

Negation in Historical West Flemish and Hollandic: an Investigation of Resilient Preverbal Markers

Eline Laperre

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Queen Mary University of London

September 2018

Statement of originality

I, Eline Gerda Laperre, confirm that the research included within this thesis is my own work or that where it has been carried out in collaboration with, or supported by others, that this is duly acknowledged below and my contribution indicated.

Previously published material is also acknowledged below.

I attest that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge break any UK law, infringe any third party's copyright or other Intellectual Property Right, or contain any confidential material.

I accept that the College has the right to use plagiarism detection software to check the electronic version of the thesis.

I confirm that this thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without the prior written consent of the author.

Signature: ELINE LAPERRE

Date: 20/09/2018

Abstract

This thesis examines the development of negation in historical West Flemish and Hollandic, focussing on resilient preverbal markers within a socio-historical framework. In doing so, my study provides a more detailed discussion of the resilient preverbal marker *ne/en* than previous accounts have done, as well as an explanation of *why* certain negative markers developed the way they did in the history of West Flemish and Hollandic. The analysis is based on an extensive, purpose-built corpus that comprises data from six centuries – from the thirteenth until the eighteenth – and two dialect regions. The dataset, which is examined using a fine-grained, century-by-century approach, thus provides diachronic breadth as well as a contrastive view of dialectal variation. In the literature, six contexts have been identified in which preverbal *ne/en* remains resilient: exceptives, expletives, with certain verbs, with certain adjectives or adverbs, fragment answers, and rhetorical questions. The results will be analysed on the level of morphosyntax as well as on a sociohistorical level. Firstly, my study will offer an in-depth diachronic overview of the grammaticalisation of exceptives, will analyse expletive preverbal markers as NPIs that undergo analogical change, and discuss the fossilisation of fragment answers. Secondly, I argue that urbanisation in the thirteenth to fifteenth, and the seventeenth centuries, may explain the West Flemish development of *ne/en* in the context of adverbs and adjectives, as well as the shift from bipartite to single *niet* and the loss of expletive markers in the Hollandic data. In addition, I will show that standardisation and prescriptivism can account for the attestation patterns in fifteenth-century Hollandic and eighteenth-century West Flemish. Overall, my research argues against ‘one size fits all’ explanations for the development of negation, and instead emphasises the need for a multi-faceted approach, proposing individual analyses tailored to each type of negative marker in the data.

Acknowledgements

The dissertation presented here was funded by a full doctoral Arts and Humanities Studentship awarded by Queen Mary University of London. I thank the University for providing me with the opportunity to conduct this research. I am furthermore grateful to the School of Language, Linguistics and Film at Queen Mary University of London, as well as The Philological Society of the UK, for their financial support, especially with travel undertaken in the course of this study, from which my research benefited greatly.

Special thanks are due to my doctoral supervisor, Katerina Somers, whose guidance, enthusiasm and expert advice have been invaluable to me over these past few years. This work would not have been possible without her never-ending support, academic or otherwise. I am also grateful to Colleen Cotter, my second doctoral supervisor, for her comments on my work, and for her encouragement and advice throughout the writing process. Thanks further go out to Piet van Reenen, for sending me, though at the time on holiday, an annotated version of the Corpus van Reenen-Mulder immediately upon request, a corpus that was instrumental in providing the necessary data for this study. Finally, I am indebted to Coppe van Urk for his extensive comments about exceptives in Present-day Dutch, which contributed greatly to the discussion of exceptives.

I would like to thank my family for their faith in me, for always encouraging my interests and academic pursuits, and for supporting me in more ways than I can count. Last, but not least, I am eternally grateful to my fiancé, Roeland Decorte, for his unwavering belief in me. He has been at my side every step of the way, making me laugh and letting me vent without judgement. This thesis was made possible through his love and caring support.

Table of contents

Statement of originality.....	2
Abstract	3
Acknowledgements	4
Table of contents	5
List of tables.....	8
List of figures	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	9
Chapter 2: Negative contexts and negation in Dutch.....	16
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 Sentential negation versus constituent negation.....	16
2.3 Negative elements	18
2.4 Negative Polarity Items	19
2.5 Multiple negation	24
2.5.1 Double negation.....	24
2.5.2 Weakening negation	25
2.5.3 Negative concord	26
2.5.4 Emphatic negation	30
2.6 Jespersen’s Cycle	34
2.7 Negation in the history of Dutch	42
2.7.1 Old Dutch.....	43
2.7.2 Early Middle Dutch	47
2.7.3 Late Middle Dutch	56
2.7.4 Sixteenth century	57
2.7.5 Seventeenth century	60
2.7.6 Eighteenth century	62
2.7.7 Nineteenth and twentieth centuries.....	64
2.8 Conclusion.....	75
Chapter 3: Methodology and the corpus	77
3.1 Method.....	77
3.2 The corpus	84
3.3 Conclusion.....	91
Chapter 4: Negation in the corpus.....	93
4.1 Introduction	93

4.2 Bipartite – postverbal shift	95
4.3 Resilient preverbal markers	102
4.3.1 Exceptives	103
4.3.2 Expletives.....	124
4.3.3 Preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs.....	135
4.3.4 Preverbal markers in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives	141
4.3.5 Fragment answers	149
4.4 Conclusion.....	152
Chapter 5: Explaining morphosyntactic patterns in the corpus	155
5.1 Introduction	155
5.2 The grammaticalisation of exceptives	156
5.2.1 Framework	156
5.2.2 Diagnostics of grammaticalisation.....	159
5.2.3 Reanalysis: a mechanism of grammaticalisation	160
5.2.4 The grammaticalisation of exceptives	162
5.3 Expletive markers as NPIs	182
5.3.1 Expletives.....	183
5.3.2 Expletive <i>en</i> with <i>maer</i> , <i>nauw(elijks)</i> and <i>schaers</i>	186
5.3.3 Postma’s (2002) approach to expletive markers.....	188
5.3.4 Analogical change in the development of expletive NPIs.....	190
5.4 The fossilisation of fragment answers.....	192
5.5 Conclusion.....	197
Chapter 6: The impact of sociohistorical factors on the data.....	200
6.1 Introduction	200
6.2 Demographic shifts and urbanisation in West Flanders and Holland	201
6.2.1 Urbanisation in the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries	202
6.2.2 Urbanisation in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries	205
6.3 Frameworks of language contact.....	208
6.3.1 Borrowing vs. interference through shift.....	209
6.3.2 Koineisation as a result of migratory movements	210
6.4 The impact of language contact and koineisation on preverbal markers in the data	213
6.4.1 Language contact in the late twelfth- to fifteenth-century Flemish cities.....	214
6.4.2 Koineisation in the seventeenth-century Hollandic cities.....	218
6.4.3 Conclusion	225

6.5 The effect of standardisation and prescriptivism.....	226
6.5.1 Standardisation of Dutch	227
6.5.2 Prescriptivism and the role of prestige	231
6.5.3 Effects of standardisation and prescriptivism on the data	234
6.6 Conclusion.....	240
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	243
References	248
List of corpora and databases used as source material for the corpus.....	248
List of primary sources used in the corpus	248
List of grammars and style guides consulted	250
List of primary sources referred to, as cited in secondary scholarship	251
Works cited.....	253
Appendix	265
Thirteenth-century data	265
Fourteenth-century data.....	266
Fifteenth-century data.....	267
Sixteenth-century data	268
Seventeenth-century data	269
Eighteenth-century data.....	270

List of tables

Table 1: Bipartite negation in the data	95
Table 2: Bipartite <i>en...niet</i> in the data	95
Table 3: Postverbal <i>niet</i> in the data	96
Table 4: Single preverbal <i>ne/en</i> in the data	102
Table 5: Exceptives in the data	106
Table 6: Exceptives in the data per type, West Flemish	109
Table 7: Exceptives in the data per type, Hollandic.....	109
Table 8: Expletives in the data	124
Table 9: Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with certain verbs in the data	135
Table 10: Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with <i>bore</i> , <i>meer</i> and <i>ander</i> in the data	142
Table 11: Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with <i>maer</i> , <i>nauw(elijks)</i> and <i>schaers</i> in the data.....	142
Table 12: Fragment answers in the data.....	149
Table 13: Exceptives in the data per type, West Flemish	162
Table 14: Exceptives in the data per type, Hollandic.....	162

List of figures

Figure 1: Map of the Low Countries today, by author.....	11
Figure 2: Diagram detailing the position of corpus texts on Koch and Österreicher's (1985) model of <i>Sprache der Nähe</i> vs. <i>Sprache der Distanz</i>	91

Chapter 1: Introduction

The development of negation in the languages of Western Europe and North Africa has typically been discussed in close connection to Jespersen's Cycle, a process in which a new negative marker arises alongside an original form of negation, and has the potential to eventually replace the earlier marker of negation (Dahl 1979; Jespersen 1917; Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013). For Dutch, this development has been argued to occur in three stages: stage I consisting of a single preverbal negative marker *ni/ne* in Old Dutch, stage II having a bipartite construction *ne/en...niet* in Middle Dutch, and stage III exhibiting a single postverbal marker *niet*¹ in Modern Dutch (e.g. Breitbarth 2013). Examples of each stage are represented below.

(1) Stage I:

Inde in ueege sundigero **ne stûnt**
And in way sinners.GEN NEG stood.3SG

'And didn't stand in the way of sinners'

(10th c.: Wachtendonckse Psalmen 1:1; as cited in Zeijlstra 2004: 83)

(2) Stage II:

hi **nes niet** root ghelijc den viere of donker violettin root
it NEG-is not red like the fire or dark violet red

'It is not red like fire, or dark violet red'

(13th c.: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 383:7)

¹ The negative marker *niet* takes up postverbal position in declarative clauses with a verb-second word order, but as the word order changes in e.g. subordinate clauses, *niet* can shift position so that it no longer occurs, strictly speaking, in postverbal position. However, I will continue using the term 'postverbal' for the sake of convenience, as it is commonly used in this way in scholarship to contrast with preverbal negation.

(3) Stage III:

't **Is niet** de aart van een Taal die de styl gedwongen
it is not the nature of a language that the style forced
en styf maakt 't is de onbuigzaamheid van des Schryvers
and stiff makes it is the rigidity of the writer's
geest, en verbeeldingskragt
mind and imagination

'It is not the nature of a language that makes the style forced and stiff, it is the rigidity of the writer's mind and imagination.'

(18th c.: Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, No.10)

However, the stages of Jespersen's Cycle in Dutch do not appear to be clear-cut and neatly consecutive stages, as the single preverbal marker *ne/en* still occurs in historical Dutch texts during the period that is expected to reflect stage II of Jespersen's Cycle. These resilient preverbal markers are attested in a number of specific linguistic contexts: based on the discussion of resilient preverbal *ne/en* in scholarship (Beheydt 1998; Breitbarth 2013; Burridge 1993; Postma 2002; Zeijlstra 2004; van der Horst 2008; van der Wouden 1994), I have identified six contexts in which the preverbal marker still occurs:

- a. exceptives;
- b. expletives;
- c. with certain verbs;
- d. with certain adverbs and adjectives;
- e. fragment answers;
- f. rhetorical questions.

While resilient preverbal markers have been addressed in previous scholarship on negation in historical Dutch, descriptions of this phenomenon have often remained vague, and analyses unsatisfactory. The preverbal marker has also consistently been classified as a 'Middle Dutch' feature, but has not been studied from a diachronic or dialectal perspective. For these reasons, my study aims to provide an in-depth diachronic and regionally diverse account of resilient preverbal markers in two dialects of Dutch: West Flemish and Hollandic. In addition, I also investigate the

development of other negative markers – i.e. bipartite and postverbal negation – in West Flemish and Hollandic, so as to assess the frequencies of preverbal markers in comparison with these other negative markers, but also in order to provide a more detailed and data-driven account of the shift from bipartite negation (stage II of Jespersen’s Cycle) to single postverbal negation (stage III) than has thus far been offered by the literature. My study, then, examines the development of negation in historical West Flemish and Hollandic, with a focus on resilient preverbal markers.

In order to provide a data-driven account of this development, I have compiled a corpus of texts that is diachronically broad, examining texts from the thirteenth until the eighteenth centuries, and that takes into account regional variation – by focussing on West Flemish and Hollandic – as well as variation in terms of text genre. The reasons why West Flemish and Hollandic were chosen as the two varieties to examine in this study are twofold. First, the two dialect areas are not regionally adjacent, as figure 1 below indicates, and thus do not exist in a contact situation that would result in interference from either dialect on the other.



Figure 1 Map of the Low Countries today, by author. All provinces are indicated, with West Flanders and North as well as South Holland emphasised. Within West Flanders and North and South Holland, the cities from which historical texts were selected for analysis (see chapter 3) are indicated.

Second, each variety has a different sociohistorical background: the Flemish cities thrived in the 13th century, resulting in large-scale urbanisation and immigration, most likely resulting in a language contact situation which may have affected the Flemish spoken in these cities (see e.g. Blockmans 1980; Boogaart 2004; Verhulst 1999), while a similar development, though on a considerably larger scale, occurred in the Hollandic cities in the 17th century (see e.g. van Deursen 1991; de Vries 2007). As a result, significant differences are attested in the linguistic development of each variety, as demonstrated in, for example, Goss and Howell (2006), and Howell (2006). In addition, while the Northern Dutch varieties, including Hollandic, experienced a strong movement towards a standardised variety from the late 16th century onwards, such a development did not occur in the Southern Dutch, including West Flemish, varieties until the 19th century (Willemys 2003). Such differing paths towards standardisation may have played a further role in their varying linguistic developments. Indeed, this difference is made clear by the attestation of some resilient preverbal markers in spoken Present-day West Flemish, which is not the case for Hollandic, as demonstrated by the literature on Present-day Dutch negation (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008).

It should also be noted that West Flemish was selected for research even though it is not necessarily considered a separate dialect in the literature on Middle Dutch (van der Wal & van Bree 2014; van Loey 1980) – Flemish as a whole is considered one variety, spoken in the County of Flanders and Zeeland.² It is treated as a distinct dialect in the Present-day Dutch continuum,³ however, in much of the literature on

² Van Loey (1980) describes Flemish as the variety spoken between the North Sea and the rivers Dender and Scheldt.

³ I use this term to refer to geographical, rather than social, dialect continua, i.e. to a group of dialects spoken within a geographical area, which become increasingly unintelligible the further they are geographically removed from each other, and increasingly intelligible the closer they are. This notion implies, however, that many of the boundaries set between dialect areas or even languages are arbitrary, and have political or cultural, rather than linguistic motivations (Chambers & Trudgill 1998). Using the example of the Dutch dialects, the Southern Dutch dialects spoken in Belgium are often considered to form their own group of dialects, Flemish, in contrast with the Northern Dutch dialects spoken in the Netherlands. Yet, it has been argued that West Flemish belongs to the same broad dialect group as Zeelandic, and that the Brabantic dialect group encompasses areas in both the Southern and the Northern Netherlands (see e.g. De Schutter (2002)). These observations show, as Chambers and Trudgill (1998) also point out, that on the one hand, dialect borders do not necessarily overlap with political or cultural borders, but on the other hand, political or cultural borders do often play a role in how different dialects are perceived and distinguished, and are often closely tied with speakers' social identities. It is furthermore worth pointing out that from a methodological viewpoint, even if the notion of dialect continua is taken into account, it is nonetheless useful to establish some borders between different dialects (e.g. isoglosses), for the purpose of describing or analysing these

negation or related issues (see e.g. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2011); van Craenenbroeck (2010)), and indeed diverges from East Flemish and Zeelandic in a number of ways, including the use of negation and preverbal markers (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008). Thus, in order to provide as accurate an approach as possible, for the purpose of this study, I consider West Flemish to be a separate dialect of Dutch throughout its history, and have incorporated text material from this region (see figure 1 above) only.

The data yielded by this approach will then be analysed century by century. This purpose-built corpus and fine-grained approach ensure that my study avoids, unlike much of the scholarship on negation in historical Dutch, treating the Dutch dialect continuum as one homogeneous language, and centuries-long periods of time, such as the Middle Dutch period, as monolithic entities. For this reason, I will also refrain from treating my Hollandic and West Flemish data as representative of Dutch as a whole: the data can only account for the variety in which they are attested. What is more, the data can only be argued to represent those texts in which they occur, as one author's written language does not always exhibit the same features as another's, nor does it always reflect his vernacular. Thus, despite the limitations that necessarily follow from the use of historical texts for linguistic research, my corpus was designed to represent, in the best way possible, the development of negation and preverbal markers in historical West Flemish and Hollandic from the thirteenth until the eighteenth century.

The data resulting from my corpus study have been thoroughly analysed and accounted for in two ways. First, I will discuss the morphosyntactic patterns and changes attested in the data and second, I will examine the effect of sociohistorical factors on the data, including language contact as a result of demographic shifts, as well as standardisation and prescriptivism. In terms of morphosyntactic changes in my data, my study is the first to provide an in-depth discussion of the

dialects in a clear and unambiguous way (Chambers & Trudgill 1998). The notion of a dialect continuum is thus a somewhat problematic one, particularly when the aim is to discuss or compare a number of distinct dialects. For these reasons, I will continue to use the term 'dialect continuum' to refer to the fact that Hollandic and West Flemish are linguistically more distinct than for example West and East Flemish, but I will also rely on pre-existing borders to select West Flemish and Hollandic texts for analysis, so that the material selected unambiguously represents its respective dialects.

grammaticalisation of exceptives in West Flemish and Hollandic. I will also address expletive markers, attested in expletives and in the context of certain adverbs, and argue that they are negative polarity items (NPIs), which are eventually analogically extended to be used with other adverbs as well. In addition, my study shows that fragment answers have undergone a process of fossilisation.

A number of further developments in the data, then, are argued to be the result of language contact. The development of the preverbal marker in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives in the early West Flemish data are analysed as the result of dialect contact following demographic shifts, and I further demonstrate that the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation in the late Hollandic data is the result of koineisation in the Hollandic urban centres during the seventeenth century.

Conversely, the development of preverbal *ne/en* in the context of adverbs and adjectives in the Hollandic data, as well as the shift to postverbal negation in the late West Flemish data will not be argued to be the result of language contact, but of an adherence to prestige varieties and prescriptivist norms. The shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation, i.e. from stage I to stage II of Jespersen's Cycle, is also tentatively discussed in relation to language contact, although this development is not attested in the data, as it took place before the earliest texts included in my corpus. In the present thesis, I thus propose a two-pronged approach to the data: one that focuses on the morphosyntactic patterns and changes attested, including grammaticalisation, analogical change and fossilisation, and one that analyses the impact of external, sociohistorical factors such as language contact and prescriptivism.

The thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 offers an overview of the core issues in the study of negation, including, but not limited to, NPIs, multiple negation and Jespersen's Cycle, as well as a thorough account of the scholarship on the development of negation in the history of Dutch, focussing on resilient preverbal markers. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology used to gather the necessary data for this study, and will provide an overview of the texts selected for the corpus. Chapter 4 presents an in-depth and detailed analysis of the data yielded by my corpus research, first discussing the shift from bipartite to postverbal negation attested in the data, and then analysing the types of resilient preverbal markers in the corpus.

Chapter 5, then, discusses the morphosyntactic patterns and changes attested in my data, with regard to exceptives, expletive markers, and fragment answers, while chapter 6 examines the impact of language contact and prescriptivism on linguistic change in the data.

Chapter 2: Negative contexts and negation in Dutch

2.1 Introduction

The present chapter will address the core issues in the study of negation, providing an overview of those concepts that will be relevant to the discussion of negation and resilient preverbal markers throughout this study, and will also offer a detailed account of the scholarship on the development of negation in Dutch. In doing so, this chapter will provide the necessary background for the analyses and arguments provided in the following chapters, regarding the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers as attested in my corpus (chapter 4) and the analyses of the data with regard to morphosyntax (chapter 5) or sociohistorical factors (chapter 6). In what follows, chapter 2.2 will discuss the distinction between sentential and constituent negation, and show that only the former type will be directly relevant to this study. In chapter 2.3, I will briefly address four types of negative elements, before moving on to a more in-depth discussion of negative polarity items in chapter 2.4, which will be crucial in answering some of the licensing questions related to single preverbal markers (see chapter 5.3). Chapter 2.5, then, will provide a discussion of four types of multiple negation, the most significant among which will be negative concord. I will then move on to the historical aspect of the study of negation, and discuss Jespersen's Cycle and various models that have been proposed to interpret it (chapter 2.6), before providing a more focused discussion of the development of negation in Dutch as it is presented in scholarship (chapter 2.7).

2.2 Sentential negation versus constituent negation

First, it is necessary to distinguish between sentential negation and constituent negation. Generally, when negation has scope over the entire proposition, the negation is sentential, and when it only has scope over a single constituent, it is constituent negation. More formal diagnostics have been proposed to distinguish between the two, however. Klima (1964) devised the following three tests: first, *either* as a tag can only occur in English with sentential negation, second, the same is true for *not even*, and third, positive question tags are also only possible with sentential negation. However, these tests do not always provide accurate results, and are thus insufficient to clearly distinguish between sentential and constituent

negation (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013: 5; Zeijlstra 2004: 48). In addition, Klima's (1964) tests seem to be focused on English only, and are not necessarily applicable to other languages (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013: 4). A different, more successful test was suggested by Payne (1985: 200): a clause containing sentential negation can be paraphrased in the form *I say (of X) that it is not true that Y*. Hence, the clause in (1a) can be paraphrased as shown in (1b):

- (1) a. Harry does not like apples.
b. I say of Harry that it is not true that he likes apples.

This test does not yield an accurate paraphrase of constituent negation, as example (2) shows.

- (2) a. Not long ago, Harry used to like apples.
b. I say of Harry that it is not true that he used to like apples.

A further test, introduced by Ross (1973) and Culicover (1981) shows that only sentential negation allows for a negative parenthetical, as in example (3):

- (3) a. It **isn't** possible, I **don't** think, to solve this problem.
b. *It is possible, I **don't** think, to solve this problem.
(Zeijlstra 2004: 49)

Since the type of negation examined in this study is sentential, rather than constituent negation, this is where, henceforth, the focus of my discussion will lie. The above diagnostics will, then, be used in the data gathering process to identify sentential negative markers. Zeijlstra (2004: 50) points out, however, that the success of such tests depends on the framework within which sentential negation is analysed. Syntactic approaches, such as Haegeman (1995) working within a Principles and Parameters framework, investigate whether a verb is marked for negation, whereas semantic approaches, such as van der Wouden's (1994) context-semantics framework, aim to show whether the proposition as a whole is under the scope of negation. Zeijlstra (2004) combines both approaches in his analysis of negation, applying principles from both the Minimalist Program as well as truth-conditional

semantics. It is semantic approaches to sentential negation that will be relevant for this study, as a subtype of resilient preverbal markers will be analysed within a framework of truth-conditional semantics (see chapter 5.3).

2.3 Negative elements

Zeijlstra (2004) distinguishes four types of negative elements: negative markers, negative quantifiers, n-words and semi-negatives. Negative markers are used as the expression of sentential negation in a clause, as example (4) shows.

(4) Harry **does not** like apples.

Negative quantifiers (example 5), then, “do not only negate a clause or constituent but also bind a particular variable within that clause or constituent” (Zeijlstra 2004: 38).

(5) Harry ate **nothing**.

Third, n-words, or n-indefinites, are indefinites that have a negative property, and which can participate in negative concord (see below) (Laka 1990; Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013). Zeijlstra (2004) notes that these negative elements can sometimes have a similar interpretation as a negative quantifier, and sometimes that of a non-negative existential quantifier: for example, in the French clause in example (6a), *personne* has a negative reading, and *rien* does not, whereas the reverse is true in example (6b).

(6) a. **Personne ne** mange **rien**.
N-body NEG eats n-thing
'Nobody eats anything.'
(Zeijlstra 2004: 38)

b. **Rien** n'est fait par **personne**.

N-thing NEG.is done by n-body

'Nothing is done by anybody.'

(Zeijlstra 2004: 39)

As the above examples show, while many n-words are morphologically negative, they need not be: neither *personne* nor *rien* is morphologically negative, yet they are n-words.

The final type of negative element discussed in Zeijlstra (2004) is that of semi-negatives. Semi-negatives are not strictly negative themselves, but have a semantically negative connotation: examples are verbs like *fear*, *fail*, *doubt*, prepositions such as *without*, or conjunctions like *unless*. These four classes of negative elements have, according to Zeijlstra (2004), one common property: they are all able to license polarity items (PIs), elements which can occur solely in particular contexts. A subset of PIs is that of negative polarity items (NPIs).

2.4 Negative Polarity Items

Polarity items (PIs) are elements which are restricted to occurring in particular contexts, or in other words, they depend on a particular semantic property within the linguistic context for their interpretation. PIs include expressions such as negative polarity items (NPIs), positive polarity items (PPIs), free choice items, and mood alternation in relative clauses (Giannakidou 1999). While NPIs are only licensed by negative polarity contexts, and cannot occur in positive polarity contexts, the reverse is true for PPIs. In English, *any* and *some* are commonly cited examples of an NPI and PPI respectively: the NPI *any* is only grammatical in NPI-contexts, such as negation (examples 7a, 8b), while the PPI *some* is ungrammatical in negative contexts (examples 7b, 8a). It should be noted that this NPI-use of *any* is distinct from its usage as a free-choice item (example 9); free-choice *any* and the properties that distinguish it from NPI-*any* are discussed in greater detail in van der Wouden (1994) and Giannakidou (1998), and will not be addressed any further in this study.

- (7) a. Harry didn't eat **any** apples.
 b. * Harry didn't eat **some** apples.
- (8) a. Harry ate **some** apples.
 b. *Harry ate **any** apples.
- (9) **Any** type of apple can be used in this recipe.

NPIs can, as van der Wouden (1994: 7–10) notes, be found in any syntactic category: they can take the form of adverbs such as *yet* (example 10), verbs like *to bother* (11), or *hoeven* 'need' in Dutch (12), collocations like *give a damn* or *lift a finger* (13), and so forth.

- (10) a. Harry has not finished his apple **yet**.
 b. *Harry has finished his apple **yet**.
- (11) a. Harry didn't **bother** to bring an apple.
 b. *Harry **bothered** to bring an apple.
- (12) a. Harry **hoeft** geen appel mee te brengen.
 Harry needs no apple with to bring
 'Harry doesn't need to bring an apple.'
- b. *Harry **hoeft** een appel mee te brengen.
 Harry needs an apple with to bring
 'Harry needs to bring an apple.'
- (13) a. Harry didn't **lift a finger** to help his mother.
 b. *Harry **lifted a finger** to help his mother.

It is not sufficient to consider NPIs to be licensed only in the context of negation, however; comparatives, conditionals, questions, and words like *before*, for example, can also license NPIs (van der Wouden 1994: 74; Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013: 28). A more inclusive characterisation of NPI licensing, proposed by Fauconnier

(1975), is that of scale reversal, a notion which relies on scalar implicatures, or what a particular element in a proposition semantically entails. In (14), for example, it is implied that if Harry ate the green apple, he must have eaten more apples from the basket, perhaps even all.

- (14) a. Harry **even** ate the green apple in the basket.
b. Therefore, Harry ate more apples in the basket.

In the context of negation, the implicature is reversed (Fauconnier 1975; Haspelmath 1997), as example (15) shows: if Harry did not even eat the green apple – perhaps his favourite – then it can be inferred that he did not eat any apples at all.

- (15) a. Harry **didn't even** eat the green apple in the basket.
b. Therefore, Harry ate none of the apples in the basket.

NPIs, then, are argued to be representative of the low point of the (reversed) pragmatic scale (Fauconnier 1975; Haspelmath 1997), or in other words, the NPI *one bit* in example (16) implies that Harry could not have enjoyed his apple any less than he had, and thus, *one bit* expresses the low point of the scale representing the extent to which Harry could have enjoyed his apple. In Fauconnier's (1975) approach, then, NPIs are licensed by scale-reversing contexts; however, Haspelmath (1997) notes that this is not the case for all NPIs, as will be discussed below.

- (16) Harry didn't enjoy his apple **one bit**.

Building on Fauconnier's (1975) proposal, Ladusaw (1980; 1996) argues that NPIs are licensed in downward entailing, also referred to as downward monotonic, contexts. Downward entailment refers to the semantic dependency between two elements, in that if an element X is a part of a larger element Y, then an event relating to Y must necessarily also involve X. The reverse proposition, however, is false. Examples (17) and (18) below illustrate the effect of the downward entailing operator *every*.

- (17) True:
- a. Harry ate **every** apple in the basket.
 - b. Therefore, Harry ate the green apple in the basket.

- (18) False:
- a. Harry ate the green apple in the basket.
 - b. Therefore, Harry ate **every** apple in the basket.

Sentential negation, then, is a downward entailing operator as well:

- (19) a. Harry did **not** eat the apples in the basket.
 b. Therefore, Harry did **not** eat the green apple in the basket.

However, it has been argued that the above concepts of downward entailment or scale reversal are not sufficient to account for NPI licensing (Giannakidou 1999; Haspelmath 1997; van der Wouden 1994). For example, Giannakidou (2011: 1671) shows that NPIs are licensed in questions; this is problematic for the entailment-hypothesis in that “it is very hard to establish monotonicity patterns in questions, and [...] there has been no successful attempt to do this, a difficulty noted already by Ladusaw.” In addition, one of many examples provided in van der Wouden (1994) is that of the Dutch NPI *ook maar* ‘at all’, which is ungrammatical in the downward entailing context of the NP *weinig monniken* ‘few monks’:

- (20) a. *Weinig monniken zullen **ook maar** iets bereiken
 few monks will at all anything achieve
 ‘Few monks will achieve anything at all.’
 (van der Wouden 1994: 44)

In response to the issues with licensing hypotheses related to downward entailment or scale reversing, Giannakidou (1999; 1998; 2002) argues that NPIs are instead licensed by non-veridical operators. Veridicality is defined in terms of the truth of a proposition; as shown below - taken from Giannakidou (2002: 33).

- (21) i. A propositional operator F is veridical iff F entails p : $Fp \rightarrow p$; otherwise F is non-veridical.
- ii. A non-veridical operator F is *anti-veridical* iff Fp entails *not* p : $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$.

In this definition, a “propositional operator” can be any operator that impacts the truth value of the proposition, e.g. various types of adverbs, modality, attitude verbs, and so on. The following examples are based on Giannakidou’s (2002) account. In (22) the operator *yesterday* is veridical with regard to the proposition *Harry ate an apple*, as it does not impact the truth value of said proposition. Examples (23) and (24), however, are non-veridical, as the interrogative and modal operators no longer allow the proposition *Harry ate an apple* to be exclusively interpreted as true; it could just as easily be false. Finally, the negative operator and *without* in (25) and (26) are anti-veridical, as they entail that the proposition *Harry ate an apple* is not true.

- (22) Harry ate an apple **yesterday**. \rightarrow Harry ate an apple.
- (23) **Did** Harry eat an apple? $\neg \rightarrow$ Harry ate an apple.
- (24) Harry **might** have eaten an apple. $\neg \rightarrow$ Harry ate an apple.
- (25) Harry **did not** eat an apple. \rightarrow It is not the case that Harry ate an apple.
- (26) ... **without** Harry eating an apple. \rightarrow It is not the case that Harry ate an apple.

Non-veridical operators, then, are argued to license polarity items in general, while anti-veridical operators license specifically NPIs. For the examples above, this means the following:

- (27) *Harry ate any apples **yesterday**.
- (28) **Did** Harry eat any apples?
- (29) *Harry **might** have eaten any apples
- (30) Harry **did not** eat any apples.
- (31) ... **without** Harry eating any apples.

Note that the NPI *any* is not licenced by modals in English, although PPIs such as *some* are grammatical in this nonveridical licensing contexts, as are free-choice items such as *anything*; however, Giannakidou (1998) shows that NPIs are licensed by modals in Greek. Furthermore, Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth (2013) point out that, since NPIs are licensed in comparative clauses (example 32), which are not clearly non-veridical (Giannakidou 1998), yet are downward entailing, both veridicality and downward entailment are useful in answering the licensing question.

(32) Harry ate more apples than he **ever** thought he would.

Hoeksema (2008) proposes, based on work by Zwarts (1998) and van der Wouden (1994), a complex hierarchy by means of which polarity items can be licensed, including concepts such as antimorphic and anti-additive contexts; I will not explore other such contexts and hierarchies further, but refer to Hoeksema (2008), van der Wouden (1994) and Zwarts (1998) for an in-depth discussion.

2.5 Multiple negation

2.5.1 Double negation

Sentential negation can, in many languages, be expressed by means of more than one negative marker. Van der Wouden (1994) distinguished four types of multiple negation: first, *double negation* occurs when two negative elements that co-occur cancel each other out, so that the clause becomes positive. In example 33, it is clear that Harry did *something*, since the context of the clause shows that he took notes. As Zeijlstra (2004) notes, this is referred to as the Law of Double Negation in formal logic: $\neg \neg p \leftrightarrow p$.

(33) For once, Harry **didn't** do **nothing** in class - he actually took notes this time.

Double negation is not always straightforward to interpret in negative concord languages (see below), and often, the right context is needed in order for a double negative construction to be considered natural. For example, a double negative can

be used in order to refute a previous statement (Zeijlstra 2004), as example 34 shows.

- (34) A: I disliked the film, and the CGI wasn't particularly impressive.
B: Did you even see how realistic the dinosaurs all looked? **Nobody** would **not** be impressed by that!

2.5.2 Weakening negation

The second category of multiple negation is that of *weakening negation* (example 35), which arises when two negative elements appear to 'weaken' each other, but not quite cancel each other out yet; the result is ambiguous between a positive and a negative (van der Wouden 1994).

- (35) Harry **won't dislike** the jacket.

As Zeijlstra (2004) shows, the proposition should be interpreted along a scale, ranging, in the above example, from a strong dislike to a strong liking of the jacket:

- (36) Strong dislike – dislike – neither dislike nor liking – liking – strong liking

The interpretation of (35) can be any of the above, other than *dislike*; which reading is appropriate depends on the context (Zeijlstra 2004):

- (37) a. Harry **won't dislike** the jacket; he'll hate it.
b. Harry **won't dislike** the jacket, but he won't **like** it either.
c. Harry will dislike the jacket. - No, Harry **won't dislike** the jacket; he'll like it.
d. Harry **won't dislike** the jacket; he'll like it very much!

The most common interpretation, however, is the one in the middle of the scale, exemplified by (37b); this, according to van der Wouden (1994) and Zeijlstra (2004), has to do with the principle of *Division of Pragmatic Labour*, as formulated by Horn (1991):

(38) *Division of Pragmatic Labour:*

The use of a longer, marked expression in lieu of a shorter expression involving less effort on the part of the speaker tends to signal that the speaker was not in a position to employ the simpler version felicitously (Horn 1991; as cited in van der Wouden 1994: 123).

2.5.3 Negative concord

Third, *negative concord* applies when two or more negative elements occur in a clause, but semantically, negation is only interpreted once (Labov 1972; van der Wouden 1994; Zeijlstra 2004). In languages such as English, German and Dutch, negative concord is only attested in colloquial or dialectal speech (examples 39, 40), whereas French, for example, does have negative concord in the standard variety (example 41).

(39) I **ain't** done **nothing**.

(40) 'k **En** èèn **niet** gedoan
I NEG have nothing done
'I have done nothing.' (West Flemish)

(41) **Personne** *n'a* **rien** fait.
No one NEG -has nothing done
'No one has done anything.'

Van der Wouden and Zwarts (1993) distinguish two types of negative concord: negative spread and negative doubling. In the case of negative spread, "the negative feature is 'spread' or distributed over any number of indefinite expressions within its scope" (van der Wouden & Zwarts 1993: 202). In the West-Flemish example below, the negative feature is expressed twice, in the indefinites *nooit* 'never' and *niet* 'nothing'.

- (42) Ie doe ier **nooit niet**.
 He does here never nothing
 ‘He never does anything here.’

Negative doubling, then, refers to the co-occurrence of a negative expression in a clause and an additional negative element in that same clause, as example (43) below shows: the negative marker *en* is joined by an additional negative element *geen* ‘no’.

- (43) ‘K **en** èè **geen** poot uutgestoken vandoage.
 I NEG have no paw stick-out today
 ‘I haven’t lifted a finger all day.’

Van der Wouden and Zwarts (1993) furthermore note that negative spread and negative doubling can occur simultaneously; in the West Flemish example (44) below, the negative marker *en* co-occurs with two negative indefinites, *niemand* ‘no one’ and *niet* ‘nothing’. However, from a typological perspective, Zeijlstra (2004) points out that these three types of negative concord should not serve to distinguish languages into three corresponding types: any natural language that exhibits negative spread also allows negative doubling, and vice versa, or in other words, every negative concord language exhibits both negative doubling and negative spread.

- (44) ‘K **en** èè tegen **niemand niet** gezeid
 I NEG have to no one nothing said
 ‘I haven’t said anything to anybody.’

As noted above, not all languages or varieties exhibit negative concord: Standard English, for example, does not, whereas Standard French does – the latter type is typically referred to as a *negative concord language*. From a typological viewpoint, Dryer (2013) finds that out of a sample of 1157 languages, 119 have obligatory negative concord, and are therefore *strict* negative concord languages, meaning that neither one of the negative expressions in the clause can be dropped – languages with optional negative concord are thus not included in this set of 119. Languages such as (Moroccan) Arabic, Breton, Burmese, (Western) Apache, and Ewe are all strict negative concord languages; as example (45) shows, negation in Ewe is formed

by means of a morpheme *mé* which occurs before the VP, and *o*, which is found near the end of the clause, before any clause final and sentence final particles (Ameka 1991: 64–65).

- (45) a. kofí vá afí sia
Kofi come place this
'Kofi came here.'
- b. kofí **mé** vá afí sia **o**
Kofi NEG come place this NEG
'Kofi did not come here.'
- (Ameka 1991: 64–65)

Despite Standard French exhibiting negative concord, the French language as a whole is not considered a strict negative concord language, since in colloquial speech, the preverbal negative particle is optional (example 46).

- (46) Je sais **pas**.
I know NEG
'I don't know.'

Similarly, Standard Dutch is not a negative concord language – forming negation by means of a single postverbal particle *niet* – but most Southern Dutch dialects do exhibit negative concord (see examples of West Flemish above, and section 2.7 below).

Working within a context-dependent framework of semantics, van der Wouden and Zwarts (1993) argue that negative doubling and negative spread should be analysed somewhat differently. Context-sensitive semantics relies on the idea that, as its name implies, the meaning of linguistic elements can be dependent on their context. This means that, in terms of negation, the negative elements in a negative concord context are interpreted differently than if these elements were used on their own. For negative doubling, they argue that the negation is interpreted according to the n-word

in the clause: in the West Flemish example (47), the negative marker *en* takes over the semantic function of *geen* ‘no’, where it usually simply expresses negation.

- (47) ‘K **en** èè **geen** poot uutgestoken vandoage.
I NEG have no paw stick-out today
‘I haven’t lifted a finger all day.’

Negative spread, by contrast, “involve[s] context-dependent assignment of semantic values to quantifying expressions” (van der Wouden & Zwarts 1993: 207), in that a universal negative quantifier within the scope of negation is analysed as an existential quantifier. This is shown in example (48), where *niet* is interpreted as ‘anything’, rather than ‘nothing’.

- (48) Ie doe ier **nooit niet**.
He does here never nothing
‘He never does anything here.’

A second analysis of negative concord, with a somewhat different focus, is proposed by Zeijlstra (2004: 245): “negation in [negative concord] languages exhibits syntactic agreement that, in principle, does not differ from (syntactic) person or tense agreement.” Specifically, he proposes that n-words are elements which are not in essence negative, but are marked for negation on a syntactic level: this syntactic marker is an uninterpretable [uNEG] feature, which needs to be checked against an operator with a semantically negative, interpretable [iNEG] feature. Negative concord, then, arises because of the syntactic agreement mentioned above, between a negative element and a (c)overt negative operator. For strict negative concord languages, Zeijlstra (2004) argues that all negative markers carry an [uNEG] feature; and that the [iNEG] feature is carried by a covert, abstract negative operator *Op*, which has no phonological realisation. For instance, in the Greek example below – Greek being a strict negative concord language – both the negative marker *dhen* and the n-word *kanenas* carry a [uNEG] feature, which agrees with a covert negative operator *Op*.

- (49) **Dhen** irthe **kanenas**.
 NEG came nobody
 ‘Nobody came.’
 (Zeijlstra 2004: 248)

In non-strict negative concord languages, a different analysis applies: here, the negative marker does carry the [iNEG] feature and is the overt, phonological realization of the negative operator. Any n-words still have a [uNEG] feature, and agree with [iNEG]. In the Italian example below, the [uNEG] feature is expressed on *nessuno*, which agrees with the negative marker *non* carrying the [iNEG] feature.

- (50) **Non** ha telefonato a **nessuno**
 Not has called to nobody
 ‘He hasn’t called anybody.’

As the above analyses of negative concord will not be directly relevant to the premise of this study, they will not be discussed in further detail; I refer to van der Wouden and Zwarts (1993) and Zeijlsta (2004) for full accounts.

2.5.4 Emphatic negation

Finally, *emphatic negation* is the use of multiple negative markers in order to strengthen or emphasise the negation. This is common in colloquial Dutch (van der Wouden 1994; Zeijlstra 2004), as example (51) shows:

- (51) Ik heb **niks** **niet** gezien
 I have nothing NEG seen
 ‘I haven’t seen anything at all.’

Van der Wouden (1994) notes that the negative expressions in this type of negation are (usually) adjacent to one another, leaving constructions such as (52) to be ungrammatical. He further points out that certain combinations are ungrammatical altogether, as shown in example 53.

- (52) *Niks heb ik **niet** gezien.
 Nothing have I NEG seen
 ‘I haven’t seen anything at all.’
- (53) a. Dat heb ik **nooit niet** gezien.
 That have I never NEG seen
 ‘I have never seen that.’
- b. *Dat heb ik **niet nooit** gezien.
 That have I NEG never seen
 ‘I have never seen that.’
 (van der Wouden 1994: 147)

Zeijlstra (2004) argues that, semantically, emphatic negation is a subtype of negative concord, because the two negative elements do not cancel each other out to create a positive meaning in the process. Emphatic negation is different from standard negative concord, however, in four ways: first, in regular negative concord constructions, the negation is not strengthened; second, as noted above, emphatic negation is subject to certain restrictions in terms of adjacency; third, an emphatic reading of two negative elements is unavailable when the negative marker precedes the n-word, or when additional stress is placed on the negative marker, as examples (54) and (55) show. The latter constructions are interpreted as double negation, and have a positive interpretation.

- (54) Hij gaat **niet nooit** naar school.
 He goes NEG never to school
 ‘He doesn’t *never* go to school’ / ‘He sometimes goes to school.’
 (Zeijlstra 2004: 68)
- (55) Hij gaat **nooit NIET** naar school.
 He goes never NEG to school
 ‘He does never NOT go to school.’ / ‘He always goes to school.’
 (Zeijlstra 2004: 68)

Finally, and fourth, emphatic negation only occurs in languages which do not have negative concord, such as Standard Dutch; in negative concord languages, emphatic negation does not occur (Zeijlstra 2004).

In order to explain emphatic negation, Zeijlstra's (2004) study offers two potential hypotheses: either these constructions are idiomatic, and are thus simply part of the lexicon, or, from a morphosyntactic perspective, the negative feature of the second element in the construction agrees or merges with that of the first. That emphatic negation is part of the lexicon has some grounding in the fact that Dutch used to be a negative concord language, and thus, emphatic negation constructions may be remnants of an earlier stage of the language. There is, however, no direct evidence to support this. In terms of morphosyntax, Zeijlstra (2004) argues that negative quantifiers consist of a [NEG] and a [Q] feature, whereas the negative marker *niet* consists of a [NEG] feature only. Emphatic negation would then originate in the agreement of these two [NEG] features, which in turn results in a strengthened negation. However, questions remain regarding the syntactic domain in which this agreement would take place, due to the locality restrictions of emphatic negation. Thus, Zeijlstra (2004) concludes that both hypotheses have merit, but neither is satisfactory to explain emphatic negation.

Van der Wouden (1994) subsumes cases of what he calls *resumptive negation* under emphatic negation (examples 56, 57): in this construction, a negative element is added after a negative clause in order to emphasise the negation therein.

(56) He won't wear that jacket, **not** in a million years.

(57) No one thinks his jokes are funny, **not even** his wife.

Resumptive negation is attested in various languages, as the examples below show (taken from van der Wouden (1994: 151)).

(58) Je n'ai rien vu, **rien** du tout.

I NEG -have nothing seen, nothing of all

'I didn't see anything, nothing at all.'

(59) Das werde ich nicht tun, **niemals!**

That will I not do never

‘I will not do that, never!’

(60) Hij kent niemand hier, **geen** mens.

He knows no one here, no human

‘He doesn’t know anyone here, not a soul.’

Van der Wouden (1994) suggests several potential analyses for the syntactic status of resumptive negation constructions: first, they resemble coordinating constructions in some ways, but unlike other types of coordination, resumptive negation is obligatorily asyndetic. Second, resumptive negation may be a type of right dislocation; however, in the case of right dislocation, an anaphoric element is usually left in the matrix clause (example 61), while this does not occur with resumptive negation.

(61) **He** ruined my life, **the bastard.**

Third, these constructions may be analysed as extraposition of appositions, but this analysis has some issues as well, in that appositions are usually formed by noun phrases, and in that it is unclear to what extent the extraposed apposition would have to agree with the matrix clause – for example, they must agree in terms of negation, but not other semantic aspects such as definiteness. Thus, van der Wouden (1994) concludes that all three hypotheses are viable in some ways, but not in others; this type of emphatic negation is not investigated further in his study.

So far, this chapter has provided an overview of the main issues and concepts for the study of negation from a synchronic perspective. First, the distinction between constituent and sentential negation was introduced, and second, four types of negative elements were addressed: negative markers, negative quantifiers, n-words and semi-negatives. Third, I provided a discussion of NPIs, and how they are licensed, while a fourth section of this chapter was devoted to multiple negation, with its four types, double negation, weakening negation, negative concord, and emphatic negation. In what follows, I will focus on the diachronic perspective in the

study of negation: in section 2.6, Jespersen’s Cycle will be set out in detail, as well as various models that have been proposed for its analysis, while section 2.7 will provide an overview of the development of negation in Dutch as presented in scholarship.

2.6 Jespersen’s Cycle

The diachronic development of sentential negation has, for many languages, been discussed in the context of Jespersen’s Cycle, a term coined by Dahl (1979) to describe what Jespersen (1917: 4) found to be a “curious fluctuation”:

[T]he original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word.

In other words, an existing negative marker is first joined, and later replaced by a new marker of negation; the latter may then in turn undergo the same process, resulting in a cyclical development of negation. Jespersen’s Cycle is attested in many European and Afro-Asiatic languages, and for the majority of these languages, represents a shift from preverbal negation, to bipartite and finally postverbal negation (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013). Schematically, this development is most commonly viewed as a three-, four-, or five-stage process. Examples for each model are taken from French. The simplest representation is the three-stage process (see 62a and 62b below); the five-stage model includes two additional stages, in which the new and old negative markers respectively become optional (63a, 63b) (van der Auwera 2009: 37).

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (62) | a. Three stages: | b. Three stages: |
| | I: NEG V | I: je ne dis |
| | II: NEG V NEG | II: je ne dis pas |
| | III: V NEG | III: je dis pas ⁴ |

⁴ While in Modern Standard French, the negative marker is still the bipartite *ne...pas*, single postverbal *pas* expressing sentential negation is widely used in colloquial French.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| (63) | a. Five stages: | b. Five stages: |
| | I: NEG V | I: je ne dis |
| | II: NEG V (NEG) | II: je ne dis (pas) |
| | III: NEG V NEG | III: je ne dis pas |
| | IV: (NEG) V NEG | IV: je (ne) dis pas |
| | V: V NEG | V: je dis pas |

There are two conceptualisations of the four-stage model: the first adds to the three basic stages one in which it becomes clear that the new negative marker was not originally negative (64a, 64b) (van der Auwera 2009: 37). The second posits a stage that contains the phonologically stronger ancestor of the preverbal negative marker. Most studies apply this model to French, with the Latin negative marker *non* as an ancestor to *ne* (65a, 65b) (van der Auwera 2009: 37); one study that uses High German as an example (Lenz 1996) posits Old High German *ni* as the predecessor to Early Middle High German *ne/en*.⁵ The latter conceptualisation of the cycle has merit for those hypotheses arguing that weakening of the initial negative marker functions as a trigger for the rise of a new negator. However, as I will show below, another hypothesis is more plausible, and therefore, a model that notes the phonological predecessor of the preverbal negator will not be considered pertinent to the view of Jespersen's Cycle held in this study. In my analysis of the development of negation, I will use the three-stage model, though, taking into account the issues set out below regarding the application of a generalised model such as Jespersen's Cycle to a complex linguistic development.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|
| (64) | a. Four stages: | b. Four stages: |
| | I: NEG V | I: je ne dis |
| | II: NEG V X | II: je ne dis pas _X |
| | III: NEG V NEG | III: je ne dis pas _{NEG} |
| | IV: V NEG | IV: je dis pas |

⁵ Regarding the progression of Jespersen's Cycle in High German, Jäger (2008) shows that the grammaticalisation of the postverbal negative marker *niht* already starts in the Old High German period, and that during the Middle High German period, single postverbal *niht* was already the most common way of marking negation. Single preverbal *ne/en* could still occur, as well as a bipartite negative marker *ne/en ... niht*, but there is, according to Jäger (2008), no evidence for a stable bipartite stage of Jespersen's cycle in High German.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| (65) | a. Four stages: | b. Four stages: |
| | I: non V | I: non dico (Classical Latin) |
| | II: NEG V | II: je ne dis |
| | III: NEG V NEG | III: je ne dis pas |
| | IV: V NEG | IV: je dis pas |

The new negators that arise during Jespersen’s Cycle are commonly derived from either (negative) indefinite pronouns, nominal minimisers and generalisers, or (negative) adverbs (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013; Jäger 2013; Breitbarth 2014). For example, the English negative marker *not* has its historical roots in the generaliser *nawiht* ‘not anything, nothing’, while the French negator *pas* derives from the minimiser *pas* ‘step’, the negation thus meaning *not a step*.

As Jespersen (1917: 4) notes, the new negative element initially serves to emphasise the negative meaning of the original negator, before it is adopted into the language as a full negative marker. He argues that the original negator is first weakened, rendering it insufficient to express negation on its own, which in turn gives rise to the need for “an additional word” to strengthen the negation. While his hypothesis has received some support (Dahl 1979; Horn 1989; van Kemenade 2000), others argue, perhaps more plausibly, that initially, the original negative marker can either be used on its own to express a neutral kind of negation, or that it can take a secondary element that serves to emphasise the negative meaning. This emphasising element then loses its emphatic meaning as it evolves into a neutral negative marker, which in turn triggers a semantic bleaching of the original negative marker, leading to its eventual disappearance (Breitbarth 2014; Hopper & Traugott 2003; van der Auwera 2009; Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013). Thus, once again taking French as an example, *ne*_{NEG} initially expresses negation on its own, but can be emphasised by a secondary element, *pas*_X ‘step’. *Pas*_X then loses its emphatic meaning, and becomes a negative marker *pas*_{NEG}. The original negator *ne*_{NEG} is semantically bleached (*ne*_X), and eventually, *pas*_{NEG} takes over as the sole marker of negation.

In his study on Jespersen’s Cycle, van der Auwera (2009) proposes a more complex conceptualisation of the cycle: based on cross-linguistic data, he argues that the large amount of variation in the development of negation between and within languages

calls for a distinction between various Jespersen Cycles. First, he proposes a more nuanced conceptualisation of the starting point of a Jespersen cycle: either there is an emphasis-neutral existing negative marker, or that negative marker is joined by a new element. This new element is often emphatic, taking the form of e.g. a minimiser or generaliser, though there is evidence of a negative marker *ve* or *pe* in Lewo (example 66) which is not emphatic, but rather derives from a copula. Van der Auwera (2009) argues that, therefore, there is a path of Jespersen’s Cycle (or one Jespersen Cycle) in which the starting point is a negative marker combined with a non-emphatic element, which then later goes on to become a new negator.

(66) **Pe** ne-pisu-li **re** Santo **poli**.

NEG 1SG-see-ty NEG Santo NEG

‘I’ve never seen Santo’

(Early 1994a:69, as cited in van der Auwera 2009:17)

However, as van der Auwera (2009) himself points out, the negative element *re*, which derives from a partitive element, *is* emphatic: this raises the question whether it could not be the preverbal element *pe/ve* which was the original marker in the Jespersen Cycle, and *re* the new, emphatic marker. This is supported by Early’s (1994b) discussion of negation in Lewo, which shows that the *pe/ve* marker can be dropped by (at the time) young speakers of the language. This then seems to indicate that the loss of *pe/ve* reflects the beginnings of a transition to stage III of the Jespersen Cycle, in which the preverbal marker is lost and only the postverbal one, *re*, remains. Thus, evidence from Lewo does not support van der Auwera’s (2009) argument that there can be a non-emphatic trigger for a Jespersen Cycle.

Second, van der Auwera (2009) makes a distinction between negation expressed by two negative markers on the one hand, and three on the other hand: in Brabantic Dutch (67) and Lewo (68), for example, negator “tripling” occurs, which is caused by what he calls “Jespersenian accumulation” (van der Auwera 2009: 56), being activated at stage II, rather than at stage I, of the cycle (in a three-stage model), i.e. when a bipartite marker is used to express sentential negation. In other words, van der Auwera (2009) refers to the occurrence of negative concord in Brabantic Dutch and Lewo, and in the clauses below, specifically the occurrence of a combination of

negative spread and negative doubling (see 2.5.3 above). The Brabantic and Lewo examples are reminiscent of negative doubling constructions in Afrikaans (69) where the reiterated negative marker takes clause-final position (van der Wouden 1994; Zeijlstra 2004), although it is clear that in the Afrikaans clause below, there is no negative spread; negative spread only occurs rarely in the language (Zeijlstra 2004).

(67) Pas op dat ge **niet en** valt **nie**
 Fit on that you NEG NEG fall NEG
 ‘Take care that you don’t fall’
 (van der Auwera 2009: 56)

(68) **Ve** a-kan **re toko!**
 NEG 2SG-eat NEG NEG
 ‘Don’t eat it!’
 (Early 1994a:76, as cited in van der Auwera 2009:56)

(69) Je moe **nie** huil **nie**
 You must NEG cry NEG
 ‘You don’t need to cry’

Van der Auwera’s (2009) claim that negative concord occurs at the second stage of Jespersen’s Cycle, rather than at the first, should be nuanced, however: it is precisely the (optional) occurrence of negative concord in the transition between – in a three-stage model – stage I and II that results in the n-word being reanalysed as part of the negative marker itself, resulting in a bipartite negator. In other words, negative concord is attested in the transition between stage I and II of Jespersen’s Cycle, and since all negative concord languages have both negative doubling and negative spread (as shown by Zeijlstra (2004), see 2.5.3 above), the ‘tripling’ attested in Brabantic Dutch, Lewo and Afrikaans is in fact activated at that transitional stage, rather than at stage II proper. Thus, I argue that it is not plausible, as van der Auwera (2009) claims, that negative doubling and negative spread were triggered at different stages of Jespersen’s Cycle, i.e. that negative doubling is activated at stage I, giving rise to bipartite negation, and that negative spread is only triggered after a language has established stage II negation.

Finally, van der Auwera (2009) points out that the new postverbal negative marker does not always lose its emphatic meaning, and that the preverbal marker can continue to be used on its own in some contexts, while in others, the cycle progresses. Evidence for a postverbal marker which can be emphatic as well as non-emphatic is found in Brazilian Portuguese: example (70a) contains an emphatic negative marker, while example (70b) is neutral in terms of emphasis. It should be noted, however, that the *não* in (70a) seems to be a pragmatically separate, repeated negator that emphasises the proposition, while the *não...não* construction in (70b) appears to constitute one bipartite marker of negation, which only expresses negation once.

(70) a. Eu **não** quero, **não!**
 I NEG want no
 ‘I don’t want to, absolutely not!’

b. Eu **não** quero **não!**
 I NEG want NEG
 ‘I don’t want to.’

(Schwegler 1991: 209, as cited in van der Auwera 2009:46)

A further argument for Brazilian Portuguese, which does support van der Auwera’s (2009) claim that Jespersen’s Cycle may be more complex than is generally assumed, is that all three ‘stages’ of the cycle occur simultaneously in the language (Schwenter 2005). As examples (71a, 71b and 71c) show, single preverbal negation, bipartite negation as well as single postverbal negation are all attested, and their meaning is propositionally identical. The difference, according to Schwenter (2005), lies in the pragmatic context of the propositions: a different construction is used depending on information structure.

(71) a. A Cláudia **não** veio à festa.
 b. A Cláudia **não** veio à festa **não.**
 c. A Cláudia veio à festa **não.**
 ‘Claudia didn’t come to the party.’

(Schwenter 2005: 1429)

In addition, van der Auwera (2009) notes that several stages of Jespersen's Cycle are attested in languages such as French, Middle English, and Flemish Dutch as well, as a single preverbal marker occurs in an expletive use, long after the languages have progressed onto stage II of the cycle. As I will show in section 2.7 below, this is indeed the case, but it is not only as an expletive marker that preverbal *ne/en* remains resilient.

