Variation and change in Early Modern Dutch

Negation in Letters as Loot

Name: Levi Remijnse

Student number: 4283619

Degree: RMA

Date of submission: 17 September 2019

Thesis supervisor: Marjo van Koppen

Second reader: Norbert Corver

Summary

In Early Modern Dutch, variation within writers is found between negative concord and single negation. This intermediate phase between negative concord and single negation is affected by both bottom-up change (the negative clitic started to erode due to functional redundancy) and top-down change (elite writers dropped the negative clitic completely). In literature, the frequency of the negative clitic has been described, pointing to an increase of the clitic in southern regions and in lower social classes. However, the theory of Jespersen's cycle and finer mechanisms of generative syntax have not been involved in these studies. In the current corpus study, 17th century letters from people across regions and social classes were analyzed with respect the variation in negation, involving Jespersen's cycle and notions from generative syntax. In particular, it was explored what types of grammars are shown between the varieties displayed by the writers of these letters. From a qualitative analysis of the data, it was found that many co-occuring varieties display different phases of Jespersen's cycle in synchronic fashion: while some varieties display a conservative grammar exhibiting consistent negative concord (phase II), others display a progressive grammar containing consistent single negation (phase III). Furthermore, a dominant portion of the letters display a grammar with variation between negative concord and single variation. These findings contradict the assumed nature of Jespersen's cycle, which portrays the phases of development in subsequent fashion. With respect to the syntactic features of the negative clitic – polarity features projecting PolP – four different derivational systems are found in at least one variety: (i) a high PolP as part of an extended CP, which indicates the C-parameter; (ii) a low PolP that attracts the finite verb to T, which results in V1 position in verb clusters; (iii) both high PolP and low PolP; and (iv) no PolP. Many letters with single negation show high PolP. From this observation I conclude that, although the negative clitic has been deleted in these varieties, its polarity features remain present. Hence the parametric hierarchy of the extended CP is not affected. Some of the varieties with single negation show evidence in favor of low PolP: the finite verb is attracted to V1 position of its verb clause in polarity-related sentences. This means that the negative clitic must have been present during the derivation, basegenerated in low PolP and attracting the finite verb to T but was deleted artificially at surface structure. The result is then a dual grammar exhibiting progressive single negation at surface structure, but conservative negative concord at deep structure. This might have been an effect of the external upper-class prescription to drop the negative clitic on the one hand, and internal natural development on the other hand. A portion of the grammars with single

negation exhibited total loss of the C-features. This is considered the most progressive grammar, showing Jespersen's phase III at both surface structure and deep structure. With respect to the varieties showing variation between single negation and negative concord, it has been explored what factors drove the language user to insert the negative clitic. In literature, the negative clitic is assumed to express emphatic meaning: it emphasizes negative contrast or stress on the importance of the subject matter. For West-Flemish, the clitic has been proposed to emphasize the unexpectedness of the negation of a presupposition. In my dataset, I found the clitic to convey the latter function in all letters showing variation. A subset of these letters also showed the more general function of emphasizing negative stress. This extended emphatic function is captured in high PolP. I propose that, during language development, high PolP became available for the clitic to move to convey this emphatic meaning. Since this function is less specific, it also supports the assumed motive for the eventual loss of the negative clitic: functional redundancy. It follows that high PolP as part of the extended CP eventually loses ground. In the final step of this research, I applied the sociolinguistic variables of class (high/low) and region (Noord-Holland/Zeeland) to the letters. The most conservative variety, containing consistent negative concord, only appear in the low class of Zeeland, while the most progressive variety, containing consistent deletion of both the negative clitic and its polarity-related C-features, only appears in Noord-Holland. Since the prescribed grammar with single negation originated in the high class of Noord-Holland, it comes as no surprise that the most conservative grammar is found in southern regions and that the most progressive grammar is found in Noord-Holland. My data-analysis shows that in some varieties, the deletion of the negative clitic is merely a surface deletion, while in other varieties, which all happen to occur in Noord-Holland, both the clitic and its features are deleted.

Table of contents

1)	Introduction	6
	1.1 Research goals	9
	1.2 Thesis outline	12
2)	Theoretical background	14
	-	
	2.1 Approaches to language variation and change	
	2.1.2 The syntactic approach	
	2.1.3 Hypotheses with respect to variation in and change of negation	
	2.2 Negation in Dutch	19
	2.2.1 The Jespersen cycle	
	2.2.2 The syntax of Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch	23
	2.2.3 The syntax of Early Modern Dutch	
	2.2.4 Summary	
	2.3 Negation in West-Flemish	
	2.3.1 The status and function of the negative clitic	
	2.3.2 Polarity related phenomena 2.3.3 Summary	
	•	
	2.4 Negation in texts from northern regions.	39
	2.4.1 F.C. Floort 2.4.2 Michiel de Ruyter	
	2.4.3 Summary	
3)	Method	4 7
	3.1 Materials	
	3.1.1 Letters as loot	
	3.1.2 Dataset	
	3.2 Data analysis	
	3.2.1 The language user keeps the negative clitic	
	3.2.3 The language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor its related features	
	3.2.4 The language user keeps using the negative clitic in emphatic contexts	
45		
4)	Results	53
5)	Data analysis	56
	5.1 The language user keeps the negative clitic	56
	5.1.1 Jacob Been (1 letter, written in 1664)	56
	5.1.2 T. Boucher (1 letter, written in 1664)	57
	5.2 The language user deletes the negative clitic in writing, but this is only a surface deletion	58
	5.2.1 Maritje Barents (1 letter, written in 1664)	
	5.2.2 Meijndert van Kein (1 letter, written in 1664)	
	5.2.3 Saartje Jans (1 letter, written in 1664)	
	5.2.5 Doedes Ennes Star (1 letter, written in 1664)	
	5.2.6 Willem Hontum de Jonge (2 letters, written in 1664)	
	5.2.7 Jacob Dimmenssen (2 letters, both written in 1665)	65
	5.2.8 Michiel Lalier (1 letter, written in 1672)	66
	5.3 The language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor its features features	67
	5.3.1 Rutgert Pranger (1 letter, written in 1673)	67
	5.3.2 Henricus Cordes (1 letter: written in 1667)	
	5.3.3 Lieven Kersteman (2 letters, written in 1665)	68

5.4.1 Quantitative analysis 66 5.4.2 Hillegonda Vrienk (1 letter, written in 1673) 77 5.4.3 Jaapje Koerten (1 letter, written in 1664) 77 5.4.4 Trijntje Henderiks-Batens (1 letter, written in 1664) 76 5.4.5 Adam Erckelens (1 letter, written in 1664) 78 5.4.6 Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (3 letters: two written in 1661, one written in 1664) 81 5.4.7 Adriaan Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 82 5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2 Intra-author-variation 10<		5.4 The language user keeps using the negative clitic in polarity-related contexts	69
5.4.3 Jaapje Koerten (1 letter, written in 1664)			
5.4.4 Trijntje Henderiks-Batens (1 letter, written in 1664) 76 5.4.5 Adam Erckelens (1 letter, written in 1664) 77 5.4.6 Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (3 letters: two written in 1661, one written in 1664) 81 5.4.7 Adriaan Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 82 5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 87 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1664) 92 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1664) 92 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics. 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic. 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 <tr< th=""><th></th><th>5.4.2 Hillegonda Vrienk (1 letter, written in 1673)</th><th>73</th></tr<>		5.4.2 Hillegonda Vrienk (1 letter, written in 1673)	73
5.4.5 Adam Erckelens (1 letter, written in 1664) 79 5.4.6 Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (3 letters: two written in 1661, one written in 1664) 81 5.4.7 Adriaans Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 82 5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 88 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11			
5.4.6 Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (3 letters: two written in 1661, one written in 1664) 81 5.4.7 Adriaan Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 82 5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 87 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1664) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11 8) Conclusion 12		5.4.4 Trijntje Henderiks-Batens (1 letter, written in 1664)	76
5.4.7 Adriaan Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 87 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 99 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 116 8) Conclusion 118 9) References 12			
5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664) 86 5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 87 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 96 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 116 8) Conclusion 116 9) References 12			
5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672) 87 5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.13 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11 8) Conclusion 116 9) References 12			
5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664) 88 5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664) 91 5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11 8) Conclusion 11 9) References 12			
5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664)			
5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671) 92 5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 93 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 116 8) Conclusion 118 9) References 12			
5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665) 94 5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664) 96 5.5 Summary 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11 8) Conclusion 11 9) References 12			
5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664). 96 5.5 Summary. 96 6) Discussion of the observed systems. 99 6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics. 99 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic. 10 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP. 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region. 10 7) Suggestions for further research. 11 8) Conclusion. 11 9) References. 12			
5.5 Summary			
6) Discussion of the observed systems		5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664)	96
6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics. 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic. 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP. 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP. 6.2.3 No PolP. 6.3 Intra-author-variation. 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region. 7) Suggestions for further research. 8) Conclusion. 116 117 118 119 110 110 110 110 110 110		5.5 Summary	98
6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics. 6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic. 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP. 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP. 6.2.3 No PolP. 6.3 Intra-author-variation. 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region. 7) Suggestions for further research. 8) Conclusion. 116 117 118 119 110 110 110 110 110 110	6)	Discussion of the observed systems	99
6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic. 10. 6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP. 10. 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP. 10. 6.2.3 No PolP. 10. 6.3 Intra-author-variation. 10. 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region. 11. 7) Suggestions for further research. 11. 8) Conclusion. 11. 9) References. 12.	,		
6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP 10 6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 10 6.2.3 No PolP 10 6.3 Intra-author-variation 10 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 11 7) Suggestions for further research 11 8) Conclusion 118 9) References 12			
6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP 104 6.2.3 No PolP 105 6.3 Intra-author-variation 105 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 112 7) Suggestions for further research 116 8) Conclusion 118 9) References 12		0.2 The distribution of syntactic pnenomena related to the negative cittic	101
6.2.3 No PolP 105 6.3 Intra-author-variation 109 6.4 Redistribution over social class and region 112 7) Suggestions for further research 116 8) Conclusion 118 9) References 12			
6.3 Intra-author-variation			
6.4 Redistribution over social class and region			
7) Suggestions for further research		6.3 Intra-author-variation.	109
8) Conclusion		6.4 Redistribution over social class and region.	112
9) References	7)	Suggestions for further research	116
,	8)	Conclusion	118
Historical sources	9)	References	121
		Historical sources	124

1) Introduction

Middle Dutch, spoken between 1150 and 1500, exhibited the obligatory use of two negative elements to express negation. This is called *negative concord*, whereby at least two negative elements in a sentence together establish sentential negation (Zeijlstra, 2004). (1) shows a Middle Dutch sentence expressing negative concord, with *en* as a preverbal negative clitic and *niet* as a negative adverb. The required presence of both elements marks Middle Dutch as a negative concord language (Zeijlstra, 2004).

(1) En laettine mi spreke niet.¹

Neg let.he me speak neg

'If he doesn't let me speak.'

At the end of the 17th century, this grammar containing obligatory negative concord, changed into a grammar in which the negative clitic is completely disappeared and negation is only expressed by means of a negative adverb or an n-word, as is shown in the Modern Dutch sentence in (2), with *niet* as the only negative element (Zeijlstra, 2004).

(2) Jan loopt *niet*.

Jan walks neg

'Jan doesn't walk.'

This shift from one grammar to another did not occur suddenly. Early Modern Dutch, spoken between 1500 and 1800, contains a grammar that forms an intermediate stage of this change. In this intermediate stage, negation is allowed to be expressed by both the single negation and negative concord. Hence Early Modern Dutch is a negative concord language, but the negative clitic is optional (Breitbarth, 2009; Horst, 2008; Zeijlstra, 2004). (3a) shows an instance of single negation, (3b) shows an instance of negative concord.

.

¹ Lanceloet, 20316

- (3) a. De krijgslien zijn *niet* veer van deeze kloosterpoort.² The warriors are not far from this monastry.gate 'The warriors are not far from the monastry's gate.'
 - b. Zoo veele moeite *en* is het leven my *niet* waerdigh.³ So much effort neg is the life me not worthy 'Life is not worth that much trouble for me.'

From 1500 until 1640, this change from a grammar exhibiting negative concord to a grammar exhibiting variation between negative concord and single negation, is described as an unconscious change, a change that originated in the lower class (Horst 2008).

Both sentences in (3) are from the play Gysbrecht van Aemstel by Joost van den Vondel from 1638. This means that the two ways of expressing negation did not only vary within the same author, but also within one and the same text. More elite writers, like P.C. Hooft, showed variation in negation in their texts. Since they are aware of their language use, it is likely that they use variation in negation as a stylistic means (Van Koppen, 2018).

Around 1640, this change in grammar comes as the result of an external pressure from the upper class to drop the negative marker and hence use only the negative adverb (Van der Wal, 1992). Both Joost van den Vondel and P.C. Hooft, for instance, decided to drop the negative clitic in all their texts from April 19th, 1638 onwards (Van der Wouden, 2007; Paardekooper, 2006). As we can point out the exact date of the change, it must have been a very conscious decision. Since the above-mentioned writers were known as authorities in innovating Dutch language, their sudden choice to utilize a new grammar must have had an effect on the use of negation throughout the Netherlands. However, synchronically, other high elite authorities communicated contrastive conventions regarding the use of negation. In particular, the publication of the State Translation of the Bible in 1637 exhibited strict negative concord, due to archaic motivations (Van der Sijs et al., 2009). Since the State Translation entered the household of many Dutch citizens, it can be assumed that its conservative grammar with regard to negation left a mark on the language use of those citizens as well, being part of a specific religious and literary register. Also, literary writers, such as Cats and De Brune, maintained the use of variation between negative concord and single negation (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014). Yet, during the second half of the century,

² Gysbrecht IV: 1038.

³ Gysbrecht IV: 955.

negative concord kept losing ground to single negation. More elite authorities, like Leupenius and Joannes Vollenhove, not only used single negation in their texts, but also expressed their disapproval of the negative clitic in meta-linguistic or prescriptive texts (Leupenius, 1653; Dibbets, 2007). During the 18th century, texts containing negative concord are a minority. Horst (2008) assumes that *en* was still used frequently in colloquial speech, especially in certain (southern-Dutch) regions. However, the negative connotations surrounding the negative clitic had become clearly formulated and by the 19th century, negative concord lost ground completely to single negation.

Although the elite writers stopped using the negative clitic around the middle of the 17th century, Rutten and Van der Wal (2014) show that it still occurs in letters from different people across social classes and regions. Their dataset consists of 2,307 tokens of negation taken from a sample of written letters. It shows both regional and social patterns. See Table 1.

Table 1
Single and bipartite⁴ negation by region (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014, p. 370).

	Single		Bipartite		Total
	N	%	N	%	N
North Holland	385	88	53	12	438
Amsterdam	523	67	253	33	776
South Holland	134	49	142	51	276
Zeeland	285	52	262	48	547
Flanders	15	42	21	58	36
Other	41	91	4	9	45
Unknown	118	62	71	38	189
Total	1,501	65	806	35	2,307

Table 1 shows a decrease in use of negative concord from North Holland towards Flanders. This is not unsurprising, since the shift to the grammar exhibiting obligatory single negation originated in North Holland, while in Flanders negative concord is still used in certain present-day dialects (Barbiers et al, 2006). Table 2 provides the distribution of negation patterns across social classes. Letters of which the social class was undeterminable were taken out of this sample, hence the lower frequency of sentences.

_

⁴ The term *bipartite negation* is Rutten & Van der Wal's equivalent of the term negative concord.

Table 2
Single and bipartite negation by social class⁵ (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014, p. 385).

	Single		Bipartite		Total
_	N	%	N	%	N
LC	33	59	23	41	56
LMC	155	60	102	40	257
UMC	427	67	212	33	639
UC	93	70	40	30	133
Total	708	65	377	35	1,085

Table 2 shows a small, but gradual increase of the use of negative concord from the upper class towards the lower class. Again, this is not unsurprising, since shift to the grammar exhibiting single negation originated in the upper class and most likely spread out hierarchically over the other social classes. Although we observe a gradual change regionally (from North-Holland towards Flanders) and socially (from upper class towards lower class), the differences are not absolute, as can be deduced by the writings of Vondel and Hooft from 1638 onwards. This means that, although all social classes and regions show awareness of the convention of the trend towards using single negation, they all kept inserting the negative clitic *en* to a certain degree. As abovementioned, the elite writers are very aware of their language use, which is why their use of variation in negation before 1640 could also have been regulated by stylistic considerations. This literary motivation is much less expected to affect people in lower social classes, with different motivations to write and with different attitudes against writing. It is therefore interesting to also describe and analyze their use of negation.

1.1 Research goals

As this short description of the development of the use of negation shows, external pressure from the upper class around 1640 results in a strong decrease of the use of negative concord. Yet people from different social classes and regions still use an intermediate grammar exhibiting the negative adverb *niet* with or without *en*. This language phase has been surveyed in literature with regard to the linguistic distribution of single negation and negative concord

⁵ Index: LC: Lower Class; LMC: Lower Middle Class; UMC: Upper Middle Class; UC: Upper Class

(Horst, 2008; Zeijlstra, 2004) and their sociolinguistic distribution (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014). Furthermore, there seems to be a general consensus that this development of negation in Dutch is an example of the *Jespersen Cycle* (explained in section 2.2.1). However, the Jespersen cycle is a sequence developing from phase to phase diachronically. The first main goal of this thesis is to explore whether the use of negation in Early Modern Dutch actually follows these cyclic steps of development, or that the situation is more complex between varieties across and within groups from different regions and social classes, when their texts are examined with a generative approach. The second goal of this thesis is to account for those letters that show variation in negation and, in particular, the factors that drive the writers to use negative concord while the prescriptive standard is to delete the negative clitic. The following main research question guides the research of this thesis:

How did negation develop within 17th century Dutch across regions and social classes, and how can we account for this development?

I will concentrate on four sub-questions in order to provide an answer to the main research question. The first sub-question is:

What is the distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics?

The sociolinguistic distribution of the negative marker has previously been analyzed by Rutten and Van der Wal (2014). However, they have not combined their sociolinguistic analysis with the diachronic observations of the Jespersen Cycle. Also, they have not incorporated the finer structural considerations from formal, i.e. generative, syntactic analyses of changes in negation patterns. For this thesis, I will take a sample from their dataset and confront the types of negation with the different phases of the Jespersen Cycle. It will turn out that there is a large difference in use of negation between the varieties. Recall that the variation in negation in the second half of the 17th century is generally assumed as an intermediate phase between obligatory negative concord and obligatory single negation. My dataset will show that this intermediate phase can be divided into several subphases of Jespersen's cyclic development and into different parametric sizes of related syntactic features.

The second subquestion is the following:

What is the distribution of syntactic phenomena that are related to the negative clitic?

In addition to the examination of the distribution of negation itself, I will analyze syntactic phenomena that are related to the negative clitic and relate these findings to the Jespersen Cycle as well. Since the motivation to drop the negative clitic is external and from above rather than internal and from below, some letters from the dataset will show a difference in developmental stages between the surface structure and the deep structure of the derivation of the negative sentences. In these cases, the surface structure shows a grammar of single negation in accordance to the upper-class prescriptions. However, the deep structure shows a grammar of negative concord in accordance to the previous stage of development. In other words, the negative sentences derive according to a grammar exhibiting negative concord, but the surface structure shows a grammar exhibiting single negation. It can be assumed that, due to the external pressure, the negative clitic is deleted only on the surface. The module of syntax has not yet adapted to the social pressure to drop the negative clitic and derives the sentence in accordance to the previous grammar. This grammar is exposed by syntactic features related to the derivation of the negative clitic, which were not externally suppressed. This has been proposed by Van Koppen (2018) for the literary writers such as P.C. Hooft (as will be explained in section 2.4). This thesis builds upon her hypothesis by applying it to the dataset from Rutten & Van der Wal (2014), which consists of letters from people performing different professions and showing different motivations for their writings.

The third sub-question I will focus on is the following:

Where intra-author-variation occurs, what factors drive the language user to utilize the negative clitic?

In texts showing variation between the single negative adverb and negative concord, I will analyze the constructions containing negative concord in order to find patterns displaying motivations for the language user to utilize the negative clitic. It will turn out that no uniform pattern can explain the use of the negative clitic, but an integration of different factors can account for most of the instances. Some of these factors are of a pragmatic nature, such as emphatic stress or negating presuppositions, which are both captured in different syntactic projections during the derivation. Other factors have to do with the historical development of certain lexical items (like *weten* 'know') co-occurring with the negative clitic in the negative sentence. Those items attracted the negative marker frequently in the earlier stages of

variation and as a consequence, the combinations have become idiomatic. Finally, the writers use *en* in parts of the text where the content seems to be simulating a religious and potentially archaic register. This could be an effect of the State Bible, which was the highest authority regarding religious texts in the Republic and its grammar still exhibited strict negative concord.

The fourth and final subquestion I will explore is the following:

How are the encountered findings spread across regions and social classes?

Finally, the findings of my dataset will be applied to sociolinguistic variables to see how negation, its related phenomena and the factors driving variation pattern across regions and social classes. The answer to this subquestion is an addition to the observations by Rutten & Van der Wal (2014), who only show the frequency of negation types across those variables for the same time period, but without involving the different grammars displayed by the varieties of the language users. It will turn out that the most conservative grammar, exhibiting consistent negative concord, can only be found in the low class of Zeeland, which is expected to be the final area to be affected by the external prescribed grammar. Furthermore, the most progressive grammar, exhibiting complete loss of both the negative clitic and its syntactic features, can only be found in Noord-Holland, where its introduction originated.

1.2 Thesis outline

The outline of this thesis is as follows. First, the theoretical background is discussed. I will discuss language variation and change from the perspective of sociolinguistics and *feature hierarchy*. Next the Jespersen cycle will be explained and applied to the development of Dutch negation. Also, the syntactic distribution of negation in Middle Dutch, Early Modern Dutch and Modern Dutch will be discussed. I will also discuss the status of the negative clitic in West-Flemish and related syntactic phenomena that are found in and around the area where this dialect is spoken. Finally, I will discuss how Van koppen (2018) applied this theoretical framework to texts by P.C. Hooft and Michiel de Ruyter. In chapter 3, an overview of the methodology is provided. In particular, I describe how the dataset was acquired and how the analysis was performed. In chapter 5, the results of the acquired dataset are provided. In chapter 6, an analysis for each letter is performed to find differences and patterns across varieties. Chapter 7 follows with a discussion of the observed systems based on the data

analysis. Then, after suggestions for further research in chapter 8, this thesis will conclude with a summary in chapter 9.

2) Theoretical background

2.1 Approaches to language variation and change

This section provides an overview of the relevant theoretical approaches to language variation and change. Specifically, the sociolinguistic approach and the syntactic theory of feature hierarchies will be discussed. At the end of this section, I will formulate hypotheses about the development of negation in Early Modern Dutch that arise from these theoretical approaches.

2.1.1 The sociolinguistic approach

A strong consensus with regard to language variation and change in the field of sociolinguistics is that variation always precedes change (Weinreich et al., 1968). This does not mean that variation always leads to change. Mesthrie et. al (2009) show an example of variation without change. The two variants -in and -ing have been coexisting throughout the history of English. Both suffixes have grammaticalized and started to serve as functions of social differences (Houston, 1985). Across the English-speaking world, their differences in grammaticalization and social stratification remain stable. -in, for instance, occurs mostly in participles and nouns, like playin' and ceilin' (Labov, 1989). The two suffixes originate from Old English, but a new grammar has not yet come into existence where one variant won over the other. The variation has not yet led to change.

