'any', *ioman* 'anyone', *io* 'ever'. As a

convention, the preverbal marker will be glossed NE, not NEG, when it is no longer clear whether it still expresses sentential negation.

6.2.1   Low German

In Old Low German, by far the most common way of expressing sentential negation is by means of the inherited Germanic preverbal marker *ni/ne* alone. More than 99% (616) of the 621 negative clauses in the *Heliand* contain *ni* or *ne*,[v] 580 (93.4%) of them *ni/ne* only (4). 135 (21.7%) contain an n-free indefinite besides *ni/ne* (5).[vi]

(4)   **Ni**   tharft thu stum uuesan lengron huîla

       NEG   must you   mute be   longer   while

       'You will not be mute any longer.' (*Heliand*, 169–170)

(5)   thoh   he **ni** mugi   **ênig** uuordsprecan

        though he NEG can   any   word speak

        'even though he cannot speak a single word.' (*Heliand*, 229)

Of the 38 cases of sentential negation[vii] in the minor Old Low German texts, all contain the preverbal marker *ni/ne*. In 32 of these 37 cases, *ni/ne* is the only marker of negation (e.g., (6)), the others contain an n-marked indefinite such as the negative determiner in (7).[viii]

(6)   **ne**   uuari thiu   leccia heligero gescriuo

        NEG was   the lection holy   written

        'the holy lection had not been written.' (Minor OLG texts, PA.15, 16–17)

(7)   tha't iu   **nian** scátha **ni** uuírthid

        that   you no   damage   NEG become

        'that you do not suffer any damage.' (Minor OLG texts, EsG.53, 31-1)

Given that Modern Low German, like High German, uses *nicht* as the marker of sentential negation, the question arises when and how this entered the language. As is well known, *nicht* derives historically from an n-marked indefinite pronoun *ni-eo-wiht* 'nothing' (lit 'NEG.ever.thing'). As we will see below in section 6.3.1, n-marked pronouns are less common in the scope of the sentential negator *ni* than n-free ones in Old Low German. Therefore, the question of how emphatic strengthening of negation arose in Low German extends to *eo-wiht* 'anything'.

The most frequent type of emphasizer by far in the Old Low German corpus (26 out of 77 negative clauses with emphasizers) are generalizers like 'in this world' or 'in his life' (8).

(8) That ni   scal **an is liþa** gio liðes anbîtan uuînes **an is   uueroldi**.
    that NEG shall in his life ever cider enjoy wine in his   world

    'Never in his life will he drink hard cider or wine in this world.' (*Heliand*, 126–7)

Other types of emphasizers include *uuiht* '(any)thing' with a genitive noun or pronoun, (9), and adverbially used *mid uuihti* (lit. 'with anything') meaning 'at all, in the least', (10):

(9) Ne   sculun gi ênigumu manne **unrehtes   uuiht**   derbies adêlean.
    NEG   shall you any   man   injustice.GEN anything hostile give

'You should never pronounce even the slightest detrimental, unjust judgement on any man.' (lit. 'anything of injustice') (*Heliand*, 1691–2)

(10) that ic an mînumu hugi ni   gidar   uuendean **mid uuihti,**

     that I   in my   mind NEG dare   change   with anything

     of ic is giuualdan mot.

     if   I   it affect   could

     'Even if I had the power, I would not dare even to think about changing that in the slightest.' (*Heliand*, 219–20)

In cases like (9), *uuiht* is formally a head noun with a genitive attribute. However, this type of construction is relatively frequent (32.8% of all negative clauses with an emphasizer of some sort in the *Heliand*) and in some cases, *uuiht* can be analysed as an adverbial negation strengthener while the original attributive NP constitutes the actual argument of the verb, occurring in a genitive of negation. This is particularly likely in cases like (11), where the genitive element is a pronoun, and occurs separated from its alleged head noun *uuiht*. In this case, the pronoun ('he') is more likely to be the argument of the verb *antkennian* 'to recognize' than *is ... uuiht* 'anything of him':

(11) sô **is**   thea ni   mahtun antkenn(i)an **uuiht**   the

     so he.GEN those NEG   could   recognize   anything/NEG who

     thes   uuîh[e]s   thar uuardon scoldun

     the.GEN shrine.GEN there guard   should

     'they did not recognize him at all who were supposed to guard the shrine.' (lit. 'they did not recognize anything of him ...') (*Heliand*, 813)

Emphatic reinforcement with simple *(io)uuiht* as in (12) is much less frequent (six occurrences in the OLG corpus, 0.9%), and *niouuiht* 'nothing', which is the item that eventually grammaticalizes as the postverbal negator in Middle Low German, is hardly attested at all as an adverbial strengthener (three occurrences, 0.4%), (13).[ix,x]

(12) ni   sculun ûs   belgan **uuiht**.

   NEG shall   us   anger anything

   'They shall not anger us at all.' (*Heliand*, 4895)

(13) Ne   ik thi geth ni   deriu **(neo)uuiht,** quað he.[xi]

   and.not I   you also NEG harm (no)thing   said   he

   'I will also not harm you at all, either, he said.' (*Heliand*, 3892)

This shows that Old Low German, despite having at its disposal adverbial means of emphasizing sentential negation, had barely begun to establish a regular form that would eventually feed into Jespersen's cycle and become the new neutral sentential negator. When attestation starts again in the 13th century after a gap of about two hundred years, the expression of negation has changed dramatically. In Middle Low German, *nicht* has lost any emphatic value it may have had and taken over the function of expressing sentential negation.[xii]

(14) … unde dar   sole   wy en **nicht** hinderlich an wezen

   … and   there shall we them NEG obstructive to be

   'and we shall not bar them from it.' (Steinfurt 12/09/1354)

New emphasizers also enter the picture, but not in a systematic fashion and without starting a new Jespersen's cycle. A common way of emphasizing negation in a large corpus of Middle Low German chancery documents is the use of *yenigherleye wiis* 'in any way' as in (15), though this type of reinforcement is even more common with an n-marked form such as *neynerleye wys* 'no way', *in geynerleywyse* 'in no way' or *in nenerley stucke* 'no part'.

(15) dat ik edder myne erven **en**willen noch **en**schullen dem ergenomeden
  that I   or   my   heirs   EN.want   nor   EN.shall   the   aforementioned

heren dem bischupe edder synen nakomelinghen bischupen to Lubeke
sir   the   bishop   or   his   successors   bishops   in   Lübeck

yenigherleye wiis [...] anklaghen ...
any   way [...] accuse

'that neither I nor my heirs shall acuse the aformentioned bishop in Lübeck nor his successors in any way.' (Lübeck 10/11/1428)

(16) Und ick und myne erven schollen noch **en**willen den vorgenanten
  and I   and my   heirs   shall   nor   NE.want   the aforementioned

heren und oren nhakomelingen in duzen vorschreven jarlickenn
lords and their heirs   in   these aforementioned yearly

renthen neynen hinder don noch don lathen **nenerleige wis**.
interests no   impediment do   nor   do let   no   way

 'and neither I nor my heirs shall impede the aforementioned lords nor their heirs concerning the aforementioned yearly interest in any way.' (Uelzen 09/19/1505)

With *nicht* clearly having become the standard sentential negator in Middle Low German, *ne/en* on its own becomes very restricted in its occurrence. In the corpus used for this study, it mainly occurs with the new postverbal negator or n-marked indefinites. This is the case in *c.* 70% of all clauses with *nicht* or an n-marked indefinite in the period 1325–1375, falling to around 12% in the case of *nicht* and 3.5% in the case of n-marked indefinites by 1575. Single *ne/en* is almost entirely restricted to exceptive clauses in the corpus:

(17) a. dat **en** sy   mit   willen   der   zessen

       that NE be.SUBJUNC with permission of.the six

       'unless it be with the permission of the six.' (Steinfurt 04/28/1370)

    b. vnde dar   moste numment yn, he **ne** gheue   V   mark

       and   there must   n.one   in   he   NE give.SUBJUNC five   marks

       vp   dat minste

       on   the least

        'and no one shall enter there, unless he give/pay at least five marks.'

    (Stralsund 1392)

In the entire Middle Low German corpus used here (2829 negative clauses), there is only one instance of sentential negation expressed by the preverbal marker alone.[xiii]

(18) der   ik unde   myne erven   enscholed   recht warende   wesen

       of.that I   and   my   heirs   NEG.shall   law   guarding   be

       '… of which I and my heirs shall not be judges.' (Scharnebeck 26/05/1420)

There are arguments against the preverbal marker actually expressing sentential negation in exceptive clauses. The clauses are neither formally nor functionally equivalent to negative conditionals. Formally, conditionals in Middle Low German are normally either asyndetic with sentence-initial verb placement, or syndetic with an *if*-type complementizer and sentence-final verb placement. Verb-initial asyndetic conditionals always precede their main clause consequent. Exceptive clauses on the other hand are verb-second clauses which invariably *follow* the clause they depend on. Furthermore, verb-initial asyndetic conditionals are one of the first contexts to *lose* the preverbal marker in Middle Low German (Breitbarth 2008) and Middle Dutch (Burridge 1993), while exceptive clauses are one of the last contexts. They only start losing the preverbal marker once a new element conveying the exceptive meaning, *dan* 'then' > *denn*, is introduced in the course of the 15th century.[xiv]

Functionally, there is a case for the absence of true sentential (i.e. propositional) negation in this type of clause. While the postverbal marker is firmly established in the entire corpus from the beginning, in none of the 173 exceptive clauses with the preverbal marker do we find a postverbal marker or an n-marked indefinite, even though either would be compatible with *ne/en*. This is concordant with the observation that exceptive clauses with *unless* in English do not license weak NPI indefinites in the absence of an overt clause-internal licenser such as negation:[xv]

(19) a. It's no problem if you haven't done anything.

  b. It's no problem, unless you have done something / *anything.

The reason for this state of affairs is probably that exceptive clauses do not actually express a negative condition for a consequent to be true, but an underlyingly positive one. They presuppose that the unmarked or expected state of affairs is the opposite, positive statement. It can therefore be assumed that *ne/en* does not indicate the presence of a negative operator in exceptive clauses. The scarcity of examples in the corpus using *ne/en* as sentential negator (see (18)) compared to the number of cases of *en* in the exceptive clauses on the one hand, and the bipartite expression of negation on the other, implies that *ne/en* alone was not generally available any longer as the expression of sentential negation to speakers of Middle Low German.

It can be assumed that *ne/en* was lost from all Low German dialects, in the course of the 17th century at the latest, although this must remain speculative as textual attestation becomes scarce after 1550. This is because High German takes over as the written language in the area. When Low German is used as a written language again in literary texts by authors such as Klaus Groth or Fritz Reuter from the 19th century onwards, there are no longer any traces of *en*, not even together with other negative markers.

Sundquist's (2007) diachronic study of the development of negation in diplomatic letters and chancery texts written in the city of Lübeck between 1320 and 1500 appears to be the only one so far looking at which factors influence the expression of negation in Middle Low German. Sundquist compares the effects of five factors on three types of negation: preverbal only, bipartite, and postverbal only. The factors considered are (1) the clause type (main vs. embedded), (2) the verb type (lexical, modal, auxiliary), (3) the position of the verb in the clause (medial or final in embedded clauses), (4) the type of subject (pronominal or full DP) and (5) the date of composition. He applies Kroch's (1989) quantitative approach to historical

morphosyntactic variation and change in order to see whether the three expressions of negation, in particular the decline of single preverbal negation and the rise of single postverbal negation show a Constant Rate Effect, which would point to them being competing grammatical options. Like Frisch (1997), who did a similar study on the development of the expression of negation in Middle English, Sundquist concludes that the two negation patterns are not mutually exclusive options, but functional doublets, and that bipartite negation is merely the overlap of the former two patterns.