A different critique of Jespersen's Cycle is offered by Elspaß and Langer (2012), who argue that Jespersen's Cycle does not accurately reflect the development of negation in historical German, as the conceptualisation of the Cycle is based on written sources, rather than spoken data. Examining the development of negation in New High German, they show that the current view of Jespersen's Cycle in German, which posits that during the New High German period, the language shifts to stage III of the Cycle, relies mainly on written language influenced by prescriptivist grammarians, who condemn bipartite negation from the 18th century onwards, "creating the myth that such constructions are illogical" (Elspaß & Langer 2012: 283). However, the fact that the bipartite marker disappears from prescriptivist writings need not imply that it disappears throughout the language. Using personal letters⁶ as source material instead, Elspaß and Langer (2012) find that multiple negation is still attested in the 19th century, and they furthermore show that this form of negation still occurs in the Present-day German dialects as well. Therefore, they argue that a sociolinguistic framework that focuses on language histories 'from below', i.e. spoken language use of the largest part of the population, often the lower classes, provides a more realistic view of the development of a language. With regard to Jespersen's Cycle, Elspaß and Langer's (2012) findings of multiple negation in Present-day German spoken vernaculars demonstrate that the prediction that the language would shift to a single negative marker is not borne out. As a result, they question the validity of Jespersen's Cycle as a model for analysing the development of negation in historical German.

⁶ Documents such as personal letters and diaries tend to reflect spoken language to a greater extent than, for example, official documents or literary sources (see chapter 3).

In essence, Elspaß and Langer (2012: 290) argue that Jespersen's Cycle is too generalised a framework, and that a more "differentiated view of language history" is needed, which takes into account the different histories of individual language varieties. Moreover, while van der Auwera (2009) takes a different approach in accounting for findings that do not match a traditional view of Jespersen's Cycle, his study similarly argues that complexity in a linguistic phenomenon should not be ignored in favour of providing a generalised, more elegant solution. General approaches within linguistics may of course be useful in some ways: they describe overarching trends that often occur cross-linguistically, by showing how the majority of forms in those languages behave or change, which may, for example, inform about the properties or histories of other languages, or language in general. However, such analyses necessarily disregard variation or minority features within a language that do not fit within the overarching framework – these features are then deemed to be rare, and therefore less significant – and in this way typically do not present a wholly accurate account.

Thus, even though there is some merit to general approaches, it is at least equally, if not more, necessary to analyse linguistic phenomena in a detailed, differentiated way. Fine-grained analyses take into account variables such as regional or genre-based variation, and examine the history of a language by means of diachronically smaller segments than the centuries-long periods traditionally used in historical linguistics (such as Middle Dutch, Middle High German, etc.). In this way, these analyses can present a substantially more detailed, and therefore accurate, view of a linguistic development, which in turn facilitates identifying those factors driving the attested development(s). For example, if a phenomenon occurs in one regional variety but not in another, the sociohistorical backgrounds of these varieties will most likely show why this difference is attested. However, if it is not known whether regional variation played a role in differing attestation patterns, the social histories of these varieties will similarly not be able to explain such patterns.

It is for these reasons that my study uses a fine-grained approach, rather than relying solely on generalised frameworks. Not only will I show that the development of negation in West Flemish and Hollandic did not progress entirely as predicted by Jespersen's Cycle, but I will also offer a multifaceted analysis of the types of

negation attested in my data, examining individual types of negation, regional varieties or other factors separately, rather than disregarding part of the dataset or a number of significant factors, with the aim to provide an elegant, unified account for the development of negation as a whole.

2.7 Negation in the history of Dutch

In most of the scholarship on the development of Dutch – and indeed, the development of many languages - the language is diachronically partitioned into several time periods delineating certain phases in the development of that language. Van der Horst (2008), for example, uses the following categorisation:

- Old Dutch (...-1200)
- Early Middle Dutch (1200-1350)
- Late Middle Dutch (1350-1500)
- 16th-century Dutch
- 17th-century Dutch
- 18th-century Dutch
- 19th-and 20th-century Dutch

A similar distinction is adopted in most of the scholarship, though many take Early and Late Middle Dutch together as one Middle Dutch period. This is, of course, problematic considering that this Middle Dutch period would take up three hundred years: grouping together findings from such a wide time frame inevitably leads to a distorted view of the language of the period, and does not adequately account for any changes that might have occurred within that time. Similarly, the distinction above does not account for regional variety: as this study will show, one dialect can exhibit substantially different linguistic features than another, and taking together findings from multiple varieties does not acknowledge these differences, once again leading to a distorted view of the language. Despite the issues associated with such an approach, the following overview of the development of negation in historical Dutch as presented in the literature will retain the categorisations set out above, precisely because it will reflect the existing scholarship. The development of negation and preverbal markers attested in my data, however, addressed in chapter 4 of this thesis,

will be discussed century by century, while maintaining a clear distinction between the two dialects examined, West Flemish and Hollandic.

2.7.1 Old Dutch

The development of negation in Dutch is one that has typically been argued to follow Jespersen's cycle fairly closely. For the Old Dutch period (until 1200), little textual material is available: aside from some glosses and short fragments, only two texts are generally considered to be representative of Old Dutch: the *Leidse Willeram* (11th century) and the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen* (10th century). Both are, however, to some extent problematic for linguistic research on Old Dutch: the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen* is an interlinear, i.e. a word-by-word translation of Latin, and the *Leidse Willeram* is an adaptation of a late Old High German commentary on a religious text (*das Hohe Lied*) (Quak & van der Horst 2002; van der Sijs & Willemins 2009). Therefore, a significant amount of interference from Latin and Old High German respectively can be expected in these texts, and hence, they do not adequately represent Old Dutch. Zeijlstra (2004), however, notes that the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen* is not completely a word-by-word translation: in a few cases, the translation does not match the Latin original word for word, but is modified in order to more accurately reflect the grammar of Old Dutch (see below).

A third text, the 12th-century *Mittelfränkische Reimbibel* is included in van der Horst's (2008) discussion on Old Dutch; however, as it is in fact a hybrid of the Central Franconian, Low Franconian and Low German dialects (Wells 2004), it is unlikely that it could adequately represent the Old Dutch, Low Franconian, dialect. Finally, the *Heliand* (9th century) is also often examined in research regarding Old Dutch, despite being an Old Saxon text, due to the significant similarities between both varieties; the question arises here as well, however, to what extent the Old Saxon data reflect Old Dutch. Thus, the linguistic literature on Old Dutch mostly relies on four texts, none of which can adequately represent Old Dutch; therefore, discussions of the development of negation in Old Dutch in previous scholarship are similarly limited in how well they can reflect any diachronic or regional variety. The below examination of negation in Old Dutch is based on accounts provided by van der Horst (2008) and Zeijlstra (2004).

The original Dutch negator is generally assumed to be a preverbal *ne* or *ni*, similar to Gothic *ni* (van der Horst 2008). However, no data is available representing a stage of the language in which preverbal negation is the sole negative marker, i.e. a stable stage I of Jespersen’s Cycle. Thus, it should be kept in mind that this assumption regarding stage I of Jespersen’s Cycle is, though likely, still a hypothetical one. In both the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen* (10th century) and the *Leidse Willeram* (11th century) (see examples 72 and 73), the single preverbal negative marker is attested quite frequently, although it is not the only type of negation in these texts (van der Horst 2008; Zeijlstra 2004). For the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, van der Horst’s (2008) data show that, when the Latin negator *non* is translated by means of *ne*, it usually takes up preverbal negation, but not always (example 74); it does, however, at least in the examples provided by van der Horst (2008), occur in the same clausal position as its Latin counterpart. In the *Leidse Willeram*, single *ne* appears exclusively in preverbal position (van der Horst 2008).

(72) Inde in uuege sundigero **ne** stûnt
 And in way sinners.GEN NEG stood.3SG
 ‘And didn’t stand in the way of sinners.’
 (*Wachtendonckse Psalmen* 1:1; as cited in Zeijlstra 2004:83)

(73) thar zuo **nemagh** ich mih gemuozegan
 there to NEG-can I me keep away
 ‘For that / therefore I cannot keep myself away.’
 (*Leidse Willeram* 149, 5; as cited in van der Horst 2008:299; my translation)

(74) genere mi fan horouue that **ne** ic inne stecke
 save me from mud that NEG I in stick
 ‘Save me from the mud, so that I am not stuck in it.’
 (*Wachtendonckse Psalmen* 68, 15; as cited in van der Horst 2008:298; my translation)

In addition, both the *Leidse Willeram* and the *Mittelfränkische Reimbibel* contain a particular use of the preverbal marker which occurs in a subordinate clause

dependent on a negated or adversative predicate (van der Horst 2008); this phenomenon, also known as *balansschikking*, will be discussed in more detail in chapter 2.7.2 below. The preverbal negative marker in this clause type can be either expletive (example 75), or it can express negation in a negative conditional (example 76).

- (75) Thes nemohte nehein mennisce untgen, her **ne** solde
 This NEG-could not-one man escape he NEG should
 in gesen
 him see
 ‘No man could escape this; rather, he must see him.’
 (*Mittelfränkische Reimbibel* 465; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 300;
 my translation)

- (76) the thorna **nemugan** thie lilian behudan,
 the thorns NEG-can the lilies protect
 siu **newassen** ande bluoye under him
 they NEG-grow and bloom underneath them
 ‘The thorns cannot protect the lilies, if they do not grow and bloom
 underneath them.’
 (*Leidse Willeram* 27, 3-4; as cited in van der Horst 2008:300; my
 translation)

In the Old Saxon *Heliand*, the oldest text in van der Horst’s (2008) study, the preverbal marker *ni* is attested alongside an emphatic element, the indefinite *uuiht* ‘thing’, which in turn could be strengthened with *ie-* ‘always, ever’ or *nie-* ‘never’, resulting in *iouuiht* and *niouuiht* respectively (example 77).

- (77) **Ni** scal ine fargumon **eouuiht**, ni farmuni ine an is
 NEG shall him neglet anything, nor deny him in his
 mode
 mind
 ‘He shall not neglect him at all, nor deny him in his mind.’
 (*Heliand* 3892; as cited in Breitbarth 2014:28)

A significantly more thorough discussion of negation in Old Saxon can be found in Breitbarth (2014): with regard to *uuht*, *iouuht* and *niouuht*, she argues that these forms are rare, but that it is an adverbial use of *niouuht* that has been reanalysed to a postverbal negative marker *nicht* in Middle Low German, although no data is available that represents the transition itself. In other words, the *Heliand* represents the onset of an innovation: a strengthening element can already accompany the preverbal negative marker, but it is not yet a full negative marker in its own right. Thus, Old Saxon can be argued, at least to some extent, to represent stage I of Jespersen’s Cycle, although the transition from stage I to stage II must have taken place sometime during the Old Saxon period as well. In addition, Old Saxon contains exceptive clauses that are negated by means of preverbal *ne/en*, and “invariably have the form *ne sî/ne uuari that...* ‘it be/were not (the case) that...’” (Breitbarth 2014: 34). Middle Low German, then, is representative of stage II. As noted before, there are significant similarities between Old Saxon and Old Dutch, but it is unclear to what extent any Old Saxon findings can be applied to Old Dutch as well: since no data is available showing negative marking in Old Dutch before the 10th century, we can only make an informed guess as to what negative marking looked like at that time.

A further way to express negation is found in the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*: aside from the preverbal marker *ne*, a negative marker *niuueht* ‘not a thing’ is attested in the text (example 78). For hypotheses regarding the reason why *niuueht* occurs on its own, see Zeijlstra (2004: 84). Once again, *niuueht* is located in the same clause position as the Latin negator. However, as noted above, Zeijlstra (2004) points out that such a 1:1 correspondence is not found throughout the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*: there are tokens of a single Latin negator *non* being translated by means of two negative elements (example 79). In other words, negative concord is attested in the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, supporting the notion mentioned above that there is no evidence of a stable stage I of Jespersen’s Cycle in the available Old Dutch data.

- (78) Salig man ther **niuueht** uôr in gerêde ungenêthero
 Blessed man who NEG walked in counsel impious.PL.GEN
 ‘Blessed the man who did not walk in the counsel of the impious.’
 (*Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, 1:1; as cited in Zeijlstra 2004:83)

- (79) That **nohuanne ne** fargetin folk min
 That never NEG forget.3PL.CONJ people my
 ‘so that they will never forget my people.’
 (*Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, 58:12; as cited in Zeijlstra 2004:83)

Turning to the *Leidse Willeram* (11th century) and the *Mittelfränkische Reimbibel* (12th century), in these texts, bipartite negation as well as negative concord are, according to van der Horst’s (2008) findings, already quite common (see example 80), in the forms *ne ... niet* ‘not’, *ne... nieman* ‘no one’, *ne... niemer* ‘not anymore’, *ne ... newanne* ‘never’ and *ne ... nechein* ‘not one’. In the *Leidse Willeram*, single postverbal *niet* occurs in non-finite clauses.

- (80) Wir **newillon niet** uergezzan, thaz (...)
 We NEG-want not forget that
 ‘We do not want to forget that (...)’
 (*Leidse Willeram* 7, 3; as cited in van der Horst 2008:298; my translation)

Thus, despite the fact that very little data is available for Old Dutch, the above evidence does indicate that the language has neither a stable stage I of Jespersen’s Cycle, nor a fully realised stage II. In other words, the Old Dutch data seem to reflect a transitional phase between stages I and II, with single preverbal negation occurring commonly throughout the period, while negative concord is simultaneously attested in the 9th-century *Heliand* (in as far as it can represent Old Dutch) as well as in the 10th-century *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, and a bipartite negative marker *ne...niet* occurs in the 11th-century *Leidse Willeram* and the 12th-century *Mittelfränkische Reimbibel*. It should be kept in mind, however, that the limited nature of the evidence means that these conclusions must remain tentative.

2.7.2 Early Middle Dutch

Turning to the Middle Dutch period, van der Horst (2008) makes a distinction between Early Middle Dutch, from 1200 until 1350, and Late Middle Dutch, from 1350 until 1500. With regard to negation, the most common negative marker is,

during the Early Middle Dutch period, the bipartite construction. The bipartite negative marker consists of the preverbal marker *ne/en*, and the postverbal negative adverb *niet* (example 81), or an n-word, such as *niemand* or *(en)geen* (example 82) as shown (Breitbarth 2013; Hoeksema 1997; van der Horst 2008).⁷

(81) Wi **en** moghense **niet** begripen
We NEG can-them not understand
'We cannot understand them.'

(*Ruusbroec de Wonderbare* 173; as cited in van der Horst 2008:516; my translation)

(82) Hine vant avonture **en gene**
He-NEG found adventure no
'He found no adventure.'

(*Ferguut* 2609; as cited in van der Horst 2008:516; my translation)

Single postverbal *niet* already occurs as well (example 83), but its use is limited to clauses with inverted word order, non-finite clauses, and clauses with the finite verb in initial position (V1) in the clause, or third (V3) or later, including final (Vf) position (van der Horst & van der Wal 1979; van der Horst 2008);⁸ the latter type (V3 and later) seems to generally correspond to subordinate clauses in van der Horst's (2008) data.

(83) Die voete waren hem so zeer,
The feet were to-him so painful
dat hi tloepen **niet** conste ghedoghen
that he the-walking not could bear
'His feet hurt so badly, that he could not bear walking.'

(*Van den Vos Reynaerde* 755; as cited in van der Horst 2008:517; my translation)

⁷ Many of the examples in this chapter are taken from van der Horst (2008), as his study provides several examples of each form discussed, and consistently includes references to the source text.

⁸ Van der Horst (2008) groups together V3 and all later positions under the abbreviation (Vfn)

2.7.2.1 Single preverbal *ne/en*

Single preverbal *ne/en* finally also remains resilient in Early Middle Dutch, even if it is not attested frequently, in a set of specific linguistic contexts which have been addressed in some of the scholarship on negation in historical Dutch. Unlike van der Horst (2008), most studies do not make it entirely clear what sort of data is found at what time, and instead provide a fairly general discussion of ‘Middle Dutch’, thus not taking into consideration the fact that a language can, and usually does, change significantly over the course of several centuries. Few – including van der Horst (2008) – also account for regional variation, instead treating the Dutch dialect continuum as one homogeneous unit.

Notably, Stoett (1923), while providing a substantial amount of examples supporting his findings for ‘Middle Dutch’, fails to mention from what texts his examples are selected, and does not provide any information regarding the date or location of his data. Postma (2002) similarly treats Middle Dutch as one unit, both with respect to diachronic and regional variation. In fact, after starting a corpus study spanning the 13th to the 15th centuries, his corpus research was abandoned entirely, because, he claims, his initial data were remarkably homogeneous, which renders the creation of a statistical inventory unnecessary. Instead, Postma (2002) opts for a heuristic approach, and considers his initial findings to be representative of Middle Dutch in general. This approach is, of course, problematic: while his initial data may have appeared to be homogeneous in nature, there is no guarantee whatsoever that further corpus research would have yielded the same result. His methodology thus ensures that his conclusions with regard to ‘Middle Dutch’ may not, in fact, accurately reflect the language.

Burridge (1993), then, does to some extent account for regional variation in that she compares Brabantic and Hollandic data; however, she treats her data on resilient preverbal markers as representative for the entire Middle Dutch continuum, although she retains a clear distinction between Brabantic and Hollandic in her discussion of bipartite and single postverbal negation. Burridge’s (1993) corpus furthermore only includes texts that reflect spoken language in the best possible way, excluding poetry and legal texts from her research – and her research is fairly extensive, as it moves

beyond Middle Dutch, providing data until the 17th century. Finally, Beheydt's (1998) study discusses negation in the Southern Netherlands (i.e. present-day Flanders), from the 15th until the 20th century, and presents her findings century by century, accounting for regional variation in her data, and providing statistics to support her claims. Like Burrige (1993), she focuses strictly on texts that can be argued to resemble spoken language most closely, such as diaries, letters, or travelogues. This means, however, that for those dialect regions where such works were not available to her, she did not include any textual material, leaving significant gaps in her data; for example, for the 15th century, she discussed only one text, a diary from East Flanders. As not all studies make a clear distinction in what data have been gathered from what moment in time, those claiming to address preverbal negation in 'Middle Dutch' will be discussed together below. In other words, the distinction that van der Horst (2008) makes between Early and Late Middle Dutch, which I have adhered to until this point, will be briefly abandoned for the discussion of other studies on preverbal negation in 'Middle Dutch'. As it is my aim to compare West Flemish and Hollandic in particular, regional variation between those dialects will, when possible, be highlighted in the following discussion of previous scholarship.

From the discussions of single *ne/en* in the literature regarding Middle Dutch, I have distinguished six linguistic contexts in which this preverbal marker continues to be used. The first of these is the context of verbs such as *weten* 'to know' (example 84), *roeken* 'to care', *doen* 'to do', *willen* 'to want' and *mogen* 'can/may', *laten* 'let', and *seggen* 'say' (Burrige 1993; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008; Breitbarth 2013). Jespersen (1917) notes that this kind of negation still occurs in Middle English as well, with for example the verb *will*, and Jäger's (2008) data show that preverbal *ne/en* with particular verbs is attested in Middle High German as well.

(84) Si **ne** weten wat best doen.

They NEG know what best do

'They do not know what best to do.'

(unclear primary source,⁹ Stoett 1923:154; my translation)

⁹ It was not possible to identify the source of Stoett's (1923) data in this case.

A second context of preverbal negation in Middle Dutch is that of adverbs such as *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘(any)more’ and the adjective *ander* ‘other’ (example 85) (Breitbarth 2013; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008). As Stoett (1923) notes, however, with some adverbs, including *cume*, *nauwe* or *nauwelike*, all meaning ‘barely’, and *maer* ‘only’ (sometimes written as *waer*),¹⁰ the negative marker *ne/en* does not appear to overtly express negation (example 18).

- (85) Dat **en** brachte toe **ander** rijchede
 That NEG brought to other riches
 ‘That did not contribute other riches.’
 (Boendale, *Jans Teesteye*; as cited in Stoett 1923:160; my translation)

- (86) Een klein kindekijn dat **nauwelic** gaen **en** conde
 A small little-child that barely go NEG could
 ‘A small child that could barely walk.’
 (*Maria-legenden*; as cited in Stoett 1923:161; my translation)

Third, single preverbal *ne/en* is attested in the context of fragment answers, or short clauses stating an answer to a previous clause; these often occur with the pro-form *do*, but are found with other verbs as well (Breitbarth 2013; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923),¹¹ as example 87 shows.

¹⁰ According to van der Horst (2008), *maer* has its origin in *ne ware* ‘NEG be.SUBJ’. Similarly, in High German, *nur* ‘only’ is argued to derive from *ni wâri* ‘NEG be.SUBJ’ (Holmberg 1967).

¹¹ As noted above, Stoett (1923) does not mention which of his examples occur in which Middle Dutch text; for fragment answers, a short investigation of his examples shows that they occur in the following five sources:

(a) Floris ende Blancefloer, c.1340, written by Diederic van Assenede in a (likely East) Flemish dialect, translation from French (Mak 1970); (b) Vanden Vos Reynaerde, c.1380-1425, in the Comburg Manuscript, originated near Ghent, translation from French (Janssens et al. 1991); (c) Der vrouwen heimelykheid, c.1405, likely written near Cleves, translation from French (Besamusca & Sonnemans 1999); (d) Rijmkroniek, c.1290, written by Melis Stoke in a Hollandic dialect (Brill 1983); (e) Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch, c. 1291-1317, possibly written by Hein van Aken, in a Brabant dialect (de Haan 1994).

(87) Die vrouw seide: die riddre es doot. Die weert seide:
 The woman said: the knight is dead the innkeeper said
 hi **en** si
 he NEG is
 ‘The woman said, “The knight is dead.” The innkeeper said, “He is not.”’
 (*Roman van Heinric en Margeriete van Limborch*; as cited in Stoett
 1923:155; my translation)

A fourth linguistic context is that of rhetorical questions, or questions usually expecting a positive answer (example 88) (Breitbarth 2013; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008).¹² It is unclear whether *ne/en* expresses negation in this clause type; the meaning of the clause, when a positive answer to the question is expected, does not seem to change, whether that clause is interpreted as having negative or positive polarity.

(88) Ja **en** scrijft ons sente Jan/ hoe in Thomase, den helegheenn
 Yes NEG writes us saint John how in Thomas, the holy
 man,/ tgheloeve was te broken?
 man the-faith was to broken
 ‘Yes, does not Saint John write to us how in Thomas, the holy man, the
 faith was broken?’
 (*De Reis van Sint Brandaan*, 1923; as cited in van der Horst 2008:517; my
 translation)

In two further clause types, however, the preverbal marker has been argued to no longer express negation. One of these contexts, the fifth in our list, is that of a clause – either dependent or independent – following a negated or adversative predicate or a comparative, in which *ne/en* is expletive (example 89) (Breitbarth 2013: 204–205;

¹² As with Stoett’s (1923) discussion of fragment answers, some research showed that his examples of rhetorical questions occur in the following texts: (a) *Floris ende Blancefloer*, c.1340, written by Diederick van Assenede in a (likely East) Flemish dialect, translation from French (Mak 1970); (b) *Die Rose*, c.1265-1272, written by Hein van Aken likely in a Brabant dialect (Verwijs 1976). (c) *Vanden Vos Reynaerde*, c.1380-1425, in the Comburg Manuscript, originated near Ghent, translation from French (Janssens et al. 1991); (d) *Roman van Walewein*, early 13th c., likely Flemish (van Es 1957). *Spiegel Historiae*, I, III. IV, ca. 1283-1296, written by Jacob van Maerlant, who was born in Bruges (de Vries & Verwijs 1863a; de Vries & Verwijs 1863b).

Burridge 1993: 181–183; Jespersen 1917: 75; Postma 2002: 62; Stoett 1923: 156; van der Horst 2008: 517–518; van der Wouden 1994: 107–110). I will henceforth refer to this clause type, containing an expletive marker, as *expletives*.

- (89) Die ne liet leven kint no broeder si **en** nam hem allen
she NEG let live child nor brother she NEG took them all
tleven
life
'She did not let child nor brother live; she took the lives of all of them.'
(Maerlant, *Spieghel Historiael*; as cited in Stoett 1923:156: my translation)

Adversative predicates include verbs such *twijfelen* 'to doubt', *vreezen* 'to fear', *verhinderen* 'hinder', or expressions such as *het is onmogelijk* 'it is impossible' or *luttel scheeltet* 'there is little difference', *cume* 'barely' or *nauwelijc* 'barely'. While Stoett (1923) appears to provide a fairly thorough list of the various verbs and expressions that can occur in the clause preceding the expletive *ne/en*, he does not identify comparative clauses as such a context. As Breitbarth (2013: 205) shows, the clause containing the expletive marker usually has verb-second (V2) word order, and the verb is always an indicative. Breitbarth (2013), Burridge (1993), Jespersen (1917) and van der Wouden (1994) all refer to type of construction containing an expletive *ne/en* as 'paratactic negation', although Burridge (1993) makes a further distinction between 'paratactic negation' and 'pleonastic negation'. In 'paratactic negation', two independent clauses are juxtaposed, and the first clause contains a negated predicate, or words like *niemand* ('no one') or *nauwelijks* ('barely'), while 'pleonastic negation' is classified as a type of redundant negation that can occur after comparatives and adversative predicates (Burridge 1993). Postma (2002) and van der Horst (2008) both use the term *balansschikking* to discuss these types of clauses containing an expletive *ne/en*: it is the term given to the Modern Dutch equivalent of the Middle Dutch construction containing expletive negation, in which two clauses are juxtaposed, the former containing a negated or adversative predicate, and in which both clauses are connected with *of* 'or' (example 90).

(90) Hij had het nauwelijks gezien, **of** het was weer verdwenen.
He had it barely seen or it was again disappeared
'He had barely seen it, before it had disappeared again.'

In addition, both Stoett (1923) and van der Wouden (1994) find that an expletive *niet* can be used in the same context as well (example 91).

(91) Doe wilden si verbieden hem dat hi in den temple **niet** ghinge
Then wanted they forbid him that he in the temple not went
'Then they wanted to forbid him from going into the temple.'
(Maerlant, *Rijmbijbel*; as cited in Stoett 1923:157; my translation)

Jäger (2008) notes a similar, albeit rare, usage of preverbal *ne/en* in Middle High German, as does van der Wouden (1994: 108) for Present-day French (e.g. *j'ai peur qu'il ne vienne* 'I fear he will come'). Finally, as Wallage (2005; 2008) shows, such forms are also attested from Old English until Early Modern English. In English, the distribution of this 'redundant negation', as Wallage (2005; 2008) calls it, is somewhat different from its Dutch counterpart: the construction behaves differently depending on whether the matrix clause has a negated predicate, or a non-negative adversative predicate. In Old English, *ne* is used in both contexts, but is far more common after non-negative adversative predicates. In Middle English, *ne* is used after a negated predicate, while *not* occurs after a non-negative adversative predicate. The former is only productive in Middle English, while the latter continues to be used in Early Modern English.

Finally, preverbal *ne/en* occurs in exceptive clauses, or *unless*-clauses (Breitbarth 2013; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008) (example 22). According to Stoett (1923), it is also used in negative conditionals; the relation between exceptives and negative conditionals will be addressed further in chapter 4.3.1.

(92) Want ic sal keren nemmermere, Ic **en** hebbe vonden mijn
 because I shall return never-more I NEG have found my
 gheslacht
 family
 ‘because I shall never return unless I have found my family.’
 (*Esmoreit*, van Helten (1885: 227), as cited in Breitbarth 2013: 205).

Like the type of expletive *ne/en* discussed above, Breitbarth (2013) argues that the preverbal marker in exceptives *ne/en* does not express negation, and the verb takes up V2 position in the clause; one difference is that in exceptives, the verb occurs in the subjunctive mood. As Breitbarth (2013) points out, due to the significant similarities of both clause types, and the fact that the subjunctive is not always easily recognisable – a feature which contributes to its gradual disappearance from the language from the Middle Dutch period onwards (van der Horst 2008) – it is not always easy to distinguish the context of expletives from that of exceptives. Eventually, according to Breitbarth (2013: 205) and Beheydt (1998: 98), the exceptive clause develops into the conjunction *tenzij* ‘unless, except’, via the more or less fixed exceptive construction *het en zij* ‘it NEG be._{SUBJ}’. Preverbal *ne/en* is attested in Middle High German exceptives as well, in the exceptive construction *ez ensi/enwari thaz* (it NEG be._{SUBJ} that), although the negative marker disappears from the High German exceptive after the Middle High German period (Holmberg 1967; Jäger 2013). Finally, Breitbarth (2014), in her diachronic study on Low German negation, shows that preverbal *ne/en* also occurs in Middle Low German exceptives; this is the only type of preverbal negation that is attested in her Middle Low German data. The Middle Low German clause formally resembles the Middle Dutch one, in that they are subjunctive V2 clauses, but, as in High German, the negative marker is lost as the construction develops into the modern-day German exceptive *es sei denn* ‘unless’.

In sum, six linguistic contexts can be distinguished in which preverbal *ne/en* continues to be used from the 13th century onwards:

- a. Certain verbs;
- b. Certain adverbs and adjectives;
- c. Fragment answers;
- d. Rhetorical questions;
- e. Expletives;
- f. Exceptives.

In those linguistic contexts in which single preverbal *ne/en* still expresses sentential negation (the context of certain verbs and adverbs/adjectives, and perhaps in rhetorical questions), the preverbal negative marker can also be joined by a postverbal marker in a bipartite negative construction; the use of a single preverbal negator is thus not obligatory (Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008).

2.7.3 Late Middle Dutch

Moving on to the development of negation in Late Middle Dutch, which van der Horst (2008) dates from 1350 to 1500, negation is still most commonly marked by means of the bipartite negator *ne/en...niet* (example 93).

(93) Want des **en** hebben sij **genen** machte

For that.GEN NEG have they no power

‘For over that, they have no power.’

(*Cronyke van Vlaenderen* 258; as cited in van der Horst 2008:751; my translation)

Negation marked by a single postverbal *niet* is still uncommon, although it already occurs more frequently than in Early Middle Dutch (van der Horst 2008). With respect to single preverbal negation, van der Horst (2008) shows that it still occurs in Late Middle Dutch as well, most notably in the context of certain verbs, with the adverb *maer* ‘only’, and in expletives; however, among his examples of the latter type are tokens which, following Breitbarth’s (2013) characterisation (see above), should be categorised as exceptives (example 94).

- (94) Gheuen becompt oec elken man hi **en** si vol van
 Giving suits also every man he NEG be.SUBJ full of
 vrecheden
 miserliness
 ‘Giving also suits every man, unless he is full of miserliness’
 (*Handschrift van Hulthem* 597, 99; as cited in van der Horst 2008:752; my
 translation)

While van der Horst (2008) does not mention fragment answers, rhetorical questions and other adverbs than *maer* ‘only’ in his discussion of Late Middle Dutch, this latter context is still attested in my 16th-century data, and van der Horst’s (2008) 17th-century data, as I will show in chapter 4.3.4. Thus, it can be argued that they may still have been in use during the Late Middle Dutch period as well. Beheydt’s (1998) examination of the one 15th-century East Flemish text in her corpus did not yield any tokens for single preverbal *ne/en*; since only one text was considered, however, this need not imply that single preverbal negation no longer occurred in East Flemish at the time.

2.7.4 Sixteenth century

While negation in the 16th century is still most commonly marked, at least in written language, by means of a bipartite negator (example 95), van der Horst (2008) argues that, due to its fast disappearance in the 17th century, the bipartite marker must already have been relatively infrequent in spoken language, at least regionally.

- (95) Ic wil den sot dat verleren, dat hij ’s **niet** meer doen **en**
 I want the fool that unlearn that he it not anymore do NEG
 sal
 shall
 ‘I want to teach the fool not to do that, so that he will not do it anymore.’
 (*Een nyeuwe clucht boeck* 50,1; as cited in van der Horst 2008:1022; my
 translation)

Single postverbal *niet* to express sentential negation is in the 16th century more frequent than in previous time periods, but its usage remains limited. Single

preverbal *en*, then, continues to occur in many of the same contexts as in the Early and Late Middle Dutch periods. According to Beheydt's (1998) data for the southern Dutch dialects, however, preverbal *en* has become very rare: in total, fewer than 10 tokens are attested among a total of 834 tokens of negation in general, with no attestations of preverbal negation in West-Flemish. Van der Horst's (2008) examples of single preverbal negation include fragment answers, exceptives, expletives following a negated predicate, and *en* with certain verbs. However, in rhetorical questions, bipartite negation is most commonly used in the 16th century (example 96).

- (96) **En** hebbe ick **niet** waer geseit datmen den vrouwen
 NEG have I not true said that-one the women
 niet gansselijck betrouwen en mach
 not fully trust NEG may
 'Did I (not) speak true, that one cannot trust the women fully?'
 (*Dialogo Salomon & Marcolphus* 23; as cited in van der Horst 2008:1023;
 my translation)

Furthermore, after adversative predicates, such as *verbieden* 'to forbid', both expletive bipartite and single postverbal negative markers are attested (example 97); after comparatives, however, single preverbal *en* continues to be used (example 98). In addition, after *nauwelijk(s)* 'barely', a clause can either take *en*, or no expletive marker at all (van der Horst 2008).

- (97) Derhaluen werdet hem verboden, sulcx **niet** meer
 Therefore become him forbidden such-something not anymore
 te doen
 to do
 'Therefore he was forbidden from ever doing such a thing again.'
 (*Die historie van Christoffel Wagenaar* 21; as cited in van der Horst
 2008:1023; my translation)

(98) Ten was noyt man noch wijf die oyt beter peert ghesach
 It-NEG was never man nor woman who ever better horse saw
 dan dat **en** was op dien dach
 than that NEG was on that day
 ‘There never was a man or woman who ever saw a better horse than there
 was on that day.’
 (*Den droefliken strijt* 26; as cited in van der Horst 2008:1023; my
 translation)

While, as noted above, expletives after a negated predicate still often occur with single *ne/en*, van der Horst’s (2008) as well as Stoett’s (1923)¹³ data show that *of(t)* starts to be inserted as a conjunction, either with a preverbal marker *ne/en* in the following clause (example 99), or without – the latter being the type of *balansschikking* that still exists in Present-day Dutch.

(99) Ende daer en is nemmermeer soo groote suyverhey, oock in
 And there NEG is never-anymore so great purity also in
 d’alderbeste **oft** daer **en** blyven eenighe plecxkens over,
 the very-best or there NEG stay some spots left
 als te suyveren
 as to purify
 ‘There is never again such great purity, even in the very best; some spots
 are left to purify.’
 (Lipsius, *Twee boecken vande stantvasticheyt* 102; as cited in van der Horst
 2008:1025; my translation)

Finally, van der Horst (2008) notes a type of redundant negation, marked either by a bipartite or a postverbal negator, in dependent interrogative clauses (example 100); in Modern Standard Dutch, such constructions still occur, albeit only with postverbal *niet*.

¹³ Stoett (1923) argues that tokens of *balansschikking* are found only after the Middle Dutch period, but does not specify when exactly they are first attested in his data; however, since van der Horst (2008) finds these constructions from the 16th century onwards, it is likely that Stoett’s (1923) findings were similar.

(100) En vraechde hem, oft hy **niet en** wiste
 And asked him, if he not NEG knew
 waer synen dienaer gebleuen was
 where his servant remained was
 ‘And asked him if he knew where his servant had gone.’
 (*Die historie van Christoffel Wagenaar* 15; as cited in van der Horst
 2008:1023; my translation)

2.7.5 Seventeenth century

In the 17th century, bipartite negation is still fairly common, but for the first time, the single postverbal marker of negation occurs more frequently than its bipartite counterpart. This, combined with van der Horst’s (2008) hypothesis that use of the bipartite marker has already decreased in the spoken language of the 16th century, implies that in the 17th century, the standard of negation has become the postverbal marker *niet*. Single preverbal negation is still attested as well, for example – though not exclusively – in the works of the Hollandic poet Bredero, in the context of certain verbs (example 101), expletives (example 102), with the adverb *maar* ‘only’ (example 103), and with *nauw(-lijck)* (example 104). Clauses with *maar* ‘only’ or *nauw* ‘barely’ are also attested without the negative marker, however.

(101) ‘k **En** kan, gelooft, mijn lief
 I NEG can, believe-it, my love
 ‘I cannot; believe it, my love.’
 (Bredero, *Het daget uyt den oosten*, 1058; as cited in van der Horst
 2008:1300; my translation)

(102) So hebben wy dan na de kleyne ervarentheyt, van de
 so have we then after the small experience of the
 wereltlijcke dinghen ons volck niet hoogher doen spreken
 worldly things our people not higher do speak
 dan sy **en** verstaen
 than they NEG understand
 ‘Thus, after little experience of the worldly things, we have not had our
 people speak of loftier matters than they understand.’
 (Bredero, *Spaanschen Brabander* 54; as cited in van der Horst 2008:1300;
 my translation)

(103) **En** had ghy **maar** een deel van die stoutharticheydt
 NEG had you but a part of that boldness
 ‘Had you but a part of that boldness.’
 (Bredero, *Stommen ridder* G4r; as cited in van der Horst 2008:1300; my
 translation)

(104) Dat ick mijn selven **nauw en** ken
 That I my self barely NEG know
 ‘That I barely know myself.’
 (Bredero, *Rodd’rick ende Alphonsus* 1838; as cited in van der Horst
 2008:1301; my translation)

Beheydt’s (1998) study only yields cases of expletives: in West-Flemish, five tokens are attested among a total of 388 tokens of negation. Two are expletive *en* after a comparative, and three after a negated predicate; among the latter are two in which both clauses are conjoined by means of *of* ‘or’, i.e. in *balansschikking*. *Balansschikking* is, in van der Horst’s (2008) data, most commonly attested in both the construction with *of* ‘or’ alone, or with *of* ‘or’ and an expletive marker *en* (example 105); rarely, and in what van der Horst (2008) argues to be regional language, expletive negation without *of* is attested.

- (105) Niemandt en isser, of hy **en** soeckt in t'kort
 No one NEG is-there or he NEG seeks in the-short
 gheleert ende onderricht te zijn
 learned and taught to be
 'There is no one who does not seek to be educated and taught soon.'
 (Puteanus, *Sedigh Leven* 1, 32; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1301); my
 translation)

Finally, exceptives are no longer mentioned in van der Horst's (2008) discussion of negation in 17th-century Dutch; this is not surprising, however, since the exceptive has by that point developed into a conjunction *tenzij* (Beheydt 1998).

2.7.6 Eighteenth century

Van der Horst's (2008) 18th-century data show very infrequent use of the bipartite negative marker, in favour of postverbal *niet* as the main marker of sentential negation. However, based on some prescriptive grammars that condemn bipartite negation (e.g. Jan van Belle's *Korte Wegwijzer*, Haarlem 1748; see also chapter 6.5), van der Horst (2008) argues that it was still fairly common in spoken, regional language (example 106).

- (106) Omdat ik nergens van **en** weet
 Because I nowhere of NEG know
 'Because I don't know anything'
 (Langendyk, *Krelis Louwen*, 14; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1573; my
 translation)

A single postverbal negative marker is attested in questions expecting a positive answer (example 107), and in the type of redundant negation that was already in use in the 17th century (example 108) (van der Horst 2008).

(107) Wilt gy het huis **niet** eens zien?
 Want you the house not once see
 ‘Don’t you want to see the house?’
 (Bekker & Deken, *Sara Burgerhart*, 616; as cited in van der Horst 2008:
 1575; my translation)

(108) Hoe dikmaals heb ik hen **niet** als oostersche slaven
 How often have I them not as eastern slaves
 voor mijne knien zien nederbuigen
 before my knees seen bow down
 ‘How often have I not seen them bow down before my knees like eastern
 slaves?’
 (Weyerman, *Rotterdamsche Hermes*, 378; as cited in van der Horst 2008:
 1575; my translation)

Finally, *balansschikking* continues to exist in the 18th century (example 109), although the expletive marker *en* no longer occurs within the construction (van der Horst 2008).

(109) Ik was nauwlyks binnen getreden, **of** ik hoorde haar [...]
 I was barely inside stepped or I heard her [...]
 uitroepen
 cry out
 ‘I had barely stepped inside before I heard her cry out’
 (van Effen, *Hollandsche Spectator*, 126; as cited in van der Horst 2008:
 1576; my translation)

Single preverbal negation is no longer attested in van der Horst’s (2008) data; however, Beheydt (1998) finds one case of preverbal *en* with the verb *connen* ‘can’ (example 110). Taking into account the fact that Beheydt (1998) only uses texts which reflect spoken language in the best possible way, it is likely that this token represents regional language, in this case Brabantic.

- (110) Soo vol militairen en peerden dat de menschen
 So full soldiers and horses that the people
 bynaer uyt hun huys **en** costen
 almost out their house NEG could
 ‘So full of soldiers and horses that the people could almost not get out of
 their houses’
 (*Leuvense Kroniek*; as cited in Beheydt 1998:148; my translation)

2.7.7 Nineteenth and twentieth centuries

In the written language of the 19th century and 20th centuries, bipartite negation is no longer attested, although it does continue to occur in regional, spoken language (example 111). According to the *Syntactische Atlas der Nederlandse Dialecten* (SAND) (Barbiers et al. 2008), in the 20th century, it is used most commonly in East and West Flanders, and rarely in Brabant in declarative clauses. Neuckermans (2008), using the data gathered in the SAND, shows that the bipartite marker is accepted by informants in tokens presented to them three times more frequently than it is used spontaneously by those informants. In imperative clauses, *en...niet* occurs infrequently in West Flanders, and rarely in East Flanders, and in interrogative clauses, it is used in East Flanders, and rarely in Brabant. In embedded clauses, use of the bipartite negative marker is somewhat more widespread: it is attested more or less equally often in East Flanders, West Flanders and Brabant, and infrequently in Limburg. Thus, for the purpose of our research, it is worth noting that bipartite negation no longer occurs in Holland at all during the 20th century.

- (111) Nou nog goed, dat u 't dan **niet en** ben, juffrouw!
 Now still good that you it then not NEG are miss
 ‘Now [that is] still good, that it is not you then, miss!’
 (Noordwal, *O, die lastige juf*, 197; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1941;
 my translation)

A postverbal negative marker can, in the 19th and 20th centuries, still be found in rhetorical questions and as redundant negation, both in exclamatory clauses (example 112) and dependent clauses (example 113) (van der Horst 2008).

(112) Wat doet een moeder **niet** voor haar kind!
What does a mother not for her child
‘What does a mother not do for her child!’
(D’Hondt, *Novellen en schetsen* 1891,7; as cited in van der Horst 2008:
1942; my translation)

(113) En zien of er **geen** boot op den oever vergeten is
And see if there no boat on the bank forgotten is
‘And see if no boat has been forgotten on the bank’
(J. Verne, *M. Strogoff* 196; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1942; my
translation)

Balansschikking is a regular occurrence in 19th- and 20th-century Dutch (example 114), with a new type of *balansschikking* arising in the 20th century: while before that time, the initial clause always had some negative element – a negative marker or words like *nauwelijks* ‘barely’ – van der Horst (2008) notes that from the 20th century onwards, this is no longer a prerequisite for *balansschikking* (example 115).¹⁴

(114) Nauwelijks echter was Stern aan zijn werk begonnen,
Barely however was Stern on his work started
of hij stuitte op moeilijkheden
or he hit on difficulties
‘However, Stern had barely started his work before he encountered
difficulties’
(Multatuli, *Max Havelaar*, 39; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1943; my
translation)

¹⁴ However, *net* ‘just’ in example 115 has a similar restrictive semantics as *nauwelijks* ‘barely’ or *maer* ‘only’, and may in fact license the *balansschikking* (see also chapter 5.3).

(115) Ze was net weg **of** de jongen verscheen weer.

She was just away or the boy appeared again

‘She had just left when the boy reappeared.’

(K. van het Reve, *Nacht op de kale berg* 1961; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1943; my translation)

Furthermore, according to van der Horst (2008), in regional Brabantic of the 20th century, a tripartite negative marker can be found with a clause-final *nie*, which van der Auwera (2009) argues to be an emphatic marker of negation (example 116). The SAND (Barbiers et al. 2008), however, shows that, while clause-final *nie(t)* is indeed most common in Brabantic, it also occurs rarely in all other Dutch dialects.

(116) Ik heb dat **nooit nie** gedaan **nie**

I have that never not done not

‘I have never done that’

(Aerts 1981; as cited in van der Horst 2008: 1944; my translation)

In addition, negative doubling is attested in 20th-century West Flemish, where the postverbal *niet* is combined with *geen* (example 117) (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008; van der Horst 2008), constructions which are, arguably, similar to English negative doubling in clauses such as *I ain’t got no time*. A similar construction is found in Flemish in general, according to van der Horst (2008): in clauses such as (118), the negative marker is doubled before *meer* ‘anymore’; the SAND (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008) supports these findings, reporting very rare usage in Hollandic and Northeastern Dutch as well. The construction *nergens geen* ‘nowhere no’, an example of negative spread (example 119), on the other hand, is attested fairly frequently in all dialect regions (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008).

(117) K en **nie** vele **geen** tijd

I have not much no time

‘I haven’t got much time.’

(van der Horst 2008: 1944; my translation)

(118) Hij wil **geen** soep **niet meer** eten
He wants no soup not anymore eat
'He does not want to eat soup anymore.'
(Barbiers et al. 2008: 57)

(119) Zitten hier **nergens geen** muizen?
Sit here nowhere no mice
'Aren't there any mice here?'
(Barbiers et al. 2008: 58)

The SAND (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008) furthermore exhibits cases of doubling such as *niemand niet* 'no one not', *niets niet* 'nothing not', *nergens niet* 'nowhere not' and *nooit niet* 'never not'. *Niemand niet* (example 120) appears to be frequent in Brabant, East Flanders and Limburg, somewhat less frequent in West Flanders, and rare in Holland and the Northeast. *Niets niet* occurs rarely in all dialect regions, while *nergens niet* is very frequent in East Flanders, Brabant and Limburg, but rare in West Flanders, Holland and the Northeast. *Nooit niet* occurs frequently in all dialect regions, but is somewhat more common still in Brabant, East Flanders and Limburg.

(120) A vraagt: Wie heeft de auto meegenomen? - B antwoordt:
A asks Who has the car with-taken B answers
niemand niet
nobody not
'A asks: Who has taken the car? – B replies: Nobody.'
(Barbiers et al. 2008: 53)

As the SAND shows (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008), clauses with three negative quantifiers (example 121 below), for instance, occur throughout the Flemish dialect continuum, while clauses that take an additional sentence-final *niet* are restricted to speakers from Hasselt, Limburg (example 122).

(121) Ik kreeg **nooit** van **niemand niets**
I received never from no one nothing
'I never received anything from anyone'
(Neuckermans 2008: 198)

(122) Hij wil **geen** soep **niet** meer eten **niet**
He wants no soup not anymore eat not
'He does not want to eat any more soup'
(Barbiers et al. 2008: 51)

One further type of tripling, *en...niemand niet* 'NEG no one not' (example 123) is attested often in East Flanders and rarely in West Flanders (Barbiers et al. 2008).

(123) Er **en** wil **niemand niet** dansen
There NEG want nobody not dance
'Nobody wants to dance'
(Barbiers et al. 2008: 54)

Turning to resilient preverbal negation, it is still attested on its own in Beheydt's (1998) 19th-century data from an East Flemish comedic play, written in the dialect of Ghent. Four tokens of expletive *en* occur after a comparative (example 124), while two occur in a construction which was not previously attested in her data (example 125): the latter appears similar in structure to English question tags. It is unclear when this construction arose, and if it is still in use today.

(124) En ten es nog zoo laete niet, âs da' ge wel **en** meent
And it-NEG is yet so late not as that you well NEG think
'And it is not yet as late as you think'
(Broeckaert, *Jellen en Mietje*, 52; as cited in Beheydt 1998: 160; my translation)

(125) G'en meugt my ook niet te naer spreken, **en** meugde.
 You-NEG may me also not too near speak, NEG may-you
 'You also can't insult me too, can you?'
 (Broeckaert, *Jellen en Mietje*, 52; as cited in Beheydt 1998: 161; my translation)

For the 20th century, Beheydt (1998) finds single preverbal negation in fragment answers, both in the dialect of Aalst (East Flemish) (example 126) and in West Flemish, although the latter observation is based on anecdotal evidence. Van Craenenbroeck (2010) also provides a discussion of fragment answers, and notes that they are used in many Southern Dutch dialects, including West Flemish.

(126) Ik ga mee. Ge **en** zult.
 I go with you NEG will
 'I'm coming along. You won't.'
 (Beheydt 1998: 213; my translation)

In addition, the SAND (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008) shows that fragment answers containing preverbal *en* still occur in West and East Flanders (and thus supports Beheydt's (1998) hypothesis), and to a lesser extent in Brabant. It is not attested in Holland, the Northeast, or Limburg. Expletives are found rarely in East and West Flanders, after a comparative or an anteriority clause, and *en* in the context of the adverb *maer* 'only' (example 127) occurs with moderate frequency in West and East Flanders.

(127) 't **En** was **maar** net goed genoeg.
 It NEG was only just good enough
 'It was barely good enough'
 (Barbiers et al. 2008: 51)

Finally, even though the *en* element in Present-day Dutch exceptives no longer has any negative meaning in its 19th- and 20th-century manifestations (see also chapter 5.2), as exceptives will be discussed extensively in this study, their 19th- and 20th-century usage as presented in the literature will be addressed in this chapter as well.

Two exceptive conjunctions are attested in scholarship: *tenzij* (*dat*) and *tenware* (*dat*) (van der Horst 2008; de Vries, te Winkel & et al. 1864-1998, online); see examples 128 and 129 below.

(128) Dan kunnen wij zijn verwijten aan D. niet begrijpen,
then can we his reproaches to D. not understand
tenzij deze evenmin uitgezet ware geworden.
unless this neither expelled was become
‘Then we cannot understand his reproaches to D., unless he had not been expelled either.’
(van der Horst 2008: 1926; my translation)

(129) Wat zijn de advocaten? **tenware** men toegaf,
what are the lawyers unless one admits
dat zij meestal verwarrend zijn
that they usually confusing are
‘What are the lawyers? Unless one admits that they are usually confusing.’
(van der Horst 2008: 1926; my translation)

Van der Horst (2008) notes that *tenware* fell out of use in the Northern Dutch dialects in the 19th century, but continues to exist in Southern Dutch. The *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (ANS) (Haeseryn et al. 1997, online) and the *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal* (WNT)¹⁵ (de Vries, te Winkel & et al. 1864-1998, online) similarly suggest that *tenware* is restricted to regional (Southern) and formal, archaic use.

Regarding the use of *dat* ‘that’ following exceptives (e.g. *tenzij dat*), van der Horst (2008) notes that it occurred in the 18th century, but no longer in the 19th-20th centuries, and the WNT indicates that *tenzij* and *tenware* are sometimes followed by *dat*, but not usually (de Vries, te Winkel & et al. 1864-1998, online). The ANS does not discuss *dat*, which implies that it does not occur in Standard Dutch. The fact that the WNT is not strictly representative of Present-day Dutch, and neither van der

¹⁵ The WNT contains material from the 17th century onwards, however, and is therefore not strictly representative of Present-day Dutch.

Horst (2008) or the ANS mention exceptives with *dat* in Present-day Dutch, may point to the possibility that exceptives with *dat* have disappeared entirely. However, this is only the case for Present-day Standard Dutch: it appears that exceptives with *dat* may still occur in Southern Dutch dialects such as West Flemish, at least in the spoken language. This observation is based on anecdotal evidence, however, and needs to be verified by means of dedicated research based on spoken language. The anecdotal evidence in question is based on an informal online search for *tenzij dat* and *tenware dat*, which yielded sentences such as the following.

- (130) euhm in uw vrije tijd maar eigenlijk altijd **tenzij dat**
 um in your free time but actually always unless that
 je belangrijke afspraken hebt waar dat je
 you important meetings have where that you
 echt AN moet babbelen
 really Standard Dutch must talk
 ‘Um, in your free time but actually always unless you have important
 meetings where you really must speak Standard Dutch.’
 (spoken in West Flemish interlanguage¹⁶; as cited in Tyberghien 2015: 54)

- (131) Op de bovenstaande manier gespeld zou een Duitser
 In the above way spelled would a German
 Het met een z-klank uitspreken ongeveer ‘sjaaizeraai’.
 It with a z-sound pronounce roughly ‘sjaaizeraai’
Tenware dat men het in Antwerpen ook zo uitspreekt?
 unless that one it in Antwerp also thusly pronounces
 ‘Spelled in the above way, a German would pronounce it with a z-sound,
 roughly ‘sjaaizeraai’. Unless they also pronounce it like this in Antwerp?’
 (comment by Rodomontade, *Scheisserei*, Het Vlaams Woordenboek
 online,¹⁷ 5 April 2014, accessed 13 June 2018)

¹⁶ Interlanguage has features of both the standard variety and the local dialect, and is, in this way, an in-between version of the two: in this case, the speaker’s language has features of both the West Flemish dialect and Standard Dutch. The utterance in (130) follows the question of when it is appropriate to use interlanguage.

¹⁷ This is a user-based, unofficial online dictionary of Flemish words and expressions that are not part of Standard Dutch. Users can create and edit entries themselves, and these are not typically based on

These examples can be supplemented with my own intuitions about my native West Flemish: in my experience, *tenzij dat* is commonly used in West Flemish interlanguage as well as the dialect, and *tenware dat* is also used in the dialect, but not necessarily in the interlanguage. Thus, bearing in mind that the above is all anecdotal, there is still some evidence that *dat* in exceptives is not entirely lost, at least in informal language use in some Southern Dutch dialect areas, including West Flanders. No evidence of *tenzij dat* was found for Northern Dutch dialects, but as no concrete counterevidence was found either, it cannot be argued that *dat* does not occur at all. In Standard Dutch, however, exceptives no longer take *dat*. In sum, in Present-day Standard Dutch, the only exceptive is *tenzij*, while in Hollandic, *tenzij* may or may not be used with *dat*, and in West Flemish, two forms of the exceptive occur, *tenzij (dat)* and *tenware (dat)*.

A final issue that must be addressed regarding exceptives in Present-day Dutch is their classification as conjunctions. In examples 130 and 131 above, the exceptives function clearly as conjunctions, as they are used to introduce a subordinate clause. However, exceptives also appear to select for other structures, such as prepositional phrases (PPs), noun phrases (NPs), adverbial phrases (AdvP) and so on: such exceptives, which do not select for a finite clause, are *free exceptives*. Free exceptives have, to my knowledge, not been addressed in the literature on Dutch exceptives,¹⁸ and the following discussion will therefore not rely on scholarship, but instead present my proposed analysis of free exceptives in Present-day Dutch. In free exceptives, it is not entirely obvious that the exceptive must be classified as a conjunction, as conjunctions connect clauses, not phrases. However, it can be argued that these exceptives involve ellipsis of part of the clause:¹⁹ the exceptive then selects for this clause, rather than for PPs, AdvPs etc. directly. The ellipsis often reflects some kind of repetition of the preceding clause, with the caveat that negation in the preceding clause does not move to the elided clause, as example 132 and 133 show.

academic research or scholarship. Other users can leave comments on articles; it is in one of these comments that example 131 is attested.

¹⁸ For a discussion of free exceptives in English, see Hoeksema (1987).

¹⁹ I thank Coppe van Urk for his insightful comments on this issue, and an extensive list of examples.

(132) Hij mag niet naar buiten, **tenzij** [hij naar buiten mag]
 He may not to outside except [he to outside may]
op advies van de dokter.
 on advice from the doctor
 ‘He may not go outside, except on doctor’s advice.’
 (Coppe van Urk, pers.comm. 28 January 2016)

(133) De bisschoppen mogen in het vervolg geen priesterbijeenkomsten
 The bishops may in the future no priest congregations
 meer toestaan, **tenzij** [de bisschoppen het] **heel zelden**
 anymore allow except [the bishops it] very rarely
 [toestaan].
 [permit]
 ‘The bishops may not allow any congregations of priests anymore in the
 future, except very rarely.’
 (Coppe van Urk, pers.comm. 28 January 2016)

The ellipsis need not always be a near exact copy of the preceding clause, however: in sentences such as (134) and (135) below, the elided element is a copular clause. Note that for the English translation, the full clause is necessary: an equivalent type of free exceptives does not seem to exist.

(134) We houden allebei van cultuur, maar hoeven niet persé [sic]
 we love both of culture, but need not necessarily
 de grote musea binnen **tenzij** [de grote musea] **erg**
 the big museums inside unless [the big museums] very
de moeite waard [zijn]
 the effort worth are
 ‘We both love culture, but need not necessarily go inside the big
 museums, unless they are very much worth it.’
 (Coppe van Urk, pers.comm. 28 January 2016)

- (135) Ieder mens, **tenzij** [hij] **erg dom** [is], zal vroeg of laat
 Every human unless [he] very dumb [is] will sooner or later
 zijn tijdelijkheid zijn nietigheid, zijn machteloosheid ervaren."
 his transience his futility his powerlessness experience
 ‘Every human, unless he is very dumb, will sooner or later experience his
 transience, his futility, his powerlessness.’
 (Coppe van Urk, pers.comm. 28 January 2016)

A similar analysis of ellipsis, for free exceptives in Spanish, is proposed by Pérez-Jiménez and Moreno-Quibén (2011). In English, free exceptives behave somewhat differently, as already shown with the translation of (132) and (133) above. Free exceptives in English are often introduced by *except for* (Hoeksema 1987; von Stechow 1993), the usage of which overlaps with that of the preposition *behalve* in Dutch, as shown below. In this case, rather than using ellipsis to create the free exceptive, English makes use of a preposition, yielding a PP (example 136). This construction is different from tokens such as (137) below, which can be analysed with ellipsis, although the full clause then requires the conjunction *unless*, rather than *except*. Clauses such as (137) are not addressed in Hoeksema (1987) or von Stechow (1993) as free exceptives, even though they most likely are; it is not within the scope of this study to discuss English free exceptives in detail, however.

- (136) *Except for* the famous detective, no one suspected the cook (von Stechow 1993: 143).

Behalve de beroemde detectieve verdacht niemand de kok.

- (137) The weapon should not be used, *except* in extreme circumstances.
 The weapon should not be used, *unless it is used* in extreme circumstances.