Sociolinguists are interested in the social motivations underlying change and in where and how a change is triggered and how it spreads. A distinction that is often made with respect to changes concerns whether a change is initiated from above or from below (Labov, 2006). Changes from above are changes that are consciously initiated by the dominant social class. In phonological changes, for instance, newly introduced phonemes are often modeled on sounds from the more prestigious speech communities. These two influences, the conscious initiation by the dominant class and the modeling on an external speech community, usually coincide (Labov 2006, 2001). An example of such a change can be found in the important study of Labov (1966) that instigated the field of sociolinguistics. Labov illustrates the social stratification of the two variants of the postvocalic [r] in New York City. The two variants of postvocalic [r] are pronunciation or omission. The omission of postvocalic [r] was the historical default in the speech of New York City. Higher social classes started to show a negative attitude towards this variant and introduced the variant of

pronunciation of the postvocalic [r]. This variant was modeled on the postvocalic [r] that is present in more prestigious US speech varieties. Hence the change from the omission to the pronunciation of postvocalic [r] is consciously initiated by the dominant social class and modeled on an external speech community.

Changes from below are changes that originate in the vernacular and increase to ease the articulatory process of pronunciation. These changes spread fast within lower classes but are met with resistance from higher classes (Kroch, 1978). These two influences usually coincide (Labov 2006, 2001). An example of such a change is the deletion of a consonant within a consonant cluster exceeding word boundaries, like the deletion of /t/ in phrases like half-pas' five or trus' me.

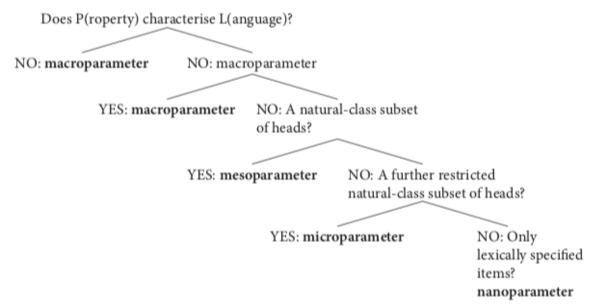
When the abovementioned principles were observed in sociolinguistic research, they were discussed in relation to changes in the phonological domain. In later stages of sociolinguistic research, it was stated that, in principle, this theoretical framework can be extended to other linguistic domains as well (Mesthrie et al., 2009; Thomason & Kaufman, 1992). The topic of this thesis is an example of a change from above in the morphosyntactic domain. As mentioned in the introduction, elite authorities, such as Leupenius and Joannes Vollenhove, started to express a negative attitude towards the use of the negative clitic *en* in addition to a negative adverb *niet*. The elite writers Vondel and Hooft introduced a grammar exhibiting obligatory single negation, without the negative clitic. This is a change from above, external to the vernacular.

2.1.2 The syntactic approach

In order to capture variation between languages from the perspective of syntax, generative syntax has introduced the notion of *parameters*. Linguistic parameters are variables specifying certain binary options for core variants for a specific language. The setting of the parameter results in the characteristics of this language and functions as a cue for the language learner to comprehend those characteristics (Roeper & Williams, 1987; Chomsky, 1986). An example of a parameter is the *Head Parameter*. The two options for this parameter are ON (the head of a syntactic constituent precedes its complement) or OFF (the head follows its complement). For English, this parameter setting is ON. For Japanese, this parameter setting is OFF (Kerstens et al., 2001). Thus, parameter theory explains syntactic variation between languages and restricts the number of options for the language learner. Linguistic parameters are currently considered not to be consistently as absolute as the Head

parameter, but rather they are assumed to vary in size (Baker, 2008). Biberauer and Roberts (2012) encapsulated this idea into a taxonomy of parameters. Its scheme is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Feature Hierarchy (Biberauer & Roberts, 2016. p260).



I will define the parameters in Figure 1 stepwise and apply them hypothetically to the property of verb movement.

Macroparameter: all items of the relevant type share the value of the feature. This is the most absolute parameter. With respect to the feature of verb movement, the complete absence of verb movement would establish the NO option, while its association with all verb-related types would establish the YES option.

Mesoparameter: all items of a given naturally definable class share the value of the feature. Verb movement of just auxiliaries but not lexical verbs would constitute a mesoparameter.

Microparameter: a small subclass of items belonging to the same class shows the value of the feature. With respect to verb movement, this small subclass could be a class consisting of just modal auxiliaries.

Nanoparameter: one or more individual items are specified for the value of the feature. In contrast to the absoluteness of the macroparameter, here the value of the feature is only ascribed to one or a few items. For the feature of verb movement, a language exhibiting a nanoparameter would only show verb movement for one specific verb or a small minority of verbs.

Languages vary with respect to the level of these parameters. Again, applying this to the example of verb movement, some languages might exhibit an absolute macroparameter, showing verb movement of all or no verbs. Other languages exhibit a mesoparameter, showing verb movement of all finite verbs.

In addition to the explanation of variation between languages in terms of parameters, Biberauer and Roberts (2016) show that within a language, change can be described as a process of a parameter shifting from one size to the other. They illustrate this by showing the shift of the size of the parameter of *Conditional Inversion* throughout the history of English. Conditional Inversion involves head movement from T to C, where C bears a feature of irrealis mode. In Old English, Conditional Inversion was contained within a mesoparametric property of general verb movement to C, which is called the Verb-Second system. This parameter applied to the class of all finite heads. In the 15th century, English lost the general verb movement property (Fischer et al., 2000). In technical terms, this loss is due to the emerging polarity feature specification in C, narrowing down the class of C-heads that trigger verb raising. This subclass of items still allowed Conditional Inversion, alongside a few other types of inversion, like for instance, interrogative inversion. The mesoparameter applying verb movement to all finite heads became restricted to a microparameter applying verb movement to a subclass of heads bearing polarity. In the Early Modern English period, movement of lexical verbs from V to T was lost (Roberts 1993). In consequence, only items that merged into T, could undergo raising to C, which narrows the class of verbs that could undergo raising to C down to all auxiliaries, as they are merged into T. Later on, Conditional Inversion distinguished itself from the other T-to-C movement principles by the emergence of a past tense feature on C, in addition to the polarity feature. In contemporary English, both C and auxiliaries bear more distinct features. In consequence, Conditional Inversion is restricted to three individual auxiliaries: had, should and were, as can be seen in (4).

- (4) a. *Had* I been rich, everything would have been ok.
 - b. *Should* he do that, everything would be ok.
 - c. Were I to do that, ...
 - d. Were I rich/??a rich man/??In London.

Conditional Inversion of these verbs is ascribed to high registers. The verb *were* is even restricted to *to do* constructions (4c) and in combinations with predicative adjective phrases (4d). The microparameter applying verb movement to a class of polarity heads, in which Conditional Inversion at some point diverged itself from other principles of verb movement, due to additional feature specifications on C, now became restricted to a nanoparameter applying Conditional Inversion to only three auxiliaries. This way, Biberauer and Roberts (2016) captured the gradual change of the feature of verb movement in English from the V2-system to Conditional Inversion in terms of the parameter changing from one level to another: from meso level to micro level, and from micro level to nano level.

2.1.3 Hypotheses with respect to variation in and change of negation

As mentioned in the section 2.1.1, language change comes from above or below the social hierarchy of the speech community. Change from above usually coincides with external pressure: it is initiated by the dominant social class and is formed external to the vernacular. Change from below usually coincides with development of the variant from within the vernacular, spreading across the speech community due to articulative ease. These influences on language change must have an effect on the feature hierarchy discussed in the previous section. Van Koppen (2018) hypothesizes that when a higher social class forces a linguistic variant upon the lower social class of the speech community, then, due to the artificial nature of this change, the features of the introduced variant may not be carried over completely. More specifically, the speech community might cosmetically adjust its language to the new prescriptive grammar, whereas the underlying grammar might still contain the older phase of the language. In other words, although an external new variant is introduced in the language, it can, but does not have to affect the internal parametric feature hierarchy.

When we combine the sociolinguistic and the syntactic factors influencing change and apply this to negation in 17th century Dutch, then we can formulate several scenario's concerning the use of the negative clitic: (i) the language user keeps the negative clitic and his grammar

does not change with respect to the previous stage, (ii) the language user does not use the negative clitic in writing (i.e. the only language we have left of this stage of Dutch), but this is only a surface deletion, the actual features are still present, or (iii) the language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor the features related to this negative clitic.

To understand what the exact features are that are related to the negative clitic as well as the phases of negation in a language, I will discuss the details about negation in Dutch below in section 2.2.

2.2 Negation in Dutch

This section provides an overview of the literature concerning negation in Dutch. First, we will have a look at the Jespersen cycle in Dutch. Then, we will discuss the syntactic aspects of variation in negation in both Middle Dutch, Modern Dutch and Early Modern Dutch. Finally, the hypotheses that resulted from the previous section will be made more specific on the basis of the discussion in this section.

2.2.1 The Jespersen cycle

Jespersen (1917) observed a pattern of diachronic variation in negation in a set of languages. He claimed that in those languages "the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and 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" (Jespersen, 1917, p. 4). English is an example of a language showing this pattern. In Old English, negation was expressed by the strong sentence-initial particle *no*. This is shown in (5).

(5) *No* ic me an herewæsmun hnagran talige, guÞgeweorca, Þonne Grencel hine.⁶ Neg I me in less battle-power count, fighting-acts, than Grendel him 'I don't count my self less than Grendel in battle power, fighting acts.'

At some point, this strong form *no* changed into the weaker form *ne*, which attaches to the finite verb. *Ne* then becomes too weak to express negation by itself. A second negative

⁶ Beowulf: 677.

element is introduced to support the weaker element to establish negation. This is exactly what we find in 11th and 12th century English: the particle *ne* co-occurs with *na*, *nauht* or *noht*. All of these words are contracted forms of Old English *nawith* (*no thing*). (6) is an example from of the co-occurrence of *ne* and *na* in Late Old English.

Ne het he us na leornian heofonas te make.⁷
Neg called he us neg learn heavens to make 'He didn't order us to make heavens.'

The use of both *ne* and one of the lexical negative elements became obligatory. Eventually, the forms of *naugt* took over the role of expressing negation completely, resulting in the loss of *ne*. In 14th century English, *ne* has almost completely disappeared and negation is expressed solely by forms of *not*, as illustrated in (7).

(7) He yaf *nat* of that text a pulled hen.⁸
He gave not of that text a pulled hen
'He didn't give a thing about that text.'

The single lexical negator is used as a means to express negation up until this day. However, in the 15^{th} century, support of a DO-auxiliary emerges. In negative sentences containing dosupport, the negative marker started to attach to the auxiliary dyd, resulting in sentences like (8).

(8) Dyd *not* I send unto yow one Mowntayne?⁹ 'Didn't I send you a Mowntayne?'

Later on, this negative marker started to weaken phonologically to *n't*. This form is still available in Standard English beside the lexical adverb *not*.

- (9) a. I did*n't* move to England.¹⁰
 - b. I did *not* move to England.

20

⁷ Ælfric Lives of Saints.XVI.127.

⁸ Chaucer, Cantebury Tales, General Prologue, 177-78.

⁹ Mowntayne.210.

¹⁰ Zeijlstra, 2004

In colloquial English, n't has become the standard way of expressing negation. If we follow the observations made by Jespersen (1917), we assume that n't at a certain point becomes too weak to express negation and needs support of a stronger lexical element. Examples of this structure have been observed in the sixties, in quotes of Muhammad Ali (10a) and the Rolling Stones (10b).

- (10) a. I ain't got no quarrel with them Vietcong. 11
 - b. I can't get no satisfaction. 12

In African American English, where *n't* has already become the obligatory way of expressing negation, instances have been observed where *not* is added as a means to establish single negation (Zeijlstra, 2004).

(11) Can't you not find an answer here? 13

Based on this cyclic development of negation in English, we can summarize the Jespersen cycle in the following phases:

Phase I: Negation is obligatory expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the finite verb.

This negative marker becomes phonologically too weak to express negation by itself and a second negative element becomes available in the form of an adverb to support the weak marker in establishing negation. At some point the weakened negative marker cannot express negation without the support of the additional negative adverb, which brings us to phase II.

Phase II: Negation is obligatory expressed by the co-occurrence of the negative marker attached to the finite verb and a negative adverb.

This way of expressing negation is what I refer to in this thesis as negative concord. At a certain point, due to its weak state, the negative marker attached to the verb becomes optional. Then, it becomes too weak to "survive" and will be dropped completely, which brings us to Phase III.

21

¹¹ Muhammad Ali, 1967

¹² Rolling Stones, 1965

¹³ Zeijlstra, 2004

Phase III: Negation is obligatory expressed by the negative adverb alone.

In this phase, the negative marker attached to the verb is completely gone. However, the negative marker that appears as an adverb in Phase III can again become weaker and attach to the verb and the cycle starts over again:

Phase IV=I: Negation is obligatory expressed by a single negative marker that is attached to the verb.

Jespersen shows that this cycle can be found in a variety of languages, including Latin, French and the Scandinavian languages.

Dutch is generally considered another prototypical example of the Jespersen cycle (Zeijlstra, 2004; Hoeksema, 1997). In Old Dutch, negation is expressed by the single preverbal negative marker ne, as in (12). This is phase I of the cycle.

Inde in uuege sundigero *ne* stûnt.¹⁴ (12)And in way sinners.GEN neg stood.3SG 'And didn't stand in the way of sinners.'

Middle Dutch displays phase II of Jespersen's cycle: negation is expressed by the cooccurrence of both a preverbal negative clitic and a negative adverb, i.e. negative concord, as we have seen in (1), repeated here as (13a).

- (13)En laettine mi spreke niet. a. Neg let.he me speak neg 'If he doesn't let me speak.'
 - Hem en roekt wat sie lieghen.¹⁵ b. Him neg cares what they lie 'He doesn't care what they lie about.'

¹⁴ Wachtendonk Psalms: 1:1.

¹⁵ Postma, 2002.

c. Ic en sag niemen. 16
I neg saw n-body
'I didn't see anybody.'

The preverbal negative marker *en/ne* then becomes too weak to express negation by itself, demanding the support of a negative adverb (Zeijlstra, 2004) or lexical items enforcing negation, such as Negative Polarity Items (13b) or n-words (13c). During the 18th century, the preverbal negative clitic disappeared completely, and the single negative adverb remains the only way to express negation, as was shown in (2), repeated below as (14). This grammar reflects phase III of the Jespersen cycle.

(14) Jan loopt *niet*.

Jan walks neg

'Jan doesn't walk.'

Modern Dutch is still in phase III.

As has been discussed in previous sections, the change from negative concord in Middle Dutch to single negation in Modern Dutch was a gradual change taking place in the 16th and 17th century. This is an intermediate phase between phase II and phase III, where variation between negative concord and single negation occurs. In the next subsections, I will discuss how negation is derived in Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch. Then, I will discuss how this derivation changes in Early Modern Dutch, i.e. the language of the 16th and 17th century.

2.2.2 The syntax of Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch

In Middle Dutch, negation is expressed by two elements: the preverbal clitic *en* and the negative adverb *niet*. In order to account for the syntactic distribution of these elements, one has to know where both elements are base-generated, what heads they project and what their feature inventory consists of. According to Zeijlstra (2004) *en* is base-generated in the verbal domain. This negative marker is the realization of the uninterpretable formal feature [uNEG] that needs to be checked against an element that carries [iNEG]. Zeijlstra assumes that this checking has to take place in a NegP. The Spec of this NegP is filled with an abstract negative

¹⁶ Hoeksema, 1997.

operator *Op*-, carrying an [iNEG] feature. In order for the [uNEG] feature on the verb to be eliminated, it has to move out of the verbal domain and into Neg°, where it is deleted under spec-head agreement.

[NegP
$$Op$$
-[iNEG] Neg°[uNEG] [VP V-[uNEG]]]

Agree Move

Given that Middle Dutch is a negative concord language, we also need to account for the distribution of the negative adverb *niet*, which is required to support the negative clitic. According to Zeijlstra (2004), *niet* is a maximal projection merging with the VP. *Niet* also contains a [uNEG] feature that needs to be checked against an [iNEG] feature in order to be deleted. Just like *en*, *niet* checks its [uNEG] feature against the [iNEG] feature of the negative operator *Op*- in Spec,NegP. Negative n-words are derived in similar fashion, carrying a [uNEG] feature. Hence, negative concord is the realization of agreement between the negative operator *Op*- in Spec,NegP and both the negative adverb or n-word and the negative clitic. (17) shows how negative concord in the Middle Dutch sentence in (16) through the feature checking relations is derived.

(16) Dat si *niet en* sach dat si sochte.¹⁷

That she neg neg saw that she looked-for 'That she didn't see what she looked for.'

[NegP
$$Op$$
-[iNEG] [VP $niet_{[uNEG]}$ [VP [V° en -sach_{[uNEG]}] dat si sochte]]]

In Modern Dutch, negation is expressed by the single negative adverb *niet*. According to Zeijlstra (2004), this adverb enters the derivation carrying an [iNEG] feature. Just as in Middle Dutch, *niet* is a maximal projection merging with the VP. Since it already contains an [iNEG] feature, no checking and deletion of [uNEG] features are necessary. Hence, no NegP needs to be projected. See the example in (18).

٠

¹⁷ Lanceloet: 20316.

(18) $[TP Jan_i [vP niet_{[iNEG]} [vP t_i loopt]]]$

N-words are derived in similar fashion, carrying an [iNEG] feature. Following this analysis, we predict that multiple negative markers in this phase of the language each have their own negative force and hence that they cancel each other out. This is exactly what we find in Modern Dutch. See the example in (19), which is equivalent to the sentence 'everybody walks'.

(19) Niemand loopt niet. 18
nobody walks neg
'Nobody doesn't walk.'

In sum, in Middle Dutch, negative concord is the result of an *Op*- in Spec,NegP checking its [iNEG] features with the [uNEG] features of both the negative clitic *en* and the negative adverb *niet*. In this phase there is only one element with an interpretable negative feature and hence also only one negation. In Modern Dutch, *en* is lost and *niet* contains [iNEG] features, which means NegP does not project. *Niet* itself and all other negative adverbs in the sentence have interpretable negation and hence combination of more negative adverbs leads to cancellation of the negation (i.e. two negations lead to a positive).

The next section discusses how Early Modern Dutch functioned as a transition language between Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch with respect to the change of the syntactic structure.

2.2.3 The syntax of Early Modern Dutch

The previous section revealed a strong difference in the syntactic properties of negation between Middle Dutch and Modern Dutch. The question that arises is how the grammar of Middle Dutch exhibiting negative concord as a result of feature checking between elements in the verbal domain and NegP, changed to the grammar of Modern Dutch, in which the negative adverb carries interpretable negation itself. Early Modern Dutch is the transition language, with optional deletion of the negative clitic. Jespersen (1917) hypothesizes that the

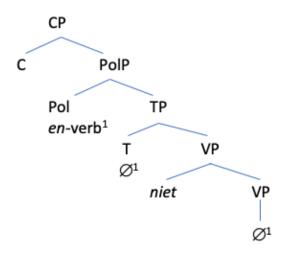
_

¹⁸ Zeijlstra, 2004.

disappearance of *en* is the result of phonological weakening, which would call for support of the negative adverb to ensure overt expression of negation. Finally, the adverb takes over the function of negation and pushes *en* out of use (Burridge, 1993). Thus, *en* disappears as a result of functional redundancy. The change of the negative adverb's [uNEG] feature of Middle Dutch into an [iNEG] feature in Early Modern Dutch reinforced this redundancy, with *niet* now expressing interpretable negation itself.

Breitbarth (2009) shows that the situation of Early Modern Dutch is more complex. Variation in negation in this intermediate phase, she argues, is related to meaning. At some point in time, the negative adverb or n-word takes over the role of the principal negator, while the preverbal clitic is reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity features, expressing the head of a PolP. PolP is part of an extended CP layer, which functions as an interface between the lower TP and the "higher" discourse context (Rizzi, 1999). Breitbarth (2009) suggests that polarity is a morphosyntactic feature that projects PolP in the presence of clause-internal or clauseexternal non-veridical operators. She labels Pol's feature [Affect]. PolP realizes this feature on the preverbal marker en, which is clitized to the finite verb in VP or to the auxiliary in TP. Put differently, en loses its negative feature and gets reanalyzed as the spell-out of the [Affect] feature at which point the negative adverb takes over the role of negator. Translated to Zeijlstra's (2004) proposal for the syntactic distribution of negation, the reanalysis of the negative clitic as the head of polarity features coincides with the disappearance of the [uNEG] feature. Without this feature, there is no need to project NegP; the [affect] feature is checked in PolP. Simultaneously the feature of the negative adverb is changed from [uNEG] to [iNEG], which accounts for the mapping of negation at LF. (20) shows a tree structure displaying the reanalysis of both negative elements. The negative clitic moves to Pol° to express polarity features, with the verb as its host. The negative adverb is reanalyzed as carrying [iNEG] features, heading its own VP.

(20)



This insight into the change of the feature specifications of the negative clitic and negative adverbs leads to a revision of the Jespersen cycle. This revised version of Jespersen's cycle is schematized in Table 3.

Table 3

Revised phases of Jespersen's cycle.

Jespersen phase	First negative element	Second negative element	
Phase I	ne/en [uNEG]		
Phase IIa	ne/en [uNEG]	niet [uNEG]	
Phase IIb	ne/en [uAffect]	niet [iNEG]	
Phase III		niet [iNEG]	

In Table 3, phase II is split up into two subphases. In phase IIa, the negative clitic is phonologically weakened and needs for a supportive negative adverb, establishing obligatory negative concord. In phase IIb, the features of the negative clitic change from [uNEG] to [uAffect]. Simultaneously, the negative adverb takes over the role of negation, changing its feature from [uNEG] to [iNEG]. As a consequence, the negative clitic becomes increasingly redundant and is eventually lost in phase III.

Breitbarth's (2009) proposal applies to the changes in negation in all West-Germanic languages. She shows several non-negative contexts in which the reanalysis of the negative clitic as the realization of polarity is favored. The first context is the use of *exceptive clauses*, which are subjunctive verb-second clauses with an exceptive interpretation. See the Middle Dutch example in (21).

Maer dat *en* mach *niet* siin **het** *en* **waer een sempel wonde.** But that neg can neg be it neg.were.subjn a simple wound 'But that cannot be unless it were a simple wound.'

The fact that these exceptive clauses occur in languages in which the negative clitic disappears in other (purely negative) contexts, is an argument in favor of its reanalysis as an expression of affect. Breitbarth (2009) concludes that exceptive clauses, although frequently classified as a subtype of negative conditionals, lack true propositional negation. Exceptive clauses contain properties that set them apart from other conditional structures, two of which are: requirement of topicalization of the subject, resulting in Verb Second, and subjunctive morphology on the verb. These requirements might be the result of the reanalysis of *en* as the realization of the CP-related polarity features in PolP.

A second non-negative context in which Breitbarth (2009) found the clitic is *expletive negation*. Expletive negation is the use of a negative element as an expletive in clauses embedded in adversative predicates and negated, comparative or interrogative matrix clauses. Expletive negation is found in the diachronic development of English. From Old English until Early Middle English, the expletive negator can take the form of any of the relevant negative elements from those periods: *ne*, *not* and negative quantifiers (Wallage, 2005). See the example in (22).

Bochas forbade husbands without prefe *not* to leve to sone their wyves.²⁰ Bochas forbade husbands without proof neg to leave too soon their wives 'Bochas forbade husbands without proof to leave their wives too soon.'

28

¹⁹ Burridge, 1993.

²⁰ Wallage, 2005.

In Middle English, expletive negation is used in the form of the clitic *ne*, while the negative clitic *ne* without a supportive negator has almost disappeared (Wallage, 2005). See the example in (23).

Ne doute the *nat* that alle things *ne* ben don aright.²¹

Neg doubt yout neg that all things ne are done rightfully

'Do not doubt that all things are done rightfully.'

Breitbarth (2009) treats the expletive negator *ne* in (23) as a negative clitic that is reanalyzed as realizations of the presence of PolP's [Affect] feature at the interface between the subclause and the matrix clause. The expletive negator *not* in (22) is then a nongrammaticalized form of contamination of the main clause's content, which Van der Wurff (1999) calls *Polarity Shift*.