There are a number of problems with Sundquist's approach. First, Lübeck is only one place within a large area of scribal dialects, and one that is known to have had undergone a certain amount of dialect levelling (Peters 2000b), owing to its situation in the 'Neuland' colonized by settlers from all over the Low German area and its role as the centre of an international trading network, the Hansa. Therefore, the variation within the Middle Low German dialect area as a whole remains unstudied so far. Second, as we have seen above, it can safely be assumed on the basis of a much larger corpus than Sundquist's that preverbal *ne/en* alone was no longer an expression of sentential negation in Middle Low German.[xvi] It can therefore not be treated on a par with the other ways of expressing negation (bipartite and postverbal only). All that can be studied is the loss of *ne/en* from the expression of negation with *nicht* (and n-marked indefinites). A third problem with Sundquist's approach is that he only distinguishes 'main' and 'embedded' clauses within the factor 'clause type', but does not consider the position of the verb in them. It is therefore unclear whether he counted e.g. verb-first conditionals as 'embedded clauses', a context where, in Middle Dutch, *en* is lost first (Burridge 1993), as opposed to verb-final clauses, where it is lost last. Furthermore, Sundquist's factor 'position of verb' distinguishes only between final (OV) or medial verb placement (VO) within 'embedded' clauses. He

finds this factor to be insignificant for the distribution of negative markers in his corpus. This is not surprising. The Middle Low German data in the corpus on which the present study is based show a certain amount of verb raising and OV leakages, but apparently independently of the distribution of negative markers. Also, whether the subject is a pronoun or a full DP (factor 4) is found to be insignificant by Sundquist, and will therefore be neglected in the following discussion.

The Middle Low German scribal dialects differ significantly in the speed at which they make the transition from stage II to stage III of Jespersen's cycle. The southwestern and southern dialects West- and Eastphalian lose *en* more slowly than North Low Saxon, and much more slowly than the northeastern dialect Eastelbian.[xvii] This is shown in Table 6.1.

[Table 6.1 near here.]

These patterns can be explained by the different colonization background of the dialect areas in question: the Eastelbian cities of Lübeck and Stralsund in the corpus are in the 'Neuland'; that is, they were founded on formerly Slavonic territory by settlers from the North Low Saxon and Westphalian areas. They therefore constitute a typical urbanization scenario with dialect levelling (Trudgill 1994). Such contexts often lead to simplification, and this factor can therefore account for the accelerated loss of preverbal *en*. Furthermore, Lübeck and Stralsund became centres of the Hanseatic trade at the time, a further likely factor in the levelling of dialect differences and the removal of archaic features. (Peters 2000a: 1414) summarizes this development as follows:

In der Frühzeit Lübecks ist mit einem Nebeneinander verschiedener altländischer Mundarten zu rechnen. Das Zusammenleben in der Stadt führt im Verlauf des 13. Jhs. zu einem innerstädtischen Ausgleich, es entsteht eine städtische Umgangssprache. Es ist anzunehmen, dass sich relativ früh innerhalb der hansischen Gemeinschaft, unter den Fernhandelskaufleuten im Ostseeraum eine lübisch geprägte mündliche Handels- und Verkehrssprache entwickelt hat [...].[xviii]

Another significant factor influencing the expression of negation is the position of the verb. As in Burridge's (1993) study of Middle Dutch (see also below, section 6.2.2), verb-first contexts significantly favour the omission of the preverbal marker. The difference between verb-second and verb-final contexts, given in Table 6.2, is not statistically significant in the Middle Low German chancery documents.[xix]

[Table 6.2 near here.]

For High German, it has often been claimed that certain 'high frequency verbs' like *wissen* 'know' and *tun* 'do' as well as modal verbs favour single preverbal negation for longer (Behaghel 1918: 230, Paul 2007: 389–90) and also hold on to bipartite negation for longer than other verbs once the postverbal marker arises.[xx] In Sundquist's Lübeck data, the factor of verb type seems to be insignificant for single preverbal negation negation, while bipartite negation slightly prefers lexical verbs and single postverbal negation *haben* 'have', *sein* 'be' and modal verbs. This is perhaps unexpected given the generalizations in the older literature according to which modal verbs are more conservative. The corpus used for the present study confirms Sundquist's findings; the loss of the preverbal marker is delayed significantly with

lexical verbs, and accelerated with auxiliary and modal verbs.[xxi] Therefore, higher frequency of a verb seems to correlate with (and perhaps trigger) loss of *en/ne* rather than its maintenance.

6.2.2   Dutch

As mentioned at the outset, the extant Old Dutch texts are of limited value for syntactic studies. I shall simply describe the expression of negation in these texts here, but not make generalizations.

In the *Wachtendonck Psalms*, the preverbal marker occurs in 53 of the 57 negative clauses (93%), (20). Of these, 52 do not contain any other negative element, while one contains an n-marked indefinite, (21).[xxii] Note that the sentential negation particle *ne* is even inserted in (21) against the Latin original, pointing to genuine Old Dutch syntax.

(20)   non timebo quid faciat mihi caro

      ne   sal   ic   forhtan   uuad duo mi flēisc

      NEG shall I   fear   what do me flesh

      'I will not fear what flesh can do to me.' (WP LV.5)

(21)   nequanto obliuiscantur populi mei

      that   **nohuuanne ne**   fargetin folk   mīn

      that   never   NEG forget   people   my

      '… lest any time my people forget.' (WP LVIII.12.2)

There are already five cases of negation without *ne*, three of them using *niuuiht/niuueht* as constituent negator or even negative determiner (cf. section 3). In

two cases, however, *niuueht* is used to render Latin *non* expressing sentential negation. In (22), the choice of *niuueht* may be attributed to the strict interlinear character of the translation, because it helps maintain the position of the negation before the verb, which in this case has to be non-finite as the Latin form *decidet* can only be rendered by means of a complex verb form in Old Dutch.

(22) et folium eius non decidet

    inde lōuff sīn **niuueht** nitheruallan sal

    and   leaf   his NEG   down.fall   shall

    '… and his leaf shall not wither.' (WP I.3.3)

In (23) on the other hand, the Latin *non* is rendered as *niuueht* in the first conjunct and as *ne* in the second, pointing at a genuine use of *niuueht* as a negator in this text.

(23) Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, et in uia peccatorum non stetit

    Sēlig   man ther **niuueht** uuor in gerēde   ungonēthero,   inde in

    blessed man who NEG   goes in counsel impious.GEN and   in

    uueg   sundiger   **ne**   stūnt

    way   sinners.GEN NEG stands

    'Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the way of sinners.' (WP I.1)

In neither (22) nor (23) can *niuueht* be said to be emphatic (cf. section 6.2.2).

    As the Latin original in (24) does not contain a finite verb, the Old Dutch translation has to find an alternative way of rendering *non*, if the strict interlinear

character is to be maintained, as *ne* is restricted to finite verbs. This shows that

niuueht had already established itself as the negator to be used in non-finite contexts,

and, as in the case at hand, for constituent negation. Here as well, it is not obvious that

this is an emphatic use.

(24) Non sic impii, non sic

     Niuueht sō   ungonēthe, **niuueht** sō

     NEG   so   impious,   not   so

     'The ungodly are not so.' (WP I.4)

Of the 127 occurrences of sentential negation in the *Leiden Willeram*, all contain the

preverbal marker, which is mostly cliticized to the finite verb as seen in (25), though

in over 80% of the cases, negation is additionally expressed by different elements in

the clause, either adverbial *niet* (26) or n-marked indefinites (27).

(25) thaz sie se **ne**wecchan, eer siu selua wolla

     that they her NEG.awake before she herself want

     'that they may not wake her before she wants to wake herself.' (LW 56.22–3)

(26) Wir **ne**wiilon **niet** uergezzan, thaz …

     we NEG.want NEG forget that

     'We do not want to forget that …' (LW 42.6)

(27) wanda an hin **nieman ni**uindet ieweht unrechtes

     because on him n.one NEG.finds anything wrong

'because no one can find anything wrong about him.' (LW 59.4–5)

In 16 of the 25 clauses with single *ne/ni*, the finite verb is the modal *mugan* 'be able', a verb that shows a certain conservative behaviour with respect to keeping single preverbal negation in all West Germanic languages (Behaghel 1918, 1924 and Paul 2007 for High German; Stoett 1923 and Van der Horst & Van der Wal 1979 for Middle Dutch and Iyeiri 2001 for Middle English). In addition to the 127 cases of negative sentences, there are six cases of single *ne* in subjunctive verb-second clauses that depend on negative clauses and to which they express an exception (see the discussion of exceptive clauses in Middle Low German above).

(28) wande **nieman ni**magh intrare portam regni caelestis, her

because n.one NEG.may enter door kingdom heaven he

newerthe per doctores baptizatus

NE.be by scholars baptized

'because nobody may enter the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he be baptized by a scholar.' (LW 89.22–3)

The old preverbal element *en/ne* is preserved for much longer in Dutch than it is in Low German. Besides the bipartite expression of negation, it continues to be used on its own in a number of other contexts in Middle Dutch (Van Helten 1885a, Stoett 1923: 157–9). Two of these contexts, 'paratactic negation'[xxiii] (29) and 'exceptive' clauses (30), are formally very similar; they are verb-second clauses with *en* preceding the verb. They differ in that clauses with 'paratactic negation' always depend on a clause containing negation or a quasi-negative expression like 'hardly,

not long, not far' while their finite verb is in the indicative mood, whereas in 'exceptive' clauses, the verb is in the subjunctive. 'Paratactic negation' can fulfil a variety of functions, such as relative, complement, consecutive and temporal clauses. As (30)a shows, the borders between 'paratactic' and 'exceptive' use of *ne/en* are blurred.

(29) a. Darne   was niemen, hi**ne**   was blide

       there.NE was no.one   he.NE was happy

       'There was no one who was not happy.'

  b. Het en es niet een dach in die weke, Hi**ne** es geasselgiert sere

       it   NE is   NEG one day in the week he.NE is attacked   badly

'There is not one day in the week on which he is not badly attacked.' (Van Helten 1885a: 220–1)

(30) a. Want   ik sal   keren   nemmermere, Ic **en** hebbe   vonden

      because I   shall return never.more   I   NE have   found

      mijn gheslacht

      my   family/lineage

'because I shall never return until/unless I have found my family/lineage.' (Van Helten 1885a: 227)

  b. Ic salre   varen, **in** (ic+**en**) blive   doet.

      I shall.there go   I.NE   become   dead

      'I shall go there unless I die.' (Beheydt 1998: 15)

Exceptive clauses undergo a further development different from that observed for Low German. In Dutch, the common exceptive clause *het en zij/waere* 'it NE be.SUBJUNC/were.SUBJUNC' is reanalysed as a subordinating complementizer *tenzij* 'unless' < *(he)t.en.zij* 'it.NE.be.SUBJUNC' (Te Winkel 1901: 171–2), now even triggering sentence-final verb placement. Beheydt argues that *tenzij* and *tenware* were already frozen expressions in southern Dutch in the 15th century and soon grammaticalized as exceptive complementizers with sentence-final verb placement.[xxiv]

Other contexts for single *en/ne* in Middle Dutch include fragment answers with dummy verbs (31), in (rhetorical) questions expecting a positive answer (32) and pleonastic or expletive negation in the complement of adversative predicates (such as *doubt, deny, forbid* etc.), where it is rather rare, however (Burridge 1993: 184–5).[xxv]

(31) Ghi hout u   spot.   **In** (=ic+**en**) doe
      you hold   your mockery. I.NE   do
      'You are mocking. I do not!' (Beheydt 1998: 15)

(32) **En** es dit   Floris miin soete   lief?
      NE is   this Floris my   sweet   lover
      'Isn't this Floris, my sweet lover?' (Beheydt 1998: 16)

According to Beheydt (1998), pleonastic or expletive negation in Middle Dutch is more frequent in the standard of comparison.

(33) Ghien   moget niet vorder rechten dan u   manne **en** wijsen
      you.NE   can   NEG more   judge   than your men   NE tell

'You cannot judge more than your men tell you.' (Beheydt 1998: 16)

Certain verbs are slower to adopt the new adverbial negator. The modals *willen, connen* and *mogen* are reported in the literature as maintaining lone *en/ne* longer (Stoett 1923, Van der Horst & Van der Wal 1979), as are the verbs *weten* 'know', *roeken* 'care' and *hebben* 'have' when occurring with a *wh*-complement in the function of an indefinite object (34).

(34) a. Si   **ne** weten wat   best doen

    they NE know   what   best do

    'They do not know what would be the best thing to do.'

b. Hem   **en** roeket   wiet   deerde

    him   NE mattered who.it   hurt

    'He did not care whom it hurt.'

c. Wi **ne** hebben wat   eten

    we NE have   what eat

    'We do not have anything to eat.' (Beheydt 1998: 18)

Another context in which *en* occurs on its own in Middle Dutch involves clauses containing the NPIs *bore* 'much', *meer* '(any)more' and *ander* 'another' (35), where it appears that these elements had been on the way to acquiring a negative value, a development which must have been reversed again later.