Thus, as free exceptives in Present-day Dutch can be analysed as containing at least an elided verb phrase, I argue that they should be analysed as conjunctions. As the above discussion has shown, then, exceptive conjunctions can take two basic forms in the Dutch dialect continuum: *tenzij* (*dat*) and *tenware* (*dat*). The Standard Dutch exceptive can only be expressed by *tenzij*, while the addition of *dat* and the

alternative form *tenware* (*dat*) are likely features used in the vernaculars of the Dutch dialect continuum.

2.8 Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have aimed to provide, first, an overview of a number of core concepts in the study of negation that will be pertinent to the discussion of negation in this thesis, such as various types of negative elements, NPIs, multiple negation including negative concord, and Jespersen's Cycle. As I will show in chapter 5, NPIs in particular will play a significant role in the development, in my data, of resilient preverbal *ne/en* in the context of certain adverbs, and as an expletive marker after negated, adversative or comparative predicates. The data also allow for a detailed discussion of the progression from stage II to III of Jespersen's Cycle, as chapter 4.2 will show. The attestation patterns in my corpus for the shift from stage II (bipartite negation) to stage III (postverbal negation) of Jespersen's Cycle will furthermore be accounted for in chapter 6 within a framework of koineisation for Hollandic, and standardisation for West Flemish.

Secondly, this chapter has presented a detailed discussion of the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers as described in previous scholarship. Negative markers in the history of Dutch have shifted from single preverbal negation in Old Dutch, to bipartite negation in the Middle Dutch period and in the 16th century, and to single postverbal negation from the 17th century onwards. However, resilient preverbal markers still occur from the Middle Dutch period onwards in six linguistic contexts: with certain verbs, with certain adverbs and adjectives, in fragment answers, in rhetorical questions, in exceptives, and expletives. While these have all been addressed to an extent in scholarship on 'Middle Dutch', discussions of resilient preverbal markers usually remain descriptive, and analyses provided are often not sufficiently data-driven. In addition, there is little consensus on what types of resilient preverbal *ne/en* existed, or what terminology should be used to refer to these forms. A further issue with much of the scholarship on negation in Dutch is that, firstly, it treats Middle Dutch as a monolithic and static entity, disregarding the fact that many linguistic changes no doubt occurred during the Middle Dutch period, and secondly, it treats the Dutch dialect continuum as a single, homogeneous

language, not taking into account regional variation. For these reasons, my study will provide a data-driven and detailed account of the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers in two dialects of Dutch, West Flemish and Hollandic, based on a corpus containing texts from the 13th until the 18th century.

This approach will be set out in chapter 3, alongside a detailed discussion of the corpus, before the data will be presented and compared with previous scholarship in chapter 4. As noted above, chapter 5 will then draw upon some of the concepts introduced in this chapter that are relevant to the discussion of preverbal markers in my data, while chapter 6 will address the effect of sociohistorical factors on various developments attested in my data, including the progression of Jespersen's Cycle.

Chapter 3: Methodology and the corpus

3.1 Method

The development of negation in Dutch has, as noted in chapter 2.7, often been discussed in rather generalised terms: ‘Dutch’ is generally treated as a monolithic, homogeneous entity, rather than a collection of dialects and sociolects with their own linguistic systems and histories. Investigations into ‘Middle Dutch’, for example, are then often either based on only one or two dialects, or, alternatively, on evidence compiled from many dialects without providing any clarity on what form occurs in what variety. In addition, a period like the Middle Dutch period is often seen as a monolithic entity as well, despite the fact that it encompasses three centuries, during which time the language can change significantly. While such a generalised approach may be useful in some contexts, it is problematic, to say the least, if the aim is to achieve an accurate representation of the diachronic development of a specific structure or form, such as negation. For such an investigation, then, a more fine-grained approach is necessary, both in terms of regional and diachronic variation. To this effect, I have compiled a corpus of texts that is diachronically broad as well as regionally diverse.

That previous studies have generally not distinguished between the Middle Dutch dialects, or worked from only one or two dialects – as well as treated the Middle Dutch period as one monolithic entity – is likely due to the fact that at this point in the discipline, without the existence of an extensive, tagged and annotated corpus that can be used to study developments in historical Dutch,²⁰ researchers are bound by constraints of time and resource. Indeed, in this thesis, in order to study the diachronic development of negation and preverbal markers in an accurate and effective way, the regional breadth of the corpus needed to be limited. In order to provide a detailed and thorough discussion of the development of negative markers, I have opted to examine two specific dialects of Dutch, West Flemish and Hollandic. The data thus only reflects these two varieties. The crucial difference from past scholarship, however, is that this allows me to provide a detailed study that does not

²⁰ An extensive, diachronically broad and annotated corpus, along the lines of the *Penn Parsed Corpora of Historical English*, does not exist for the history of Dutch.

treat Dutch as a homogeneous language, and that for this reason, I will not draw conclusions regarding negation in the entirety of the Dutch language continuum, explicitly focusing on these two varieties instead.

The motivations for choosing West Flemish and Hollandic were outlined in chapter 1: not only are these varieties geographically non-adjacent, they also have different social histories, resulting in varying linguistic histories in each dialect as well. The texts included in the corpus were selected from within the borders of present-day West Flanders and South and North Holland; this may seem problematic, however, as the current political borders of each province do not necessarily overlap with any historical borders, and more importantly, because these borders are not linguistic isoglosses, and therefore may not accurately represent where each dialect is spoken, or was spoken historically. However, there is not always consensus on where those linguistic borders should be placed, a notion which is reinforced by the argument that a dialect group can be considered a continuum, rather than a strictly divided group of varieties (see chapter 1 for a more in-depth discussion of dialect continua). For this reason, for Hollandic, texts were selected from locations that were historically part of the County of Holland, and are still located in the Hollandic region (the provinces of South and North Holland) today. For West Flemish, locations were similarly chosen that are part of West Flanders today, which was historically part of the County of Flanders.²¹

In terms of diachronic breadth, the corpus contains text material spanning six hundred years, from the thirteenth until the eighteenth century. The data will be analysed century by century: such a fine-grained approach will allow for a detailed overview of the development of negation in West Flemish and Hollandic, revealing previously often unrecognised changes that occur over relatively short periods of time. The 13th century was chosen as a starting point since text material from before this point is scarce, and not necessarily an adequate representation of a variety of Dutch, as discussed in chapter 2.7. The literature indicates that the resilient preverbal marker is only attested until the 17th century; that is, it is attested in the written

²¹ The county of Flanders included present-day West Flanders, East Flanders, and part of northern France (see e.g. Milis 2006).

language: as noted above, in the spoken West Flemish vernacular, preverbal markers still occur today. The 18th century was here chosen to investigate and question whether preverbal *en* does indeed disappear by that point. The corpus is furthermore divided according to genre into administrative, i.e. official chancery texts, and non-administrative texts, such as literary texts, travelogues, personal letters, and so on. This division makes it possible to assess whether preverbal markers are used differently in the formal register employed in administrative texts (Esteban-Segura 2012) compared to its use in texts which exhibit less stylised language, such as journals and letters (Elspeß 2012; Rutten & van der Wal 2014). My corpus, then, achieves diachronic breadth, regional diversity and variation in terms of genre.

The corpus is made up of texts that have either been published as standalone works, or are part of existing corpora. The existing corpora of historical Dutch from which text material has been drawn are the *Corpus Gysseling*, the *Corpus van Reenen-Mulder* (CRM14), and the *Compilatiecorpus Historisch Nederlands: ambtelijke teksten 1250-1800*. The Corpus Gysseling (CG) contains Dutch chancery and literary texts from before 1300 (Gysseling 1977), and was accessed online via the *Instituut voor de Nederlandse Taal* (Institute for the Dutch Language). Within this corpus it is possible to search for negative markers within a specific text, and while this was a useful aid, a number of negative markers were not tagged as such: some were either not tagged at all – usually negative markers which take the form of a single -n enclitic to the pronoun – or rarely, tagged incorrectly as *en(de)* ‘and’. Therefore, the selected text material was searched manually, with the added control of the search function. The *Corpus van Reenen-Mulder* (CRM14) contains Dutch 14th-century chancery texts (van Reenen & Mulder 2005), and was accessed via the *Diachronie* website provided by the *Meertens Institute*; a tagged version of the corpus was kindly provided to me by Piet van Reenen,²² but as individual texts were, in the end, selected to maintain a representative sample (see below), and such flexibility could not be accommodated by the tagged version, the untagged texts on the *Diachronie* website were used instead.

²² I would here like to sincerely thank Piet van Reenen for sending me this annotated version of the Corpus van Reenen-Mulder.

The third existing corpus used for this study is the *Compilatiecorpus Historisch Nederlands: ambtelijke teksten 1250-1800* (CHNa)²³ (Coussé 2010a), also accessed via the *Diachronie* website. The CHNa is a compilation of chancery texts from the CG and CRM14 discussed above alongside additional collections of chancery texts from various archives (Coussé 2010b).²⁴ From this corpus, I have only selected texts that are dated to the 15th century or later, in order to avoid overlap with the CG and CRM14 with regard to the 13th- and 14th-century chancery texts included in my corpus. Once again, these chancery texts were searched manually, as no annotated versions were available.

The majority of the remaining texts, which are non-administrative texts, were accessed via the *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* (DBNL). The DBNL contains digital copies of a vast number of publications of historical Dutch texts. As noted above, all texts included in the corpus were searched manually, although for those texts available in the CG, the search function was used as a control mechanism. There are two primary reasons for this: firstly, as discussed above, few texts are available as part of an annotated corpus, which would have allowed a search for, for example, all negative markers within the corpus. Secondly, the preverbal marker is often expressed, especially in early texts, by means of a single *-n* enclitic to the pronoun, which makes even lexical searches – by means of concordance programmes such as *AntConc* – difficult to do. In total, the corpus includes two texts per genre, per dialect region, per century, which yields a total of forty-eight texts that were read and manually searched. Though naturally limited by the time-consuming and intensive nature of such a manual search, this text sample is nevertheless sufficiently large – and has, for the first time, the diachronic breadth, regional diversity and variation in terms of genre needed – to provide the necessary data for a detailed and comprehensive overview of the development of negation, and single preverbal markers, in West Flemish and Hollandic.

The texts that make up the corpus were selected via a number of criteria, to ensure that they provide sufficient and useful data. First, as pre-20th century historical data

²³ A second part of this corpus is the *Compilatiecorpus Historisch Nederlands: narratieve teksten 1575-2000* (Coussé 2010a), but this was not used in this study.

²⁴ These additional collections were first digitised for the purpose of creating the CHN corpus.

are necessarily written data, they cannot accurately represent the spoken vernacular of their time. Some text types, however, resemble spoken language more closely than others, having a higher degree of ‘orality’, and in this way are more likely to contain ‘everyday’ language (Kytö 2010; Palander-Collin 2010). In addition, as linguistic change typically occurs in spoken language, while written language tends to be more conservative, texts with a higher level of ‘orality’ should reflect such changes more swiftly (Palander-Collin 2010: 662). They still cannot represent spoken language entirely reliably, however, as even ‘verbatim’ transcriptions often filter out hesitations or ‘mistakes’ (Kytö 2010: 48), but as written language is all that is available, texts resembling speech are nonetheless the best option to analyse everyday language use by historical speakers. Such texts reflect what Koch and Österreicher (1985) refer to as *Sprache der Nähe*, or in Kytö’s (2010: 49) terms, “communicative immediacy”, which is characterised, among other qualities, by spontaneity, expressivity, as well as lower degrees of complexity, formality, conciseness, and planning. On the opposite side of the spectrum are texts that reflect *Sprache der Distanz*, or “communicative distance” (Kytö 2010: 79) which exhibits a higher degree of formality, complexity and planning, among other qualities.

Texts that can be considered to contain *Sprache der Distanz* are, for example, official documents, scientific or political treatises, literary texts and poetry. Text types which can be considered to reflect *Sprache der Nähe* include personal letters, journals, or travelogues (Elspeß 2012; Palander-Collin 2010), and it can be argued that the genre of the *klucht*, a short comedy play that is often vulgar in nature and meant to be performed for the common people (van Bork et al. 2012), would also likely use a register that reflects spoken language (Kytö 2010: 35). While, ideally, all texts of a non-administrative genre in my corpus would represent *Sprache der Nähe*, this was not possible for the earlier centuries, as very few such documents remain. Not only was literacy at a far lower level at the time, compared to today or even the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so that writing was restricted to the higher classes (Elspeß 2012), but as Fitzmaurice (2010: 679–680) puts it, “[p]erhaps because literary discourse tends to bear high cultural value for the communities in which and for which it is produced, it has tended to be preserved more readily and with more care.” Thus, a number of texts with more literary characteristics, such as the use of rhyming prose, and even poetic texts (see 3.2 below), were included.

However, such texts can still provide useful data, and can inform us about, for example, standardised forms of language – which are still an integral part of that language and indeed based on spoken varieties – (Anipa 2012), or about certain pragmatic aspects of language use, such as formulaic expressions or literary discourse in general (Fitzmaurice 2010).

It should furthermore be noted that the majority of the texts included in the corpus either occur in a larger corpus or in diplomatic editions: they are thus not in their original forms.²⁵ This may have significant implications, as the texts may be adapted by the editor with the aim to remove ‘errors’ or inconsistencies, for example. In addition, scribes copying an original manuscript may – and most likely did – edit the original text in similar ways. It is therefore possible that, for example, a single preverbal marker was replaced by a bipartite marker by a scribe correcting a ‘mistake’ in the text, or adapting the text according to his own use of negation. However, as these edited versions of the texts are considerably easier to access than the original manuscripts or printed texts, particularly when it comes to the earliest texts in the corpus, of which the original manuscripts do not always survive, most historical linguists rely on such editions for their research. Taking into account these limitations associated with the first selection criterion outlined above, the corpus sample eventually contained the following text types per dialect per century: two administrative, chancery texts, and two non-administrative texts which varyingly consist of journals, travelogues, collections of letters, or literary texts.

A second criterion in my selection of material relates to the author or scribe: for each non-administrative text, the author must have been born and have lived a significant part of their life in the relevant dialect area. Thus, the author must not have lived in long-term contact with a different regional variety of the Dutch continuum, which may have influenced his own language. Similarly, the third selection criterion is that the text is not a translation from an original in a different language. For this reason, some of the ‘classics’ of Dutch literature were excluded, such as the late fourteenth-

²⁵ In addition, some of the earliest texts included in the corpus appear in several manuscripts, which are copies from an earlier original. Where possible, this was avoided, and otherwise, I have – again, when possible – selected the version of the manuscript that should reflect most closely the original dialect or writing style, according to the editor.

to early fifteenth-century *Vanden Vos Reynaerde* (or *Reinaert I*), which is reworked from a French original. These two criteria help to ensure that the language of the texts is representative of the variety in which they originated. Finally, a fourth criterion relates to the length of the texts: for chancery texts, which are characteristically short, I have selected the longer texts from those containing some form of negation.²⁶ For non-administrative texts, text length was estimated according to the number of lines they contain;²⁷ the earlier prose texts especially – often rhyming prose – but also the poetic texts, display line numbers. For the later prose texts the number of lines per page was counted and multiplied by the number of pages in the text.²⁸ For the non-administrative texts in the corpus, I have, then, included, for every century and dialect region, one long prose text of approximately 5,000 lines, and one short additional text – mostly poetic, though occasionally theatre scripts – of approximately 200 lines. Where necessary, a text fragment was selected instead of the full text to accommodate representative samples; if a selection was made within a text, this will be indicated in 3.2 below. While there is thus a significantly larger amount of material of non-administrative texts than of chancery texts included in the corpus, this is due to the short typical length of chancery texts, and an equally short fragment for non-administrative texts would have resulted in too little data. To ensure sufficient data, one long text was thus included alongside one shorter one for non-administrative texts in each century and dialect region.

In summary, I have built a corpus for the purpose of this study which contains text material from the 13th until the 18th century, from two different varieties of the historical Dutch dialect continuum that are not regionally adjacent, namely West Flemish and Hollandic, and from administrative as well as non-administrative genres. I have selected these texts by means of four criteria – relating to text type, author, originality of the language, and length – which help to ensure they reflect the appropriate variety of Dutch and include, to the extent that this was possible, texts

²⁶ The extra prerequisite of requiring negation was added for chancery texts, because many did not contain any negative markers, and too little data would be collected from the administrative genre if such texts were incorporated into the corpus.

²⁷ As noted above, a precise word or line count was not feasible, as the majority of texts are not included in existing corpora which contain this info.

²⁸ One page usually contains between 25 and 35 lines; these lines are sometimes, though not always, somewhat longer than those in rhyming prose or poetic texts. However, since no two texts or fragments within the corpus can be identical in length, as it was not possible to do a precise word count, these slightly longer lines in some texts were not controlled for.

which reflect *Sprache der Nähe*. Due to the relatively stringent nature of these criteria, however, few texts remained per genre, within each dialect and for each century, and the choice of texts was thus somewhat limited. In addition, it was sometimes necessary to violate one or more criteria due to this limited number of texts available; where this was the case, it is noted in the list containing descriptions of all texts within the corpus provided in chapter 3.2 below. The corpus was then searched manually for all instances of negation and preverbal markers attested, yielding the data discussed in chapters 4 to 6 of this study.

3.2 The corpus

In what follows, I will provide an overview of all texts that were selected for my corpus: they are here divided by century, and then subdivided by dialect region. The two chancery texts will be listed first, followed by the two non-administrative texts. Where applicable, I will provide additional information regarding the author, if any fragments were selected, and any motivations for choosing the text if necessary. Following the list below, all texts are represented on a diagram reflecting Koch and Österreicher's (1985) model of *Sprache der Nähe* vs. *Sprache der Distanz*.

Thirteenth century

West Flemish:

- (1) Corp.I, 0638, Bruges, 1285, unknown author. Accessed via Corpus Gysseling. Chancery text discussing wool trade.
- (2) Corp.I, 1599A'', Bruges, 15 April 1297, unknown author. Accessed via Corpus Gysseling. Chancery text discussing the distribution of property.
- (3) Jacob van Maerlant, *Der Naturen Bloeme*, 1287, ms. D. Accessed via Corpus Gysseling. Rhyming prose discussing 'all things in nature'. Maerlant was born in Bruges and lived in Damme for much of his life (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). Due to the length of the text, three fragments were selected: 1:1 – 55:25, 216:32 – 243:18, 376:28 – 416:3 (CG line numbering).
- (4) *Minnedichten uit Ter Doest*, 1291. Unknown author. Accessed via Corpus Gysseling. Two love poems. This text was selected despite not having a known author, as it was the only other available 13th-century West Flemish text that was not a translation or reworking of a foreign-language original.

Hollandic:

- (1) Corp.I, 0233, Dordrecht, 15 August 1278, unknown author. Accessed via CG. Chancery text discussing debt and corresponding fines.
- (2) Corp.I, 0778A', Holland, County Chancery, 21 March 1288. Accessed via CG. Chancery text noting that Lord Herman of Woerden reconciles with Florens, Count of Holland.
- (3) Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, 1300. ms. A. ed. W.G. Brill (1983). Utrecht: HES Uitgevers. Accessed via DBNL. Rhyming prose presenting the history of the County of Holland. Due to the length of the text, the following fragments were included: Book I, Book IV, Book VII, and Book X.
- (4) *Perchevael*, 1276. Unknown author. Accessed via CG. Poetry, more specifically chivalric romance: story of Perceval who meets King Arthur. Translation from Old French, likely origin of scribe is Holland (Rotterdam-Dordrecht), due to Hollandic forms, though this is not certain (Oppenhuis de Jong 2003). The first 200 lines were selected for the corpus: lines 502:5-506:31. This is not an ideal text, as it is a translation, but no other texts written by a scribe from Holland are available.

Fourteenth century

West Flemish

- (1) Oorkonde H536r33505, Bruges or vicinity, 1335. Accessed via CRM14. Chancery text discussing taxes to the parish and church.
- (2) Oorkonde H036p37301, Bruges, 1373. Accessed via CRM14. Chancery text discussing yearly taxes.
- (3) Ghilis de Wevel, *Leven van Sinte Amand, Patroon der Nederlanden*. 1366. Accessed via DBNL. Rhyming prose about the life of St. Amand. De Wevel was a cleric in Bruges (ter Laan 1952).
- (4) Jan Moritoen, poem XIII in Gruuthuse Manuscript. Late 14th century. Accessed via DBNL. Moritoen lived in Bruges, and is the certain author of poem XIII (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

Hollandic:

- (1) Oorkonde E109p38001, Amsterdam, 1380. Accessed via CRM14. Chancery text discussing property being gifted.

- (2) Oorkonde K094p35503, Dordrecht, 1355. Accessed via CRM14. Chancery text discussing legal and monetary business with a cardinal.
- (3) Willem van Hildegarsberch, Poems I-XXV. 14th century. Accessed via DBNL. Van Hildegarsberch worked as a poet and singer in Holland, often performing at the court in 's-Gravenhage (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). Poetry rather than prose, but no prose text is available in the original Hollandic which satisfies the criteria set out above.
- (4) Claes Heynenzoon, *Wapenboeck van Gelre*. ca.1378. Gotha ms. Two fragments remain containing a poem about the knight Dideric. Heynenzoon worked for the courts of Holland as well as Gelre, and it is not known if he was born in Holland or Gelre (Deschamps 1972). However, the only other available texts are the works of Hendrik Mande, which, though possibly written in the last years of the fourteenth century, were likely more written in the fifteenth (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). While the *Wapenboeck van Gelre* is thus not an ideal source, it is certainly representative of the fourteenth century, and most likely of the Hollandic variety.

Fifteenth century

West Flemish:

- (1) brugge_1461_2, Bruges, 1461. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text discussing an appeal by a prisoner to the court of aldermen, arguing that his imprisonment is unjust.
- (2) brugge_1462_1, Bruges, 1462. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text, last will and testament setting out how land and property should be divided after death.
- (3) Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 1431. ms. K (1481). Accessed via DBNL. Prose. Uses the rules of a game, the *kaetspel*, allegorically to illustrate the workings of the justice system and to address a number of juridical problems. Van den Berghe was born in Handzame (West Flanders), and was part of the Council of Flanders (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

- (4) Anthonis de Roovere, *Nieuwe jaer van Brugghe*, 1480. Accessed via DBNL. Poetry. About a dilapidated garden that is tended to and fixed by a group of women, allegory for Bruges being tended to by its citizens. De Roovere lived in Bruges at least from the age of 17 onwards, worked as a poet and master builder (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

Hollandic:

- (1) dordrecht_1461_1, Dordrecht, 1461. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text discussing citizens joining a ship crew's guild.
- (2) amsterdam_1440_1, Amsterdam, 1440. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text discussing the sale of a property.
- (3) *Het boeck vanden pelgherym, Boeck I*, 1486. Accessed via DBNL. Story of a pilgrim who converses with religious and philosophical figures in his dreams; travelogue interspersed with teachings. Anonymous author, published by Jacob Bellaert in Haarlem. The text was chosen despite not having a named author as it is, in part, a travelogue, and because the place of publication is known. *Boeck I* alone contains 689 tokens, which is more than the 13th- and 14th-century Hollandic tokens combined.
- (4) Dirck Potter, *Der Minnen Loep*, 1470-1490. Accessed via DBNL. Love poem. Potter was a Hollandic author with ties to the Hollandic court (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985), though he often gave his writing a somewhat German style in line with the fashion of the time (Meijer 1978). Despite this German influence, this text was selected because other available texts are translations from either French (Jehan Froissart's *Cronyke van Vlaenderen*, translated by G. Potter van der Loo), Latin (*Delftse Bijbel*) or copies from Flemish (*Jhesus Collacien*). Fragment selected due to excessive length: lines 1-252.

Sixteenth century:

West Flemish:

- (1) kortrijk_1545_1, Kortrijk, 1545. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out regulations regarding seized goods.
- (2) brugge_1579_1, Brugge, 1579. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out measures to prevent fraud in property sale and taxation.

- (3) Zeghere van Male, *Lamentatie behelzende wat datter aenmerkenswaardig geschiet is ten tyde van de Geuserie ende de Beeldenstormerie binnen ende omtrent de stadt van Brugghe*, 1565-1598. Accessed via DBNL. Memoir, autobiographical account of the Iconoclastic Fury in Bruges between 1565 and 1598. Van Male, from Bruges, notes that he is uneducated – though he is literate and quotes Aristotle, which may indicate otherwise – and old, and that his works lack style and mainly contain mistakes.²⁹ This text thus meets all four criteria set out above.
- (4) Cornelis Everaert, *Esbatement vanden visscher*, 1523-1538. Accessed via DBNL. Klucht, comedy play about a wife confessing adultery to her husband and to God. Everaert was born in Bruges and became a member of two Chambers of Rhetoric in Bruges (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

Hollandic:

- (1) haarlem_1514_1, Haarlem, 1514. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text containing regulations as to who is permitted to join the guilds in Haarlem.
- (2) dordrecht_1583_1, Dordrecht, 1583. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out new rules to avoid abuse of guard duty.
- (3) Arent Willemsz., *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, 1525. Accessed via DBNL. Travelogue about the author's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Willemsz. is a barber from Delft (Gonnet 1884).
- (4) D.V. Coornhert, *Tweede comedie vande Egypische Vroeyvrouwen*, 1550-1590?. Accessed via DBNL. Comedy play about two midwives who allegorically represent humanism and enlightened thinking versus the learnings of Christ. Coornhert was born in Amsterdam and worked in Holland for most of his life, and was a humanist (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). Date of composition unclear: he started writing plays from 1550 onwards and died in 1590; composition must thus be between 1550 and 1590 (van der Meulen 1955).

²⁹ “[V]indt ghy eenighe fauten in het schryven, ofte dat niet ghestelt en is naer style, ofte oock datter te veele ofte te lettere aen gheschreven is, wil het my vergeven ghemerckt dat ick een leeck ende ongheleert persooone ben, oock tot mijnder oude ghecommen ben van 86 jaren.”
(If you find any faults in the writing, or that it is not written with style, or that too much or too little is written, forgive me, since I am a layman and uneducated person, and have also reached the old age of 86.) Van Male, *Lamentatie*, p. 112.

Seventeenth century

West Flemish:

- (1) ieper_1656_1, Ypres, 1656. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out rules for meetings of the city council.
- (2) brugge_1690_1, Bruges, 1690. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out regulations for the sale of goods from a deceased person's home.
- (3) Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, 1681. Travelogue about author's travels to the Middle East. Stochove was mayor of Bruges (Vincent Stochove 1681).
- (4) Jan Droomers, *De langh-gewenschte vernieuwynge der vrede-vreught*, 1698. Accessed via DBNL. Play, about entities and deities who celebrate that peace has returned to Bruges. Droomers was a poet and playwright from Bruges (van den Branden & Frederiks 1888).

Hollandic:

- (1) leiden_1613_2, Leiden, 1613. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out guidelines for festival decorators in the city.
- (2) leiden_1637_3, Leiden, 1637. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text discussing merger of wool companies.
- (3) Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, Letters, 1601-1647. Accessed via DBNL. Collection of letters sent by P.C. Hooft. Hooft was born and lived in Amsterdam for much of his life, was a poet, playwright and historian, and showed a great interest in the Dutch language (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). Three sets of letters were selected, from the beginning, middle and end of the collection: numbers 1-69, 600-657, and 1215-1329; letters in different languages, or not written by Hooft himself, were excluded.
- (4) Joost van den Vondel, *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, 1637. Accessed via DBNL. Play, tragedy about Amsterdam being under siege. Vondel was born in Cologne but moved to Amsterdam at the age of ten, and was a writer, poet, and playwright (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). The first act was selected for the corpus, due to excessive length.

Eighteenth century

West Flemish:

- (1) brugge_1750_1, Bruges, 1750. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text setting out regulations for sale of property.
- (2) ieper_1733_1, Ypres, 1733. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text sorting out mistakes and bad regulations in legislation for alimony for orphans.
- (3) Jozef van Wallegem, *Merckenweerdigste voorvallen en daegelijcksche gevallen*, 1787. Accessed via DBNL. Chronicle-style account of most notable occurrences in Bruges in 1787. Author was a tradesman in Bruges (Scherpereel et al. 1982). A number of small sections not written by van Wallegem are left out.
- (4) Antoon Labare, *De konst der poëzy in Nederduytsche verssen*, 1721. Accessed via DBNL. Poetry about the art of writing poetry, meant as a teaching tool for beginning poets. Labare is from Bruges (ter Laan 1952). First *gesangh* 'song' selected for the corpus.

Hollandic:

- (1) leiden_1738_2, Leiden, 1738. Accessed via CHNa. Chancery text proposing a change in legislation.
- (2) leiden_1769_1, Leiden, 1769. Accessed via CHNa, Chancery text regarding dispute and a strike by ship workers refusing to work with Pieter Spee.
- (3) Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, 1731-1732. Accessed via DBNL. Magazine articles about various contemporary issues. Van Effen was born in Utrecht, and moved to Holland after university, where he wrote *Hollandsche Spectator* (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985). It should be noted that the *Hollandsche Spectator* also occasionally includes excerpts of works, as well as quotations, by different authors or speakers, in which varying uses of negation are attested (see chapter 4.2).
- (4) Dirck Buyzero, *De Bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje; Kluchtspel met zang en dans*, 1707. Accessed via DBNL. Klucht, comedic play about a wedding. Buyzero born and died in Holland, worked as judge, poet and playwright (van Bork & Verkruijsse 1985).

As noted above, the position of these texts within Koch and Österreicher's (1985) model of *Sprache der Nähe* vs. *Sprache der Distanz* is outlined on the diagram below. The diagram shows that the chancery texts included in the corpus should be considered closest to *Sprache der Distanz*, while Hooft's personal letters can be considered closer to *Sprache der Nähe*. The plays used in my corpus research have been placed somewhat closer to the middle of the *writing* vs. *speech* axis, as they are meant to be spoken aloud, and thus have a higher degree of orality in this sense.

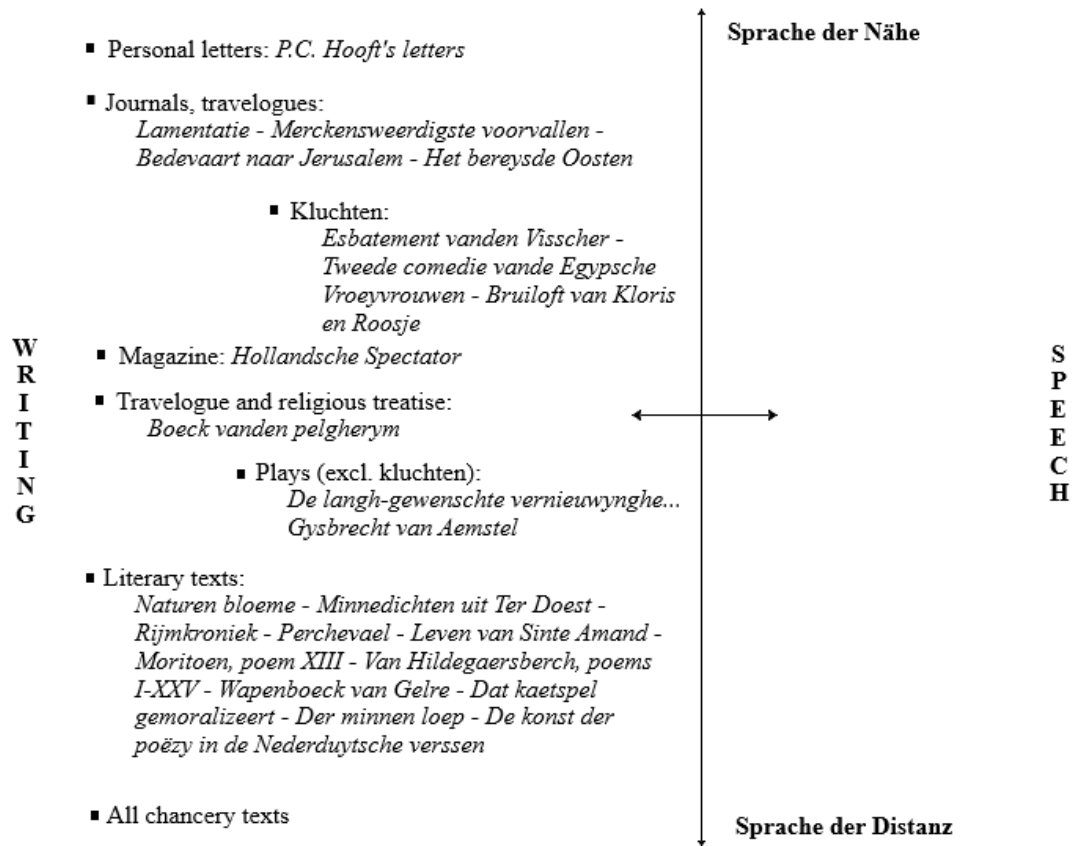


Figure 2 Diagram detailing the position of corpus texts on Koch and Österreicher's (1985) model of *Sprache der Nähe* vs. *Sprache der Distanz*.

3.3 Conclusion

The above corpus ensures that my study will provide, for the first time, a thorough account of the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers in the history of West Flemish and Hollandic, spanning across six centuries. The extensive diachronic range of the corpus, which is analysed century by century, and the focus on two distinct varieties of Dutch allow a discussion of the data that avoids the pitfalls embedded in much of the existing scholarship on negation: my study does

not treat the Dutch dialect continuum, nor broad historical periods as monolithic entities, but takes a more fine-grained approach that provides a more accurate and comprehensive representation of the development of negation, and in particular resilient preverbal markers. As noted at various points above, partly due to the limitations of the available material, and partly in order to achieve the desired level of accuracy and detail, the entire corpus was examined manually. Despite the limitations imposed by such an approach, the corpus yielded an extensive database of 4880 tokens. The data resulting from my corpus study will then be presented in chapter 4, to provide an overview of the development of negation in West Flemish and Hollandic. The data will be analysed further in chapter 5, which will show how negative markers developed in the data on the level of the morphosyntax, and in chapter 6, which will address the socio-historical triggers for these changes.

Chapter 4: Negation in the corpus

4.1 Introduction

The development of negation and particularly resilient preverbal markers in the history of the Dutch dialect continuum has, as shown in chapter 2.7, not yet been addressed in scholarship in an extensive, detailed, and data-driven way. My study aims to achieve precisely such an approach, by means of the methodology outlined in chapter 3. In the current chapter, I will present the results of this research, and in doing so, provide a detailed overview of the diachronic development of negation in historical West Flemish and Hollandic, as attested in my data, with a focus on resilient preverbal markers.

First, chapter 4.2 will discuss the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation as the predominant form attested, a shift which is seen first in the Hollandic data, in the 17th century, and then in the 18th-century West Flemish data. Resilient preverbal *ne/en* is subsequently addressed in chapter 4.3, in which I set out the five types of resilient preverbal markers attested in my corpus. These types will then each be discussed in a subsequent section: first, chapter 4.3.1 will provide a detailed overview of the development of exceptives as attested in my data, identifying three distinct types of exceptive clauses. Two of these categories of exceptive clauses will be shown to merge and become exceptive conjunctions, a development which, as I will argue in chapter 5.2, occurs via grammaticalisation. The second type of resilient preverbal *ne/en* in the data is that of expletives: chapter 4.3.2 will demonstrate that these occur in a number of set contexts, and disappear from the data after the 17th century.

Third, chapter 4.3.3 will focus on preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs, that are only attested until the 15th century. This chapter will set out exactly which verbs are attested, and address the curious correlation between the preverbal marker and the verb *weten* ‘to know’ combined with a WH-complement clause. Chapter 4.3.4, then, will identify which adverbs and adjectives can occur with a single preverbal marker in my corpus. I will argue that two distinct categories of preverbal markers are attested with two distinct sets of adverbs and adjectives. On the one hand, a preverbal negative marker occurs, only in the 13th and 14th-century data, with

bore ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other, while on the other hand, an expletive marker occurs with *maer* ‘only’, which in the 16th- and 17th-century data is analogically extended to *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’. The latter form disappears from the data, like the preverbal marker in expletives, after the 17th century. Finally, chapter 4.3.5 will present the data on fragment answers: I will demonstrate that, in my corpus, these occur infrequently and are limited to the 14th and 15th centuries. I will argue that the attestation patterns of fragment answers can be linked to the type of text in which they occur.

Throughout the following chapter, I will demonstrate that regional variation is a clear distinguishing factor in the corpus: the development of negation and of resilient preverbal markers often differs greatly in the West Flemish and Hollandic data. A further distinguishing factor, as foreshadowed above with regard to fragment answers, is the genre of the text in which tokens occur – though the data indicates that genre as a distinguishing factor is neither as consistent, nor as impactful, as regional variation. Moreover, as the data presented below will show, the 17th and 18th centuries constitute a period during which a number of linguistic changes occurred more or less simultaneously in each dialect, such as the shift to postverbal negation and the disappearance of expletive markers in expletives as well as with certain adverbs.

Furthermore, I will compare and contrast my findings to those presented elsewhere in the literature, demonstrating the value and impact of the data in the context of current scholarship on negation and preverbal markers in the historical Dutch dialect continuum. The findings from the corpus study below will then form the basis for the analyses set out in chapter 5, which will examine a number of morphosyntactic patterns in the data on exceptives, expletive markers and fragment answers, and in chapter 6, which will assess the impact of dialect sociohistorical factors such as contact and standardisation on the development of preverbal markers in the context of adverbs and adjectives, and the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation.

4.2 Bipartite – postverbal shift

Turning, then, to the first development attested in my corpus, the data show a shift in the frequencies of bipartite and single postverbal negation as markers of sentential negation. Tables 1-3 below provide the frequencies of bipartite as well as single postverbal negative markers in the corpus; table 2 presents those tokens of bipartite negation that only use the postverbal element *niet*. This table was included to provide a more accurate comparison of the frequencies of bipartite and single postverbal negation, as the data for single postverbal negation presented in table 3 contains only the negative marker *niet*, whereas table 1 includes bipartite negation with *niet* as well as n-words like *niemand* ‘no one’, *nooit* ‘never’, *geen* ‘no’. Additional tables presenting the data century by century are provided in the Appendix.

Bipartite negation						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	262	185	71%	297	192	65%
14 th c.	261	188	72%	394	327	83%
15 th c.	525	437	83%	711	601	85%
16 th c.	246	193	78%	481	383	80%
17 th c.	440	339	77%	290	87	30%
18 th c.	226	50	22%	741	11	1%

Table 1 Bipartite negation in the data

Bipartite negation, en...niet only						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	262	105	40%	297	135	45%
14 th c.	261	142	54%	394	172	44%
15 th c.	525	322	61%	711	395	56%
16 th c.	246	129	52%	481	259	54%
17 th c.	440	211	48%	290	70	24%
18 th c.	226	28	12%	741	9	1%

Table 2 Bipartite *en...niet* in the data

Postverbal <i>niet</i>						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	262	29	11%	297	54	18%
14 th c.	261	42	16%	394	30	8%
15 th c.	525	54	10%	711	20	3%
16 th c.	246	28	11%	481	63	13%
17 th c.	440	40	9%	290	183	63%
18 th c.	226	168	74%	741	724	98%

Table 3 Postverbal *niet* in the data

As tables 1 and 2 indicate, the bipartite marker is the most common negative marker in both the West Flemish and Hollandic data until and including the 16th century (see examples 1 and 2). As also demonstrated in tables 1 and 2, the frequency of the bipartite marker remains more or less consistent throughout the corpus until this point. One major change within bipartite negation in my data, not immediately apparent from the tables above, is that from the 15th century onwards, the preverbal element in Hollandic becomes restricted to *en*; preverbal *ne* is no longer attested. In the West Flemish data, this development occurs only in the 16th century.

(1) hi **nes** **niet** root ghelijc den viere of donker violettin root
it NEG-is not red like the fire or dark violet red
‘It is not red like fire, or dark violet red’

(13th c. West Flemish (WF): Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 383:7)

(2) die **niet** **en** doet, **en** doet **nemmermeer** goet,
who nothing NEG does NEG does never-again good
niet doen is quaet doen
nothing do is wrong do

‘He who does not do anything, never again does any good, doing nothing is doing wrong.’

(16th c. Hollandic (HL): D.V. Coornhert, *Tweede comedie vande Egypische Vroeyvrouwen*, 160)

The frequencies of bipartite negative markers until the 16th century in my data are more or less consistent with, and thus independently confirmed by, data previously

gathered by existing scholarship on negation in Dutch, which generally holds that the bipartite negative marker is the most common type of negation until at least the 16th century (van der Horst 2008; Burrige 1993). Van der Horst (2008) argues that the bipartite marker is already disappearing from the spoken language in the 16th century, as it can be seen to disappear abruptly in writing in his 17th-century data (see below). However, the narrative texts used in my corpus for the 16th century were chosen specifically because they reflect, to the extent that it is possible, *Sprache der Nähe* (see chapter 3): one of the Hollandic texts is a travelogue, while the West Flemish texts are an autobiographical memoir³⁰ and a klucht (see also chapter 3). That these texts do not reflect a much higher frequency of the postverbal marker, which supposedly was already used more often in spoken language, may refute van der Horst's (2008) argument that the bipartite marker is becoming less frequent in the spoken language. In addition, van der Horst's (2008) study does not reflect regional variation, which, as will be shown below and in chapter 6, plays a significant role in the development of bipartite negation from the 17th century onwards.

The predominance of the bipartite marker disappears in the 17th-century Hollandic data, as the highlighted sections of tables 1-3 show: from this point onwards, it is the single postverbal *niet* which is the most frequently attested negative marker in Hollandic (see example 3 below). In the West Flemish data, however, as already pointed out above, the bipartite marker remains equally prevalent in the 17th century (example 4), and it is only in the 18th-century data that the single postverbal marker becomes the most frequent type of negation (example 5).

- (3) Ende alhoewel mijne nieuwsgierigheit gezocht heeft dien t'ontdekken,
 And although my curiosity searched has this to-discover
 't is mij **niet** gelukt
 It is me not succeeded
 'And although my curiosity has searched to discover this, I did not succeed.'
 (17th c. HL: P.C. Hooft, Letter 606, 11)

³⁰ In this work, van Male's *Lamentatie*, the author states that he is elderly and uneducated, warning the reader that his writing may contain mistakes, and is not written in a good style (see chapter 3; whether these statements should be taken at face value is discussed there).

(4) men moet zich te voet begeven, daer **niemandt** in **en**
 one must himself on foot proceed as no one in NEG
 vermagh te kommen te peerde als den Grooten Heer alleen
 may to come by horse as the Great Lord alone
 ‘One must proceed on foot, as no one can come in there by horse, but the
 Great Lord alone.’

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 63)

(5) D'uijtkomsten van alle de andere hooge loten zal ik hier **niet**
 The-results of all the other high lottery tickets will I here not
 afsonderlijk kunnen plaetsen
 separately can place
 ‘The results of all the other winning lottery tickets I will not be able to place
 here separately.’

(18th c. WF: Jozef van Walleghem, *Merckenweerdigste voorvallen*, p. 87)

As table 3 shows, in the 18th-century Hollandic data, negative markers attested are almost exclusively postverbal. The corpus for 18th-century Hollandic contains Buyzero's *Bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje*, which is, as noted in chapter 3, a comedic play. Such plays typically reflect spoken language use, employing forms that are part of the author's vernacular. The *Bruiloft* play only contains postverbal negation, and it can therefore be hypothesised that Buyzero's own vernacular exclusively uses the postverbal negative marker. The postverbal marker is also the only form of negation attested in the chancery texts, and it is by far the most frequently occurring form in Justus van Effen's *Hollandsche Spectator*. Unlike the other 18th-century Hollandic texts, however, the *Hollandische Spectator* still contains eleven tokens of the bipartite marker. Nevertheless, seven out of these eleven bipartite negative markers appear to occur in a context that in some way or another reflects another person's speech or writing. Three among these seven bipartite markers are attested in a letter which was copied into an article of the *Spectator* (No.7), originally written by an innkeeper (example 6),³¹ who, according to van Effen, wrote the way he spoke, a

³¹ It is unclear where this speaker is from, although van Effen notes that he is a well-spoken man who has performed in plays for a Chamber of Rhetoric.

quality for which van Effen respects him. A fourth token occurs in a fable (No.21), a fifth in a fictional conversation, written by van Effen but reflecting spoken language (No.15),³² and a sixth in a quote by a poet (No.3). The final token is attested in a quote by a person whose speech is treated by third parties as ‘base’, and ridiculed, although van Effen disagrees that it should be (No.3).

- (6) Je weet ummers wel dat ik je **niet** bedriegen **en** zel,
 you know after all well that I you not deceive NEG will
 en je heb 'er zo veel kennis van, dat ik ook niet zou
 and you have there so much knowledge of that I too not will
 kunnen, al wou ik.
 can though want I
 ‘You know after all that I would not be able to deceive you, and you have so
 much knowledge of it, that I would not be able to either, even if I wanted to.’
 (18th c. HL: Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator*, No7)

In four cases, it is in van Effen’s own writing that the bipartite marker occurs: the first instance is found immediately after the section of article No.7 containing innkeeper’s letter, and perhaps it can be speculated that this innkeeper’s use of the bipartite marker, and van Effen’s respect for the way he writes, influenced van Effen’s own use of bipartite negation in this instance. Second, the bipartite marker is attested in a strongly-worded reprimand in article No.10, directed at a man who exhibited rude and threatening behaviour: van Effen mocks him for not having any experience harness racing, and yet still boasting about his racing skills. The passionate, fierce language that van Effen uses may reflect a choice of register that is more informal, and perhaps reflects a spoken language register, rather than the more formal language used in published writings. Indeed, the argument could be made that van Effen aims to use the postverbal marker, i.e. the normative form,³³ throughout his writings, but is not entirely successful, and ‘slips up’ in four cases. This might mean that the bipartite marker is still somewhat more prevalent in van Effen’s spoken language than my data (see table 3) would at first glance indicate, although

³² All other tokens of negation in this fictional conversation are, however, postverbal markers.

³³ See chapter 6.5 for a discussion of standardisation and prescriptivism.

there is, of course, no evidence for this one way or the other beyond the attestations of bipartite negation in the *Hollandsche Spectator*. In addition, a slightly higher potential frequency of the bipartite marker does not imply that the postverbal marker is not still the most frequently occurring form in van Effen's own speech.

It should furthermore be noted that, while in 18th-century Hollandic the postverbal marker is attested almost exclusively, in the West Flemish data, it reflects 74% of tokens, and the bipartite marker still accounts for 22% of tokens. Burrige (1993) presents somewhat comparable results for 17th-century Hollandic and Brabantic:³⁴ in her Hollandic data from 1650,³⁵ the single postverbal negator occurs almost exclusively, whereas in her Brabantic data from 1650, the bipartite marker is still the most frequent negative marker. In particular, her findings show that in the letters of P.C. Hooft, which were used, in part, as a source for the present study as well (see chapter 3), the bipartite marker is used more frequently in the early letters, whereas later letters exhibit use of the postverbal marker almost exclusively. The same results for Hooft's letters are indeed attested in my data: the selection of letters from before 1635 still contains bipartite negation, while the selection dated after 1645 contains the single postverbal marker exclusively; see chapters 6.4.2 and 6.5.3 for a more in-depth discussion of this. Van der Wouden (1998) reports a similar development in the works of Joost van den Vondel, contemporary and friend of P.C. Hooft. In my corpus, a section of Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637) was included for 17th-century Hollandic: this is one of his earlier works, and still contains the bipartite negative marker, though the postverbal marker is attested more frequently.

Finally, van der Horst (2008) notes that, while some authors exclusively use the postverbal marker – Leupenius and Joannes Vollenhove for example explicitly condemn the use of the bipartite marker, with Vollenhove in particular considering it a formal feature – others such as de Ruyter still regularly use the bipartite marker, and the single preverbal marker is still attested in the works of, amongst others,

³⁴ Her Brabantic data can of course not be compared to my West Flemish data in any way that equates the two varieties, but her results for Brabantic do reflect broadly similar patterns in terms of the frequency of bipartite and single postverbal negation to those attested in my West Flemish data.

³⁵ Her study does not present data beyond 1650, so no comparison can be made with my 18th-century data.

Bredero and De Harduwijn.³⁶ The account of 17th-century negation in the literature is thus mostly consistent with my Hollandic data: single *niet* is the most frequently used negative marker by many Hollandic authors, but not exclusively so, as bipartite negation is still attested alongside it. However, the 17th-century West Flemish data does not exhibit the pattern presented in van der Horst (2008), as noted above: the bipartite marker is still just as frequently attested as before, and only gives way to the postverbal marker in the 18th-century data.

In terms of genre variation, the same pattern is found in my data in chancery texts as in non-administrative texts: in 17th-century Hollandic, the postverbal marker is the most frequent type of negation (9 out of 14 tokens, compared to 3 bipartite markers) in chancery texts, and in 18th-century Hollandic, almost exclusively so (13 out of 14 tokens). In my West Flemish data, however, the bipartite marker remains the most frequently attested form in the 17th century (10 out of 16 tokens, compared to two tokens of postverbal negation) as well as the 18th century (8 out of 14 tokens, compared to only one token of postverbal negation).³⁷ The increase in frequency of the postverbal marker in formal, administrative writing in my 17th-century Hollandic data may indicate that the postverbal marker becomes part of the formal register of the language, which does not occur in the West Flemish data.

In conclusion, my data show that a shift from predominantly bipartite to single postverbal negation occurs in 17th-century Hollandic, whereas a similar shift is only attested in West Flemish in the 18th-century data. These findings support the argument made in this study that regional variation must be considered in order to achieve a realistic view of the development of negation in the Dutch dialect continuum: those studies that claim to represent Dutch as a whole, then, necessarily contain inaccuracies. The change from bipartite to postverbal negation will be discussed further in chapter 6.4.2, which will show that this development is linked to the urbanisation of the Hollandic cities in the 17th century, and the subsequent processes of koineisation in these urban centres. In addition, I will argue (in chapter

³⁶ The authors listed above were all from Holland, except Vollenhove, was born in the Northeast of the Netherlands but later moved to Holland, and De Harduwijn, who was an East Flemish author.

³⁷ The remaining tokens are preverbal markers, which will be discussed below.

6.5.3) that prescriptivist norms affected the attestation patterns in my data to an extent as well.

4.3 Resilient preverbal markers

The main focus of the rest of the chapter will be on resilient preverbal markers.

Table 4 below shows the overall frequencies of preverbal *ne/en* in the data. Preverbal markers consistently represent a fairly small part of the data, never representing more than 18% of all tokens. As the highlighted sections in the table below indicate, they become even less frequent in the 18th-century data.

Preverbal <i>ne/en</i>						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total neg. per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	262	48	18%	297	51	17%
14 th c.	261	31	12%	394	37	9%
15 th c.	525	34	6%	711	90	13%
16 th c.	246	25	10%	481	35	7%
17 th c.	440	61	14%	290	20	7%
18 th c.	226	8	4%	741	6	1%

Table 4 Single preverbal *ne/en* in the data

Resilient preverbal *ne/en* is, as already noted in chapter 2.7, commonly treated as a single phenomenon that occurs in ‘Middle Dutch’ (see e.g. Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008).³⁸ However, my data show that the resilient preverbal marker occurs in various contexts, and should similarly be analysed in varying ways; for example, preverbal *ne/en* functions as a negative marker in some contexts, but as chapter 5.2 will show, no longer carries negative force in others. Resilient preverbal markers thus do not form a homogenous group, and for this reason, I identified six categories of preverbal *ne/en* in chapter 2.7, based on the literature. Five out of six of these contexts were attested in the data as well: exceptives, expletives, *ne/en* in the context of certain verbs, *ne/en* in the context of certain adverbs, and fragment answers.

Preverbal negation in rhetorical questions, primarily discussed by Stoett (1923), does not occur. The fact that Stoett (1923) does provide example sentences of the

³⁸ Van der Horst (2008) does, however, distinguish between Early and Late Middle Dutch.

construction indicates that rhetorical questions must occur elsewhere outside the data here gathered, and in some region of the Dutch dialect continuum. While he does not provide any sources, in chapter 2.7 I showed that his data are derived from texts originating from (East and West) Flanders and Brabant. In Stoett's (1923) data, they occur, thrice, in those partitions of the *Spiegel Historiae* written by Jacob van Maerlant, who is also the author of the *Naturen Bloeme*, which was part of my corpus. It is unclear why Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiae* contains rhetorical questions, but the sections included in the corpus from his *Naturen Bloeme* do not. The most obvious explanation is, perhaps, that the corpus includes only part of the *Naturen Bloeme* text; even within the partitions of the *Spiegel Historiae* – which are quite substantial in length – rhetorical questions with preverbal *ne/en* are only attested three times. It is thus not unlikely that the preverbal marker in rhetorical questions is rare, and that it simply did not occur sufficiently frequently to show up in the selections included in the corpus.

The remaining five contexts of preverbal negation will be discussed below. First, I will address the development of exceptives in my data (4.3.1), followed by expletives (4.3.2), preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs (4.3.3), preverbal markers in the context of certain adverbs (4.3.4), and finally, fragment answers (4.3.5).

4.3.1 Exceptives

The first type of resilient preverbal *ne/en* attested in my data is that of exceptives, or unless-clauses. In the literature, these are not always clearly defined: some accounts, like van der Horst (2008) and Burrige (1993), consider exceptives and clauses containing expletive preverbal markers (see 4.3.2 below) to be one and the same category, while Breitbarth (2013) makes a distinction between the two, based on their differing structures: exceptives contain, for example, as I will show below, a verb in the subjunctive mood, while expletives take an indicative verb. In my discussion of expletive preverbal markers, I will argue that the line between the two categories can indeed become blurred – some expletives can carry an exceptive meaning – but that exceptives should still be considered a different category from expletive preverbal markers. In doing so, I will provide a clear and distinct

categorisation of the two constructions, in order to clarify their often inconsistent and vague characterisation in existing scholarship.

Exceptives are furthermore distinct from negative conditionals (*if...not*). Geis (1973) and von Stechow (1992) provide an in-depth semantic account of the differences between *unless* and *if...not*, and argue, for example, that NPIs can occur in negative conditionals, but not in exceptives. They further argue that negative conditionals can be modified by ‘even’, ‘only’ or ‘except’, while exceptives cannot, and that negative conditionals can be conjoined, while exceptives cannot.³⁹ The most obvious semantic difference is that exceptives contain an exception to a proposition, while negative conditionals do not. The following examples from my data can illustrate this difference: example 7 represents a negative conditional, and example 8 an exceptive. It should also be noted that negative conditionals are in my data negated by means of a bipartite marker, as in example 7, or from the 14th century onwards, a single postverbal marker. The exceptive clauses, however, take a single preverbal marker, as shown in example 8. The distinction between negative conditionals and exceptives will be relevant for the discussion of the grammaticalisation of exceptives, as I will argue that a subset of exceptives in my data can, in the initial stages of their development, be analysed as negated exceptive conditionals, which eventually become exceptive conjunctions (see chapter 5.2).

³⁹ Compare (von Stechow 1992: 138):

- (a) Prof. Arid will pass you in Linguistics 123 if you don't fail the final exam and if you don't make less than a C on your term paper.
- (b) *Prof. Arid will pass you in Linguistics 123 unless you fail the final exam and unless you make less than a C on your term paper.

(7) ende **ne** senden si dien cost, metten, vorseiden,
 and NEG send they that cost with-the aforementioned
 penninghen **niet** ten vorseiden, tarmine, so souden si hem
 coins not by-the aforementioned term, so would they them
 ten, Naesten, baemesse achte ende vijftich, marc, hollandsc
 by-the next St Bavo mass eight and fifty marks Hollandic
 vore dien, vorseiden cost ghelden.
 for this aforementioned cost pay
 ‘And if they do not send that cost, with the aforementioned coins, by the
 aforementioned term, they would pay him fifty-eight Holland marks for this
 aforementioned cost by the next St Bavo’s Mass.’
 (13th c. HL: Corp.I, 0233, Dordrecht, 15 augustus 1278)

(8) Ende der borghen ware negheen Hi **ne** soude verboren
 And of bail was none he NEG would forfeit
 al sijn goet,
 all his goods
 ‘And there was no bail, unless he would forfeit all his goods.’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, IV, 387)

Table 5 below presents the frequencies of exceptives in the corpus, and shows that, from the 17th century onwards, exceptives come to represent an increasing percentage of all preverbal tokens in the data, in West Flemish as well as Hollandic. However, as sections 4.3.2 to 4.3.5 will show, this is due to the disappearance of other types of resilient preverbal markers, and not a change within the category of exceptives itself. Within my data, exceptives do not necessarily undergo considerable change in terms of frequency across the centuries, but they do develop substantially on the level of the form itself; chapter 5.2 will demonstrate that exceptives underwent grammaticalisation from clausal constructions to conjunctions. In what follows, I will set out the development of exceptives attested in my data, and these findings will then lie at the basis of the analysis in chapter 5.2.

Exceptives						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	23	48%	51	12	24%
14 th c.	31	5	16%	37	5	14%
15 th c.	34	10	29%	90	30	33%
16 th c.	25	8	32%	35	9	26%
17 th c.	61	28	46%	20	13	65%
18 th c.	8	8	100%	6	6	100%

Table 5 Exceptives in the data

4.3.1.2 Thirteenth-century data

In my 13th-century data, I have identified three types of exceptives, based on their form: a first type (example 9) takes the form of a clause consisting of an NP subject, which is usually a pronoun, a preverbal negative marker, a verb – any verb – usually in the subjunctive mood, and any other complements or adjuncts necessary to complete the clause. A second class (example 10) is formed of a clause followed by a complement clause: the former consists of an optional expletive pronoun *het* ‘it’, the preverbal negative marker, and the verb *sijn* ‘be’ in the subjunctive mood (*si* or *waer*); the complement clause that follows is introduced by *dat* ‘that’. In two West Flemish tokens, however, the complement clause is introduced by *of* ‘or’, rather than *dat* ‘that’. In terms of semantics, in the latter type, the exception itself is expressed in the initial clause, while its content, i.e. what is ‘excepted’, is contained in the complement clause. The former type, however, expresses the exception on the entire clause.