In sum, the diachronic development of negation in Early Modern Dutch, from negative concord to single negation, is the result of a reanalysis of the negative clitic as an expression of polarity features, related to PolP as part of an extended CP. Simultaneously, the negative adverb takes over the role of sentential negation, further reducing the need to express the clitic. This all happens in a subphase of phase II, called phase IIb. In phase III, the negative clitic has completely disappeared.

2.2.4 Summary

The Dutch diachronic development of negation follows the Jespersen cycle. In Old Dutch, negation is expressed by a single negative clitic attached to the finite verb (phase I). This clitic weakens phonologically and needs support of a negative adverb or n-word. Both elements carry a [uNEG] feature which is deleted in a checking relation with *Op*- in Spec,NegP, establishing negative concord (phase IIa). In the next phase, the negative clitic is reanalyzed as a spell-out of polarity features related to PolP. Concurrently, the [uNEG] feature on the negative adverb changes to [iNEG], taking over the role of negation (phase IIb). Finally, due to economic redundancy, the clitic disappears and single negation, by means of the negative adverb or n-word, becomes obligatory (phase III).

²¹ Wallage, 2005.

As discussed in previous sections, the second half of the 17th century marks the external pressure from above to delete the negative clitic. Van Koppen (2018) takes the aspects of syntactic negation in Dutch to hypothesize that writers that delete the negative clitic may or may not delete the features, those features being the extended left periphery containg PolP. In terms of parameter theory, the deletion of the negative clitic did or did not affect the internal parametric feature hierarchy.

In adding the syntactic aspects of negation in Dutch and Van Koppens hypothesis, the scenario's concerning the use of the negative clitic presented in section 2.1.3 can now be articulated in terms of the syntactic aspects of negation in Dutch, involving Van Koppen's hypothesis:

- (i) the language user keeps the negative clitic and his grammar does not change with respect to the previous stage. The language user is still in phase II of Jespersen's cycle;
- (ii) the language user does not use the negative clitic in writing (i.e. the only language we have left of this stage of Dutch), but this is only a surface deletion, the actual features are still present. At surface structure, the language user is in phase III of the Jespersen's cycle, while the underlying features of the negative clitic, the extended left periphery containing PolP, are still present. Thus, the deep structure shows a grammar belonging to phase II of Jespersen's cycle;
- (iii) the language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor the features related to this negative clitic. Both the surface structure and the deep structure are in phase III of Jespersen's cycle. The features underlying the negative clitic, the extended left periphery containing PolP, are gone.

In section 2.3, I will discuss negation in West-Flemish, which is still expressed by negative concord.

2.3 Negation in West-Flemish

This section first explores the syntactic distribution and pragmatic function of *en* in West-Flemish dialects. Then, phenomena related to the presence of PolP found in West-Flemish

and related dialects will be discussed. The information provided in this section will help to further sharpen our hypotheses about diachronic change in negation in Early Modern Dutch.

2.3.1 The status and function of the negative clitic

While Modern Dutch exhibits a grammar with obligatory single negation and is thus labeled as a Jespersen phase III language, many modern Flemish varieties still retain the original negative clitic, as in (24).

- (24) a. Ge zou lyk peinzen dat da Valere is. Mo t=*en* is Valere *niet*.²²

 You would like think that that Valere is. But it=neg is Valere not.

 'One would think it was Valere, but it wasn't Valere.'
 - b. [doctor:] 'Kom gie binnen zes maanden ne keer were.²³

 come you in six months once back
 'Come back in six months' time.'

 M=en een wunder zelfs geen ofsproake gemoakt.

 We=neg have we even no appointment made
 'We haven't even made an appointment.'

This observation of negative concord in West-Flemish is generally interpreted as phase II of the Jespersen cycle (Zeijlstra, 2004; Haegeman & Zanuttini; 1996). Although negative concord in this language is assumed to be optional (Haegeman & Zanuttini; 1996, 1991), Breitbarth & Haegeman (2014) argue that the negative clitic can only be inserted in specific contexts. If the negative adverb or n-word in the clause negates a positive state of affairs that is entailed by the discourse context, the speaker can add *en* to the negative structures, see (24a). This example shows that the negative sentence negates the presupposition that it is Valère. The addition of *en* expresses that the negation of this proposition is unexpected, given its entailment in the discourse. This presupposition does not have to be provided by the discourse but can also be entailed by the speakers' common ground. This is illustrated by (24b), where the negative sentence negates the presupposition that usually after a visit to the

_

²² MJL, Lapscheure, 12.8.2012, 18.00. Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2014.

²³ MJL, Lapscheure, 15.05.2008. Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2014.

doctor, a new appointment is made. This presupposition is not entailed by the discourse, but by common knowledge.

This constraint is unidirectional. While speakers are disallowed to insert *en* if it does not emphasize negation of an established presupposition, they are allowed leave the clitic out of constructions that do negate an established presupposition. An example of the latter is shown in the dialogue in (25).

```
(25)
          Enne ... ze zee tege mij: 'wat erre gij
                                                       daar gezeet?'24
                   she sait to me what have you
                                                       there said
           'And she said to me: 'what did you say there'?
                         gezeet? ... 'K em ek=ik niks gezeet'
           'Ik iet(s)
          Me, something said
                                     I have I=I nothing said
           'Me, say something? I didn't say anything!'
           'Da's wel! G=eet
                                 daar iet
                                                       gezeet.'
          That's well you=have there something
                                                       said
           'You did. You did say something there'
           'Ik 'em niks gezeet', zei=k
           'I have nothing said said=I
           "I didn't say anything" I said."
```

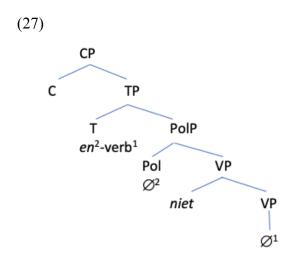
In sum, *en* can be used when the sentence negates the presupposed positive state of affairs that is entailed in the discourse or by the speakers' common ground. Thus, *en* expresses emphasis on the polarity of the clause by underlining that this negation is unexpected.

In general, the negative clitic in West-Germanic languages, due to its function to express polarity emphasis, is assumed to project PolP in the extended left periphery (Cinque & Rizzi, 2010; Breitbarth, 2009). However, Breitbarth and Haegeman (2014) show that whereas the negative clitic as a polarity marker in West-Germanic only occurs in clauses that tolerate root phenomena, the clitic in West-Flemish shows an unrestricted syntactic distribution. (26) for instance, shows *en* appearing in a temporal adverbial clause. Hence, it does not fall under the analysis of encoding polarity emphasis in the extended CP.

²⁴ Buggenhout Opstal, De Pauw, 1973:I.7-8.

Oa-t *nie en* regent moe-j de blommen woater geven.²⁵ When=it neg neg rains must=you the flowers water give 'When it doesn't rain, you have to water the plants.'

Batllori and Hermanz (2013) propose a distinction between high and low emphatic polarity particles. High emphatic polarity particles project PolP in the extended CP layer, which makes their distribution restricted to root phenomena. Low emphatic polarity particles project a low PolP, situated between TP and the VP, which is unrestricted in its syntactic distribution. Jayaseelan (2010) proposes that in West-Flemish, *en* projects a low PolP, which accounts for its unrestricted distribution. In accordance with Haegeman (2002) the negative clitic is basegenerated in the low Pol° and carries both a [uAffect] feature as well as a [uT]. Hence it attaches to the finite verb in T°. (27) shows a tree structure displaying the position of low PolP and the derivation of both the negative clitic and the verb. I assume the negative adverb to change its features in similar fashion as in other West-Germanic languages: from [uNEG] to [iNEG], heading its own VP.



An argument in favor of this analysis is the fact that in negative sentences in West-Flemish containing a verb cluster, *en* cannot be attached to the finite verb if the latter is not on the first position (V1) of the cluster. This means that the finite verb must move to T° first in order for *en* to attach itself. See the examples from Breitbarth & Haegeman (2014) in (28).

²⁵ Haegeman, 2002: 181.

- (28) a. Da Valère dienen boek *nie en* eet willen lezen.

 That Valère that book neg neg has want read 'that Valère has not wanted to read that book.'
 - b. Da Valère dienen boek *nie* willen lezen (*en) eet.That Valère that book neg want read (*neg) has

In addition to the expression of polarity emphasis, West-Flemish *en* conveys contrastive meaning. Yet, the low PolP is not able to syntactically encode contrast. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2014) solve this problem by suggesting that the polarity emphasis is syntactically encoded in the lower PolP, while the contrastive component is derived pragmatically. In this separate derivation, *en* instructs the hearer to identify relevant alternatives to the negative proposition.

This deviant behavior of the negative clitic in West-Flemish is also argued to be the reason it survived the diachronic development of negation in West-Germanic languages (Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2014, 2010). In contrast to the erosion of the negative clitic in those languages, which was motivated by functional redundancy, the clitic in West-Flemish preserved its functional relevance by its syntactic and pragmatic reanalysis. Syntactically, it changed from being merged as NegP to being merged as a low PolP. Pragmatically, it changed its meaning from conceptual to instructional. Hence, this functional reanalysis of *en* results in its persistent occurrence, which makes West-Flemish negation part of Jespersen's phase II till this day.

In the next subsection, I will discuss correlations of left peripheral phenomena with the West-Flemish negative clitic.

2.3.2 Polarity related phenomena

The negative clitic is not the only polarity related phenomenon observed in present day West-Flemish dialects. In assuming that *en* projects a high PolP as part of an extended CP (contra to Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2014), Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2018, 2016) found that the negative clitic groups together with seven extended C-related phenomena. These phenomena constitute the YES condition of a parameter, which is defined as follows:

The C-parameter

CP {does/does not} have an extended left periphery.

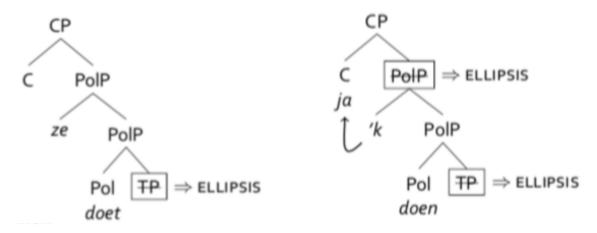
Extended C-related phenomena reveal whether a dialect exhibits the C-parameter or not. Furthermore, the following subset of these phenomena involve emphasis on polarity: (i) the negative clitic, (ii) clitics on *ja* 'yes' and *nee* 'no' (29), and (iii) short *do* replies (30).

- (29) A: Wilde nog koffie, Jan? B: Ja-k.²⁶
 Want.you PART coffee Jan Yes-I
 A: 'Do you want some more coffee, Jan?' B: 'Yes.'
- (30) A: IJ zal nie komen. B: *IJ doet*.²⁷
 He will not come he does
 A: 'He won't come.' B: 'Yes, he will.'

Figure 2 shows syntactic tree structures for both *ja/nee* clitics and short do-replies.

Figure 2

Syntactic structures of short do replies (left) and ja/nee clitics (right) (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen, 2018; Van Craenenbroeck, 2004).



The short do-replies occur in non-embedded clauses and are contradictory polar replies to declarative clauses. The polarity feature attracts the verb *doen* 'do' to Pol° and the subject to Spec,PolP. Then, TP ellipsis occurs, which is licensed by Pol°. Clitics on *ja* or *nee* are the

²⁶ Spoken in Malderen. Van Craenenbroeck, 2010.

²⁷ Spoken in Berlare. Van Craenenbroeck, 2010.

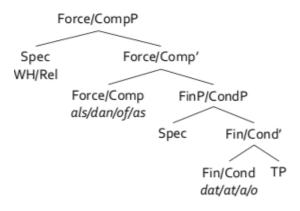
result of higher ellipsis of the syntactic structure, which includes PolP. The subject survives by clitisizing to *ja* or *nee*, which is located one node higher, in C°.

All West-Flemish dialects that display left peripheral phenomena show at least one polarity-related phenomenon. Since polarity-related phenomena project PolP as part of an extended CP layer, they function as a cue for the language learner that he or she is acquiring a dialect containing a C-parameter. Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2018, 2016) assume parametrization of feature inheritance with respect to the C-parameter. In other words, the C-parameter can vary in size. If a dialect loses one of the left peripheral phenomena, the C-parameter shifts to a lower level, where the extended CP is projected by a smaller set of items.

Double complementizers form another C-related phenomenon that is possibly related to polarity. This phenomenon portrays at least two complementizers occupying the left periphery. Since the *Doubly-Filled COMP* filter prohibits multiple complementizers from cooccurring in C° (Riemsdijk & Williams, 1986), they each must occupy a different head position in an extended left CP. Figure 3 shows the tree structure of the extended CP with the possible complementizers distributed over its head positions. For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to distinct either *als* 'if', *dan* 'then' or *of* 'if' in ForceP. In this position, the complementizer is selected by a higher selector and specifies Force (Chomsky, 1995). *Dat* 'that' occupies FinP and reflects content of the TP below (Rizzi, 1997). This way, double complementizers function as an interface between the higher influences of the discourse and internal influences of their clause. Besides the complementizers mentioned in Figure 3, Van Craenenbroeck and van Koppen (2019) also observe combinations of *wie* 'who' in ForceP, and *als* or *of* in FinP.

Figure 3

Tree structure of extended CP with complementizers (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen, 2018).



The presence of double complementizers is a C-related phenomenon. However, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2019) show a strong correlation between the occurence of double complementizers and the polarity-related phenomena (*ja/nee* clitics, do-support and the negative clitic) in both Flanders and Brabant. Moreover, they do not occur separately in any other Dutch region that Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen investigated. Although this correlation is not conclusive evidence, it can be taken as an indication that double complementizers are also polarity-related, since they do not seem to occur without polarity-related phenomena in any Dutch dialect. I will take this finding by Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen to assume that double complementizers of the type in Figure 3 indicate the presence of polarity-related features in addition to C-features.

It must be noted that at this point the theoretical framework deals with two seemingly contradicting proposals regarding the projection of PolP by *en*: either it is a left peripheral projection (Breitbarth, 2009; Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen 2018, 2016) or it is located between TP and VP (Breitbarth & Haegemen, 2014). I will return to this complication in section 3.2.1.

2.3.3 Summary

In contrast to its West-Germanic counterparts, the negative clitic *en* kept being used in West-Flemish. The clitic shows different behavior in two ways. First, in addition to its reanalysis as a marker of polarity emphasis, it gained pragmatic functionality by underlining negation of a presupposition established in the context. This pragmatic function restricts the use of *en*, accounting for variation between single negation and negative concord. Second, its syntactic distribution is unrestricted, which makes it unfit to project a high PolP. To solve this problem, *en* is proposed to project a low PolP.

The negative clitic groups together with three other polarity-related phenomena: short *do* replies, double complementizers and *ja/nee* clitics. They act as a cue that the language learner is acquiring the C-parameter. In assuming that this parameter is subject to feature hierarchy, loss of features can affect its size. Since *en* was reanalyzed as an expression of polarity emphasis, projecting PolP, its loss in Dutch might have led to a shift on the parameter hierarchy, meaning that a smaller class of items inherited the C-feature. As discussed in previous sections, Van Koppen (2018) hypothesized that during the second half of the 17th century, the deletion of the negative clitic did or did not affect the internal parametric feature

hierarchy. In adding the definition of the C-parameter, the scenario's concerning the use of the negative clitic presented in 2.2.3 can now be articulated as follows:

- (i) the language user keeps the negative clitic and his grammar does not change with respect to the previous stage. The language user is still in phase II(b) of Jespersen's cycle; The clitic is is reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity features above VP. Hence, it projects an extended left periphery.
- (ii) the language user does not use the negative clitic in writing (i.e. the only language we have left of this stage of Dutch), but this is only a surface deletion, the actual features are still present. At surface structure, the language user is in phase III of the Jespersen's cycle, while the underlying features of the negative clitic, the extended left periphery containing PolP, are still present. Thus, the deep structure shows a grammar belonging to phase II of Jespersen's cycle. The features of the negative clitic are still present. If the negative clitic heads a low PolP, polarity-related features determine the position of the finite verb in verb clusters. If the negative clitic heads a high PolP, its features are C-related, projecting an extended left periphery;
- (iii) the language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor the features related to this negative clitic. Both the surface structure and the deep structure are in phase III of Jespersen's cycle. The features underlying the negative clitic, the extended left periphery containing PolP, are gone. The C-parameter shifts in size to a level where a smaller set of items inherited the C-feature. The word order in verb clusters is not constrained to polarity-features below TP.

The hypotheses described so far do not consider a grammar exhibiting variation between negative concord and single negation. The observations concerning negation in West-Flemish can be applied cross-linguistically to account for variation in Early Modern Dutch, resulting in the following hypothesis:

(iv) the language user keeps using the negative clitic in contexts where it expresses emphatic meaning.

In section 2.4, I will discuss the application of the hypotheses described above to negation in texts by P.C. Hooft and Michiel de Ruyter.

2.4 Negation in texts from northern regions

Van Koppen (2018) applies the theoretical framework set out in previous sections to writers across social classes in the northern Dutch speaking area in order to explore what type of grammar they develop in the 17th century. In this section, we will discuss her analysis of texts from (i) P.C. Hooft, an elite writer and language innovator from Amsterdam, and (ii) Michiel de Ruyter, a low born admiral of the Dutch navy from Zeeland.

2.4.1 P.C. Hooft

P.C. Hooft is an elite historian and writer of poems and plays. He is from Amsterdam. He is considered an innovator of Dutch language, which makes him aware of his language use. As stated in the introduction, Hooft is one of the writers who agreed to stop using *en* in his writings after April 19th, 1638. In other words, he suddenly changed to a grammar exhibiting obligatory single negation.

With respect to syntactic variation change of negation in Dutch, Van Koppen (2018) claims that Hooft's texts before 1638 display a grammar exhibiting variation between negative concord and single negation. Where the negative clitic occurs, it is part of language phase IIb of Jespersen's cycle, which means that it projects PolP as part of an extended CP. It has changed into a negative head spelled out in Pol° in order to express emphatic meaning and to attract the finite verb to its specifier position. Hooft's texts after 1638, are expected to display a surface structure without the negate clitic, as part of phase III of Jespersen's cycle. The deletion of the clitic may or may not have led to the deletion of the polarity features. In consequence, it may or may not have led to the disappearance of the extended CP.

Van Koppen's dataset contains 333 letters written between 1610 and 1638. These letters were pulled from an annotated corpus that was based on the transcripts from Van Tricht et al. (1976). She extracted 1036 sentences that express negation, 20 percent of which show negative concord. In order to find whether *en* changed into a negative head that is basegenerated as a low PolP, Van Koppen (2018) took a sample of 200 negative sentences from her dataset. In this sample, the types negative concord and single negation were equally divided. In the subset of 100 sentences containing negative concord, 23 tokens show a verb cluster, 19 (95%) of which show the finite verb at V1 position. See (31).

Waeraen het minste deel *niet en* zal hebben.²⁸
Which.of the least part neg neg shall₁ have₂
'Of which not in the least will have.'

In the subset of 100 sentences containing single negation, 39 tokens show a verb cluster, 27 of which (69%) show the finite verb in a non-V1 position. See (32).

(32) Dat ik mij *niet* onthouden kan van deze stoffe.²⁹

That I me neg withhold₂ can₁ of this topic

'That I cannot refrain myself from discussing this topic.'

The correlation between negative concord and the finite verb at V1 position is significant, as well as the correlation between single negation and the finite verb at non-V1 position. Van Koppen takes these results as an indication that the negative clitic in Hooft's texts from before 1638 occupies a low PolP above the VP, where it attracts the finite verb. In Middle Dutch, *en* was base-generated in the verbal domain. Thus, movement of the finite verb to a V1 position was unnecessary. Van Koppen shows that in negative sentences in Middle Dutch texts, the finite verb occurs less often at V1 position, which underlines the change to its abundant V1 position in Hooft's Early Modern Dutch texts.

Van Koppen also finds that the negative clitic in Hooft's texts are related to polarity emphasis. She derives this conclusion from the following arguments. First, as stated above, *en* shows up in exceptive clauses, as in (33), where it functions as a polarity marker.

(33) Zulx dit de tweede mael zoude zijn, 't *en* zij het, gelijk ik waene, de zoon is.³⁰ If this the second time would be it neg be it, as I think the son is 'If this would be the seond time, unless, as I suspect, it concerns the son.'

Second, although Breitbarth (2009) ascribes negative expletives to Middle English, Van Koppen (2018) shows that Hooft's texts also shows negative expletives, as in (34), where it acts as a polarity marker of the interface between its embedded clause and the negative matrix clause.

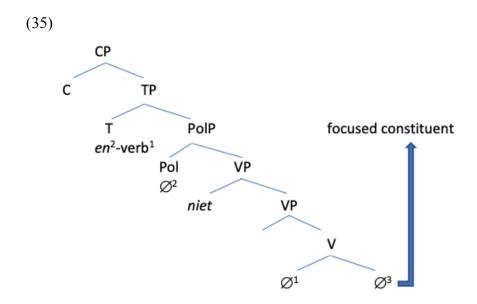
²⁸Van Tricht et al. 1976:713, 1635.

²⁹ Van Tricht et al. 1976:278, 1727.

³⁰ Van Tricht et al. 1976:302, 1629.

(34) En valt zoo zoet niet oft ick en leer 't meer vlieden als volghen.³¹ neg falls so sweet neg or I neg learn it more flee than follow 'Does not bode well and I rather learn to do it differently.'

Third, Van Koppen argues that when *en* signals polarity emphasis with regard to a specific constituent, one might expect a constituent to occur in a designated focus position. One of the possible designated positions is extraposition, following the verb (Broekhuis & Corver, 2016). See (35), in which the focused constituent is the direct object.



Hooft's texts show a significant correlation between the presence of *en* and extraposition of the constituent that captures the focus of polarity emphasis, as in the example in (36).

That they possibly neg neg will can provide so many capable persoonen als [...]

persons as [...]

That they might not be able to provide that many capable people to [...]

'That they might not be able to provide that many capable people to [...]'

Finally, Van Koppen (2018) analyzed a sample of letters to Tesselschade Roemer, another elite writer. These letters were of a literary nature. Negative concord occurs in 50% of the

³¹ Van Tricht et al. 1976: 302, 1629

³² Van Tricht et al. 1976: 278, 1627

negative sentences in that subset. 12 of the 14 letters show variation between negative concord and single negation. In those letters, *en* enforces negation in contrast to the sentences expressing negation by a single adverb. This function of the negative clitic is supported by its position in the structure of the letters. It occurs significantly at the beginning or at the end of the letter. In these positions, the clitic enforces the main topic of the letter. As an example, see the sentences (37) and (38), both occurring in the same letter from Hooft to Tesselschade. (37) occurs in the beginning of the letter. Here, Hooft gives praise to Tesselschade's writings by means of a litotes: the opposite state of affairs is being negated, which is then emphasized by the negative clitic. (38) occurs at the end of the letter. Here, Hooft tries to persuade Tesselschade to send him writings by means of a threat as a rethorical strategy. This is again emphasized by the negatice clitic. Furthermore, notice that in both sentences, the constituent capturing the focus of emphasis is in extraposed position. Also, both sentences stress the main topic of the letter: the writings of Tesselschade.

- (37) En kan ik niet anders vatten, [dan 's prinssen triomfwaeghen].³³ neg can I neg else take than GEN prince triumphcar 'I cannot take any differently, than the triumph car of the Prince.
- (38) Zoo UE ons *gene en* zeindt [van haere vruchten],³⁴ if you us no neg send of her fruits 'If you do not send us any of her fruits,'

Based on the above-mentioned arguments from the fields of syntax (exceptive clauses, expletive negation, extraposition) and literary studies (position in text, rhetoric usage), Van Koppen (2018) concludes that *en* in Hooft's texts before 1638 lost negative content and is reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity emphasis, which he utilizes as a rhetoric means in his letters. This reanalysis changed the position of the clitic from the verbal domain to PolP, situated in an extended CP. In Middle Dutch, this extended CP was already displayed by, for instance, clitics on *ja* and *nee*, *Verb Third* constructions and *Expletive t* 'it'. In Verb Third constructions, the verb in C is preceded by two constituents, spelling out two head positions (Walkden, 2015). Expletive t is an expletive determiner preceding the verb in C, while the subject remains in Spec,TP. The clitics on *ja* and *nee*, and the Verb Third constructions are

-

³³ Van Tricht et al. 1967: 594, 1633.