(35) a. Dat   ghi   mi **meer**   ne   sult sien

    that   you   my anymore NE   shall see

'that you shall not see me anymore' (Beheydt 1998: 17)

b.(Het) ne was Persise **bor** leet …

it NE was Persis much sorry

'Persis was not very sorry …' (Postma 2002: 53)

It is not clear how to treat these single uses of *en* in a uniform manner. It appears as though *en* has become ambiguous in Middle Dutch. In some cases it still seems to function as a negation-marking particle, in others it co-occurs with other negative expressions. Postma (2002) argues that it is an NPI-'use' of the argument *wh*-clauses that licenses *ne* in (34).[xxvi] He does not give a formal account of how this licensing should proceed. Normally it is a negative expression (or another overt NPI-licenser such as a question or comparative or conditional operator or a lexical item like *before* or *without*) that licenses NPIs, not vice versa. Therefore, one might posit that *en* is in fact still a negation particle in constructions like (34). On the other hand, it can occur in non-negative contexts as if it were an NPI itself. Cases like (35) could be analysed either way, with either *bore* and *meer* still being NPIs being licensed by a still-negative *en* or with them having acquired a negative value, licensing 'NPI' *en* by identifying a covert negation scoping over *en*. Given that the *wh*-clauses in (34) fulfil the function of indefinite objects, they might be on the verge of entering a quantifier cycle (see section 6.3 below) as just hypothesized for *bore* and *meer*, that is, on their way to acquiring a negative value. Either way, it is clear that the position of *en* in the system is unstable and it is no longer used as the standard negator on its own.

The loss of *en* from the expression of sentential negation with *niet* is conditioned by a number of factors. Burridge (1993) discusses the factors of dialect and position of the finite verb as very influential. She compares a northern dialect,

Hollandish, and a southern one, Brabantish. As in Middle Low German, the type of clause and with it the position of the finite verb is a significant factor in the incidence of *ne/en/n* in Branbantish and Hollandish. In both dialects, *ne/en/n* is dropped more frequently in verb-initial clauses (imperatives, verb-first conditionals and the like) than in verb-second clauses and especially verb-late clauses. Another factor influencing the loss of *ne/en/n* discussed in the literature is possible haplology, for instance if *en*+Vfin is preceded by the impersonal pronoun *men* (Van der Horst & Van der Wal 1979, Hoeksema 1997) or an infinitive in *-en* (Burridge 1993). While the southern dialects of Flanders and Brabant significantly lag behind in losing the preverbal marker, northern dialects like Hollandish, from which the modern standard is derived, make the transition to single postverbal negation in the 17th century. Burridge's data from southern Brabantish and northern Hollandish from between 1300 and 1650 show this dialectal split very clearly. Table 6.3 is adapted from her tables 1 and 2.[xxvii]

[Table 6.3 near here.]

A sociolinguistic explanation along the lines proposed above for Low German suggests itself here as well. Especially after the independence of the northern provinces (and the end of the Hansa, which had had some influence in Flanders), Holland became an international centre of trade and intellectual life, again providing fertile ground for dialect levelling.

The significance of the dialectal split between Holland and Flanders, as well as the difference between the Saxon (Middle Low German) and Low Franconian dialects (Middle Dutch), is confirmed by Postma & Bennis (2006), who, based on a corpus of

court proceedings, show that the loss of the preverbal marker was very advanced around 1400 in the northeastern Saxon dialect of Drenthe (see Table 6.4), but that this variety reverts to a more conservative stage around 1490 under the influence of the Hollandish dialect due to the political influence of the chancery of Utrecht.

[Table 6.4 near here.]

Beheydt (1998), focussing on the development in letters, travelogues and chronicles from the southern provinces from the 15th to the 20th century, gives a general overview as presented in Table 6.5 for the development of the expression of negation, for both *niet* and n-marked indefinites.[xxviii]

[Table 6.5 near here.]

It can be concluded from Burridge's figures (see Table 6.3) that, in the northern Dutch provinces, the preverbal marker *en* in combination with *niet* had been lost by 1650. It has been argued that this is the consequence of a ban by prescriptive grammarians and influential writers. Burridge (1993) shows how *en* disappears from the letters of P. C. Hooft (1581–1647) during his lifetime; similarly, Van der Wouden (1995: 23) shows how playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) 'after the model of […] writers such as P. C. Hooft' deliberately reduces the use of *en* in his plays over the years. However, referring to 'dialectal texts' up to the 19th century, Beheydt (1998: 25) points out that prescriptive pressure is unlikely to have affected the continued use of the preverbal marker in the spoken language. In the southern provinces on the other hand, the loss of the preverbal marker only really accelerated in the 18th century,

around 500 years after High German and still a good 300 years after Middle Low German. Negation with *en* alone had already fallen out of use in the 15th century, and only non-negative or emphatic uses survive, pointing at a reanalysis of *en* as a(n emphatic) polarity marker (Breitbarth & Haegeman forthcoming).

Not only did the southern Dutch dialects take much longer to lose the preverbal marker, some of them still make use of it at the present day, despite the spread of the northern standard language to the south.[xxix] Beheydt (1998) hints at a possible meaning difference arising in the Early Modern period between the older bipartite and the newer single postverbal expression of negation:

(…) in vraagzinnen (…) blijkt de negatie steeds postverbaal te zijn als de betekenis positief is. Het lijkt heel aannemelijk dat de taalgebruikers vonden dat de tweeledige ontkenning de negatieve betekenis te zeer benadrukte, wat minder het geval was met de postverbale.[xxx] (Beheydt 1998: 93)

In fact, in those dialects that have preserved the preverbal marker to this day, it does seem to have developed a certain emphatic value: it signals a contrast between the negative clause it appears in and the discourse context, often with certain emotional overtones such as surprise or irritation.

(36) A: Geef me nen keer Valère zenen telefon.
        give me one   time Valère his   number
  B: K' en een-k   ik zenen telefon niet.
      I EN have=I   I   his   number NEG
  A: 'Can you give me Valère's phone number?'

B: 'I don't have Valère's number!' (West Flemish, Haegeman 2002:180)

Furthermore, single *en* seems to have survived to some extent in non-negative affective contexts (Klima 1964), i.e., where it does not express sentential negation. Weijnen (1956) reports the occasional use of single *en* in 17th-century Dutch in clauses containing *maer* 'only', *nauw* 'near(ly)', and comparatives:

(37) a. En   van   die   eerste   jeughd / **en** smaken   meestendeel **maer**

     and   of   the   first   youth NE taste   mostly   only

     ouderen   de vreughd.

     old.people the joy

     'It's mostly only old people who enjoy the first youth.'

   b. hoe wel ter   **nauwer** noodt verhaalens waart **en** is

     how well to   near   need   telling   worth NE is

     'although it is hardly worth telling'

   c. niet   **soeters** […]   als   ghy **en**   siet

     nothing sweeter   than you NE are

     'nothing sweeter than you are' (Weijnen 1956: 73)

Beheydt (1998) confirms this for her corpus of southern Dutch (15th–20th century), from which examples (38) and (39) are taken:

(38) standard of comparison

   ick   en bleef   aan tafel   niet langer, als   ik **en**   moest

   I   EN stayed at table   not longer than I   EN had.to

'I did not stay at the table any longer than I had to.' (17th-c. West Flemish,

Maria Petyt, 46)

(39)   context of restrictive adverbs

a. ende mijn vaeder **en** leefde **maer** ix   maenden nae   ons moeder

  and   my   father NE lived   only   nine   months   after our mother

'and my father only survived our mother by nine months.' (16th-c. Brabantish,

Jan de Pottre, 12)

b. … dat wij **nauwelijk en** derfden spreken in sijne presentie

    that we hardly   EN dared   speak in his   presence

'… that we hardly dared speak in his presence.' (17th-c. West Flemish, Maria

Petyt, 25)

These non-negative uses of *en* in affective environments can still be found in present-

day Flemish dialects. The following examples are from the East Flemish dialect of

Ghent and West Flemish Kortrijk:

(40) en   **aa**'t slecht weer   **en** is

    and if=it bad   weather EN is

'and if the weather is bad' (Ghent) (Leemans 1966: 191)

(41) Ge   moet 't zegge **gelijk of** 't **en** is.

    You must it say   like   if it EN is

'You must tell it the way it is.' (Ghent) Leemans 1966: 191)

(42) **ten**   is **maar** een   kleintsje

    it=EN is only   a   little.one

'it's only a little one.' (Ghent) (Tavernier 1959: 246)

(43) Je   moet   niet komen **voordat** ik geschreven **en** heb.

you   should not   come   before   I   written   EN   have

'You need not come before I have written.' (Kortrijk) (Barbiers et al. 2008: 60)

On the basis of such examples, Breitbarth & Haegeman (2010) argue that instead of being lost as in other Dutch dialects, *en*'s position was stabilized by its reanalysis as a(n emphatic) polarity marker. As far as is possible to tell from studies on the present-day dialects (Leemans 1966, Vergauts 1971, De Pauw 1973), it appears that the frequency of *en* with *niet* has stabilized at around 10% of the possible cases. This supports arguments for a reanalysis of *en* as an emphatic element; not all negative sentences are emphatic (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2010).[xxxi]

6.2.3   Summary

Both Old Low German and Old Dutch start out at stage I of Jespersen's cycle: the standard expression of sentential negation is by means of a preverbal head, *ni* or *ne*, that cliticizes to the finite verb. Already during the oldest period, emphasizers of negative polarity are used. The element that ultimately becomes grammaticalized as a new adverbial negator is derived from an n-marked indefinite pronoun, *niouuiht/niuueht* 'nothing'. In Old Dutch, this element is already used adverbially (23) and as a constituent negator (24), helping to circumvent the finiteness restriction of the old preverbal negator. In Old Low German, we see the grammaticalization in progress: *niouueht* is used pseudo-argumentally in typical transition contexts, such as verbs of caring/indifference, or damaging, (13).

In the transition to Middle Low German/Middle Dutch, the original preverbal negator changes its status. The new postverbal element *nicht/niet* is clearly the

standard expression of sentential negation at this point, although the transition is somewhat more protracted in Middle Dutch. In Middle Low German, the preverbal marker has clearly ceased to express negation.

For both Middle Low German and Middle Dutch, there are three factors that significantly influence the loss of the old preverbal marker: dialect, position of the verb and the type of the verb. While there is clear evidence that the old preverbal marker has lost its negative force in Middle Low German to the new adverbial marker *nicht*, providing a plausible explanation for its demise, things seem to be less clear-cut for Middle Dutch, where *ne/en/n* survives for much longer and is eventually banned from the standard language by what seem to be prescriptive efforts. Throughout the Middle Dutch period, it is still found with *niet* and n-marked indefinites (cf. section 6.3 below), and retains some independent uses such as in negative clauses with *wh-*complements or certain lexical elements (*meer, bore*). It only survives in the Flemish dialects, which for a long time were outside (northern) Dutch political influence, due to reanalysis as an (emphatic) polarity marker.

6.3 Indefinites in the scope of negation

Sentential negation in the history of Low German and Dutch is not only marked by negation particles such as *ni/ne/en* or *nicht/niet*. Already at an early date, morphologically n-marked indefinite pronouns, determiners and adverbs are able to identify sentential negation, whether supported by the presence of one of the sentential negation particles or not (that is, they are n-words in the sense of Giannakidou 2005, see also section 1.8.2). Other indefinite elements licensed in the scope of negation are unable to identify sentential negation by themselves and are therefore to be considered negative polarity items. Diachronically, the licensing

conditions of indefinites can change, commonly becoming more restrictive (the 'quantifier cycle', see section 1.9.1). Although such changes happen to individual lexical items, indefinites tend to form series, e.g. for negative or NPI contexts, building up paradigm pressure which causes analogical changes in individual members of a series. This is exactly what characterizes the development of indefinites in the scope of negation the history of Low German and Dutch. For each language, we will first look at the interaction of indefinites with sentential negation and then at the developments within the system of indefinites.

6.3.1   Low German

Old Low German had one 'neutral' or 'general' series of indefinites, which is not restricted to the scope of *ni*:

(44) **sum**   haƀad   iro   hardan   strîd

       some   have   their hard   fights

       'some have their hard fights' (*Heliand*, 2493)

Besides this, it had two series of indefinites that could be used in the scope of negation, n-marked ones (such as *niouuiht* 'nothing') and n-free ones (for example, *(g)iouuiht* 'anything'). The latter was also licensed in non-negative NPI contexts, such as the restriction of a universal quantifier, (45).