- (9) Die grave ne woudse niet ontfaen, **Hine mochter** mede
 The count NEG would-it not receive, he-NEG could.SUBJ-it with
 sinen wille doen
 his will do
 ‘The count would not receive it, unless he could do with it what he wanted’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, IV, 369)

(10) ende wacht hem wie sone bestaet **het ne sij dat** die euer
 and beware him who so-him attacks it NEG be._{SUBJ} that the boar
 ontfact .j. doodwonde ter ersten steke
 receives 1 death wound at-the first strike
 ‘And beware whoever attacks it, unless the boar receives a deadly wound at
 the first strike.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 39:17)

In short, these two classes of exceptives (henceforth type 1 and 2 exceptives) can be represented as follows:

TYPE 1: NP NEG V._{SUBJ}

TYPE 2: (IT) NEG BE._{SUBJ} THAT-CP

A third type of exceptives attested in the data is formally similar to type 2 exceptives, but rather than taking a complement clause, they take a prepositional phrase (PP), allowing a reading of the clause similar to that of type 1 exceptives. For this reason, I argue that this third type is a hybrid of type 1 and 2 exceptives, and should be represented as follows:

HYBRID: (IT) NEG BE._{SUBJ} +PP

As example 11 below shows, the hybrid type of exceptive is formed by means of an optional pronoun *het* (it), the preverbal negative marker, and the verb *zijn* ‘be’ in the subjunctive mood. All tokens of this type in the dataset have this set structure, with *het* ‘it’ being optional, and the verb *zijn* ‘be’ occurring in its past and present subjunctive forms *si* and *ware*. In this way, the exceptive construction in example 11 is similar to the way type 2 exceptives are formed.

- (11) want ic ne hadde den arebeit niet bestan lude no stille
 for I NEG had the work not started loudly nor quietly
hetne ware dor sinen wille
 it-NEG were._{SUBJ} through his will
 ‘For I would not have started the work, loudly or quietly, except through his will.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 415:38)

The difference between type 2 and hybrid exceptives, then, is that rather than taking a complement clause, the verb *zijn* ‘be’ can still function as the finite verb to the entire clause, like the verb in type 1 clauses. This is the case for example 11 above, but the 14th-century token below (example 12) provides a clearer illustration of this point: due to the presence of a past participle in the clause, the verb *ware* ‘be’ must function as the auxiliary in the verb phrase. This entails that the clause below must, in principle, be read as ‘were it not governed...’ rather than ‘unless it were governed’; this issue, however, will be explored in detail in chapter 5.2; for now, I will, in the present chapter, continue to use the translation of *unless* or *except*⁴⁰ in example clauses.

- (12) Merct hoe soude moghen wesen Die lichame wel ghegouverneert,
 Notice how would can be the body well governed
Het ne ware bi den hoofde **gheconsenteert**,
 It NEG be._{SUBJ} by the head permitted
 ‘Notice, how could the body be well governed, unless it were governed by the head?’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 4549)

⁴⁰ In English, *unless* functions as a conjunction while *except* functions as a preposition, and it is the latter which is used in contexts such as example 8, with a PP complement. Thus, while in historical Dutch, these two structures are both formed with *tenzij* (see chapter 2.7 for a discussion of Present-day *tenzij* and its usage), for the English translations of my examples, I have used either *tenzij* or *except*, depending on the clause type.

Exceptives in the data per type, WF				
	Tot.	Type 1	Type 2	Hybrid
13 th c.	23	13	7	3
14 th c.	5	2	1	2
15 th c.	10	2	1	7
16 th c.	8	0	6	2
17 th c.	28	0		28
18 th c.	8	0		8

Table 6 Exceptives in the data per type, West Flemish

Exceptives in the data per type, HL				
	Tot.	Type 1	Type 2	Hybrid
13 th c.	12	9	0	3
14 th c.	5	2	1	2
15 th c.	30	11	10	9
16 th c.	9	0	8	1
17 th c.	13	0		13
18 th c.	6	0		6

Table 7 Exceptives in the data per type, Hollandic

Tables 6 and 7 provide an overview of the frequencies of all three exceptive types in the data. As the above tables show, in my 13th-century West Flemish data, all three types are attested – 13 type 1 exceptives, 7 type 2 tokens, and 3 hybrid forms – but in Hollandic, only type 1 and hybrid exceptives occur, within 9 and 3 tokens respectively. The structure and development of exceptives in historical Dutch has not been addressed to any significant degree in the literature, as noted in chapter 2.7: only Beheydt (1998: 98) – in an unpublished MA thesis – and Breitbarth (2013: 204) provide a brief description, noting that they are V2 clauses with preverbal negation and the verb in the subjunctive mood. In fact, type 1 exceptives are usually seen as a precursor to the *het en zij* construction, which later grammaticalises into the Present-day Dutch conjunction *tenzij* ‘unless’ – a process that will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.2. However, as noted above, seven tokens of type 2 exceptives are attested simultaneously with the type 1 forms, though only in West Flemish, and hybrid exceptives occur at the same time as well. The development of exceptives is thus not as straightforward as assumed by these authors.

While the exceptive is not discussed in any great detail in scholarship on Early Dutch, Breitbarth (2014: 32) does address exceptives more extensively in the context of Middle Low German, arguing that exceptives there have the same basic structure as their Dutch counterparts: they too are V2 clauses, have the single preverbal negative marker, and a verb in the subjunctive mood. However, in Middle Low German, only clauses with a structure similar to the Dutch type 1 exceptives are attested (NP NEG V._{SUBJ}), which are argued to later develop into the Low German construction *it si dan* ‘it be._{SUBJ} than’ (Breitbarth 2014: 33). In Middle High German, exceptive clauses of both types seem to be attested: Holmberg (1967: 32)

distinguishes “Exzeptivsätze”, of the type *ez ensi/enwari thaz* ‘it NEG be.SUBJ that-CP’, and “konjunktionslose *ne*-Sätze” that have an exceptive meaning, although according to Holmberg (1967: 32), they should be translated with *dass nicht* ‘that ... not’, *ohne dass* ‘without’, *ohne zu* ‘without’ or with a negated relative clause, rather than *es sei denn* ‘unless’. This may point to an analysis of this latter clause type as an expletive with an exceptive meaning, although according to Jäger (2008: 141),⁴¹ the verb in these clauses is in the subjunctive mood, which would imply that they are, in my analysis, type 1 exceptives. Based on the somewhat limited data provided by Holmberg (1967) and Jäger (2008), it is thus unclear whether Middle High German exceptives should be analysed as true exceptives, or as expletives with an exceptive meaning. That the categorisation of this type of exceptives in High German is not straightforward is perhaps not surprising, though, considering that, as discussed above, the line between these two categories is already quite blurry in my own corpus: perhaps in High German, it has disappeared altogether – although this cannot be verified without a more extensive dataset of historical High German exceptives.

As alluded to above, while exceptives have, each within their own types, a somewhat fixed structure, some variation is still attested. First, as I have already noted, the initial pronoun of type 2 exceptives is optional, unlike the exceptive clauses in Middle High German (Jäger 2008). Therefore, clauses such as (13) are attested in the data.

(13) So art dat mene graueren ne can **ensi** **dat**mene
 so hard that one-it engrave NEG can NEG-be.SUBJ that-one-it
 snider der an met splenteren van den adamant
 cuts-there there on with splinters of the adamantine
 ‘so hard that one cannot engrave it, unless one cuts it with chips of
 adamantine.’

(13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 390:22)

⁴¹ Jäger does not address exceptives of the type *ez ensi/enwari thaz* ‘it NEG be.SUBJ that-CP’.

In addition, the NP in type 1 exceptives is usually a pronoun, but this is not always the case: in three tokens, a full NP is attested, as example (14) shows. This does not appear to be attested in Breitbarth's (2014) Middle Low German data.

- (14) dat siins soens monbare van alle desen dinghen die hier voren
 that his son's guardian of all these things that here before
 ghesproken siin, niet wandelen sal moghen, **des sgraven sone**
 spoken are not trade will may the count's son
ensi tventich iaer out
 NEG-be.SUBJ twenty year old
 'that his son's guardian, of all these things that have been discussed above,
 will not be permitted to trade, unless the count's son is twenty years old.'
 (13th c. HL: CG, Corp.I, 0778A', Holland, grafelijke kanselarij, 21 maart
 1288, 1271:26)

Further variation within the structure of exceptives relates to the verb: the verb is usually described as being in V2 position in the clause (Breitbarth 2013) – the same is true for Middle Low German and Middle High German exceptives (Breitbarth 2014; Jäger 2008) – but as example (13) above indicates, when the initial NP is elided, the verb ends up in V1 position. Thus, as a consequence of variation within the NP subject of exceptives, variation can arise in terms of word order.

In terms of the impact of text genre on the corpus, my data show that exceptives are the only type of resilient preverbal marker attested in chancery texts in my 13th-century data, and they remain the most frequent type of preverbal *ne/en* in chancery texts throughout the dataset. This is perhaps not surprising, since chancery texts often contain laws, regulations, contractual agreements, etc., as well as legal or contractual exceptions to those statements, which would be formulated by means of exceptive constructions. The relatively frequent occurrence of exceptives in the chancery texts throughout my corpus is thus likely not the result of stylistic choices or formal language, but rather of the usual contents of administrative texts.

4.3.1.2 Fourteenth-century data

All three exceptive types continue to occur in the 14th-century data: in West Flemish, two type 1 exceptives and three hybrid tokens are attested, while in Hollandic, two type 1 tokens occur, one type 2 and two hybrid tokens. Thus, while type 2 exceptives were in the 13th century only attested in my West Flemish data, in the 14th century, they only occur in my Hollandic data – an example of a type 2 Hollandic token can be found below.

(15) En_ wilt ooc wete_ dat ic den cardinalen niet so wel en
And want also know that I the cardinal not so well NEG
betrouwe dat ic hem yet te vore_ der gheue_
trust that I him anything before there give
het en ware dat ic in onser zaken wat ghevordert
it NEG be.SUBJ that I in our business something advanced
zaghe
saw

‘And know also that I do not trust the cardinal enough that I would give him anything beforehand, unless I saw something (having) advanced in our business.’

(14th c. HL: CRM14, K094p35503, Dordrecht 1355)

As noted above (example 12), one hybrid token is attested in the 14th-century West Flemish data that forces a reading of the verb *zijn* ‘be’ as an auxiliary, from which it follows that the individual elements within the exceptive all still have their original functions as pronoun, negative marker and verb (see also chapter 5.2). In the 14th-century Hollandic data, one of the two hybrid tokens (example 16) contains a contracted form, *ten si* ‘it-NEG be.SUBJ’: in this token, the pronoun has cliticised to the negative marker. As I will show in chapter 5.2, the cliticisation of this form may, though need not, indicate that the form has progressed further along the grammaticalisation cline.

(16) in deser manieren dat lobberich en_ die kinder voers_ dit
 in this way that lobberich and the children aforementioned this
 huus en_ erue voers_ bruken en_ oerbaren zullen tot
 house and land aforementioned use and profit will to
 hoerer liue toe mer niet te vercopen **ten si bi** gh_t heren
 their lives to but not to sell it-NEG be.SUBJ by gherrit lord
 wille voers_
 will aforementioned

‘... in this way that Lobberich and the aforementioned children will use and profit from this house and aforementioned land for the benefit of their lives, but not sell it, except by the will of the aforementioned lord Gherrit.’
 (14th c. HL: CRM14: Oorkonde E109p38001, Amsterdam 1380)

Finally, one token in the West Flemish data takes both a preposition *bi* ‘by’ and a *that*-complementiser (example 17): it could, perhaps, be argued that the exceptive can be analysed as either a hybrid exceptive, with a PP following the exceptive construction, or a type 2 exceptive, which takes a *that*-complement clause.

(17) Om dat mesval des menschen al Hadde ghegheven so
 Because misfortune of-the people already had given so
 zwaren val Dat het niet oprechten ne mochte, **En ware bi dat**
 heavy fall That it not right itself NEG could NEG be.SUBJ by that
 Gabriel brochte Die boodscip, so over scoone,
 Gabriel brought The gospel so about beauty
 Van den vader hutten troone,
 of the father out-the heaven

‘Because the misfortune of the people had already caused such a heavy fall, that it could not right itself, except by Gabriel bringing the gospel, about beauty, from the father in heaven.’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 4117)

However, the finite verb form *brochte* ‘brought’ points to a clausal complement, rather than a phrasal one, and thus, to an analysis as a type 2 exceptive. The

occurrence of *bi* ‘by’, then, remains curious, as it does not appear to have any particular function in the clause; it may even be a simple scribal error.

4.3.1.3 Fifteenth-century data

The 15th-century data still contain all three exceptive types: in the West Flemish data, two type 1 tokens, one type 2 token and seven hybrid tokens are attested, while in the Hollandic data, eleven type 1, ten type 2, and nine hybrid exceptives occur. Type 1 exceptives (example 18) remain unchanged, and the same is true for all but one type 2 Hollandic token, which exhibits contraction of the pronoun to the preverbal marker, resulting in the form *ten wair dat* (example 19).

- (18) want men ne behoort up niemende te procedeerne
for one NEG should on no one to prosecute
hij ne zij ghedachvaert tzynre prochykerke
he NEG be.SUBJ summoned to-his parish church
‘for one should not prosecute anyone, unless he is summoned to his parish church.’

(15th c. WF: Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 27:23)

- (19) wel sach ic mede dattet altoos bleef ligghende op een stede
well saw I also that-it thusly remained lying on a place
ten wair dat meet wech dede
it-NEG be.SUBJ that one-it away did
‘I was as well that it would remain lying there like that, unless they removed it.’

(15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 37vb)

Within the category of hybrids, several more contracted forms are attested: two in the Hollandic data and one in West Flemish; for the West Flemish data, it is the first occurrence of a contracted form (example 20).

(20) dat men die parcheelen niet ontdeelen noch ontlooten
 that one the plots not divide nor auction
 en mach **ten zy by** zinen propren wille ende consente
 NEG can it-NEG be._{SUBJ} by his own will and consent
 ‘that one may not divide or auction off the plots of land, except by his own
 will and consent.’
 (15th c. WF: CHN brugge_1462_1)

In addition, two West Flemish type 2 tokens are introduced by *of* (example 21): one possible explanation for the occurrence of *of* may be the similarity between exceptives and a subtype of expletives, discussed in 4.3.2 below, which carry an exceptive meaning and are often introduced by *of*. In 15th-century West Flemish, however, no expletives occur with *of*, and thus, exceptives with *of* may not be modelled after expletives after all. In the Hollandic data, on the other hand, expletives are regularly introduced by *of* in the 15th century, but conversely, in this variety, exceptives are never introduced by *of*. Why this *of* is attested in West Flemish exceptives in my data, then, is not entirely clear.

(21) Want die by hem comt sonder ontboden tsine die verbuert
 For who by him comes without summoned to-be that-one loses
 sijn lijf **Of het ne ware dat** hem de conync dat verghave
 his life Or it NEG be._{SUBJ} that him the king that forgave
 ‘For he who comes to him without being summoned, loses his life, unless
 the king forgave him that.’
 (15th c. WF: Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 24:10)

A number of tokens are furthermore attested that do not easily fit into one of the three categories of exceptives outlined above. First, one Hollandic token (example 22) has the same reading as example 12 above: the verb *waer* ‘be’ must be interpreted as an auxiliary verb to the participle *gheweest* ‘been’, and the clause below therefore must represent an ungrammaticalised exceptive construction.

(22) ende ic en wiste wie te vraghen **het en waer** gracie **gheweest**
 and I NEG knew whom to ask it NEG be.SUBJ grace been
 ‘And I did not know whom to ask, had it not been grace.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 18va)

A further idiosyncratic Hollandic exceptive (example 23) takes, for the most part, the form of a type 2 exceptive, *het en waer dat* ‘it NEG be.SUBJ that’, with an additional word, *saecke* ‘case’ inserted before the complementiser. The addition of the word *saecke* forces an interpretation of the exceptive as a negated verb, because *saecke* functions as the predicative complement to the verb. Thus, because all elements of the exceptive construction – the pronoun, negative marker and verb – still have their original functions, the below exceptive construction, like example 20 above, must be considered ungrammaticalized.

(23) Ende alsdan sal hij dy onder hem houden
 And then will he you under him hold
het en waer saecke datstu bij crachte verwins.
 it NEG be.SUBJ case that-you by strength win
 ‘And then he will hold you under him, unless it were the case that you win through strength.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 36rb)

Finally, a number of tokens is attested in the data that take the form of hybrid exceptives,⁴² but take a different complement than a PP: two West Flemish and two Hollandic tokens take a noun phrase (example 24), one Hollandic exceptive takes an adverb (example 25), and a further Hollandic token takes an adjective phrase.

(24) Ic en weet wattet bediet **het en zij sothede**
 I NEG know what-it means it NEG be.SUBJ madness
 ‘I do not know what it means, unless it were madness.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 35vb)

⁴² These tokens were included in the number of 15th-century hybrid exceptives provided above.

- (25) Dus ic waerschu di dastu anders niet en gheloefs
 Thus I warn you that-you otherwise not NEG believe
ten zij aldus
 it-NEG be._{SUBJ} thusly
 ‘Thus I warn you, that you otherwise do not believe, unless it were thusly.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 18vb)

The exceptives in the above clauses can either be analysed like examples 22 and 23 above, with each element having its original function, or as a semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’; however, as I will show in chapter 5.2, for one of the West Flemish tokens that takes an NP (example 26), only the former analysis is applicable, due to the attestation of *of*, which, I argue, can only introduce a clause, not a unified construction.

- (26) Ende men sal daer buten niet gaen noch ooc die excederen
 And one will there beyond not go nor too that excede
 in gheenre manieren of anders yet meer in brynghen
 in any way or otherwise something more in bring
of het en ware de circumstancien die daer toe dienen
 or it NEG be._{SUBJ} the circumstances that there to serve
 ‘And one shall not go beyond that or exceed it in any way, or otherwise bring anything more into it, were it not for the circumstances that serve that purpose.’
 (15th c. WF: Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 29:19)

This issue, as well as the other data discussed above, will be explored further in chapter 5.2, which will address the grammaticalisation of exceptives as a whole.

4.3.1.4 Sixteenth-century data

In the sixteenth-century data, two major changes are attested in the development of exceptives. Firstly, type 1 exceptives, taking the form NP NEG V._{SUBJ} are no longer attested: only type 2 and hybrid tokens remain. In the Hollandic data, eight type 2 and one hybrid token occur, while in West Flemish, six type 2 exceptives and two

hybrid tokens are attested. Secondly, all but one West Flemish token exhibit cliticisation of the pronoun to the negative marker, resulting in forms such as *ten sy* or *ten waere*. One Hollandic type 2 exceptive is represented in example 27 below. The one West Flemish exceptive that does not have a cliticised form occurs without the pronoun altogether (example 28), and two West Flemish tokens – one type 2 and one hybrid – are introduced by *ofte* ‘or’.

- (27) mer ghij en hebt daer ghene wijn **ten sij dat** ghijse
 but you NEG have there no wine it-NEG be.SUBJ that you-it
 voer v brenckt
 for you bring
 ‘But you have no wine there, unless you bring it for yourself.’
 (16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, p. 147)

- (28) ende scerpelic interdicerende [...] gheen ander personen te nemenen
 and strongly prohibiting [...] no other persons to take
 omme eenighe instellinghen te doene [...] **en zy dat** hemlieden
 to any appraising to do [...] NEG be.SUBJ that them
 gheetocht zy d'acte van de sentencie mitsgaeders tbillet van den
 shown is the-deed of the sentence alongside the-bill of the
 scepene
 aldermen
 ‘... and strongly prohibiting to take no other persons to do any appraising,
 unless they have been shown the deed of the sentence along with the bill of
 the aldermen.’
 (16th c. WF: CHN kortrijk_1545_1)

In addition, four type 2 exceptives are attested in the 16th-century Hollandic data that include the element *sake* ‘case’, resulting in a reading of *waer* ‘be’ as a full verb in the exceptive construction, as shown in example 29.

- (29) Ende hij en muet oock nymmermeer wt sijn hoff ghaen dan
 And he NEG must also never again out his court go than
 twee ofte driemael tsaers **ten waer sake dattet** hem
 twice or thrice per-year it-NEG be.SUBJ case that-it him
 sonderlanck gheghunt waer vanden raet van veneetgien
 exceptionally conceded were of-the council of Venice
 ‘And he must also never leave his court more than two or three times a year,
 unless it were the case that it was exceptionally conceded to him by the
 council of Venice.’
 (16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, p. 45)

One hybrid is furthermore attested with an NP complement rather than a PP (example 30). Like the 15th-century tokens in examples 22 and 23, the individual elements of the exceptive construction – pronoun, negative marker and verb – can either be analysed as carrying their original meanings and functions, or the exceptive can be analysed as a semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’; the analysis of the below exceptive is thus ambiguous.

- (30) hoe souden sy hemlieden van heurlieder salven niet connen helpen
 how would they them from them selves not can help
 om leven (...) **ten waere** die groote nateurlijcke liefde ende
 to live (...) it-NEG be.subj the great natural love and
 vriendschap die de moeder draeght tot haeren kynde
 friendship that the mother carries to her child
 ‘How would they not be able to help them, out of themselves, to live, except
 for the great natural love and friendship that the mother carries to her child.’
 (16th c. WF: Zeghere van Male, *Lamentatie*, p. 4)

Finally, one type 2 exceptive is attested in the West Flemish data that does not contain the *dat* complementiser (example 31). This token is the only exceptive within its source text (a chancery text), and therefore, it is unclear whether it is part of a larger pattern or perhaps a scribal error.

(31) Ende voor tzoucken van dien zo dicmael hy daertoe van weghe
 And for the-search of this zo often he for-that from way
 de goede lieden verzocht zal worden twee grooten **ten waere**
 the good people requested will be two groats it-NEG be._{SUBJ}
 zy begheerden daervut extract ghemaect te wordene
 they desired there-out certificate made to become
 daervooren men zal betalen vier grooten
 for-that one will pay four groats
 ‘And for the searching of this, he will often for that purpose from the good
 people request two groats, unless they desired to have a certificate for that,
 for which one will pay four groats.’
 (16th c. WF: CHN brugge_1579_1)

However, as I will show below, the 17th-century data – in West Flemish as well as
 Hollandic – contains a relatively large number of such tokens, which have
 grammaticalised further, and become conjunctions (see chapter 5.2).

4.3.1.5 Seventeenth-century data

In my seventeenth-century data, type 2 and hybrid exceptives have begun to merge:
 all tokens take the form *‘t en zij* or *‘t en waere* – in various spellings – and those that
 introduce a clausal complement no longer consistently take the complementiser *dat*.
 In fact, among the 17 West Flemish tokens taking a finite clausal complement (of 28
 exceptives in total), 10 no longer contain *dat*, and among the 11 Hollandic
 exceptives with a clausal complement (of 13 exceptives in total), 8 are not attested
 with *dat*. Examples 32 and 33 below show that *dat* is indeed optional: both occur
 within the same text, but one contains *dat*, and the other does not.

(32) De Christenen met een Turcksche vrouwe bevonden,
 The Christians with a Turkish woman found
 worden verbrandt, **'t en zy dat** sy Turckx willen worden
 are burnt unless that they Turkish want become
 ‘The Christians who are found with a Turkish woman are burnt, unless they
 want to become Turkish.’

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 137)

(33) Men betaelt niet **'t en zy** het den dagh is vanden Divan
 One pays not unless it the day is of-the Divan
 ‘One does not pay unless it is the day of the Divan.’

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 126)

Exceptives are furthermore attested with PPs (in 5 West Flemish tokens and 1
 Hollandic token), but also, in West Flemish, in two cases with a noun phrase (NP), in
 one token with an adjective phrase (AdjP), and in two cases with a non-finite clause.
 Examples 34 and 35 below contain a PP and AdjP respectively.

(34) in welcken gevalle deselve gehouden sal wesen uyt de
 in which case the-same beholden will be out the
 voors compagnie te scheyden **ten waere** met bewilliginge
 aforementioned company to separate except with willingness
 van de andere comparante
 of the other party
 ‘... in which case the same (person) shall be beholden to separate from the
 aforementioned company except through willingness of the other party.’

(17th c. HL: CHN leiden_1637_3)

(35) want de Turcken en sitten noyt **'t en zy** plat ter aerden,
 for the turks NEG sit never except flat on-the ground
 hebbende de beenen over-kruys
 having the legs over-crossed
 ‘For the Turks never sit, except flat on the ground, having the legs crossed.’

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 70)

Exceptives in my 17th-century data, then, appear to function as conjunctions, and no longer as clausal elements. The omission of *dat* supports this argument, as conjunctions do not typically take an additional complementiser in Dutch,⁴³ and type 2 exceptives did not connect to their clausal complements *asyndetically* in the earlier data. Exceptives have thus progressed even further along the grammaticalisation cline in the 17th-century data.

4.3.1.6 Eighteenth-century data

Finally, in the eighteenth century, exceptives are the only remaining type of resilient preverbal *ne/en* attested in the data. Eight West Flemish (example 36) and six Hollandic (example 37) exceptive tokens are attested in total.

- (36) De respective koopers zullen hun moeten contenteren met
 The respective buyers will themselves must be-content with
 de groote van lande [...] **ten waere** den kooper liever hadde
 the size of land [...] unless the buyer rather had
 binnen de 14 dagen naer den overslagh hunne gekochte
 within the 14 days after the appointment their bought
 partye te doen meten ofte ermeten
 property to do measure or remeasure
 ‘The respective buyers will have to be content with the size of the land [...] unless the buyer prefers to, within 14 days after the appointment, measure or remeasure their bought property.’
 (18th c. WF: CHN brugge_1750_1)

⁴³ Although some Dutch conjunctions are formed by combining a preposition and *dat*: see, for example, *omdat* ‘because’, *voordat* ‘before’, *nadat* ‘after’, etc. This will be discussed further in chapter 5.2.

(37) en dat het onmooglyk is een loffelyk Poët te zyn, 't en zy
 and that it impossible is a praiseworthy poet to be unless
 de verbeeldingskragt door geleerdheid gestaaft, en door oordeel
 the imagination by learnedness supported and by judgement
 gerigt werde.
 righted is
 ‘and that it is impossible to be a praiseworthy poet, unless the power of
 imagination is supported by learnedness and righted by judgement.’
 (18th c. HL: Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator* Part 1, No.24)

As the above examples show, both *t en zy* (and other spellings such as *tenzij*) and *ten waere* are still attested, although *ten waere*, which represents half of the West Flemish tokens, occurs once in the Hollandic data. This one Hollandic token, however, occurs in prose that reflects another person’s vernacular (see also the discussion of postverbal negation in the *Hollandsche Spectator* in 4.2 above), and is thus not representative of the author’s own usage of the exceptive conjunction. In addition, no exceptives are attested which take *dat* ‘that’ as a complementiser in either West Flemish or Hollandic. While this complete loss of *dat* in the data may point to the further grammaticalisation of exceptives, it should be noted that in Present-day West Flemish, exceptives with *dat* still occur, as shown in chapter 2.7. It is, then, somewhat unclear why *dat* is not attested in the West Flemish data in the 18th century. One possibility is that the author aimed towards the more normative usage of *tenzij/tenwaere* at the time, which may not have included the complementiser; this option will be explored in chapter 6.5.3.

4.3.1.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have shown that the development of exceptives in my West Flemish and Hollandic data is not as straightforward as is has been presented in past scholarship, which considers it simply a matter of *het en zij* becoming *tenzij*. Instead, I have identified three types of exceptive clause:

Type 1: NP NEG V.SUBJ

Type 2: (IT) NEG BE.SUBJ THAT-CP

Hybrid: (IT) NEG BE.SUBJ +PP

Type 1 exceptives are lost by the 16th century, and type 2 and hybrid exceptives merge and undergo grammaticalisation in their development from clausal constructions to conjunctions by the 17th century. The pronoun *het* ‘it’ contracts to the preverbal marker *en*, and is, along with a subjunctive form of the verb *zijn* ‘be’, reanalysed as a semantic unit meaning ‘unless’ or ‘except’, which eventually functions as a conjunction. This process of grammaticalisation will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.2.

4.3.2 Expletives

A second type of preverbal markers in my data is that of a marker *ne/en* occurring in clauses where it does not in express negation, but is instead an expletive particle,⁴⁴ and thus semantically empty. I have, in chapter 2, referred to such clauses as *expletives*. Expletives occur fairly frequently in the early data, as table 8 below shows, although their usage begins to decline from the 16th century onwards in the West Flemish data, and the 17th century in Hollandic, and disappears entirely by the 18th century.

Expletives						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	8	17%	51	24	47%
14 th c.	31	16	52%	37	21	57%
15 th c.	34	11	32%	90	36	40%
16 th c.	25	2	8%	35	11	31%
17 th c.	61	6	10%	20	3	15%
18 th c.	8	0	0%	6	0	0%

Table 8 Expletives in the data

⁴⁴ A second type of expletive marker will be discussed in 4.3.4 below, in relation to the adverb *maer*. For the sake of convenience and clarity, however, the term *expletives* will in this study only be used to refer to clauses containing an expletive preverbal marker used on its own, as described above.

Expletives, sometimes also referred to as ‘paratactic negation’, are often similar in structure to exceptives: according to the data, as well as existing scholarship (see chapter 2.7), such clauses consist of an optional pronoun, a preverbal negative marker *ne/en*, an indicative verb in V2 position, and any additional necessary complements or adjuncts. In other words, the verb being in the indicative mood can often be the only structural indication that the clause is an expletive, rather than an exceptive. Expletives are, in the 13th-century data, always attested after clauses containing negation (example 38), adversative predicates such as *twijfelen* ‘doubt’, *vrezen* ‘fear’ or expressions such as *cume* ‘barely’ (example 39), or comparative clauses (example 40). Expletives following negated predicates can be translated in Dutch by means of an *of*-clause: a Dutch translation is included in (38) below. In Dutch linguistics, such clauses translated with an *of*-conjunction are often referred to as *balansschikking* (Haeseryn et al. 1997). In one instance in the 13th-century data, the expletive is already introduced by means of the *of*-conjunction.

- (38) Daer ne bleef man groot noch clene
 there NEG remained man large nor small
 Si **ne** treckeden alle ter were.
 they NEG travelled all to war
 ‘No man remained there, large or small; they all went to war.’
 ‘Geen man bleef daar, groot noch klein, of ze trokken allen ten strijde.’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, IV, 951)

- (39) stene die comen van orient niemen ne twifels
 stones that come from orient no one NEG doubts-it
 die men vroet kent **sine** sijn van groter macht
 that one well knows they-NEG are of great power
 ‘Stones that come from the orient, no one doubts it, who knows them well,
 that they have great power.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 376:34)

(40) Hi ne worde so coene nemmer dan, Dat hi **ne** saghe
 He NEG became so brave never-again than that he NEG saw
 met oghen an: Si souden hem comen also tide, Dat hijs te
 with eyes own They would him come such time that he-it to
 rechte mocht wesen blide
 right could be happy
 ‘He never again became so brave as, when he saw with his own eyes: they
 would come to him at such time, that he could rightly be glad.’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, VII, 615)

As noted in the discussion on exceptives, the divide between exceptives and expletives is often somewhat blurred, something that was also pointed out by Breitbarth (2013): my data contain 6 tokens which are formed with an indicative verb – as one would encounter in clauses containing an expletive – but which have an exceptive meaning, as example (41) shows.

(41) In Vrancrike ne mocht tier stonde Altoes niemant coninc wesen,
 In France NEG may at-this time at all no one king be
 Het **en** was altemael bi desen.
 It NEG be entirely by his
 ‘In France, no one at all could at this time be king, except entirely by his
 doing.’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek* I, 212)

However, these clauses are in Present-day Dutch also often translated with an *of*-clause (‘of’), i.e. *balansschikking*, rather than a *tenzij*-clause (‘unless’):

(42) In Frankrijk kon helemaal niemand op dat moment koning, zijn, *of* het was
 volledig door zijn toedoen.

In other words, these clauses look, structurally, like expletives following a negated predicate, and can be represented by the same *of*-construction in Present-day Dutch, yet have an exceptive meaning. These rather confusing data thus show that the distinction between exceptives and expletive clauses is indeed not clear-cut, and this

characterisation is muddied further by some of the scholarship, which, as noted in the discussion of exceptives above, often groups together all exceptives and expletives into one category. Van der Horst (2008), for instance, groups together not only exceptives and expletives, but includes negative conditionals as well, while Burrige (1993) not only groups together exceptives and expletives, but creates two separate categories, paratactic negation and pleonastic negation, based on whether the clause containing the expletive marker is an independent or embedded clause (see also chapter 2.7).

For these reasons, and for the sake of clarity, I will continue distinguishing exceptives from expletives, based on their structure: only exceptives take a verb in the subjunctive mood, and they must, both in their Present-day Dutch and English equivalents, always be translated with ‘unless’ or ‘except’. Expletives, then, have a similar structure but have their verb in the indicative mood. Expletives can be divided into three subcategories: those following a negated predicate (which can be translated by means of an *of*-conjunction), those that come after an adversative predicate, and those that come after a comparative. The clauses described above, which are semantically exceptive but structurally expletive, will be considered expletives in this categorisation, precisely because of their different form: it is not this clause type that goes on to grammaticalise to the exceptive conjunction *tenzij/tenware (dat)* ‘unless’; rather, these clauses continue to be expressed by means of the *of*-construction in Present-day Dutch.

The form of expletives in the 14th-century remains the same, consisting of a personal pronoun, preverbal *ne/en* and verb phrase in the indicative mood. Expletives that follow a negated clause are most frequent in both West Flemish and Hollandic (example 43), though expletives following an adversative predicate such as *twijfelen* or words like *cume* are attested as well (example 44). Expletives after a comparative are not attested in the 14th-century data, and no expletives are introduced by *of*, unlike one 13th-century token.

(43) Al hiete icse stille staen, Off den waghen
 Although commanded I-them sill stand or the wagon
 ommekrenghen, Die ossen **en** willens **niet** ghehenghen,
 turn around The oxen NEG want-it not allow
Sine trecken altoes vaste voert.
 they-NEG pull always steadily further
 ‘Even if I commanded them to stand still, or to turn around the wagon, the
 oxen do not want to allow it; they always pull steadily on.’
 (14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, XVII, 225)

(44) Alsoe lieff had hi den hont, Dat hi en **cume** tenigher stont
 So love had he the dog that I him barely at-any time
 Afterliet, hi **en** nammen mede, Waer hi ghinc off wat hi dede.
 left behind He NEG took-him with where he went or what he did
 ‘So much did he love the dog, that he barely left him behind at any time, he
 took him with him, wherever he went or whatever he did.’
 (14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, XVIII, 7)

In addition, expletives seem to occur in contexts that do not have a negated or adversative predicate or a comparative clause preceding them: they are attested in other clause types that generally license NPIs (see chapter 2.4), such as interrogative clauses (example 45), or *before*-clauses (example 46).

(45) Ende **wie** es ooc gheboren dan Ter weerelt, wijf ofte man,
 And who is ever born then in-the world woman or man
Hine es van sonden seere besmit,
 He-NEG is of sin very contaminated
 ‘And whoever is born in the world, woman or man, who is not very
 contaminated by sin?’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 1210)

(46) **Eer** ghi die thien gheboden breect, Die God selve in u
 Before you the ten commandments break that God himself in you
 wreect Naden oerdel, als ghi vaert Om u misdaet ter
 punishes after-the judgement when you go for your misdeed to
 hellen waert, Ghi **en** wort in beter staet ghevonden Mit berou
 hell towards You NEG are in better state found with remorse
 van uwen sonden, Die u God wel mach vergeven,
 of your sins Which you God well may forgive
 ‘Before you break the ten commandments, which God himself punishes you
 for after the judgement, when you go for your crime towards hell, unless
 you are found in a better state, with remorse for your sins, for which God
 may well forgive you.’

(14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, IV, 611)

As in the 13th century, there are a number of expletives in the 14th-century data, in both West Flemish and Hollandic, which express an exceptive meaning despite taking the form of an expletive, as example (47) below shows; an English as well as a Dutch translation are included. The Present-day Dutch equivalent (*balansschikking*) would use a coordinating conjunction *of* ‘or’ to introduce the clause containing the expletive marker, and both clauses are usually argued to be in a paratactic relation to one another (Breitbarth 2013; Burridge 1993; van der Horst 2008). In order to translate the clause adequately into English, however, the latter clause needs to be introduced by *unless*, and is therefore effectively turned into a (subordinate) exceptive clause; the auxiliary verb *moeten* ‘must’ must furthermore be omitted for the translated sentence to be well-formed. However, as argued in 4.3.2 above, this kind of clause in Dutch should not be considered a true exceptive clause, despite its exceptive meaning: in terms of structure, it remains an expletive.

- (47) Maer hi was so vroet van sinne, Dat hierē hem bi wert
 But he was so wise of mind that he-there him with became
 minnende so Seere, dat hi nemmeer en was vroom,
 loving so very that he never again NEG was cheerful
Hine moeste bi Amande wesen,
 he-NEG must with Amand be
 ‘But he was so wise of mind, that he became so loving with him, that he
 was never again cheerful there, unless he was with Amand.’
 ‘Maar hij was zo wijs van geest, dat hij er bij hem nooit meer zo liefdevol
 werd, dat hij nooit meer vrolijk was, of hij moest bij Amand zijn.’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 4690)

In the 15th-century data, expletives following a negated clause are the most frequent type in both dialect areas, while expletives after an adversative predicate are attested in Hollandic with the verb *twijfelen* ‘to doubt’ (example 48), and in one West Flemish token with the verb *ignoreeren* ‘to ignore, to not know’.

- (48) Niet dat ic my yet **twijfel** ghy **en** hebt my de waerheit geseyt
 Not that I me anything doubt you NEG have me the truth told
 maer ic en verstaē vwe woerden so claer niet
 but I NEG understand your words so clearly not
 ‘Not that I doubt at all that you have told me the truth, but I do not
 understand your words very clearly.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 37rb)

An expletive that occurs after a comparative is attested in the data in one Hollandic token, while expletives with *of* are also attested in Hollandic, though not in the West Flemish data, and no such tokens were attested in the 14th century. Finally, a number of expletives are attested that have the form of an expletive, with the verb in the indicative mood, but an exceptive meaning, as discussed above: two such expletives are attested in West Flemish, and eight in Hollandic, and the majority of these Hollandic expletives are introduced by *of* (example 49).

- (49) Dat sal zijn als hij dy sal geuen van zijn ondersaten om hem te
 That will be if he you will give of his servants to him to
 helpen Niet anders en moechstuut doen **of** du **en** wils
 help not differently NEG can-it-you do or you NEG want-it
 misdoen
 do wrong
 ‘This will be, if he will give you one of his servants to help him. You cannot
 do it any differently, unless you want to do it wrong.’
 ‘Dat zal gebeuren als hij je een van zijn bedienden wil geven om hem te
 helpen. Je kan het niet anders doen, of je wil het verkeerd doen.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 10vb)

In the 16th-century West Flemish data, only two tokens are attested, and both are expletives following a comparative (example 50). All Hollandic tokens occur after a negated clause (example 51), and thus, no expletives are attested after adversative predicates. Three Hollandic tokens are furthermore introduced by *of*.

- (50) Och Heere, Godt, en laet op ons niet meer lydens, tentatie
 O Lord God NEG let onto us not anymore suffering torment
 noch verdriet commen dan wy verdraghen **en** kunnen,
 nor sadness come than we bear NEG can
 ‘O Lord, God, do not let any more suffering, torment nor sadness come onto
 us than we can bear.’
 (16th c. WF: *Lamentatie*, p. 82)
- (51) Item Voorts en kan ic niet geprocederen Ic **en** moet wat
 Similarly further NEG can I not proceed I NEG must something
 scriven noch van dat bittere lijden Christi ihesu gebenedijt
 write still of that bitter suffering of-Christ Jesus blessed
 ‘Similarly, further I cannot proceed, I must still write something of that
 bitter suffering of the blessed Jesus Christ.’
 (16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, p. 107)

In addition, in 16th-century Hollandic, five expletives are attested with an exceptive meaning, and four of these tokens are found in chancery texts (example 52): since exceptives are typically attested frequently in chancery texts due to the need to outline exceptions to certain rules, laws, and so forth, expletives with an exceptive meaning may be found in chancery texts for the same reason.

(52) Ende geen jongen die gast zijn en sullen tambocht mogen
 And no youngsters who guests are NEG will the-trade may
 leeren zij **en** sullen eerst tot proffijt van den outaer geven twee
 learn they NEG will first to profit of the altar give two
 pont was
 pounds compensation

‘And no youngsters who are guests will be allowed to learn the trade, unless they first give toward the profit of the altar two pounds compensation.’

(16th c. HL: CHN haarlem_1514_1)

Finally, in the 17th-century data, expletives are attested in six West Flemish and three Hollandic tokens. One expletive in West Flemish occurs after a comparative, and five are attested after a negated clause; three of these five have an exceptive meaning, and the other two tokens are introduced by *of* ‘or’ (example 53).

(53) Hy en kan niet versinnen tot ghenoechte sijn's lichaems,
 He NEG can not imagine to pleasure of-his body
often hy **en** heeft dat soo drae, sonder eenighen den minsten
 or he NEG has that immediately without any of-the least
 schroom des gewissens
 scruple of-the conscience

‘He cannot imagine (anything) for the pleasure of his body, before he has it immediately, without the least amount of scruple from his conscience.’

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 90)

In Hollandic, two expletives occur after a negated clause, and one after *twiffelen* ‘to doubt’; all are introduced by *of* ‘or’. One of the two expletives occurring after negation furthermore has an exceptive meaning, as example 54 shows.

(54) hoe, binnen 't ressort dezer jurisdictie, mijns bevindens, geene
 how within the area of-this jurisdiction to-my findings no
 Jesuijten, priesters, oft Pausgezinde leeraers zijn onthoudende, **oft** zij
 jesuits priests or papist teachers are holding up or they
en hebben hunne naemen aen de majestraet bekent gemaekt
 NEG have their names to the magistrate known made
 ‘How, within the area of this jurisdiction, according to my findings, no
 Jesuits, priests, or papist teachers are holding up, unless they have made
 their name known to the magistrate.’
 (17th c. HL: P.C. Hooft, Letter 647, 7)

In the 17th-century Hollandic data, all expletives are attested in the letters of Hooft, and all are found in two of his earlier letters, written in 1634. Thus, much like the bipartite marker disappears from the data after this point, so do expletives. This is supported by a paragraph in Hooft’s *Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael*, written between 1635 and 1638 (Zwaan 1939b), as shown below:

(55) 't Leed niet lang aen, oft zy quaemen, anders oft zy en quaemen: wat is
 beter? 't eerste
*It did not take long, or they came, otherwise or they NEG came: which is
 better? The first* (Zwaan 1939b: 239; my translation).

In the above quote, Hooft explicitly condemns expletives, arguing that the construction, *balansschikking* introduced by *of* ‘or’, should be used without the expletive marker. Such clauses are indeed attested already in Hooft’s letters, including in a letter written in 1634 (example 56); in other words, the construction without *en* is attested in Hooft’s letters in the same year as a number of clauses *with* the expletive marker (see example 54 above). This shows that the construction with the expletive is clearly still available and grammatical to Hooft, alongside the construction without an expletive marker. Only a few years later, however, Hooft deliberately chooses the option without the expletive, as he states in his *Waernemingen*.

- (56) Geen licht, in mijnen zin, **oft** het schaemt zich bij die
 No light, in my opinion or it embarrasses itself by the
 schaduwen
 shadows
 ‘(there is) no light, in my opinion, that is not embarrassed next to the
 shadows.
 (17th c. HL: P.C. Hooft, Letter 615, 12)

The same pattern is attested in the West Flemish data: alongside *balansschikking* constructions with the expletive marker, constructions without the expletive are attested as well, within the same text (example 57). Thus, for the West Flemish author, Vincent Stochove, both constructions, with or without the expletive marker, were available as well.

- (57) Wy vertrocken ontrent den avondt, ende en waren gheen mijl
 We left around the evening, and NEG were no mile
 in zee **of** de locht begost seer verstoort te worden
 in sea or the air began very perturbed to become
 ‘We left around the evening, and were no mile in the sea before the air
 began to become very perturbed.’
 (17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 15)

By the 18th century, expletives disappear from the data entirely. The description of expletives in scholarship is, barring its unclear classification in relation to exceptives, more or less consistent with the data: Breitbarth (2013), Burrige (1993), Postma (2002), Stoett (1923), Van der Horst (2008), and van der Wouden (1994) indicate that expletives are attested in ‘(Early and Late) Middle Dutch’, i.e. 13th- to 15th-century Dutch. Van der Horst (2008) also notes their continued usage in 16th-century Dutch, and argues that some Dutch authors still use *balansschikking* with an expletive marker in the 17th century, while some do not, citing their abrupt disappearance in Hooft’s letters as well. The nature of the preverbal marker in expletives will be discussed in 5.3, where I will argue that this preverbal marker is an NPI. Chapters 6.4.2 and 6.5.3 will then set out the sociohistorical triggers for the disappearance of expletives in the 17th- and 18th-century data.

4.3.3 Preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs

A third type of preverbal *ne/en* attested in the data is preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs. Table 9 below shows that the single preverbal negative marker occurs with certain verbs in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries in both West Flemish and Hollandic, but is no longer attested in the data afterwards. Throughout the corpus, these verbs also occur with bipartite and postverbal negation – and of course exclusively so from the 16th century onwards. The data in table 9 furthermore demonstrate that relatively few tokens are attested of single preverbal *ne/en* in the context of certain verbs. This not only implies that this type of preverbal negation occurs quite rarely in the corpus, but it also raises questions about the validity of generalisations based on a fairly small sample size. With only four tokens for 15th-century West Flemish, for example, it is difficult to analyse the use of the preverbal negative marker in 15th-century West Flemish in a thorough way. However, this does not mean that this small amount of data is not worth examining; the conclusions drawn from this data can still be valuable, even if they must remain somewhat tentative.

Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with certain verbs						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	8	17%	51	13	25%
14 th c.	31	5	16%	37	8	22%
15 th c.	34	4	12%	90	5	6%
16 th c.	25	0	0%	35	0	0%
17 th c.	61	0	0%	20	0	0%
18 th c.	8	0	0%	6	0	0%

Table 9 Preverbal *ne/en* with certain verbs in the data

In the 13th-century data, the preverbal negative marker is attested with the following set of verbs: *weten* ‘know’, *kunnen* ‘can’, *mogen* ‘can/may’, *roeken* ‘care’, and *willen* ‘want’. According to existing scholarship (see chapter 2.7), the verbs *seggen* ‘say’, *doghen* ‘be good’, and *hebben* ‘have’ should be included in this set (Burrige

1993; Postma 2002), although they are not present in the data.⁴⁵ Preverbal negation occurs most commonly with the verb *weten* ‘know’ in my Hollandic data, in 9 out of 13 tokens, while in West Flemish, 6 out of 8 tokens use the verb *kunnen* ‘can’. Unlike the preverbal marker in expletives, when preverbal *ne/en* occurs in the context of the set of verbs outlined above, it expresses sentential negation, as example 58 below shows.

- (58) De scilt in sinen liue geuest drie hoekede es hi horen wi spreken
 The shield in his body fixed three cornered is it hear we speak
 so starc menne **caent** gebreken
 so strong one-NEG can-it break
 ‘The shield attached to its body is triangular, we hear speak, so strong that one cannot break it.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 242:21)

In the 14th-century data, the preverbal negative marker occurs most commonly with the verb *weten* ‘know’ in both areas, represented in four out of eight Hollandic, and four out of five West-Flemish tokens. For Hollandic, this is consistent with the 13th-century data, but in 13th-century West-Flemish, the verb occurring most frequently with preverbal *ne/en* was *kunnen* ‘can’, which is now not attested in the West Flemish data at all. One other verb taking a preverbal negator in West Flemish is *mogen* ‘can’; in Hollandic, the verbs *laten* ‘let’ (example 59), *doghen* ‘be good’, *roeken* ‘care’ and *kunnen* ‘can’ are attested once each.

⁴⁵ According to Paul (2007: 389–390) and de Boor & Wisniewski (1998: 187) single preverbal negation occurs in the context of a similar set of verbs in Middle High German: *dürfen* ‘to need to’, *können* ‘can’, *mügen* ‘may’, *suln* ‘should’, *türren* ‘to dare’, *wellen* ‘want’, *lâzen* ‘to let/leave’, *tun* ‘to do’, *ruochen* ‘to care’, and *wizzen* ‘to know’. In Jäger’s (2008: 141) data, the preverbal negative marker is only attested with *türren* ‘to dare’, *tuon* ‘to do’, *mugen* ‘may’, *ruochen* ‘to care’ and *wizzen* ‘to know’. She does not provide any information on the frequency of these verbs with preverbal negation, but does note that “there is no clear preference for modals to occur with simple *ne/en*” (Jäger 2008: 141).

(59) Mer min ende vriendschap gaen vernuwen Mit sinen goeden
 But love and friendship go renew with his good
 getruwen luden Die lijf noch goet voer hem en huden,
 trusted people Who life nor goods for him NEG keep away
 Heeft hijs noet, si **en latent** bliken.
 has he-it need they NEG let-it appear
 ‘But to go renew love and friendship with his good trusted people, who do
 not keep away their lives nor their goods from him; has he need of it, they
 do not let it appear so.’
 (14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, II, 77)

In the 15th-century West Flemish data, the preverbal negative marker occurs in all but one token with *willen* ‘want’; the one other preverbal negator is attested with *weten* ‘know’. By contrast, all tokens in Hollandic are attested with *weten*. The other verbs that are described in scholarship as occurring with the preverbal negative marker in ‘Middle Dutch’, such as *mogen* ‘can’, *kunnen* ‘can’, *roeken* ‘to care’, *doghen* ‘be good’, *hebben* ‘have’, *doen* ‘do’, and *seggen* ‘say’ (Burrige 1993; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008), are thus no longer attested in my corpus with preverbal negative markers; instead, these verbs take with bipartite negation or, to a lesser extent, postverbal negation.⁴⁶

While most verbs that can still take the single preverbal negative marker do not occur in a specific clausal pattern, a subset of tokens of *weten* ‘know’ takes a WH-complement. In my 13th-century Hollandic data, all 9 tokens of single preverbal negation with *weten* take a WH-complement clause (example 60), while the one clause with *weten* that is attested in West Flemish does not.

⁴⁶ The lower frequency of the verbs mentioned above with postverbal negation compared to bipartite negation is due to the lower overall frequency of postverbal negation in the 15th-century data.

- (60) Want een luut quam, men **ne weet Wanen** dat hem quam
 For a sound came, one NEG know whence that it came
 ghereet: Die stemme riep: vliet, heren vliet!
 indeed The voice called flee lords flee
 ‘For a sound came – one did not know whence it came indeed: The voice
 called: flee, lords, flee!’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, I, 1015)

In order to determine if this is at all meaningful, the number of tokens with preverbal *ne/en* combined with *weten* must be compared to clauses with bipartite or postverbal negation in the context of *weten*. *Weten* is not attested in the data of postverbal negation, but is attested with bipartite negation in three West Flemish tokens (example 61), and six Hollandic tokens: in West Flemish, one of these three combines *weten* with a WH-complement, while none of the Hollandic tokens are attested with a WH-complement. In other words, all attestations of *weten* in the Hollandic data are attested with preverbal negation when they take a WH-complement clause, and with bipartite negation when they do not, meaning that preverbal negation appears to be *obligatory* with *weten* combined with a WH-complement.

- (61) jn latijn salic hare namen ordineren al te samen omme datter
 in latin will-I their names order all together for that-there
 menech dier in steet dar ic dat dietsch **niet af ne weet**
 many animals in stand there I that Dutch not of NEG know
 ‘In Latin, I will order their names all together, because there are many
 animals in there of which I do not know the Dutch (names).’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 36:36)

The situation in West Flemish seems to be inverted, although it cannot be argued that the opposite situation – *weten* + WH-complement occurring with bipartite negation – is obligatory here, as two out of three bipartite tokens have *weten* without the WH-complement; rather, in West Flemish, there does not appear to be a strict *requirement* for *weten* either with or without the WH-complement to occur with either bipartite or single preverbal negation. The correlation between *weten* in

combination with a WH-complement on the one hand, and the single preverbal negative marker on the other hand, has been commented on by Postma (2002), who states that a WH-complement clause is by no means a necessary nor sufficient condition for the occurrence of single preverbal negation. While this appears to be accurate for the West Flemish data, the 13th-century Hollandic data do indicate that a WH-complement with *weten* is a requirement for the occurrence of the preverbal marker.

In the 14th-century data, four West Flemish and four Hollandic tokens of single preverbal negation are attested with *weten*, and in both varieties, three out of four tokens take a WH-complement clause (example 62).

- (62) Recht nu ter tijt quam te mi Een jonc man,
 Right now at-the time came to me a young man
 ic **en weet wie** hi si, Ende streec sijn hand over minen
 I NEG know who he be And stroked his hand over my
 lichame, Ende ic ghenas van al der mesquame.
 body and I healed of all the maladies
 ‘Right now at this time came to me a young man, I do not know who he
 was, and stroked his hand over my body, and I healed from all maladies.’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, Deel I, 739)

For the Hollandic data, this means that the single preverbal negative marker no longer strictly occurs with the combination of *weten* and a WH-complement clause, as one token with *weten* occurs without a WH-complement clause, unlike in the 13th century. For West Flemish, my 14th-century data show that *weten* with a WH-complement clause is now able to take single preverbal negation, which was not the case in the 13th-century data. Comparing these findings to the occurrence of *weten* with bipartite or single postverbal negation in my corpus, my data show that the bipartite marker is attested with *weten* with or without a WH-complement in both varieties, and that the postverbal marker in the Hollandic data can take *weten* with a WH-complement, although that is the only attestation of *weten* with single postverbal negation in the 14th-century Hollandic data. Thus, while *weten* combined with a WH-complement was in my 13th-century Hollandic data strictly negated with

a single preverbal marker, it can now take any negative marker, and while *weten* with a WH-complement was not attested with single preverbal negation in the 13th-century West Flemish data, in the 14th century, the single preverbal marker can be used to negate *weten* with a WH-complement. This, then, means that in the 14th-century data, the occurrence or lack of a WH-complement is not a factor in determining which type of negation is used.

A different attestation pattern occurs in the 15th-century data: all tokens of *weten* with a single preverbal negative marker, in West Flemish as well as Hollandic, take a WH-complement clause, and for Hollandic, this constitutes all occurrences of the single preverbal marker with a particular verb. This does not, however, mean that *weten* with a WH-complement clause exclusively occurs with single preverbal negation in my corpus, as this combination is also robustly attested with bipartite negation and, in a few tokens, with postverbal negation.⁴⁷ What is clear, though, is that *weten* without the WH-complement does not occur with the single preverbal marker in the 15th-century data. There is thus a correlation throughout the data between the single preverbal negative marker and *weten* combined with a WH-complement clause, although not always a strict one.

To conclude, in my corpus, the preverbal negative marker occurs in the context of certain verbs from the 13th until the 15th century, but disappears from the data afterwards. These verbs are *weten* ‘know’, *kunnen* ‘can’, *mogen* ‘can/may’, *roeken* ‘care’, *willen* ‘want’, *laten* ‘let’ and *doghen* ‘be good’. Throughout the dataset, a correlation is attested between the single preverbal negative marker and *weten* in combination with a WH-complement clause, although this correlation is somewhat stronger in the Hollandic data than in West Flemish. As I will argue in chapter 7, it is, at this stage, unclear why preverbal negation can still occur with the verbs mentioned above, and why the correlation with *weten* combined with WH-complement clauses occurs. In order to provide a potential answer to these questions, more data are needed on this category of resilient preverbal negation.

⁴⁷ Once again, the low frequency of single postverbal negation in the data is the reason for the few tokens of *weten* with the postverbal marker.

4.3.4 Preverbal markers in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives

Preverbal markers are also attested in my corpus in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives. In fact, two distinct categories are attested of this type: first, a preverbal marker that expresses sentential negation occurs in the context of the adverbs *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and the adjective *ander* ‘other’. Second, an expletive preverbal marker occurs in the context of *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’. This distinction, based on whether the preverbal marker expresses negation or not, is not made in the literature; Stoett (1923), for example, classifies *bore*, *meer*, *ander*, *nauwelijc* and also *cume* ‘barely’ – which does not occur in my data⁴⁸ – as ‘Middle Dutch’ adverbs that still take *ne/en*. Aside from listing its attestation with the above set of adverbs and adjectives, little scholarship has been devoted to this type of preverbal marker. Breitbarth (2013: 206) does note that *bore*, *meer* and *ander* were “on the way to acquiring a negative value, a development which must have been reversed again later”, but she does not make it clear why she argues this; presumably, her argument is related to Postma’s (2002) notion of these adverbs and adjectives having a negative polarity reading. Postma’s (2002) argument will be discussed further in chapter 5.3, in which I will argue that it is not these adverbs and adjectives which are NPIs, but that it is the expletive preverbal marker with *maer*, *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* which should be analysed as an NPI.

Table 10 below presents the frequencies of preverbal *ne/en* with *bore* ‘barely’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’, the former category in the data, demonstrating that this type of preverbal negation occurs rather rarely, and disappears after the 14th century. By contrast, the preverbal marker in the context of *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ occurs relatively frequently and is attested in the corpus until the 17th century, as table 11 shows.

⁴⁸ *Cume* ‘barely’ does occur in clauses preceding expletives in my data (see chapter 4.3.2), but it does not occur with a preverbal marker within one and the same clause, like *maer* ‘only’ or *nauwelijks* ‘barely’.

Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with <i>bore, meer, ander</i>						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	2	4%	51	1	2%
14 th c.	31	1	3%	37	1	3%
15 th c.	34	0	0%	90	0	0%
16 th c.	25	0	0%	35	0	0%
17 th c.	61	0	0%	20	0	0%
18 th c.	8	0	0%	6	0	0%

Table 10 Preverbal *ne/en* with *bore, meer* and *ander* in the data

Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> with <i>maer, nauw(elijks), schaers</i>						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	4	8%	51	0	0%
14 th c.	31	3	10%	37	1	3%
15 th c.	34	6	18%	90	10	11%
16 th c.	25	13	52%	35	13	37%
17 th c.	61	27	44%	20	4	20%
18 th c.	8	0	0%	6	0	0%

Table 11 Preverbal *ne/en* with *maer, nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* in the data

In the 13th century, resilient preverbal negation occurs with *bore* ‘very’ in the Hollandic and West Flemish data (example 63), and with *meer* ‘anymore’ in West Flemish. *Bore, meer* and *ander* also occur, once each, with bipartite negation in the West Flemish data, and *meer* occurs in one token with single postverbal negation in Hollandic. In addition, it should be noted that *bore, meer* and *ander* are also attested in the 13th-century data in positive clauses, and are thus not restricted to occurring in the context of negation.

- (63) Gagates es .i. steen al swart licht ende **ne** bore ard
 Jet is 1 stone all black light and NEG very hard
 ‘Jet is a stone, all black, light, and not very hard.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 390:32)

The 14th-century data only yielded one instance of preverbal markers in the context of adverbs and adjectives in West Flemish and one in Hollandic (example 64), in both cases with *ander*. The adverbs *bore* and *meer* thus no longer occur with preverbal *ne/en* in my data after the 13th century.

- (64) Want wouden si prijs ende eer beyaghen,
 For would they praise and honour pursue
 Die nu inder werlt regneren, Sy **en** souden **ander** dinc
 which now in-the world rule they NEG would other thing
 begheren Dat hem nutteliker waer.
 desire Which to-them more useful were
 ‘For if they would pursue praise and honour, which now rule in the world,
 they would not desire other things, which would be more useful to them.’
 (14th c HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, XVII, 6)

In the Hollandic data, *meer* and *ander* are not restricted to appearing with the preverbal negative marker: four tokens (two of *meer*, two of *ander*) are attested with the bipartite negative marker (example 65), though none are attested with postverbal negation.

- (65) Heb ic goede werken gedaen, Die mogen my in staden staen:
 Have I done good works they can for-me in stead stand
Ander have **en** voer ic **niet** mede Van deser eertscher
 Other possessions NEG carry I not with of these earthly
 rijchede
 riches
 ‘If I have done good works, they can stand in my stead: other possessions,
 of these earthly riches, I do not take with me.’
 (14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, I, 149)

In addition, in 14th-century West Flemish, only the single preverbal marker is attested with *ander* (albeit only once), and no tokens are attested of *bore*, *meer* or *ander* with either bipartite or postverbal negation, indicating that, even though the data are sparse, *ander* is likely still restricted to usage with the preverbal marker in this variety. From the 15th century onwards, these adverbs and adjectives are in both West Flemish and Hollandic exclusively negated with either the bipartite or the single postverbal negative marker.

The second category of adverbs that can take a preverbal marker is one where *ne/en* no longer expresses negation, but is used as an expletive marker instead. In the 13th-century data, only the adverb *maer* ‘only’ is attested with the expletive marker in West Flemish (example 66).

- (66) rechte kemele die **ne** draghen **maer** enen bult horic ghewaghen
 real camels they NEG carry only one hump hear-I told
 die dromadarise ebbenre .ij.
 the dromedaries have-there 2
 ‘Real camels have only one hump, I hear it told; the dromedaries have two.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 46:12)

It should be noted that *maer* is also attested without the preverbal marker in West Flemish, as an alternative to *maer* with the expletive marker; however, in Hollandic, *maer* only occurs on its own. Furthermore, Stoett’s (1923) observation that ‘Middle Dutch’ also exhibits preverbal ‘negation’ with *cume* ‘barely’ and *nauwelijc* ‘barely’ is not borne out in my 13th-century corpus: as indicated above, *nauw(elijks)* does occur in my data, but only from the 16th century onwards (see also below).

My 14th-century data show that the preverbal marker in the context of *maer* is still attested in West Flemish, but now appears in Hollandic as well (example 67). In Hollandic, *maer* also occurs on its own, with the same meaning, and appears to be an alternative to *maer* with the expletive marker; in West Flemish, *maer* is – in contrast to the 13th-century data – now only attested with the expletive marker.

(67) **Ten** was **maer** een Clein gebot dat God geboet,
 it-NEG was only a small commandment that god commanded
 Dat Adam brac sonder noet,
 that Adam broke without need
 ‘It was only a small commandment that God commanded, that Adam broke
 without need.’
 (14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, IV, 36)

In the 15th century, my data show that *maer* ‘only’ has become the only adverb attested with a preverbal marker (negative or expletive), in both West Flemish and Hollandic (example 68). While in the 14th-century data, *maer* was attested exclusively with *en* in West Flemish but not in Hollandic, this changes in the 15th-century data, as *maer* no longer occurs on its own in each variety. As *en* becomes obligatory with *maer*, the frequency of the preverbal marker increases accordingly in Hollandic, as table 11 shows: these tokens represent only 3% of all preverbal markers in the data in the 14th century, but 11% in the 15th century.

(68) Van als ben ic vrou ende regierster Maer my dunct
 of all I am lady and ruler but me thinks
 ghy **en** houdt my **maer** als een ioncwijf
 you NEG hold me only as a young lady
 ‘I am lady and ruler of all, but I believe you hold me to be only a young
 lady.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 12ra)

The obligatory occurrence of the preverbal marker with *maer* is thus a development attested in my data, which takes place by the 14th century in the West Flemish corpus, and by the 15th century in the Hollandic data. The establishment of *en...maer* as the only option may be related to the potential NPI-status of *en*, as I will show in chapter 5.3. In addition, the fact that this change occurred in the Hollandic data at a later point than in the West Flemish corpus may hint at a tendency to model the written language to the prestige variety, which was Flemish at the time; see also chapter 6.5.

As noted above, in the 16th-century data, *maer* is no longer the only adverb attested with an expletive marker: *nauw* ‘barely’ or *nauwelijks* ‘barely’ are now attested with expletive markers in both the West Flemish and the Hollandic data. In West Flemish, *en* with *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ occurs only once, but in Hollandic, seven tokens are attested accounting for (just) over half of preverbal markers with adverbs in the dialect (example 68), as table 11 above shows. The increased frequency of the preverbal marker in the context of adverbs (to 52% of all preverbal markers in West Flemish and 37% in Hollandic) may in part be the result of this (analogical) extension to an additional adverb, and in part be due to the disappearance of preverbal negation in the context of verbs.

(69) want daer alsoe groeten rumoer is die ghehelen tijt die wij
 for there such great noise is the whole time that we
 in den tempel sijn, dat die een den anderen **nauw en** mach horen
 in the temple are that the one the other barely NEG can hear
 ‘For there is such a great noise, the whole time that we are in the temple,
 that one can barely hear the other.’

(16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, p. 130)

Before the 16th century, as mentioned above, *nauw(elijks)* was not attested with the preverbal marker in my data, even though Stoett (1923) finds that *nauw(elijks)*, as well as *cume* ‘barely’, were attested in ‘Middle Dutch’. In addition, van der Horst’s (2008) discussion of 16th-century Dutch also notes that *nauwelijks* ‘barely’ sometimes takes an expletive *en*, and sometimes not. It is unclear why *nauw(elijks)* was not previously attested in my data with the preverbal marker; perhaps, the adverb was habitually used on its own before becoming more prevalent with preverbal *en*, much like *maer*. If this were the case, then such a development would most likely have occurred as an analogical change, with *nauw(elijks)* increasingly taking the preverbal *en* via analogy with *maer*, which had become exclusively attested with *en* (see chapter 5.3 for a discussion of this argument). In addition, the fact that *nauw(elijks)* is attested significantly more frequently in the Hollandic data would indicate that such analogical change occurred first in this dialect, and only later in the West Flemish data; this argument is supported by the fact that the Hollandic text which contains *en...nauwelijks* dates from 1525, while the West

Flemish attestation of this form occurs in a text written between approximately 1565 and 1598.

Finally, in my 17th-century data, the expletive preverbal marker occurs with an additional adverb, *schaers* ‘barely’ in West Flemish, although in only one token (example 70). The preverbal marker is also still attested with *maer* and *nauw(elijks)*.

- (70) den vloer is al bedeckt met Tapyts, (...) zijnde soo levendigh
the floor is all covered with carpets (...) being so lively
van coleure, datmen die **schaers en** kan aenschouwen
of colour that-one them barely NEG can behold
‘The floor is entirely covered with carpets, being so lively in colour, that
one can barely behold them.’
(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p. 88)

In his study, van der Horst (2008) notes that, in 17th-century ‘Dutch’, a preverbal marker can occur with *maer* and *nauw(elijks)*, and that these adverbs can be used on their own as well, but does not mention or find any attestations with *schaers*. The same argument that was made for the rise of *nauwelijks* in the 16th-century data may be applied to *schaers*: I argue that its occurrence with the preverbal *en* arises out of analogy with *maer* and especially *nauwelijks*, which has the same meaning.

In Hollandic, the 17th-century corpus only contains four attestations of *en...maer*. It should be noted that three of these tokens are attested in Hooft’s letters (see also 4.3.2 above): their low frequency can be explained by the fact that the expletive marker disappears from his letters entirely after 1641, as the result of a conscious decision informed by prescriptivist norms. As discussed in 4.2 and 4.3.2 above, bipartite negation as well as expletives – expletive *ne/en* occurring after negated, adversative, or comparative predicates – disappear from the data as well, for the same reason; see also chapter 6.5 for a detailed discussion of Hooft’s decision and its consequences in the data. The tokens of *en...maer* in Hooft’s writings are exclusively attested in his earliest letters in the corpus sample, dated to 1612-1613 (example 71). In addition, *en* is also found with *maer* in one token in a chancery text, also dated to 1613.

(71) van sijn moeder, die voor een vrouw van middelen bekend
of his mother who for a woman of means known
binnen Naerden, **maer** desen eenighen soone **en** heeft tot erfgenaem
within Naerden only this only son NEG has as heir
‘of his mother, who, known for a woman of means within Naerden, only has
this one son as heir.’

(17th c. HL: P.C. Hooft, Letter 46, 74)

The occurrence of the expletive marker with *maer* alone does not mean that tokens with, for example, *nauwelijks* disappear from Hollandic, as van der Horst (2008) notes their usage in the works of the Hollandic author Bredero. The expletive marker in the context of adverbs is thus already attested less frequently in the 17th-century data; in the 18th century, then, the expletive marker is no longer attested at all.

In conclusion, I have identified two sets of adverbs and adjectives that occur with a preverbal marker in my data: a first set consists of *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’, which can take a preverbal negative marker, and the second set consists of *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’, which can occur with an expletive preverbal marker. The former category is lost after the 14th century in my corpus, but the latter is not. *En...maer* is attested in the West Flemish data from the 13th century onwards, and in Hollandic from the 14th century onwards. The expletive marker also becomes obligatory with *maer* in the 14th-century West Flemish and the 15th-century Hollandic data. In the 16th-century corpus, the expletive marker begins to be attested with *nauw(elijks)* in both varieties, while *schaers* finally occurs with an expletive preverbal marker in my 17th-century West Flemish data as well. In chapter 5.3, I will demonstrate that the expletive marker in the context of restrictive adverbs such as *maer* ‘only’ is an NPI, and that its extension to *nauwelijks* and *schaers* is an analogical change. The disappearance of expletive markers from the data will be addressed in chapter 6.4.2, which will view the attested changes in light of koineisation in the urban centres in Holland; some attestation patterns of the expletive marker in the context of adverbs in my data will furthermore be argued to be influenced by prescriptivist norms (see chapter 6.5.3).

4.3.5 Fragment answers

A final category of resilient preverbal negation attested in my data is that of fragment answers. These only occur rarely: only 10 tokens are attested in the entire corpus, as table 12 below shows. As discussed in chapter 2.7, fragment answers are short clauses that provide some kind of answer to a previous statement, and, according to scholarship, often occur with the verb *do* as a pro-form, though they are attested with other verbs as well (Breitbarth 2013; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923). In my data, very few tokens of fragment answers are attested,⁴⁹ as demonstrated in table 12; a small amount of data can pose problems for an adequate analysis of these data, as noted for the discussion of preverbal *ne/en* in the context of certain verbs as well (see 4.3.3). For this reason, the below analysis – as well as the discussion in chapter 5.4 – remains somewhat tentative, and more data would be required to provide a thorough, data-driven examination of the development of fragment answers.

Preverbal <i>ne/en</i> in fragment answers						
	West Flemish			Hollandic		
	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total	Total preverbal per century	Tokens per century	% of total
13 th c.	48	0	0%	51	0	0%
14 th c.	31	1	3%	37	0	0%
15 th c.	34	3	9%	90	6	7%
16 th c.	25	0	0%	35	0	0%
17 th c.	61	0	0%	20	0	0%
18 th c.	8	0	0%	6	0	0%

Table 12 Fragment answers in the data

One fragment answer is attested in the 14th-century data, in West Flemish (example 72): the verb attested is *can* ‘can’, and it is negated by means of the single preverbal negative marker.

⁴⁹ Fragment answers do not appear to occur in historical German – or at least, they are not discussed in Jäger (2008) or Breitbarth (2014); English question tags are a similar phenomenon, though not entirely equivalent: whereas in historical West Flemish and Hollandic, the fragment answer denies a previous statement, English question tags aim to confirm a preceding proposition. The development of English question tags is discussed by, for example, Tottie and Hoffmann (2009).

(72) ‘Gaet in de lucht wandelen bloot, Ende bringhet van winden vul
 Go in the air walk naked and bring of wind full
 Uwen scoot Ic sal hu dan doen verstaen Wat icker mede
 Your lappet I will you then do understand what I-there with
 sal angaen’ Bave seide: ‘Vader, **ic ne can.**’
 Will do Bavo said Father I NEG can
 “Go walk in the open air and bring your lappet full of wind, I will then
 make you understand what I will do with it.” Bavo said: “Father, I cannot.”
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 5787)

The fact that this example occurs with the verb *kunnen* ‘can’ may allow an interpretation of this type of preverbal negation as belonging to the category of preverbal negation associated with a specific set of verbs, described in 4.3.3; I would argue, however, that the syntax of the clause *ic ne can* – consisting of only a subject, negative marker and verb – as well as the fact that it is a negative response to a previous statement, lend more credibility to an interpretation as a fragment answer.

In the 15th-century data, 3 fragment answers with preverbal negation are found in West Flemish, and six in Hollandic (example 73).

(73) Ende ic seyde O lieue vrou reden [...] wilt mi doch onderwijsen
 And I said O dear Lady Reason [...] will me still teach
 tbediet van dese maeltijt ende de significacie. Seker seyde
 the-meaning of this meal and the significance certainly said
 zy **ic en sal** want ic en weter niet of mijn verstant faelgiert my
 she I NEG will for I NEG know-it not of my mind fails me
 ende al mijn zin
 and all my being
 ‘And I said, O dear Lady Reason, will you still teach me the meaning of this
 meal and the significance? Certainly, she said, I will not, for I do not know
 of it, my mind fails me and my entire being.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 11rb)

Fragment answers have been described in scholarship as occurring in ‘(Early) Middle Dutch’ (Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008): they occur in van der Horst’s (2008) data in the *Luikse Diatesseron*, a 13th-century text written in a Limburg dialect, but with influences from a more western dialect, either Brabantic or Flemish (de Bruin 1970). In addition, Stoett (1923) provides examples⁵⁰ from works written in 13th-century Holland, late 13th to early 14th-century Brabant, 14th to early 15th-century East Flanders, and in the early 15th-century dialect of Cleves.⁵¹ As a 13th-century Hollandic example from the *Rijmkroniek* is presented by Stoett (1923), the 15th-century attestations in my data cannot represent the first occurrences of fragment answers in the Hollandic dialect. Instead, I argue that these constructions simply did not occur in the fragment of the *Rijmkroniek* included in my corpus.

The reason for the higher frequency of fragment answers in the 15th century, compared to the 14th-century data, may lie with the type of text in which they are attested in my corpus. The Hollandic text especially, *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, contains many discussions between a pilgrim and personifications of concepts such as Reason or Nature. This dialogue format, often consisting of questions and answers, can be argued to fit the function of fragment answers quite well, and may therefore account for their rise in frequency in my Hollandic data. In the West Flemish corpus, the 15th-century text in which fragment answers are attested is *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, a text that uses the rules of a game to illustrate how justice and morality should be exercised, and in doing so, often utilises hypotheticals such as *when X is done, or not done*, a type of discourse which also lends itself well to fragment answers.

Another potential explanation for the higher frequency of fragment answers in the 15th-century data is that fragment answers may have been primarily a feature of spoken language: as discussed in chapter 3.1, travelogues, like *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, typically contain forms that reflect spoken language some extent (*Sprache der Nähe*; see Koch & Österreicher 1985). Indeed, it is in this text that

⁵⁰ However, none of these examples provide a source text or date; I have identified their sources in chapter 2.7.

⁵¹ This dialect was an eastern Dutch dialect, used up until the 19th century in the area, after which time the language shifted to the German spoken there today (van der Horst et al. 1997).

fragment answers occur most frequently, in six tokens (see table 12 above); these six fragment answers represent all tokens in my Hollandic data more generally. By contrast, the 14th-century texts included in the corpus (see chapter 3.2), as well as most other 15th-century texts tend to display a somewhat more formal linguistic register (*Sprache der Distanz*, see Koch & Österreicher 1985): they are chancery texts, poetic texts, rhyming prose, and one non-rhyming prose text. Finally, the argument that fragment answers may be a spoken language feature might be further supported by the fact that they are still part of the spoken language in Present-day West Flemish, as shown in chapter 2.7 (see also van Craenenbroeck 2010).

Since fragment answers are no longer attested in the data from the 16th century onwards, the development between their historical and their Present-day West Flemish forms cannot be clearly attested in the corpus. Nonetheless, I will argue that in Present-day West Flemish, fragment answers have undergone a kind of fossilisation process, as its components are likely no longer analysed as a small clause, but as a fixed unit; this process will be discussed in detail in chapter 5.4.

4.4 Conclusion

In the above chapter, I have set out the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers as attested in my corpus. First, the data have shown that a shift is attested from bipartite to single postverbal negation in 17th-century Hollandic, and 18th-century West Flemish. As noted in 4.2 above, this development can likely be explained within a framework of koineisation, as well as, to an extent, an adherence to prescriptivist norms in written sources (see chapter 6.5). Second, my data exhibit five distinct types of resilient preverbal markers: exceptives, expletives, preverbal negation in the context of certain verbs, preverbal *ne/en* in the context of certain adverbs, and fragment answers. A sixth type that was identified in the literature, rhetorical questions, is not attested in my data.

Exceptives occur throughout the corpus, and I have shown that they are attested in three types. Type 1 exceptives (NP NEG V._{SUBJ}) disappear from the data in the 16th century, while type 2 ((it) NEG be._{SUBJ} that-CP) and hybrid exceptives ((it) NEG be._{SUBJ}) merge and undergo grammaticalisation, becoming exceptive conjunctions in the

process, by the 17th-century data. The grammaticalisation of exceptives will be set out in detail in chapter 5.2. Furthermore, expletives as well as the expletive marker with *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ occur in the corpus until the 17th century, but are no longer attested in the 18th-century data. I will argue in chapter 5.3 that the expletive marker in both contexts is an NPI, and in chapters 6.4.1 and 6.5.3, I will show that their disappearance from the corpus is likely the result of koineisation as well as prescriptivist norms in written language.

Returning to the types of resilient preverbal *ne/en* in my corpus, a preverbal negative marker also occurs with a second set of adverbs and adjectives, *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’, although they are attested rarely and disappear from my data after the 14th century. Their attestation patterns will be discussed within the context of language contact as well as prescriptivism in chapters 6.4.1 and 6.5.3 respectively. Finally, fragment answers appear in the corpus infrequently as well, and only in the 14th and 15th centuries. Their 15th-century attestations can be explained by taking into account the text type in which they occur: the West Flemish text contains frequent contradictions, while the Hollandic text often utilises a dialogue format and is of a type that typically reflects spoken language. In chapter 5.4, I will show that in Present-day West Flemish, fragment answers have fossilised, and are most likely analysed as single units, rather than small clauses. In addition, I have shown that differences in genre can have a clear effect on the attestation patterns in my data: fragment answers occur more frequently in a 15th-century text that likely reflects a spoken language register, while in the 18th-century Hollandic data specifically, pieces of prose that reflect spoken language often contained a bipartite rather than a postverbal negative marker. In addition, chancery documents often contained exceptives, which is not surprising due to the contents – rules and exceptions – of these texts.

The present chapter has provided an in-depth analysis of the development of negation and preverbal markers in West Flemish and Hollandic, based on the data yielded by the newly compiled corpus outlined in chapter 3. In doing so, my study is the first to provide a diachronically broad yet detailed and topically focused overview of the development of negation, and of resilient preverbal markers in particular, as attested in my data from two varieties in the Dutch dialect continuum.

The findings from this research will, then, be analysed on two levels. First, a subset of the data can be explained on a morphosyntactic level, and second, a set of developments can be argued to be triggered by external, sociolinguistic factors, such as language contact, or, in the case of attestation patterns that most likely do not necessarily reflect the vernacular, prescriptivist norms. There is some overlap in terms of which structures these two approaches pertain to: different aspects of the analysis and development of exceptives and expletive markers can be explained either on a morphosyntactic level, or as the result of external factors. However, fragment answers will only be analysed in terms of morphosyntax, as there are too little data to analyse their development in a sociolinguistic framework. By contrast, the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation attested in my data will only be addressed in relation to external factors, as the only morphosyntactic change the negative marker underwent relates to the development of *niet*, and this change is not attested in my data, as it occurred before the 13th century. My data on exceptives, expletives and fragment answers will, then, be analysed on a morphosyntactic level in chapter 5, while chapter 6 will discuss the sociolinguistic triggers for the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation, the development of expletives with certain adverbs, and the disappearance of expletives.

Chapter 5: Explaining morphosyntactic patterns in the corpus

5.1 Introduction

Having provided a detailed overview in chapter 4 of the data, the present chapter will analyse three types of resilient preverbal *ne/en* on a morphosyntactic level: exceptives, expletive markers, and fragment answers. First, I will show that exceptives underwent grammaticalisation in the corpus, and that this process was driven by the reanalysis of a negated exceptive conditional clause, to an exceptive conjunction, i.e. one single semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’. Second, I will analyse expletive markers in my corpus, and argue that they are NPIs, in both their contexts, namely, in expletives and with the adverbs *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’. These contexts will be shown to license NPIs as a result of their antiveridical semantics, a notion first suggested by Giannakidou (2002). I will furthermore argue that the similar semantics between the adverbs *maer* on the one hand, and *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* on the other hand, resulted in analogical change, by which the expletive NPI, before the 16th century only attested with *maer*, was extended to *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers*. Finally, this chapter will address the fossilisation of fragment answers in the West Flemish data. As little data are attested for fragment answers (see chapter 4.3.5 above), it is not possible to map this development across the entire corpus, and the argument is therefore based on the Present-day West Flemish forms as attested in scholarship, as well as, in some select cases, my own native speaker intuitions. Due to these limitations, the argument in the context of fragment answers must remain tentative, and more data are required in order to provide an in-depth discussion of fragment answers in the history of West Flemish and Hollandic. Overall, this chapter thus aims to explain the morphosyntactic patterns and changes attested in my corpus.

One example of grammaticalisation in historical West Flemish and Hollandic will not be addressed in this chapter, as the process is not attested in my data: in the transition from stage I to stage II of Jespersen’s Cycle, the postverbal element *niet* underwent grammaticalisation, like many of the new negative markers that develop as a result of Jespersen’s Cycle (van der Auwera 2010; Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth

2013) from a negative indefinite *niuuelt* ‘not a thing’, which was used to emphasise the preverbal negative marker, to a negative marker *niet*, as part of the bipartite marker (Breitbarth 2013). However, in my 13th-century data, this grammaticalisation process has already occurred, and its development can therefore not be thoroughly addressed.

Chapter 5.2, then, will discuss the grammaticalisation of exceptives, first addressing the framework before analysing the data attested in the corpus; chapter 5.3 will focus on expletive NPIs in the data, in expletives as well as with certain adverbs, and will show that the expletive marker underwent analogy in its development with adverbs, and finally, chapter 5.4 will address the fossilisation of fragment answers, setting out their Present-day forms, and providing a potential diachronic path for their development.

5.2 The grammaticalisation of exceptives

5.2.1 Framework

First use of the term ‘grammaticalisation’ is attributed to Meillet (1912: 131), who defines it as “l’attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome.”⁵² However, as Fischer (2011: 59) points out, this definition does not include those cases of grammaticalisation which involve the unification of several lexical items. A more comprehensive definition is provided by Tomasello (2003: 102; as cited in Fischer 2011: 59), who argues that grammaticalisation processes “take loose discourse sequences, comprising linguistic symbols for concrete items of experience (...), and turn them into coherent grammatical constructions with various specialized symbols that perform grammatical functions with respect to these concrete symbols.” This definition can, then, easily be applied to the development of exceptives: several independent linguistic elements, forming an exceptive clause, become an exceptive conjunction. As Hopper and Traugott (2003) point out, however, the term “grammaticalisation” has two interpretations. On the one hand, “grammaticalisation” is used to refer, on the level of the morphosyntax, to the specific process by which linguistic forms evolve to become more grammatical, and to the pathways along

⁵² “The attribution of a grammatical character to a previously autonomous word.”

which this development occurs (Hopper & Traugott 2003). On the other hand, “grammaticalisation” refers to a theoretical framework that aims to explain the nature of language change (Fertig 2013; Fischer 2007), including how certain linguistic elements undergo a type of change which renders items ‘more grammatical’, whether those be lexical items that gain a grammatical function, or grammatical items that gain new grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott 2003). In addition, the latter framework also investigates correlations in the way linguistic forms change across time from a cross-linguistic perspective. The definitions above provided by Meillet (1912) and Tomasello (2003) thus reflect the former use of the term, i.e. the process itself, rather than the framework within which such a linguistic change occurs, and it is this definition of grammaticalisation that will be relevant for the following chapter.

Newmeyer (2001) argues that grammaticalisation is no more than an epiphenomenon of independent linguistic changes, such as, among others, reanalysis, rather than an individual process of change. Consequently, he claims that “*there is no such thing as grammaticalization*, at least in so far as it might be regarded as a distinct grammatical phenomenon requiring a distinct set of principles for its explanation” (Newmeyer 2001: 188). While the idea that grammaticalisation is the result of separate processes of linguistic change (such as reanalysis or analogy) is supported by many (Brinton & Traugott 2005; Fertig 2013; Fischer 2007; Hopper & Traugott 2003), and is adopted in this study as well, it is not productive for the study of language change to reject the notion of grammaticalisation altogether: such a rejection does not allow the terminology reflect the fact that the result of these individual changes may, but does not need to be, a linguistic form that has a more grammatical function than before. Reanalysis, for example, need not result in a more grammatical form,⁵³ though it can,⁵⁴ and frameworks that make this distinction are, arguably, better able to encompass the complexity of language change, as the diverse phenomena that are the result of (for example) reanalysis are not grouped together in one single category. In addition, grammaticalisation does not arise through one type

⁵³ An example is the structural reanalysis of *like* from taking a dative experiencer complement (*me likes music*) to a nominative experiencer subject (*I like music*) (Fertig 2013:31). In addition, reanalysis can also operate within lexicalisation processes.

⁵⁴ An often-cited example is *be going to*, which has come to express the future tense.

of language change alone: reanalysis and analogy often operate together in grammaticalisation, and one linguistic form may thus undergo either or both of these developments during its path towards a more grammatical form. It is for these reasons that it is useful to consider grammaticalisation a separate process of change, as it is not just the result of mechanisms such as reanalysis and/or analogy, but a specific type of result: a form that takes on a more grammatical function.

Grammaticalisation, then, is generally argued to occur on a cline, a representation of the observation that, in grammaticalisation processes, forms typically undergo similar kinds of changes: historically, a cline represents the path along which a form develops, while synchronically, it reflects a hypothetical continuum of forms, from more 'lexical' forms at one end of the spectrum, to more 'grammatical' ones at the other end, which Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7) schematically represent as follows.

content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

It should be noted that forms undergoing grammaticalisation need not start at the beginning, nor reach the end of the cline; it is possible, for example, for a content item to simply become a grammatical word, like exceptives in my data (see 5.2.4 below), or for an original grammatical word to develop into an affix (Hopper & Traugott 2003; Lass 2000). A further principle at work in grammaticalisation processes is unidirectionality, although as this will not be pertinent to the analysis of exceptives in my data, I here refer to Newmeyer (2001), Norde (2009), Heine (2003) and Hopper and Traugott (2003) for various perspectives on the principle of unidirectionality, and its validity.

The above framework of grammaticalisation will, then, be used to analyse the development of exceptives in my data, and I will show that exceptive clauses were reanalysed to conjunctions, becoming more grammatical entities in the process. In the process, they shifted from the category of a clause to that of a conjunction, and thus became a more grammatical entity. In what follows, I will first set out the diagnostics that will be relevant for the grammaticalisation of exceptives (5.2.2) and secondly, I will outline the process of reanalysis that operates on the development of exceptives in my data (5.2.3), before moving on to the analysis of the data (5.2.4).

5.2.2 Diagnostics of grammaticalisation

Several sets of factors that affect grammaticalisation have been identified in the literature (Heine 2003; Hopper 1991; Lehmann 1985). In her discussion of such factors relevant to grammaticalisation, Fischer (2007) makes a distinction between ‘diagnostics’ and ‘mechanisms’, which will be respected in this study as well: diagnostics or heuristic devices are those factors which do not by themselves explain the linguistic change that drives grammaticalisation, but rather serve to identify a linguistic development as grammaticalisation, while mechanisms are those factors that do drive the grammaticalisation process. In what follows, I will set out those diagnostics that will be relevant in explaining the grammaticalisation process occurring in the data.

The list of diagnostics below is compiled from the sets presented by Heine (2003: 579),⁵⁵ Lehmann (1985: 5) and Hopper (1991: 22): in chapter 5.2.4 below, I will show that these five diagnostics can each be applied to the grammaticalisation of exceptives in my data.

- a. decategorialisation: loss of morphosyntactic properties of the source form due to a shift from a major to minor category;
- b. erosion: phonetic reduction;
- c. desemanticisation: loss in meaning content;
- d. coalescence: increase in bondedness, i.e. fusion of several forms into one;
- e. obligatorification: the new form becomes increasingly obligatory in its linguistic contexts.

To provide an oft-cited example (e.g. Hopper & Traugott 2003: 1–3), the grammaticalisation of *be going to* as a future tense auxiliary idiom exhibits these same diagnostics: decategorialisation can be seen in the shift from the category of a lexical verb phrase to that of an auxiliary idiom and the loss of morphosyntactic properties that goes along with it, including, for example, the inability of the auxiliary verb to occur on its own. Desemanticisation is attested as well, as the

⁵⁵ He calls these diagnostics ‘mechanisms’, although as noted above, in this study I follow Fischer’s (2007) definitions of mechanisms and diagnostics.

original meaning of the verb *go*, in terms of motion and directionality, is lost. In addition, the spoken language variant *be gonna* exhibits erosion as well as coalescence, as the *going to* element is fused into one, and phonologically simplified. Obligatorification, finally, can be argued to occur during the grammaticalisation of *be going to*, not in the sense that *be going to* becomes the only available future tense auxiliary (cf. *will*), but in the sense that *be going to* is typically used in its own specific context: it entails an open result – the action may or may not be completed – and has an underlying meaning of intention rather than, in the case of *will*, willingness or volition, as well as an implication that the action will be completed (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 211–212). These five diagnostics will be applied to the development of exceptives, so as to support the argument that exceptives underwent grammaticalisation. First, however, it is necessary to discuss the mechanism that drives the development of exceptives in my corpus: reanalysis.

5.2.3 Reanalysis: a mechanism of grammaticalisation

As noted above, ‘mechanisms’ of grammaticalisation are the underlying processes which drive them, and are more than just evidence that they have occurred (as diagnostics are). Two processes that have generally been argued in the literature to operate as mechanisms within grammaticalisation processes are reanalysis and analogy (Fertig 2013; Fischer 2007; Hopper & Traugott 2003). In the present study, it is the former mechanism, reanalysis, that will play a significant role in the development of exceptives. Analogy will be relevant to the development of expletive preverbal markers with certain adverbs – though not as a mechanism for grammaticalisation – and will therefore be discussed in 5.3 below.

Reanalysis has been defined in the literature as a mechanism whereby a change occurs in the underlying structure of a linguistic utterance, while its surface structure does not undergo any overt change; hence, when reanalysis occurs, the speaker produces a particular form, which the hearer understands to have a different meaning and form than intended by the speaker (Harris & Campbell 1995; Hopper & Traugott 2003; Traugott 2011). Fertig (2013: 20) makes a distinction between ‘analysis’, ‘an analysis’ and ‘reanalysis’:

- (a) analysis is the capacity of hearers/learners to assign structural and semantic interpretations to linguistic expressions that they may have never before encountered;
- (b) an analysis is a structural and semantic interpretation assigned to an expression (word, phrase, clause, sentence, etc.) by a hearer/learner;
- (c) a reanalysis (a type of innovation) is an analysis that differs from those that previously were or would have been assigned to the expression in question.

Analysis is thus a covert, synchronic phenomenon whereby the hearer interprets a linguistic expression structurally and/or semantically, whereas reanalysis is a diachronic phenomenon, and takes place when a new analysis of a previously existing linguistic form is adopted into the linguistic inventory of the speaker. It has, furthermore, been argued that ambiguous forms play an important role in reanalysis: while not a prerequisite for it, ambiguity does license reanalysis (Fertig 2013; Harris & Campbell 1995; Hopper & Traugott 2003); see also Hopper's (1991: 22–24) discussion of layering. Reanalysis has played an important role in grammaticalisation processes – indeed, it has been argued that grammaticalisation cannot occur without reanalysis (Brinton & Traugott 2005: 107; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 58–59).

To go back to the example of grammaticalisation presented above (5.2.2), *be going to* has been reanalysed as an expression of future tense. In its original meaning of ‘to move in a direction, towards a destination’, the verb *go* can take a purposive reading in clauses like *I am going to marry Bill* (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 2), which results in an underlying meaning of futurity: if the speaker is going somewhere in order to get married, the marriage will take place at some point in the future. The reanalysis takes place when a listener analyses the clause as expressing future tense, and this analysis is adopted into the linguistic system. Thus, instead of analysing the clause as [I am going [to marry Bill]], it is analysed as [I [am going to] marry Bill]. As Hopper and Traugott (2003) further point out, the reanalysis is only observable when *be going to* is no longer compatible with the purposive meaning [I am going [to marry Bill]], and when the contexts in which it can occur have been generalised to other contexts, which are not compatible with the original meaning of *be going to*, such as *I am going to like Bill*, or *I am going to go to London*. This example shows that

reanalysis is a covert, speaker-driven process that is only discernible by the changed structure or usage pattern of the result. It is thus, especially with historical data, impossible to pinpoint the exact moment reanalysis occurs – some speakers may have the original analysis, some may have the new one, and some both – and it is only by the resulting form that it can be inferred that reanalysis has occurred. This observation will be pertinent to the discussion of exceptives as well: it will not be possible to show the precise point of reanalysis, but I will show that by the seventeenth century, reanalysis has occurred.

5.2.4 The grammaticalisation of exceptives

The development of exceptives was set out in detail in chapter 4.3.1, and this overview of the data on exceptives will be used as a basis for the present discussion of the grammaticalisation process attested. I identified three types of exceptive clause in my 13th-century data, as shown in chapter 4.3.1; these three types are once more set out below, alongside tables denoting the frequencies of each type per dialect region, which were also first presented in chapter 4.3.1 (there tables 6 and 7).

TYPE 1: NP NEG V_{.SUBJ}

TYPE 2: (IT) NEG BE_{.SUBJ} THAT-CP

HYBRID: (IT) NEG BE_{.SUBJ} + PP

Exceptives in the data per type, WF				
	Total	Type 1	Type 2	Hybrid
13 th c.	23	13	7	3
14 th c.	5	2	1	2
15 th c.	10	2	1	7
16 th c.	8	0	6	2
17 th c.	28	0		28
18 th c.	8	0		8

Table 13 Exceptives in the data per type, West Flemish

Exceptives in the data per type, HL				
	Total	Type 1	Type 2	Hybrid
13 th c.	12	9	0	3
14 th c.	5	2	1	2
15 th c.	30	11	10	9
16 th c.	9	0	8	1
17 th c.	13	0		28
18 th c.	6	0		6

Table 14 Exceptives in the data per type, Hollandic

Before turning to the grammaticalisation process of exceptives attested in the data, it is necessary to first provide a detailed analysis of the three exceptive types at the starting point of the corpus, namely the 13th century. For type 1 exceptives, in 13th-

century West Flemish as well as Hollandic, I argue that the preverbal marker does not express negation, as example 1 shows:⁵⁶ in the below clause, the preverbal marker *ne* cannot logically express negation, as an interpretation of the clause as negated – ‘he could not do with it what he wanted’ – does not work well within the semantic context of the overall sentence, whereas an exceptive meaning does.

- (1) Die grave ne woudse niet ontfaen, **Hine mochter** mede
 The count NEG would-it not receive, he-NEG could.SUBJ-it with
 sinen wille doen
 his will do
 ‘The count would not receive it, unless he could do with it what he wanted’
 (13th c. HL: Melis Stoke, *Rijmkroniek*, IV, 369)

That the preverbal marker in exceptives does not “carry full negative force” has previously been suggested by Burridge (1993: 182),⁵⁷ and Breitbarth (2014: 34, 169) shows that the preverbal marker in Middle Low German exceptives – which have a nearly identical structure and function to type 1 exceptives in the Hollandic and West Flemish data – similarly does not express negation. For her Middle Low German data, Breitbarth (2014) argues that the preverbal marker underwent a lexical split into, on the one hand, an element occurring as part of the bipartite negative marker, which is almost exclusively used to express sentential negation in her data, and on the other hand, an element attested in exceptives which is reanalysed, along with the subjunctive mood of the verb, as a grammatical marker meaning ‘unless’. I argue that a similar analysis can be applied to type 1 exceptives in my corpus: as the preverbal marker in such exceptives is identical in terms of its form and position in the clause to a preverbal negative marker, it is highly likely that a lexical split occurred resulting in a negative marker on the one hand, and a marker of exception on the other hand. It is furthermore likely that it is this preverbal marker in combination with the subjunctive mood of the verb that encodes the exceptive

⁵⁶ The examples used in this chapter are the same as those presented in chapter 4.3.1, for ease of comparison with the data presented in chapter 4, and because some of the more idiosyncratic tokens are often the only ones of their kind attested.

⁵⁷ Although, as discussed in chapter 2.7, she considers exceptives and expletives to be one single category, her ‘paratactic negation’; this study shows (see chapters 2.7 and 4.3.2) however, that there are motivations for considering them as separate constructions.

meaning of the clause. What distinguishes type 1 exceptives from clauses that are negated by means of a preverbal marker – like those containing *ne/en* in the context of certain verbs, as discussed in 4.3.3 – is the fact that the preverbal marker does *not* express negation, as well as the fact that the verb is always in the subjunctive mood; therefore, it can be argued that it is these two elements which encode the exceptive meaning, and hence, I propose that Breitbarth’s (2014) analysis can be applied to type 1 exceptives in my data.

In type 2 and hybrid exceptives, however, the preverbal marker can, arguably, still be interpreted as expressing negation, yielding a reading of the exceptive as ‘were it not (that)...’ (see also Breitbarth’s (2014) treatment of Old Low German *ni uuari that* constructions). In this sense, type 2 and hybrid exceptives function more or less like negative conditionals (see also chapter 4.3.1) with the caveat that they contain an exception to the preceding proposition. I argue that they are thus a subset of negative conditionals, which take a unique form – being negated with a preverbal negative marker⁵⁸ – and a unique, exceptive meaning. This analysis of type 2 and hybrid exceptives in my data as negative exceptive conditionals can be illustrated by means of examples 2 and 3 below.

- (2) ende wacht hem wie sone bestaet **het ne sij dat** die euer
 and beware him who so-him attacks it NEG be.SUBJ that the boar
 ontfaet .j. doodwonde ter ersten steke
 receives 1 death wound at-the first strike

‘And beware whoever attacks it, were it not that the boar receives a deadly wound at the first strike.’

(13th c. WF: CG, Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 39:17)

⁵⁸ ‘Regular’ negative conditionals in my data are negated by means of a bipartite or postverbal negative marker; see chapter 4.3.1.

- (3) want ic ne hadde den arebeit niet bestan lude no stille
 for I NEG had the work not started loudly nor quietly
hetne ware dor sinen wille
 it-NEG were._{SUBJ} through his will
 ‘For I would not have started the work, loudly or quietly, were it not
 through his will.’
 (13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 415:38)

That the negative marker still functions as such is perhaps clearest in example 3, which contains the hybrid exceptive, as the verb *ware* ‘be’ still functions as the main verb for the entirety of the clause, and not just for the constituents that encode the exceptive meaning, i.e. *het ne/en sy/ware*⁵⁹ ‘it NEG be._{SUBJ}’: if the verb still carries its full meaning, it is likely that the negative marker does as well, as it needs to negate the verb. While the above clauses (examples 2 and 3) may be analysed as exceptive constructions meaning ‘unless/except’,⁶⁰ such an analysis would imply that reanalysis of the construction has occurred quite soon in the grammaticalisation process. In addition, as I show below, various tokens are attested in later data which cannot be analysed in this way, which implies that the 13th-century tokens were similarly most likely not analysed as a semantic unit ‘unless/except’. Thus, I argue that the exceptive clauses in examples 2 and 3 above function as negative exceptive conditionals. As shown in tables 13 and 14 above, type 2 exceptives only occur in the 13th-century West Flemish data, while hybrids occur in both varieties.

The above brief analysis of the 13th-century dataset establishes a baseline for the discussion of the grammaticalisation process of exceptives in my corpus. First, type 1 exceptives in West Flemish and Hollandic contain a preverbal marker which no longer expresses negation, but has been reanalysed, along with the subjunctive mood of the verb, as a marker of exception. Second, type 2 exceptives, which are only attested in the West Flemish data, are analysed as negative exceptive conditionals, and third, hybrids, which are found in both varieties, are also analysed as such.

⁵⁹ And their various spellings.

⁶⁰ See chapter 4, footnote 11.

In the 14th-century data, all three exceptive types still occur, and in both regional varieties, but some variability is attested within the category of hybrids.⁶¹ First, in the West Flemish data, one token occurs (example 4 below) in which the verb *ware* ‘be’ must function as an auxiliary within the verb phrase (VP), as indicated by the presence of the past participle, *gheconsenteert* ‘permitted’. The exceptive below is thus a clear negative exceptive conditional: it is unambiguous in its meaning - the negative marker must express negation that has scope over the VP – and cannot be analysed as one semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’.

- (4) Merct hoe soude moghen wesen Die lichame wel ghegouverneert,
 Notice how would can be the body well governed
Het ne ware bi den hoofde **gheconsenteert**,
 It NEG be.SUBJ by the head permitted
 ‘Notice, how could the body be well governed, were it not governed by the head?’
 (14th c. WF: *Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 4549)

In the Hollandic data, contemporary to the above example, a hybrid token is attested which does have an ambiguous reading (see example 5 below). It takes the form *ten si* ‘it-NEG be.SUBJ’, in which the pronoun *het* ‘it’ has cliticised to the preverbal negative marker.

⁶¹ One atypical type 2 exceptive was discussed in chapter 4.3.1 (example 17, *en ware bi dat*), but as this token does not provide any further insight into the grammaticalisation of exceptives, it will not be addressed in the present chapter.

(5) in deser manieren dat lobberich en_ die kinder voers_ dit
 in this way that lobberich and the children aforementioned this
 huus en_ erue voers_ bruken en_ oerbaren zullen tot hoerer
 house and land aforementioned use and profit will to their
 liue toe mer niet te vercopen **ten si bi** gh_t heren wille
 lives to but not to sell it-NEG be.SUBJ by gherrit lord will
 voers_
 aforementioned

‘... in this way that Lobberich and the aforementioned children will use and profit from this house and aforementioned land for the benefit of their livelihoods, but not sell it, were it not by the will of the aforementioned lord Gherrit.’

(14th c. HL: CRM14: Oorkonde E109p38001, Amsterdam 1380)

This token exhibits a diagnostic of grammaticalisation: coalescence, or an increase in bondedness, in that two elements of the exceptive construction have merged into one. In addition, the pronoun has also been phonetically eroded, from *het* to a single *t*. In terms of analysis, the exceptive in (5) above is ambiguous: it can still be read as *were it not*, but its form is already highly similar to its Present-day Hollandic equivalent, *tenzij*. That these forms are ambiguous may mean that a listener could interpret the above as one semantic unit meaning ‘*unless/except*’, and that the form may be reanalysed; however, as discussed in 5.2.3, it is only possible to ascertain that reanalysis has occurred once the original analysis of the form is no longer compatible with its current usage patterns. For the example provided in (5) above, this is not the case.

The fifteenth-century data still contain type 1, 2 as well as hybrid exceptives, in both West Flemish and Hollandic. Type 1 exceptives remain unchanged, but a number of type 2 and hybrid exceptives are attested which have undergone change. In the West Flemish data, only one type 2 exceptive is attested, and while its form is mostly unchanged compared to the basic form found in the 13th-century data, the exceptive clause is introduced by *of* ‘or’ (example 6). One hybrid token is introduced by *of* as well (see below).

- (6) Want die by hem comt sonder ontboden tsine die
 For who by him comes without summoned to-be that-one
 verbuert sijn lijf **Of het ne ware dat** hem de conync
 loses his life Or it NEG be.SUBJ that him the king
 dat verghave
 that forgave
 ‘For he who comes to him without being summoned, loses his life, were it
 not that the king forgave him that.’
 (15th c. WF: Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 24:10)

As noted in chapter 4.3.1, this *of* may be attested due to the construction’s similarity with expletives which, at times, also had an exceptive meaning, and could be introduced by *of* as well. However, no expletives are attested in the 15th-century West Flemish data that are introduced by *of*, and therefore, the above exceptive clause may, after all, not take an *of* because of a similarity with expletives. Nonetheless, this *of* may indicate that the above clause was likely interpreted as a clause meaning ‘were it not that’ rather than a semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’, as *of* is typically attested in the data as a conjunction, introducing clauses.

One Hollandic type 2 token furthermore occurs in a form not previously attested (in type 2 exceptives, at least): the pronoun and negative marker are contracted, resulting in *ten wair dat* ‘it-NEG be.SUBJ that’ (example 7).

- (7) wel sach ic mede dattet altoos bleef liggende op een stede
 well saw I also that-it thusly remained lying on a place
ten wair dat meet wech dede
 it-NEG be.SUBJ that one-it away did
 ‘I was as well that it would remain lying there like that, unless they
 removed it.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 37vb)

This cliticised form exhibits, like the similar hybrid exceptive in example 5, an increase in bondedness of the pronoun and negative marker, i.e. coalescence, and

phonetic erosion, both of which are diagnostics of grammaticalisation. However, while these diagnostics *may* mean that the form has moved along the grammaticalisation cline, they should not be seen as irrefutable evidence of grammaticalisation: a prerequisite for the grammaticalisation of exceptives is reanalysis, and as noted above, it is not possible to identify that reanalysis has certainly occurred until the different usage patterns that are attested are no longer compatible with the original analysis. Such a change is not yet attested in the data, and, the exceptive in example 7 is therefore, like example 5, ambiguous in its analysis. It should be noted that these cliticised forms of type 2 exceptives occur alongside uncliticised ones (example 8) in the Hollandic data;⁶² in fact, the cliticised tokens in examples 5 and 7 above are the only ones attested in the 14th and 15th centuries.

- (8) want ic werder af soe flau dat ics niet langer harderen
 for I became-there of so weak that I-it no longer bear
 en mach **het en zij dat** icker cortelicke af ontlast werde
 NEG may it NEG be.SUBJ that i-there shortly from released became
 ‘For I became so weak from it, that I could no longer bear it, were it not that
 I was released from it shortly.
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 28va)

One type 2 exceptive attested in the Hollandic data, within the same source text, takes the form *het en waer saecke dat* ‘were it not the case that’ (example 9); i.e. the word *saecke* ‘case’ is added before the complementiser, which forces a reading of the clause as a negative exceptive conditional, because *saecke* functions as the predicative complement to the verb. While the exceptives in examples 7 and 8 could, in principle, be analysed as either negative exceptive conditionals or exceptive conjunctions meaning ‘unless’, and are thus ambiguous in this way, the exceptive in the clause below is unambiguous in terms of its analysis.

⁶² This example was not included in chapter 4.3.1, as a West Flemish example was used for uncliticised type 2 exceptives.

- (9) Ende alsdan sal hij dy onder hem houden
 And then will he you under him hold
het en waer saecke datstu bij crachte verwins.
 it NEG be.SUBJ case that-you by strength win
 ‘And then he will hold you under him, unless it were the case that you win through strength.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 36rb)

Within hybrid exceptives, the first attestation of a cliticised exceptive in the West Flemish data occurs at this time, in the 15th century (example 10). Like the cliticised Hollandic tokens, this example exhibits the diagnostics coalescence and phonetic erosion, as a result of the cliticisation of *ten*.

- (10) dat men die parcheelen niet ontdeelen noch ontlooten
 that one the plots not divide nor auction
 en mach **ten zy by** zinen propren wille ende consente
 NEG can it-NEG be.SUBJ by his own will and consent
 ‘that one may not divide or auction off the plots of land, except by his own will and consent.’
 (15th c. WF: CHN brugge_1462_1)

In addition, one Hollandic token is attested that is similar to the 14th-century West Flemish example 4, in that the verb *waer* ‘be’ functions as an auxiliary within a VP containing a past participle (example 11). Thus, the clause below must be unambiguously analysed as a negative exceptive conditional.

- (11) ende ic en wiste wie te vrAGEN **het en waer** gracie **gheweest**
 and I NEG knew whom to ask it NEG be.SUBJ grace been
 ‘And I did not know whom to ask, had it not been grace.’
 (15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 18va)

Finally, six tokens are attested in the data that take the form of hybrid exceptives, but rather than a prepositional phrase, they take either a noun phrase (NP) (two West Flemish and two Hollandic tokens), an adjective phrase (AdjP) (one Hollandic

token), or an adverb (Adv) (one Hollandic token). Example 12 shows an exceptive followed by a noun, while the exceptive in example 13 takes an adverb.

- (12) Ic en weet wattet bediet **het en zij sothede**
I NEG know what-it means it NEG be.SUBJ madness
'I do not know what it means, were it not madness.'
(15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 35vb)

- (13) Dus ic waerschu di dastu anders niet en gheloefs
Thus I warn you that-you otherwise not NEG believe
ten zij aldus
it-NEG be.SUBJ thusly
'Thus I warn you, that you otherwise do not believe, were it not thusly.'
(15th c. HL: *Boeck vanden pelgherym*, 18vb)

The Hollandic clauses once again have an ambiguous analysis: it is possible to analyse them as negative exceptive conditionals, in which each element still has its original meaning and function, or as semantically unified constructions meaning 'unless/except'. The exceptive in example 12 furthermore exhibits phonetic erosion and coalescence due to the cliticisation of *ten* 'it-NEG'. However, the one West Flemish token that occurs with an NP (example 14)⁶³ is introduced by *of*, which, as argued above, likely implies that the clause should be interpreted as a negative exceptive conditional.

⁶³ This example is not included in chapter 4.3.1.

- (14) Ende men sal daer buten niet gaen noch ooc die excederen
 And one will there beyond not go nor too that excede
 in gheenre manieren of anders yet meer in brynghen
 in any way or otherwise something more in bring
of het en ware de circumstancien die daer toe dienen
 or it NEG be._{SUBJ} the circumstances that there to serve
 ‘And one shall not go beyond that or exceed it in any way, or otherwise
 bring anything more into it, were it not for the circumstances that serve that
 purpose.’
 (15th c. WF: Jan van den Berghe, *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*, 29:19)

The fifteenth-century data thus exhibits a substantial degree of variability. It should be noted that, barring example 10, the data within each variety are produced by the same authors, and are therefore part of one and the same grammar of an individual speaker. The Hollandic author produces, first, cliticised type 2 and hybrid forms alongside uncliticised ones, second, one type 2 and one hybrid token which must, unambiguously, be analysed as negative exceptive conditionals, alongside a number of ambiguous tokens, and third, a number of hybrid tokens with NP, Adv or AdjP complements. The 15th-century West Flemish author produces one hybrid exceptive in a cliticised form – while all other hybrid and type 2 tokens occur uncliticised – and he produces two hybrid tokens with an NP, and two further tokens – one type 2 and one hybrid exceptive – that are introduced by *of*. The hybrid token that is introduced by *of* is also one of the exceptives that take an NP, and must be analysed as a negative exceptive conditional. The West Flemish author, can, in this way, be seen producing unambiguous forms alongside, and in the same work as, ambiguous forms. Thus, the 15th-century data, in both varieties, contain tokens which must unambiguously be analysed as negative exceptive conditionals, attested alongside and contemporary with exceptives that are ambiguous, and may or may not be analysed as semantic units meaning ‘unless/except’.

The sixteenth-century data no longer contain type 1 exceptives: though these remained unchanged in the 13th- to 15th-century data, as shown above, they disappear from this point onwards; it is thus not this type of exceptive clauses which undergoes grammaticalisation. The loss of type 1 exceptives reflects the diagnostic of

obligatorification: as a result, only type 2 and hybrid exceptives can be used, which, as will be argued below, merge in the 17th-century data. All type 2 and hybrid tokens in the 16th-century Hollandic data have a cliticised form (example 15), as do all but one type 2 West Flemish token – this one West Flemish exceptive does not have a pronoun cliticised to the negative marker because it does not take a pronoun at all (example 16).⁶⁴ Thus, all 16th-century exceptives in the data, except the one listed in example 16, exhibit phonetic erosion and coalescence due to their cliticised forms.

- (15) mer ghij en hebt daer gene wijn **ten sij dat** ghijse
 but you NEG have there no wine it-NEG be.SUBJ that you-it
 voer v brenckt
 for you bring
 ‘But you have no wine there, were it not that you bring it for yourself.’
 (16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, 147)

- (16) ende scerpelic interdicerende [...] gheen ander personen te nemenen
 and strongly prohibiting [...] no other persons to take
 omme eenighe instellinghen te doene [...] **en zy dat** hemlieden
 to any appraising to do [...] NEG be.SUBJ that them
 ghetoocht zy d'acte van de sentencie mitsgaeders tbillet van den
 shown is the-deed of the sentence alongside the-bill of the
 scepene
 aldermen
 ‘... and strongly prohibiting to take no other persons to do any appraising,
 were it not that they have been shown the deed of the sentence along with
 the bill of the aldermen.’
 (16th c. WF: CHN kortrijk_1545_1)

Four Hollandic tokens occur with *saecke* in the 16th-century data (example 17), thus requiring an unambiguous analysis as negative exceptive conditionals. These attestations also demonstrate that cliticisation of the pronoun and negative marker

⁶⁴ As noted in the discussion of the three exceptive types in the 13th-century data, the pronoun has been optional throughout the dataset, so the fact that it is not attested here is not unusual.

are not necessarily indications that the exceptives have grammaticalised; they may have progressed somewhat further along the cline purely in terms of their form, but these four forms have not yet been reanalysed to exceptive conjunctions.

- (17) Ende hij en muet oock nymmermeer wt sijn hoff ghaen dan
 And he NEG must also never again out his court go than
 twee ofte driemael tsiaers **ten waer sake dattet** hem
 twice or thrice per-year it-NEG be.SUBJ case that-it him
 sonderlanck gheghunt waer vanden raet van veneetgien
 exceptionally conceded were of-the council of Venice
 ‘And he must also never leave his court more than two or three times a year,
 were it not the case that it was exceptionally conceded to him by the council
 of Venice.’

(16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, 45)

A West Flemish hybrid exceptive is attested with an NP complement (example 18), which, like the 15th-century examples 12 and 13, is ambiguous with regard to its analysis: this token can either be analysed as a negative exceptive conditional, or as one semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’.

- (18) hoe souden sy hemlieden van heurlieder salven niet connen helpen
 how would they them from them selves not can help
 om leven [...] **ten waere** die groote nateurlijcke liefde ende
 to live [...] it-NEG be.subj the great natural love and
 vriendschap die de moeder draeght tot haeren kynde
 friendship that the mother carries to her child
 ‘How would they not be able to help them, out of themselves, to live, were
 it not for the great natural love and friendship that the mother carries to her
 child.’

(16th c. WF: Zeghere van Male, *Lamentatie*, p.4)

Finally, one West Flemish type 2 exceptive occurs which, as I will argue, has been reanalysed to an exceptive conjunction (example 19).

- (19) Ende voor tzoucken van dien zo dicmael hy daertoe van weghe
 And for the-search of this zo often he for-that from way
 de goede lieden verzocht zal worden twee grooten **ten waere**
 the good people requested will be two groats it-NEG be.SUBJ
 zy begheerden daervut extract ghemaect te wordene daervooren
 they desired there-out certificate made to become for-that
 men zal betalen vier grooten
 one will pay four groats
 ‘And for the searching of this, he will often for that purpose from the good
 people requeste two groats, unless they desired to have a certificate from that,
 for which one will pay four groats.’
 (16th c. WF: CHN brugge_1579_1)

As the above example shows, the exceptive takes the form *ten waere*, and is followed by a clause; however, the *dat* complementiser is no longer attested. The occurrence of a subordinate clause without a complementiser is arguably incompatible with an interpretation of the exceptive *ten waere* as a negated exceptive conditional, in which each element still has its original function and meaning. Until this point in the data, exceptives have always connected to a subordinate clause by means of a complementiser, and never *asyndetically*. An analysis of *ten waere* as *were it not* to introduce the following clause, without the *dat* complementiser, would thus not be consistent with the attestation patterns of type 2 exceptives in the previous data; the above exceptive is therefore unambiguously *not* a negated exceptive conditional clause. I argue, then, that the lack of *dat* in example 19 above not only implies that the complementiser disappears, but that the exceptive instead functions as a subordinating conjunction, connecting the preceding clause to the exceptive subordinate clause. In other words, the exceptive in the example above has been reanalysed as a conjunction.