³⁴ Van Tricht et al. 1967: 594, 1633.

found in Hooft's texts before 1638. (39) shows an instance of a clitic on ja, (40) shows an instance of a Verb Third construction.

- (39) A: Soud 't minne wesen? C: *Jae 't*, soud jck vresen, [...]³⁵
 Would it love be yes it, would I fear
 'A: Would it be love? C: Yes it is, I fear, [...]'
- (40) Namelijk₁ hij₂ bedong₃ 't oppergebied.³⁶ namely he concurred the main.area 'He namely concurred the main area.'

These CP-related phenomena support that the extended CP was maintained in Hooft's grammar. After 1638, Hooft's novel introduced grammar exhibited deletion of the negative clitic. Yet, other CP-related phenomena were found in his texts, such as Verb Third constructions and expletive *t*. (41) shows an example of expletive *t*.

it fell [...] a thick snow

'There fell a lot of snow.'

Van Koppen takes the observed C-related phenomena in Hooft's texts post-1638 to conclude that although Hooft consistently deleted the negative clitic, its features, the extended CP, remained part of his grammar. The C-parameter did not shift to a smaller level.

In the following section, we will see how Van Koppen applied her analysis to Michiel de Ruyter.

2.4.2 Michiel de Ruyter

Michiel de Ruyter was a famous admiral of the Dutch navy. He comes from a lower social class. In order to find whether the results found in texts from Hooft are applicable to De Ruyter, Van Koppen (2018) analyzed 97 negative sentences from one of De Ruyter's ship

³⁵ Stoet 1899: 32.

³⁶ Van Tricht et al. 1976: 603, 1633.

³⁷ Horst, 2008: 1257.

journals, written between 1664 and 1665. In 53 out of those 97 sentences, negation is expressed by negative concord, which means that De Ruyter's grammar shows variation between negative concord and single negation.

With respect to the hypothesis that *en* is reanalyzed as a head of a low PolP, attracting the verb to its specifier position, Van Koppen analyzed the verb clusters contained within De Ruyter's negative sentences. She found no significant correlation between the position of the finite verb and the presence of the negative clitic. This contrasts with the results from the analysis of Hooft's texts, where the presence of the clitic correlated significantly with the verb at V1 position. Van Koppen concludes that the position of the finite verb in verb clusters and its absent relation with the presence of *en* rejects the above-mentioned hypothesis: *en* does not project low PolP.

With respect to the hypothesis that *en* expresses emphatic meaning, Van Koppen analyzed the negative sentences against their context. She found that the negative clitic occurs significantly more frequent in clauses showing contrast to the expected positive state of affairs. Many of those sentences contain the conjunct *maer* 'but', which shows inherent contrast itself. In these sentences, the negative clitic conveys a pragmatic function similar to the function of the clitic in West-Flemish: it emphasizes the negation of a presupposition. See the example in (42).

Wy hoorden de lant see ruysen, *maer* wy *en* sagen *geen* lant.³⁸
We heard the land sea rustle but we neg saw no land 'We heard the surf of the sea on the land, but we couldn't see the land.'

In (42), the expected state of affairs, the presence of land, is negated by the negative sentence. In line with Breitbarth and Haegeman's (2014) analysis of West-Flemish, the negative clitic underlines this pragmatic function of contrast. Also, notice that *maer* is contained within this sentence. Van Koppen (2018) takes these results as an indication that De Ruyter uses the negative clitic to express emphatic meaning. In particular, it contrasts the expected state of affairs.

_

³⁸ Verhoog & Koelmans, 1961: Oct, 19 1664.

2.4.3 Summary

Van Koppen (2018) applies the theoretical framework set out in this thesis to texts by P.C. Hooft and Michiel de Ruyter, to find that they both show variation between negative concord and single negation. They both utilize *en* as a marker of contrasting polarity. However, while the negative clitic is grammaticalized as a head of PolP above the verbal domain in Hooft's texts, this cannot be argued for in De Ruyter's texts. Finally, Hooft's texts after 1638 display C-related phenomena, from which it can be concluded that his grammar still contains the C-parameter.

Based on the finding that after 1638, Hooft shows complete deletion of the clitic, but no shift of the C-parameter, his texts confirm the second hypothesis set out in section 2.3.3: the language user does not use the negative clitic on the surface of his writings, but the actual features are still present. De Ruyter confirms the fourth hypothesis: the language user keeps using the negative clitic in contexts where it expresses polarity emphasis in negating a presupposition.

We have seen how negation develops in the texts of Hooft and De Ruyter in the 17th century. Variation in Hoofts letters can be seen as a rhetoric means, which fits his literary profession. Also, since he is originated in Noord-Holland and an elite writer who initiated the obligatory deletion of the negative clitic, it comes as no surprise that we do not find the negative clitic in his texts after 1638. Variation in De Ruyter's journal from 1664-1665 can be seen as a pragmatic function of emphasizing negative contrast. Since De Ruyter comes from Zeeland and is a low born admiral, it is in line with our expectations that he still shows a grammar exhibiting negative concord. In particular, he utilizes the negative clitic in a way similar to its use in West-Flemish, which is spoken in the language area adjacent to Zeeland. Hence, it is more likely to find this pragmatic feature of the use of the clitic in Zeeland than in the more northern regions of the Netherlands.

In the remainder of this thesis, I will explore 17th century letters of people from different social classes and regions in order to gain insight into the development of negation as a result of bottom up unconscious change and top down external pressure. The results can be supplemented to the results for Hooft and De Ruyter, ensuing a clear overview. I will try to

find an answer to the research questions formulated in the introduction and utilize the expected outcomes described in section 2.3.3

In the following chapter, I will describe the methodology used to build and analyze the dataset.

3) Method

3.1 Materials

3.1.1 Letters as loot

The research object of this thesis is *Letters as loot* (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014; Nobels, 2013; Simons, 2013). Letters as loot covers a collection of approximately 40.000 'sailing letters'. Some of these letters were sent home by Dutch sailors and others from abroad. Others were sent to those people by their relatives or associates from the Netherlands. The letters were confiscated between the second half of the 17th century and the early 19th centuries by ships belonging to the English fleet or privateers during the recurrent warfare between England and the Netherlands (Van Gelder, 2006). The letters stem from both men and women of different social classes and regions. Since most them are private, they are the closest resemblance of the contemporary spoken language from that time period, allowing for the most possible transparent analysis of linguistic variation (Van der Wal, 2006).

3.1.2 Dataset

Van der Wal et al. (2015) used a subset of 1000 letters from the collection of letters as loot, transcribed them and implemented them in a digitally available interface. In this interface, those transcriptions are enriched with both part-of-speech and sociolinguistic annotations, like for instance, age, social class, place of writing and addressee. The interface also contains search entries to find letters restrained to conditions of specific variables with regard to the letter, the sender, the addressee and the place of writing. One of 'letter' variables, for instance, is the year in which one wants the letters to be written. An example of a 'sender' variable is the writer's name. Finally, the interface contains a search field where one can write queries to find letters restricted to the occurrence of specific lemma's or word combinations.

For this thesis, I extracted a sample of letters from the collection of Van der Wal et al. (2015) that contained sentences expressing negation. In order to find the letters expressing negation, I wrote a query in the interface that restricted the collection of letters to a subset containing at least one of the most frequent negative lemma's: *niet* 'not', *geen* 'no', *nooit* 'never', *niemand* 'nobody', *niets* 'nothing', *nimmer* 'never', *nimmermeer* 'never again'. The resulting portion of letters were further restricted to the following variables in the search

entries. First, I selected the letters from the time period between 1650 and 1700 to exclude letters from post-1700. Then, I selected the letters that were all autographed. A well-known problem in historical linguistic research is the uncertainty of the autographic status of the written texts. Fortunately, Nobels and Van der Wall (2012) developed the Leiden Identification Procedure, which combines script and content analysis, to apply to their corpus. This analysis resulted in a distinction between autographed and non-autographed letters. This variable is contained within the interface. Hence, I was able to restrict my sample to autographed letters, accounting for their authenticity. The restriction of my sample to the conditions of negation, time period 1650-1700 and autographed resulted in 37 letters. These letters were further divided over two sociolinguistic variables: region (Noord-Holland/Zeeland) and social class (high/low).

From these letters, all negative sentences were extracted and imported in an excel file. Negative sentences without a finite verb were ignored. Since the lack of the verb entails the lack of any presence of the negative clitic, it is impossible for these sentences to establish whether negation is expressed by single negation or negative concord.

Each imported negative sentence is enriched with the following information: the lemma of the negator, whether or not the sentence shows negative concord, whether the clause is a root clause or a subclause; whether extraposition occurs; whether a verb cluster occurs and if so, the order of the verbs and their lemma's; and whether *maer* 'but' occurs. The excel file is also enriched with the following information about the letter in which the negative sentence occurs: which Jespersen phase the letter can be ascribed to; the year of writing; the title of the letter (usually letters do not have a title, thus Rutten & Van der Wal (2014) used the letter's salutation); the author; relation to the addressee; region; social class; whether the text type is formal or informal; and gender.

Furthermore, all possible PolP-related phenomena other than the negative clitic were extracted: clitics on *ja/nee*; short do-replies; expletive clitics; and clitics in exceptive clauses. Other CP-related phenomena were extracted as well: double complementizers; Verb Third constructions; and expletive *t*.

3.2 Data analysis

For this thesis, all letters are tested against the hypotheses formulated in the theoretical framework about different possible language users. Below, I will describe the analytical steps I took in order to test each hypothesis against the writer's letters.

3.2.1 The language user keeps the negative clitic

This grammar is displayed in letters in which negative concord is used consistently. From the discussions in literature concerning phase IIb of Jespersen's cycle, we can assume that *en* heads a PolP above the verbal domain, where it attracts the finite verb to its specifier position. This is either a low functional projection between TP and VP or a high functional projection in an extended CP. In order to test whether PolP is low, I analyzed all verb clusters with respect to the position of the finite verb. It can be concluded that a low PolP is present if: (i) negative sentences containing a verb cluster show the finite verb at V1 position; (ii) nonnegative non-polarity-related sentences containing a verb cluster show the finite verb at non-V1 position; and (iii) non-negative yet polarity-related sentences containing a verb cluster show the finite verb at V1 position. The projection of high PolP can be verified by the occurrence of different polarity-related phenomena: double complementizers, clitics on *ja* or *nee*, or short do-replies.

In order to find support for *en* as the expression of emphatic meaning, I will look for the negative clitic in exceptive clauses or clauses where it behaves as an expletive. Furthermore, I will check whether the negative sentences show consistent extraposition of the object in scope of negation, since we can assume a designated post-verbal focus position in addition to PolP.

Finally, I will look for the following C-related phenomena: expletive *t*, Verb Third and double complementizers.

3.2.2 The language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, but this is only a surface deletion.

This grammar is displayed in letters in which single negation occurs consistently, yet C-related phenomena are still present, indicating the presence of the syntactic features of *en*, which is the C-parameter. I will look for the same C-related phenomena as described in the previous section.

3.2.3 The language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor its related features

This grammar is displayed in letters in which single negation occurs consistently and C-related phenomena are absent, indicating the absence of the features of *en*, which is the C-parameter. I will look for the same C-related phenomena as described in the previous sections.

3.2.4 The language user keeps using the negative clitic in emphatic contexts

This grammar is displayed in letters in which single negation and negative concord co-occur with the tendency of negative concord to appear in sentences that require emphatic stress. We assume that *en* carries the syntactic function of this emphatic stress. In order to gain evidence in favor of this hypothesis, both a quantitative analysis and a qualitative analysis will be performed. The purpose of the quantitative analysis is to find significant correlations between the negative clitic and either polarity-related items or items that might demand an idiomatic combination with the clitic. The polarity-related items are the following:

- the complementizer *maer*, which exhibits inherent contrast;
- extraposition of the object of negation to a landingsite which is assumed to be a designated focus position (Van Koppen 2018; Broekhuis & Corver, 2016);
- verb clusters with the finite verb at V1 position, which is assumed to be a result of movement triggered by the negative clitic in PolP, where it emphasizes negative contrast (Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2013).

The idiomatic behaving items are the following:

- the verbs *weten* 'know', *hebben* 'have', which are a Negative Polarity Item in Middle Dutch and seems to behave conservative with respect to the occurrence of the negative clitic (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014; Postma, 2002);
- The verbs *doen* 'do', *krijgen* 'receive' and *geloven* 'believe', all of wich seem to behave conservitave with respect to the negative clitic (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014);
- subclauses, in which the negative clitic maintained longer than in matrix clauses (Rutten & Van der Wal, 2014).

The polarity-related items are assumed to enforce the use of *en* in order to emphasize negative contrast. The idiomatic behaving items are assumed to enforce the use of the negative clitic as part of a frozen expression. I will take the negative sentences from all letters showing variation and calculate correlations between the type of negation and the above-mentioned items.

For the qualitative analysis, I will examine the letters of each individual writer with respect to variation in negation. I will explore the possibility of a high PolP or low PolP by means of examining the position of the finite verb in verb clusters and other polarity-related phenomena in similar fashion as explained in section 3.2.1. I will also look for C-related phenomena in similar fashion as explained in the previous sections to account for the presence of the C-parameter.

Finally, to account for the emphatic meaning of *en*, I will look for exceptive clauses, expletive clitics and extraposition of constituents in scope of negation, in similar fashion as described in section 3.2.1. Since the assumed emphatic meaning of the negative clitic heavily relies on context, discourse structure and presuppositions established in both the written text and the common ground of the writer and the addressee, this analysis involves close examination of the following discourse-related elements:

- the main topic and subtopics of the letters. We want to know whether the negative clitic is only expressed when negation is related to a certain topic;
- the structure of the letters. We want to know if the negative clitic is only expressed in certain parts of the discourse;
- correlation with the complementizer *maer* 'but'. Since *maer* exhibits inherent contrast, it follows from our hypothesis that it co-occurs consistently with the negative clitic;
- clear cases of topics carrying emotional weight. We expect that when the writer uses
 negative sentences related to these topics, he or she utilizes the negative clitic in order
 to emphasize stress;
- clear cases of presuppositions established in the discourse. Based on the findings of Breitbarth and Haegeman (2013), and Van Koppen (2018) we expect that when the writer negates these presuppositions, he or she utilizes the negative clitic as a pragmatic means to emphasize the contrast. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2013) point out that in cases of negating presuppositions in West-Flemish, usage of the clitic is optional. However, usage of the negative clitic is prohibited when one is not negating

- a presupposition. This needs to be considered when cross-linguistically comparing the case of West-Flemish to the dataset of this thesis;
- clear cases of presuppositions established in the common ground between the writer and the addressee. This can extent from personal common ground to general world knowledge;
- use of certain registers. In particular, biblical register might impose the negative clitic, due to archaic motivations that have been communicated through religious texts, like the State Bible (Van der Sijs et al., 2009);
- idiomatic combinations with certain linguistic elements. For instance, a consistent combination of the clitic with the verb *weten*.

Two notifications are in order. First, in my summary, I set the negation of a presupposition apart from emphatic meaning. While emphatic meaning is a general way of conveying stress, which can be utilized by the writer in regard to topics he or she deems significant, emphasizing the unexpectedness of negating a presupposition is a specific type of emphatic meaning. I deem this a necessary distinction, because Breitbarth and Haegeman (2014) argue that the discrepancy between the two types led to the survival of the clitic in West-Flemish as opposed to the other West-Germanic languages. With respect to the letters discussed in this thesis, I want to find to what extent this additional pragmatic function of the clitic is utilized. Second, in following the observation made for West-Flemish that the negative clitic is illigit in sentences that do not negate a presupposition, we can assume that counterexamples in our data might be instances where the negative clitic is required due to other factors, such as register or idiomatic expressions. These factors are summarized above for this reason.

In the next chapter, I will present an overview of the properties of the acquired dataset.

4) Results

My search specifications resulted in 37 letters from 26 different writers. Table 4 shows these letters sorted by writer and divided over regions and social classes. Note that a subgroup of writers wrote multiple letters, especially in the High Class/Zeeland condition.

Table 4

Letters extracted from the collection of Rutten and Van der Wal (2014) containing expressions of negation, written between 1650 and 1700 (N=37), sorted by writers (number of letters) and divided over regions and social classes.

	Social class	
_	Low	High
Noord-Holland	Hillegonda Vrienk (1)	Adam Erckelens (1)
	Jaapje Koerten (1)	Doedes Ennes Star (1)
	Maritje Barents (1)	Elisabeth Philipse Amelingh (3)
	Meijndert van Kein (1)	Henricus Cordes (1)
	Rutgert Pranger (1)	Lieven Kersteman (2)
	Saartje Jans (1)	Willem Hontum de Jonge (2)
	Trijntje Hendriks-Barents (1)	
	Trijntje Jacobs (1)	
Zeeland	Adriaan Adriaansen (1)	Bastiaan Elinck (2)
	Arnoud Adriaansen (1)	Boudewijn de Witte (2)
	Guillaume Beddelo (1)	Jan Lefeber (2)
	Jacob Been (1)	Lambrecht Verbrugge (4)
	Jacob Dimmenssen (2)	
	Michiel Lalier (1)	
	T. Boucher (1)	
	Tanneke Cats (1)	

From these writers, 293 negative sentences were extracted. Table 5 shows the frequency of these sentences per writer. Table 6 shows the frequency of these sentences per region and social class.

Table 5 Number of negative sentences (N = 293) per writer (number of letters).

Adam Erckelens (1)	10
Doedes Ennes Star (1)	3
Elisabeth Philipse Amelingh (2)	36
Henricus Cordes (1)	5
Lieven Kersteman (2)	10
Willem Hontum de Jonge (2)	8
Bastiaan Elinck (2)	11
Boudewijn de Witte (2)	24
Jan Lefeber (2)	19
Lambrecht Verbrugge (4)	5
Hillegonda Vrienk (1)	27
Jaapje Koerten (1)	3
Maritje Barents (1)	6
Meijndert van Kein (1)	15
Rutgert Pranger (1)	2
Saartje Jans (1)	4
Trijntje Hendriks-Barents (1)	38
Trijntje Jacobs (1)	6
Adriaan Adriaansen (1)	17
Arnoud Adriaansen (1)	7
Guillaume Beddelo (1)	8
Jacob Been (1)	3
Jacob Dimmenssen (2)	4
Michiel Lalier (1)	2
T. Boucher (1)	1
Tanneke Cats (1)	19

Table 6

Number of negative sentences (N = 296) per region and social class.

	High	Low
Noord-Holland	72	101
Zeeland	59	61

Table 7 shows the distribution of letters and negative sentences over the years in which they were written. The table clearly shows a peak of the number of letters in 1664 and 1665.

Another yet smaller peak occurs at 1672 and 1673. The timeframe in which the letters are written range between 1661 and 1673.

Table 7

Number of letters (negative sentences) per year.

1661	2 (14)
1663	1 (4)
1664	19 (159)
1665	5 (29)
1667	1 (5)
1671	2 (24)
1672	4 (29)
1673	2 (29)
Total	37 (293)

In the next chapter, the letters will be analyzed with respect to the method described in chapter 3.

5) Data analysis

In this chapter, I will perform a qualitative analysis of each letter. First, I will discuss the letters displaying consistent negative concord. Then, I discuss letters displaying consistent single negation and make a distinction between letters that still reveal the presence of the C-parameter, and letters that show complete absence of the C-parameter. Finally, I will discuss the letters displaying variation in negation with both a quantitative analysis and a qualitative analysis.

5.1 The language user keeps the negative clitic

5.1.1 Jacob Been (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 3

Single negation: --

Negative concord: 3

Supposed Jespersen phase: II

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

None of the negative sentences contain a verb cluster. Thus, we cannot find any overt indication that *en* heads PolP where it attracts the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Recall that Breitbarth (2009) argues that in Jespersen phase IIb, the final phase with consistent negative concord, the negative clitic is reanalyzed as a spell-out of polarity features. We can follow her proposal in assuming that this letter displays phase IIb. Two out of the three sentences show extraposition of the object of negation, possibly to a designated focus position. See (43). In this sentence, the writer uses negative contrast as a means of irony. In the preceding context, Been writes that he did not want to ride someone to Souburg.

(43) Ten is niet [ofije over de weijkens nae soeuburgh gaet]. it.neg is neg if.you over the weeks to Souburg goes

'It's not as if men head to Souburg weekly.'

We do not have other texts of Been at our disposal in which the negative clitic has been

removed due to functional redundancy. Hence, this letter in itself does not form conclusive

evidence that the negative clitic solely carries emphatic meaning.

The C-parameter is present: yes

This letter contains two instances of double complementizers, one of which is shown in (44).

Since both complementizers occupy a different head above TP, they indicate the presence of

an extended CP and hence, the C-parameter. Recall that this specific instance of double

complementizer is found to consistently co-occur with polarity-related phenomena (Van

Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen, 2019). Hence, this double complementizer indicates presence

of high PolP.

(44)als dat ick noch gesondt ben van herten.

> yet healthy am of heart if that I

'that I am still in good health.'

5.1.2 T. Boucher (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 1

Single negation: 1

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: II

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

The negative sentence does not contain a verb cluster. Thus, we cannot find any overt

indication that *en* heads PolP where it attracts the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Recall that Breitbarth (2009) argues that in Jespersen phase IIb, en is reanalyzed as a spell-out

of polarity features. In line with this proposal, in the negative sentence in this letter, the

57

negative clitic is combined with the complementizer *maer*, similar to Van Koppen's (2018)

observation in De Ruyter's work. in the See (45).

(45)Maer het en con niet klaer raeken.

but it neg could neg done get

'But it could not be done.'

Since maer exhibits inherent lexical contrast, it follows from Breitbarth's hypothesis that in

this negative sentence, its contrast is supported by en. Thus, it could be assumed that the

negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning as part of phase IIb. However, we do not have

other texts of Boucher at our disposal in which the negative clitic has been removed due to

functional redundancy. Hence, the evidence in favor of the emphatic meaning is not

conclusive.

The C-parameter is present: no

This letter does not contain any CP-related or polarity-related phenomena.

5.2 The language user deletes the negative clitic in writing, but this is only a

surface deletion

5.2.1 **Maritje Barents (1 letter, written in 1664)**

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 6

Single negation: 6

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

No polarity-related phenomena were found, hence we do not know whether low PolP is

present.

58

The C-parameter is present: yes

Two CP-related phenomena are fround. First, four subordinate clauses contain double complementizers. One of them is presented in (46).

(46) aels dat ghij mijn schrijvens ten besten huoden welt.

If that you my writings to the best keep want 'that you will keep my writings close.'

Second, the Third Verb construction presented in (47). In this construction, the finite verb is preceded by two adverbs. Since we expect the verb to consistently occur in C in main clauses, it follows that both preceding constituents each occupy their own site above C, indicating an extended CP.

Voorders₁ soo₂ *laet*₃ ick ul weeten aels dat [...]

Further so let I you know if that [...]

'Furthermore, I let you know that [...]'

Both phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate a relation to high PolP.

5.2.2 Meijndert van Kein (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 15

Single negation: 15

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: yes

Although this letter displays a grammar exhibiting obligatory single negation, the presence of a low PolP is exposed by the word order in verb clusters. 4 out of the 15 negative sentences contain verb clusters. These verb clusters show the finite verb at V1 position. The negative sentences express negative contrast. See (48). This sentence is preceded by a presupposition

that the addressee is used to send a high amount of tobacco to the writer, which the writer attempts to sell locally. Then, he admits that he cannot get rid of it and states the request in (48).

(48) dat ul mij *geen* goet mochte_{V1} senden_{V2} benaemen met toback.