(45) allaro   barno   bezta, thero   the   **io**   giboran uurði

       all.GEN   children.GEN   best   those.GEN who ever born   were

       'the best of all children who was ever born' (*Heliand*, 835)

As seen above (section 6.1.1), the preverbal marker was virtually obligatory in Old Low German negative clauses. This means that there are negative clauses with negative doubling (negation marker + n-marked indefinite) as well as without (negation marker + n-free indefinite). However, the individual Old Low German texts differ with respect to which pattern they prefer (see Table 6.6). While there are no n-marked indefinites used in negative clauses with indefinites in the *Genesis* fragments at all, in the minor texts all of the few clauses with indefinites in the scope of negation use n-marked forms. The language of the *Heliand* disprefers negative doubling – it is only used in around 20% of the possible contexts.[xxxii]

[Table 6.6 near here.]

Where n-marked indefinites are used, they co-occur with the sentential negator *ni*, whether they follow or precede it. Old Low German is thus a strict negative concord language (Giannakidou 1998).

(46) a. **Ni** scal **neoman** lioht, the   it haƀad,   liudiun   dernean

        NEG shall nobody   light who it has   people.DAT conceal

        'No one who has light should hide it from people.' (*Heliand*, 1405–6)

    b. **Neo**   endi **ni**   kumid, thes   uuîdon   rîkeas giuuand

        never   end   NEG comes   the.GEN wide.GEN kingdom.GEN end

        'The broad kingdom will never end.' (*Heliand*, 267–9)

Remarkably, also n-free indefinites are able to precede the negative marker, (47)c, in violation of Jespersen's 'Neg-First Principle' (Hapelmath 1997, Mazzon 2004).

(47) a. **ne**   dragu   ic   **ênig**   drugi   thing.

    NEG   carry   I   any   deceptive thing

    'I am not bringing any kind of trick/deception.' (*Heliand*, 264)

  b. Sia   **ni**   namon   is   tho   **niam** (=**niaman**)

    they   NEG   took   it   then   nobody

    'They did not take it from anyone.' (GG.63,10-11)

  c. sô   is   **io**   endi   **ni**   cumit

    thus   it.GEN   ever   end   NEG comes

    'thus the end (of it) will never come.' (*Heliand*, 1324)

Old Low German does not have negative spread. If more than one indefinite occurs in the scope of negation, at most one of these is n-marked:

(48) a. Nis   thes   tueho   **ênig**   gumono   **nigiênumu**

    NEG=is   the.GEN.SG   doubt   any men.GEN.PL   none.DAT.PL

    'None of the men have any doubt about it.' (lit. 'there is not any doubt about it

    to none of the men') (*Heliand*, 3190–1)

  b. it   ni   mag iu   te   **ênigoro** frumu   huuergin   uuerðan

    it   NEG can   you   to   any   benefit   at.all   redound

    te   **ênigumu**   uuilleon.

    to   any   happiness

'It is not able to do you any good at all, nor bring you any happiness.' (*Heliand*, 1854–5)

The three subcorpora indicate a diachronic development between the 9th and 11th centuries, with the Genesis fragments representing the oldest stage with no n-marking on indefinites in the scope of negation, the *Heliand* the middle stage with optional (and still dispreferred) n-marking, and the minor texts with obligatory n-marking.[xxxiii] As we saw above, the preverbal negator essentially ceases to express sentential negation in Middle Low German. Therefore, this shift may indicate the weakening of preverbal *ni* already in the 10th and 11th centuries.

Like Old Low German, Middle Low German distinguishes two series of indefinites which can occur in the scope of negation. N-marked indefinites can co-occur with the old preverbal marker (now *ne/en*), but, as we saw in section 6.2.1, there are arguments that this was no longer the negative marker in this period. They cannot, apparently, co-occur with the new postverbal negator *nicht*. There are two exceptions to this in the corpus, out of 1263 sentences with n-marked indefinites, that is, only 0.1%. In both cases, they are extraposed from the negated clause. In (49), *nynerleye wijs* is an adjunct, *nyman van unser weghene* could be interpreted as an afterthought to the coordinated subject, that is, 'we, our heirs, *nor anyone on our behalf*', but as both phrases occur outside the clause as a kind of afterthought, one may assume that they received the n-marking to indicate their still being in the scope of the sentential negation.

(49) ... dar   wy ofte unse ervende unsen   vader **nicht** an engen   ofte

      ... to.which we or   our   heirs   our   father NEG   in   obstruct or

hinderen **ne**solen nynerleye wijs ofte nyman van unser weghene

hinder NE.shall no way or no.one of our behalf

'… in which neither we nor our heirs nor anyone on our behalf shall obstruct or

hinder our father in any way.' (Steinfurt 01/07/1355)

In (50), the extraposed complement PP cannot be seen as an afterthought; rather, it appears to be focussed by its right-peripheral position. Again, however, one may assume that the extra-clausal position of the n-marked indefinite DP made the scribe use n-marking to indicate the connection to the earlier sentential negation here as well.

(50) dat ze sik **nycht en**scholen vorbynden tjegen **nyne heren**

that they REFL NEG NE.shall ally against no masters

ofte landesheren

or territorial.lords

'that they would not form any alliance against any masters nor territorial lords.' (Oldenburg 01/05/1436)

In any event, 0.1% is an extremely low frequency, indicating that this pattern is essentially ungrammatical.

Incidentally, the co-occurrence of *nicht* and n-free indefinites is also rare in the corpus (3; 0.2%): the bulk are co-occurrences of one n-marked indefinite with one or more n-free ones or of two or more n-marked indefinites. This means that the form of negative concord preferred by Middle Low German was negative spread, provided

our above analysis that the old preverbal marker was no longer the expression of sentential negation is correct.

(51) dat we **nemende**, dem we schuldich synt to   dessem jare […]
that we no.one   who we due   are to   this   year

ichtes   gheven   konnen
anything give   can

'that we cannot give anything to anyone we are indebted to this year.' (Uelzen 08/13/1396)

(52) dar   en willen wy **nemande   nyner   helpe** uop plichtich wezen
there NE will   we no.one.DAT no.GEN help   up obliged   be.INF

'we will not be obliged to give any help to anyone in this regard.' (Steinfurt 08/28/1354)

(53) Ock   so   **en**schal   **nymant nyn buwholt** over   de   slachte schepen
also   thus NE.shall   no.one   no   timber   over   the piling   ship

by   vorluße des   gudes
under loss   the.GEN good

'Equally, nobody shall ship any timber across the piling, under punishment of losing the good.' (Oldenburg 1500)

As can be seen in the following examples, indefinites of the old n-free series, which was preferred over the n-marked series in the scope of negation in Old Low German, are now mainly used outside the scope of negation, in weak NPI contexts. (54) and (55) are polar (yes/no) questions, in (56) *yergen* 'anywhere' occurs in the complement of a superlative, in (57) in a conditional.[xxxiv]

(54) Is dar **iemant** deper wen gij?

is there anyone brave than you

'Is there anyone as brave as you?' (*Alexander* 2 24: Seel., 2: 53, 2)

(55) Vader, mach men juw myt **yenigen** dingen helpen?

father may one you with any things help

'Father, can we help you with anything?' (*Alexander* 1 13: Seel., 1: 23, 14)

(56) de wiseste fruwe, de **yergen** wesen mochte

the wisest lady who anywhere be might

'the wisest lady who may be found anywhere' (*Alexander* 6 14e: Seel., 6: 214, 7)

(57) vnde kumpt he dij **yerghen** to, wise ene na my to Paris

and comes he you anywhere to direct him to me to Paris

'Should he come to you anywhere, direct him to me in Paris.' (*Alexander* 8 4: Seel., 8: 229, 33)

The indefinite pronoun *icht* 'something/anything' is infrequently used as an adverbial negator besides *nicht* in Middle Low German.

(58) De brutscho scolen ok **icht** betere wesen wan v sol.

the wooing shall also NEG better be than five shilling

'Bride negotiations shall also not be more expensive than five shillings.' (Braunschweig 1349)

All in all, it seems that Low German developed from a language without negative doubling via one with optional and finally obligatory strict negative doubling (negation particle + n-word) to a language with negative spread (n-word + n-word(s)). This can probably be attributed to the weakening of the old preverbal negation marker *ni/ne*: it was first sufficient to identify sentential negation, not requiring indefinites in its scope to be n-marked as well. With its increasing weakening, n-marking became more and more common in indefinites in the scope of negation, leading first to obligatory doubling with *ni*, and then to common negative spread.

Turning now to the developments within the indefinite system of Low German, we have seen that Old Low German distinguishes three series, a 'neutral' one, a series of indefinites licensed in NPI contexts and a series of indefinites restricted to the scope of negation. Among the NPI contexts licensing the second series, we find questions (59), the complement of universal quantifiers (60), the complement of superlatives (61) and indirect negation (62), in all of which the n-free indefinites appear, here exemplified with *io* 'ever'.

(59) Huan uuas thi   [**io**]   manno   tharf […]?

when was   you   ever   man   need

'When did any man ever need you?' (*Heliand*, 4433)

(60) endi   cumad [alle] tesamne   liudi,   the   **io**   thit lioht gisâun,

and   come   all   together   people   who   ever   this light   saw

'and all the people who ever saw this light come together.' (*Heliand*, 2596–7)

(61) allaro   barno   bezt, thero   the   **io**   [giboren] uurði

all.GEN   children   best   of.those   who   ever   born   were

'the best of all children who were ever born.' (*Heliand*, 5267)

(62) that **ni** haƀit ênigan gigadon   huergin, / thiu uuordan thesaro uueroldi,

that NEG have any   of.their.kind anywhere the words in this   world

that io uualdand mêr,   drohtin diurie

that ever ruler   more Lord   dear

'There is nothing like it in words anywhere in this world that could glorify the

ruler, our dear Lord, more!' (*Heliand*, 25–6)

In Middle Low German, the old 'neutral' indefinite *sum* 'some(one)' is lost, while the

old item *wat* < *hwat* 'something' remains a 'neutral' indefinite (63), besides

potentially the newly formed *ichteswat* 'something/anything', which is also available

in weak NPI contexts and as a free choice item (64).

(63) suwar   de rede   to langk is […], dar   wil ik **wat**   affbreken.

whenever the speech too long is   there   will I something off.break

'Whenever the speech is too long, I shall make it a bit shorter.' (*Alexander*, 0 6:

Seel., 0: 4, 10)

(64) De wile, dat de   moder   heft **ichteswat** to   geuene, so hebben   se

the time that the mother   has something to   give   so have   her

de kindere   sere leff.

the children very dear

'While/as long as the mother has something/anything to give, the children are

very fond of her.' (*Alexander*, 4 14 : Seel., 4: 137, 33)

The 'neutral' uses of *yerghen* < *hwergin* 'some-/anywhere' (< Gmc. *hwer 'where' +

*gen 'any') have been lost in favour of newly formed *ichteswo*, in parallel formation

to *ichteswat*.

(65) Hijrumme,   dat   du   dat hilge cruce **ichteswo**   geeret   heuest,

because.of.this that   you   the holy   cross somewhere venerated   have

des   schaltu   geneten.

of.this   shall.you   enjoy

'Because you have venerated the holy cross in some place you shall enjoy this.'

(*Alexander*, 2 33 : Seel., 2: 66, 37)

There do not appear to be any great changes in the licensing conditions on the old

weak NPI indefinites and the n-marked indefinites, apart from the conditions

governing their co-occurrence with the sentential negation marker and with each other

as discussed above. N-marked indefinites continue to be restricted to the scope of

negation, while the n-free series are licensed in all NPI contexts, weak and strong.

This is shown in Table 6.7, where the lefthand columns represent Old Low German,

and the righthand ones Middle Low German.

[Table 6.7 near here.]

The major aspects of the development of indefinite pronouns are summarized

in Figures 6.1 and 6.2 using Haspelmath's (1997: 63–4) implicational map of

indefinite-pronoun functions.

[Figure 6.1 near here.]

[Figure 6.2 near here.]

It seems that the indefinites in the scope of negation in Low German are affected by a certain cyclic development. In Old Low German, the n-free indefinites combine with the negation particle *ni* to form the n-marked series. In Modern Low German, a similar development seems to be incipient with the formation of *emphatic multiple negative expressions.*

6.3.2 Dutch

We saw above already that in the Old Dutch of the *Wachtendonck Psalms*, *niuueht* is occasionally used to render Latin negative elements, mostly in order to maintain the word order of the Vulgate text in the interlinear translation. In (66), *nieuuiht* appears to be used as a negative determiner to *uuort* 'word' (i.e., 'no word', lit. 'nothing word'). *Niuueht* may have been chosen here to convey emphasis.