This shift from a clause to a conjunction reflects a change from a major category – a clause – to a minor one – a conjunction – which results in the loss of morphosyntactic properties of the original elements within the exceptive: therefore, the diagnostic of decategorialisation is attested within this development. In addition, the reanalysis to a conjunction means that the pronoun, negative marker and finite

verb no longer function as such in the above exceptive, and that they have thus lost their original meaning: this, then, reflects the diagnostic of desemanticisation. As noted in chapter 4.3.1, the token in example 19 is the only exceptive within the chancery text in which it is attested, and it is therefore not possible to determine if the author consistently produced exceptive conjunctions or not. Perhaps this means that the lack of *dat* above is a simple scribal error, although, as such tokens occur frequently in the 17th-century data as well (see below), it is more likely the first attestation of a reanalysed exceptive conjunction in my corpus.

Before turning to a discussion of the 17th-century data, it is worth addressing the desemanticisation of *en* in more detail. As I argued above, in the 13th-century data, the preverbal marker *ne/en* in type 2 and hybrid exceptives should be analysed as a negative marker, negating the exceptive clause. However, when this clause is reanalysed to a conjunction, the preverbal negative marker is semantically bleached, and it no longer expresses negation, nor is it analysed by the speaker as a negative marker in any way. In other words, the marker *ne/en* shifts from a morpheme, carrying its own meaning, to a sequence of phonemes that are by themselves meaningless, as a result of the grammaticalisation process. A similar development occurs in the fossilisation process of fragment answers (see 5.4 below), and the expletive *ne/en* discussed in chapter 5.3 has similarly lost its negative meaning.

For the seventeenth-century data, I have argued in chapter 4.3.1 that the categories of type 2 and hybrid exceptives have merged, as both types have been reanalysed to exceptive conjunctions. First, exceptives like the 16th-century token in example 19 above, in which the exceptive takes a subordinate finite clause without *dat*, are attested in the majority of tokens that introduce a finite subordinate clause: in West Flemish, 10 out of 17 tokens taking a subclause no longer take *dat*, while in Hollandic, 8 out of 11 occur without *dat*. Within the West Flemish data, one token without *dat* occurs in a chancery text, while the remaining nine occur in a travelogue; in the Hollandic data, exceptives without *dat* are only attested in the collection of personal letters analysed (see chapter 3), although this observation should be tempered by the fact that only one exceptive, which takes a PP, is attested in chancery texts in the 17th-century Hollandic data. Examples 20 and 21 are found within the same West Flemish text, but one token uses *dat*, while the other does not.

(20) De Christenen met een Turcksche vrouwe bevonden,
 The Christians with a Turkish woman found
 worden verbrandt, 't en zy dat sy Turckx willen worden
 are burnt unless that they Turkish want become
 'The Christians who are found with a Turkish woman are burnt, unless they
 want to become Turkish.'

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p.137)

(21) Men betaelt niet 't en zy het den dagh is vanden Divan
 One pays not unless it the day is of-the Divan
 'One does not pay unless it is the day of the Divan.'

(17th c. WF: Vincent Stochove, *Het bereysde Oosten*, p.126)

The co-occurrence of tokens with and without *dat* within individual texts each produced by a single author/speaker, and the fact that exceptives without *dat* outnumber those attested with the complementiser, means that, for the authors in question, the exceptive functions as a conjunction, and has thus been reanalysed as such. In addition, the occurrence of exceptives without *dat* in two individual texts in the West Flemish data shows that it is not just one author who has reanalysed exceptives in West Flemish, but that it has been taken up into the formal language of the chancery texts as well. The fact that *dat* 'that' still occurs at all need not contradict the analysis that the exceptives in my data have been reanalysed: while *dat* may still disappear entirely at a later stage, it should be noted that *dat* is a common strategy to form conjunctions from prepositions in the history of Dutch,⁶⁵ as can be seen in, for example, *nadat* 'after', *voordat* 'before', *omdat* 'because', or *zodat* 'so (that)' (van der Horst 2008). Similar forms are attested in German, such as *nachdem* 'after' or *seitdem* 'since', which are formed of a preposition, e.g. *nach* 'after', and a demonstrative, e.g. *dem* 'that'. This is not an uncommon development, cross-linguistically: Diessel (1999) shows that demonstratives undergo grammaticalisation in many languages, becoming, among other categories, copulas, personal pronouns, possessives, as well as complementisers. The complementiser *dat*

⁶⁵ I thank an anonymous reviewer of a forthcoming paper on the development of exceptives (Laperre, *forthcoming*) for this insight.

‘that’ in historical Dutch itself, for example, is a grammaticalised form of the demonstrative *dat* (see Diessel (1999: 123–125) for a discussion of the grammaticalisation of complementisers). Thus, since *dat* occurs in other conjunctions in historical Dutch, it is possible that exceptives retain *dat* through analogy with these other conjunctions, even though in this case, it no longer truly functions as a complementiser.

Second, I argue that the 17th-century hybrid tokens have been reanalysed as well, and have become conjunctions, even though they do not introduce a finite subordinate clause: one Hollandic token takes a PP (example 22), and within the West Flemish data, six take a PP, two a non-finite clause, two an NP and one an AdjP.

- (22) in welcken gevalle deselve gehouden sal wesen uyt de
 in which case the-same beholden will be out the
 voors compaignie te scheyden **ten waere** met bewilliginge
 aforementioned company to separate except with willingness
 van de andere comparante
 of the other party
 ‘... in which case the same (person) shall be beholden to separate from the
 aforementioned company except through willingness of the other party.’
 (17th c. HL: CHN leiden_1637_3)

As the exceptives taking a finite subordinate clause in examples 20 and 21 above are no longer analysed as clauses themselves, it is not unlikely that this analysis can be extended to all exceptives in the 17th-century data, including those introducing PPs, NPs, and so on. Thus, I argue that these clauses – originally hybrid exceptives – have been reanalysed as exceptive conjunctions as well. As noted above, I consider these exceptives to be conjunctions despite not introducing a clause in most cases: as demonstrated in chapter 2.7, in the Present-day Dutch dialect continuum, such exceptives can be analysed as conjunctions because they can be considered to introduce a clause in which several constituents, including the VP, are elided. This analysis can equally be applied to the 17th-century exceptives which introduce other constituents than finite clauses. This does not of course imply that speakers at the time were conscious of the idea that a conjunction normally introduces clauses, and

that some form of ellipsis may be involved: to the speaker, the exceptive in clauses such as (22) above is merely reanalysed as a single semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’, rather than being analysed as a clause meaning *were it not...* in which the individual elements within the exceptive still function as pronoun, negative marker and finite verb respectively.

The 17th-century West Flemish and Hollandic data thus contain forms of the exceptive that have grammaticalised further, in that all tokens have likely been reanalysed to conjunctions: a subset of tokens, which introduce finite subordinate clauses, is no longer compatible with the original analysis of the exceptive as a negative exceptive conditional clause, because the complementiser *dat* is lost in the majority of tokens. This pattern is attested in more than one text within West Flemish, and in both dialects, and is thus not an idiosyncratic usage by one author, but a more widespread occurrence. Furthermore, those exceptives that still take *dat* may do so via analogy with other conjunctions in the historical Dutch dialect continuum that are formed with *dat*, such as *voordat* ‘before’, *omdat* ‘because’, or *nadat* ‘after’. Finally, I argue that those exceptives selecting for a different phrase or clause type than finite subordinate clauses, such as NPs or PPs, have grammaticalised as well, and have been reanalysed to conjunctions. It may also be worth noting that many tokens are spelled ‘*t en zij*’ or ‘*t en ware*’, in three separate elements: this may be a simple spelling convention, but may simultaneously also reflect a certain awareness of the origin of the exceptive as a clause. It does not, however, have any implications for its analysis by those producing the forms in their own speech, where these forms have, as I have argued, been reanalysed as conjunctions meaning ‘unless/except’.

The 18th-century data similarly contain exclusively grammaticalised exceptives in both dialects, though exceptives are no longer attested with *dat* to introduce a finite subordinate clause (see examples 23 and 24).

- (23) De respective koopers zullen hun moeten contenteren met
 The respective buyers will themselves must be-content with
 de groote van lande (...) **ten waere** den kooper liever hadde
 the size of land (...) unless the buyer rather had
 binnen de 14 dagen naer den overslagh hunne gekochte partye
 within the 14 days after the appointment their bought property
 te doen meten ofte ermeten
 to do measure or remeasure
 ‘The respective buyers will have to be content with the size of the land (...) unless the buyer prefers to, within 14 days after the appointment, measure or remeasure their bought property.’
 (18th c. WF: CHN brugge_1750_1)

- (24) en dat het onmooglyk is een loffelyk Poët te zyn, **'t en zy**
 and that it impossible is a praiseworthy poet to be unless
 de verbeeldingskragt door geleerdheid gestaaft, en door oordeel
 the imagination by learnedness supported and by judgement
 gerigt werde.
 righted is
 ‘and that it is impossible to be a praiseworthy poet, unless the power of imagination is supported by learnedness and righted by judgement.’
 (18th c. HL: Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator* Part 1, No.24)

The loss of *dat* may indicate that exceptives have progressed further still along the grammaticalisation cline, and have lost what has become a redundant element, as they now function as subordinating conjunctions, despite the analogous link with conjunctions such as *voordat* ‘before’ and *omdat* ‘because’. However, anecdotal evidence from Present-day West Flemish (see chapter 2.7) indicates that *dat* still occurs in this variety, and therefore, it is unlikely that *dat* was lost in the 18th-century West Flemish vernacular. Its absence from the 18th-century West Flemish data may, then, be explained as the result of prescriptivist norms, which many 18th-century authors would have adhered to in their writings; this argument will be further developed in chapter 6.5.3. Finally, the 18th-century data still contain, in West Flemish as well as Hollandic, both forms of the exceptive, *'t en zy* and *ten waere*; in

Present-day Hollandic, however, only *tenzij* remains, as discussed in chapter 2.7. *Tenware* must have been lost at some point after the 18th century in the Hollandic variety, which reflects further obligatorification in terms of which form can be used as an exceptive conjunction. As my corpus does not contain material from beyond the 18th century, however, I cannot provide data for this development; nevertheless, the evidence of Present-day Hollandic does indicate that it must have occurred. This loss of one of two variants indicates that exceptives grammaticalise further in the Hollandic data after the 18th century.

In conclusion, a clear process of grammaticalisation is attested in the development of exceptives: a first exceptive type is lost, while the second and third type gradually shift from negative exceptive conditionals to exceptive conjunctions. Exceptives thus become a more grammatical category during their development from clause to conjunction. While the Hollandic data are the first to contain a cliticised form in the 14th century, it is the 16th-century West Flemish data in which a reanalysed exceptive, from an exceptive clause to an exceptive conjunction meaning ‘unless/except’, is attested for the first time. That this form has been reanalysed is made clear by the disappearance of the complementiser *dat*, which results in an incompatibility of the new form with its original analysis as a clause. By the 17th century, exceptives have grammaticalised to conjunctions in both varieties, as the loss of the *dat* from the majority of tokens indicates, and *dat* disappears from the data entirely by the 18th century, although in West Flemish this likely does not reflect the vernacular. The grammaticalisation of exceptives likely progresses further in the Hollandic data after the 18th century, with the loss of *tenware* as a possible form.

The mechanism whereby exceptives grammaticalise in my data is reanalysis, as a negative exceptive conditional clause is reanalysed as a semantic unit meaning ‘unless/except’, which functions as a conjunction. Various diagnostics of grammaticalisation are also attested: the cliticised forms attested from the 14th century onwards exhibit coalescence and phonetic erosion, while the reanalysis from a clause to a conjunction involves decategorialisation – a shift from a major to a minor category – as well as desemanticisation – loss in meaning content of the individual elements within the exceptive. Finally, the fact that a merged form of type 2 and hybrid exceptives becomes the only possible exceptive form after the loss of

type 1 exceptives points to obligatorification, as does the loss of *tenware* in Hollandic sometime after the 18th century, resulting in *tenzij* as the only exceptive conjunction in the variety, although as noted above, my corpus does not contain data beyond the 18th century, and this development can thus not be analysed in detail, nor supported with evidence. A final point to make with regard to the development of exceptives is that their grammaticalisation also results in the formation of two new lexemes, *tenzij* and *tenware*. Therefore, an argument can perhaps be made that this development is also a case of lexicalisation – Wischer (2000), for example, argues that both grammaticalisation and lexicalisation can operate on a single form – but as the development of exceptives primarily involves the shift from a clause to a conjunction, I argue that the process of grammaticalisation is the primary one in this case.

5.3 Expletive markers as NPIs

As chapters 4.3.2 and 4.3.4 have shown, two types of expletive marker appear in the data. One occurs in clauses after negated or adversative predicates, comparative clauses, or in some cases after an interrogative or *before*-clause – these clause types were termed ‘expletives’ – the other with adverbs such as *maar* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’. Both types of expletive marker are attested from the 13th century onwards: expletives occur in both West Flemish and Hollandic, but at this point the expletive marker with the adverb *maer* only occurs in West Flemish – in the Hollandic data, these start to appear from the 14th century onwards. In the 16th-century data, the expletive marker starts to occur with *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ in both varieties, and in the 17th century, *schaers* ‘barely’ is attested in the West Flemish corpus. Expletives as well as the expletive marker with adverbs disappear from the data after the 17th century, although, as shown in chapter 2.7, both types of expletive marker still occur in the Present-day West Flemish vernacular. The diachronic development of the two types is discussed in detail in chapters 4.3.2 and 4.3.4.

As the term ‘expletive’ marker implies, the preverbal marker *ne/en* in these contexts – expletives and with *maer* ‘only’, *nauwelijks* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ – does not appear to have an overt meaning in my data. In other words, it has become semantically bleached: it seems evident that the expletive marker *ne/en* was a

negative marker originally, which lost its negative meaning and was reanalysed to an NPI at some point in its development. As this process is not attested at all in the data, however, it is not possible to determine when this reanalysis may have taken place, or to provide a data-driven argument for this development. That the preverbal marker has lost its negative meaning in these contexts does not mean that it has no function or purpose at all, however: if it contributed nothing to the clause, it would most likely simply not exist, and therefore, it must have some kind of semantic or pragmatic function. In what follows, I will focus on the semantic analysis of these expletive markers: I will show, firstly that they should be analysed as NPIs (see chapter 2.4 for a discussion of NPIs), and secondly, that the use of the expletive NPI with *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ is the result of analogical change. The reasons for the disappearance of these expletive NPIs in the Hollandic dialect will then be discussed within a framework of koineisation in chapter 6.4.2, while the lack of expletive NPIs in the 18th-century West Flemish data will be addressed in the context of standardisation and prescriptivism (chapter 6.5.3).

5.3.1 Expletives

The preverbal marker in expletives is attested cross-linguistically, as noted in chapter 2.7, and such expletive markers have been argued by van der Wouden (1994) to be NPIs, as their context is, according to him, downward entailing. As shown in chapter 2.4, downward entailment refers to a semantic dependency between two elements, in that if an element X is part of an overarching element Y, then any event that affects Y must also affect X, but the reverse is not true. Negated and many adversative predicates, such as *twijfelen* ‘doubt’, are downward entailing and able to license the expletive NPI. This is illustrated by the 13th-century example below: the statement that *no one doubts that they have great power* entails that *no one doubts they have some power*.

- (25) stene die comen van orient niemen ne **twifels**
stones that come from orient no one NEG doubts-it
die men vroet kent **sine** **sijn** van groter macht
that one well knows they-NEG are of great power
‘Stones that come from the orient, no one doubts it, who knows them well,
that they have great power.’
(13th c. WF: Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen Bloeme*, 376:34)

However, as addressed in chapter 2.4 as well, downward entailment is often not sufficient to explain NPI licensing. This is also the case for expletives in my data following, for instance, adversative predicates containing the adverb *cume* ‘barely’. As Horn (2002: 56) demonstrates in the example below, *barely* is not downward entailing: the notion that *she barely studied linguistics* does not necessarily entail that *she barely studied syntax*, as she may only have taken a course in phonology. Similarly, in the 14th-century token (example 27) below, the idea that *he barely left his dog behind* need not entail that *he barely left his dog behind in his house*, as he may also have barely left his dog behind anywhere else.

- (26) She barely studied linguistics. -/→ She barely studied syntax.

- (27) Alsoe lieff had hi den hont, Dat hi en **cume** tenigher stont Afterliet,
So love had he the dog that he him barely at-any time left
hi **en** nammen mede, Waer hi ghinc off wat hi dede.
He NEG took-him with where he went or what he did
‘So much did he love the dog, that he barely left him behind at any time, he
took him with him, wherever he went or whatever he did.’
(14th c. HL: Willem van Hildegarsberch, XVIII, 7)

As discussed in chapter 2.4, Gianakidou (2002) argues that PI licensing should instead be seen in terms of veridicality, i.e. the truth conditions of a proposition, and that NPIs are licensed by antiveridical operators. Her definition is reiterated below (Giannakidou 2002: 33).

- (28) i. A propositional operator F is veridical iff F entails p : $Fp \rightarrow p$; otherwise F is non-veridical.
- ii. A non-veridical operator F is *anti-veridical* iff Fp entails *not* p : $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$.

In example 25 above, the proposition that *no one doubts that they have great power* is antiveridical, in that it entails that *it is not the case that they do not have great power*. The negative indefinite *niemen* ‘no one’ complicates matters somewhat, requiring that the premise as a whole is negated; turning the sentence into a positive one, however, demonstrates the antiveridicality of *twijfelen* ‘doubt’ more straightforwardly: *she doubts that they have great power* entails that *they do not have great power*. Thus, *twijfelen* ‘doubt’ is an antiveridical operator that licenses the NPI *en* in the following clause.

However, it cannot be argued that *cume* ‘barely’ is straightforwardly antiveridical. In example 27 above, the statement that *he barely left his dog behind* does not entail that *he did not leave his dog behind*; it rather means that within the set of ‘times he left’, the majority represent times he took his dog with him, while a very small minority represent times he left his dog behind. Nevertheless, *barely* still licenses NPIs, as in *he barely lifted a finger*. While Giannakidou (2006) does not explicitly address *barely*, her remarks on *almost* can, arguably, broadly be applied to *barely* as well. Regarding *almost*, she argues that “*almost p* does not entail or presuppose *not p*, but only implicates it” (Giannakidou 2006: 599). Similarly, I argue that *barely p* does not entail or presuppose *not p*, but implicates it: the statement *he barely left his dog behind* implies that *he did not (usually) leave his dog behind*. It is this implicature, then, that may ‘rescue’ the NPI-licensing, in that it is (mostly) antiveridical. The rescuing approach by Giannakidou will be discussed further in 5.3.2 below. A different, but somewhat related explanation for NPI-licensing in the context of *barely* and *almost* is presented by Horn (2002), using the notion of ‘assertoric inertia’, but as it is not the aim of this thesis to provide a concrete answer to the question why *barely* licenses NPIs, I will not delve into this further.

In sum, I argue that van der Wouden’s (1994) notion that the preverbal marker in expletives is an NPI is accurate, although his argument that these expletive NPIs all occur in downward entailing contexts is not compatible with some tokens in my

data, which occur after a clause containing *cume* ‘barely’. Such clauses can be explained, however, in Giannakidou’s (2006) framework of veridicality, which in turn supports the argument that expletive markers in my data can be analysed as NPIs. Van der Wouden (1994) considers this preverbal marker in expletives, or in his terminology, paratactic negation, to be a case of “non-local negative doubling, i.e. a negative polarity item licensed by an operator in a higher clause” (van der Wouden 1994: 114), an argument which is echoed in Zeijlstra (2004: 93), who notes that it is “the only instance of non-clause bound NC [negative concord] in Middle Dutch.”

5.3.2 Expletive *en* with *maer*, *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers*

The expletive marker with adverbs, previously discussed in chapter 4.3.4, can be analysed in much the same way. In particular, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ or *schaers* ‘barely’,⁶⁶ attested in the 16th- and 17th-century data (example 29), have been shown above to license NPIs when the implicature is antiveridical (see Giannakidou 2006). In example 29, the proposition that *one can barely hear the other* does not presuppose that they cannot hear each other at all, but it implies that the extent to which they can hear each other is minimal, and thus, that *for all intents and purposes, they cannot hear each other*. Thus, I argue that the preverbal marker *en* in the context of *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’, like the preverbal marker in expletives discussed above, is an NPI.

- (29) want daer alsoe groeten rumoer is die ghehelen tijt die wij
 for there such great noise is the whole time that we
 in den tempel sijn, dat die een den anderen **nauw en** mach horen
 in the temple are that the one the other barely NEG can hear
 ‘For there is such a great noise, the whole time that we are in the temple,
 that one can barely hear the other.’

(16th c. HL: Arent Willemsz, *Bedevaart naar Jerusalem*, 130)

⁶⁶ Note that in the literature, *cume* ‘barely’ is shown to occur with an expletive preverbal marker as well (Stoett 1923), but this was not attested in my data (see chapter 4.3.4).

However, the adverb *maer* ‘only’ similarly poses problems for the veridicality approach: at first glance, *maer* ‘only’ appears to be veridical, yet seems to license the expletive marker *en*. In example 30 below, the proposition that *there is only one God* entails that *there is one God*, and thus, can be analysed as veridical.

- (30) Doe riepen die lieden alle ghemeene: ‘Het **en** es **maer** een God
 Then called the people all together it NEG is only one God
 alleene Dat es Christus, die Gods sone, Die t'alre moghentheit
 alone That is Christ the God's son who to-all power
 es ghewone.
 is used
 ‘Then all the people cried together, “There is only one God alone, that is
 Christ, God’s son, who possesses all power.”’
 (14th c. WF: Leven van Sinte Amand, I, 3553)

However, *there is only one God* does not just imply that there is one God: *only* has a restrictive interpretation, and means that *there are no other gods but this God*. Giannakidou (2006) shows that this implication, with an exceptive component *no...but*, voids the veridicality of *only*, yielding a nonveridical operator instead. This, then, is argued to rescue the PI-licensing in the context of *only*:

A PI α can be rescued in the scope of a veridical expression β in a sentence S, if (a) the global context C of S makes a proposition S' available which contains a nonveridical expression β ; and (b) α can be associated with β in S' (Giannakidou 2006: 596).

I therefore argue that the expletive *en* in the context of *maer* should be analysed as a polarity item, and, like tokens with *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’, as an NPI. It is worth noting, however, that as discussed in chapter 4.3.4, *maer*, *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* are also attested in the corpus without the preverbal marker, which did not change the meaning of these adverbs in any overt way. In other words, the NPI is arguably not obligatory or strictly necessary in the context of *maer*, *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers*. This analysis of the expletive marker as an NPI in the context of certain adverbs is necessary in order to make the argument below that the

rise of expletive *en* with *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* in the 16th and 17th centuries is the result of analogical change, as the analogy lies with their antiveridical implicature.

5.3.3 Postma's (2002) approach to expletive markers

Postma (2002) proposes a different analysis of expletive markers, which is part of a unified approach he presents for all resilient preverbal markers in his study.

However, I would here argue that his analysis is problematic, and cannot adequately explain my data. For all resilient preverbal negative markers, Postma (2002) argues that they are true negative markers that occur in a bipartite relation with some other element, usually an NPI. In other words, he claims that an NPI replaces the regular postverbal marker *niet* in these cases, and thus, that the preverbal marker does not truly occur on its own. Regarding expletives, he argues that, even though there is no overt NPI within the clause in which the expletive marker occurs,⁶⁷ the clause does occur within an NPI-context, and thus that the *potential* occurrence of an NPI is sufficient to license the preverbal marker *en*. This seems a rather convoluted argument, however: if the context licenses NPIs, and there is an expletive element that does not express negation, the most straightforward argument is that the expletive marker is an NPI. In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that the mere possibility that an NPI can occur is sufficient to license the preverbal marker: if this were the case, why then does the preverbal marker not occur in the context of, for example, the NPIs *eenich* 'any', *ie/ooit* 'ever' or *baten* 'do good', as Postma (2002) also points out?

Postma (2002) does not overtly address expletive preverbal markers in the context of adverbs; *cume* 'barely' is argued to license the preverbal marker, but is not shown to co-occur with it, an observation which is reflected in my data. However, as my data do exhibit the occurrence of the preverbal marker with other adverbs, *maer* 'only', *nauw(elijks)* 'barely' and *schaers* 'barely', if Postma's (2002) reasoning is followed, these adverbs should be considered NPIs. Yet, they do not just occur in an NPI-context, they *create* the NPI-context, as shown above. In addition, if these adverbs were NPIs, they would not be able to occur outside the scope of negation or other

⁶⁷ This is the one type of preverbal marker that he considers to be expletive; however, it therefore falls outside the scope of his study, and is not addressed further.

NPI-licensing contexts, whereas in my data, they do occur on their own. Thus, it is clear that the expletive marker does not occur alongside an NPI in my data, but should instead be analysed as the NPI.

The argument that all ‘single’ preverbal markers occur in an NPI-context furthermore does not hold in view of my data: verbs, for example, that are negated by means of a preverbal negative marker, such as *kunnen* ‘can’, *mogen* ‘may/can’ and *weten* ‘know’ are not by themselves NPIs. While Giannakidou (2002) shows that modal verbs (in English) are nonveridical,⁶⁸ and can license PIs,⁶⁹ the verbs themselves are not PIs. Similarly, Postma (2002) attributes the occurrence of the preverbal negative marker with *weten* ‘know’ to its co-occurrence with short WH-clauses (example 31), which he argues to be NPIs (while also noting that he will not address *why* these are NPIs). However, *weten* ‘know’ need not occur with a WH-clause to license the preverbal negative marker, as example 32 shows.

- (31) Recht nu ter tijt quam te mi Een jonc man,
 Right now at-the time came to me a young man
 ic **en weet wie** hi si
 I NEG know who he be
 ‘Right now, in this moment came to me a young man, I do not know who he is.’
 (*Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 739)

- (32) Nu ben ic in allenden commen groot (...) dat ic **ne weet**
 Now am I in misery come great (...) that I NEG know
 Van levne of stervne onderscheet
 Of life or death difference
 ‘Now I have come in great misery, so that I do not know the difference between life or death.’
 (*Leven van Sinte Amand*, I, 1156)

⁶⁸ Paul may have seen a snake. -/→ Paul saw a snake (Giannakidou 2002: 33).

⁶⁹ The preverbal negative marker in the context of these verbs cannot be argued to be an NPI, however, as it still functions as a full negative marker in my data.

While Postma's (2002) discussion goes beyond expletives and the preverbal negative marker in the context of certain verbs, I will not address every point in his study; the above examples are sufficient, in my view, to show that his analysis is not feasible in light of my data: expletive preverbal markers do not occur as negative markers in potential NPI-contexts, but are NPIs, and those preverbal markers that do express negation do not always occur alongside an NPI. In addition, I argue that the possibility that an NPI may occur is not sufficient to explain away those preverbal markers that do not seem to occur with an overt NPI. Instead, the expletive markers themselves should be analysed as NPIs, as shown in 5.3.1 and 5.3.2 above.

5.3.4 Analogical change in the development of expletive NPIs

Expletive NPIs were shown in chapter 4.3.4 to occur, from the 13th-century onwards in the West Flemish data, and from the 14th onwards in Hollandic, with the adverb *maer* 'only'. In the 16th-century data, however, the expletive marker is also attested in the context of *nauw(elijks)* 'barely', and one token containing expletive *en* with *schaers* 'barely' occurs in the West Flemish 17th-century data. This late occurrence of the expletive marker with additional adverbs is, as I will argue below, the result of analogical change.

Analogy, in the linguistic sense, is defined by Fertig (2013: 12) as "the capacity of speakers to produce meaningful linguistic forms that they may have never before encountered, based on patterns they discern across other forms belonging to the same linguistic system." Fertig (2013: 12) distinguishes analogical innovation from analogical change:

- (a) an analogical innovation is an analogical formation (...) that deviates from current norms of usage;
- (b) an analogical change is a difference over time in prevailing usage within (a significant portion of) a speech community that corresponds to an analogical innovation or a set of related innovations.

In other words, analogy is the general, cognitive mechanism necessary to produce an analogical innovation, a synchronic phenomenon whereby a speaker produces a new

form by means of analogy that was not previously part of the lexicon or grammar. Analogical change, then, is a diachronic phenomenon that occurs when an analogical innovation becomes more widespread in a linguistic community. Analogy can function as a mechanism in grammaticalisation processes (Fischer 2007; Hopper & Traugott 2003), but also operates as an independent process, as the rise of expletive *en* with the adverbs *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ shows. The expletive NPI in the context of *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ from the 16th century onwards, then, is attested as a result of analogical change: the use of the expletive marker is extended to other contexts that exhibit similar semantic properties, viz. its restrictive meaning, and the resulting antiveridical implicature which can license NPIs.

Thus, speakers perceive this similar restrictive meaning between *maer* and *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers*, and begin to produce the NPI in the latter context as well. The first time the expletive *en* is used with either of these adverbs is then the analogical innovation, and once this form spreads to a large part of the speech community, an analogical change occurs. For this reason, it is not certain that the attestation of *schaers* is not just an analogical innovation by one particular speaker or author, as it is only attested once in my data, rather than a true analogical change. Its attestation in written language, albeit a travelogue, may point to a more prevalent usage in the spoken language, which would imply that the development is an analogical change after all. While more data may be needed to assess whether the attestation of an expletive NPI with *schaers* is an analogical change or innovation, it is clear that the expletive marker in the context of *nauw(elijks)* is the result of analogical change, due to semantic similarities with the adverb *maer*, which also licenses the expletive NPI.

In conclusion, I have shown that the expletive preverbal marker in the context of expletives as well as with the adverbs *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ can be analysed as an NPI. In order to explain how this NPI is licensed, I have adopted Giannakidou’s (2002; 2006) notion of antiveridicality, and argued that the NPI occurs in antiveridical contexts, or in the case of expletives following *cume* ‘barely’, or with the adverbs *maer*, *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers*, contexts which have an antiveridical implicature, which rescues the NPI-licensing. I have furthermore shown

that the new attestations of the expletive NPI with *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* from the 16th century onwards in the data are the result of analogical change – although the single occurrence of *schaers* may only be an analogical innovation – due to the similar semantic properties of *maer*, which had been attested in the corpus with the expletive NPI since the 13th century in West Flemish, and the 14th in Hollandic. The disappearance of this expletive NPI, in the context of expletives as well as with the adverbs discussed above, after the 17th century in the data will be explored in chapters 6.4.2 and 6.5.3, and will be seen as the result of koineisation in Hollandic, but of prescriptivist norms in West Flemish, as in the latter variety, these forms do not disappear from the vernacular.

5.4 The fossilisation of fragment answers

Finally, fragment answers, or short answers denying a previous statement, are attested scarcely in the data: in total, only ten tokens were found: one occurs in 14th-century West Flemish (example 33), while the rest are attested in both dialects in the 15th century. Fragment answers disappear from the data after this point, but still occur in Present-day West Flemish (Barbiers et al. 2008; Ryckeboer 1986; van Craenenbroeck 2010), although exclusively with the verb *doen* ‘do’. For this reason, fragment answers are often referred to in the literature as ‘short do replies’.

- (33) ‘Gaet in de lucht wandelen bloot, Ende bringhet van winden vul
 Go in the air walk naked and bring of wind full
 Uwen scoot Ic sal hu dan doen verstaen Wat icker mede
 Your lappet I will you then do understand what I-there with
 sal angaen’ Bave seide: ‘Vader, **ic ne can.**’
 Will do Bavo said Father I NEG can
 “Go walk in the open air and bring your lappet full of wind, I will then
 make you understand what I will do with it.” Bavo said: “Father, I cannot.”’
 (14th c. WF: Leven van Sinte Amand, I, 5787)

In this study, fragment answers were only investigated with regard to resilient preverbal negation, but as van Craenenbroeck (2010) and Ryckeboer (1986) show,

they can occur without the preverbal negative marker as well; see example 34 from Wambeek Dutch (van Craenenbroeck 2010: 123).⁷⁰

- (34) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
Mary sees Pierre not gladly
B: *Ze duut*
she does.
'A: Mary doesn't love Peter. B: Yes, she does.'

Van Craenenbroeck (2010) provides a detailed discussion of short do replies and their usage in present-day Flemish dialects, including West Flemish, from a syntactic viewpoint, and shows that they involve deletion of a null proform, rather than of a VP reflected in the preceding clause. Thus, for a thorough discussion of present-day fragment answers, I refer to van Craenenbroeck (2010).

However, their historical development has not been researched to any significant extent; Stoett (1923) and van der Horst (2008) address their occurrence in Middle Dutch, and Ryckeboer (1986) notes that the present-day construction derives from a Middle Dutch ancestor, but no diachronic path has been set out to explain how the early Dutch expression evolved into its Present-day Flemish equivalent. Even though the attestation of negated fragment answers in my data is, as noted above, somewhat scarce, some observations can still be made regarding their historical development. First, the data indicate that, as discussed in chapter 4.8, fragment answers are most likely a feature of spoken language. The disappearance of fragment answers in my data then arguably reflects a trend in the written language, as fragment answers have not disappeared from the Present-day West Flemish spoken language. By contrast, fragment answers are no longer attested in the Present-day Hollandic vernacular, although it is not clear when exactly this loss occurred. Second, the data show that up until the 15th century, fragment answers are attested with various verbs, whereas in Present-day West Flemish, the verb is restricted to *doen* 'do'.

⁷⁰ Van Craenenbroeck (2010) mainly provides examples from Wambeek Dutch, which is a Brabantic dialect, but argues that these constructions occur in West Flemish as well.

I argue, then, that fragment answers fossilised to an extent. I consider fossilisation to be a process whereby certain constructions become more fixed in terms of structure, and whereby the original meanings of the components within that construction are lost. In the case of fragment answers, they have become, in Present-day West Flemish, idiomatic phrases that have a somewhat, though not entirely, fixed structure. It should be noted, however, that, as no data on fragment answers was attested after the 15th-century, the following analysis is only based on the early attestations in my corpus, and the descriptions of fragment answers in the Present-day Flemish dialects in scholarship, as well as, in a few cases, my own West Flemish native speaker judgements. More research is thus required, both as to the use of fragment answers in vernaculars after the 15th century, and their usage in Present-day vernaculars, in order to provide a data-driven discussion of their development. However, despite the limitations of the available material, it is still possible to make some observations regarding the diachrony of fragment answers.

The verbal element within fragment answers has, as noted above, been restricted to *doen* ‘do’, although, as van Craenenbroeck (2010) demonstrates, the construction is otherwise not fully fixed: fragment answers can either be negated or not, the pronoun can be referential or a non-referential *it*, in some cases, the fragment answer can be preceded by *ja* ‘yes’, *nee* ‘no’ (example 35), or other interjections such as *ba* (Ryckeboer 1986) and it can be followed by a repetition of the pronoun (example 36) or the postverbal marker *nie* ‘not’ (example 37), which Ryckeboer (1986) argues to be used increasingly frequently by young speakers in French Flanders and western and northern West Flanders.

(35) A: Marie zie Pierre nie geirn.
 Mary sees Pierre not gladly

B: **Jou ze duut**
 Yes she does.

‘A: Mary doesn’t love Peter. B: Yes, she does.’

(van Craenenbroeck 2010: 152)

(36) **Z'en doe zij**
She-neg do she
'She doesn't.'
(van Craenenbroeck 2010: 133)

(37) A: Pierre spelj met de kinjern
Pierre plays with the children
B: b. **ij en duut nie**
b. he NEG does not
'A: Peter plays with the children. B: No, he doesn't.'
(van Craenenbroeck 2010: 142)

Ryckeboer (1986) suggests that these phrases are seen as semantic units, and are in vernacular writings often written as one word, as example 38 shows. In addition, Ryckeboer (1986) argues that speakers from various Flemish dialect regions often use a fragment answer containing a preverbal negative marker as an affirmative response, although he does not provide a concrete example of this; it is likely that he refers to tokens such as the one in example 39 below. Because a negated construction is used as an affirmative one, he argues that the preverbal negative marker has lost its meaning as a result.

(38) **Bettendoet**
Be-it-NEG-do
'No it doesn't!'
(Ryckeboer 1986: 331)

(39) **Ja 'k en doen**
Yes I NEG do
'No I don't!' / 'Yes I do!'
(Ryckeboer 1986: 331)

Thus, as was the case for the preverbal marker in exceptives as well as in its use as an NPI, preverbal *ne/en* in fragment answers has undergone semantic bleaching. During the fossilisation process, the preverbal negative marker has, like in

exceptives, arguably shifted from a morpheme to a sequence of phonemes which no longer carry any particular meaning on their own. In fact, I argue that all the individual elements that make up the fragment answer have likely lost some of their original semantics, whether the construction is an affirmative or negative response to a preceding statement. Ryckeboer's (1986) assertion that fragment answers are considered single units by speakers, which is supported by my own native West Flemish judgements, necessarily implies that, in example 39, for instance, the interjection *ja* 'yes', the pronoun *'k* I, the preverbal negative marker *en* and the verb *doen* no longer perform their original functions, as they no longer form a true negated clause.

In addition, my judgements of West Flemish – even if these are anecdotal – indicate that the preverbal marker and the verb in particular are no longer considered as such, and that there is little to no awareness that these elements once expressed negation and the meaning of 'do'. However, in clauses such as (37), the negative element *nie* 'not' is interpreted as a true negative marker. This is perhaps due to the fact that the postverbal marker *niet* is either part of a bipartite marker or occurs on its own to express negation in Present-day West Flemish (see chapter 2.7), while the preverbal marker does not occur on its own as a negative marker,⁷¹ and when it occurs in the bipartite marker of negation, it has, as shown in studies of Jespersen's Cycle – by among others, van der Auwera (2009) (see chapter 2.6) – been semantically bleached. Regarding the pronoun attested in fragment answers, then, these do appear to have kept their original meaning according to my judgements of West Flemish, as the pronoun changes depending on the referent: in example 38 above, the referent is an object or concept that would be referred to by 'it', while in example 39, the referent is the speaker. As noted, however, these observations rely on my own native speaker judgements of West Flemish, and must therefore be seen as anecdotal evidence only.

Nonetheless, the fact that fragment answers are only attested with *doen* (Ryckeboer 1986; van Craenenbroeck 2010), as well as Ryckeboer's (1986) argument that they have become a single unit, combined with my judgements that some of its elements

⁷¹ Although it does occur as an expletive marker, as shown in chapter 2.7.

have lost their meanings and all have lost their original functions in the clause, all do point to a potential argument that fragment answers have undergone fossilisation. It is likely that this fossilisation occurred due to potentially frequent usage of fragment answers, which are eventually interpreted as individual expressions, rather than clauses containing several separate elements. They are thus no longer productive as small clauses, like they were in my 14th- and 15th-century data, but are instead idiomatic expressions with a semi-fixed structure, always consisting of at least a pronoun and the verb *doen* ‘do’, and often combined with a negative marker or a preceding interjection. The preverbal marker and the verb *doen* ‘do’ are no longer interpreted as such, but are simply analysed as part of this unified construction.

Thus, I have shown that fragment answers are attested in my corpus in the 14th and 15th centuries, and are, as Ryckeboer (1986) and van Craenenbroeck (2010) show, still part of the West Flemish vernacular today – as well as other Flemish dialects – but no longer occur in Present-day Hollandic. While there is no data available for the time period in between the 15th century and the present, it can, due to the end-result in Present-day West Flemish, be argued that fragment answers underwent fossilisation. I have considered them to be idiomatic constructions in Present-day West-Flemish, in which the individual elements no longer have their original functions, and the preverbal marker and verb no longer express their original meaning. These observations were based partly in Ryckeboer’s (1986) findings, but largely on my own native speaker intuitions of West Flemish. For this reason, more data-driven research is needed to ascertain whether my judgements can adequately reflect judgements by a representative sample of native West Flemish speakers.

5.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the present chapter has discussed three structures attested in my corpus that can be explained via language-internal reasons: the grammaticalisation of exceptives, the analysis of expletive markers as NPIs and the role of analogy in the development of this NPI in the context of certain adverbs, and finally, the fossilisation of fragment answers. First, I have argued that a subsection of the dataset on exceptives underwent grammaticalisation via the mechanism of reanalysis: speakers start to analyse the negated exceptive conditional as a semantic unit, a

collocation, rather than a clause, and this collocation then begins to function as a conjunction. Second, I have shown that expletive preverbal markers in the context of expletives as well as the adverbs *maer* ‘only’, *nauw(elijks)* ‘barely’ and *schaers* ‘barely’ can be analysed as NPIs, as they occur in the context of antiveridical operators, or operators with an antiveridical implicature. The occurrence of the expletive NPI with *nauw(elijks)* and *schaers* ‘barely’ in my data in the 16th and 17th centuries, then, can be analysed as an analogical change. Finally, I have argued that fragment answers may have undergone fossilisation, and have become idiomatic expressions in the Present-day West Flemish vernacular, although more data are needed to confirm this hypothesis.

The three types of preverbal *ne/en* discussed in the above chapter all share one common characteristic: in exceptives and fragment answers, as well as in its use as an NPI, the preverbal marker has undergone semantic bleaching. In exceptives and fragment answers, an original negative marker loses its negative meaning and becomes part of the newly created form as no more than a sequence of phonemes, while in its expletive use, an original preverbal negative marker was likely reanalysed as an NPI, in a shift that arguably predates the corpus. Even though these NPIs no longer express negation, I argue that they still have some semantic function, and perhaps a pragmatic purpose as well, even if they appear overtly meaningless. In addition, unlike the element *ne/en* in exceptives and fragment answers, the NPI does still appear to function as an independent word. Thus, the preverbal marker does not develop in the same way in all three cases, but it is nonetheless clear that the preverbal marker does lose its original, negative semantics.

In the chapter above, I have thus provided an in-depth discussion of those morphosyntactic patterns in my data that cannot be explained by external factors, such as dialect contact or sociohistorical changes. These diachronic changes attested within these patterns – grammaticalisation via reanalysis, analogical change and fossilisation – are all speaker-driven developments: reanalysis involves listeners analysing a construction in a different way, and producing their analysis in this new way, analogy depends on speakers using a new form due to similarities with an existing form, and fossilisation is simply the result of speakers producing a construction sufficiently frequently for it to become idiomatic, and considered to be

a single unit. The following chapter will, then, examine those changes attested in my corpus that do arise as a result of external factors: the timing of some shifts along the grammaticalisation cline of exceptives, the timing of the loss of the expletive marker, and the shift from bipartite to postverbal negation (not discussed in the above chapter), as well as the attestation patterns of *en* with certain adverbs and adjectives.

Chapter 6: The impact of sociohistorical factors on the data

6.1 Introduction

While the previous chapter has discussed a number of morphosyntactic patterns and changes attested in my corpus, the current chapter will analyse a subset of the data presented in chapter 4 within a sociohistorical framework, with a particular focus on dialect contact as the result of urbanisation, and the effect of standardisation on written sources. Four developments will be addressed from each of these two perspectives: the shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation, the development of the preverbal marker (the NPI as well as the negative marker) in the context of adverbs and adjectives, the loss of expletive NPIs, and the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation. These four shifts cannot be explained by examining the morphosyntax alone, but can also be accounted for in light of external factors of change, particularly with regard to language contact on the one hand, and prescriptivism and social prestige on the other.

First, the shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation in West Flemish may, perhaps, be related to the urbanisation of Bruges in the 12th and 13th centuries, while in Hollandic, it is possible that this form occurs as the predominant marker of negation due to an adherence to prescriptivist norms; as this development predates the corpus, however, its discussion must remain speculative. Second, I argue that the obligatory co-occurrence of the expletive NPI with *maer* ‘only’ in the 14th-century West Flemish data and the loss of the preverbal negative marker with adverbs and adjectives in the 15th century, is most likely the result of an influx of immigrants from various European regions and the resulting language contact situation – even though too little is known about the precise nature of the contact situation to offer an in-depth analysis of its precise impact on the data. The same patterns attested in the 15th-century Hollandic data may once again be explained through prescriptivism, although as I will show, this analysis is not unproblematic.

Finally, the most extensive discussion in this chapter will concern the shift to single postverbal negation as well as the loss of expletive NPIs, which can be accounted for within the framework of koineisation. This framework was first outlined by Kerswill

and Williams (2000), and applied to the urban centres of 17th-century Holland by Goss and Howell (2006) and Howell (2006). The koineisation framework proposes that a specific language contact situation, characterised by diffuse networks, results in a new town koine, with features that are substantially different than those present before the koineisation. The 17th- and 18th-century data, as well as the historical evidence regarding the population of the Hollandic cities available for this period, thus allow for a concrete and detailed argument to explain the linguistic developments attested in my Hollandic corpus. The same shifts attested in the West Flemish 18th-century data, however, will be shown to reflect an adherence to standardised Hollandic norms in the written language, as will a subset of the 17th-century data which already reflects the new koine even though it was not the West Flemish authors' own native variety.

In what follows, chapter 6.2 will first provide the necessary historical background on the relevant demographic shifts and subsequent processes of urbanisation that occurred in the history of West Flanders and Holland. Second, chapter 6.3 will set out the framework of koineisation. Chapter 6.4 will then analyse the shift to bipartite negation, and the development of *en...maer* 'only' and *en...Adv/Adj* in the West Flemish data as the result of dialect contact, and the loss of expletive NPIs and the shift to single postverbal *niet* in the Hollandic data within a koineisation framework. Finally, chapter 6.5 will assess the effect of standardisation and prescriptivism on the Hollandic shift to bipartite negation, the 15th-century Hollandic data regarding *en...maer* and the loss of *en...Adv/Adj*, the 17th-century Hollandic data which cannot yet be the result of koineisation, and lastly, the 18th-century shift to single *niet* as the primary negative marker, the loss of expletive NPIs, and the loss of *dat* in exceptives, all attested in my West Flemish data.

6.2 Demographic shifts and urbanisation in West Flanders and Holland

Urbanisation will be conceptualised in my framework as what de Vries (2007: 11) calls *demographic urbanisation*:⁷² “a shift of population from rural to urban locations

⁷² De Vries (2007: 12) identifies two other types of urbanisation: behavioural urbanisation – a process that is related to the urban behaviour of individuals – and structural urbanisation – a type of urbanisation focused on the organisation of society and the activities within it, rather than the population.

such as to increase the relative size of the latter.” Two waves of urbanisation in the Low Countries will be relevant for this study of the development of negative markers: the expansion of cities, in particular in the County of Flanders, in the 12th and 13th centuries, and the urbanisation of cities in the Dutch Republic in the late 16th and 17th centuries. Both demographic shifts may impact the development of negation and preverbal markers in West Flemish and Hollandic, and, as I will show below, these demographic shifts do coincide with a number of developments attested in my data: the obligatory co-occurrence of the expletive NPI with the adverb *maer* ‘only’ from the 14th century onwards in the West Flemish data, and the change from bipartite to single postverbal negation as well as the disappearance of expletive NPIs from the 17th century onwards in the Hollandic data. In addition, one development that is not attested in my data, but may be the result of the urbanisation processes during the 12th and 13th centuries, is the shift from preverbal to bipartite negation.

6.2.1 Urbanisation in the late twelfth to fifteenth centuries

The first wave of urbanisation was driven by the economic success of Flemish cities as a result of, for the most part, the rapidly booming textile trade in the 12th and 13th centuries (Blockmans et al. 1980; Milis 2006; Verhulst 1999). This rise of this large-scale industry led to a significant population increase in the cities of Flanders, such as Bruges, Ghent, Ypres and Lille. Bruges, for example, became a prominent player in the cloth industry and trade in the late 12th century (Verhulst 1999),⁷³ and as Boogaart (2004) shows, Bruges’ economic success coincided with increased migration to the city, which peaked in the 13th century: not only was the textile industry a valuable source of employment for many, but the Flemish bogs surrounding Bruges were gradually becoming exhausted and unable to produce crops, so many farmers sought employment in the city instead. As a result, the city of Bruges expanded rapidly and greatly during the 13th century: Stabel et al. (2018) estimate the 13th-century population of Bruges at 60,000 people, based on their estimate for the 14th century (see below), although Blockmans (2006) provides a more conservative estimate of 46,000 people in 1300. The majority of immigrants to

⁷³ Bruges was not the first city to participate in large-scale textile trade, however: in the early 12th century it was St Omer which was responsible for most of the cloth and wool trade with England, and Ypres traded with Italian merchants at their annual fair. Bruges only obtained the right to hold an annual textile fair in 1200, although the city played an important role in importing Bordeaux wines from France in the late 12th century (Verhulst 1999).

13th-century Bruges were farmers from the surrounding rural areas (Blockmans 2006; Stabel, Puttevils & Dumolyn 2018).

Migration to Bruges may have been at its highest point during this period, but it continued on during the 14th century as well, with Bruges continuing to expand: between 1337 and 1371, an estimated 143 new citizens arrived in Bruges each year (Blockmans et al. 1980: 52). During the 14th and 15th centuries, however, famine and plague affected much of Europe: Flanders as a whole lost approximately 10% of its population during the Great Famine of 1315-1316 (Nicholas 1996: 5), and about 2,000 citizens of Bruges perished (Blockmans et al. 1980; Stabel, Puttevils & Dumolyn 2018). Nevertheless, the high mortality rates did not result in a substantial long-term reduction of the population in the Flemish cities. In 1330-1350, Bruges had an estimated population of at least 46,000 (Stabel, Puttevils & Dumolyn 2018).⁷⁴ Despite a decrease to 37,000 in 1390-1410 after the first wave of the Black Death, and a further decrease to 25,000 after the second wave in 1430-1450, the population rose again to 40,000 people in 1470-1490 (Stabel et al. 2018: 236). That the population stabilised quickly after the mortality crisis caused by the Black Death must point to massive migratory movements into the city (Stabel 1997; Stabel et al. 2018). While the immigrants into Bruges in the 13th century were mainly farmers from the nearby countryside, in the 14th and 15th centuries, up to a fourth of all immigrants to Bruges were from outside the county of Flanders, including the northern Low Countries, France, the German Hanseatic cities, various regions of Italy, Castile, Aragon and the Catalan counties, England, and Scotland (Blockmans et al. 1980; Stabel et al. 2018) – each, of course, bringing their own dialect to the city.

⁷⁴ Stabel, Puttevils & Dumolyn (2018) also suggest a more realistic estimate of 57,000 people, which includes the proportion of the population that would not have been registered with a guild, such as unskilled workers, or would not be part of the bourgeoisie, and in this way not recorded in official documents. The estimate of 46,000, then, is based on draft lists of the city militia. This number is used in the above discussion, rather than the more realistic estimate of 57,000, because in the discussion of the demography of Bruges in the late 14th and 15th centuries, Stabel et al. (2018) provide estimates based on guild-organised inhabitants as well, which therefore also only reflect part of the population; in addition, they continue to use the number of 46,000 for 1330-1350 to compare to the late 14th and the 15th century. For these reasons, the population estimate of 46,000 is included in the discussion above.

As the cities became increasingly powerful and successful, they became quasi-autonomous, and for a brief while during the mid-fourteenth century, independent city states. The cities protected their own population and textile industry at the expense of smaller towns and villages, establishing their absolute political and economic dominance over their individual territories in Flanders (Blockmans 2006). Thus, the Flemish cities were highly protectionist, independent entities, with populations made up of locals as well as immigrants from within and outside the County. At the end of the 15th century, however, following the revolt against the rule of Maximilian of Austria, Bruges lost its economic power and prestige in favour of Antwerp; as a result, the direction of migratory movements also shifted to Antwerp,⁷⁵ and for the first time, the population of Bruges declined significantly, to approximately 30,000 people in 1500 (de Vries 2007: 272; Stabel 1997).

The Hollandic cities, like The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem or Amsterdam, were somewhat slower to grow: only from the late 14th century onwards did they begin to expand,⁷⁶ though, once underway, this was a fast process, as the urban populations of Holland doubled during the 15th century (Blockmans et al. 1980). The population of Leiden, for example, rose from about 3,000 inhabitants in 1365, to 6,000 in 1400 and 15,000 in the 1480s, although it gradually declined over the course of the next century to about 12,500 in 1574 (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004: 506). As in Flanders, the growth of cities relied on their economic success: during the late 14th and 15th centuries, Holland benefited from a high demand in building materials and foodstuffs after the Black Death,⁷⁷ allowing for the first time large-scale trade with foreign markets (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004). Alongside trade, urban industries such as shipbuilding, brewing and textile production became much stronger in the 14th and 15th centuries in Holland as well, resulting in a higher degree of urbanisation (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004). However, in Holland, institutional barriers between city and countryside were not as strong as in Flanders, as the guilds were fairly

⁷⁵ Antwerp had a population of approx. 40,000 in 1500 (de Vries 2007: 272).

⁷⁶ The exception appears to be Dordrecht, which Blockmans et al. (1980) report to have reached its maximum expansion in the first half of the fourteenth century.

⁷⁷ The death toll as a result of the plague increased the living standard of the surviving population – there were, simply put, fewer mouths to feed – which led to a higher demand for luxury goods (Blockmans 2006; van Bavel & van Zanden 2004).

weak,⁷⁸ and Holland did not have a strong nobility class, like Flanders did; this situation allowed capital to continue flowing to the countryside from the cities, which in turn ensured the success of rural industries alongside urban ones. The economic strength of the countryside counteracted the depopulation of the rural areas in favour of the cities, and thus, the population stream into the cities was not nearly as strong as it had been in 13th-century Flanders (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004).

Nevertheless, in terms of population numbers, at the end of the 15th century the Flemish cities were still significantly larger than the Hollandic cities (Blockmans et al. 1980; de Vries 2007): Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden, for example, all counted approximately 14,000 inhabitants in 1500, compared to Bruges' 30,000 (de Vries 2007: 271–272). Migratory movements into the Flemish cities between the late 12th and early 15th centuries thus occurred on a much larger scale than those into the cities of Holland in the 14th and 15th centuries. This was due to the greater economic and political power of the Flemish cities compared to the Hollandic cities, which resulted in a massive influx of immigrants from within and outside of Flanders into its urban centres (Blockmans et al. 1980; Stabel et al. 2018). In Holland, by contrast, immigration to the cities primarily originated from the surrounding countryside, and the cities did not have so strong a pull as to cause a depopulation of the countryside (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004). These different demographic patterns may, then, have linguistic consequences: in 6.4.1 below, I will show that in my data the urbanisation of Flemish cities coincides with the exclusive use of *maer* 'only' with expletive *en* from the 14th century onwards, as well as the loss of the preverbal negative marker in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives in the 15th century, and may thus have influenced these developments.

6.2.2 Urbanisation in the late sixteenth to seventeenth centuries

A second large-scale urbanisation process in the Low Countries occurs in the late 16th and 17th centuries. As noted above, by the end of the 15th century, the Flemish cities had lost their prestige in favour of Brabant, and Holland was well on its way to

⁷⁸ In Flanders, the strong guilds tightly controlled the production of goods and kept their profits inside the city; the fact that Holland did not have strong guilds meant that they could respond to demand in a more flexible and immediate way, and that capital could be moved to the countryside. These aspects supported, among other things, the increasing success of the economy of Holland in the late 14th and 15th centuries (van Bavel & van Zanden 2004).

becoming economically highly successful. As Holland began to expand its export trade – transporting cargo from third parties as well as its own products – during the 15th century, the Hollandic sea trade rapidly rivalled that of the German Hanseatic League, and Amsterdam became an important harbour. In addition, other industries such as the cloth industry became increasingly lucrative in Holland as well (Blockmans 2006). The economic success of the Hollandic export trade resulted in a doubling of the population of the Dutch Republic between 1550 and 1650, a development which is reflected in the population growth of the large cities (de Vries 2007).

The population growth of Holland can, for the most part, be attributed to mass immigration into the cities during the late 16th and 17th centuries. The majority of migrants to the cities of Holland in this period have been argued to be Flemings, Brabanders and Walloons, who fled when the Southern Netherlands came under Spanish rule in 1585, during the Eighty Years' War, alongside Britons and German speakers, and some immigrants from the countryside surrounding the cities (van Deursen 1991; Howell 1992). For Amsterdam, however, Howell (2006) shows that the majority of immigrants were German speakers as well as people from the Northern Netherlands outside of Amsterdam, while individuals from the Southern Netherlands and Scandinavia represent a smaller, though not insignificant, percentage of immigrants.⁷⁹

This mass migration is also often referred to as a 'brain drain', as those who emigrated from the Southern Netherlands were, among others, its philosophers, scientists and artists: "the people of The Netherlands were now taught by southerners, heard southern sermons in their churches and were entertained by southern *rederijkers* playing in their theatres" (Willemyns 2003: 99). Thus, these southern intellectuals brought their linguistic varieties with them to the North, and in this way likely influenced several urban dialects, as well as the budding standard language (see 6.4 below). Van Deursen (1991: 34) estimates that a total of 60,000 to 80,000 people emigrated from the Southern to the Northern Netherlands. As a result

⁷⁹ Van Deursen (1991) also notes that a large number of Jewish refugees migrated to Amsterdam, but argues that they were an isolated community and thus had minimal contact with the other inhabitants of the city.

of this migration process, the population of many of the largest Flemish cities declined between 1550 and 1600: taking Bruges as an example, its population shifted from approximately 35,000 in 1550, to 27,000 in 1600 (de Vries 2007: 272). Accounts from Flanders in 1591, stating that vacant building lots were given away for free, and from Brabant in 1587, testifying that “various villages had been reduced to one-tenth of their previous population, or sometimes even entirely abandoned” (van Deursen 1991: 34) are furthermore telling of the scale of the emigration process out of the Southern Netherlands.