That you me no things may send labeled with tobacco

This observation is in line with the claim that the negative clitic in low PolP attracts the finite verb, which results in V1 position in verb clusters. It follows from this proposal that verb clusters in non-negative sentences without low PolP do not attract the finite verb, which results in the verb at non-V1 position. This expectation is borne out. With the exception of one clause, this letter shows 9 verb clusters in non-negative sentences displaying the finite verb at non-V1 position. The exception is presented in (49).

(49) Doch₁ jck₂ sal₃ sien oft jcker jts van can_{V1} maecke_{V2} yet I will see if I.there something from can make 'Yet, I will see if I can make something out of it.'

This sentence is preceded by the statement that the writer does not know how to sell the oranges stored in the warehouse of his deceased business associate. This negative state of affairs is then contrasted by (49). Thus, this sentence expresses polarity, which is signaled by the complementizer *doch*. Which overt or covert head projects low PolP in this sentence falls outside of the scope of this thesis. For now, it is safe to assume that the complex sentence in (49) expresses polarity in negating the established negative presupposition, resulting in a positive state of affairs. Thus, (low) PolP is present, attracting the finite verb to V1 position. None of the other non-negative verbs with a verb cluster express any state of polarity. This polarity-related phenomenon indicates the presence of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

(49) extends evidence in favor of the presence of the C-parameter, given that the main clause is a Verb Third construction. However, no polarity-related phenomena were found that indicate a high PolP.

5.2.3 Saartje Jans (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 4

Single negation: 4

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

Since verb clusters with the finite verb at both V1 and non-V2 order occur in negative sentences as well as non-negative sentences, without any pattern indicating an effect of polarity on the verb at V1 position, no evidence can be provided in favor of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The following sentence contains a double complementizer. This double complementizer indicate the presence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

(50) als dat ick en onse Pieter nogh kloeck ende gesont ben.

If that I and our Peter still fit and healthy are 'that Peter and I are still fit and healthy.'

5.2.4 Trijntje Jacobs (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 6

Single negation: 6

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: no

One of the negative sentences contains a verb cluster. See (51).

(51)dat ghij *niet* een brief gekregen_{V2} hebt_{V1}.

that you neg a letter received have

'that you have not received a letter.'

In line with the hypothesis that *en* heads a low PolP, where it attracts the verb to V1 position, the position of the finite verb in (51) reveals that no raising to V1 took place. It can be

concluded that this letter does not contain low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains five instances of double complementizers, as exemplified in (52).

(52)als dat ik 3 briefen ontfangen heb.

if that I 3 letters received have

'that I received three letters'

Furthermore, two instances of Verb Third occur, one of them presented in (53).

(53)Daer om₁ [min bemijnde maen] soo₂ wet₃ jck nijet beter te doen daen [...]

> Therefore my beloved husband so know I neg better to do than [...]

'therefore, my beloved husband, I do not know better than [...]'

In (53), min bemijnde maen acts as an interjected tag, which is a prototypical example of a

spoken discourse unit. In omitting this constituent for our syntactic analysis, weten occupies

the third position of the structure. Both C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-

parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of high PolP.

5.2.5 Doedes Ennes Star (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 3

Single negation: 3

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

62

The negative clitic heads low PolP: yes

One of the three negative sentences contain a verb cluster, as in (54).

oom dat ick *niet* heb_{V1} wille_{V2} dienen_{V3} in de aermade.

Because I neg have want serve in the armada(?)

'because I wouldn't want to serve in the armada.'

The finite verb at V1 position is in line with the prediction that the head of low PolP attracts the finite verb to its specifier, resulting in a V1 position. The letter shows six verb clauses in non-negative sentences, 4 of which show the finite verb at non-V1 position. The two sentenes with the finite verb at V1 position convey polarity emphasis. As an example, (54) shows a dramatic situation which is contrasted with the expected state of affairs in the discourse. Namely, Ennes Star writes his parents that he is doing alright and is on his way to the Netherlands. Then in the middle of the letter, he writes the following sentence.

(55) als dat ick in Spanie gevangen ben_{V1} geweest_{V2}.³⁹
If that I in Spain prisoned have been
'that I was imprisoned in Spain.'

This sentence expresses negation of the established positive state of affairs. The negative sentence in (54) follows the sentence in (55) and states the reason for the imprisonment. Hence, the sentences both share the polarity features. The fact that the finite verb only appears at V1 position in the polarity-related sentences indicates the presence of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

This letter contains three double complementizers. One of them is presented in (56).

(56) als dat ick godt sij gelooft noch wel te passe ben.

If that I God be praised yet yet to proper am 'that I, God be praised, am yet alright.'

-

³⁹ I chose to interpret *gevangen* as a predicate. Another interpretation could be that *gevangen* is a past participle. In consequence, the word order of the verb cluster would be V3-V1-V2. However, since this is one of the least frequent word orders in the dataset, the predicate interpretation is favored.

The letter also contains 5 instances of Verb Third constructions. One of them is shown in (57).

Voerder₁ soo₂ *laet*₃ ick u l vader ende moeder weeten als dat ick verhart [...]

Further so let I you father and mother know if that I hardened [...]

'Furthermore, I let you know, father and mother, that I harden [...]'

Both C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of high PolP.

5.2.6 Willem Hontum de Jonge (2 letters, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 8

Single negation: 8

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

None of the negative sentences contain a verb cluster. Hence it is not possible to find evidence in favor of for the presence of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letters display three Verb Third constructions. One of them is shown in (58). This C-related phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter. However, no polarity-related phenomena were found that indicate the presence of a high PolP.

(58) An mijn oom₁ oock *niet*₂ can₃ schrijven. To my uncle also neg can write

'I also cannot write to my uncle.'

5.2.7 Jacob Dimmenssen (2 letters, both written in 1665)

Region: Zeeland Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 4

Single negation: 4
Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP above the verbal domain: yes

One negative sentence contains a verb cluster with the finite verb at V1 position. See (59).

soo ocasie prijsenteer ul *niet* can_{V1} na lateen_{V2} te schrijven_{V3} [van mijn so occasion present you neg can resist to write from my gesontheijdt].

health

'I cannot ignore this opportunity to write you about my health.'

The letters show four non-negative sentences with verb clusters, three of which show the finite verb at non-V1 position. Hence, this position seems to be the writer's preferred word order. (60) shows the non-negative sentence with the finite verb at V1 position.

(60) dat ick $moet_{V1}$ hebbe $_{V2}$ [dat onse Cornelis wel leere sal]. that I must have that our Cornelis surely learn shall 'that I obligate Cornelis to learn.'

This sentence is projected by the lexical verb *moeten*. This is the only occurrence of the verb in both letters. Since this verb denotes obligation, it can be assumed that it is attracted by the functional projection low PolP to V1 position to capture focus. The object of the verb is then extraposed to a designated focus position. The other non-negative sentences do not express polarity and do not show extraposition of the focused constituent. The analysis of both (59) and (60) indicates that low PolP is still present in negative sentences or non-negative sentences requiring extra focus, attracting the finite verb to V1 position.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains two double complementizers. One is shown in (61). This phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

(61) als dat ick godt lof in goede doene.if that I god praise in good do'that I praise God with good works.'

5.2.8 Michiel Lalier (1 letter, written in 1672)

Region: Zeeland Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 2

Single negation: 2
Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP above the verbal domain: ?

The negative sentences do not contain verb clusters. Hence, it is not possible to verify the presence of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: yes

Seven sentences contain double complementizers, as exemplified in (62). This phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

(62) als dat jck noch klock en ghesondt ben.if that I yet brave and healthy am'that I am still brave and healthy.

5.3 The language user does not have the negative clitic anymore, nor its features

5.3.1 Rutgert Pranger (1 letter, written in 1673)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 2

Single negation: 2

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

One of the two negative sentences contain a verb cluster with the finite verb at V1. See (63).

Want de schattingen hier seer swear en lastigh vallen en *niet* is $_{V1}$ te Because the estimations here very heavy and difficult fall and neg is to winnen $_{V2}$.

win

'because the estimations here are heavy and cannot be won.'

Although the structure in (63) is in line with the prediction that *en* as a head of low PolP attracts the finite verb to V1 position, all seven non-negative sentences containing a verb cluster also show the finite verb at V1 position. Thus, we cannot conclude whether the V1 position of the finite verb in (63) is the result of raising to PolP or the result of the preferred raising order of the writer.

The C-parameter is present: no

No C-related phenomena were found in this letter, indicating the absence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

5.3.2 Henricus Cordes (1 letter: written in 1667)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 5

Single negation: 5

Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

No polarity-related phenomena were found in this letter. Hence, we cannot verify the presence of low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: no

No C-related phenomena were found in this letter, which indicates the absence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

5.3.3 Lieven Kersteman (2 letters, written in 1665)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 10

Single negation: 10
Negative concord: --

Supposed Jespersen phase: III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

Three negative sentences contain a verb cluster. Two of these negative sentences show the finite verb at V1 position. See (64).

(64) soo dat daer van *niets* gelieft_{V1} te senden_{V2}.

So that there from n-thing want to send

'therefore, please do not send anything from there.'

However, these negative sentences show no polarity features: they do not express negative contrast. Moreover, half of the verb clauses that occur in non-negative sentences without polarity features in these letters also display the finite verb at V1 position. Hence, the V1 position of the finite verb forms no strong indication that the verb is attracted by a head in low PolP.

The C-parameter is present: no

No C-related phenomena were found in the letters, which indicates the absence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

5.4 The language user keeps using the negative clitic in polarity-related contexts

In the first section of this chapter, I will perform a quantitative analysis on the total number of negative sentences across all varieties that show variation in negation, in order to find correlations between the negative clitic and factors that are assumed to support emphatic meaning. With the findings of this analysis I will perform a qualitative analysis in similar fashion as the previous sections in order to involve factors related to discourse and context.

5.4.1 Quantitative analysis

Table 8 shows the distribution of verb clusters and the position of the finite verb within those clusters for each negative sentence. The correlation coefficient between the type of negation and the type of verb clause is not significant (r(38) = .16, p = .34).

Table 8 Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type and per type of cluster.

	Single negation	Negative concord
No cluster	116	68
V1 position	12 (54%)	7 (38%)
Non-V1 position	10 (46%)	11 (62%)
Total with cluster	22	18

Table 9 shows the distribution of negative sentences over the variable of the presence of the complementizer *maer*. The correlation coefficient between the type of negation and the presence of the complementizer *maer* is not significant (r(222) = .04, p = .50).

Table 9
Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type and per condition of 'maer' (present/absent).

	Single negation	Negative concord
+ maer	18 (13%)	14 (16%)
- maer	120 (87%)	72 (84%)

Table 10 shows the distribution of negative sentences over the presence or absence of extraposition of the constituent in scope of negation. The correlation coefficient between the type of negation and the occurrence of extraposition of the constituent in scope of negation is not significant (r(222) = .01, p = .84).

Table 10 Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type per condition of extraposition (present/absent).

	Single negation	Negative concord
+ extraposition	40 (28%)	26 (30%)
- extraposition	98 (72%)	60 (70%)

Table 11 shows the distribution of the negative sentences over clause types. There is a unidirectional significant correlation between negation type and clause type (r(222) = .21, p < .005). While single negation appears most frequently in matrix clauses, negative concord is somewhat evenly distributed over the clause types. This means that in varieties exhibiting variation in negation, the introduction of single negation affected main clauses first.

Table 11 Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type per clause type.

	Single negation	Negative concord
Subordinate clause	34 (24%)	39 (45%)
Main clause	104 (76%)	47 (55%)

Table 12 shows the distribution of negative sentences over the presence and absence of the Negative Polarity Verbs *weten*, *hebben* and the sum of the two verbs. The correlation coefficient between the type of negation and the occurrence of *weten* is not significant (r (222) = .05, p = .18). The correlation coefficient between type of negation and the occurrence of *hebben* is not significant (r (222) = .02, p = .76). The correlation coefficient between negation type and the sum of the occurrence of both verbs is not significant (r (222) = .02, p = .82).

Table 12 Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type per Negative Polarity Item (present/absent).

	Single negation	Negative concord
+ weten	13 (9%)	10 (11%)
- weten	125 (91%)	76 (89%)
+ hebben	22 (15%)	13 (15%)
- hebben	112 (85%)	73 (85%)
+ weten/hebben	35 (25%)	23 (26%)
- weten/hebben	103 (75%)	63 (74%)

Table 13 shows the distribution of the negative sentences over the presence and absence of the conservative behaving verbs *doen, krijgen* and *geloven*. The correlation between negation type and the occurrence of *doen* is not significant (r(222) = .02, p = .81). The correlation between negation type and the occurrence of *krijgen* is not significant (r(222) = .08, p = .24). The correlation between negation type and the occurrence of geloven is not significant (r(222) = .02, p = .74). The correlation between negation type and the sum of these verbs is also not significant (r(222) = .04, p = .57).

Table 13

Number (and percentage) of negative sentences (N = 224) per negation type per conservative behaving verb (present/absent).

	Single negation	Negative concord
+ doen	7 (5%)	5 (5%)
- doen	131 (95%)	81 (95%)
+ krijgen	10 (7%)	3 (3%)
- krijgen	128 (85%)	83 (97%)
+ geloven	1 (0.7%)	1 (1%)
- geloven	137 (99.3%)	85 (99%)
+ doen/krijgen/geloven	18 (13%)	9 (10%)
- doen/krijgen/geloven	120 (87%)	78 (90%)

From the statistical analysis summarized above we can conclude that the assumed correlations between negative concord and factors indicating emphatic, idiomatic or conservative use, are absent in our dataset. The only significant correlation found is between the single negator and main clauses.

This quantitative analysis was performed across letters, and thus across varieties. In order to find patterns of the use of negative concord in these letters, a qualitative analysis per letter is needed. In this analysis, factors can be involved regarding discourse, common ground, cultural background and personal values, in order to find whether these affect the motivation of the writer to insert the negative clitic. Another advantage that comes with such an analysis is that it assumes each writer have its own variety. Within some of these varieties, we might find that some of the factors discussed above affect the choice for the type of negation. In the next sections, I will perform a qualitative analysis of the letters displaying variation in negation.

5.4.2 Hillegonda Vrienk (1 letter, written in 1673)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 27

Single negation: 17 Negative concord: 10

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

Vrienk shows one negative sentence containing a verb cluster. See (65).

(65) Door dien dat hier niet een schep voor de kamer van Amsterdam gecommenv2

Because of that here neg a ship for the chamber of Amsterdam come

isv1.

has

'because there has not come a ship for Amsterdam here.'

In (65), negation is expressed by a single negative adverb. The finite verb in the verb cluster is not at V1 position. This is in line with our expectations, given that the presence of the negative clitic would attract the finite verb to V1 position. Unfortunately, the letter does not contain an example of a sentence containing both *en* and a verb cluster, which means we cannot verify whether the clitic attracts the finite verb to V1. Hence, it remains unclear whether the negative clitic heads a low PolP.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Vrienk wrote this letter to her husband in Indonesia. She is in desperate need of money. In every negative sentence regarding this topic, *en* occurs. See (66) and (67).

(66) Dat mackt mij soo bedroeft **dat ijck** *niet* **veel lust** *en* **hebben**. that makes me so sad that I neg much lust neg have 'That makes me so sad that I don't have much lust.'

(67) Van dit ijaer *en* kan men *geen* gelt krijgen from this year neg can one no money get 'No money can be received this year.'

The negative sentence in (66) regards an emotional topic of depression. Here, *en* seems to express emphatic stress. The sentence in (67) deals with Vrienk's husband's yearly salary, which should be paid out by the navy. The sentence negates this presupposition. Here, the negative clitic might convey the additional pragmatic function of the selection of the presupposition.

Notice that both (66) and (67) are projected by verbs that are considered in literature to behave conservitavely and perhaps idiomatically in combination with *en*. However, in the same letter, these verbs project sentences with single negation as well. Only the seemingly idiomatic verb *weten* consistently projects the negative clitic. See the example in (68). In this sentence, we find the object of negation being extraposed, possibly to a designated focus position. This means that although *weten* might project the clitic for an idiomatic reason, in addition, the clitic conveys emphatic meaning in line with the other instances of *en*.

soo dat ijck *niet en* weet [hoe ijck het stellen sal].
so that I neg neg know how I it settle shall 'so that I don't know how I will manage.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

As can be observed in (62), *door dien dat* is a double complementizer. However, Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2019) do not observe this double complementizer to consistently co-occur with polarity-related phenomena in the relevant Dutch speaking areas. Hence, we cannot conclude that this double complementizer indicates the presence of high PolP. Evidence in favor of the C-parameter is the Verb Third construction in (69). Both C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizer indicates the presence of high PolP.

(69) Aen sijn lieff₁ hij₂ *schreff*₃ hadde hij kleren gehadt [...]

To his love he wrote had he clothes had [...]

'To his love he wrote: if he had his clothes [...]'

5.4.3 Jaapje Koerten (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 3

Single negation: 2 Negative concord: 1

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

None of the negative sentences contains a verb cluster. Hence, we cannot verify whether *en* attracts the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

The only negative sentence containing *en* is presented in (70).

(70) soo dat wij *niet en* weeten of hij leeft of doodt is. so that we neg neg know if he lives or dead is 'so we don't know if he's dead or alive '

The sentence is projected by the verb *weten*, which does not project the sentences with single negation. From this we could conclude that *en* is projected as part of an idiomatic combination with *weten*. In disregard of this observation, there is a strong indication that *en* also expresses emphatic meaning, in particular that this sentence negates the expected state of affairs. This becomes clear when we involve the context and structure of the letter.

The sentence in (70) regards Koerten's father, about whom she just received the news that he has a strong fever. This is not the main topic of the letter. Koerten writes this letter to a friend that is working in one of the Dutch colonies. Most of the letter's content covers information about good health and the question to keep an eye out for her brother. The topic about her sick father appears as an unexpected turn towards the end of the letter. Moreover, a presupposition is established in the common ground between Koerten and the addressee that her father is currently sailing to meet the addressee, which is revealed in the following sentence:

wij hebben mijn vader belast als hij bij u en mijn broeder komt dat hij u lieden wat goet over

sou geeven, 40 'we have entrusted my father with goods for you and my brother'. (70) negates this presupposition. Furthermore, the object of negation is extraposed, possibly to a designated focus position. From this we can conclude that *en* conveys contrastive focus.

The C-parameter is present: ?

No C-related phenomenon in this letter has been found. Hence, we cannot verify whether the C-parameter or high PolP is present.

Trijntje Henderiks-Batens (1 letter, written in 1664) 5.4.4

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 38

Single negation: 23

Negative concord: 15

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: no

Six negative sentences contain a verb cluster, all of them with the finite verb at V1 position. Three out of these six negative sentences contain a single negative adverb. In other words, the verb clusters with the finite verb at V1 position are equally divided over the two types of negation. 24 non-negative sentences also contain a verb cluster, 17 of which show the finite verb at V1 position. Thus, the V1 position seems to be the preferred word order, and in the negative sentences, en does not pattern with the finite verb at V1 position. Hence, the verb clusters do not provide evidence in favor of low PolP.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Most variables that are assumed to be related to the emphatic use of en are absent in this letter. Extraposition, for instance, occurs slightly more frequently with single negation (39%) than with negative concord (33%). The presence of low PolP is expected to allow for a post-

⁴⁰ INL Corpus Search Interface, 2013.

http://brievenalsbuit.inl.nl/zeebrieven/page/article?doc=963&query=%5Blemma%3D%27niet%27%5D%7C%5 Blemma%3D%27geen%27%5D%7C%5Blemma%3D%27niemand%27%5D%7C%5Blemma%3D%27ne%27%

76

verbal designated focus position where the focused constituent can extrapose to. Hence, it comes as no surprise that in assuming absence of low PolP in this letter, extraposition does not pattern with the negative clitic. Also, the negative clitic does not consistently co-occur with any of the assumed idiomatic behaving verbs.

The sentences with negative concord are distributed over each part of the letter and appear with respect to different topics. At close examination of the sentences containing negative concord, we observe that in most instances, the features of the subject are first person singular. See the following examples:

- (71) a. Ick *en kon* niet doen.
 - I neg could neg do
 - 'I couldn't do it.'
 - b. om dat ick het *niet en* heb geopenbaart because I it neg neg have revealed 'because I didn't reveal it.'
 - c. dat ick het hem *niet en* kon weergeven that I it hem neg neg could return 'that I was unable to return it to him.'

In order to gain insight in the emphatic status of *en*, more knowledge of the letter's content is needed. Hendriks-Batens writes this letter to her husband at sea. The main purpose of the letter is to inform him about extremely negative circumstances at home. These circumstances involve: (i) family members turning against her, for which she blames herself (71a,b); (ii) people at her door collecting debts, which she could not pay off (71c); and the death of two of their children. In (71a,b,c), the negative clitic seems to emphasize Hendriks-Baten's behavior. Throughout the letter, she reminds her husband repeatedly of her guilt and sinfulness from a religious perspective: *denckt dat alles om de sonden willen ons is overgekomen*, 'know that everything happens to us because of our sins'. When she uses negative sentences to describe her sinful state, the negative clitic conveys emphasis. When other referents become the subject of negation, this negation is almost exclusively expressed by a negative adverb.

(72) a. Dat verstaet bestemoer soo *niet*and that understand mother so neg
'Mother doesn't understand it that way.'

b. datse *niet* mogen leijden dat ick een goed kleet aan mijn lijf [...] that.they neg may suffer that I a good cloth to my body [...] 'that they may not suffer due to my expenses to my clothing.'

Although the letter does not convey any clear structure other than greetings at the beginning and at the end, considering the bad news throughout the letter and the continuous reminder of her guilt, the final part seems to function as a climax, as Hendriks-Batens expresses her fear that she and her husband will never see each other again. She repeats this claim subsequently in (73).

- (73) a. dat wij malcanderen *niet* weer *en* sagen. that we each other neg again neg see 'that we will not see each other again.'
 - b. Het *en* sou *geen* wonder wesen [dat wij malcander *niet* weer *en* sagen]. it neg would no wonder be that we each other neg again neg see 'It would not be surprising if we would not see each other again.'

In this part, negation is consistently expressed by negative concord. The emphasis conveyed by *en* is expected, given the emotional climactic context and its placement in the letter, right before greetings. Furthermore, these final sentences seem to negate the expected opposite state of affairs, since they deviate from the genre convention of concluding greetings. In all the other letters, the writers politely and consistently state that they and the addressee will see each other again.

To conclude, *en* conveys emphasis related to the behavior of the writer and in consequence, to the dramatic effect in the final part of the letter.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains seven instances of double complementizers. One of them is shown in (74). Expletive *t* occurs three times. One is shown in (75). These C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of high PolP.

(74) als₁ datje₂ noch kloeck en gesont waert.

if that.you yet bold and healthy were

'that you are still brave and in good health.'

(75) Het heft hier al in een weeck gestorven tusschen de 10 a 11 hondert. It has here already in a week died between the 10 and 11 hundred 'Between 10 and 11 hundred people have died here within a week.'

5.4.5 Adam Erckelens (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 10

Single negation: 9

Negative concord: 1

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between phase II and III

The negative clitic heads PolP above the verbal domain: ?

Five negative sentences contain a verb cluster. One of these verb clusters displays the finite verb at V1 position.

Hollantsche schepen alsoo hier *niet* meer sullen_{V1} mogen_{V2} komen_{V3} te Dutch ships thus here neg more shall may come to negotieren_{V4}.

negotiate

'Dutch ships are not allowed to come here to negotiate anymore.'

The other verb clusters show the finite verb at non-V1 position. The letter contains 19 non-negative sentences containing verb clusters. These clusters show a default structure with the finite verb at non-V1 position. A deviant word order occurs when *zullen* 'shall' is the finite verb. Hence, it seems that writer shows a tendency to raise *zullen* to V1. The finite verb in (76) follows this pattern and seems to account for its V1 position, instead of the supposed presence of PolP.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

(77) shows the only sentence in the letter expressing negation by means of negative concord.

(77) Dese eijlanden van haar selve *niet en* hebben [om op te houden]. these islands of themselves neg neg have to up to keep 'These islands cannot sustain themselves.'