(66) Firmauerunt sibi sermonem nequam.

Gefestoda   sig   uuort   **nieuuiht**

assert.PAST.3PL   REFL   word   nothing

'They asserted themselves with no word (at all?).' (WP LXIII.5.2)

In the *Leiden Willeram*, there are 35 clauses with n-marked indefinites, all with the preverbal marker, that is, the text shows strict negative doubling.

(67) Thich **ne**minnot **nieman**, her nesii recht

    you   NEG.loves n.one   he   NE.be righteous

    'Nobody loves you who is not righteous.' (LW 42.12–13)

(68) so   **ne**willon   ouch ich **negheyn** arbeyd   thurgh   sinan willan scuwan

    so   NEG.will   also I   no   effort   through his   will   spare

    'thus I shall spare no effort by his will.' (LW 56.10–11)

Besides negative doubling, negative spread appears to be possible (69), but does not seem obligatory (70):

(69) thaz sie   **nietemer neheine** uirtutem **ni**mugan   hauen

    that they n.to.more no   virtue   NEG.can have

    nisi   tantum per   me

    unless only   through me

    'that they cannot (just as little) have any virtue, unless it be through me.' (LW 88.11–12)

(70) wanda   an hin **nieman ni**uindet **ieweht**   unrechtes

    because in him n.one   NEG.finds any   unrighteous

    'because no one finds anything unrighteous in him' (LW 59.4–5)

Here it looks as though indefinites preceding the finite verb negated by *ni* are n-marked to indicate that they are in the scope of negation, while indefinites following it do not need this marking as their being in the scope of sentential negation is sufficiently clear. If true, the system employed in the *Leiden Willeram* is similar to the

Old High German one (Donhauser 1998: 289),[xxxv] perhaps not surprising given the essentially Old High German syntax of the text, cf. section 6.1.2.

In Middle Dutch, n-marked indefinites continue to co-occur with the preverbal marker, now mostly weakened to *en*. Negative spread is available too, (71)–(72).

(71) Gode ne   sach   noyt   gheen man[xxxvi]
     God NE   saw   never   no   man
     'God never saw any man.' (Lectionarium Amsterdam, 1348)

(72) **Nieman en** sijt ghi **niet**   sculdich ...
     nobody   NE are you nothing   due
     'You do not owe anything to anybody …' (New Testament, North Dutch translation , 1399)

Negative doubling with the new negator *niet* does not seem to have been available immediately;[xxxvii] the 65 n-marked indefinites[xxxviii] in the official documents 1200–1280 in the Corpus Gysseling (Gysseling 1977) do not co-occur with *niet*, only with preverbal *en*, and in fact in 25% of the cases even express sentential negation on their own as in (73), cf. Breitbarth (2009: 103).

(73) Dat **niemen** vortane   hem sal   onderwinden moghen   der
     that nobody henceforth him shall begin   may   of.the
     bruederscap ...
     fraternity ...
     'that no one henceforth may become part of the fraternity ...' (CG 14:63,8–10; Mechelen 1254)

Negative doubling with *niet* only becomes available very late in Middle Dutch, potentially indicating a change in the status of n-marked indefinites, and remains rare.[xxxix] In (74) *niet* in fact has two readings, as an indefinite pronoun or as a sentential negator.

(74) Maeldegijs seide: "Ic **en** liet **niemant niet**."

Maeldegijs said   I NE left   nobody   NEG/nothing

'Maeldegijs said: I did not leave anyone' or

'Maeldegijs said: I left nothing to anyone' (*Vier Heemskinderen* 1508)

A special case involves the temporal n-marked indefinites *nie/noyt/nemmer* 'never (more)', which can occasionally be used instead of the n-free equivalent *oyt* 'always, ever' in weak NPI contexts. Van Helten (1885b) gives examples with *noyt* occurring in restrictive relative clauses after superlatives (75), in comparatives (76), in *before*-clauses (77), in questions (78) and in the restriction of a universal quantifier (79).

(75) Du best die scoenste   creature, Die ic met oghen **nie**   ghesach

you are the most.beautiful creature   that I with eyes   n.ever saw

'You are the most beautiful creature that I ever saw with my eyes.' (Fr. 7195)

(van Helten 1885b: 236)

(76) Dat hi sochter   sliep …Dan **noit**   up sijn bedde te voren

that he more.softly slept …than n.ever on his   bed   to before

'that he slept more softly than ever before on his bed' (Esm. 281) (van Helten

1885b: 235)

(77) Het   moet al   weder ghekeert zijn, eer   de sonden

it   must already back   turned be   before the sins

nemmermeer   vergheven   selen werden

n.ever.more   forgiven   shall be

'It has to have returned before the sins shall be forgiven.' (La.4,8128) (van

Helten 1885b: 239)

(78) Wie horde **noyt**   secgen …Dat des gelijcs yet   gesciede?

who heard n.ever say …   that of.it same   something happened

'Who ever heard tell that something like that happened?' (Ve. 3,33,40) (van

Helten 1885b: 240)

(79) Al tfolc   dat **nie**   was geboren

all the.folk that n.ever was born

'all the people who were ever born' (Vdl. 2817) (van Helten 1885b: 243)

Such 'pleonastic' use of *nooit* is furthermore attested in the complement of certain

adversative predicates:

(80) mi rouwet   dat ic **noit**   was geboren

me regrets   that I   n.ever was born

'I regret that I was ever born.' (Ovl.G. 3,110,118) (van Helten 1885b: 241)

Besides such NPI uses, *noyt* can also be used as an emphatic negator,[xl] and even as

a(n emphatic) negative determiner, (81).

(81) Die hertoge sweech al   stille, ende   en antwoirde **noyt**   woort

      the duke be.still already silent and   NE answered never word

      'The duke fell silent and didn't answer a single word.' (Grimb. I 790,

      Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek, entry on *nooit*)

The n-free counterpart of *noyt*, *oy(e)(n)t*,[xli] is itself special in that it undergoes a

crosslinguistically typical 'quantifier cycle' from a positive element to a 'more

negative' element (cf. section 1.9.1), while most of the Middle Dutch indefinite

system is simply a continuation of the Old Dutch one (in so far as can be ascertained).

Originally meaning 'always' (82), it becomes a weak NPI indefinite in Middle Dutch

(83).

(82) semper veritas odio fuit

      oyt   is de waerheyt   behaet ghewest

      always is the truth   hated been

      'the truth has always been hated.' (Kil., *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*,

entry on *ooit*)

(83) die lelicste mans   figure die   **oint** ieman   hadde gesien

      the ugliest man's   figure which ever anyone had   seen

      'the ugliest man that anyone had ever seen' (*Franc.* 4112, *Middelnederlandsch

      Woordenboek*, entry on *ooit*)

A possible scenario for this development might be that after the loss of *iuwerlte*, there

was no temporal NPI indefinite ('ever') and that both *oyt* 'always' and *noyt* 'never'

were used to fill this gap in the system. The use of *oyt* can be accounted for by its

underspecification: it is not contextually restricted, and can therefore be used both in neutral and NPI contexts. The use of *noyt* is subject to the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky 1973): *noyt* is more specific than *oyt* in that it is specified for or restricted to downward-entailing contexts. It is of course overspecified by additionally being restricted to a subset of the downward-entailing contexts, namely negative contexts. Ultimately, *oyt/ooit* wins this competition for the weak NPI slot, but loses its positive uses (seen in (82)).[xlii] Hoeksema (1998, 1999) reports only finding NPI *ooit* in his corpus of 19th-century Dutch. *Noyt* retreats to its original licensing context, (direct) negation.

In so far as they have been possible to reconstruct, the developments in the system of indefinites from Old to Middle Dutch can be summarized as in Table 6.8.

[Table 6.8 near here.]

The major aspects of the development of indefinite pronouns (as reconstructed) are summarized in Figures 6.3 and 6.4 using Haspelmath's (1997: 63–4) implicational map of indefinite pronoun functions.

[Figure 6.3 near here.]
[Figure 6.4 near here.]

On the way to Modern (Standard) Dutch, further shifts have occurred in the system of indefinites. All n-marked indefinites are now (again) restricted to the scope of negation:

(84) dat hi zachter   sliep dan (*n)ooit tevoren

     that he more.softly slept than (n.)ever before

     'that he slept more softly than ever before'

Ooit has undergone a lexical split into an NPI indefinite 'ever' and a PPI element
'once' (Hoeksema 1998, 1999), (85). The determiner *enig* 'some, any' when used
with singular count nouns has become a weak NPI indefinite (Hoeksema 2007), (86).

(85) a. Niemand was ooit blij ('ever', NPI)

      n.one was ever happy

      'No one was ever happy.'

   b. #Niemand was blij, ooit. ('once', PPI)

      n.one was happy ever/once

      #'No one was happy, ever.'

      'Once (upon a time), no one was happy' (marginal, hence the #) (after
Hoeksema 1999: 154)

(86) a. Geen van hen heeft enig dier geslacht.

      none of them has any animal slaughtered

      'None of them has slaughtered any animal.'

   b. Heeft u ooit enig voorstel verworpen?

      have you ever any proposal rejected

      'Have you ever rejected any proposal?'

   c. Als ik enig voorstel verwerp, wordt hij boos.

      when I any proposal reject, becomes he mad

'When I reject any proposal, he gets mad.'

d. Hij was   langer dan / zo lang als einige andere   speler.

he   was   taller   than / as tall   as any   other   player

'He was taller than/as tall as any other player.' (Hoeksema 2007: 10)

6.3.3 Summary

The diachronic developments concerning indefinites in the scope of negation in Low German and Dutch can be summarized as follows.

In Old Low German we see a rise of n-marked indefinites in the scope of negation. While the expression of indefinite quantification in negative clauses was arguably initially *ni ... n*-free indefinite (as in the *Genesis* fragments), the use of n-marked indefinites becomes obligatory over the period; it is still optional and dispreferred in the *Heliand* epos, but exceptionless in the minor texts. In Middle Low German, n-marked indefinites remain the main expression of indefinite quantification in negative clauses. Unlike in Old Low German, n-marked indefinites can now co-occur with each other. While n-marked indefinites are compatible with the old preverbal particle *ne/en*, the new sentential negator *nicht* does not seem to co-occur with them. *Ne/en* no longer being the standard expression of sentential negation at this stage. As argued in section 6.2, this means that Low German lost negative doubling between Old and Middle Low German, but gained negative spread. The system of indefinites in historical Low German went from one with a 'positive' and an 'NPI' series to one with a 'positive', an 'NPI' and a 'negative' series. Initially, the latter two are both available in the scope of negation. Towards the Middle Low German period, the NPI series retracts to non-negative NPI contexts while the (newer) n-marked

series becomes the only one available in negative clauses ('bagel'-distribution; cf. Pereltsvaig 2006).

The oldest Dutch texts express indefinites in the scope of negation by means of n-marked forms (*ne* … n-marked indefinite), where the preverbal marker may already be missing. Negative spread, that is, the co-occurrence of n-marked indefinites, is also already attested, apparently optionally. It becomes the rule in Middle Dutch much like in Middle Low German, and, as there, n-marked indefinites may co-occur with the disappearing preverbal marker (*en*). Later in Middle Dutch, negative doubling with the new postverbal element *niet* becomes available. As far as we have been able to reconstruct the system of indefinites, the main changes seem to be the widening of *iouueht > iet*(*s*) 'anything' > 'anything, something' and the competition between two temporal adverbs for the weak NPI slot. After a competition between *nooit* 'never' and *ooit* 'always' > 'ever', the latter wins out.

In Low German, the type of negative concord available at each stage can easily be correlated with the relative 'strength' of the sentential negation markers, *ni > ne/en* and *nicht*. The use of n-marked and n-free indefinites follows from this; while both n-free and n-marked indefinites were used in negative clauses in Old Low German, with a preference for n-free ones, the weakening of the old preverbal marker meant that n-marked indefinites became the exclusive expression of indefinite quantification in negative clauses, while n-free indefinites became restricted to non-negative NPI contexts.

The rise of negative spread can be accounted for if one assumes that the n-marked indefinites were originally semantically negative when they first arose in Old Low German, arguably by univerbation of *ni* with n-free indefinites, and later on became semantically non-negative, as will be argued in the next section.