As mentioned above, the population of most large cities in Holland more than doubled between 1550 and 1650; the most extreme example is Amsterdam, for which de Vries (2007: 217) attests a population growth from approximately 30,000 in 1550, to 65,000 in 1600, and 175,000 in 1650. In this way, Amsterdam became the largest city – in terms of population – in the Low Countries, and one of the largest in Europe.⁸⁰ The magnitude of the immigration into Holland can be assessed by reviewing marriage registers: for Amsterdam, the registers show that in the first half of the 17th century, no less than two-thirds of those marrying were immigrants, and in the 18th century, they account for nearly half (de Vries 2007). The cities of Holland benefited greatly from this large-scale immigration, as it represented an influx of skilled labourers and craftsmen: the Amsterdam silk trade, for example, rose entirely as a result of these new immigrants, and the textile industry as a whole received a boost as well (van Deursen 1991). The 17th century is often named the Golden Age in the history of the Northern Netherlands, with good reason: aided by the large number of immigrants, the advent of peace after of the Eighty Years’ War, and the subsequent political independence of the Dutch Republic, the northern cities boomed, exhibiting a high degree of urbanisation and of economic success.

These migratory movements into the cities of Holland resulted in a dialect contact situation which impacted the local dialects: Howell (2006) and Goss and Howell (2006) show that Hollandic features such as the reflexive pronoun *zich*, the retention of the prefix *ge-* for past participles, and the diphthongisation of the reflexes of West Germanic **î* and **û* are all the result of extensive contact between the urban

⁸⁰ Only London, Paris and Naples have a larger population in 1650 (de Vries 2007).

vernaculars and the dialects spoken by large groups of non-local speakers who migrated to the cities. I will make the same argument for a set of developments attested in my data: the shift from bipartite to postverbal negation and the loss of the expletive marker *en* in my 17th-century Hollandic data are the result of dialect contact following large-scale immigration to the urban centres. That most of these developments did not occur in the West Flemish dialect in the 17th- and 18th-century data supports this argument, as an opposite demographic shift occurred in Flanders, in a movement away from the region: thus, urbanisation of the scale seen in 17th-century Holland did not take place in Flanders at this time.

6.3 Frameworks of language contact

Demographic shifts have often been argued to play a major role in linguistic change: as Labov (1994: 24) puts it, “it is well known that catastrophic events have played a major role in the history of all languages, primarily in the form of population dislocations: migrations, invasions, conquests, and massive immigrations.” The reason why such demographic movements affect in language change, is that they result in language contact, which in turn has the potential to significantly impact the languages involved. Not only is language contact responsible for the adoption of linguistic forms from one variety into another, but Trudgill (2011) argues that language contact is also the reason for differing rates of linguistic change: some varieties undergo linguistic change at a faster rate than others – Icelandic, for example, has remained significantly more conservative than the continental Scandinavian languages – and individual varieties can experience periods of fast change as well as periods of limited or slow linguistic change. To account for this, Trudgill (2011: 13) identifies two main social factors: first, the degree to which a variety has remained isolated or experienced contact with other speech communities, and second, the social stability or instability of speech communities, instability leading to social upheaval, and often demographic shifts. As shown in chapter 6.2 above, the Low Countries experienced a fair amount of social upheaval during their history, and a number of cities were highly active trading centres; therefore, during those times of upheaval, those cities that are in contact with other speech communities through trade should undergo linguistic change relatively quickly

compared to areas that do not fit this profile. As will be argued in chapter 6.4 below, this is indeed the case.

6.3.1 Borrowing vs. interference through shift

One leading framework of contact-induced change has been proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). They distinguish two basic types of contact-induced change, borrowing and interference through shift. Borrowing occurs when the speakers' native language is maintained, but incorporates elements from a different language or variety. Lexical elements are usually the first to be borrowed (Thomason & Kaufman 1988); the borrowing of English words into various languages provides a clear example: words such as *computer*, *upgrade*, *shoppen*, *team* in Present-day Dutch are clear English borrowings, and as the verb *shoppen* 'to shop' shows, borrowed words are often treated as stems in the language in which they are borrowed, and take the affixes used in the latter language, in this case the Dutch infinitive *-en* affix. In addition, the phonology of the borrowing language is often superimposed on the borrowed word, and it is pronounced via the phoneme inventory of that borrowing language: for example, the word 'ice cream' was borrowed into Japanese from English, and has become *aisu kurīmu*. Borrowing is not restricted to lexical items, however: the more intensive the contact situation becomes, the more features can be borrowed, starting with lexis, moving on to phonology and syntax in situations of moderate to heavy contact, and ending with inflectional morphology in even more intensive contact situations – although the latter occurs rarely (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 37).

Interference through shift, then, typically occurs according to Thomason and Kaufman (1988) in a contact situation in which one variety shifts to another, usually as a result of a one variety becoming the dominant one – i.e. a superstrate language – and replacing the substrate variety. Speakers shifting to the target language usually fail to do so perfectly, and the errors that language learners make can spread to the target language as a whole, resulting in interference through shift. Unlike borrowing, interference through shift affects syntax and phonology first, followed by morphology in situations of moderate to heavy contact, and lexis at a final stage, in intensive contact situations (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). An example of interference through shift is the impact of Uralic on a number of Baltic and Slavic

languages, such as Latvian, Lithuanian and northern Russian dialects: the fixed word-initial stress pattern in Latvian, for example, is the result of interference from Livonian (Thomason & Kaufman 1988: 241). Borrowing and interference do not exist in isolation, however: they can operate simultaneously between languages in contact. Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 40) provide the example of bilingual speakers of Yiddish and English in the US, showing that the English spoken by these speakers has a great number of lexical borrowings and moderate morphological borrowings, while their Yiddish contains morphosyntactic and phonological features, as well as lexemes to a lesser extent, that arose through interference from English.

In chapter 6.4.1 below, I will show that language contact is likely the driving force behind some of the changes attested in the 13th to 15th centuries in my corpus. The framework of borrowing and interference is a broad one, meant to encompass many different kinds of contact-induced change. However, frameworks with a narrower focus can, if sufficient data are available, provide more in-depth accounts of contact-induced change. One such framework is that of koineisation.

6.3.2 Koineisation as a result of migratory movements

As already noted above, demographic shifts and language contact seem to be in “a quasi-symbiotic relationship” Schreier (2012: 534). It is through this type of relationship that pidgins develop, or new varieties such as New Zealand English or Old English: the latter two have been argued to arise through a process of koineisation (Schreier 2012).⁸¹ As Howell (2006) and Goss and Howell (2006) demonstrate, the same analysis can be applied to the urban vernaculars of the Dutch Republic in the 17th century. This framework of koineisation will be shown in chapter 6.4 to affect a number of developments attested in my 17th-century Hollandic data, namely the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation and the loss of expletive NPIs.

The framework of koineisation to explain linguistic change was first proposed by Kerswill and Williams (2000) and is, as noted above, applied to 17th-century

⁸¹ See, however, Thomason and Kaufman (1988) for an alternate analysis of Old English.

northern Dutch urban varieties by Goss and Howell (2006) and Howell (2006).

Koineisation is defined by Siegel (2001: 175) as follows:

A koine is a stabilized contact variety which results from the mixing and subsequent levelling of features of varieties which are similar enough to be mutually intelligible, such as regional or social dialects. This occurs in the context of increased interaction or integration among speakers of these varieties.

Kerswill and Williams' (2000) framework was developed in the context of New Towns such as Milton Keynes, most of which were, under the New Towns Act of 1946, established in the UK in the decades following World War II. Taking the example of Milton Keynes, Kerswill and Williams (2000) show that the population of Milton Keynes expanded rapidly after its designation in 1967: 80% of this growth is the result of migration to the city, led predominantly by migrants from the southeast of England, including Greater London, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Northamptonshire. In their study of the variety of English spoken in Milton Keynes, Kerswill and Williams (2000) show that its phonology can indeed be explained as the result of koineisation following the intense dialect contact situation that arose due to large-scale migration into the city. As I will show below, koineisation as a result of immigration can be argued to account for a set of developments in my Hollandic data.

The urbanisation process that will be relevant to the koineisation that can explain the Hollandic data has been outlined in chapter 6.2.2 above: during the late 16th and 17th centuries, large-scale immigration occurs towards the cities of the Dutch Republic, resulting in a highly urbanised Holland, and Amsterdam rapidly becoming one of the largest cities in Europe. The immigrants to the Dutch cities during the late 16th and 17th centuries were mostly former inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands, German speakers, Britons and Scandinavians; for Amsterdam specifically, Howell (2006) shows that the German speakers represented the largest group of immigrants. As a consequence of this large-scale migratory movement, intensive dialect contact situations arose in the cities of Holland, which likely led to the formation of a new urban koine. Goss and Howell (2006: 60) point out that the outcome of the koineisation process is “dependent on social factors (specifically, on speakers’ evolving social networks) and on structural characteristics of the dialects in contact

(specifically, on the relative transparency or opacity of competing linguistic variants).” In addition, the development of the koine depends on the speakers themselves.

These factors are formulated as eight principles by Kerswill and Williams (2000: 85–95): three relate to the linguistic outcome of the koineisation process, which is concerned with either levelling⁸² or simplification, two are about the speakers of the koine, and three about the time scale of koineisation. Goss and Howell (2006: 60) collapse the first two principles into one:

- (1-2) Forms found in one dialect, i.e., marked regional forms, are disfavored. Forms found in two or more dialects, i.e., forms which are sociolinguistically unmarked, are favored by speakers for whom social integration is paramount.
- (3) Phonologically and lexically simple features are more often adopted than complex ones.
- (4) Adults, adolescents, and children influence the outcome of dialect contact differently.
- (5) The adoption of features by a speaker depends upon his or her network characteristics.
- (6) There is no normal historical continuity with the locality, either socially or linguistically. Most first and second-generation speakers are oriented toward language varieties originating elsewhere.
- (7) From initial diffusion, focusing takes place over one or two generations.

⁸² Kerswill and Williams (2000) use ‘levelling’ to refer solely to levelling of features; the term ‘focusing’ is introduced to designate ‘dialect levelling’.

- (8) Because of sociolinguistic maturation, the structure of the new speech community is first discernible in the speech of native-born adolescents, not young children.

Principles (1-2), (3), (7) and (8) are quite straightforward, but (4) through (6) may need some further comment. Principle (4) refers to the observation made by Kerswill and Williams (2000) that second-generation adolescents are vital to the process of dialect focusing: their parents, the immigrants to the urban centres, were L2 learners, adopting new structures from the various dialects in their environment, and the second generation adolescents learn these as part of their L1, which drives dialect focusing. Principle (5) should be interpreted within the social network theory proposed by Milroy (1980) and Milroy and Milroy (1985; 1992): weak-tie, diffuse speaker networks facilitate linguistic innovation, and its spread among the speaker group, while dense, multiplex networks encourage conservative linguistic behaviour. The nature of these networks can historically often be assessed by means of the degree of intermarriage between locals and immigrants: diffuse networks tend to exhibit more intermarriage than dense networks. Finally, Principle (6) means that the new koine represents a significant shift away from the original variety or social situation in the area.

As noted above, previous scholarship has already shown that a process of koineisation according to these principles occurred in 17th-century Hollandic cities; Goss and Howell (2006) demonstrated that this process occurred in The Hague, while Howell (2006) made the argument for Amsterdam. This process can then be used to explain a subset of my 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic data as well.

6.4 The impact of language contact and koineisation on preverbal markers in the data

In what follows, I will discuss the effect of language contact on two sets of developments attested in the data, which coincide with the two urbanisation processes discussed in chapter 6.2: the first occurred between the late 12th and 15th centuries in the Flemish cities (6.4.1), while the second took place during the large-scale urbanisation of Hollandic cities in the late 16th and 17th centuries (6.4.2).

6.4.1 Language contact in the late twelfth- to fifteenth-century Flemish cities

6.4.1.1 Shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation

While the shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation is not attested in my data, it likely coincided with a period of intense immigration and urbanisation in the Flemish cities, including Bruges. However, as no stable stage I of Jespersen's Cycle is attested in my corpus, there are no data to support the potential argument set out below, and therefore, it must remain speculative.

Chapter 6.2 above provides a brief account of the urbanisation processes in the history of Flanders and Holland, and the first of these processes occurred in late 12th- and 13th-century Bruges, which grew exponentially during this period due to immigration into the city (Blockmans et al. 1980; Milis 2006; Stabel, Puttevils & Dumolyn 2018; Verhulst 1999). This type of demographic shift likely resulted in a situation of language contact in the city, between the locals and the new immigrants. As chapter 2.7 has shown, the postverbal marker is already attested as an emphasiser to the preverbal negative marker in the 10th-century text *Wachtendonckse Psalmen*, though the bipartite marker is not yet the norm; this has changed at the time of the earliest data in my corpus – the late 13th century; see chapter 3 – by which point the most frequently attested negative marker is, by far, the bipartite marker. It is therefore possible that the large-scale expansion and urbanisation of Bruges (see 6.2 above) created a dialect contact situation which resulted in the grammaticalisation of *niet* as part of the bipartite marker, although in order to provide a strong argument for this, more data on this development are needed. It is furthermore worth noting that this hypothesis cannot not explain the fact that in my 13th-century Hollandic data, the same attestation pattern is attested as in the West Flemish data, as the Hollandic cities did not experience urbanisation to the same degree as the Flemish cities at the time.

6.4.1.2 *en...maer* 'only' and *en...Adv/Adj* in the data

For the 14th- and 15th-century urbanisation processes, particularly in Bruges, somewhat more information is available, which can provide a stronger argument for the attestation patterns of preverbal markers with adverbs. In my corpus (see chapter 4.3.4), two sets of adverbs are attested with a preverbal marker: an expletive marker

with the adverb *maer* ‘only’, and a negative marker with *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’ (henceforth *en...Adv/Adj*). The adverb *maer* ‘only’ occurs in the data from the 13th century onwards: in West Flemish, *maer* can, but need not, take an expletive NPI, but in Hollandic, it only occurs on its own. In the 14th-century data, West Flemish *maer* exclusively occurs with the preverbal marker, a shift which only occurs in the Hollandic data in the 15th century. In the 15th-century data, an additional development occurs: the preverbal negative marker disappears in the context of *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’, and *maer* ‘only’ is the only adverb that still takes a preverbal marker, namely the expletive NPI *en*. It should be noted that those texts containing *en ... maer* ‘only’ in the West Flemish data are all written by authors from Bruges (see also chapter 3.2), until and including the 16th century; the same is true for all but one 17th-century token, which occurs in a chancery text from Ypres. In what follows, I will show that the developments in my data described above may be the result of some type of language contact, but that there is insufficient historical information to argue that koineisation occurred in 14th- and 15th-century Bruges.

The developments of *en ... maer* and *en...Adv/Adj* in my West Flemish data described above coincide with continued migration into the (West) Flemish cities, primarily Bruges, from within and outside the county of Flanders, as discussed in 6.2 above: even after reaching its most urbanised point in the 13th century, Bruges still saw large numbers of immigrants over the course of the next two centuries. The influx of foreign immigrants, then, most likely resulted in a language contact situation that was significantly more diverse than the 13th-century situation in Bruges, which primarily involved immigrants from the surrounding countryside. As Stabel et al. (2018) show (see also 6.2 above) those moving into Bruges from abroad during the 14th and 15th centuries were mostly from the northern Low Countries, Italy,⁸³ France, the German Hanseatic cities, Castile, Aragon and the Catalan counties, England, and Scotland. However, some groups of immigrants remained more isolated than others: among the Italian merchants, for example, the Florentine and Lucchese typically married within their own social and national group –

⁸³ Specifically, the largest groups of Italian merchants were Venetians, Genoese, Florentine, and Lucchese (Stabel et al. 2018).

although there were exceptions – while Genoese tended to marry local women (Stabel et al. 2018). The latter group thus had more diffuse social networks than the former, which, following Milroy and Milroy’s (1985; 1992) social network theory, would mean that the Genoese may have had more of an impact on linguistic change within Bruges than the Florentine and Lucchese immigrants.

In order to assess the impact of the immigrant groups discussed above, it is first necessary to examine the presence and potential behaviour of *en...Adv/Adj* and *en...maer* constructions in the languages spoken by the largest, and thus potentially most impactful, groups of immigrants: German, French and Italian speakers (Stabel et al. 2018). Turning first to *en...Adv/Adj*, there is no evidence that a single preverbal marker could occur with specific adverbs or adjectives in 14th and 15th-century French, High German or Low German: in Middle French an unstressed single preverbal negative marker could be used to express discourse-old information (Mosegaard Hansen 2013), in Middle High German, it can occur in the context of certain verbs, as an expletive marker after adversative predicates, or in exceptives (Jäger 2008), and in Middle Low German, it is only attested in exceptives (Breitbarth 2014). By contrast, in her discussion of negation in the history of Italo-Romance dialects, Parry (2013) shows that the Northern Italian dialects, including Genoese, would have had the single preverbal negative marker as their main form of negation – as they still primarily do today. This implies that it would typically also be used with adverbs and adjectives like the equivalents of *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘(any)more’ and *ander* ‘other’.

However, the preverbal negative marker in the context of these adverbs is already attested in the West Flemish and Hollandic data in the 13th century, likely before the influx of immigrants from abroad arrived in the city, which means the resilient attestations of preverbal markers in my early data cannot be accounted for as a result of dialect contact with Genoese (or other foreign) immigrants. The potential impact of language contact lies with the *loss* of preverbal negation in the context of these adverbs in the 15th-century West Flemish data; a similar loss of preverbal negation in the context of equivalent adverbs should have occurred in the Genoese dialect in order to show that it impacted the West Flemish development in my data. Perhaps, then, the lack of a single preverbal negative marker in the context of adverbs and

adjectives in the speech of French and German immigrants in Bruges encouraged its disappearance in the speech of the city's native inhabitants in the 15th century, due to intense contact with these immigrant groups.

Second, the fact that an expletive marker *en* becomes obligatory in my data in the context of *maer* 'only' in my 14th-century West Flemish may be the result of language contact as well. In the northern Italian dialects, an expletive marker does not seem to appear in the context of *maer* 'only': it does occur in clauses following an adversative predicate (e.g. *fear* or *prevent*), and in comparisons, exclamations, questions expressing doubt as well as after *finché* 'until' (Parry 2013). Similarly, as noted above, an expletive marker occurs in different contexts in Middle High German as well as Middle Low German (Jäger 2008; Breitbarth 2014), and an expletive marker furthermore occurs in Middle English after negated or non-negative adversative predicates (Wallage 2005; 2008). In French, however, *ne...que* 'only' and *ne...guère* 'barely' constructions, i.e. expletive markers with adverbs meaning 'only' and 'barely', already existed in the 12th century, as Grieve-Smith (2009: 32) shows. It is possible, then, that the obligatory co-occurrence of the preverbal marker with *maer* 'only' from the 14th century onwards in my West Flemish data is influenced by contact with French speakers, who already had this construction in their native speech.

For the disappearance of *en...Adv/Adj* as well as the obligatory co-occurrence of *en* with *maer* 'only', an argument can be made that they are the result of interference through shift, according to Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework of language contact (see also 6.3.1 above): due to imperfect learning by French and/or German speakers of their target language, West Flemish, elements from these speakers' own language are incorporated into the target language, in this case the lack of preverbal negation in the context of *bore* 'very', *meer* '(any)more' and *ander* 'other' in French and German, as well as the fixed occurrence of an expletive preverbal marker with adverbs such as *maer* 'only' in French. Further research on the precise nature of the contact between these or other immigrant groups and the local inhabitants of Bruges, and their social networks, would be needed in order to set out this argument in more detail, however. It should furthermore be noted that, according to Stabel et al. (2018), the citizens of Bruges who needed to converse with the foreign merchants

tended to shift to other languages than their native dialect: French was mostly used as a lingua franca in northern Europe, and was also used to address the French, Spaniards and Italians, Latin was used to address English and Scottish merchants, and sometimes they even used Italian. Merchants from the German Hanseatic cities tended to understand the local language of Bruges (Stabel et al. 2018). This implies that the speakers of immigrant groups may not have needed to shift to a West Flemish target language, which in turn provides an argument against interference through shift. This observation once again shows that more research is needed before an in-depth account can be provided for the developments of *en...Adv/Adj* and *en...maer* attested in my data.

Before moving on to the discussion of koineisation in Hollandic, however, it is necessary to comment on the rise of obligatory *en...maer* and the loss of *en...Adv/Adj* in the 15th-century Hollandic data. I have not included this development in the discussion above, as I do not argue that language contact brought about this change: as noted in 6.2 above, immigrants to the urban centres of Holland in the 15th century came primarily from the surrounding countryside, and thus were unlikely to have a significantly different dialect from those living inside the cities, which in turn means that any dialect contact was weak, and unlikely to cause significant changes to the local vernacular. In addition, unlike in the West Flemish data, the rise of *en...maer* in the 15th-century Hollandic data is abrupt: no such tokens were attested in earlier data, while from the 15th century onwards, they represent 11% of all preverbal markers in the data (10 out of 91 preverbal tokens; see chapter 4.3.4). Finally, an analysis of obligatory *en...maer* and the loss of *en...Adv/Adj* as the result of dialect contact would imply that the same development occurred, independently, in Bruges and the Hollandic urban centres. For these reasons, I argue that the Hollandic 15th-century data most likely do not reflect the result of dialect contact, but, as I will show in 6.5 below, of the social prestige that Bruges enjoyed.

6.4.2 Koineisation in the seventeenth-century Hollandic cities

In what follows, I will argue that two developments in my 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic data are the result of a process of koineisation in the Hollandic urban centres at this time. As shown in 6.2, from the late 16th century onwards, large-scale

migratory movements to the Hollandic cities occurred, in part as a result of the Spanish succession in the Southern Netherlands at the time, which prompted a large part of its population, most of all the intellectual elite, to flee to Holland. In addition to immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, the new population of the Hollandic cities consisted of German speakers, Britons and Scandinavians (de Vries 2007; Howell 1992; Howell 2006; van Deursen 1991). The vernaculars of these speakers, along with that of the local population, then formed the basis of the new koine that arose in 17th-century Hollandic cities.

As most of the 17th-century Hollandic data was produced by authors from Amsterdam (see chapter 3.2), it is this city that will be the focus of the discussion of koineisation in relation to my data. As de Vries (2007) shows (see 6.2 above), the population of Amsterdam was more than five times larger in 1650 than it had been a century before in 1550, and this is the result of large-scale immigration. Regarding the origins of these immigrants, Howell (2006) demonstrates, by means of marriage registers from 1578 until 1650, that the majority of immigrant bridegrooms in Amsterdam were from the Northern Netherlands (outside of Amsterdam) and Germany, while those from the Southern Netherlands, Scandinavia and other countries represent a smaller, though not insignificant, number of bridegrooms. Most of these immigrant bridegrooms married women who were native to Amsterdam. The substantial degree of intermarriage between immigrants and locals is then argued by Howell (2006) to indicate that diffuse networks existed in Amsterdam at this time: rather than remaining isolated, and primarily in contact with their own immigrant communities, immigrants were integrated in the overarching Amsterdam community, having intense contact with both locals and other immigrants. As a result, the population of Amsterdam came into contact with various dialects, from the local vernacular to the varieties spoken by the immigrant population. Such a dialect contact situation, then, resulted in koineisation (Howell 2006).

In order to establish whether the shift to single postverbal negation and the loss of expletive NPIs in my 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic data can also be argued to be the result of koineisation, it is necessary to examine these structures in the dialects that contributed to the dialect contact situation in Amsterdam. First, in Scandinavian dialects, Jespersen's Cycle had already occurred twice by the 14th century, resulting

in a single negative marker *eigi*; no further cycle occurs after this point (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013: 10–11), which means that the late 16th- and 17th-century Scandinavian immigrants would have had a single negative marker still. No scholarship was found on potential expletive markers in the Scandinavian varieties, which indicates that they most likely did not occur.

Second, in the Southern Dutch dialects, the West Flemish data in this study show that in the 16th and 17th centuries, bipartite negation was the most frequently attested type of negation, and expletive NPIs still occurred as well. For East Flemish, Beheydt's (1998) 16th-century data exhibit bipartite negation as the primary type of negative marker, as well as expletive NPIs; the expletive *en* with *maer* 'only' is even attested still in a 19th-century play. Van der Horst's (2008) data largely corroborate this for the 16th and 17th century as well. In Brabantic, the bipartite marker is also still the most common type of negation (Burrige 1993), and the expletive NPI is still attested as late as the 18th century (van der Horst 2008; Beheydt 1998). Finally, for Limburg, Beheydt (1998) shows that in her 16th-century data, the bipartite marker is the dominant negative marker, though she does not have any data for Limburg for the 17th century.

Third, turning to the Northern Netherlands – this encompasses the dialects of the Dutch Republic at the time: Hollandic, Northern Brabantic, Northern Limburgian, and Northeastern Dutch – these varieties most likely all had the bipartite marker as the most common type of negation, and likely had the expletive NPI as well, although scholarship tends to focus on Hollandic (and southern Brabantic) authors to assess what forms occur in 'Dutch' at the time (van der Horst 2008). The fact that various authors explicitly start to object against bipartite negation and even expletive markers from the 17th century onwards, however, is likely an indication that these forms still occurred in, for example, rural vernaculars.

More impactful for the koineisation process that occurred in Amsterdam are, arguably, the forms that are attested in the German dialects. As Jäger (2013) and Breitbarth (2013) show, in High German as well as Low German, all dialects have shifted to the single postverbal marker *nicht* 'not' before the wave of immigration to the Hollandic cities began. Even if the bipartite marker is retained somewhat longer

in the Low German⁸⁴ and in West Central German dialects, it only lingers as a minority form after 1500, while in the High German dialects the bipartite marker already started to disappear during the Middle High German period (1050-1350); in fact, a stable stage II of Jespersen's Cycle was never even truly attested (Jäger 2013). Expletives similarly seemed to be restricted to Middle High German texts, in which they already occur very rarely (Jäger 2013: 161), and were likely lost with the overall loss of the single preverbal marker *en* by the 16th century (Jäger 2013: 163, 164). Expletives did not occur in Low German outside of exceptive clauses, from which the negative marker was lost in the late 15th century (Breitbarth 2013; Breitbarth 2014). Thus, in the Amsterdam of the late 16th and 17th centuries, a large part of the population were German speakers who would have used the single postverbal marker *nicht* 'not' (almost) exclusively, and who would not have had an expletive marker equivalent to the one attested in my Hollandic data until the 17th century. I argue, then, that as a result of the intense contact with German speakers in Amsterdam, the German forms are the ones that 'survived' in the koineisation process, and it is for this reason that the bipartite marker and expletive marker are lost after the 17th century in my data.

To assess why exactly these forms would have been the ones to remain part of the new urban koine of Amsterdam, it is necessary to revisit the principles outlined by Kerswill and Williams (2000) – see chapter 6.3.2 above. Principle (1-2) was reformulated by Goss and Howell (2006) to state that unmarked forms, which are found in two or more dialects, are typically favoured. For the German speakers, it is unclear what particular area(s) they emigrated from, and thus what dialect(s) they spoke, but as all dialects primarily used the single postverbal marker and did not have expletive markers equivalent to those attested in the Dutch dialects (Breitbarth 2013; Jäger 2013), if the immigrants came from two or more German dialect areas, the condition in principle (1-2) is already met. In addition, as noted above, Scandinavian dialects at the time also had a single negative marker, although not one that is cognate with *niet* (Willis, Lucas & Breitbarth 2013: 10–11), like the German *nicht*, and without an equivalent to the expletive NPI. Furthermore, according to

⁸⁴ In Low German, it is retained the longest in the Eastphalian dialect, in which it represents 10% of all negative markers between 1525 and 1575 in Breitbarth's (2013) data.

principle (3), features that are phonologically and lexically simple tend to be adopted into the new koine: it is clear that a single *niet* is a simpler construction than a bipartite marker *en...niet*, and that not having an expletive NPI is simpler than having an expletive NPI. Thus, I argue that the single postverbal *niet* and the lack of expletive NPIs represent unmarked and simpler features, which were present in the German dialects of immigrants.

Principle (4), then, states that children and adolescents have a different impact on the koineisation process than adults. This principle can be discussed alongside principle (7), which states that focusing, or dialect levelling, takes place over one or two generations, and principle (8), which argues that the new koine is first discernible in the speech of adolescents who were born in the city, i.e. second-generation speakers who were in contact with the wider community, unlike young children, who would have had their parents' speech as their primary input. In my 17th-century Hollandic data, the two authors whose works are part of the corpus, Hooft and van den Vondel, cannot represent second-generation speech, as they were born in the late 16th century, around the time that the immigration into the city began. Van den Vondel nevertheless already uses the single postverbal marker more frequently than the bipartite marker, and his material in the corpus does not contain the expletive NPI, while Hooft uses, as shown in chapter 4.2, bipartite negation in his early letters, but shifts to single postverbal negation in his later works, after 1641. The expletive NPI is also attested only in Hooft's early works. These attestation patterns are, however, most likely the result of an adherence to prescriptivist norms, which likely changed as a result of the koineisation process (see also chapter 6.5 for a discussion of prescriptivism and standardisation).

A second-generation speaker can, however, be found in Hooft's son, Arnout Hellemans Hooft, who was born in 1630 (van der Aa 1867). As a teenager, he sometimes spent extended periods of time at friends' houses, and attended a college away from home; therefore, he frequently corresponded with his family via letters, some of which are included in the collection of letters from which texts were selected to build my 17th-century corpus (though only letters written by the elder Hooft were admitted into my corpus; see chapter 3.2). Arnout's letters to his father are written primarily in Latin, but one letter to his mother, written when he was

seventeen, is written in his native Hollandic. In this letter, he exclusively uses single postverbal negation; an example is provided below.

(1) Liefste moeder, Ik soude U.E. mijn vuyjl lijnwaet senden, ghelijck ghij
Dearest mother, I would you my dirty laundry send, like you
mijn gheschreven had, maer ik weet **niet** hoe dat ik het best
me written had but I know not how that I it best
bestellen soude.

send would

‘Dearest mother, I would send you my dirty laundry, as you wrote to me, but
I do not know how best to send it.’

(17th c. HL: Arnout Hooft, Letter 1325, February 1647)

It is thus likely that Arnout Hooft belonged to a generation of speakers who had already shifted to the new koine, although, as he was born in 1630,⁸⁵ it is possible that he is not part of the generation that actively impacted the koineisation process. Indeed, Howell (2006) argues that the process of focusing was still ongoing around 1620 in the Hollandic urban centres, and it would therefore not be unlikely if by the 1640s, when Arnout would have been an adolescent, this process had been completed. In addition, P.C. Hooft’s own shift to single postverbal negation can be explained by arguing that this form had become a prescriptivist norm⁸⁶ from 1641 onwards at the latest, a development which can only occur if *niet* was already in some way part of the Hollandic variety. Thus, the focusing process which resulted in single *niet* probably occurred before the 1640s, at which point Arnout Hooft (born in 1630) would have been too young to contribute to the koineisation process itself. Instead, he would have grown up with single *niet* as the primary negative marker. The same can most likely be argued for the loss of expletive *en*, but as Arnout Hooft does not use any of the adverbs or clause types that would have had the NPI in the earlier data, it is not possible to verify that this form was indeed filtered out in the koineisation process.

⁸⁵ P.C. Hooft had his son quite late in life, at the age of 49.

⁸⁶ Yet another indication that the elder Hooft values ‘correctness’ in writing, is that a large portion of his letters to Arnout is devoted to correcting his son’s spelling and grammar, both in Latin and his native Hollandic.

Turning back to Kerswill and Williams' (2000) principles, the fifth principle relates to the social networks of the speakers in the contact situation that leads to koineisation: as noted above, due to the high numbers of immigrants, including German speakers, who married local women (Howell 2006), many speakers had diffuse networks, which allowed them to more easily adopt new forms (see Milroy & Milroy 1985; 1992). Finally, principle (6) refers to the fact that there is no continuity with the locality, and this is indeed the case for negation and expletive markers in the new koine: in the Hollandic variety before the koineisation process, the bipartite marker is attested and expletive NPIs still occur, whereas in the new koine, only the single postverbal negative marker remains, while expletive markers have disappeared. In other words, in the new koine, preverbal markers in general are lost. While the result of the koineisation process is not yet clearly attested in the 17th-century Hollandic data, as the data are produced by authors who had not yet shifted to the new koine, the effect of koineisation can be seen in the 18th-century data: the single postverbal negative marker is used almost exclusively, and the expletive NPI does not occur in any of its contexts.

I have argued, then, that the shift to single postverbal *niet*, and the loss of the expletive NPI in my Hollandic data in the 17th and 18th centuries are the result of a process of koineisation that occurred in Amsterdam in the late 16th and 17th century. Howell (2006) has previously shown that koineisation occurs in the 17th-century Hollandic cities, which can explain a number of phonological and morphological changes; my data show that syntactic changes occur as a result of koineisation as well. Due to the large number of immigrants in Amsterdam, an intense dialect contact situation occurred, as a result of which speakers with diffuse networks easily picked up new forms that were not part of their local vernacular. These new forms in my data – single *niet* as the primary negator, and a lack of expletive NPIs – reflect the dialects spoken by the substantial number of German immigrants, and represent a simpler alternative to the bipartite marker and the occurrence of the expletive NPI in certain clauses and with certain adverbs, which occurred in the Hollandic data before the 17th century. While in my 17th-century Hollandic data, those who produced the texts from Amsterdam are not part of the generation that would already have shifted to the new koine, a clear shift is nevertheless attested in Hooft's writings from 1641 onwards, and Hooft's son seems to exclusively use single *niet* in a letter from 1647. I

have therefore argued that these data imply that the koineisation had most likely been completed by the 1640s, and that the elder Hooft's written language reflects an adherence to prescriptivist norms that arose after the koineisation process. In the 18th-century Hollandic data, however, the result of koineisation is clear, as the single postverbal marker accounts for 98% of all negative markers (see chapter 4.2), and the expletive NPI is lost entirely. Thus, these findings show that the principles for koineisation outlined by Kerswill and Williams (2000) can also be applied to my data, and the contact situation that resulted in the developments attested in my corpus.

6.4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have argued that some developments in my data can be explained via dialect contact. For the 14th- and 15th- century West Flemish data on the obligatory co-occurrence of the expletive NPI *en* with *maer* 'only' and the loss of the preverbal negative marker *en* with other adverbs and adjectives in the corpus, I have shown that it is likely that these developments occurred as the result of contact with the substantial number of immigrants from various parts of Europe, particularly French and German speakers, who settled in Bruges. I have argued that these developments may be accounted for within Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework of language contact, as the result of interference through shift, although more research is needed to develop this argument in more detail.

For the 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic data, a clearer argument can be made: I have shown that the shift to single postverbal negation as well as the loss of expletive NPIs can be analysed within a koineisation framework, as the contact situation attested and the type of changes that occur fit within the eight principles of koineisation provided by Kerswill and Williams (2000). These developments, then, occurred as the result of the formation of a new town koine in Amsterdam. The significantly more detailed historical data available for the 17th and 18th centuries compared to the 12th through 15th centuries are thus pivotal in determining the precise type of language contact that occurred in the Hollandic urban centres, thereby allowing a substantially more in-depth account of the underlying triggers of the changes to – or rather, disappearance of – the preverbal marker attested in my

data. Koineisation and language contact in general are, however, not the only ways to explain my data: as noted above, standardisation and prescriptivism can have an effect on the written language as well, including, I will argue, in the 15th-century Hollandic, and 18th-century West Flemish data.

6.5 The effect of standardisation and prescriptivism

In the above discussion, I have argued that language contact can explain the obligatory co-occurrence of the expletive NPI with *maer* ‘only’ in the 14th-century West Flemish data, and perhaps even the unattested shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation in West Flemish, and that koineisation in particular can account for the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation and the loss of the expletive NPI in the 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic data. However, language contact cannot explain all the data: in the 15th-century Hollandic data, the expletive NPI becomes obligatory with *maer* as well, and in the 18th-century West Flemish data, expletive NPIs are lost and a shift to single postverbal negation as the primary negative marker is attested. Nevertheless, the Syntactic Atlas of Dutch Dialects (SAND) demonstrates that in several present-day Flemish dialects, including West Flemish, the bipartite marker continues to occur, and the expletive marker is retained as well, after comparative or anteriority clauses (albeit rarely) and with adverbs such as *maar* ‘only’ (Barbiere et al. 2008; see also Neuckermans 2008); see also chapter 2.7. Despite the 18th-century data, expletive NPIs have thus not disappeared from the West Flemish dialect, and therefore, they must still have existed in 18th-century West Flemish as well.

Regarding the shift from bipartite to postverbal negation, it should be noted that the 18th-century West Flemish data do not show that the bipartite marker is lost completely – as shown in chapter 4.2, bipartite negation accounts for 12% of all tokens – and that, while the bipartite marker is still attested in Present-day West Flemish, the postverbal marker occurs more frequently on its own, as discussed in chapter 2.7 (Neuckermans 2008). Thus, the 18th-century data on bipartite negation do reflect the Present-day West Flemish patterns to an extent, but the shift to postverbal negation attested is still an abrupt one: without an underlying trigger, such a shift would normally occur gradually, rather than abruptly. As the urban situation in 17th- and 18th-century West Flanders did not encourage immigration, koineisation or

language contact in general cannot account for this abrupt change, but what could account for the data is that they reflect prescriptivist forms, which at the time would have been Hollandic. The shift to single *niet* as the primary negative marker in West Flemish would then most likely not have been an abrupt change in reality, but the authors producing the texts used in my corpus may have modelled their written language after a normative variety.

The same argument can be made for the abrupt disappearance of expletive markers: the reason for the low frequency of the preverbal marker – both as part of bipartite negation and on its own as an expletive NPI – in the late West Flemish data is, I argue, due to prescriptivist norms and standardisation which influence the written language. Such norms do not influence the vernacular of the vast majority of speakers, but those using written language as a medium often style their language according to a perceived norm of what is ‘correct’, and as Janda and Joseph (2003) point out, writing tends to exhibit conservatism and hypercorrection. Such norms influence e.g. official documents or literary texts more strongly than private letters – see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this idea, and Koch and Österreicher’s (1985) notion of *Sprache der Distanz* and *Sprache der Nähe*. For this reason, it is not surprising that some linguistic features may be deemed part of the spoken language, and filtered out of written sources, especially when standardisation efforts start to be made from the late 16th century onwards.

6.5.1 Standardisation of Dutch

A thorough discussion of the standardisation of Dutch is provided by Willemyns (2003). Before this process takes off in the history of the Dutch language, however, Willemyns (2003: 94) points out that, in the 14th century, Bruges became the centre of writing and culture in the Low Countries, and its language variety “contributed decisively to the development of Dutch”. In addition, contact with French in administrative contexts increased after the merger of Flanders with the Duchy of Burgundy in 1384, although in Holland, French was already the language of the nobility since it came under the rule of Heinnault in 1299. Turning to the standardisation efforts in Dutch in the Low Countries, then, the first published works

on spelling and grammar arose in the 16th century, while many more treatises were written in the 17th century.

The most influential work, explicitly designed for the purpose of establishing one single variety of Dutch as the basis for the writing tradition of the north, was the *Statenbijbel*, a bible translation which combined northern and southern characteristics, and as a result, prevented too extreme a divergence of the northern from the southern varieties (Willemyns 2003). The 18th century saw the emergence of several more influential grammars, as well as the foundation of the *Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, the ‘Society for Dutch Literature’ in 1766, which studied language as well as literature. In the early 19th century, then, a normative view of language prevailed, as the academic discipline of ‘Netherlandistics’ aimed to introduce a prescriptive, authoritative spelling and grammar, but by the middle of the century, a more historic-comparative approach arose, which, according to Willemyns (2003), would influence the standardisation process as well. In 1864, one single official orthography was proposed for both the Northern and the Southern Netherlands. Eventually, the standard variety was expanded to the spoken language as well, although only a very small intellectual elite actually used this variety: the *beschaafde taal* or ‘civilised language’ (Willemyns 2003). Indeed, as Elspaß (2002: 43) points out, standard varieties tend not to be successful in spoken language, as very few people adhere to a standard variety in their speech, and even those speakers who do use the standard usually do not consistently implement all the rules prescribed by grammars, and thus do not use it entirely successfully.

In the Southern Netherlands, then, no codification of a standard variety occurred, in part due to political instability, but also because of the prominent position of French as the language of administration (van der Wal & van Bree 2014; Willemyns 2003). This situation was exacerbated when France annexed the Southern Netherlands in 1795, and “for the first time in history there was a massive official attempt to change the linguistic habits of the masses by suppressing the Dutch language” (Willemyns 2003: 96). The French language only briefly lost its status after the Southern Netherlands became part of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands between 1814 and 1830. As a result of the above, the Flemish Movement arose, which aimed to gain linguistic, and more broadly, social, cultural and political rights for Flemings.

For this purpose, the Flemish Movement pushed the population to take over the Northern Dutch standard variety, as this was already an existing prestige variety in the Netherlands, a country which had great international power (Willemys 2003). The Flemish vigour in attempting to raise their language to the level of a standard variety was only intensified when, after the formation of Belgium in 1830, Flemish was dismissed as an official administrative language in favour of French,⁸⁷ despite the fact that Flemish speakers outnumbered the French-speaking population in Belgium. However, use of French was not strictly compulsory in all layers of administration, and thus, Flemish continued to be used alongside French, which means that a fixed orthography was necessary. An official spelling was first introduced in 1844, which was then replaced by an orthography used both in the North and the South in 1864, as mentioned above (Willemys 2003).

However, despite the existence of these orthographic conventions, “[t]here is no evidence that writers changed their spelling habits when a new official norm was adopted” (Vandenbussche 2002: 35). Comparing the writing of lower, middle and upper class Flemish writers, Vandenbussche (2002) shows that all three classes exhibit relative variation in terms of their spelling – using for example *huys* as well as *huijs* ‘house’ – in the early 19th century, and that a more fixed spelling is first adopted by upper class writers, followed by middle class writers from 1850 onwards, and finally lower class writers in the 20th century. The adoption of spelling conventions in different classes can be traced to the rise of literacy, which occurred first in the upper classes, then the middle and finally the lower classes (Vandenbussche 2002). The level of literacy can then in turn be linked to links the level of literacy to the relative wealth of the population, as Elspaß (2002) shows for literacy in German-speaking areas during the 19th century: the wealthier classes were more likely to receive more extensive formal instruction (i.e. primary as well as secondary education) than the middle and lower classes, resulting in a higher level of literacy and also a higher level of adherence to codified norms. Elspaß (2002) furthermore argues that those having received only primary education were often taught nonstandard, regional forms, because the teachers passed on their own grammatical and orthographic rules, and “taught a form of German that they

⁸⁷ It was only in 1898 that Dutch was named an official language of Belgium alongside French.

considered correct” (Elspeß 2002: 50), rather than a codified standard variety. It is thus not the case that, once an orthographic or grammatical ‘standard’ was proposed, writers straightforwardly shifted to that variety in their personal writings: the majority of writings still exhibit a relatively large amount of variation, and nonstandard forms (Elspeß 2002; Vandenbussche 2002).

In the Northern Netherlands in first half of the 20th century, the language of the Randstad (the large western cities of Holland, including Amsterdam), gradually became the prestige variety on which the standard language continued to be built. In Flanders, however, it was only in the second half of the 20th century, when radio and television became more ubiquitous, that the Dutch standard written and spoken norms could be implemented, to the detriment of French. The Flemish, including linguists and other academics, could use the new media to spread the usage of the northern standard, and their efforts were highly successful: within a few decades, the northern variety was established as the norm, which could be used in education, administration, and situations calling for more formal language use in general. Willemyns (2003) also notes that this process occurred, for the most part, without any involvement from the government. In 1980, the *Nederlandse Taalunie*, or ‘Dutch Language Union’ was established jointly by the Dutch and Flemish governments, which aims to unify the Dutch-speaking peoples of the Netherlands and Belgium in terms of language and literature. Finally, Willemyns points out that the actual realisation of the standard variety varies regionally, and most speakers accept this as a part of an always changing standard.

The Northern and Southern Dutch varieties thus had significantly different processes of standardisation: the process was easier in the North than in the South and therefore occurred much sooner, as the North had political independence. Southern Dutch, however, was suppressed by the French prestige variety until as late as the mid-20th century, although the Flemish Movement aimed to re-establish Dutch as the social and political prestige language from 1814-1830 onwards, advocating the use of the Northern Dutch standard as their own. These developments have a clear impact on the written data in my study, as I will show below: the preverbal marker – in bipartite negation and as an expletive NPI – has disappeared from the data entirely by the 18th century, even though in West Flemish, it most likely continued to be used

in the spoken vernacular. In addition, a clear shift in the language of the 17th-century Hollandic author P.C. Hooft can be seen in my data, likely as a result of his own views on normative language. The effect of standardisation on my data is thus not a reflection of actual developments in the spoken language, but of developments in the written standard. The impact of prestige varieties should not be overstated, however: not only did the Dutch standard language not influence the local vernaculars, but neither did a superstrate contact language such as French, as I will argue below.

6.5.2 Prescriptivism and the role of prestige

In order to verify whether any specific norms were prescribed regarding negation or expletive markers, which would support the argument that some written sources in my corpus may reflect a more prestigious variety, I have examined fourteen works dated between the late 16th and the late 18th century, which all, in some way, aimed to show what the Dutch language looked like, or should look like. One of these works has already been mentioned above: P.C. Hooft's *Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael* (ca. 1635-1641), which does indeed argue that expletives or *balansschikking* clauses should lose their expletive marker, though it does not discuss any other type of negative marker. However, Jan van Belle, in the late 18th-century *Korte wegwyzer, ter spel-spraak- en dichtkonden* (1748), vehemently argues against the use of bipartite negation, noting that the preverbal marker *en* is redundant, as the below quotes indicate:

Nooit af *EN* laat: is tweemaal *NEEN* geen *JA*? (...) Dit *Nooit*, alleen, zegt al 't begeerde zeggen: Waarom dan *EN* dus in den weg te leggen?

'*Never EN* stops: is twice *NO* not *YES*? (...) this *Never* alone, says all that is wanted: why then put *EN* in the way?'

(Jan van Belle, *Korte wegwyzer*, p.82)

In Zuiv're Taale, als 't Rigtsnoer van ons léven, is 't EN, EN, EN, te onnoemlyk veel geschreeven: Zo, dat ik vaak, door al het EN, EN, EN, Nóch MIDDEN, nóch BEGIN, óf EINDE ken

'In pure language, as guiding thread of our life, is EN, EN, EN written too unspeakably much, so that I often do not know, because of all the EN, EN, EN, neither middle, nor begin or end.'

(Jan van Belle, *Korte wegwyzer*, p.82-83)

Few other works include remarks on negation or other constructions investigated in this study: C. Kiliaen's *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae* (1599) lists both *en* and *niet* as translations of Latin *non*, while S. Ampzing's *Nederlandsch Tael-bericht* (1628) only lists *niet*, but then uses it in a bipartite construction to illustrate – in fact, Ampzing primarily uses the bipartite marker throughout his *Tael-bericht*. In addition, A. Moonen's *Nederduitsche Spraekkunst* (1706) lists *ten zy* and *ten waere*, without *dat*, as conditional conjunctions. The remaining nine works do not discuss negation, expletive markers or exceptives in any way, although their own usage of these constructions can often be gleaned from their prose, as shown below.

- (a) H.L. Spiegel's *Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche letterkunst, ofte Vant spellen ende eyghenscap des Nederduitschen taals* (1584), *Kort begrip des redenkavelings: in slechten rym vervat* (1585), *Ruych-bewerp vande redenkaveling ofte Nederduytsche dialectike* (1585) and *Rederijck-kunst, in rijm opt kortst vervat* (1587): Spiegel uses both bipartite and single postverbal negation, the latter usually in subordinate clauses, questions or as constituent negation;
- (b) C. van Heule's *De Nederduytsche Spraec-konst ofte Tael-beschrijvinghe* (1633): van Heule uses the bipartite marker exclusively to express sentential negation;
- (c) A. de Hubert's *Noodige waarschouwinge aan alle liefhebbers der Nederduijtze tale* (1624): de Hubert uses both bipartite and single postverbal negation, though the former is attested more frequently as a marker of sentential negation. Clause type does not seem to play a significant role in the choice of negative marker;

- (d) L. ten Kate's *Aenleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake* (1723): ten Kate uses single postverbal negation throughout, and mentions both exceptive conjunctions *ten zij/'t en zy* and *'t en ware*, without *dat*;
- (e) B. Huydecoper's *Proeve van taal-en dichtkunde* (1782-1794): Huydecoper uses single postverbal negation exclusively, though quotes other authors, some of whom use bipartite negation;
- (f) *De Resolutiën en andere stukken betreffende de taal van den Statenbijbel* (1618-1657). The latter is not necessarily a treatise on language use or grammar, but it discusses the decisions that were made in terms of language for the *Statenbijbel*. The *Resolutiën* primarily use single postverbal negation, though bipartite negation is attested rarely. The *Statenbijbel* (1637) itself, however, uses the bipartite marker almost exclusively, except in *niet meer* and in questions.

A final observation to be made regarding prestige varieties is the potential influence that French may have had on negative markers in historical West Flemish and Hollandic. As noted above, in Flanders, French became the language of administration in the late 14th century, and enjoyed cultural prestige throughout the following centuries; from the late 18th century onwards, the French language gained significant power in Flanders, to the extent that the governing elite made efforts to suppress the Flemish language (van der Sijs & Willemys 2009; van der Wal & van Bree 2014; Willemys 2003). In the Northern Netherlands, French remained the language of administration until the early 19th century. French in this way influenced the language of the upper and upper middle classes, who were not only educated in Latin and French, but also conducted much of their daily lives in French, which resulted in some lexical borrowings into their Dutch speech and writing – it did not, however, influence the vernacular of the lower classes (van der Sijs & Willemys 2009). Thus, depending on the extent to which the writers of the texts in my corpus aimed to reflect the French prestige variety, French may have impacted the attestation patterns of negation in my data.

6.5.3 Effects of standardisation and prescriptivism on the data

Turning finally to the specific linguistic developments which may be explained by standardisation and prescriptivism, the first of these is, perhaps, the shift from preverbal to bipartite negation in the history of Hollandic, although as noted for this development throughout this chapter, this shift is not attested in my data, and can thus only be discussed as speculative observation. For the West Flemish transition from single preverbal to bipartite negation, I discussed the possibility that this change arose due to language contact, which resulted from the urbanisation of Bruges in the late 12th and 13th centuries. However, for Hollandic, the same argument cannot be made, as the bipartite marker is already the most frequent sentential negator in 13th-century West Flemish as well as Hollandic, which would mean that the shift occurred via language contact independently yet almost simultaneously. In addition, in 12th- and 13th-century Holland, no large-scale immigration and urbanisation took place, and therefore, it is unlikely that language contact played a role in the development of the bipartite marker of negation in Hollandic.

However, the highly urbanised, successful city of Bruges was “the centre of written Dutch as far as the administrative as well as the literary variety of the language was concerned” (Willemyns 2003: 94), and it would therefore not be unlikely if those writing literary as well as administrative texts in Holland aimed to emulate the prestige variety of Bruges. If the shift to bipartite negation was a gradual development, the Hollandic data should contain a higher number of single preverbal tokens still. Thus, it is possible that the 13th-century Hollandic data, which predominantly has bipartite negation, reflect an adherence to the prestigious forms used in Bruges. It is clear, however, that more data are needed to provide a well-researched argument, although due to the very limited amount of available text material of pre-13th-century Dutch, that may be difficult to achieve.

The second development I will discuss in this chapter is the obligatory co-occurrence of the expletive marker *en* with *maer* in the 15th-century Hollandic data: *en ... maer* occurs in a text written in 15th-century Haarlem, in the 16th century, in a text written by a person from Delft as well as one chancery text from Haarlem, and in the 17th

century, in a text written in Amsterdam and one chancery text from Leiden. As shown in 6.4.1.1 above, the same development is attested in the 14th-century West Flemish data, and I have argued that it may have been the result of language contact. The same argument cannot be made for the Hollandic data, however: as noted in chapter 6.2, the immigration into the Hollandic urban centres at the time mainly originated in the surrounding countryside, and the contact situation would therefore not have consisted of substantially different varieties. In addition, if obligatory *en...maer* arose as a result of dialect contact, this would mean that the same development occurred, independently, in 14th-century Bruges and in several 15th-century Hollandic cities. Finally, unlike in the West Flemish data, the rise of *en...maer* in the 15th-century Hollandic data is abrupt: no such tokens were attested in earlier data, but from the 15th century, they represent 11% of all preverbal markers in the data (10 out of 91 preverbal tokens; see chapter 4.3.4).

An alternate analysis might be that the occurrence of *en...maer* in the Hollandic data is adopted in the written language from the variety of Bruges, which enjoyed cultural prestige during the 14th and 15th centuries (see 6.3 above and Willemyns 2003) – this does not necessarily reflect the Hollandic vernacular, but would rather mean that publishers and public officials may have aimed to emulate the language of the most prestigious variety in the Low Countries. However, this analysis has some issues as well, most importantly that the texts should, to some extent, reflect spoken language, or *Sprache der Nähe* (see chapter 3): the 15th-century text published in Haarlem is a travelogue, the 16th-century text written by a barber from Delft is a travelogue as well, and the 17th-century data from Amsterdam is from personal letters. It furthermore seems uncertain that a barber from Delft, writing up the story of his pilgrimage, would necessarily aim to style his language according to a prestige variety. Many letters from the Amsterdam author similarly reflect a more personal, informal style, although the author in question is, as discussed above, P.C. Hooft, a man who was concerned with ‘proper’ and normative language use. Nevertheless, as I will show below, the expletive NPI with adverbs disappears at a certain point in the 17th century, likely because it was *not* considered a proper form. Thus, both the analyses of language contact and adaptation of the written language to a prestige variant are somewhat problematic, and more focused data, examining this specific

issue in a synchronically broader text sample, would be necessary in order to decisively argue for one or the other analysis.

Turning to the 17th- and 18th-century data, in 17th-century West Flemish, as chapter 4.2 shows, a shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation is not attested, nor do expletive NPIs disappear at this stage. The bipartite marker continues to be the dominant type of negative marker, accounting for 77% of all West Flemish tokens, while the postverbal marker represents 9%. Expletives occur infrequently (in 3 tokens, 5% of all preverbal markers), but their attestations date to 1681, which shows that they are not lost over the course of the 17th century. Expletive NPIs in the context of adverbs are still robustly attested, in 46% of preverbal tokens, and occur in three separate texts, indicating that it is not a feature used by one single author. In addition, as no large-scale immigration occurred in West Flemish at the time, it is clear that no koineisation of the kind which occurred in 17th-century Holland could have taken place in the cities of West Flanders, and thus, the use of negative markers did not change accordingly. Nevertheless, in the 18th-century West Flemish data, expletive NPIs are lost, and the postverbal marker has become the more frequent one (74% of all negative markers), to the detriment of the bipartite marker (22% of tokens). Since the koineisation process attested in Hollandic did not occur in West Flemish, however, I suggest an alternate explanation: as discussed above, in the Southern Netherlands of the 18th century, French was the superstrate language, which rendered it impossible for Southern Netherlanders to work towards a standard language, and as a result, the Hollandic variety was seen as the one to strive towards.

Thus, the 18th-century West Flemish data can be argued to reflect the Hollandic language in the written language, while in the vernacular, the bipartite marker is likely still the dominant form, and expletive NPIs likely still existed with adverbs as well as in the context of clauses that license NPIs (i.e. expletives). This is supported first by the observation that these developments occur abruptly in the West Flemish data, whereas they should occur gradually, if no other external factors trigger the change, and second, by the fact that in the 18th-century West Flemish data, the chancery texts have not shifted to the single postverbal marker; only the literary texts seem to aim towards the form that is the norm in Hollandic. Thus, the postverbal marker has not been integrated into administrative use, but a number of authors do

use single *niet*. Third, in Present-day West Flemish, the expletive NPI still occurs, and while the postverbal marker is more common, the bipartite marker is still attested as well (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008); the shift to postverbal negation in West Flemish would, without external influences, have been a gradual one, but the data exhibit an abrupt shift. These factors all indicate that the 18th-century West Flemish data indeed reflect the prestigious Hollandic variety, rather than the vernacular used by West Flemish speakers at the time.

A further 18th-century West Flemish attestation pattern can be argued to reflect prescriptivist norms: as shown in chapter 4.3.1, exceptives no longer occur with the complementiser *dat*, as in the 18th-century Hollandic data. However, as chapter 2.7 has shown, exceptives with *dat* still occur among Present-day West Flemish exceptives, and therefore, it cannot be argued that the complementiser disappears in 18th-century West Flemish. Instead, it is likely that the complementiser was left out of exceptives in the attested texts, because of an adherence to Hollandic norms in the written language. While the grammaticalisation process of exceptives thus progresses one step further in 18th-century Hollandic, this development cannot have occurred in the West Flemish vernacular, despite its attestation in the 18th-century West Flemish data. Note that this step along the grammaticalisation cline in the Hollandic data was not discussed as part of the koineisation framework, as koineisation cannot explain this development: exceptives are not attested in the immigrant dialects in such a way as would eliminate the *dat* complementiser; to provide one example, the German exceptive form is *es sei denn, dass*, with an obligatory complementiser.