Hebben is regarded as one of the most salient Negative Polarity verbs with regard to the negative clitic (Postma, 2002). However, observations from the perspective of both discourse and syntax suggest that the clitic conveys emphatic meaning. With respect to the context, the common ground between the writer and the addressee involves the information that the islands referred to in the letter are part of the Caribbean, which were part of the Dutch colonies. One of the motives for the Dutch navy to colonize these islands was to profit from their abundance of products, especially their sugar, which became a sign of economic wealth in Europe in the 17th century (Mintz, 1986; Cross, 1979). The forthcoming presupposition is that the Caribbean islands are self-sustaining. The negative sentence in (77) negates this presupposition. Furthermore, the main topic of this letter concerns imperial rivalries in and around the Caribbean area where the writer resides. It follows that, since the writer is dependent on the island's provision, the meaning of the negative clitic is extended to general emphatic stress. Also notice that, from a syntactic perspective, the object of negation is extraposed, possibly to a designated focus position. From this it can be concluded that the negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning.

The C-parameter is present: yes

This letter contains two instances of double complementizers. One of them is presented in (78). Also, four instances of Third Verb constructions were attested. One of them is shown in (79). Both C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of high PolP.

(78) als dat ick een half jaar over myn tijt soude alhier blijven.

If that I a half year over my time would here remain

'that I would remain here for another half year.'

(79) Nu₁ soo₂ rekene₃ ick ten minsten twee maanden voor de t'huys reijse. now so calculate I at least two months for the homeward journey 'So now I take into anticipate at least two months for the journey home.'

5.4.6 Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (3 letters: two written in 1661, one written in 1664)

Region: Noord-Holland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 36

Single negation: 22

Negative concord: 14

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: no

Six negative sentences contain both *en* and a verb cluster. See the example in (80)

(80) of het *nijet* weese $_{V2}$ *en* wij l_{V1} or it neg be neg want 'that seems not to be the case.'

All these verb clusters show the finite verb at non-V1 position. The letters contain 29 non-negative sentences containing a verb cluster. Seven of these verb clusters have the finite verb at V1 position. This means that although the writer shows variation in the position of the finite verb, she consistently avoids the deviant V1 position in the presence of *en*, which means that the clitic does not attract the finite verb. This contradicts the assumption that *en* heads low PolP, attracting the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Although certain assumed idiomatic verbs occur in combination with *en*, such as *weten* in (78), they do not appear with the negative clitic consistently. This means that no instance of negative concord can be ascribed to idiomatic behavior. Extraposition of the constituent in scope of negation shows a higher correlation with negative concord (21%) than with single negation (13%). See an example of extraposition in (81).

(81) Dat u l noch *nijet en* weet [waer near toe u reijs sal gaen]. That you yet neg neg know where to to your journey will go 'that you do not yet know where your journey will be headed.'

Furthermore, many instances of the negative clitic convey the pragmatic function of negating a presupposition. (80) is an example, repeated below with preceding text.

(82) ijck hadde gedocht dat u l weeder near hijs soude coomen, maer schijnt of het I had thought that you back to house would come but seems or it nijet weese en wijl

neg be neg want

'I thought that you would come back home, but that seems not to be the case'

In two of the three letters, both written in 1661, *en* does not convey this pragmatic function. I will show what factors in these letters account for its occurence. The first letter, written at January 28th, 1661, contains only negative concord. The second letter, written at March 27th in the same year, displays variation between single negation and negative concord. In one of these sentences, shown in (83), *en* does not convey emphasis on negative contrast.

(83) Want dije op godt uertrout *en* sal *nijet* bescamt worde. because who on god trusts neg shall neg ashamed be 'Because who trusts in God shall not be ashamed.'

In (84), en is part of a biblical register. In fact, the sentence is a quote from the State Bible:

(84) Ende een yegelijck die in hem gelooft, *en* sal *niet* beschaemt worden.⁴¹
And one any who in him believes neg shall neg ashamed be 'and whoever believes in Him, shall not be ashamed.'

Thus, in (84), *en* is not part of colloquial speech and not exhibited by the writer's grammar. The remaining instances of negative concord in this letter and the letter from 1664, all appear in a context where it negates the expected positive state of affairs, like the examples (81) and

_

⁴¹ Romans 9:33. State Bible. Van der Sijs, 2008.

(82). The expression of emphasis by the clitic is further supported by the occurrence of an expletive clitic, as shown in (85).

(85) Godt *en* danck uoer sijn genaden. god neg thank for his grace 'Thank God for His grace.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

Across all three letters, six instances of double complementizers are found, such as (86). This phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter and high PolP.

(86) Als daet daer engene geweest sijn dije [...]

If that there no been were who [...]

'that there was nobody who [...]'

5.4.7 Adriaan Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 16

Single negation: 3

Negative concord: 13

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

This letter shows three negative sentences with a verb cluster. Only one of those clusters shows the finite verb at V1 position.

dat onse negers snacs soo kijven om **dat negerijnen** haer *niet en* laten_{V1} that our negro's at.night so quarrel because negresses them neg neg let **fijke**_{V2}.

fight

'that our negro's quarrel at night because negresses do not let them fight.'

Two non-negative sentences contain a verb cluster, one with the finite verb at non-V1 position, the other with the verb at V1 position. The latter sentence does not show any form of polarity. Thus, the evidence in (87) is inconclusive for the existence of a low PolP.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

The writer uses mostly negative concord. This means that the grammar generally exhibits conservative phase II. There are indications that *en* conveys emphatic meaning and that the instances of single negation are a result of functional redundancy. Importantly, the absence of the negative clitic ties with the structure of the letter. In this letter, Adriaansen writes from Guadeloupe to his friend in Zeeland. The middle section of the text is devoted to adventures in Guadeloupe. Adriaansen expresses excitement in his stories. Every negative sentence in this part of the letter emphasizes contrastive focus, which is combined with the negative clitic. See (88).

- (88) a. Sij *en* soude hem *niet* eens seere doen. they neg would him neg even hurt do 'They wouldn't even hurt him.'
 - b. Maer van eaten₁ dat₂ en hebbe₃ ick niet gebreck.
 But from food that neg have I neg shortage
 'But I'm not short of food.'

Notice that (88b) contains the complementizer *maer*. *Maer* occurs four times in the letter, consistently with negative concord. Since I follow the hypothesis that *en* conveys emphatic meaning, it follows that all instances of *maer*, which exhibits inherent contrast, is supported by the negative clitic.

The letter opens and ends with greetings. The opening lines are conventional. The negative sentences in this part do not show negative contrast and hence do not contain the negative clitic. See (89).

(89) Voors¹ soo² wete³ ick niet veel te schrijven als om mijn belofte te vol doen. further so know I neg much to write as to my promise to full fill 'Furthermore I do not know much to write other than what I promised to write about.'

I assume that in the introducing lines, due to their conventional style, the writer did not feel the urge to utlize *en*. At the end of the letter, the last negative sentence expressed by the negative clitic in (87) is subsequently repeated in (90), this time without the negative clitic.

(90) Dan comense smorghens seggen teghen onsen mester *als dat* haer wijf then come.they in.the.morning say to our master if that their wives *niet* heijt wijlle laten fijke.

neg had want let fight.

'Then they come to the master in the morning to say that their wives did not let them fight.'

Recall the claim that the reanalysis of *en* as the spell-out of polarity features in Jespersen's phase IIb led to further redundancy and eventual erosion. Since the negative clitic in (87) conveys emphatic meaning, it follows that due to functional redundancy the clitic is left out in the subsequent repeating sentence (90). Finally, (91) shows an example of an expletive clitic, which is attached to an imperative and preceded by a conditional subordinate clause.

(91) [wijl ghij near hijer toe come] soo *en* verhuijert u selven. want you to here to come so neg rent you self 'If you want to come here, then hire yourself out.'

In I conclude that the negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning. Its use in this letter indicates a grammar exhibiting variation between phase IIb and III, since deletion of the clitic is limited to parts in which it is functionally redundant.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains six instances of double complementizers, one of them occurring in (90). Furthermore, the letter contains six Verb Third structures, one of them occurring in (88b) and (89). These C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of a high PolP.

5.4.8 Arnoud Adriaansen (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 7

Single negation: 1

Negative concord: 6

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

All verb clusters in this letter, whether they appear in negative or non-negative sentences, display the finite verb at V1 position. Thus, we cannot verify whether the V1 position in negative sentences is the result of raising to a low PolP or the result of the preferred raising order *en*. See (92).

(92) maer het nijet wesen_{V2} en can_{V1}. but it neg be neg can 'but it cannot be'

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

The writer uses almost consistently negative concord. This means that the grammar generally exhibits conservative phase II. All negative sentences containing *en* appear consistently with *maer*, like the example in (92). Since I hypothesize that *en* conveys emphatic meaning, it follows that all instances of *maer*, which exhibits inherent contrast, is supported by the negative clitic. The only instance of single negation in this letter lacks this complementizer, indicating lack of negative contrast. In this sentence, the negative clitic might have been deleted due to functional redundancy. See (93).

(93) Dan isser *geen* swarijcheijt. then is.there no difficulty 'Then there is no difficulty.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains two instances of double complementizers, as exemplified in (94). The letter also contains an instance of Verb Third, as shown in (95). These C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the

presence of a high PolP.

(94) als dat wij op eden hijer aen crijstofel gecomen sijn met de groote boot.

if that we at present here on Saint.Kitts come have with the big boat

'that have currently arrived at Saint Kitts with the big boat.'

(95) Voor₁ soo₂ stijere₃ wij ul een ancker suijcker.

furthermore so send we you an anchor sugar

'Furthermore, we send you an anchor sugar.'

5.4.9 Guillaume Beddelo (1 letter, written in 1672)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 7

Single negation: 4

Negative concord: 3

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

No negative sentence contains a verb cluster. Hence, we cannot verify whether en heads PolP

to attract the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

In all negative sentences with negative concord, *en* conveys emphasis on negative contrast.

An example is shown in (96). In this sentence, the writer evaluates machetes with wooden

shafts that he received from the addressee. He admits that he sold them, because the materials

were bad to the extent that even the Indians did not want them.

87

(96)De indiaen en woudese *niet* hebben [capmessen met houte heften].

> the indians neg would.them neg have machetes with wooden shafts

'The Indians did not want them, the machetes with wooden shafts.'

Notice that the object of negation is spelled out twice. The first instance is a referential

pronoun, which is cliticized to the finite verb as a suffix, between en and niet. The second

instance is the referent, which is located at sentence-final position where it falls within the

scope of both negative elements, as opposed to the object clitic. The sentence-final positition

seems to be designated to capture focus of the negation. Furthermore, notice that the negative

sentence is projected by the verb hebben. Since no sentences with single negation are

projected by this verb, it might form an idiomatic combination with en.

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letter contains two Verb Third constructions, one of which is shown in (97). This C-

related phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter. However, no polarity-related

phenomena indicating the presence of high PolP were found.

(97)De bijlen₁ die₂ waren₃ oock te kleen.

> the axes they were also too small

'The axes were also too small.

5.4.10 Tanneke Cats (1 letter, written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: low

Number of negative sentences: 17

Single negation: 6

Negative concord: 11

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

88

The negative clitic heads low PolP: no

While most verb clusters in non-negative sentences (28 out of 39) in this letter show the finite verb at V1 position, all three verb clusters in negative sentences containing the negative clitic show the finite verb at non-V1 position. Hence the data contradicts the assumption that *en* heads PolP and attracts the finite verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

The occurrence of *en* is scattered over the letter and is used in relation to different topics, like war, religion or personal relationships. Both extraposition and the complementizer *maer* are equally distributed over negative concord and single negation. No assumed idiomatic behaving verb appears consistently with the clitic. A subset of the sentences with negative concord does not exhibit negative contrast or emphatic meaning. These sentences are related to religious context. See the example in (98).

(98) Maer soo *en* laet godt het goede *nijet* ongeloondt. but so neg lets god the good neg unrewarded. 'but God lets good deeds not unrewarded.'

The two negative sentences in (99) and (100) are quotes taken from the State Bible.

- Omdat godt aen mijnen rechter andt is **daerom** *en* **sal ick** *nijet* **wanckelen.**⁴² because god at my right hand is therefore neg shall I neg falter 'With God at my right hand I shall not falter.'
- (100) Dije op den here vertrouwen **dije in sullen nijet beschaemt werden**. 43 who on the lord trusts they neg shall neg ashamed be 'Who trusts in the Lord shall not be ashamed.'

Since these are quotations, they are not part of the writer's colloquial speech. From these quotes, we can assume that the writer implements the use of *en* from the State Bible register. The remaining sentences with negative concord express emphatic stress or negative contrast.

.

⁴² Psalm 16:8. State Bible. Van der Sijs, 2008.

⁴³ Romans 9:33. State Bible. Van der Sijs, 2008.

(101) is an example of emphatic stress. (102) is an example of negative contrast, since the writer negates the presupposition of the addressee that both would already have been reunited.

- (101) Het gaet hijer nu soo slecht dat het *nijet in* is om uijt te spreken door den it goes here now so bad that it neg neg is to out to speak because the oorlogen met de heijnlse inde met de vransen wars with the english and with the French 'The situation here is now so bad that we can not speak of it because of the war with England and France.'
- Maer na dijen het nu soo *nijet in* is soo moeten wij gedencken dat [...] but subsequently it now so neg neg is so must we think that 'But as it is now not the case, we should remember that [...]

I conclude that overall *en* conveys emphatic meaning. Counterexamples are related to biblical register; some instances being implemented quotes.

The C-parameter is present: yes

This letter contains five double complementizers and three Verb Third constructions. The sentence in (103) contains an example of both phenomena. These C-related phenomena indicate the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of a high PolP.

(103) Voors₁ soo₂ weet₃ als dat ick seven van ul den brijeven wel hebben [...] furthermore so know if that I seven of your the letters surely have [...] 'Furthermore, know that I have received seven of your letters [...].'

5.4.11 Bastiaan Elinck (2 letters, both written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 12

Single negation: 10 Negative concord: 2

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: ?

None of the negative sentences contain a verb cluster. Hence, we cannot explore whether the negative clitic heads a PolP from where it attracts the verb to V1 position.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

In the two sentences with negative concord, *en* seems to express emphasis on negative contrast. The first sentence, shown in (104), negates the addressee's presupposition that the writer has forgotten them.

(104) ghij [...] uijt mijn herte *niet en* zijt.
you [...] from my heart neg neg are
'You have not left my heart.'

The second sentence, shown in (105a), is the only negative sentence containing the complementizer *maer*. Given that *maer* exhibits inherent contrast, it follows from our hypothesis that this sentence is supported by *en* to convey negative polarity. Also, notice that the object of negation is extraposed, possibly to a designated focus position. Since the verb that the clitic is attached takes an imperative form, one could argue that its sense of urgency is emphasized by the negative clitic and hence the verb, rather than the complementizer, accounts for the clitic's presence. However, as (105b) shows, other negative imperatives lack the negative clitic. Although (105b) also shows extraposition, the extraposed constituent in (105a) captures additional focus by its appositional function to the direct object *sulcx*, which remains in situ. Hence, the sentence-final position of the constituent in (105a) is more likely to be classified as a designated focus position as opposed to the sentence-final constituent in (105b).

(105) a. *Maer en* laet sulcx *niet* van u gaen [dat ick zulcx aen ue schrijve]. but neg let such neg from you go that I such to you write

'But don't think that I would write such things to you.'

b. Laet *niet* near de groetenisse aen vaeder moeders susters let neg after the greetings to father mother sisters

'Don't forget to give my regards to my father, mother and sisters.'

Finally, an expletive clitic occurs in Elinck's writings, conjugated to a negative sentence. See (106).

(106) wanneer daer geen oorlog komt ofte en is.

when there no war comes or neg is.

'when no war comes or has arrived.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letters contain one example of a double complementizer, as shown in (107). This phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter and a high PolP.

(107) als dat ick wel een wenste te verstaen het arijvement van capt. Jan Hatte if that I surely once wished to understand the arrival of captain Jan Hatte 'that I surely wish to know the time of arrival of captain Jan Hatte.'

5.4.12 Boudewijn de Witte (2 letters, both written in 1671)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: high

Social class. Iligii

Number of negative sentences: 23

Single negation: 21

Negative concord: 2

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: no

9 negative sentences contain a verb cluster, 8 of which show the finite verb at V1 position, as shown in (108).

om dat het met d'eerste reegen *niet en* souwt_{V1} verdrincke_{V2}.

because it with the first rain neg neg would drown

'because it would drown with the first rain.'

However, 31 verb clusters occur in non-negative sentences. 23 of these similarly show the finite verb at V1 position. Thus, we cannot verify whether the V1 position of the finite verb in verb clusters contained within negative sentences is the result of attraction to a low PolP or a result of the generally preferenced order of verb raising.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

Each letter contains one sentence with negative concord. The first sentence is shown in (108). In the preceding context, the writer informs the addressee that the sugar canes were planted earlier than scheduled. This letter is a formal update to a business relation about the state of production in a Surinam plantation. It involves, for instance, the state of the plantation (*wij hebben braeue paeden gemaeckt van 24 voet breet voor brand* 'we made pathways of 24 feet wide') to the process of production (*wij sijn beesich met ons suijcker jn de vaten te doen dat seer admirabel schoon is* 'we are busy putting our sugar in the barrels, which are admirabelly clean'). The early planting of sugar canes is the only mention of a deviation from schedule. *En* in (108) seems to emphasize the unexpectedness of the deviant measure. The second sentence is shown in (109).

(109) een onbeleefden bock die anders *niet en* weet [als ouer al op deschuijm a rude goat who else neg neg knows as everywhere on the foam teloopen.

to.walk].

'a rude goat who does not know any different than to walk over the foam everywhere.'

The letter in which this sentence is written, is an informal update addressed to the writer's brother. The sentence is part of a text segment written after the closing regards. In this

segment, the writer gossips about a new collague who had just arrived at the plantation. The unusual topic and post-regards position might have been urged the writer to express emphasis by inserting *en*. Also note that the object of negation underwent extraposition to a possibly designated focus position. One could argue that the presence of the negative clitic in (109) is in fact part of an idiomatic combination with *weten*. However, *weten* occurs in three other negative sentences with single negation. Hence, *weten* cannot account for the occurrence of the negative clitic.

The C-parameter is present: yes

Each letter contains two double complementizers, as in (110). This phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter and a high PolP.

(110) als dat wj van daeghe 8 hebben verlooren. if that we today 8 have lost 'that we have lost eight today.'

5.4.11 Jan Lefeber (2 letters, one written in 1664, one written in 1665)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 19

Single negation: 12

Negative concord: 7

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads low PolP: yes

One of the negative sentences contains a verb cluster with the finite verb at V1 position. See (111).

Van gerret tanghe consement tues noch *niet en* hoef_{V1} te betaellen_{V2}.

from gerrit tange bill of lading home yet neg neg have to pay

'the bill of lading you received home from Gerrit Tange does not yet have to be paid.'

(111) occurs in a letter that shows 7 verb clusters in non-negative sentences, all displaying the finite verb at non-finite position. We can conclude that *en* in (111) attracts the finite verb to V1 position above the verbal domain.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

The letter from 1664 Lefeber writes from Guadeloupe to his girlfriend in Zeeland. The main topic of the letter is whether she still loves him, now that he has gone away for a substantial time. Whenever he directly refers to this topic, he uses negative concord. See the example in (112).

Hoepe dat de lijefden van ul oock soo mochten wese als mijn ick *en* vertrouwe hope that the love from you also so might be as mine I neg trust oockt anders *niet* [of het is soo].

also different neg or it is so

'I hope that your love might be the same as mine. I do not trust any different.'

The combination of *en* with the direct reference to this sensitive main topic makes the two negative sentences stand out from the other negative sentences in the letter. The negative clitic seems to emphasize the bluntness with which the topic is approached. Furthermore, in both sentences, the object of negation is extraposed to a possibly designated focus position.

In the letter from 1665, patterns of variation are hard to extract. Two instances of negative concord are projected by *weten*, while no single negation is found in combination with this verb. See (113).

Wij en weten niet [of het oorloghe met den hengelsman is]. we neg know neg if it war with the englishman is 'We do not know if we are at war with the Englishmen.'

Recall that it is assumed in literature that *weten* functions as a negative polarity verb, forming an necessary combination with *en* (Postma, 2002). Hence, this verb might have enforced the use of the negative clitic in these sentences. We are left with three negative sentences with negative concord, one of which expresses negative contrast. It occurs in a summary of people that are *ghesont als een vies* 'healthy as fish'.

(114) Noem Pieter *en* state *niet* als te wel.

uncle pieter neg stands neg as too well

'Uncle Pieter is not doing so well.'

In the remaining sentences, the use of *en* remains unclear, mainly due to vague context in which certain lemma's have been unresolved by the annotators. Yet, the negative clitic in most of the above-mentioned tokens clearly express emphatic meaning. Moreover, one of the letters contains an expletive clitic, as shown in (115). The clitic is embedded in a negative matrix clause. From these observations, it can be concluded that the negative clitic conveys emphatic meaning.

Maer ghij hoeft mijn daer mede *niet* te verwachten **soo dat hij aen gardeloepe**But you need me there with neg to expect so that he on guadeloupe in *en* laet.

In neg lets

'But you don't need to expect my company anymore, because he loads at Guadeloupe.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

The letters contain one instance of double complementizers. See (116). This C-related phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter.

(116) Hoe dat het is.

how that it is

'How it is'

5.4.12 Lambrecht Verbrugge (4 letters, 2 written in 1663, 2 written in 1664)

Region: Zeeland

Social class: high

Number of negative sentences: 5

Single negation: 3

Negative concord: 2

Supposed Jespersen phase: variation between II and III

The negative clitic heads PolP above the verbal domain: ?

One negative sentence contains a verb cluster. Its finite verb is at V1 position.

(117) dat ick het tot mijn leet wesen *niet* wel *en* kan $_{V1}$ te weghe brenghen $_{V2}$. that I it to my grief be neg good neg can to about bring

'that, to my disappointment, I cannot bring it about.'

This could indicate that *en* heads PolP above the verbal domain, attracting the finite verb to V1 position. However, the letters contain six non-negative sentences with verb clusters, all of them showing the finite verb at V1 position. Thus, we cannot verify whether the V1 position in (117) is the result of movement to a low PolP or the result of the preferred order of verb raising.

The negative clitic expresses emphatic meaning: yes

One letter (from 1663) shows two negative sentences with negative concord. They both express negative contrast. (117) is preceded by the claim that the writer was about to send things but got ill. The second sentence is shown in (118). The presupposition that the referent is polite towards the writer is enclosed in the sentence itself. The negative contrast is further singaled by *maer*.

(118) *Maer en* can mijn selven *niet* ghenoeg verwonderen over sijne groote but neg can my self neg enough wonder about his big onbeleeftheijt tegens mijn.

rudeness towards me.

'But I cannot be amazed enough about his great rudeness against me.'

The C-parameter is present: yes

Two double complentizers are found. See (119). This C-related phenomenon indicates the presence of the C-parameter. Although negative concord is not found in both letters from 1664, the presence of the double complementizer still indicates the presence of the C-parameter. In addition, the double complementizers indicate the presence of a high PolP.

(119) als dat groote vader ende groote moeder voors [...] if that grand father and grand mother furthermore [...] 'that grandfather and grandmother, and [...]

5.5 Summary

Table 14 provides an overview of the findings of the analysis of this chapter per writer.