6.4 The development of negation

In order to account for the Low German and Dutch developments, I will adopt an adapted version of Zeijlstra's (2004) account of Jespersen's cycle and negative concord. According to Zeijlstra (2004), languages can express negation either syntactically or semantically. In a system of the latter type, every overt particle or negative indefinite contributes semantic negation, leading to double negation (logical affirmation) in cases where two such elements co-occur. In a language expressing negation syntactically, 'negative elements mark the presence of a (c)overt negative operator' (Zeijlstra 2004: 244) by bearing syntactic (formal) negation features. Only one element carries an interpretable negation feature [iNEG] which licenses the uninterpretable negation features [uNEG] of the other elements. Language variation is the result of variation in which element carries the interpretable feature, potentially a covert element. In languages expressing negation syntactically, which by Zeijlstra's assumptions are necessarily negative-concord languages, all n-words are endowed with an uninterpretable negation feature [uNEG], and therefore need to be licensed by an element carrying [iNEG]. This can be either the sentential negator, deriving the non-strict negative concord (doubling) languages, or a covert negation operator OP¬, deriving the strict negative concord languages. In non-strict negative-concord languages, the sentential negator licenses all indefinites in itss scope and a covert OP¬ is only inserted as a last resort in cases where an indefinite occurs outside its scope (for example a preverbal subject). In strict negative-concord languages, the overt sentential negator is always uninterpretable and merely indicates the presence of a covert negation operator, which licenses all [uNEG] elements in its scope. Languages

in which the sentential negator is a syntactic head are always negative-concord languages, according to Zeijlstra, and therefore always express negation syntactically.

An additional assumption has to be made for languages like French, in which negative spread is possible, but n-words cannot co-occur with the sentential negator *pas* (that is, there is no negative doubling). Zeijlstra (2009) proposes that in such languages the sentential negator is semantically negative ($\neg(\exists)$),[xliii] and would therefore clash, that is, lead to double negation, with the covert [iNEG] operator projected to license the [uNEG] n-words. Taken together, Zeijlstra predicts there to be three types of negative-concord language, as in Table 6.9.

[Table 6.9 near here.]

6.4.1 Low German

We saw above that, in those Old Low German texts that use n-marked indefinites in the scope of negation, these can precede the preverbal marker. Under Zeijlstra's approach, Old Low German is hence to be classed as a strict NC language, with a [uNEG] feature on the sentential negator *ni* that is able to identify the presence of an interpretable covert negation operator OP¬ with an [iNEG] feature in a scope position. This could also explain the grammaticality of the order *io … ni*-V in (47)c, repeated here as (87).

(87) OP¬[iNEG] so is **io** endi ni[uNEG] cumit
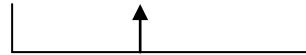
so	is	**io**	endi	**ni**	cumit
thus	it.GEN	ever	end	NEG	comes

'thus the end (of it) will never come.' (*Heliand*, 1324)

Here, an n-free (NPI) indefinite *io* 'ever' precedes the expression of sentential negation, in an apparent violation of both the Neg-First principle (Haspelmath 1997, Mazzon 2004), according to which sentential negation has to be marked at the earliest opportunity in a clause, and the generalization that NPIs are licensed only within the scope of negation. Under the assumption that the negation feature of *ni* is uninterpretable and the covert OP¬ identified by *ni* is in a position c-commanding *io*, this is not a problem. Under an approach such as the one proposed by Penka (2007a: 55), for instance, OP¬ is not confined to the specifier of a postulated functional projection NegP (as assumed by Zeijlstra), but can adjoin to any propositional node (semantic type *t*), minimally above VP, but potentially higher, too.

There are a number of problems with applying Zeijlstra's approach to historical Low German as is. First, the negator *ni/ne* is arguably a syntactic head, predicting negative concord in Old Low German to be exceptionless. This is not what is found in the main texts of Old Low German, the *Heliand* and especially the *Genesis*. Secondly, in Zeijlstra's account all negative indefinites (n-words) in negative-concord languages bear a formal [uNEG] feature. Unless Zeijlstra's operation of Multiple Agree, by which one interpretable feature is able to license all uninterpretable features in its scope, is parameterized (an option not mentioned by Zeijlstra), we expect Old Low German to have negative spread, contrary to fact.[xliv]

A likely scenario, which is still able to make use of Zeijlstra's main insights, is the following. The Old Low German negator *ni* is indeed [uNEG], as witnessed by the availability of preverbal NPI-indefinites, even in the *Genesis* fragments, where n-marked indefinites are not used together with *ni*:

(88) that   is   **ênig** seg   **ni**   ginas

      that   of.it any   man   NEG was.saved

      'that no man was saved from it.' (*Genesis*, 322)

The newly forming n-marked indefinites, on the other hand, bear an interpretable syntactic negation feature, [iNEG]. As they are already available in the earliest text, the *Heliand* epos, we have no indication as to when exactly they arose. Assuming that a principle such as Van Gelderen's (2008: 297) Feature Economy, (89), is operative in language change, we can hypothesize that the preverbal negation marker *ni* originally carried an [iNEG] feature. We can therefore reconstruct the emergence of n-marked indefinites in Old Low German by univerbation of this preverbal negation marker with indefinites of the NPI-series (for instance, *ni+ioman > nioman* 'no one'). Under Feature Economy, *ni* changed to [uNEG] before the beginning of textual attestation, while the n-marked indefinites are still [iNEG] in the *Heliand* on this scenario.

(89) Feature Economy

      Minimize the semantic and interpretable features in the derivation, e.g.

      VP-adverbial   CP-adverbial   C-head

      semantic   >   [iF]   >   [uF]

                                    (Van Gelderen 2008: 297)

The question of course arises why postulating an [iNEG] feature on an n-word (negative quantifier) does not lead to double negation with the covert [iNEG] operator projected by the [uNEG] feature on the sentential negator *ni*. The position assumed in the present chapter is that covert [iF] operators should only be projected as a matter of last resort in order to ensure syntactic licensing of all uninterpretable features [uF]. Assuming, as is common within the Minimalist framework, that syntactic derivations proceed bottom-up, the [uNEG]-feature on *ni* is already licensed before any covert operator is merged (in SpecNegP under Zeijlstra's approach), at the level of vP. This is true for both object and subject indefinites, assuming subjects have their base position within *v*P.[xlv] Even adverbial n-indefinites, in the present corpus only *nio* 'never', if analysed as adjoined to *v*P, are unproblematic. In all cases, [iNEG] c-commands [uNEG] and thus ensures the syntactic licensing. We illustrate this here for an object indefinite:

(90) a. **ne**   antuuordida **niouuiht** uuid   iro   uuretun   uuord

     NEG answered   nothing against their hostile   words

     'He didn't reply anything to their hostile words.' (*Heliand*, 5382–3)

   b.

*v*P: λx.¬∃u[**thing'**(u)&**answer'**(e,x,u)](h)

= ¬∃u[**thing'**(u)&**answer'**(e,h,u)]

DP: h   *v*P: λP.¬∃u[**thing'**(u)&P(u)](λx.λy.**answer'**(e,x,y))

= λx.¬∃u[**thing'**(u)& **answer'**(e,x,u)]

DP: *v*⁰: λx.λy.**answer'**(e,x,y)

λP.¬∃u[**thing'**(u)&P(u)]

niouuiht [iNEG]   *ne-antuuordida*
[uNEG]

The rise of negative doubling in Old Low German can be accounted for as follows: once they are available in the scope of negation, n-marked indefinites are preferred in this environment due to either:

(a) the fact that they are more specifically designated to appear there than n-free indefinites, which are licensed in all NPI contexts (weak and strong), by being restricted to the scope of negation and by being morphologically marked for this restriction (a form of the Elsewhere Condition; Kiparsky 1973); or perhaps
(b) a universal functional preference for marking negation as clearly as possible (Ramat 2006b).

Once n-marked indefinites are the standard way of expressing indefinite quantification in the scope of negation, a reanalysis of the system as a 'standard' strict negative-doubling language as described by Zeijlstra, that is, one with a [uNEG] negator (*ni*) and [uNEG] n-words, is possible. Once the n-marked indefinites are reanalysed as carrying a [uNEG] feature (by Feature Economy, (89)), the rise of

negative spread is possible, accounting for the change towards Middle Low German. Independently, the rise of a semantically negative adverbial negator (*nicht*) leads to the reanalysis of the old preverbal marker.[xlvi] Essentially, it seems that the old preverbal negator comes to behave as a weak NPI at stage II of Jespersen's cycle in Middle Low German – it is licensed in the scope of negation as well as in certain non-negative contexts.[xlvii] However, becoming a weak NPI cannot immediately account for the loss of the preverbal marker during the Middle Low German period. Breitbarth (2009) has proposed that it is reanalysed as a marker of affective polarity. The preverbal marker is lost before this reanalysis can fully actualize (Timberlake 1977), that is, spread to other non-negative affective contexts besides exceptive clauses in Middle Low German, which would independently confirm its new status to a language learner (sentential negation already entails and thus indicates the affective polarity of a clause).[xlviii] The fact that the new negator is semantically negative, but not syntactically, while n-marked indefinites carry a syntactic [uNEG] feature means that Middle Low German develops negative concord of the French type (Zeijlstra 2009): negative spread without negative doubling.

6.4.2 Dutch

The standard sentential negator in Old Dutch is *ne*. It is even inserted against the Latin original, as seen in (21). However, at the same time, there are already unemphatic uses of adverbial *niuueht* in Old Dutch. In Middle Dutch, *niet/nyet* appears to be the neutral sentential negator, but there are still a number of contexts in which *ne/en* can be used on its own to express sentential negation (as in paratactic negation or the context of certain verbs). Furthermore, the old preverbal marker eventually seems to

undergo, at least in the southern dialects, a reanalysis which definitively removes it from the immediate expression of sentential negation.

Negative doubling seems to be the rule in Old Dutch, and negative spread is at least optionally available, becoming standard in Middle Dutch. Considering the above analysis of Old Low German, we could say that the preverbal negator in Old Dutch had a formal [uNEG] feature, while the arising postverbal negator was semantically negative, initially preventing negative doubling between n-words and *niuueht > niet* well into the Middle Dutch period, parallel to Middle Low German (cf. above) or French (Zeijlstra 2009). Unlike their Old Low German cognates, the n-marked indefinites had a [uNEG] feature in Old Dutch. Depending on one's analysis of the status of the old preverbal marker and whether one wants to argue that it is still a negative marker or not, Middle Dutch either has or does not have negative doubling in addition to negative spread. Later in Middle Dutch, by Van Gelderen's (2008) Feature Economy (89), postverbal *niet* seems to change from being semantically negative to syntactically negative carrying a formal [iNEG] feature, entering into agreement with [uNEG] n-words.

The rise of pleonastic uses of *nooit* '(n)ever' (examples (75)–(80)) does not seem to affect the other n-marked indefinites (*nyet*(*s*) 'nothing', *niemand* 'noone', *nergens* 'nowhere', etc.). Reversing Haspelmath's (1997: 210) generalization, reproduced here in (91), we can say that an n-marked indefinite is open to the loss of its [uNEG] feature and subsequently to become an NPI by reanalysis in cases where it continues to occur with the verbal negator.

(91) If a negative indefinite never co-occurs with verbal negation, it has only the direct-negation function. (Haspelmath 1997: 210)

Let us assume then that in Dutch too, the old preverbal marker *ne* becomes ambiguous between a negation marker and a polarity marker in the transition between Old Dutch and Middle Dutch, as argued by Breitbarth (2009). The reanalysis is further corroborated by the emerging use of *ne/en* in weak (non-negative) NPI-contexts like (33), a sign that the change is beginning to actualize. On the other hand, the continued ability to license certain negative polarity constructions (Postma 2002) as seen in (34) may point at its continued ability to express sentential negation.[xlix] Later, the ambiguity is resolved in favour of the reanalysis of *en* as a polarity marker, spreading after the Middle Dutch period to more non-negative contexts in those dialects that maintain it (cf. (37)–(39)), while it is lost in others.

6.4.3 The loss of the preverbal marker

The old preverbal marker *en/ne* is lost at different speeds in the different continental West Germanic languages. In High German (cf. Jäger 2008, this volume), *en* is lost around 1300, in the Low German dialects between 1400 and 1500 (cf. also Breitbarth 2008), and in Dutch in the 17th century (Burridge 1993), in southern dialects even later (Beheydt 1998). It therefore looks as though this innovation spread from the south to the north and northwest. Furthermore, in both Low German and Dutch, dialect is a significant factor, with the loss being more advanced in areas with population mixture and resulting dialect levelling, such as the northeastern *Neuland* east of the river Elbe. Some Low German dialects adjacent to the progressive High German area on the other hand are slower in their transition than some dialects further away. That is, the geographical diffusion of the innovation is to a significant degree influenced by the patterns of migration in the area. While rural areas are more

conservative due to their close-knit social networks (Trudgill 2004), areas (especially cities) with increased in-migration from disparate areas of origin and looser social networks tend to be more innovative. Often, this goes hand in hand with structural simplification, as in the case of the loss of *en/ne*.[1]

As a particular factor behind the delay of the loss of *en* in the southern Dutch dialects we have furthermore identified its reanalysis as an emphatic (polarity) marker (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2010, forthcoming). This functional distinction from the expression of negation led to its prolonged maintenance in Flanders.