Regarding the 17th-century Hollandic data, in the discussion of the koineisation process in Amsterdam in 6.4.2 above, I have argued that the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation, as well as the loss of expletive NPIs, is the result of this koineisation. However, I also showed that Hooft's letters do not necessarily reflect the new koine, in the sense that the koine was not native to him: his early letters still represent the linguistic situation before koineisation, with bipartite negation and expletive NPIs, and it is only in his writings from 1641 onwards that these forms disappear. I have argued, then, that the koineisation process probably occurred at some point before 1641, and that the new koine would have been considered to be

the new variety to aim for, if one wished to integrate themselves in, or at least reflect, the modern society at the time. If this is the case, then Hoof's abrupt shift to single *niet* and the disappearance of expletive NPIs from his writings may reflect his adherence to this new norm.

Finally, the role of French as a prestige language in relation to the data can be discussed as well. An argument that French may have had an influence on the development of negation due to its prestige could perhaps be made on the basis of a number of parallels between negation in my data and negation in French. The most obvious parallel is of course the fact that French had a bipartite marker *ne...pas* since the Old French period (9th-13th centuries) (Mosegaard Hansen 2013).⁸⁸ French also has an expletive marker in clauses following an adversative predicate, such as *j'ai peur qu'il ne vienne* 'I fear he will come' (van der Wouden 1994: 108), as well as an expletive marker with adverbs expressing 'only', *ne...que*, and 'barely', *ne...guère*, constructions that have existed since at least the 12th century, although the latter is today somewhat rare (Grieve-Smith 2009: 32). One could thus propose that, in my data, the retention of the bipartite negative marker and expletive NPI in West Flemish is influenced by the French superstrate of the 17th to early 20th centuries, or similarly, that the fixation of *en...maer* occurred because of the equivalent construction in the French prestige variety of the 14th and 15th centuries. However, I would argue that this is unlikely. The bipartite marker is robustly attested from the 13th century onwards, and its continued use in West Flemish should be seen as a lack of change, due to an unchanging demography of the West Flemish cities. The same can be argued for the resilience of expletives and expletive NPIs in the context of adverbs.

For the co-occurrence of *en...maer* from the 14th century onwards in the West Flemish data, the more likely analysis is also that *maer* comes to obligatorily select for an NPI as a result of the language contact situation in the Flemish urban centres at the time. One example can be provided by the 16th-century *Lamentatie* text by Zeghere van Male, in which *maer* only occurs with the expletive NPI. Van Male (see

⁸⁸ Although it was only selected as the only variant and main sentential negative marker from the 14th century onwards (Mosegaard Hansen 2013).

also chapter 3.2), a citizen of Bruges, claims that he is uneducated, and apologises for any mistakes and a lack of style in his writing. As he is literate, however, and opens his work with a quote from Aristotle, he is ostensibly understating his education. Nevertheless, his own assessment of his skills implies that his work was likely not written with the aim to emulate the prestigious French style or to imitate French forms. Instead, the *en...maer* form was probably simply part of van Male's vernacular, and this variant of the *(en)...maer* construction may have been selected as a result of dialect contact in Bruges. I argue, then, that the French prestige did not influence the development of negation in Dutch, in that no type of negative of expletive marker was changed to emulate this prestige variety.

Thus, a number of developments are attested in my data which cannot be explained as a result of language contact or more specifically, koineisation, and can instead be accounted for as the result of standardisation or prescriptivist norms. A speculative observation was made that the shift to bipartite negation in 12th-13th-century Hollandic may be the result of an adherence to the prestige variety of Bruges, although this development is not attested in my data. Second, I have discussed the possibility that *en...maer* 'only' in the 15th-century Hollandic data is the result of either language contact or an adherence to the West Flemish prestige variety, but there are issues with each argument. For the 18th-century West Flemish data, however, the argument that authors aimed to model their writing after the Hollandic prestige variety is quite plausible: in the West Flemish data, postverbal negation becomes the dominant type of negative marker, while expletive NPIs disappear and exceptives lose the *dat*-complementiser, all of which are also attested in the Hollandic data. As Hollandic was the prestige variety, which was in the process of developing a standard language, and as these West Flemish developments cannot be explained within a framework of language contact, or as the result of other external factors, the most likely explanation is that the data reflect the Hollandic norms, rather than the West Flemish vernacular at the time. With respect to the 17th-century Hollandic data, then, I have argued that Hooft deliberately changed his written language to reflect the new koine, which had likely become the new prestige variety. Finally, I have investigated the potential influence of the French prestige variety on preverbal markers in the data, and have shown that it likely did not have a significant impact on the data.

6.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, I have shown that a subset of the data can be explained via language contact, while an almost complementary subset, containing mostly the same developments but in the other variety, can be accounted for as the result of an adherence to prescriptivist and prestige norms. First, I have discussed the possibility that the shift from single preverbal to bipartite negation, which occurred before the earliest texts in my corpus were produced and is therefore not attested in my data, can for the West Flemish data be linked to the urbanisation of Bruges in the late 12th and 13th centuries, which may have resulted in a dialect contact situation that triggered the shift. For this development in Hollandic, the circumstances for contact-induced change are not yet present in the Hollandic cities at this time, and the shift to bipartite negation would have been gradual; if this is not the case, and the 13th-century data reflect an abrupt shift to bipartite negation, an explanation may be found with an adherence to the written language of the prestige variety of Bruges. However, this discussion must remain speculative, as the development to bipartite negation is not attested at all in my data; more research would therefore be needed before a data-driven explanation of this particular issue might be provided.

For the development of obligatory *en* with *maer* and the loss of *en...Adv/Adv*, however, data as well as somewhat more historical information are available, and therefore, a stronger argument can be made for language contact as a trigger for the development of *en...maer* in 14th-century West Flemish, and the loss of *en...Adv/Adv* in the 15th century, within Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework of interference. In the 14th century, Bruges was home to a substantial number of immigrants from various areas of Europe, many of whom integrated into the local community, as Stabel et al. (2018) have shown, and it is therefore possible that interference as a result of immigrants shifting to the local West Flemish played a role in the development of obligatory *en...maer* and the loss of *en...Adv/Adv*. However, more information is needed still to assess the extent of integration of the immigrant groups into the larger community, and the behaviour of the preverbal marker with adverbs and adjectives in their dialects, in order to provide a concrete argument for how this dialect contact resulted in the changes that occur in the West Flemish data. In the Hollandic data, I have shown that *en...maer* becomes obligatory, and

en...Adv/Adj is lost in the 15th century as well, and while an explanation of this change as the result of dialect contact may be able to explain these data, an alternative analysis is to treat obligatory *en...maer* as the result of authors modelling their writing to the West Flemish, particularly Bruges, prestige variety. Both analyses for the Hollandic data have their issues, however, and more research is needed to assess which analysis is the more likely one, or even if a different approach should be taken altogether.

Finally, a concrete argument can be made for the 17th- and 18th-century Hollandic developments attested in my data: I have shown that the shift from bipartite to single postverbal negation as well as the loss of expletive NPIs can be seen as the result of koineisation, which occurred following the mass migratory movements into the Hollandic cities. Large numbers of immigrants, particularly German speakers, married local women, which indicates that the population of Amsterdam existed in diffuse networks, and this in turn facilitates language change (Howell 2006; Kerswill & Williams 2000), and in this case, koineisation, as previously argued by Howell (2006). I have shown that my data can be explained within this model, in that it is the German forms, single *niet* and a lack of expletive NPIs, which have survived in the koine. The developments attested in my data, and the contact situation in Amsterdam during the late 16th and 17th centuries, fit within the eight principles proposed by Kerswill and Williams (2000), regarding the new forms themselves, the speakers, and the timing of the koineisation process. The shift to single *niet* and the loss of the expletive NPI has clearly occurred by the 18th-century data, but in the 17th century, the author P.C. Hooft deliberately shifts his writing to reflect the new koine.

The 17th-century Hollandic data thus show that it is not only koineisation that can account for the changes attested, as Hooft does not belong to the generation of speakers who had the new koine as their native variety. What *can* explain Hooft's changed written language, is prescriptivism: it is likely that he purposefully changed the forms he uses in writing to reflect the new variety, which had probably become the new norm by the time he made the change. I have furthermore argued that standardisation and prescriptivism can explain the developments attested in my 18th-century West Flemish data: an abrupt shift to postverbal negation, and a complete loss of the expletive NPI. In Present-day West Flemish (see chapter 2.7), the bipartite

marker still occurs, as does the expletive NPI, which indicates that the shift from bipartite negation to postverbal negation as well as the loss of expletive NPIs were – and still are – gradual changes. Therefore, I have argued that the abrupt shift to single *niet* as the dominant marker, as well as the loss of expletive NPIs in my 18th-century West Flemish data are the result of standardisation and prescriptivism, modelled after the Hollandic forms. I have also argued that an additional change attested in my 18th-century West Flemish data can be accounted for as the result of prescriptivism: the loss of the complementiser *dat* in exceptives has not yet occurred in Present-day West Flemish (see 2.7), but it is nevertheless no longer attested in 18th-century West Flemish. As the complementiser also disappears from the Hollandic exceptives in the data at this time, it is likely that the West Flemish attestation pattern reflects a Hollandic prestige variety, rather than the West Flemish vernacular.

Thus, I have shown in the present chapter that both language contact and prescriptivism can account for my data, the former as a trigger for linguistic change, the latter as a way to explain attestation patterns in the written language which may not reflect the vernacular. In this way, my analysis of external factors that can influence the data demonstrates that one approach alone cannot explain all the developments in my corpus which may have an external, socio-historical trigger. Instead, a varied, more targeted analysis must be applied to individual changes. This observation is also reflected in the fact that the arguments for language contact in particular, but even prescriptivism, became substantially stronger in the late data, compared to the early data: for this reason, the early West Flemish data was argued to be the likely result of interference through shift, the effects of which are not entirely discernible, whereas for the late Hollandic data, it was possible to provide a clear argument for koineisation, as more historical information on the population of Amsterdam was available for this time. The same is true for prescriptivism in early Hollandic, compared to late West Flemish as well as Hollandic in the corpus: due to the more detailed information on standardisation and prescriptive norms in the 17th and 18th centuries, a clearer argument can be made for its influence on the written language. Due to this targeted approach, I have shown that a combination of analyses can provide the most thorough account of the development of negation and the preverbal marker in the corpus.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study has provided an in-depth investigation of the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers in the history of West Flemish and Hollandic, by means of data-driven research and a multifaceted analytical approach. For the purpose of this research, I have compiled a diachronically broad and regionally balanced corpus, which contains administrative as well as non-administrative texts from Hollandic and West Flemish, from the thirteenth until the eighteenth century. This corpus was then examined century by century, thereby ensuring a fine-grained analysis of the data. The design of my corpus as well as the century-by-century approach ensures that, unlike the majority of existing scholarship on the history of negation in Dutch (e.g. Breitbarth 2013; Postma 2002; Stoett 1923; van der Horst 2008), my study does not consider the Dutch dialect continuum as a homogeneous entity, nor does it treat Middle Dutch or similar ‘periods’ as unchanging and similarly homogeneous. By means of this corpus, I have provided an in-depth overview and analysis of not only the development of the main negative markers in West Flemish and Hollandic, but also of resilient preverbal markers in these varieties. In doing so, this study is the first to present a detailed and diachronically broad discussion of resilient preverbal *ne/en*, and as a result was able to offer, for the first time, thorough and focused analyses of these preverbal markers.

Chapter 2 of the thesis provided the necessary basis for these analyses, in the form of an overview of the scholarship on the core issues in the study of negation, such as NPIs, multiple negation and Jespersen’s Cycle, as well as a discussion of the literature regarding the history of negation and resilient preverbal markers in the Dutch dialect continuum. The treatment of resilient preverbal markers in scholarship especially was shown to be superficial and, in many ways, inadequate. From these descriptions in the literature, I identified six linguistic contexts in which the preverbal marker can still occur: exceptives, expletives, with certain adverbs and adjectives, the context of certain verbs, fragment answers, and rhetorical questions.

Chapter 3, then, discussed my methodology, first setting out the method by which I compiled my corpus and the way in which it was examined, and then providing an overview of all source texts in the corpus. The data which resulted from this research

were analysed in chapter 4, by providing a detailed account of the development of bipartite negation and the shift to single postverbal negation as it occurs in my data, and of the five contexts of resilient preverbal negation attested in my corpus: exceptives, expletives, with certain adverbs and adjectives – a category that was divided into two subtypes – with certain verbs, and fragment answers. The majority of these data were analysed further in chapters 5 and 6.

Chapter 5 examined the morphosyntactic patterns attested in the corpus, and discussed the grammaticalisation of exceptives – a construction which had not been examined to any significant extent in the literature – the NPI-status of expletive markers in the data, in the context of expletives as well as with certain adverbs, and the fossilisation of fragment answers. Finally, chapter 6 investigated the effect of sociohistorical factors on the data. First, I have shown that language contact impacted the development of the preverbal marker in the context of adverbs and adjectives in the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century West Flemish data, while koineisation in the late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hollandic urban centres resulted in the shift to single postverbal negation and the loss of expletive NPIs. Second, I have argued that an adherence to prestige varieties in the written language likely played a role in the attestation patterns of single postverbal negation and the lack of expletive NPIs in the seventeenth-century Hollandic data, and in the eighteenth-century West Flemish data.

The findings of this study thus show that a multifaceted approach is necessary to adequately analyse the development of negation and particularly resilient preverbal markers in my corpus: as I have shown, resilient preverbal markers not only occur in five distinct contexts in my data, but exhibit variation themselves in that in some contexts the preverbal marker expresses negation, while in others, it does not. Unified approaches, such as Postma (2002), providing a single analysis for all types of resilient preverbal markers, cannot account for this diversity in form as well as attestation patterns, and necessarily result in overgeneralised discussions of the data so as to fit the analysis. I argue, instead, that individual analyses for each type of preverbal marker in the data should be offered, as they result in a focused and in-depth discussion of the data.

The notion of unified approaches applied to diverse data can perhaps also be linked to Jespersen's Cycle. As demonstrated throughout this study, the development of negation in West Flemish and Hollandic does not neatly adhere to the three-stage model proposed in traditional scholarship, in which Old Dutch reflects stage I, Middle Dutch stage II, and Modern Dutch stage III of the Cycle. Not only does preverbal negation remain resilient until my data until as late as the fifteenth century, but all three stages are attested simultaneously between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in Present-day West Flemish, bipartite negation, reflecting stage II of the Cycle, occurs simultaneously with the postverbal marker indicative of stage III (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008). It is only in Present-day Hollandic that, for the first time, a stable stage of Jespersen's Cycle is attested (stage III) (Barbiers et al. 2008; Neuckermans 2008). However, the data do reflect a general shift from bipartite negation as the most common marker of negation in both varieties, to postverbal negation as the most frequently used form. I argue, then, that the model of Jespersen's Cycle can be useful to describe the development of negation in West Flemish and Hollandic in broad terms as a shift from preverbal via bipartite to postverbal negation, but that it also has its limitations, and should not be considered to reflect three clearly delineated and stable stages in these varieties.

In this study, I have argued for a detailed, in-depth, and multifaceted approach to linguistic data precisely for the reasons set out above: generalising models tend to present a neat, attractive picture of a linguistic phenomenon or development, but in doing so oversimplify it, ignoring those elements that do not fit within the framework. However, this does not mean that they are without merit, or that fine-grained approaches are always the better choice. Models that examine a phenomenon or development in detail will be able to present a more detailed analysis, but in doing so, they may overlook overarching trends that only generalising approaches can identify. Based on the analysis of West Flemish and Hollandic alone, for example, it may be difficult to observe a development like Jespersen's Cycle, but its existence can be discerned more easily if a large amount of data from a wide range of languages can be simplified and analysed in general terms. A related issue of fine-grained approaches is that, due to the detailed nature of their methodology, the dataset examined is usually smaller, as the research itself is more time-consuming. This is also the case for my data: I opted to select two dialects of Dutch, rather than

examining all, and I selected a number of texts for the corpus, instead of including all available text material.⁸⁹ As a result, my study was able to provide a detailed analysis of the development of negation, albeit in two dialects of Dutch only. There are thus advantages and disadvantages to generalising as well as fine-grained models; for this study in particular, it was the fine-grained model that proved the most useful, as generalising models for the development of negation in Dutch had already been suggested, but this development had not yet been researched in a thorough and detailed way.

The account here offered is nevertheless not exhaustive, and future research may contribute further to the discussion of resilient preverbal markers in the historical Dutch dialect continuum. My data has shown that resilient preverbal markers occur infrequently, and in some contexts, are even quite rare. Therefore, the analyses in this study were at times necessarily based on few tokens, and needed to remain somewhat tentative. For this reason, a more extensive dataset would be able to provide a broader and more complete overview of resilient preverbal markers in the historical Dutch dialects, as well as a stronger basis for some of the arguments made in this thesis, and in doing so may be able to aid in answering some remaining questions about the development of resilient preverbal negation.

Firstly, the question why the preverbal negative marker remains resilient with a specific set of adverbs and adjectives on the one hand, and a set of verbs on the other hand, can be further investigated, as this study has found no morphosyntactic reason or external factor as a result of which preverbal negation would be retained in these contexts. The adverbs and adjective with which preverbal *ne/en* was attested in my data, *bore* ‘very’, *meer* ‘anymore’ and *ander* ‘other’, can be negated with other negative markers as well, and do not seem to share any particular properties which would license the preverbal marker in favour of the bipartite or postverbal negative marker. The verbs which can be negated with the preverbal marker, for example *kunnen* ‘can’, *weten* ‘know’, *mogen* ‘may’, or *laten* ‘let’, can similarly take other negative markers, and have been argued by Burridge (1993) to license this preverbal

⁸⁹ The time-consuming nature of the manual corpus research also played a significant role in this choice, however.

negative marker because they are common usage verbs. Hoeksema (1997) suggests that they are ‘psychological verbs’, i.e. verbs of thinking, caring, etc., which he argues to have NPI-uses that license the preverbal negative marker. However, not all common usage verbs take preverbal negation, such as *zijn* ‘be’ or *doen* ‘do’ outside the context of fragment answers, nor are all verbs attested with the preverbal marker psychological verbs, such as *laten* ‘let’ or *kunnen* ‘can’, and it is moreover not clear how these verbs have an NPI-usage that licenses negation. Further research can then perhaps provide a more plausible explanation for the resilience of the preverbal negative marker in the context of certain adverbs and adjectives, and certain verbs.

Secondly, as noted in chapter 6 of this thesis, more research is needed into the shift from preverbal to bipartite negation, insofar as it is attested in the early Dutch texts, within a framework of either language contact and/or an adherence to the form used in prestige varieties. In addition, the dialect contact situation as the result of large-scale immigration into the West Flemish cities of the fourteenth century may have played a role in the development of the preverbal marker – expletive and negative – in the context of adverbs and adjectives, but the social behaviour of the immigrants in the cities must be examined first, as well as their use of negation with these adverbs and adjectives, before their impact on the historical West Flemish data can be assessed. The same development can also be examined in the historical Hollandic data, either within a similar framework of dialect contact, or as the reflection of a prestige variety. Finally, the development of negation and resilient preverbal markers can, of course, also be examined in dialects beyond West Flemish and Hollandic, or on an even broader diachronic scale, bridging the gap to current usage as well as examining the earliest Dutch texts. Such large-scale, yet in-depth research would then yield the first detailed account of negation and resilient preverbal markers in the entire Dutch dialect continuum, from its earliest attestations in the history of Dutch to its present-day usage.

References

List of corpora and databases used as source material for the corpus

Coussé, Evie. 2010a. *Compilatiecorpus historisch Nederlands*. Ghent: Ghent University. Retrieved from <http://www.diachronie.nl/corpora/chna>.

Diachronie. 2019. Meertens Instituut. Retrieved from <http://www.diachronie.nl/corpora/>.

Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren. 1999-2019. Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek. Retrieved from <https://www.dbnl.org/>.

Gysseling, M. 1977-1981. *Corpus van Middelnederlandse teksten (tot en met het jaar 1300)*. 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff. Retrieved from <http://gysseling.corpus.taalbanknederlands.inl.nl/gysseling/>.

Reenen, P. Th. van & M. Mulder. 2005. *Corpus van Reenen-Mulder*. Amsterdam: Meertens Instituut. Retrieved from Diachronie.nl: <http://www.diachronie.nl/corpora/crm14>.

List of primary sources used in the corpus

Biesheuvel, I. (Ed.). 2005. *Het boeck vanden pelgherym*. DBNL (KB). Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_boe007boec01_01/_boe007boec01_01_0001.php.

Blommaert, Ph. (Ed.). 1843. *Leven van Sinte Amand, patroon der Nederlanden: Dichtstuk der XIVE eeuw*. Ghent: D.J. Vanderhaeghen-Hulin. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/weve002leve01_01/.

Brill, W.G. (Ed.). 1983. *Rijmkroniek van Melis Stoke*. Utrecht: HES Uitgevers. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/stok001wgbr01_01/index.php.

Buijnsters, P.J. (Ed.). 1984. *Justus van Effen, De Hollandsche Spectator*. Deventer: Sub Rosa. Retrieved from DBNL: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/effe001holl01_01/index.php.

Buyseroo, Dirck. 1743. *De Bruiloft van Kloris en Roosje, kluchtspel met zang en dans*. Amsterdam: Izaak Duim. Retrieved from DBNL: https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/buys001brui06_01/index.php.

- Carton, C. (Ed.). 1859. *Zegher van Male, Lamentatie behelzende wat datter aenmerkenswaardig geschiet is ten tyde van de Geuserie ende de Beeldenstormerie binnen ende omtrent de stadt van Brugghe*. Ghent: Vanderhaegen-Hulin. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/male002lame01_01/index.php.
- Dirc Potter, Der minnen loep*. 1998. In: Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie, Cd-rom Middelnederlands. Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers/Standaard Uitgeverij. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/pott002derm03_01/index.php.
- Droomers, J. 1698. *De langh-gewenschte vernieuwynghe der vrede-vreught*. Brugge: Ignatius van Pee. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/droo008lang01_01/index.php.
- Gonnet, C.J. (Ed.). 1884. *Arent Willemsz., Bedevaart naar Jerusalem in 1525*. Haarlem: W. Küppers. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/will067bede01_01/index.php.
- Heeroma, K. (Ed.). 1966. *Liederen en Gedichten uit Gruushuse-handschrift*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gru001gruu01_01/index.php.
- Labare, J.A. 1721. *De konst der poëzy in Nederduytsche verssen*. Brugge: Jan Baptist Verhulst. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/laba002kons01_01/index.php.
- Mak, J.J. (Ed.). 1950. Esbatement vanden visscher. *Vier excellente cluchten* (Klassieke Galerij 46), 17–33. Antwerpen: Nederlandse Boekhandel. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_vie002vier01_01/index.php.
- Mak, J.J. (Ed.). 1955. *De Gedichten van Anthonis de Roovere. Naar alle tot dusver Bekende Handschriften en Oude Drukken*. Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/roov002jjma01_01/.
- Meulen, P. van der. (Ed.). 1955. *D.V. Coornhert, Het roerspel en de comedies van Coornhert*. Leiden: E.J. Brill. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/coor001pvan01_01/index.php.
- Regel, K. 1885. Ein Fragment einer unbekanntes Handschrift von Gelres Wapenboeck. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 5. 17-48. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_tij003188501_01/_tij003188501_01_0002.php.

Berghe, J. van der. 1915. *Dat kaetspel ghemoralizeert*. Ed. Roetert Frederikse, J.A. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/berg050jaro01_01/.

Scherpereel, C., H. Spiritus, H. Debou & Y. vanden Berghe. (Eds.). 1982. *Jozef van Walleghe, Merckensweerdigste voorvallen en daegelijcksche gevallen, Brugge 1787*. Brugge: Gemeentebestuur. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/wall076merc01_01/index.php.

Tricht, H.W. van. (Ed.). 1976-1979. *De briefwisseling van Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft*. Retrieved from DBNL (KB): https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/hoof001hwva00_01/.

List of grammars and style guides consulted

Ampzing, S. 1939. Nederlandsch Tael-bericht. In F.L. Zwaan (ed.), *Uit de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Spraakkunst*, 133–191. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

Belle, J. van. 1748. *Korte wegwyzer ter spel- spraak- en dichtkunden*. Haarlem: Izaak van der Vinne.

Kiliaen, C. 1972. *Etymologicum teutonicae linguae*. (Ed.) F. Claes. Den Haag: Mouton.

Heule, C. van. 1953. *De Nederduytsche spraec-konst ofte tael-beschrijvinghe*. (Ed.) W.J.H. Caron. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

Hooft, P.C. 1939. Waernemingen op de Hollandsche Tael. In F.L. Zwaan (ed.), *Uit de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Spraakkunst*, 235–256. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

Hubert, A. de. 1939. Noodige waarschouwinge aan alle liefhebbers der Nederduijtze tale. In F.L. Zwaan (ed.), *Uit de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Spraakkunst*, 121–131. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

Huydecoper, B. 1782-1794. *Proeve van taal- en dichtkunde, in vrijmoedige aanmerkingen op Vondels vertaalde Herscheppingen van Ovidius*. (Ed.) F. van Lelyveld & N. Hinlopen. Leiden: A. en J. Honkoop.

Kate, L. ten. 2001. *Aanleiding tot de kennisse van het verhevene deel der Nederduitsche sprake*. (Ed.) J. Noordegraaf & M. van der Wal. Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto/Repro-Holland BV.

Moonen, A. 1709. *Nederduitsche spraakkunst*. Amsterdam: François Halma.

Spiegel, H.L. 1962. *Twe-spraak. Ruygh-bewerp. Kort begrip. Rederijck-Kunst*. (Ed.) W.J.H. Caron. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

Zwaan, F.L. (ed.). 1939a. De Resolutiën en andere stukken betreffende de taal van den Statenbijbel. *Uit de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Spraakkunst*, 193–234. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

1637. *Biblia, dat is: De gantsche H. Schrifture, vervattende alle de canonijcke Boecken des Ouden en des Nieuwen Testaments*. Amsterdam: de Weduwe Paulus Aertsz. van Ravesteijn.

List of primary sources referred to, as cited in secondary scholarship

Alberdingk Thijm, J.A. (Ed.) 1860. Maria-legenden. *Dietsche Warande* 5. 385-405.

Bekker, E. & A. Deken. 1786. *Historie van mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*. Part II. Den Haag: Isaac van Cleef.

Besamusca, B. & G. Sonnemans (Eds.). 1999. *De crumen diet volc niet eten en mochte. Nederlandse beschouwingen over vertalen tot 1550*. Den Haag: Stichting Bibliographica Neerlandica.

Beuken, W.H. (Ed.). 1970. *Ruusbroec de Wonderbare: bloemlezing van fragmenten in de oorspronkelijke tekst met inleiding en aantekeningen*. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn.

Boekenoogen, G.J. (Ed.). 1902. *Den droefliken strijt die opten berch van Roncevale in Hispanien gheschiede daer Rolant ende Olivier metten fluer van kerstenrijc verslagen waren*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Bredero, G.A. 1619. *Stommen ridder*. Amsterdam: Cornelis Lodowijcksz. vander Plassen / Nicolaas Biestkens.

Bredero, G.A. 1968. *Rodd'rick ende Alphonsus*. Ed. C. Kruyskamp. Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink.

Bredero, G.A. 1974. *Spaanschen Brabander*. Ed. C.F.P. Stutterheim. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn.

Bredero, G.A. 1976. *Het daget uyt den Oosten*. Ed. B.C. Damsteegt. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn.

Broeckaert, K. 1992. *Jellen en Mietje*. Ed. J. Huyghebaert. Brussel: Facultés Universitaires Saint-Louis.

D'Hondt, G. 1891. *Novellen en Schetsen*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Penninc & P. Vostaert. 1957. *De Jeeste van Walewein en het Schaakbord*. Ed. G.A. van Es. Vol. 2. Zwolle: W.E.J. Tjeenk Willink.

- Fritz, J. (Ed.). 1913. *Die historie van Christoffel Wagenaer discipel van D. Johannes Faustus*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Gerritsen, W.P. & W. Wilmlink (Eds.). 1994. *De reis van Sint Brandaan; een reisverhaal uit de twaalfde eeuw*. Amsterdam: Prometheus / Bert Bakker.
- Haan, C. de. (Ed.). 1994. De 'Roman van Heinric en Margriete van Limborch' Middelhoogduitse receptie van Middelnederlandse literatuur. *Queeste. Tijdschrift over middeleeuwse letterkunde in de Nederlanden* 1(1). 139–155.
- Hous, J.-B. 1964. *Leuvense Kroniek (1780-1829)*. Ed. J. de Kempeneer. Heverlee: Abdij van Park.
- Janssens, J., R. van Daele, V. Uyttersprot & J. de Vos (Eds.). 1991. *Van den vos Reynaerde. Het Comburgse handschrift*. 2nd edn. Leuven: Davidsfonds.
- Langendyk, P. 1926. *Krelis Louwen. Of Alexander de Grootte op het poëtemaal (1715)*. Ed. C.H.Ph. Meijer. Zutphen: Thieme.
- Leendertz, P. jr. (Ed.). 1897. Een abel spel van esmoreit, sconincx sone van Ceciliën. In *Middelnederlandsche dramatische poëzie*. 1-30. Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff.
- Lipsius, J. 1948. *Twee boecken vande stantvasticheyt. Vertaald door J. Mourentotf*. Ed. H. van Crombruggen. Antwerpen: Christoffel Plantijn.
- Lulofs, F. (Ed.). 1983. *Van den vos Reynaerde*. Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff.
- Mak, J.J. (Ed.). 1970. *Diederick van Assenede: Floris ende Blancefloer. Uitgegeven met inleiding en aantekeningen*. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn.
- Multatuli. 1871. *Max Havelaar*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Noordwal, Cornelia. 1897. *O, die lastige juf*. Utrecht/Amersfoort : S.W. Melchior.
- Pauw, N. De (Ed.). 1898. *Jehan Froissart's Cronyke van Vlaenderen van Gerijt Potter van der Loo*. Gent: A. Siffer.
- Pleij, H., J. van Grinsven, D. Schouten & F. van Thijn. (Eds.). 1983. *Een nyeuwe clucht boeck*. Muiderberg: Coutinho.
- Puteanus, E. 1999. *Sedigh Leven, Daghelycks Broodt (1639)*. Ed. H. Dehennin. Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde.
- Quak, A. (Ed). 1981. *Die altmittel- und altniederfränkischen Psalmen und Glossen*. Amsterdam: Rodopi
- Reve, K. van het. 1961. *Nacht op de kale berg*. Amsterdam: van Oorschot.

- Rombauts, E., N. de Paepe & M.J.M. de Haan (Eds.). 1976. *Ferguut*. Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink-Noorduijn.
- Sanders, W. (Ed.). 1971. (*Expositio*) *Willerammi Eberspergensis abbatis in canticis canticorum; Die Leidener Handschrift*. (Kleine Deutsche Prosadenkmäler des Mittelalters 9). München: Fink.
- Snellaert, F.A. (Ed.). 1869. *Nederlandsche gedichten uit de veertiende eeuw van Jan van Boendale, Hein van Aken e.a.*. Brussel: M. Hayez, Drukker der Koninklijke Akademie.
- Verne, Jules. 1916. *Michael Strogoff. De Koerier van de Czaar*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Van Aken, H. 1976. *Die Rose*. Ed. E. Verwijs. 2nd edn. Utrecht: HES Publishers.
- Vreese, W. de & J. de Vries (Eds.). 1941. *Das dyalogus of twisprake tusschen den wisen coninck Salomon*. Leiden: Brill.
- Maerlant, J. van. 1863a. *Spieghel Historiael. Deel 1. Partie I*. Eds. M. Vries & E. Verwijs. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Maerlant, J. van., L. van Velthem & P. Utebroecke. 1863b. *Spieghel historiael. Deel 3. Partie III en IV*. Eds. M. Vries & E. Verwijs. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Wells, D.A. (Ed). 2004. *The Central Franconian Rhyming Bible (“Mittelfränkische Reimbibel”); an Early-Twelfth-Century German Verse Homiliary*. New York/Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Weyerman, J.C. 1980. *De Rotterdamsche Hermes*. Ed. A. Nieuweboer. Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten.

Works cited

- Aa, A.J. van der. 1867. *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden*. Vol. 8.2. Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode.
- Aerts, J. 1981. Zuidafrikaanse zinnen met dubbele ontkenning en overbodige eind - nie in het Turnhouts dialect. *Taxandria* 51/53. 101–111.
- Ameka, Felix Kofi. 1991. *Ewe: Its Grammatical Constructions and Illocutionary Devices*. Australian National University PhD.
- Anipa, K. 2012. The Use of Literary Sources in Historical Sociolinguistic Research. *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics), 170–189. Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell.

- Auwera, Johan van der. 2009. The Jespersen Cycles. In Elly van Gelderen (ed.), *Cyclical Change*, 35–71. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Auwera, Johan van der. 2010. On the Diachrony of Negation. In Laurence R. Horn (ed.), *Expressing Negation (Expressing of Cognitive Categories)*, 73–110. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter.
- Barbiers, Sjef, Johan van der Auwera, Hans Bennis, Eefje Boef, Gunther De Vogelaer & Margreet van der Ham. 2008. *Syntactische Atlas der Nederlandse Dialecten*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bavel, Bas J. P. van & Jan Luiten van Zanden. 2004. The Jump-Start of the Holland Economy During the Late-Medieval Crisis, c.1350-c.1500. *Economic History Review* LVII(3). 503–532.
- Beheydt, Griet. 1998. *Het Gebruik en de Vorm van de Negatie in het Zuidelijke Nederlands in een Diachronisch Perspectief (15de-20ste eeuw)*. Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven M.A. dissertation.
- Blockmans, W.P. 2006. The Formation of a Political Union, 1300-1600. In J.C.H. Blom & E. Lamberts (eds.), *History of the Low Countries*. 2nd edn. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Blockmans, W.P., G. Pieters, W. Prevenier & R.W.M. Van Schaik. 1980. Tussen Crisis en Welvaart: Sociale Veranderingen 1300-1500. In D.P. Blok (ed.), *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 4. Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck.
- Boogaart, Thomas Arthur II. 2004. *An Ethnogeography of Late Medieval Bruges: Evolution of the Corporate Milieu 1280-1349*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Boor, Helmut de & Roswitha Wisniewski. 1998. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. 10th edn. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bork, G.J. van, D. Delabastita, H. van Gorp, P.J. Verkruijsse & G.J. Vis. 2012. *Algemeen Letterkundig Lexicon*. Leiden: Stichting Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren.
- Bork, G.J. van & P.J. Verkruijsse. 1985. *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse Auteurs van Middeleeuwen tot Heden met Inbegrip van de Friese Auteurs*. De Haan: Weesp.
- Branden, F. Jos van den & J.G. Frederiks. 1888. *Biographisch Woordenboek der Noord- en Zuidnederlandse Letterkunde*. Amsterdam: L.J. Veen.

- Breitbarth, Anne. 2013. Negation in the History of Low German and Dutch. In David Willis, Christopher Lucas & Anne Breitbarth (eds.), *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean*. (Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics 5), vol. 1. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Breitbarth, Anne. 2014. *The History of Low German Negation* (Oxford Studies in Diachronic and Historical Linguistics 13). First edition. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Breitbarth, Anne & Liliane Haegeman. 2011. “En” is Niet Wat We Dachten: A Flemish Discourse Particle. *Proceedings of Moscow Syntax and Semantics 2*. 85–101.
- Brinton, Laurel J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2005. *Lexicalization and Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bruin, C.C. de (ed.). 1970. *Het Luikse Diatesseron*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Burridge, Kate. 1993. *Syntactic Change in Germanic: Aspects of Language Change in Germanic with Particular Reference to Middle Dutch*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Chambers, J.K. & Peter Trudgill. 1998. *Dialectology*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coussé, Evie. 2010b. Een Digitaal Compilatiecorpus Historisch Nederlands. *Lexikos* 20. 123–142.
- Craenenbroeck, Jeroen van. 2010. *The Syntax of Ellipsis* (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Culicover, Peter W. 1981. *Negative Curiosities*. Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Dahl, Östen. 1979. Typology of Sentence Negation. *Linguistics* 17. 79–106.
- De Schutter, Georges. 2002. Dutch. In Ekkehard König & Johan van der Auwera (eds.), *The Germanic Languages*, 439–477. London/New York: Routledge.
- Deschamps, J. 1972. *Middelnederlandse Handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse Bibliotheken*. 2nd edn. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Deursen, Arie Theodorus van. 1991. *Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-century Holland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Diessel, Holger. 1999. *Demonstratives: Form, function and grammaticalization* (Typological Studies in Language). Vol. 42. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.

- Dryer, Matthew S. 2013. Negative Morphemes. In Matthew S. Dryer & Martin Haspelmath (eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- Early, Robert. 1994a. Lewo. In Peter Kahrel & René van den Berg (eds.), *Typological Studies in Negation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Early, Robert. 1994b. *A Grammar of Lewo, Vanatu*. Canberra: Australian National University Unpublished PhD.
- Elspaß, Stephan. 2002. Standard German in the 19th century? (Counter-)evidence from the private correspondence of “ordinary people.” In Andrew R. Linn & Nicola McLelland (eds.), *Standardization: Studies from the Germanic languages* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science), vol. 235, 43–66. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Elspaß, Stephan. 2012. The Use of Private Letters and Diaries in Sociolinguistic Investigation. In Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics), 156–169. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Elspaß, Stephan & Nils Langer. 2012. Jespersen’s Cycle and the History of German Negation: Challenges from a Sociolinguistic Perspective. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 113(3). 275–292.
- Esteban-Segura, Laura. 2012. Medical, Official, and Monastic Documents in Sociolinguistic Research. In Juan Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics), 140–155. Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell.
- Fauconnier, Gilles. 1975. Pragmatic Scales and Logical Structure. *Linguistic Inquiry* 6. 353–375.
- Fertig, David. 2013. *Analogy and Morphological Change*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fintel, Kai von. 1992. Exeptive Conditionals: The Meaning of “Unless.” *Proceedings of the North East Linguistics Society* 22. 135–151.
- Fintel, Kai von. 1993. Exeptive constructions. *Natural Language Semantics* 1(2). 123–148.
- Fischer, Olga. 2007. *Morphosyntactic Change. Functional and Formal Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fischer, Olga. 2011. Grammaticalization as Analogically Driven Change? In Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, 31–42. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Fitzmaurice, Susan. 2010. Literary discourse. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical Pragmatics*, 679–704. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Geis, M. 1973. If and Unless. In B Kachru, R. Lees, Y. Malkiel, A. Petrangeli & S. Saporta (eds.), *Issues in linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renee Kahane*, 231–253. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1998. *Polarity Sensitivity as (non) Veridical Dependency* (Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 23). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 1999. Affective Dependencies. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 22. 367–421.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2002. Licensing and Sensitivity in Polarity Items: from Downward Entailment to Nonveridicality. In Maria Andronis, Anne Pycha & Keiko Yoshimura (eds.), *CLS 38: Papers from the 38th Annual Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Parasession on Polarity and Negation*, 29–53. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2006. Only, Emotive Factive Verbs, and the Dual Nature of Polarity Dependency. *Language* 82(3).
- Giannakidou, Anastasia. 2011. Negative and Positive Polarity Items. In Claudia Maienborn, Klaus van Heusinger & Paul Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning* (Handbooks of Linguistics and Communication Science 33.1), 1660–1712. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Goss, Emily L. & Robert B. Howell. 2006. Social and Structural Factors in the Development of Dutch Urban Dialects in the Early Modern Period. In Thomas D. Cravens (ed.), *Variation and Reconstruction* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science IV), vol. 268, 59–88. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Grieve-Smith, Angus B. 2009. *The Spread of Change in French Negation*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Ph.D.
- Haegeman, Liliane. 1995. *The Syntax of Negation* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haeseryn, W., K. Romijn, G. Geerts, J. de Rooij & M.C. van den Toorn. 1997. *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. 2nd edn. Groningen/Deurne: Martinus Nijhoff/Wolters Plantyn. <http://ans.ruhosting.nl/e-ans/>.
- Harris, Alice C. & Lyle Campbell. 1995. *Historical Syntax in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* (Cambridge Studies in Linguistics). Vol. no.74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Haspelmath, Martin. 1997. *Indefinite Pronouns* (Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 2003. Grammaticalization. In Brian D. Joseph & Richard D. Janda (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics*, 575–601. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Helten, W.L. van. 1885. Over Eenige constructies, met “en”, “ne” of “en” en “of.” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 5. 220–233.
- Hoeksema, Jack. 1987. The Logic of Exception. *ESCOL* 4. 100–113.
- Hoeksema, Jack. 1997. Negation and Negative Concord in Middle Dutch. *Negation and Polarity* (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 155), 139–156. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Hoeksema, Jack. 2008. On the Natural History of Negative Polarity Items. *Linguistic Analysis* 38(1–2). 3–33.
- Holmberg, Märta Åsdahl. 1967. *Exzipierend-einschränkende Ausdrucksweisen: untersucht besonders auf Grund hochdeutscher Bibelübersetzungen bis zum Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Aktiebolag.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. On Some Principles of Grammaticalization. In Elizabeth Closs Traugott & Bernd Heine (eds.), *Approaches to Grammatialization*, 17–35. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, Paul J. & Elizabeth Closs Traugott. 2003. *Grammaticalization* (Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics). 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horn, Laurence R. 1989. *A Natural History of Negation* (The David Hume Series on Philosophy and Cognitive Science Reissues). 2nd edn. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Horn, Laurence R. 1991. Duplex Negatio Affirmat...: The Economy of Double Negation. *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society: Parasession on Negation* 16. 80–106.
- Horn, Laurence R. 2002. Assertoric Inertia and NPI Licensing. *CLS (The Panels)* 38(2). 55–82.
- Horst, Joop.M. van der, J.A. van Leuvensteijn, W. Pijnenburg & M.C. van den Toorn. 1997. *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Taal*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Horst, Joop M. van der. 2008. *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Syntax*. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven.

- Horst, Joop M. van der & Marijke J. van der Wal. 1979. Negatieverschijnselen en Woordvolgorde in de Geschiedenis van het Nederlands. *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 95. 6–37.
- Howell, Robert B. 1992. Flemings, Brabanders and Hollanders in the Urban Melting Pot: Development of the Northern Dutch Vernacular in the 17th century. In Rosina L. Lippi-Green (ed.), *Recent Developments in Germanic Linguistics*, 33–46. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Howell, Robert B. 2006. Immigration and Koineisation: The Formation of Early Modern Dutch Urban Vernaculars. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 104(2). 207–227.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jäger, Agnes. 2008. *History of German Negation* (Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today 118). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Jäger, Agnes. 2013. Negation in the History of (High) German. *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean*. (Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics), vol. 1, 151–189. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Janda, Richard D. & Brian D. Joseph. 2003. On Language, Change, and Language Change - Or, Of History, Linguistics, and Historical Linguistics. In Richard D. Janda & Brian D. Joseph (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Linguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics), 3–180. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Jespersen, Otto. 1917. *Negation in English and Other Languages*. Copenhagen: A. F. Høst og Søn.
- Kemenade, Ans van. 2000. Jespersen's Cycle Revisited: Formal Properties of Grammaticalisation. In Susan Pintzuk, George Tsoulas & Anthony Warner (eds.), *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, 51–74. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kerswill, Paul & Ann Williams. 2000. Creating a New Town koine: Children and language change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society* 29. 65–115.
- Klima, Edward S. 1964. Negation in English. In Jerry A. Fodor & Jerrold J. Katz (eds.), *The structure of language*, 246–323. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Koch, Peter & Wulf Österreicher. 1985. Sprache der Nähe - Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgeschichte. *Romanistisches Jahrbuch* 36. 15–43.

- Kytö, Merja. 2010. Data in Historical Pragmatics. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical Pragmatics*, 33–68. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Laan, K. ter. 1952. *Letterkundig Woordenboek voor Noord en Zuid*. 2nd edn. Den Haag/Djakarta: G.B. van Goor Zonen's Uitgevermaatschappij.
- Labov, William. 1972. Negative Attraction and Negative Concord. *Language* 48(4).
- Labov, William. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change 1: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ladusaw, William A. 1980. *Polarity Sensitivity as Inherent Scope Relation*. New York: Garland.
- Ladusaw, William A. 1996. Negation and Polarity Items. In Shalom Lappin (ed.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Semantic Theory*, 321–341. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Laka, Itziar. 1990. *Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*. Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Ph.D.
- Lass, Roger. 2000. Remarks on (Uni)directionality. In Olga Fischer, Annette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (eds.), *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English* (Studies in Language 55). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1985. Grammaticalization: Synchronic Variation and Diachronic Change. *Lingua e Stile* 20. 303–318.
- Lenz, Barbara. 1996. Negationsverstärkung und Jespersen Zyklus im Deutschen und anderen europäischen Sprachen. In Ewald Lang & Gisela Zinfunun (eds.), *Deutsch - typologisch*, 183–2000. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Loey, A. van. 1980. *Middel nederlandse Spraakkunst. Deel I. Vormleer*. 9th edn. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
- Meijer, Reinder P. 1978. *Literature of the Low Countries. A Short History of Dutch Literature in the Netherlands and Belgium*. The Hague/Boston: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1912. L'Évolution des Formes Grammaticales. *Scientia* 12(6). 130–158.
- Milis, L.J.R. 2006. Counts, Cities and Clerics: The Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Centuries. In J.C.H Blom & E. Lamberts (eds.), *History of the Low Countries*, 23–54. 2nd edn. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Milroy, James & Lesley Milroy. 1985. Linguistic Change, Social Network and Speaker Innovation. *Journal of Linguistics* 21(02). 339–384.

- Milroy, Lesley. 1980. *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, Lesley & James Milroy. 1992. Social Network and Social Class: Toward an Integrated Sociolinguistic Model. *Language in Society* 21(01). 1–26.
- Mosegaard Hansen, Maj-Britt. 2013. Negation in the History of French. In David Willis, Christopher Lucas & Anne Breitbarth (eds.), *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean* (Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics 5), vol. 1, 51–76. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Neuckermans, Annemie. 2008. *Negatie in de Vlaamse Dialecten Volgens de Gegevens van de Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten (SAND)*. Ghent: Ghent University Ph.D.
- Newmeyer, Frederick J. 2001. Deconstructing Grammaticalization. *Language Sciences* 23. 187–229.
- Nicholas, David. 1996. Economic Reorientation and Social Change in Fourteenth-century Flanders. *Trade, Urbanisation and the Family. Studies in the History of Medieval Flanders*. Hampshire: Variorum.
- Norde, Muriel. 2009. *Degrammaticalization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oppenhuis de Jong, Soetje Ida. 2003. *De Middelnederlandse Perceval-traditie. Inleiding en Editie van de Bewaarde Fragmenten van een Middelnederlandse Vertaling van de Perceval of Conte du Graal van Chrétien de Troyes, en de Perchevael in de Lancelotcompilatie*. Hilversum: Verloren.
- Palander-Collin, Minna. 2010. Correspondence. In Andreas H. Jucker & Irma Taavitsainen (eds.), *Historical Pragmatics*, 651–678. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Parry, Mair. 2013. Negation in the History of Italo-Romance. In David Willis, Christopher Lucas & Anne Breitbarth (eds.), *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean* (Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics), vol. 1, 77–118. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Paul, Herman. 2007. *Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik*. (Ed.) Thomas Klein, Hans-Joachim Solms, Klaus-Peter Wegera & Heinz-Peter Prell. 25th edn. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Payne, John R. 1985. Negation. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. i: Clause Structure, 197–242. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Peréz-Jiménez, Isabel & Norberto Moreno-Quibén. 2011. Sentential Coordination and Ellipsis. In Janine Berns, Haike Jacobs & Tobias Scheer (eds.), *Romance languages and linguistic theory 2009: selected papers from "going romance" Nice 2009* (Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory 3). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Postma, Gertjan. 2002. De Enkelvoudige Clitische Negatie in het Middelnederlands en de Jespersen-Cyclus. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 7. 44–82.
- Quak, A. & J.M. van der Horst. 2002. *Inleiding Oudnederlands*. Leuven: Leuven University Press.
- Ross, John R. 1973. Sifting. In Gross Maurice, Morris Halle & Marcel-P. Schützenberger (eds.), *The Formal Analysis of Natural Languages. Proceedings of the First International Conference* (Janua Linguarum, Series Maior 62). The Hague: Mouton.
- Rutten, Gijbert & Marijke J. van der Wal. 2014. *Letters as Loot* (Advances in Historical Sociolinguistics (AHS)). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ryckeboer, H. 1986. Het Hulpwerkwoord "Doen" in Replieken. In M. Devos & J. Taeldeman (eds.), *Vruchten van z'n akker. Opstellen van (oud-)medewerkers en oud-studenten voor Prof. V.F. Vanacker*, 321–337. Ghent: Seminarie Nederlandse Taalkunde, Rijksuniversiteit Gent.
- Schreier, Daniel. 2012. The Impact of Migratory Movements on Linguistic Systems: Transplanted Speech Communities and Varieties from a Historical Sociolinguistic Perspective. In Juan Hernández-Campoy & Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (eds.), *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics* (Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics), 534–551. Oxford: Wiley - Blackwell.
- Schwegler, Armin. 1991. Predicate Negation in Contemporary Brazilian Portuguese. *Orbis* 34. 187–214.
- Schwenter, Scott A. 2005. The Pragmatics of Negation in Brazilian Portuguese. *Lingua* 115. 1427–1456.
- Siegel, Jeff. 2001. Koine Formation and Creole Genesis. In Norval Smith & Tonjes Veenstra (eds.), *Creolization and Contact*, 175–198. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sijs, Nicoline van der & Roland Willemyns. 2009. *Het Verhaal van het Nederlands. Een Geschiedenis van Twaalf Eeuwen*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Stabel, Peter. 1997. *Dwarfs Among Giants: The Flemish Urban Network in the Late Middle Ages* (Studies in Urban Social, Economic and Political History of the Medieval and Modern Low Countries 8). Leuven/Apeldoorn: Garant.

- Stabel, Peter, Jeroen Puttevils & Jan Dumolyn. 2018. Production, Markets and Socio-economic Structures I: c.1100-c.1320. *Medieval Bruges, c.850-1550*, 86–123. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stabel, Peter, Jeroen Puttevils, Jan Dumolyn, Bart Lambert, James M. Murray & Guy Dupont. 2018. Production, Markets and Socio-economic Structures II: c.1320-c.1500. *Medieval Bruges, c.850-1550*, 196–267. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stoett, F. A. 1923. *Middel nederlandse Spraakkunst*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey & Terrence Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tomasello, Michael. 2003. On the Different Origins of Symbols and Grammar. In Morten H. Christiansen & Simon Kirby (eds.), *Language Evolution*, 94–110. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tottie, Gunnel & Sebastian Hoffmann. 2009. Tag Questions in English: The First Century. *Journal of English Linguistics* 37(2). 130–161.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 2011. Grammaticalization and Mechanisms of Change. In Bernd Heine & Heiko Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Grammaticalization*, 19–30. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2011. *Sociolinguistic typology: Social Determinants of Linguistic Complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tyberghien, Lobke. 2015. *Taalvariatie in Vlaanderen: Attitudes en Percepties van West-Vlaamse Jongeren*. Ghent: Ghent University MA.
- Vandenbussche, Wim. 2002. Dutch Orthography in Lower, Middle and Upper Class Documents in 19th-century Flanders. In Andrew R. Linn & Nicola McLelland (eds.), *Standardization: Studies from the Germanic languages* (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science), vol. 235, 27–42. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Verhulst, Adriaan. 1999. *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Themes in International Urban History). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vries, Jan de. 2007. *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (Routledge Library Editions - The City). 2nd edn. London/New York: Routledge.
- Vries, Matthias de, Lammert A. te Winkel & et al. (eds.). 1864-1998. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*. 's-Gravenhage/Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff/Brill. <http://gtb.inl.nl/>.
- Wal, Marijke van der & Cor van Bree. 2014. *Geschiedenis van het Nederlands*. Houten: Spectrum.

- Wallage, Philip. 2005. *Negation in Early English: Parametric Variation and Grammatical Competition*. York: University of York.
- Wallage, Philip. 2008. Jespersen's Cycle in Middle English: Parametric Variation and Grammatical Competition. *Lingua* 118(5). 643–674.
- Willemyns, Roland. 2003. Dutch. In Ana Deumert & Wim Vandenbussche (eds.), *Germanic Standardizations. Past to Present*. (Impact: Studies in Language and Society 18). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Willis, David, Christopher Lucas & Anne Breitbarth. 2013. Comparing Diachronies of Negation. In David Willis, Christopher Lucas & Anne Breitbarth (eds.), *The History of Negation in the Languages of Europe and the Mediterranean*. (Oxford Studies in Diachronic & Historical Linguistics), vol. 1, 1–50. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wischer, Ilse. 2000. Grammaticalization versus Lexicalization: “Methinks” there is some Confusion. In Olga Fisher, Annette Rosenbach & Dieter Stein (eds.), *Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English* (Studies in Language 55), 355–370. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Wouden, Anton van der. 1994. *Negative Contexts*. Groningen: University of Groningen Ph.D.
- Wouden, Anton van der. 1998. On the Development of Marked Negation Systems: the Dutch Situation in the Seventeenth Century. In R.M. Hogg & L. van Bergen (eds.), *Historical Linguistics 1995*, vol. II, 311–329. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Wouden, Anton van der & Frans Zwarts. 1993. A Semantic Analysis of Negative Concord. In Utpal Lahiri & Adam Wyner (eds.), *Salt III*, 202–219. Ithaca: Cornell University.
- Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2004. *Sentential Negation and Negative Concord*. Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Ph.D.
- Zwaan, F.L. 1939b. *Uit de Geschiedenis der Nederlandse Spraakkunst*. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
- Zwarts, Frans. 1998. Three types of Polarity. In Fritz Hamm & Erhard Hinrichs (eds.), *Plurality and Quantification* (Studies in Linguistics and Philosophy 69), 177–238. Dordrecht: Springer Science+Business Media.

Appendix

The following tables present the data attested in the corpus per century and per genre. Percentages of subtypes of resilient preverbal markers are calculated from the total of preverbal markers.

Thirteenth-century data

13th-century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	262	100%	297	100%
Bipartite	185	71%	192	65%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	105	40%	135	45%
Postverbal	29	11%	54	18%
Preverbal	48	18%	51	17%
Exceptive	23	48%	12	24%
Expletive	8	17%	24	47%
With verbs	8	17%	13	25%
With adverbs/adjectives	6	13%	1	2%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	2	4%	1	2%
<i>maer</i>	4	8%	0	0%
Fragment answers	0	0%	0	0%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%
Unclear	3	6%	1	2%

13th-century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	16	100%	24	100%
	Preverbal	5	31%	4	17%
Non-administrative	Total	244	100%	264	100%
	Preverbal	41	17%	49	19%

Fourteenth-century data

14th-century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	261	100%	394	100%
Bipartite	188	72%	327	83%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	142	54%	172	44%
Postverbal	42	16%	30	8%
Preverbal	31	12%	37	9%
Exceptive	5	16%	5	14%
Expletive	16	52%	21	57%
With verbs	5	16%	8	22%
With adverbs/adjectives	4	13%	2	5%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	1	3%	1	3%
<i>maer</i>	3	10%	1	3%
Fragment answers	1	3%	0	0%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%

14th-century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	6	100%	9	100%
	Preverbal	0	0%	4	44%
Non-administrative	Total	254	100%	384	100%
	Preverbal	32	13%	32	8%

Fifteenth-century data

15 th -century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	525	100%	711	100%
Bipartite	437	83%	601	85%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	322	61%	395	56%
Postverbal	54	10%	20	3%
Preverbal	34	6%	90	13%
Exceptive	10	29%	30	33%
Expletive	11	32%	36	40%
With verbs	4	12%	5	6%
With adverbs/adjectives	6	18%	10	11%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>maer</i>	6	18%	10	11%
Fragment answers	3	9%	6	7%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%

15 th -century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	24	100%	10	100%
	Preverbal	2	8%	4	40%
Non-administrative	Total	254	100%	384	100%
	Preverbal	32	6%	87	12%

Sixteenth-century data

16th-century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	246	100%	481	100%
Bipartite	193	78%	383	80%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	129	52%	259	54%
Postverbal	28	11%	63	13%
Preverbal	25	10%	35	7%
Exceptive	8	32%	9	26%
Expletive	2	8%	11	31%
With verbs	0	0%	0	0%
With adverbs/adjectives	13	52%	13	37%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>maer</i>	0	0%	0	0%
Fragment answers	0	0%	0	0%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%

16th-century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	7	100%	23	100%
	Preverbal	3	8%	8	35%
Non-administrative	Total	239	100%	460	100%
	Preverbal	22	9%	27	6%

Seventeenth-century data

17th-century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	440	100%	290	100%
Bipartite	339	77%	87	30%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	211	48%	70	24%
Postverbal	40	9%	183	63%
Preverbal	61	14%	20	7%
Exceptive	28	46%	13	65%
Expletive	6	10%	3	15%
With verbs	0	0%	0	0%
With adverbs/adjectives	27	44%	4	20%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>maer</i>	0	0%	0	0%
Fragment answers	0	0%	0	0%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%

17th-century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	10	100%	14	100%
	Preverbal	3	30%	2	14%
Non-administrative	Total	424	100%	276	100%
	Preverbal	57	13%	18	7%

Eighteenth-century data

18th-century data	West Flemish		Hollandic	
Total	226	100%	741	100%
Bipartite	50	22%	11	1%
Bipartite <i>niet</i>	28	12%	9	1%
Postverbal	168	74%	724	98%
Preverbal	8	4%	6	1%
Exceptive	8	100%	6	100%
Expletive	6	0%	0	0%
With verbs	0	0%	0	0%
With adverbs/adjectives	0	0%	0	0%
<i>bore, meer, ander</i>	0	0%	0	0%
<i>maer</i>	0	0%	0	0%
Fragment answers	0	0%	0	0%
Rhetorical questions	0	0%	0	0%

18th-century data		West Flemish		Hollandic	
Administrative	Total	14	100%	14	100%
	Preverbal	5	36%	1	7%
Non-administrative	Total	212	100%	727	100%
	Preverbal	3	1%	5	2%