Table 14

Findings per author (N = 26)

	Low	En expresses	En expresses	En expresses both	High	C-parameter	No clitic
	PolP	emphatic stress	negation of	negation of	PolP		
		(deep	presupposition	presupposition and			
		structure)		emphatic stress			
Jacob Been		•	X	·	X	X	•
T. Boucher			X				
Maritje Barents					X	X	X
Meijndert van Kein	X	(X)				X	X
Saartje Jans					X	X	X
Trijntje Jacobs					X	X	X
Doedes Ennes Star	X	(X)			X	X	X
Willem Hontum de Jonge						X	X
Jacob Dimmenssen	X	(X)			X	X	X
Michiel Lalier					X	X	X
Rutgert Pranger							X
Henricus Cordes							X
Lieven Kersteman							X
Hillegonda Vrienk				X		X	
Jaapje Koerten			X				
Trijntje Hendriks-Batens				X	X	X	
Adam Erckelens				X	X	X	
Elisabeth Philips Amelingh			X		X	X	
Adriaan Adriaansen			X		X	X	
Arnoud Adriaansen			X		X	X	
Guillaume Beddelo			X			X	
Tanneke Cats				X	X	X	
Bastiaan Elinck			X		X	X	
Boudewijn de Witte				X	X	X	
Jan Lefeber	X			X		X	
Lambrecht Verbrugge			X		X	X	

In the next chapter, I will discuss the main findings of my analysis in order to answer the research questions.

6) Discussion of the observed systems

In this chapter, I will further discuss my data-analysis from the previous chapter in order to provide answers to the subquestions provided in the introduction of this thesis. From the overview provided in section 5.5 patterns will be extracted which we will be able relate to certain syntactic systems of negation.

6.1 The distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics

In section 2.2.1, the Jespersen cycle was defined as a development of negation in subsequent phases. In section 2.2.2., phase II was reanalyzed for West-Germanic languages and split into two subphases, yet still shifting in subsequent fashion. This cycilic development proceeds as follows. In phase I, negation is expressed by a preverbal clitic. In phase IIa, this clitic becomes phonologically too weak to express negation on its own and is supported by a negative adverb. In phase IIb, the negative clitic is reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity features. In phase III, the negative clitic is lost due to functional redundancy and negation is expressed solely by the negative adverb. In phase IV, the negative adverb has changed into a preverbal negative clitic similar to phase I. This final phase has not been attested yet in Dutch. Despite the assumed subsequent nature of this cycle, my dataset shows that in the second half of the 17th century, citizens of the Dutch language area synchronically use varieties exhibiting different phases of the Jespersen Cycle. Table 15 shows the division of writers across Jespersen's phases.

Table 15
Writers (and year of writing) divided over phases of Jespersen's cycle.

Phase I	
Negative clitic	
Phase IIa/b	Jacob Been (1664)
Negative concord	T. Boucher (1664)
Phase III	Doedes Ennes Star (1664)
Single negation	Willem Hontum de Jonge (1664)
	Maritje Barents (1664)
	Meijndert van Kein (1664)

	Saartje Jans (1664)
	Trijntje Jacobs (1664)
	Jacob Dimmenssen (1665)
	Michiel Lalier (1672)
	Rutgert Pranger (1673)
	Lieven Kersteman (1665)
	Henricus Cordes (1667)
Variation between phase II and phase III	Adriaan Adriaansen (1664)
Mostly negative concord and sometimes	Arnoud Adriaansen (1664)
single negation (possibly phase IIb)	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (1661)
Variation between phase II and phase III	Hillegonda Vrienk (1673)
Mostly single negation and sometimes	Jaapje Koerten (1664)
negative concord	Trijntje Hendriks-Batens (1664)
	Adam Erckelens (1664)
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (1664)
	Guillaume Beddelo (1672)
	Tanneke Cats (1672)
	Bastiaan Elinck (1664)
	Boudewijn de Witte (1671)
	Jan Lefeber (1664-1665)
	Lambrecht Verbrugge (1663-1664)

As Table 15 shows, Early Modern Dutch, which is generally described as an intermediate phase in which *en* becomes optional, still shows varieties with phase II and already shows varieties with phase III. This means that in some varieties, the conservative grammar displaying consistent negative concord is maintained, while other varieties already exhibit consistent single negation. Furthermore, within the category of variation, three authors show a grammar that fits phase IIb, which is the subphase of phase II in which the negative clitic is reanalyzed as the head of polarity features in PolP. In these letters, deletion of the negative clitic only occurs when the sentence does not express polarity.

Instead of following the subsequent sequence of Jespersen's cycle, we see that among the varieties displayed, three phases co-exist: phase II, phase III and the intermediate phase. In fact, notice that Philips Amelingh shows two varieties: one of her letters shows phase IIb,

while the other letter shows variation. Both letters were written in the same year and to the same addressee.

Let us discuss the division of varieties in Jespersen's phases against the background of the top-down and bottom-up influences on the development of negation. Recall that in 1638, the elite writers decided to introduce a grammar exhibiting obligatory single negation. The second half of the 17th century is marked by a top-down pressure to incorporate this grammar. My dataset consists of letters from a timeframe between 1661 and 1673. Its first letter appears 23 years after the sudden top-down change. We see that 11 writers show a grammar similar to the introduced grammar: their writings show consistent single negation, which makes their varieties part of phase III. Two writers show a conservative grammar that does not show any influence of the changes: their writings show consistent negative concord, which makes their varieties part of phase II. Thirteen writers, the dominant portion, shows a grammar exhibiting variation. Their motivation for the use of this grammar remains unclear. Two of the most probable reasons are: (i) the language user was aware of the modern language conventions but felt the urge to utilize en where the negative sentence needed support of emphatic stress, or in some varieties emphasis on unexpectedness of the negation of a presupposition; or (ii) the language user was unaware of the modern conventions and his or her grammar continued to develop along the natural bottom-up route of change that was already set in motion in the first half of the 17th century. We will return to this part of the discussion in section 6.4.

This section dealt with the division of varieties with regard to their surface structure. In the next section, I will discuss the syntactic properties related to the negative clitic from the perspective of generative theory.

6.2 The distribution of syntactic phenomena related to the negative clitic

6.2.1 Low PolP, high PolP

In section 2.2.3, I discussed Breitbarth's (2008) proposal that in Jespersen's phase IIb, the syntactic [uNEG] features of *en*, projecting NegP, were reanalyzed as [uAffect] features, projecting high PolP as part of an extended CP. The negative clitic as an expletive or in exceptive clauses form evidence in favor of the polarity features. For West-Flemish, Breitbarth and Haegeman (2014) propose that the negative clitic heads a low PolP between VP and TP, where it attracts the finite verb to T after which it attaches itself. Verb clusters

show evidence in favor of this proposal, because in the presence of the negative clitic, they show the finite verb at V1 position. Van Koppen (2018) showed that verb clusters in texts by Hooft behave like the verb clusters in West-Flemish, in favor of low PolP. The two systems are displayed in tree-structures in (20) and (27), repeated below in (120).

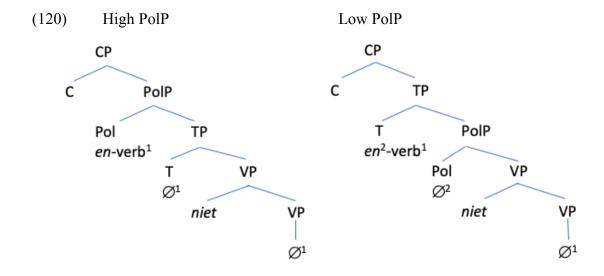


Table 14 shows that 2 out of the 26 varieties in the current dataset (Van Kein and Lefeber, 7%) display a system with *en* as the head of low PolP. In these varieties, the finite verb in verb clusters consistently moves to V1 position in the presence of the negative clitic, while it remains in non-V1 position in the absence of the negative clitic. Furthermore, Lefeber also uses the expletive clitic, which means that *en* is already reanalyzed as the head of polarity features.

Table 14 also shows that 14 varieties (53%) display a system with the presence of high PolP. In these varieties, double complementizers were found that do not exist without the co-occurrence of high PolP in current Dutch dialects (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen, 2019). This strong correlation indicates that the occurrence of these double complementizers is related to polarity features heading high PolP. The presence of polarity features is further supported by three tokens of the expletive clitic found in these letters. Unfortunately, exceptive clauses containing the negative clitic were not found. Recall that Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2018) show that both clitics on *ja/nee*, and do-support, which are both polarity-related and C-related phenomena, correlate with the negative clitic in the southern Dutch language area. These phenomena were not found in the current dataset, which is not unsurprising, since *ja/nee* clitics and do-support are assumed to be of convenient

use in dialogue rather than monologue. Yet, I take the double complementizers and the presence of the expletive clitics as supportive evidence in favor of the presence of high PolP.

Furthermore, notice that five writers (19%) show C-related phenomena that do not indicate the presence of high PolP. These phenomena include Verb Third constructions, expletive *t* or double complementizers that do not correlate with high PolP-related phenomena in current Dutch dialects as observed by Van Craenenbroeck and Van Koppen (2019).

The discussed C-related phenomena, in particular double complementizers and Verb Third, occur frequently in 20 (77%) out of the 26 varieties. Since *en* heads PolP as part of the extended CP, co-occurrence between *en* and C-related phenomena is expected. In the letters where the negative clitic is consistently deleted, we expect that its features are deleted as well, which means that we do not expect (polarity-related) C-phenomena to appear. In other words, we do expect a shift on the C-parameter hierarchy. Table 16 shows that some varieties with consistent single negation have deleted the C-features, others did not.

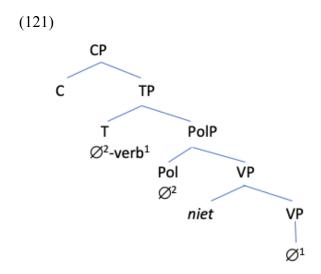
Table 16 Varieties with consistent single negation (N = 11) divided over the presence and absence of *C*-related phenomena.

+ C-related phenomena	8
- C-related phenomena	3

In 8 out of the 11 varieties with consistent single negation, the syntactic feature of the negative clitic, the C-parameter, is still present. This means that, although at the surface structure these varieties show a grammar similar to the upper-class prescribed grammar exhibiting single negation, their syntactic features were not deleted and still play a part in the derivation of sentences. The result is the frequent presence of an extended CP. One of the writers from Table 16, Hontum de Jonge, shows C-features that are not polarity-related. For this writer, we might assume that a small parameter shift occurred to a level where the C-features are inherited by a smaller set of items: polarity-related items do not inherit the extended CP anymore.

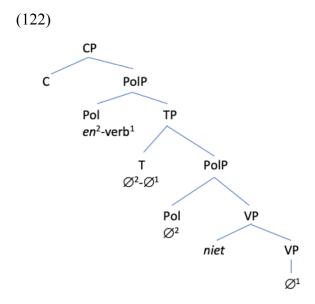
Three of the varieties in Table 14 that display a low PolP, are also part of the subset of varieties exhibiting consistent single negation. Thus, while *en* in low PolP in their varieties attracted the finite verb in verb clauses to V1 position during the derivation, it does not appear at surface structure. This means that the negative clitic has been artificially deleted after the

derivation, possibly as a result of the social pressure to use single negation. (121) shows the surface structure of these varieties containing low PolP and single negation.



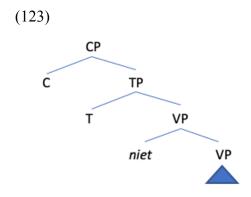
6.2.2 Both low PolP and high PolP

Two newly found systems can be extracted from Table 14. The first newly found system is displayed by two writers (Ennes Star and Dimmenssen, 7%). This system contains both low PolP and high PolP. Low PolP is revealed by the V1 position of the finite verb in verb clusters in sentences expressing negative polarity. High PolP is revealed by certain double complementizers. It can be assumed that in this system, *en* moves from low PolP to high PolP. The motivation for this movement will be discussed in section 6.3. A tree structure of this system can be observed in (122).



6.2.3 No PolP

The second newly found system is displayed by six writers (23%). This system shows absence of PolP and is demonstrated in the structure in (123).



Two out of of these six varieties (Hontum de Jonge and Vrienk) still show C-related phenomena, like the Verb Third construction. In these varieties the C-parameter is still present but has possibly shifted to a level where it is no longer inherited by polarity-related items.

One of the varieties (Boucher) shows no C-parameter but does show consistent use of the *en*. This grammar might still be part of Jespersen's phase IIa, where the negative clitic still carries negative features, projecting NegP. Another possibility is that not enough text has been generated in order for me to find PolP. In future research, one might be able to find evidence in favor of any of these hypotheses. The remaining three varieties (Pranger, Cordes,

Kersteman) show complete absence of the C-parameter. Hence, in these varieties the shift of the C-parameter as a result of the deletion of the features related to *en* has completed. These varieties do not show the clitic or its features in both surface structure and deep structure. They are completely part of phase III, in which the negative adverb provides lexical negation on its own.

In sum, four systems are observed with respect to the polarity-features of the negative clitic: (i) low PolP, (ii) high PolP, (iii) both low PolP and high PolP, and (iv) no PolP. Table 17 is extracted from Table 14 and shows the division of writers over the four systems. Writers with low PolP show consistent V1 position of the finite verb in verb clusters in negative polarity sentences. Writers with high PolP show phenomena that are both C-related and polarity-related. Writers with both low PolP and high PolP show both polarity-related C-phenomena as well as consistent V1 position of the finite verb in verb clusters in negative polarity sentences. Writers without PolP show no polarity-related phenomena or consistent V1 position of the finite verb in verb clusters. A subset of these writers still shows the C-parameter by means of C-related phenomena such as Verb Third constructions. One could argue that in these varieties the C-parameter shifted to a level where it is inherited by a smaller set of items. Other writers show complete lack of the C-parameter. Here, both the negative clitic and its features have completely disappeared.

Table 17

The four polarity-related systems divided over the writers (N = 26).

	Low	High PolP	Low PolP and high PolP	No PolP
	PolP			
Jacob Been		X		
T. Boucher				X
Maritje Barents		X		
Meijndert van Kein	X			
Saartje Jans		X		
Trijntje Jacobs		X		
Doedes Ennes Star			X	
Willem Hontum de Jonge				X
Jacob Dimmenssen			X	
Michiel Lalier		X		
Rutgert Pranger				X
Henricus Cordes				X
Lieven Kersteman				X
Hillegonda Vrienk				X
Jaapje Koerten				X

Trijntje Hendriks-Batens		X	
Adam Erckelens		X	
Elisabeth Philips Amelingh		X	
Adriaan Adriaansen		X	
Arnoud Adriaansen		X	
Guillaume Beddelo			X
Tanneke Cats		X	
Bastiaan Elinck		X	
Boudewijn de Witte		X	
Jan Lefeber	X		
Lambrecht Verbrugge		X	

In the previous section, I described how the varieties displayed by the dataset are part of the different phases of Jespersen's cycle. However, that was merely a decription in terms of their surface structure. Now that I have described the varieties in terms of the features related to the negative clitic, I can show how these features are related to the phases of Jespersen's cycle.

Phase IIa: In this phase, the negative clitic is consistently used. The negative clitic expresses the [uNeg] feature, projecting NegP. One variety in our dataset (Boucher) might be part of this phase.

Phase IIb: In this phase, the negative clitic is still utilized, but it is reanalyzed as the spell-out of [uAffect] features, projecting low/high PolP. The projection of high PolP inherits C-features as part of the C-parameter. All varieties in our dataset that exhibit PolP are part of this phase. This includes all varieties exhibiting single negation at surface structure: the presence of PolP means that the syntactic features of the negative clitic as part of this Jespersen phase are maintained at the deep structure.

Phase III: In this phase, the negative clitic and its (polarity-related) C-features have completely disappeared. The negative adverb carries [iNEG] and expresses negation on its own. Three varieties in our dataset (Pranger, Cordes and Kersteman) are part of this phase.

It must be noted that in the description of Jespersen's phases above, I assume that the shift from phase IIb to phase III is not only a shift from the usage to the deletion of the negative clitic, but also a shift from the usage to the deletion of its (polarity-related) C-features. Hence, as long as the deep structure of the negative sentences still shows these features, the variety remains part of phase IIb. It follows that only when deletion of both the negative clitic and its features are observed, the variety is classified as part of phase III. Table 18 shows a redistribution of the varieties over Jespersen's phases. Notice that a larger portion of varieties now fall under phase IIb. Varieties that show deletion of the negative clitic at surface structure but maintain of its features at deep structure are included in this phase.

Table 18
Writers (and year of writing) redistributed over phases of Jespersen's cycle.

Phase I	
Negative clitic	
Phase IIa	T. Boucher (1664)
Negative concord + neg features	
Phase IIb	Jacob Been (1664)
Negative concord + pol features	
Phase IIb	Maritje Barents (1664)
Single negation at surface structure + the	Meijndert van Kein (1664)
features of the negative clitic at deep	Saartje Jans (1664)
structure	Trijntje Jacobs (1664)
	Doedes Ennes Star (1664)
	Willem Hontum de Jonge (1664)
	Jacob Dimmenssen (1665)
	Michiel Lalier (1672)
Variation between phase IIb and III	Adriaan Adriaansen (1664)
	Arnoud Adriaansen (1664)
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (1661)
	Hillegonda Vrienk (1673)
	Jaapje Koerten (1664)
	Trijntje Hendriks-Batens (1664)
	Adam Erckelens (1664)
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (1664)
	Guillaume Beddelo (1672)

	Tanneke Cats (1672)
	Bastiaan Elinck (1664)
	Boudewijn de Witte (1671)
	Jan Lefeber (1664-1665)
	Lambrecht Verbrugge (1663-1664)
Phase III	Rutgert Pranger (1673)
Single negation	Lieven Kersteman (1665)
At surface structure and deep structure	Henricus Cordes (1667)

In the updated description of Jespersen's phases, the features of the negative clitic are involved. However, these phases still assume consistent use of the clitic and its features, consistent use of single negation but with the clitic's features, or complete loss of the clitic and its features. However, as we have observed throughout this thesis and as noticed in Table 18, many varieties in our dataset display grammars that show variation between phase IIb and phase III. The next section will discuss this grammar.

6.3 Intra-author-variation

The dominant portion of varieties displayed by the letters exhibit variation between single negation and negative concord. Since single negation whas prescribed by the upper-class, it is interesting to explore what motivations affected the use of negative concord. In literature, it has been assumed that *en* is utilized in phase IIb to convey emphatic meaning (Breitbarth, 2008). For West-Flemish, an additional pragmatic function has been proposed, namely the emphasis on the unexpectedness that the sentence negates a presupposition established in discourse or common ground (Breitbarth & Haegeman, 2014). Van Koppen (2018) found this function in texts from both Hooft and De Ruyter.

The conditions for West-Flemish are stricter than the conditions for the more general function of emphatic stress. In particular, negative sentences with the negative clitic are ill-formed if they do not negate a presupposition. Thus, when I encounter *en* in a negative sentence that does not negate a presupposition, I conclude that under the theory of Breitbarth and Haegeman, this structure is illicit.

The more general notion of emphatic meaning proposed for other West-Germanic languages in phase IIb might be more related to salient topics in the discourse. Since *en* is expected to be dropped in contexts where it is otherwise functionally redundant, it is expected

to be utilized in contexts where it expresses emphasis with regard to the salient topics. Table 19 compares the different functions of the negative clitic observed in table 14 and compares them to the four different systems of polarity features discussed in the previous section. This table includes varieties that show the negative clitic as part of Jespersen's phase II and varieties that show single negation with a low PoIP at deep structure, indicating that the negative clitic was involved in the derivation. It is interesting to involve these varieties as well to get complete insight in the relation between the function of the negative clitic and its syntactic features.

Table 19

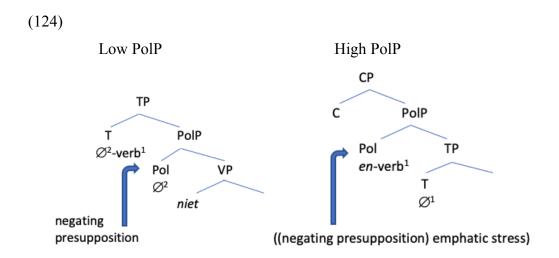
Writers using the negative clitic overt or covert (N = 18) divided over its functions and featural systems. (index: () variety shows single negation at surface structure; [] variety shows consistent negative concord; * variety shows C-features).

	Negating presupposition	Emphatic	Emphatic stress + presupposition
		stress	
High PolP	[Jacob Been]		Trijntje Hendriks-Batens
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh		Adam Erckelens
	Adriaan Adriaansen		Tanneke Cats
	Arnoud Adriaansen		Boudewijn de Witte
	Bastiaan Elinck		
	Lambrecht Verbrugge		
Low PolP	(Meijndert van Kein)		Jan Lefeber
High PolP +	(Doedes Ennes Star)		
low PolP	(Jacob Dimmenssen)		
No PolP	Jaapje Koerten*		Hillegonda Vrienk*
	Guillaume Beddeloo*		
	[T. Boucher]		

First of all, notice that in Table 19, all writers at least use *en* when negating a presupposition. In addition, half of these varieties use the clitic in order to convey emphatic stress with regard to a salient topic. This means that, in these varieties the use of the clitic is not as restricted as Breitbarth and Haegeman proposed for West-Flemish.

When analyzing the functions of *en* against the projections by which they are captured, it stands out that the function of emphasizing negative contrast is captured in both low PolP

and high PolP, while the broader function of emphatic stress seems to be captured only in high PolP. Thus, the different functions of the clitic seem to be captured by its position in the syntactic structure: when the clitic only emphasizes negation of a presupposition, this function can be restricted to low PolP, similar to the system of West-Flemish. However, at some point during the development of negation, the clitic was reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity features and high PolP became available (phase IIb). The data in Table 19 seem to support that this high PolP enables the negative clitic to express broader emphatic stress: except for Lefeber, all varieties with the clitic emphasizing stress project high PolP. the different functions of low PolP and high PolP are visualized in (124).



The function of emphasizing stress captured by high PolP could be seen as a symptom of the eventual loss of the negative clitic due to functional redundancy. As the function of the reanalyzed clitic extends from emphasizing negative contrast to emphasizing stress, this functional redundancy is strengthened. It follows that the following step in the loss of the clitic's features would be the loss of high PolP, while other C-features are maintained. This has been observed in the variety of Hontum de Jonge, which exhibits complete loss of the negative clitic and high PolP, but maintains the C-parameter.

Since the function of emphatic stress is merely an extention of the function of emphasizing negative contrast, it follows that *en* can also move to high PolP to express the latter. In the varieties that show both high PolP and low PolP, the clitic is attracted by low PolP. Then the clitic might have been moved to high PolP, but this movement is imperceptible.

The above-described proposal that the broader emphatic function of *en* is captured in high PolP, can be falsified by a variety that shows the negative clitic heading only a low PolP,

while it expresses emphatic stress. As can be observed in Table 19, one variety in our dataset (Lefeber) displays this system. However, the analysis of this variety in section 5.4.11 shows that the double complementizer *hoe dat* indicates the presence of the C-parameter. More generated text from this writer might reveal double complementizers like *als dat*, indicating high PolP. For now, I conclude that, despite the observed variety of Lefeber, all instances of the negative clitic that emphasize stress, correlate with the presence of high PolP, indicating that the function of the clitic is captured by movement to this projection.

Finally, notice that *en* also shows up in varieties without PolP. As discussed in previous section, in the variety of Boucher, which exhibits a grammar of consistent negative concord, the absence of PolP might be related to the analysis of the negative clitic as the spell-out of [uNeg] features. The function of negative contrast is then a part of the clitic's general way of expression negation. The remaining three writers that show no PolP (Koerten, Beddelo and Vrienk), do show C-related phenomena. The fact that I did not find any polarity-related phenomena in their texts, does not mean that their variety does not contain it. As with the variety of Lefeber, more generated texts could provide proof of these phenomena. For now, the fact that these few varieties do not fit the observed systems remains open for further research.

To summarize, all writers seem to use *en* in order to emphasize the negation of a presupposition. Some writers extend the usage of the negative clitic to general emphatic meaning, related to salient topics of the letter. This function is captured by high PolP, which means that when the clitic was reanalyzed as the spell-out of polarity-features, high PolP became available for the language user. Hence, he or she was able to extend the function of negative contrast captured by low PolP to broader emphatic stress in high PolP.