Besides the geographical factor, two grammatical factors influencing the loss of *en* have been identified, the position of the finite verb and the type of the verb. In both Low German and Dutch, the preverbal marker is lost earlier in verb-first contexts, and last in verb-last contexts. Lexical verbs are most conservative in maintaining *en*, (temporal) auxiliaries most innovative.

For Dutch, Burridge (1993), considers two possible scenarios for the fate of *en/ne*. First, after verb placement became rigidly bound to clause type, *en* is deleted in contexts where it would violate or interfere with these word-order constraints, namely in verb-first and verb-second contexts.[li] Second, Burridge considers the option of *en* being reanalysed as a part of the verb (clitic or affix), which is, she argues, what has happened in Flemish. Problematic for extending the first scenario to Low German is that we have seen above that, in Middle Low German, verb-second and verb-final contexts do not show a significant difference in influencing the loss of *en*; only verb-first contexts clearly favour the loss. Furthermore, correlating the type of verb with its position does not yield a unified account of the loss of the preverbal marker in Middle Low German and Middle Dutch. Postma & Bennis's (2006) account of the system of negation in the Saxon dialect of Drenthe around 1400 in terms of such a systematic

correlation[lii] does not extend to other Middle Dutch or Middle Low German dialects. Postma and Bennis furthermore show that the system assumed for Drentish around 1400 was rather short-lived and is lost under contact with Hollandish around 1500.

Breitbarth (2009) essentially spells out a version of the second scenario. She proposes that the preverbal marker ceases to function as the expression of sentential negation and is reanalysed as a bound morpheme spelling out the formal features of a left-peripheral polarity head on the finite verb.[liii] This polarity head is assumed to be situated in the CP layer, reflecting the polarity of the clause [±affective] at its interface. The reasons why the preverbal marker is lost from most West Germanic dialects are that the reanalysis fails to fully actualize (spread to more, and in particular, non-negative affective contexts) in most dialects and that [+affective] is entailed by the presence of an overt marker of negation and therefore does not need to be spelled out separately on the finite verb. Jespersen (1917) argues that the reason why the unaccented preverbal marker is lost first from sentence-initial position may have to be sought in the phonological weakness of this position.[liv] As argued above, the preverbal marker is not entirely lost in some southern Dutch dialects due to another reanalysis, this time as an emphatic element. Under such a scenario, where the preverbal marker is analysed as a verbal affix, the fact that auxiliaries and modals are so much more progressive in losing the preverbal marker than lexical verbs can be explained uncontroversially by the common tendency for high-frequency items to undergo deflection earlier than lower frequency items.

6.5 Conclusion

Regular bipartite negation only seems to establish itself in the attestation gap between the 'Old' and 'Middle' periods of Low German and Dutch, although the late Old

Dutch *Leiden Willeram* already used the bipartite expression of negation quite regularly.[lv] When attestation resumes in the 13th century, the preverbal marker already seems optional to some extent as seen above and is in fact restricted to specific (not always negative) contexts, while the adverbial negator acts as the standard, non-emphatic negator in all respects. The inherited preverbal marker is beginning to be reanalysed as a polarity marker, leading to a period of ambiguity especially in the Dutch dialects, where we saw continued uses of preverbal *en* in certain grammatical and lexical contexts. This reanalysis as a polarity marker is never fully actualized in most dialects and the preverbal marker is eventually lost, especially in contexts of dialect mixture due to population migration, which tends to lead to structural simplification, in the present case, of the expression of negation. Only in certain southern Dutch dialects can the reanalysis gain some hold and form the input to a further reanalysis, this time as a marker of emphasis (on polarity) (Breitbarth & Haegeman 2010, forthcoming).

Regarding the developments in the system of indefinites in the scope of negation and the availability of negative concord, both Low German and Dutch witness the rise of negative spread towards their 'Middle' periods. The Low German evidence suggests that the use of n-marked indefinites in the scope of negation is an innovative development within Old Low German. One development within the Dutch system of indefinites is noteworthy; the originally positive (PPI) temporal adverb *oy(n)t* 'always' and its n-marked equivalent *noy(n)t* 'never', originally restricted to the scope of negation, compete for the weak NPI slot ('ever') vacated by Old Dutch *niuwerlte* during the Middle Dutch period until *ooit* 'ever' < *oy(n)t* wins out.

The historical developments in the expression of negation in Low German and Dutch, analysed using Zeijlstra's (2004, 2009) approach, are summarized in Table 6.10.

[Table 6.10 near here.]

Primary sources

Old Low German

[Heliand, Genesis]

Heliand und Genesis. Ed. by Burkhard Taeger. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996.

[Minor OLG texts]

Kleinere altsächsische sprachdenkmäler. Mit anmerkungen und glossar. Ed. by Elis Wadstein. Norden/Leipzig: D. Soltau's Verlag, 1899.

Old Dutch

[Wachtendonck Psalms, WP]

Die altostniederfränkischen Psalmenfragmente, die Lipsius'schen Glossen und die altsüdmittelfränkischen Psalmenfragmente. Ed. by W. L. van Helten. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1902.

[Leiden Willeram, LW]

(Expositio) Willerammi Eberspergensis Abbatis in Cantico Canticorvm. Die Leidener Handschrift. Ed. by Willy Sanders. Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971.

Middle Low German

[Alexander]

Der große Seelentrost. Ed. by M. Schmitt. Köln/Graz: Böhlau, 1959

http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/germ/mnd/a_seelen/a_see.htm

[Barsinghausen]

Urkundenbuch des Klosters Barsinghausen. Ed. by A. Bonk. Hanover: Hahn, 1996.

[Börstel]

Urkundenbuch des Stifts Börstel. Ed. by R. Rölker und W. Delbanco. Osnabrück:

Selbstverlag des Vereins für Geschichte und Landeskunde von Osnabrück, 1996.

[Braunschweig]

Urkundenbuch der Stadt Braunschweig. Ed. by L. Hänselmann, H. Mack, M. R. W.

Garzmann, and J. Dolle. Osnabrück: Wenner, 1975.

[Hanserecesse]

Hanserecesse. Die Recesse und andere Akten der Hansetage 1256-1430. vol. 1. Ed.

by Karl Koppmann. Leipzig: Verlag von Duncker und Humblot, 1870.

[Lübeck]

Urkundenbuch der Diözese Lübeck. Vol. 1. Ed. by W. Leverkus (1856), vols. 2–5

bearb. von W. Prange. Neumünster: Wachholtz. 1994≠7.

[Mariengarten]

Urkundenbuch des Klosters Mariengarten. Ed. by Manfred von Boetticher.

Hildesheim: Lax. 1987.

[Oldenburg]

Urkundenbuch der Stadt Oldenburg. Ed. by D. Kohl. Münster: Aschendorff. 1914.

[Inventare der nichtstaatlichen Archive Westfalens, Vol. 6]

[Scharnebeck]

Urkundenbuch des Klosters Scharnebeck: 1243–1531. Ed. by Dieter Brosius.

Hildesheim: Lax, 1979.

[Steinfurt]

Inventar des Fürstlichen Archivs zu Burgsteinfurt. Bearb. von A. Bruns und W. Kohl.

Hrsg. von A. Bruns. Münster Westf.: Aschendorff, 1971-1983.

[Stralsund]

Der Stralsunder liber memorialis. (Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Stralsund.

Hg. Herbert Ewe). Ed. by Horst-Diether Schroeder.

Part 1: Fol. 1-60, 1320-1410. Schwerin: Petermänken-Verlag. 1964.

Part 2: Fol. 61-120, 1410-1422. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1969.

Part 3: Fol. 121-186, 1423-1440. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1972.

Part 4: Fol. 187-240, 1366-1426. Rostock: Hinstorff Verlag. 1966.

Part 5: Fol. 241-300, 1426-1471. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1982.

Part 6: Fol. Fol. 301-344, 1471-1525. Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger. 1988.

[Uelzen]

Urkundenbuch der Stadt Uelzen. Ed. by T. Vogtherr. Hildesheim: Lax, 1988.

Middle Dutch

[Corpus Gysselying]

Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300). Ed. by Maurits

Gysseling. The Hague/Leiden: Nijhoff, 1977.

[Lectionarium Amsterdam]

Het Amsterdamse Lectionarium. Ed. by Cebus Cornelis de Bruin. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

In Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie (ed.), CD-rom *Middelnederlands*. The

Hague/Antwerp: Sdu Uitgevers/Standaard Uitgeverij, 1998.

[New Testament, North Dutch translation]

Het Nieuwe Testament van de Moderne Devotie. Ed. by Cebus Cornelis de Bruin.

Leiden: Brill, 1979.

[Vier Heemskinderen]

De historie van den vier Heemskinderen. Ed. by G. S. Overdiep. Groningen: Wolters,

1931. In: Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie (ed.), CD-rom *Middelnederlands*.

The Hague/Antwerp: Sdu Uitgevers/Standaard Uitgeverij, 1998.

[i] The dialect spoken in the German federal state now called Saxony is a Central German dialect, more correctly referred to as Upper Saxon.

[ii] The present chapter is based on a corpus of charters and other official documents from the 'classical period' (1350–1550; Stellmacher 1990: 39) of Middle Low German; these start being written in Middle Low German around 1325, and the transition to Early Modern German as the language of writing runs to completion between 1525 and 1575.

[iii] Cf. e.g. Hoeksema (1997: 140) on the impracticality of the *Wachtendonck Psalms* as a witness of Old Dutch syntax.

[iv] The format of the date in the Middle Low German documents cited is mm/dd/yyyy.

[v] The only exception are some negative conjuncts to negative clauses introduced by the disjunction *ni, ne* 'and not, nor', the negation marker can be omitted before the finite verb. But even in this type of clause, the preverbal negator is still used in the majority of the cases: only in five out of seventeen *ni/ne*-conjuncts is there no additional preverbal negator *ni/ne*.

[vi] 402 out of 621 sentences (64.7%) contain only *ni/ne* (that is, without an n-free indefinites or any form of emphasizer), 135 (21.7%) contain an n-free indefinite in addition to *ni/ne*, 74 (11.9%) contain an emphasizer (e.g. 'in this world') and 36 (5.8%) contain an n-marked indefinite. Two of the clauses with indefinites contain both an n-marked and an n-free indefinite; 23 of the sentences with an n-free indefinite (17%, 3.7% of all negative clauses) and four of the sentences with an n-marked indefinite (11.1%, 0.6% of all negative clauses) contain an emphasizer in addition. For more on indefinites in the scope of negation, see section 6.3 below.

[vii] In addition, there are 20 occurrences of the preverbal marker *ni/ne* and two cases of the negative determiner *nian* 'no' which do not occur in full sentences, but in short glosses to Latin texts, mostly only *ne*+verb. Such occurrences are not informative regarding the syntax of sentential negation in Old Low German, as they do not add anything to our knowledge about the existence of regular emphasizers or the interactions of indefinites with negation. These cases are therefore left out of consideration here.

[viii] The remaining sentence is a case of an n-marked indefinite occurring without *ni/ne*. Again, on indefinites in the scope of negation, see section 6.3 below.

[ix] Cf. Breitbarth, Lucas & Willis (forthcoming) on crosslinguistically common 'bridging contexts' for negation strengtheners, such as verbs of caring / indifference, or damaging / benefitting, in which the strengtheners initially appear as pseudoarguments expressing extent.

[x] Cf. also the extremely common use of *nichts* 'nothing' in present-day (High) German with the same verb as in (13), *schaden* 'damage, harm' (though with certain person restrictions):

(i) Das wird dir **nichts** schaden.

   that will you nothing harm

   'That won't harm you (at all).' lit. 'That will not harm you anything.'

[xi] In the older Monacensis manuscript (ca. 850), the form is *neouuiht*, in the Cottonianus manuscript (10th c.), it is *uuiht*.

^{xii} The Middle Low German corpus used for the present chapter only begins around 1325. The following example is taken from the first volume (1256–1430) of the *Hanserecesse*, the archival records of the Hanseatic League. Note the additional absence of the old preverbal negator:

(i)　　Were dat also, dat de koplude　　an deme hove an jenigeme rechte twivelden,
　　　were that thus that the merchants in the　　court on any　　law　　doubt

　　　dat **nicht** bescreven were …
　　　that NEG laid.down were

　　　'Should it be the case that the merchants in the court doubt any law that is not

　　　laid down …' (*Hanserecesse*, Versammlung zu Rostock 14 Oct. 1293)

^{xiii} In four additional cases, there is a morphologically non-negative NPI indefinite in the scope of negation; in one of them there is additionally the old strengthener *mit ichte < mid uuihti* 'at all'. Cf. Postma (2002) for arguments based on Middle Dutch that negative polarity items and negative polarity 'constructions' can also work as licensors of *en*, and the discussion in section 6.2.2.

^{xiv} In Low as well as High German, the preverbal marker is first joined by the adverb *dan > denn* 'then', co-occurring with any type of verb at first, and is eventually replaced by the frozen expression *es sei denn* 'unless', lit. 'it be.SUBJUNC then':

(i) a.　　original exceptive construction

　　　dat　**en** sy　　　　mit willen　　　　der　　zessen
　　　that NE be.SUBJUNC with declared.intention of.the six

'unless it be with the permission of the six.' (MLG) (Steinfurt 04/28/1370)

b. augmented with *dan*

id **en** sy   **dan** myt   willen   [...]des edelen

it NE be.SUBJUNC   then   with declared.intention [...] of.the noble

unsers   leven juncheren

our   dear squire

'unless it be with the permission of our dear noble squire.' (MLG) (Steinfurt

05/07/1486)

c. frozen expression with *denn*

es sei   **denn** ...

it be.SUBJUNC   then ...

'unless ...' (Modern German)

[xv] Note that this only holds for weak NPI indefinites. Free-choice *any*-words are

possible in some lexical contexts in *unless*-clauses.

[xvi] This can also account for Sundquist's observation 'that the decline of Type 1

[single preverbal negation; AB] in the latter half of the 15th century is relatively flat

compared to the more drastic increase in Type 3 [single postverbal negation; AB]

during this time': the preverbal marker has simply left the negation system.

[xvii] This is confirmed by a binomial regression analysis in *GoldVarb X*. The factor

weights for the factor group 'scribal dialect' are: Westphalian: .769, Eastphalian:

.585, North Low Saxon:.475 and Eastelbian .278 (values above .5 favouring the

bipartite expression of sentential negation).

^{xviii} Tr. 'In the early days of Lübeck, we have to assume a co-existence of different dialects of the Saxon 'Altland'. The collective life in the city leads to an intra-city levelling during the 13th century, to the rise of an urban vernacular. We can assume that already early on, an oral trade language and lingua franca based on the dialect of Lübeck developed within the hanseatic community, among the traders around the Baltic Sea.'

^{xix} *GoldVarb X* factor weights for the factor group 'position of the finite verb': V1: .138, V2: .561, Vfinal: .520.

^{xx} Similar results for certain verbs have been found for Middle English, cf. Iyeiri (2001: chapter 5).

^{xxi} *GoldVarb X* factor weights by verb type: auxiliaries: .66, modals: .57, 'special' (lexical) verbs (*wissen, tun,…*): .41, lexical verbs: .33.

^{xxii} Additionally, there are four negative clauses without *ne*. Two contain the adverbial negator *niuueht* 'not', one contains *niuueht* as a negative determiner 'no, not a single' (for Latin *nequam*) and one contains *fur niuuehte* as an adverbial emphasizer 'at all', lit. 'for nothing'.

^{xxiii} This is the term used by the traditional Dutch literature. Note that Jespersen (1917) uses this term for pleonastic or expletive negation, i.e. non-negative uses of negative markers.

^{xxiv} It appears however, that in the 18th and 19th centuries, *tenzij* was used as a preposition taking a nominal, not clausal, complement, meaning 'except' (Beheydt 1998: 98–9).

^{xxv} In the case of Burridge's example, it is ambiguous with an exceptive clause:

(i) Doe mocht ic hoir qualic weygeren dat(,)ich **en**   dede haer begheren

   then could   I her scarcely   deny   that   I   NE did   her   desire

   'Then I could scarcely deny to her that I desired her.' (expletive negation)

[xxvi] Cf. also Hoeksema's (1997: 143–5) speculation that the NPI character of the verbs in question may have something to do with licensing negation with single *ne* in these cases.

[xxvii] Burridge uses the abbreviations MC ('main clause'), SC ('subordinate clause') and IC ('imperative clause', but including other verb-first contexts) for verb-second, verb-late and verb-first, respectively. The total numbers (#) refer to the total number of negative sentences with *niet*, the percentages (%) to those without *en/ne/n*.

[xxviii] Looking at the southern dialects individually, East Flemish seems to be first to reduce the use of *en* in bipartite negation, but from the 17th century on, Brabantish becomes the clear forerunner. West Flemish is the slowest dialect in losing *en* (Beheydt 1998: 105–6).

[xxix] It has been noted that speakers who have preverbal *en* in their native dialects also tend to use it in what is called *tussentaal* ('in between language'), that is, the dialectally influenced colloquial register of the standard language in Flanders (Lebbe 1997).

[xxx] 'In questions, negation seems to be invariably postverbal when the meaning is positive [i.e., when the questions are rhetorical, AB]. It is very likely that language users felt that bipartite negation put too much emphasis on the negative meaning, which was less the case with postverbal negation.'

[xxxi] Cf. also Fonseca-Greber (2007), who argues that the low, but stable frequency of the preverbal negator *ne* in spoken Swiss French (around 2.5%) is partly due to its reanalysis as a marker of emphasis.

[xxxii] Note that the number of indefinites in the scope of negation in the *Heliand* is higher (177) than the number of negative clauses containing indefinites (169). This has to do with the fact that four clauses contain both an n-marked and an n-free indefinite and six contain two or more n-free indefinites.

[xxxiii] Despite the low numbers in the *Genesis* fragments and the minor texts, the *Heliand* with 620 negative clauses, 168 of which contain a total of 177 indefinites, forms a solid body of data and can be used to show that the three subcopora represent different diachronic stages. The probability that the 12 instances of n-free indefinites in the Genesis fragments happen to belong to the 80% share of n-free indefinites in the *Heliand* and that the 20% of n-marked indefinites are accidentally unattested is 0.13. While this is not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, it does indicate a tendency, as there is still an 87% chance that the distribution of indefinites is different in these two texts. The probability that the five instances of n-marked indefinites in the minor texts happen to belong to the 20% of n-marked indefinites in the *Heliand*-grammar and that the 80% share of n-free indefinites is accidentally unattested is 0.0004, in other words, essentially improbable.

[xxxiv] As weak NPI contexts other than conditionals, such as yes/no questions, are naturally very rare in official documents, the corpus was complemented by a literary source (*Alexander*).

[xxxv] 'Die *n*-losen Indefinita des Althochdeutschen dagegen finden sich ausschließlich nach der Stellungsgruppe *ni*+V$_{fin}$ ...' ('The n-free indefinites of Old High German, however, occur exclusively *after* the group *ni*+V$_{fin}$').

[xxxvi] Note that *gheen* 'no' is counted as an n-word here. It never seems to be used outside the scope of negation in Middle Dutch, unlike its Middle High German cognate *dehein*, cf. also n. 42.

[xxxvii] In (72) *niet* is a pronoun ('nothing').

[xxxviii] This figure in fact contains 19 occurrences of *gheen* 'no(one)', which seems to behave in exactly parallel fashion to n-marked *engheen*, unlike its High German counterpart *dehein*, which starts out as a weak NPI indefinite and retains NPI characteristics for a long time (Jäger 2008: 260–6).

[xxxix] Hoeksema (1997: 141) gives a made-up 'Middle Dutch' example (his (3)), based on the fact that negative doubling between n-words and *niet* is possible in Present-day West Flemish. Emphatically, his example is not from any Middle Dutch source or text. This also shows that despite its apparent conservatism, neither West Flemish nor any other Flemish dialect is a simple preservation of the Middle Dutch state of affairs.

[xl] This is a cross-linguistically common strategy of emphatic denial, cf. Lucas & Willis (forthcoming).

[xli] The *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* mentions Frisian *ô* + *yet* < *eo* 'ever' + *ieuueht* 'anything' as the possible etymology of *oyt*.

[xlii] Hoeksema (1999: 159) mentions relics of positive uses in the Brabantish dialect of Dutch, where it can mean 'sometimes, occasionally', as in (i):

(i)   … roggebrood,   dat   wel   **ooit**   bij   spek gegeten

[…] rye.bread   that   well   sometimes along.with bacon   eaten

maar meestal voor de   honden en   de   paarden   bestemd werd

but   mostly for   the dogs   and the horses   meant   was

'rye bread, which was occasionally eaten with bacon, but mostly made to feed

the dogs and horses'

xliii The parentheses indicate the optionality of existential closure induced by the

negative operator. This only happens where there is an open variable (Zeijlstra 2004:

247).

xliv However, see Haegeman & Lohndal (2010) for arguments against Zeijlstra's

Multiple Agree account of negative concord in West Flemish. Depending on further

properties of the n-marked elements involved (indefinites and negators), namely other

formal features besides [u/iNEG] such as quantificational features, different types of

negative concord may possibly be derived in languages other than West Flemish. We

will not explore this option here.

xlv The VP-internal subject hypothesis goes back to Zagona (1982) and Koopman and

Sportiche (1985, 1991) and is now standard in Minimalist approaches.

xlvi Cf. Breitbarth (2010) for more arguments for the independence of Jespersen's

cycle and negative concord in historical Low German.

xlvii Zeijlstra (2009) proposes such an NPI-analysis for present-day French *ne*.

xlviii One may object that affective polarity does not have to be marked in non-negative

contexts in most languages; however, the option may arise as a by-product of

Jespersen's cycle. It has long been acknowledged that old preverbal *ne* in French has

ceased to be a negation marker proper but as it were 'switches off' the affirmative

concept (cf. Tesnière 1959: 224–5), sentential negation being expressed by a *forclusif*

(*pas* or n-words), and thus acts as a polarity marker. Biberauer (2008) argues that one

of the two elements of the bipartite expression of negation in Afrikaans, *nie$_2$*, is not a

negation marker, but the realization of a CP-related polarity head and gives examples

in which it can be used in non-negative affective contexts:

(i) Ek kan my nouliks/skaars inhou **nie$_2$**.

   I   can me barely   in.hold NEG

   'I can barely contain myself', i.e. 'I'm very excited.' (Biberauer 2008: 116)

 (ii) Ek weier om   saam   te kom **nie$_2$**.

   I   refuse COMP.INF together to come NEG

    'I refuse to come along.' (Biberauer 2008: 116)

[xlix] As indicated above (section 6.2.2), not all of the cases Postma counts as NPI

constructions need to be analysed as such. *Bore*, *twint* and *meer* could also have been

on their way to becoming negative indefinites specified as [uNEG], following the

grammaticalisation path outlined in Haspelmath (1997: section 8.3), but reverted or

were lost before the actualization of the reanalysis was complete.

[l] The same can be observed in the High German dialects at the same time. As Pensel's

(1976) study reveals, of the four High German dialects he considers, West Upper

German, East Upper German, West Central German and East Central German, only

the former three show some vestiges of the preverbal marker in the period of 1470–

1530. East Central German, the result of dialect mixture due to the colonization

history of the area (which is also the reason that this group of dialects became the basis of the modern standard language), does not show any traces of it at all in the relevant period.

[li] This presupposes counting *en* as an independent element, potentially problematic in the light of De Haan & Weerman's (1984) observation that *en* is the only element capable of intervening between a separable prefix and its verb.

[lii] Postma and Bennis argue that in Middle Drentish around 1400, the preverbal marker *en* appears on auxiliaries in C (V1- and V2-contexts) but not in final position, in clauses without verb movement to C. For lexical verbs, the inverse correlation is argued to hold, *en* appears on them in final position, but not on lexical verbs in C.

[liii] By Alternative Realization (Emonds 1987, 2000), according to which the features of a higher functional head are realized on the lexical head of a sister of that head. Emonds argues that this mechanism is at work in a variety of agreement scenarios.

[liv] For arguments from first language acquisition regarding the omission of unstressed syllables from prosodically difficult positions such as initial unstressed syllables, see Gerken (1994).

[lv] To the extent that its syntax can be taken to be representative at all, following the late Old High German original so closely.