In the following section, I will take the encountered grammars from our dataset and redistribute them over the sociolinguistic variables.

6.4 Redistribution over social class and region

As presented in Tables 1 and 2 by Rutten and Van der Wal (2014) in the introduction, they took the total number of tokens per negation type they found in their subset of letters as loot and distributed them over social class and region to find a slight increase of *en* from Noord-Holland towards Flanders and from high class towards low class. However, they disregarded the grammars exhibiting the tokens of negation. In this thesis, I developed hypotheses about

these different types of grammars with the incorporation of considerations from generative syntax. In the data-analysis and discussion so far, I showed how each language user fits one of these grammars. Table 20 shows the redistribution of the language users over social class and region, involving their grammars.

Table 20 Writers (N = 26) and their grammar divided over social class and region. Index: (i) the language user keeps the negative clitic; (ii) the language user does not use the negative clitic on the surface, but the features are still present; (iii) the language user does not use the negative clitic, nor its features; (iv) the language keeps using the negative clitic in emphatic contexts.

	Region	
,	Noord Holland	Zeeland
High social class	Doedes Ennes Star (ii)	Bastiaan Elinck (iv)
	Willem Hontum de Jonge (ii)	Boudewijn de Witte (iv)
	Henricus Cordes (iii)	Jan Lefeber (iv)
	Lieven Kersteman (iii)	Lambrecht Verbrugge (iv)
	Adam Erckelens (iv)	
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (iv)	
Low social class	Maritje Barents (ii)	Jacob Been (i)
	Meijndert van Kein (ii)	T. Boucher (i)
	Saartje Jans (ii)	Jacob Dimmenssen (ii)
	Trijntje Jacobs (ii)	Michiel Lalier (ii)
	Rutgert Pranger (iii)	Adriaan Adriaansen (iv)
	Hillegonda Vrienk (iv)	Arnoud Adriaansen (iv)
	Jaapje Koerten (iv)	Guillaume Beddelo (iv)
	Trijntje Hendriks-Batens (iv)	Tanneke Cats (iv)

Although the sample of writers used for this thesis is rather small, still relevant patterns emerge after the exploration of their varieties and the redistribution over the sociolinguistic variables. First, the grammar displaying complete deletion of *en* and its syntactic features only occurs in Noord-Holland. Since this is the region where this prescribed grammar originated, it

comes as no surprise that in Zeeland none of the varieties display complete loss of the negative clitic and its features yet.

Second, the most conservative grammar – consistent negative concord – is only found in the low social class of Zeeland. Since the most progressive grammar - consistent single negation - originated in Noord-Holland and was enforced by the upper-class, it follows that the most conservative grammar is only found in the low social class of Zeeland. The single negation grammar spread from the north to the south, from high to low class. The low class of Zeeland is expected to be the last area affected by the modern grammar.

Third, all writers from the high class of Zeeland show a variety exhibiting a grammar of variation, while two language users from the low class of Zeeland (Dimmenssen and Lalier) utilize consistent single negation. This is surprising, since we expect the enforced modern grammar to spread from high to low social class and not in the opposite direction. A possible explanation could be that Dimmenssen and Lalier did not generate enough text for me to assess the grammar displayed by their variety. Since their observed variety does contain the features of *en*, it might be a grammar exhibiting variation. The language users might not have felt the urge to emphasize negative stress in any of the letters to my disposal. The negative clitic might appear in a larger data-sample of their letters.

Finally, grammars exhibiting variation show up across all regions and social classes. This means that 23 years after the introduction of the modern grammar, language users across regions and social classes have not yet completely adapted. The question posited in section 6.1 now resurfaces: what motivated the language user to utilize a grammar deviating from the prescribed one. The most probable assumptions remain: either they deviate from the standard deliberately, or they subject to the bottom-up natural change from below. The final phase before complete erosion of the clitic is considered phase IIb, in which the clitic is reanalyzed as a spell-out of polarity features. Evidence in favor of this phase consists of the appearance of the expletive clitic. I found four instances of the expletive clitic across four language users: Philips Amelingh (Noord-Holland/high), Adriaan Adriaansen (Zeeland/low), Bastiaan Elinck (Zeeland/high) and Jan Lefeber (Zeeland/high). Three out of the four writers are inhabitants of Zeeland. This might be an indication that variation in Zeeland follows a more natural bottom-up development of negation that has reached phase IIb.

Considering the observations in the previous section with respect to the different functions of *en* and the way they are captured by different syntactic projections, it is interesting to see whether patterns emerge when the variables of region and social class are applied. Table 21 shows the distribution of the varieties containing the negative clitic over the

possible clitic's functions and the featural systems. They are indexed with sociolinguistic information.

Table 21

Writers using the negative clitic overt or covert (N = 18) divided over its functions and featural systems. (index: (l/z) = low social class/Zeeland; (l/n) = low social class/Noord-Holland; (h/z) = high social class/Zeeland; (h/n) = high social class/Noord-Holland).

	Negating presupposition	Emphatic stress + presupposition
High PolP	Jacob Been (1/z)	Trijntje Hendriks-Batens (l/n)
	Elisabeth Philips Amelingh (h/n)	Adam Erckelens (h/n)
	Adriaan Adriaansen (l/z)	Tanneke Cats (1/z)
	Arnoud Adriaansen (1/z)	Boudewijn de Witte (h/z)
	Bastiaan Elinck (h/z)	
	Lambrecht Verbrugge (h/z)	
Low PolP	Meijndert van Kein (l/n)	Jan Lefeber (h/z)
High PolP +	Doedes Ennes Star (h/n)	
low PolP	Jacob Dimmenssen (1/z)	
No PolP	Jaapje Koerten (l/n)	Hillegonda Vrienk (l/n)
	Guillaume Beddelo (1/z)	
	T. Boucher (1/z)	

Two patterns in Table 20 stand out. First, varieties with *en* heading high PolP and emphasizing negative contrast mainly occur in Zeeland. The grammar exhibiting complete loss of the negative clitic was initiated in Noord-Holland, from where it spread towards the south. It follows that most of the varieties containing the negative clitic's features - high PolP as part of an extended CP - are located in Zeeland.

Second, all varieties with *en* heading no PolP occur in the low social class. Since the grammar exhibiting complete loss of the negative clitic was initiated in the high social class, we would expect the loss of polarity-related C-features to emerge in this social class first. Hence, this observation is unexpected. However, the observed varieties do not yet show complete loss of the negative clitic. Furthermore, Vrienk and Beddelo still show C-related phenomena, indicating the presence of the C-parameter. From this I conclude that these varieties are still in the process of development to complete loss of the negative clitic and its features.

7) Suggestions for further research

This chapter is devoted to proposals for further research on the topic of diachronic change of negation in Early Modern Dutch. The most obvious recommendation is to use a larger dataset. For the purpose of this thesis, I was able to analyze 37 letters from 26 language users, and to apply just the variables social class and region. In the latter, I was restricted to the regions of Zeeland and Noord-Holland. From a dataset extracted from 37 letters it is hard to draw generalizable conclusions. Hence, this thesis functions as an introduction of how to proceed such an analysis and find indications of how negation syntactically developed under the influence of both bottom-up development and upper-class prescriptions. My data-sample was extracted from a subset of letters as loot collected by Van der Wall et al. (2015). This subset contains more autographed letters from inhabitants of Noord-Holland, but not from Zeeland. Hence, a larger sample of letters as loot needs to be transcribed in order to gain access to more letters from Zeeland's inhabitants. Moreover, the current superset of letters possibly contains more letters of the writers whose varieties were explored in this thesis, which means that if we can extract more generated text, my analyses and conclusions can be tested against more text within the same varieties. This would be particularly useful for the language users such as Boucher and Koerten, who revealed an unexpected variety exhibiting the negative clitic without any features, possibly due to lack of text.

A second suggestion is to explore how *en* was able to emphasize negation of a presupposition in both West-Flanders, Zeeland and Noord-Holland, but somehow only managed to survive in West-Flanders. Breitbarth and Haegeman (2013) claim that the negative clitic in West-Flanders gained an additional pragmatic function, which preserved its economic value. However, we see similar behavior of the clitic in the writings of both Hooft, De Ruyter and letters as loot. We have seen that the more general function of emphatic stress is captured in high PolP, which at some point disappeared along the loss of the clitic. Future research could focus on the question why low PolP was eventually lost in Dutch, while it remains in West-Flemish.

Finally, for the research design of this thesis, I took the observation that certain double complementizers and polarity-related C-phenomena always co-occur in respective Dutch speaking regions (Van Craenenbroeck & Van Koppen, 2019) to claim that double complementizers in the letters reveal the presence of high PolP. However, the observed

correlation does not count as conclusive evidence. Future research could focus on finding independent evidence in favor of the presence of high PolP.

8) Conclusion

The focus of this thesis was on the development of negation in Dutch in the second half of the 17th century. In this intermediate stage between negative concord and single negation, the negative clitic became optional. Literature has shown that the negative clitic already started to erode towards the end of the Middle Dutch language phase as the result of bottom-up change from below. Consistent use of single negation originated consciously from 1638 in the upper-class of Noord-Holland and spread out in the direction of surrounding Dutch speaking language areas and lower social classes. The purpose of my research was to find how negation kept on developing in varieties from people across regions and social classes after the modern grammar with single negation was introduced, with the incorporation of Jespersen's cycle and mechanisms rooted in generative syntax. The main research question guiding my research was: how did negation develop within 17th century Dutch across regions and social classes, and how can we account for this development?

The object of analysis was a sample of letters written between 1661 and 1673 by people from different regions and social classes in Dutch speaking area. This sample was extracted from a large collection called letters as loot.

In order to answer the main research question, four subquestions were discussed. The first subquestion was: what is the distribution of negation and its syntactic characteristics? In my dataset, I observed that many synchronic co-occurring varieties display different phases of the Jespersen cycle. While some varieties display a conservative grammar exhibiting consistent negative concord (phase II), others display a progressive grammar containing consistent single negation (phase III). In addition, the dominant portion of letters display a grammar exhibiting variation between negative concord (phase II) and single negation (phase III). Some of these letters even show characteristics of phase IIb: the negative clitic is only dropped when functionally redundant, and expletive clitics occur, demonstrating that the negative clitic is reanalyzed as a spell-out of polarity features. These findings contradict the assumed nature of the Jespersen cycle, which portrays the phases of negative development in a subsequent fashion.

The second subquestion was: what is the distribution of syntactic features related to the negative clitic? The features of the negative clitic are contained within the following syntactic systems: (i) a high PolP as part of an extended CP, which indicates the C-parameter; (ii) a low PolP that attracts the finite verb to T, which results in V1 position in verb clusters;

(iii) both high PolP and low PolP; and (iv) no PolP. Each system has been observed in at least one of the varieties in our dataset. Interestingly, many letters with single negation show high PolP, which is a feature of the negative clitic. I concluded that, although the negative clitic has been deleted in these varieties, its features remain present. Hence the deletion of the negative clitic did not affect the parametric hierarchy of the extended CP. A few varieties exhibit single negation with C-features but without high PolP. For these varieties, I conclude that the C-parameter shifted to a level where it is inherited by a smaller set of items. Some of the varieties with single negation show evidence in favor of low PolP, which means that although the negative clitic is absent, it attracted the finite verb to low PolP during the derivation. It has most likely been deleted at surface structure. From this analysis I conclude that most of these varieties show the characteristics of phase III at surface structure. Since the features of the negative clitic have not been deleted, the variety is still a phase IIb at deep structure. This dual grammar is possibly the result of external social pressure to artificially drop the clitic at surface structure on the one hand, and internal natural development of negation on the other hand. A portion of the grammars with single negation exhibited total loss of the C-features. This is considered the most progressive grammar.

The third subquestion was: where intra-author-variation occurs, what factors drive the language user to utilize the negative clitic? A function of the negative clitic assumed in literature is emphatic meaning: it emphasizes negative contrast or stress the importance of a specific topic. For West-Flemish an additional pragmatic function has been proposed, namely the emphasis of the unexpectedness of a presupposition being negated. This pragmatic function was also found in Dutch language users, such as P.C. Hooft and De Ruyter. In letters as loot, I observed the negative clitic to convey this function in all letters showing variation. In addition, half of this subset of letters showed the more general function of emphasizing negative stress, which is dependent on what topic the writer deems salient and the point he or she is trying to convey. Since this extended emphatic function is captured in high PolP, I proposed that with the reanalysis of the negative clitic as the spell-out of the [uAffect] feature, high PolP became available for the language user. Movement of the clitic to high PolP enables the language user to emphasize stress. This extended function is less specific and points to the eventual loss of the clitic due to functional redundancy. It follows that high PolP as part of the extended left CP eventually loses ground.

The final subquestion brings the analysis back to the interdisciplinary approach of this thesis: how are the encountered findings spread across regions and social classes? When applying the analyzed data to these variables, new patterns emerge. In addition to the

observation that the most conservative grammar is only found in the low class of Zeeland, we now observe that the most progressive grammar, with complete loss of the negative clitic and its features – is only found in Noord-Holland. Since the modern grammar originated in Noord-Holland, it comes as no surprise that the varieties that display this grammar on both the surface level and deep level are completed in the same region. This variety is not found in Zeeland. Furthermore, variation occurs across all conditions, which means that there is no region or social class in which all varieties completely adapted to the prescribed modern grammar. The question comes up whether the observed variation is an effect of consciously deviating from the prescribed norm or an effect of bottom-up change from below, resulting in erosion of the negative clitic due to functional redundancy. This functional redundancy is an effect of the clitic's reanalysis as the spell-out of polarity features. Since most observed expletive clitics in our dataset are part of varieties in Zeeland, this forms an indication that in this region, variation might be subjected to bottom-up change from below.

9) References

- Barbiers, S. et al (2006). *Dynamische Syntactische Atlas van de Nederlandse Dialecten (DynaSAND)*. Amsterdam, Meertens Instituut. URL: http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/sand/.
- Baker, Mark C. (2008). The macroparameter in a microparametric world. In *The Limits of Syntactic Variation* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 132], Theresa Biberauer (ed.), 351–374. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Biberauer, T., Roberts, I. (2012). *On the significance of what hasn't happened*. Paper presented at the 14th Diachronic Generative Syntax Conference. Lisbon.
- Biberauer, M. T., & Roberts, I. (2016). Parameter typology from a diachronic perspective. *Theoretical approaches to linguistic variation*, *234*, 259-291.
- Breitbarth, A. (2009). A hybrid approach to Jespersen's Cycle in West Germanic. *The Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics*, *12*(2), 81-114.
- Breitbarth, A., & Haegeman, L. (2014). The distribution of preverbal en in (West) Flemish: Syntactic and interpretive properties. *Lingua*, *147*, 69-86.
- Broekhuis, H., Corver, N. (2016). *Syntax of dutch: Verbs and verb phrases, volume 3.*Comprehensive Grammar Recources. Amsterdam University Press.
- Burridge, K. (1993). Syntactic change in Germanic: Aspects of language change in Germanic with particular reference to Middle Dutch (Vol. 89). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). The minimalist program. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge of language: Its nature, origin, and use*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Cinque, G., & Rizzi, L. (2010). *Mapping spatial PPs: The cartography of syntactic structures (Vol. 6)*. Oxford University Press.
- Cross, M. (1979). Urbanization and urban growth in the Caribbean: An essay on social change in dependent societies (Vol. 1). CUP Archive.
- De Pauw, G., (1973). *Syntaktische kenmerken van het dialect van Buggenhout-Opstal*. Licentiate's thesis. Ghent University.
- Dibbets, G. R. W. (2007). *Joannes Vollenhove (1631-1708): dominee, dichter: een biografie.*Uitgeverij Verloren.
- Fischer, O., Van Kemenade, A., Koopman, W. F., van der Wurff, W. (2000). *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Haegeman, L. (2002). West Flemish negation and the derivation of SOV-order in West

- Germanic. Nordic Journal of Linguistics, 25(2), 154-189.
- Haegeman, L., Zanuttini, R., 1991. Negative Heads and the NEG-Criterion. *The Linguistic Review* 8. (233-251).
- Haegeman, L., Zanuttini, R. (1996) Negative Concord in West Flemish. In: Belletti, A., Rizzi,
 L. (Eds.), *Parameters and Functional Heads. Essays in Comparative Syntax*. (117-179). Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hoeksema, J. (1997). Negation and negative concord in Middle Dutch. *Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science series*, *4*, 139-156.
- Jayaseelan, K. A. (2010). Stacking, stranding, and pied-piping: a proposal about word order. *Syntax*, *13*(4), 298-330.
- Jespersen, O. (1917). Negation in English and other Languages. Copenhagen: A.F. Høst.
- Kerstens, J., Ruys, E., Zwarts, J. (eds.). (2001). *Lexicon of linguistics*. Utrecht Institute of Linguistics OTS. URL: http://www2.let.uu.nl/uil-ots/lexicon/.
- Kroch, A. S. (1978). Toward a theory of social dialect variation. *Language in society*, 7(1), 17-36.
- Labov, W. (1966). *The social stratification of English in New York City*. Washington DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Labov, W. (1989). The child as linguistic historian. *Language variation and change*, *1*(1), 85-97.
- Labov, W. (2001). Principles of linguistic change, vol. 2: Social factors. Wiley Blackwell.
- Labov, W. (2006). *The social stratification of english in new york*. Cambridge University Press.
- Leupenius, P. (1653). Aanmerkingen op de Neederduitsche taale. Amsterdam: Donker.
- Mesthrie, R.; Swann, J., Deumert, A., Leap, W. (2009). *Introducing Sociolinguistics (2nd Edition)*. Edinburgh, Scotland: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mintz, S., W. (1986). Sweetness and power: The place of sugar in modern history. Penguin. Nobels, J. (2013). (Extra)Ordinary letters: a view from below on seventeenth-century Dutch. Utrecht: LOT.
- Nobels, J., Van der Wal, M. (2012). Linking words to writers: Building a reliable corpus for historical sociolinguistic research. In Langer, N., Davies, S., Vandenbussche, W. (eds.), *Language and history, linguistics and historiography: Interdisciplinary approaches.* 343–361. Bern: Peter Lang.
- Paardekooper, P. (2006). Bloei en ondergang van onbeperkt ne/en, vooral dat bij nietwoorden. *Neerlandistiek.nl*.

- Postma, G. (2002). De enkelvoudige clitische negatie in het Middelnederlands en de Jespersen-cyclus. *Nederlandse Taalkunde*, 7(1), 44-82.
- Riemsdijk, H., Williams, E. (1986). *Introduction to the theory of grammar*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In *Elements of grammar* (pp. 281-337). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Roberts, I. (1993). Verbs and Diachronic Syntax. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Roeper, T., & Williams, E. (Eds.). (1987). *Parameter setting (Vol. 4)*. Springer Science & Business Media.
- Rutten, G., Van der Wal, M. (2014). *Letters as loot. A sociolinguistic approach to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Simons, T. (2013). Ongekend 18^e-eeuws Nederlands: Taalvariatie in persoonlijke brieven. Utrecht: LOT.
- Stoet, F.A. (1899). Gedichten van p.c. hooft [le deel]. P.N. van Kampen en zoon.
- Thomason, S. G., & Kaufman, T. (1992). *Language contact, creolization, and genetic linguistics*. Univ of California Press.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J. (2004). *Ellipsis in Dutch dialects*. Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J. (2010). *The syntax of ellipsis. Evidence from Dutch dialects*. New York: OUP.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J., Van Koppen, M. (2019). *Untangling microvariation. A quantitative-qualitative analysis of morphosyntactic variation in Dutch dialects*. Handout of a talk presented at EDSW IX, March 22-23, 2019. University of Glasgow.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J., Van Koppen, M. (2018). *Complementizer variation in Dutch dialects*. Handout of a workshop, June 8, 2018, Utrecht.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J., Van Koppen, M. (2018). *Discovering parameters. From micro- to macrovariation*. Handout of summerschool 'limits on variability', 20-22 June 2018, Potsdam.
- Van Craenenbroeck, J., Van Koppen, M. (2016). *Microvariation and parameter hierarchies*.

 Handout of a talk presented at CGSW 31, December 1-2, 2016. Stellenbosch
 University, South Africa.
- Van der Horst, J. (2008). *Geschiedenis van de nederlandse syntaxis*. Universitaire Pers Leuven.

- Van der Sijs, N., Willemyns, R., de Vries, J., & Burger, P. (2009). *Het verhaal van het Nederlands. Een geschiedenis van twaalf eeuwen*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Van der Wal, M. (1992). Geschiedenis van het Nederlands. Spectrum.
- Van der Wal, M. (2006). Onvoltooid verleden tijd: Witte vlekken in de taalgeschiedenis.
- Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen.
- Van der Wouden, T. (2007). Meer over dubbele ontkenningen. Reactie op Piet Paardekooper. Neerlandistiek.nl.
- Van der Wurff, W. (1999). On expletive negation with adversative predicates in the history of English. *Negation in the history of English*, 295-327.
- Van Gelder, Roelof. 2006. Verslag van een inventariserend onderzoek naar Nederlandse brieven in het archief van het High Court of Admiralty in The National Archives in Kew, Groot-Brittannië. The Hague: Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
- Van Koppen, J.M. (27-09-2018). *Towards an interdisciplinary approach to language* variation and change: Variation in Negation in 17th century Dutch. Invited speaker Comparative Germanic Syntax Workshop Göttingen.
- Van Tricht, H.W., F.L. Zwaan, D. Kuijper Fzn., and Franco Musarra (eds). 1976. *De briefwisseling van pieter corneliszoon hooft*. Noorduijn: Tjeenk Willink.
- Walkden, G. (2015). Verb-third in early West Germanic: a comparative perspective. *Syntax over Time: Lexical, Morphological, and Information-Structural Interactions*.

 Biberauer, T., Walkden, G. (Eds.). (236-248). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Wallage, P. (2005). *Negation in Early English: Parametric variation and grammatical competition* (Doctoral dissertation, University of York).
- Weinreich U., Labov W. & Herzog, M.I. (1968). *Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Zeijlstra, H. (2004). *Sentential negation and negative concord*. Netherlands Graduate School of Linguistics.

Historical sources

- Ælfric Lives of Saints Johnson, J.A. (ed.). 1975. A transformational analysis of the syntax of Ælfric's Lives of Saints. The Hague: Mouton.
- Beowulf Heany, S. (ed.). 1999. Beowulf. London: Faber and Faber.
- Canterbury Tales Wetherbee, W. 2004. (ed). Geoffrey Chausser, The Canterbury Tales. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gysbreght Smits-Veldt, M.B. (ed.). 1994. Joost van den Vondel, Gysbreght van Aemstel.
 Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Available at: Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren.
- Lanceloet Jonckbloet, W.J.A. (Ed.).1846-1849. Roman van Lancelot, (XIIIe eeuw). Naar het (eenig-bekende) handschrift der Koninklijke Bibliotheek, op gezag van het gouvernement uitgegeven. 's-Gravenhage. Included in: CD-ROM Middelnederlands.
- Mowntayne Nichols, J.G. (ed.). 1859. The autobiography of Thomas Mowntayne. Narratives of the days of the reformation, chiefly from the manuscripts of John Foxe the martyrologist; with two contemporary biographies of Archbishop Cranmer. London: Camden Society. Reprinted: New York and London: AMS Press.
- Muhammad Ali Shalit, N. I. (1980). Muhammad Ali: Losing the Real Title. *The Harvard Crimson*. Retrieved August 19, 2015.
- State Bible Synode van Dordrecht (1637). Van der Sijs, N. (2008). Transcriptie

 Statenvertaling 1637. URL: https://www.bijbelsdigitaal.nl/statenvertaling-1637/
- The Rolling Stones Jagger, M., Richards, K. (1965). (I Can't Get No) Satisfaction. London: London Records
- Wachtendonck Psalms De Grauwe, L. (ed.). 1982. De Wachtendockse Psalmen en Glosses. Een lexicologisch-woordgeografische studie met proeve van kritische leestekst en glossaria. Gent: Secretariaat van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde.