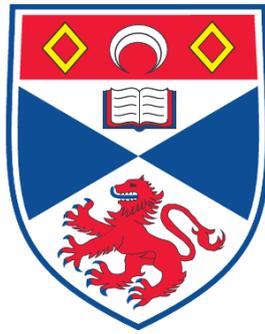


**NEGATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN SELECTED MIDDLE ENGLISH  
VERSE TEXTS**

**Yoko Iyeiri**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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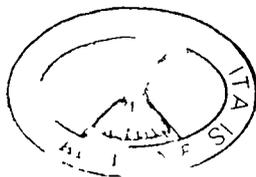
Negative Constructions  
in Selected Middle English Verse Texts

by

Yoko Iyeiri

Submitted in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at  
the University of St. Andrews

December 1992



## A B S T R A C T

The objective of the present study is to investigate the historical development of negative constructions in ME verse and to provide a descriptive account of it. The central issues analyzed in this thesis are: (1) the usage of the negative adverbs ne, not and some other negative elements such as never, no, etc.; (2) the occurrence of negative contraction as illustrated by nam (< ne am) and nolde (< ne wolde); and (3) the development and the decline of multiple negation. The thesis has both a chronological and a geographical perspective, since it examines changes in usage which took place during the ME period and various dialectal types. The thesis also includes a discussion of pleonastic negation and the omission of negative elements (termed 'unexpressed negation').

For the purpose of these analyses, twenty manuscripts of eighteen verse texts ranging chronologically from early ME to later ME are selected from various geographical areas of England. The texts investigated are: (1) Poema Morale, (2) The Owl and the Nightingale, (3) King Horn, (4) Havelok, (5) The South English Legendary, (6) English Metrical Homilies, (7) The Middle English Genesis and Exodus, (8) The Poems of William of Shoreham, (8) Cursor Mundi, (10) Sir Ferumbras, (11) Confessio Amantis, (12) Handlyng Synne, (13) Kyng Alisaunder, (14) Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, (15) The Alliterative Morte Arthure, (16) Alexander and Dindimus, (17) The Destruction of Troy, and (18) The Stanzaic Morte Arthur. Due to the paucity of suitable material for linguistic analysis at the beginning of the ME period, Poema Morale is investigated in three selected manuscripts (MS Lambeth, MS Trinity, and MS Digby), all of which are localized in different areas of England.

## DECLARATIONS

I, Yoko Iveiri, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 99,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 5.1.92 signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 with effect from October 1990 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in April 1991; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St. Andrews between 1989 and 1992.

date 5.1.92 signature of candidate

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St. Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

date 15 December 1992 signature of supervisor

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## ABBREVIATIONS

## 1. Titles of the texts examined: Alphabetical list of texts

<u>A&amp;D</u>	<u>Alexander and Dindimus</u>
<u>AMA</u>	<u>The Alliterative Morte Arthure</u>
CA	<u>Confessio Amantis</u>
<u>CM</u>	Cursor Mundi
DT	<u>The Destruction of Troy</u>
<u>EMH</u>	<u>English Metrical Homilies</u>
Ferumbras	Sir Ferumbras
G&E	<u>The Middle English Genesis and Exodus</u>
GGK	<u>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight</u>
Havelok	<u>Havelok</u>
HS	<u>Handlyng Synne</u>
KA	<u>Kyng Alisaunder</u>
KH	<u>King Horn</u>
O&N	<u>The Owl and the Nightingale</u>
PM	Poema Morale
(1) Lamb	Lambeth Palace Library 487 (London)
(2) Trin	Trinity College B.14.52 (Cambridge)
(3) Dgb	Bodleian Library, Digby A4 (Oxford)
<u>SEL</u>	<u>The South English Legendary</u>
SMA	<u>The Stanzaic Morte Arthur</u>
<u>WS</u>	<u>The Poems of William of Shoreham</u>

## 2. Languages

ME	Middle English
MnE	Modern English
OE	Old English
PE	Present-day English

## 3. Others

- EETS e.s.      Early English Text Society, Extra Series.
- EETS o.s.      Early English Text Society, Original Series.
- ES              English Studies
- E&S           Essays and Studies
- ESTn          Englische Studien
- JEGP          Journal of English and Germanic Philology
- Manual         A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500.  
Connecticut: Connecticut Academy of Arts and  
Sciences. 1967-.
- MED           Middle English Dictionary. See H. Kurath, S. M.  
Sherman, R. E. Lewis (eds.) (1952-) in the Bibliography.
- N&Q           Notes and Queries
- NM               Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
- OED             The Oxford English Dictionary. 2nd ed. See J. A. H.  
Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions  
(eds.) (1989) in the Bibliography.

## C H A P T E R I

### Introduction

#### 1.1. The nature of the present thesis

The present thesis investigates the historical development of negative constructions in selected ME verse texts and provides a descriptive account of it. This thesis presents much new information to supplement existing historical studies of negation, a survey of which is given below (1.2.). The principal interest of the present thesis lies in syntactic analyses of negation, but some other related issues are also examined and discussed in this study. The aspects of negation that are analyzed in this thesis are stated at the concluding part of 1.2. below, while the corpus selected for the purpose of investigation is described in 1.3. below.

#### 1.2. Previous research on negative constructions with special reference to ME

Previous studies of the historical development of negative constructions are relatively sparse. For a study with some comprehensive coverage of English negative constructions, we must go back to Jespersen (1917), whose work is entitled Negation in English and Other Languages. The study stands out even today for its wide-ranging treatment of negation, since most existing studies so far available deal only with some specific aspects of negation or negation of some specific periods or authors. Jespersen explores English negative constructions from a diachronic and a synchronic perspective, stretching the field of discussion even to some foreign languages. Not only does his account provide an illuminating historical outline of the development of negative constructions, which

was not yet available in a clear form at the time when the monograph was prepared, but also some psychological reasoning for various phenomena of negation in English. This is indeed a monumental study of English negative constructions, which has not yet been superseded, though substantially supplemented, by later studies of negation. It is, therefore, certainly worth while to examine and to discuss the nature of this work at this opening part of the survey of previous research on English negative constructions.

Apparently Jespersen gradually cultivated his view on negation from some time before he finally published the work in the form of this monograph. As he remarks at the introductory section of this study (Jespersen 1917: 3-4), the principal portion of his account is also found in vols. III and IV of his Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles (Jespersen 1909-49). Since his chief interest lies in the MnE usage, however, the historical account given in his material is for this reason rather sketchy. He describes the development of English negative constructions in five different stages as follows: (1) ic ne secge (ne), (2) I ne seye not (ne ... not<sup>1</sup>), (3) I say not (not), (4) I do not say (do not), and (5) I don't say (don't) (Jespersen 1917: 9-11). This is a rather useful tool to start with, but the outline is not sufficient because it is oversimplified. There are at least two main problems in this account of his. Firstly, it is problematic in that the five clearly-cut stages convey the impression that negative constructions develop from one stage to another, since frequently two or three types co-exist in the history of the English language. The historical development of negative constructions is much more complex, and cannot be presented in such a simplified form as he describes. Secondly, his account applies only to clauses with ne and/or not, while actual negative constructions in English

<sup>1</sup> All variant forms of not (e.g. nouth, no3t, nawt) are included in this category. The convention is followed henceforth.

show various combinations of the adverbs ne, not, elements such as never, no, etc.<sup>2</sup> and/or the conjunctions neither, ne/nor.<sup>3</sup> OE and ME examples that he provides are quite often his own creation, and not cited from extant texts. This is another aspect which reveals that his historical survey of English negative constructions is in some respects impressionistic.

In addition, Jespersen (1917) tends to present various examples in a rather eclectic manner as far as I observe. For certain particular features of negation, examples are cited sometimes from early MnE, sometimes from a nineteenth century text, and sometimes from PE. Examples from foreign languages are often mixed together without linking to the genealogical relationships among them. Less frequently, but occasionally, OE and ME examples are paralleled with MnE examples without his supplying a historical account to connect them. Although the fact that he cites examples from various languages displays his admirably wide-ranging linguistic knowledge on the one hand, it also hinders his readers from building a proper historical perspective on the other hand.

One issue that is not considered by Jespersen (1917) is dialectal variation in negation. A thorough investigation of this, however, would require detailed analysis of an extensive corpus of texts, and this could not reasonably have been expected within a work of such broad scope as Jespersen's.

Jespersen (1917) is nevertheless an excellent and monumental piece of work on English negative constructions. It is remarkable that he did identify such wide-ranging features of negation almost from scratch at this early stage of scholarship when studies dealing

<sup>2</sup> Never, no, etc. include never more, nowhere, nothing, etc. Their orthographic variants are all included in this category. The convention is followed throughout the present study.

<sup>3</sup> Orthographic variants such as noþer are also included in this category. The convention is followed hereafter.

with English negative constructions were virtually unavailable except for a handful of studies by German scholars, which were based on a different methodology (discussed below). Since the scholarly tradition did not produce any further prominent syntactic studies of negation until around the 1970s, the account given by Jespersen (1917) was used as one of the most important sources of information for the writing of grammars and histories of the English language for a long space of time, and even now the gist of his work functions as an indispensable basis for these purposes. In this sense, it is not yet entirely superseded by later studies in the field of negation.

In the early years of the twentieth century a number of German works were written on the history of negation in English, culminating in Einkenkel's substantial article, published in 1912, entitled 'Die englische Verbalnegation: Ihre Entwicklung, ihre Gesetze und ihre zeitlich-örtliche Verwendung'. According to the German scholarly tradition of this period, OE and ME *negative constructions* are discussed within the binary framework of qualitative negation (clausal negation) and quantitative negation (special negation or word negation). This approach originates within the context of studies of Germanic languages in general. As Einkenkel (1916: 74) later summarizes, the contention of this group of studies is based upon the presumption that Germanic languages used to employ qualitative and quantitative negation in the following manner. Qualitative negation is used when the verb in particular is negated, while quantitative negation is used when the noun (or adverbial) is especially negated. Furthermore, the combination of these types occur when both are negated to an equal extent or when negation is used in a stronger form.<sup>4</sup> The distinction is not, however, entirely clear as Einkenkel (1912: 192) himself acknowledges and as Mitchell (1985, I: §1597) points out. The idea of these two types of negation remains in later studies, but this particular terminology seems to be

confined to the use by some German scholars of this particular period. Einkenkel (1912) is preceded by a couple of German dissertations which are presented within the framework of qualitative and quantitative negation, but which are lesser in quality than his article: Die Negation in der altenglischen Dichtung by Knörk (1907), Die Negation im Beowulf by Schuchardt (1910), and Die Negation in den Werken Alfred's by Rauert (1910).

As the titles of these German dissertations indicate, they are all studies of the OE usage of negation, while Einkenkel deals with ME negative constructions as well. His ME analysis is, however, fundamentally based upon a selective portion of Ancrene Riwe and Chaucer's Boece, for which the title of his article, especially 'ihre Entwicklung' can be slightly hyperbolic. Chronological ideas of the development of negative constructions are rather difficult to obtain from his analysis of a particularly limited corpus of ME. A notable contribution by Einkenkel (1912), on the other hand, is the fact that he points out a number of interesting phenomena related to English negative constructions. For example, he notices the phenomenon of pleonastic negation, by which *ne* is employed when it is not semantically necessary (213 and 222). The process in which but 'only' develops from *ne* ... but 'only' is also discussed (215-16). The occurrence of *ne* immediately after the conjunction þat rather than after the subject in the þat-clause is another phenomenon to which he pays attention (230). The article is full of perceptive accounts of negative constructions, although it is much less comprehensive in its coverage than Jespersen's (1917) monograph mentioned above.

Around the turn of the century, a certain phenomenon related to

<sup>4</sup> ' . . . daß die erste [qualitative negation] verwendet wird, wenn vor allem das Verb, die zweite [quantitative negation], wenn vor allem das Nomen (auch Adv.) negiert werden soll, während die dritte [the combination of both] gebraucht wird, wenn beide in gleichem Maße verneint werden sollen oder wenn die Negation in verstärker Gestalt zur Verwendung kommen soll' (Einkenkel 1916: 74).

negation attracted some German scholars, that is, figurative negation ('bildliche Verneinung' in German). This is a type of expression exemplified by not worth a straw and not worth a flye. Nouns such as straw and flye 'fly' are used figuratively rather than literally to imply a trifling or trivial thing. A substantial number of examples have been collected from ME and MnE by Hein (1893), Willert (1900), and Wülfung (1904-5), and the phenomenon is noted by Einkenkel (1912) as well. Much later on, two Japanese scholars including myself investigate this type of expression in Chaucer's English, although their coverage is much smaller (Iwasaki 1984; Iyeiri 1989a and 1989b).

There is an opposition, however, to connecting the issue of figurative negation with negative constructions in general. Jespersen (1917: 15) argues that 'bildliche Verneinung (figurative negation)' is not an appropriate appellation for the type of expression, since it is not the figurative expression that is negated. Furthermore, Mittermann (1973: 197) notices the existence of the type of expression even in positive clauses. This is in fact an issue of a type of emphatic expression in which negation happens to be involved rather than an issue of negative constructions themselves. I will therefore let it stand outside the purview of the present study.<sup>5</sup>

There is a noteworthy article around this time which was produced not in Germany but in the United States, that is, 'Of the Use of the Negative by Chaucer, with Particular Reference to the Particle Ne' by Kent (1890). It is rather crude in presentation, but the article examines the patterning of negation in a number of syntactic conditions in Chaucer's English and reaches some interesting conclusions. Although Kent obtains some hints from previous studies of Germanic languages, he is the first to pay any significant attention to the relationship between ME negative

<sup>5</sup> The issue of figurative negation is touched upon in 3.2.14. below. The objective of the section is not, however, to investigate the nature of figurative negation itself.

constructions and the syntactic conditions where they occur. This study, which is unfortunately confined to Chaucer's English, later develops to the more comprehensive study of ME prose by Jack (1978a and 1978c) (mentioned below). Kent (1890) also discusses some other issues related to negation such as multiple negation, figurative negation, and metrical issues involved in negative constructions, but the discussion of them is rather sketchy and only secondary to the principal part of his article. It still stands out, however, among the studies at this early period of scholarship for its individual methodology, which grew in a different soil from the German tradition of qualitative and quantitative negation. The seed later flourishes by the hand of other scholars, although for some space of time it has to stay largely unnoticed.

After the studies thus far mentioned, there is a fairly long gap of scholarship as far as studies of negative constructions are concerned. Apparently the framework within which to investigate qualitative and quantitative negation culminated in Einkenel (1912) on the one hand, while on the other hand Kent's (1890) article remained unnoticed as mentioned above. Time had to pass almost up to the 1970s before a new influx of studies of negation came into being. During this intervening period, some substantial studies of the development of the auxiliary do were conducted. Since the issue touches upon negation only partly and is more related to the MnE usage than to the ME usage, the space here does not allow an extensive treatment of these works. There are, however, at least two monographs which merit special attention, both produced by Swedish scholars: On the Origin and Early History of the Auxiliary 'Do' by Engblom (1938), and The Auxiliary 'Do': The Establishment and Regulation of its Use in English by Ellegard (1953). Both of these provide a descriptive analysis of do in a large number of texts. The historical development of the auxiliary do has constantly been an

issue of interest, which still attracts many scholars. Visser (1963-73, III: 551411-76) gives some detailed accounts of the development of negative constructions, which include a discussion of the auxiliary *do*, while Denison's (1985) account of the development of the auxiliary *do*, which is more theoretical, should also be mentioned here. Some new studies about this subject are still being produced. Rissanen (1991), for example, is one of the most representative.

The gap of scholarship between the German scholarly tradition at the beginning of the twentieth century, which produced a number of studies on negation, and the 1970s, when a new influx of studies comes into being, witnesses a single scholar called Levin, who interests himself in a particular phenomenon of negation. He investigates negative contraction as illustrated by *nam* (< *ne am*) and *no* (< *ne wolde*) (Levin 1956 and 1958). The existence of the phenomenon itself had long been noted in previous studies, but Levin was the first other than Forström (1948) to pay special attention to the dialectal distinctions involved in it. While Forström (1948) only deals with the issue in relation to forms of *be*, Levin, however, extends his scope of investigation to all the relevant forms of negative contraction. Apparently Levin (1958) is based on his dissertation (Levin 1956), but adds some further research and corrects some factual errors. For example, Levin's (1956: 65-6) account in his dissertation that there is a distinction in the usage between prose and verse in London English and Chaucer<sup>6</sup> disappears in Levin (1958: 499-500), who on the contrary maintains that prose and verse do not show any noticeable differences. The omission of the old account was perhaps reasonable, since as I maintain in my dissertation, contracted forms, at least in Chaucer, are not conditioned by whether they occur in prose or verse (Iyeiri 1989a:

<sup>6</sup> His phrase 'London and Chaucer' is rather misleading, since his account is solely based on some of Chaucer's works.

30-5). His later work is, in general, an excellent piece, although the analysis could have been conducted by the method of separating each verb concerned in discussion instead of dealing with forms such as nam, noide, and nadde altogether. Mustanoja (1960: 339) adopts Levin's account that negative contraction is a phenomenon much more commonly attested in the West Midlands and in the South than in the East Midlands and in the North. One odd feature of Levin (1958) is the fact that he maintains that the Kentish usage conforms to the East Midland and the Northern usages without providing any data from Kentish texts (498, n. 22), although I realize that Old Kentish Sermons, Arthur and Merlin, and Ayenbite of Inwit are explored as Kentish texts in his dissertation (Levin 1956: 55-6).

Levin stays almost as a lone investigator in this field until the monumental atlas by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) comes out. The atlas deals with negative contraction as one of the distinctive linguistic features to localize late ME texts, and identifies a number of contracted forms in a much larger corpus than in Levin's work, supplementing the then existent mapping of the phenomenon to a significant extent. To investigate and analyze the issue of negative contraction is, however, by no means the ultimate objective of the atlas. Perhaps by intention, therefore, the combination of the adverb ne and relevant forms of be, have, will, witen which are not contracted (e.g. ne am and ne wolde as opposed to contracted negative forms such as nam and noide) is not consistently investigated in the atlas, which could have been useful in the interest of linguistic analysis of the phenomenon. The atlas, however, provides valuable and most up-to-date material on the distribution of the phenomenon.

Apart from Levin (1956 and 1958) and the linguistic atlas by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986), my analysis of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales deals with the issue of negative contraction.

Although it is much more limited in its scope of investigation, it provides a full account of both contracted and uncontracted forms in the text, newly revealing that forms of *have* display a much weaker tendency to be contracted than the other verbs (Iyeiri 1989a: 24-38).

Recently negative contraction has come to be envisaged from an interesting perspective. Blockley discusses the relationship between the phenomenon and syntactic conditions in OE poetry in her articles entitled 'Constraints on Negative Contraction with the Finite Verb and the Syntax of Old English Poetry' (Blockley 1988) and 'Uncontracted Negation as a Cue to Sentence Structure in Old English Verse' (Blockley 1990). She argues that whether relevant forms are contracted or not is somehow dependent upon the syntactic conditions in which they occur. This is an interesting point of view from which to see the phenomenon of negative contraction despite the fact that her arguments are slightly difficult to follow in both of the articles (see Mitchell and Irvine 1992: 4). She argues, as I take it, that uncontracted forms occur when an understood but unexpressed element exists after the finite verb concerned. The relationship between negative contraction and syntactic conditions has not been paid attention since these two articles by Blockley were published.

Apart from the auxiliary do and negative contraction, the issue of negative constructions stays largely untouched up to around the 1970s, when historical studies of English negative constructions experience a revival. Negative constructions in ME prose are discussed in three articles by Jack, for example, all of which were published in 1978. These articles deal with two main issues: (1) the syntactic distribution of *ne*, ne ... not, and not as markers of negation, discussed in Jack (1978a) and in part of Jack (1978c); and (2) the issue of 'negative concord' (see 1.4.(7) below), discussed in Jack (1978b) and in part of Jack (1978c). As for the first of the issues, Jack draws attention to a number of syntactic contexts which

favour the use of ne alone, rather than ne ... not or not, and to other syntactic contexts which, conversely, favour the use of ne ... not or not, rather than ne alone. This is an aspect of negation which had first been discussed by Kent (1890), but which had been little considered since then. As Jack himself acknowledges, however, the middle period of ME lacks prose material suitable for investigation and is not for this reason examined fully in his material (Jack 1978c: 67).

In respect of the second issue (i.e. 'negative concord'), Jack discusses the use of forms such as any, ever in negative clauses and the use of and, or in place of ne/nor. He borrows a hint from Labov's (1972) article entitled 'Negative Attraction and Negative Concord in English Grammar', which examines the PE usage of multiple negation observed in the American black society today.

As I surmise, it is not a mere accident that the same issue attracted attention from Labov and Jack around the same time, the former of whom is a modern linguist and the latter of whom is a historical linguist. The 1970s see a revival in the interest in English negative constructions in general, which produces some major modern linguistic studies as well. Klima's (1964) substantial article, published in 1964 and entitled 'Negation in English', is almost still an authoritative as well as a pioneering study of negation within the framework of transformational generative grammar. Klima is followed by Jackendoff (1969 and 1972), who discusses PE negation from a more semantic point of view. Lakoff (1969), on the other hand, discusses some issues of negation from a fairly pragmatic perspective. Thus the surge of interest in English negative constructions at this period is not simply confined to historical linguistics, but more broadly witnessed.

In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of studies of English negative constructions were produced besides Jack (1978a, 1978b, and 1978c)

mentioned above. Most of them discuss the usage of negation with a particular author or in a particular text, but there are also some studies which treat a fairly larger span of period. Mitchell's (1985) Old English Syntax, for example, spares some extensive room for the discussion of OE negative constructions. His account makes full use of previous studies, drawing upon Levin in the discussion of negative contraction (I: §§1130-1), for instance, and making use of Jespersen's framework when considering the usage of negative conjunctions (I: §§1833-57). A significant finding presented by Mitchell is, on the other hand, that multiple negation in OE is more common in prose than in verse. Furthermore, OE verse presents a notable number of examples which do not include the adverb ne, while the tendency to employ the adverb ne is much stronger with prose works (I: §§1628-9). This is an interesting point in the light of Davis's account in Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer that the adverb ne is always included in OE (1953: 58). Jespersen (1917: 9) had also stated that negative constructions which include the adverb ne are most typical of OE.

To turn to ME, O'Hearn's (1982) dissertation entitled 'Syntactic Variation and Change in Later Middle English Negation' submitted to Arizona State University can be mentioned as a study which covers some rather large space of period. While enormous lists of different and complicated negative patterns presented in her study are not too helpful, the most interesting contribution of her work is that she provides the proportions of multiple negation (as against single negation) in the seven ME texts that she investigated (268 and 271-2). In combination with the point made by Miyabe (1968: 92) that multiple negation surmounts simple negation in the early ME period, O'Hearn's data help to draw a general chronological picture of the relationship between single and multiple negation in the ME period. It is rather surprising that the three articles by Jack (1978a, 1978b,

and 1978c), all of which should have been essential for her study of negation, do not seem to have been consulted. They are at least entirely missed out from the bibliographical list provided in the dissertation.

Another dissertation which deals with the historical development of negative constructions was submitted in the same year in the United States (Labrum 1982). The author of the dissertation compares the development of English negative constructions with that of German negative constructions. This is a dissertation which deals with enormously wide-ranging aspects of negation, descriptively and theoretically, but the results obtained from the analysis hardly surmounts its previous studies, at least in my view.

Apart from the hitherto mentioned studies, most of the recent works explore negative constructions of a certain author or a certain text. As far as ME literature is concerned, Chaucer is by far the most popular. Burnley's (1983) Guide to Chaucer's English includes a substantial account of Chaucer's use of negation. It shows much influence from Jack (1978b and 1978c), but as is to be expected from a study dealing with a single author, its coverage of aspects of negation is more comprehensive. Burnley compares usage in the Ellesmere and Hengwrt manuscripts, for instance, and also discusses stylistic factors in the choice of negative constructions. He points out that examples of double and multiple negation are common in sober and formal style (61 and 68).

Baghdikian is another to be interested in Chaucer's English. Her article 'Ne in ME and eModE [i.e. early Modern English]' (1979) is especially worthy of note. Despite its general title, the article in effect makes a comparison and contrast between the usages of negation in the translations of Boetius's De Consolatione Philosophiae by Chaucer and by Queen Elizabeth. She points out a number of syntactic conditions in which the adverb ne tends to stand alone in

Chaucer's English, almost all of which are more or less identical with the points raised by Jack (1978c) about later ME prose, although it is most likely that Baghdikian (1979) did not have a chance to see the article by Jack (1978c), judging from the dates of their publication.

I myself have investigated negation in Chaucer and prepared a dissertation (Iyeiri 1989a) and two articles (Iyeiri 1989b and 1989c). Since the articles both draw material from the dissertation, I will simply concentrate on the dissertation here, which is entitled 'Negation in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales' and which was submitted to Kyushu University in Japan in 1989. The study deals with: (1) the usages of the adverbs ne and not, (2) negative contraction as in nam (< ne am) and nolde (< ne wolde), (3) negative conjunctions, (4) multiple negation, and (5) figurative negation such as not worth a straw. The issues of negative contraction and figurative negation are discussed above where my studies are also mentioned. As for the rest of the subjects treated in the dissertation, the discussion of the adverbs ne and not shows the largest influence from Jack (1978c). The discussion largely confirms the points raised by Jack (1978c) about later ME prose within the framework of Chaucer's English in verse, although it provides some new aspects about syntactic conditions in which a particular negative form is favoured. The discussion of negative conjunctions, on the other hand, is concerned with the contrastive usage between ne and nor, while the section of multiple negation deals with the relationship between the phenomenon and style. These two parts are, however, less comprehensive than the other parts of the dissertation.

Apart from these studies which give significant space to, or concentrate on, negation in Chaucer, much material is available about Chaucer's English in general, which refers to negation in varying space, although these accounts are no more detailed than those in general grammars of ME: Spearing (1965: 94-5), Elliott (1974: 63, 157,

and 401-2), Roscow (1981: 16-19), Kerkhof (1982: 320-30 and 405-7).

Outside Chaucer, on the other hand, existing studies of ME negative constructions are rather patchy and their accounts tend to be relatively brief. Nakamichi (1986) gives a descriptive account of negation in the Gawain-poems, but his main interest lies in the issue of the authorship of the poems rather than the historical identification of the forms of negation in them. He reaches the conclusion that all the poems may not have been produced by the same author, pointing out some differences in the usage of negation among them. The chronological perspective which would support his arguments, however, is relatively weak so that it is difficult to tell from his accounts how significant the differences that he mentions are in respect of making a postulation about the authorship. In any case, this is the only notable account of negation in the Gawain-poems that is so far available.

Samuels (1988) studies Langland's English and his account includes the issue of negation, which is however summarized only in two passages. He points to the fact that Langland's English, though conservative on the whole, shows a more progressive feature than Chaucer's as far as negation is concerned (218). Although this is an interesting and significant point, it is by intention a rather sketchy account of negative constructions in Langland, at least for our purpose.

Apart from Nakamichi (1986) and Samuels (1988), both of whom happen to discuss later ME alliterative verse texts from western areas of England, there is virtually no study that deals with the overall features of negation of a particular author or a particular text. Warner (1982: 198-225) gives a substantial account of negation in Wycliffite sermons, but the study fundamentally deals with the single phenomenon of ne occurring immediately after the conjunction þat, which is peculiarly found in them.

Outside the ME period, there are also some studies available about a particular author or a particular text. As for MnE, Shakespeare is investigated most commonly as the following studies exemplify: 'Multiple Negation in Shakespeare' by Singh (1973), 'Multiple Negation in Shakespeare' by Ukaji (1979), and 'Negation in Shakespeare' by Blake (1988). The last of these is the most comprehensive and substantial, while the first two deal with the issue of multiple negation as their identical titles indicate. With respect to OE literature, on the other hand, Beowulf is the most popular as Chaucer and Shakespeare are in ME and early MnE respectively. Three articles are available about Beowulf: 'Some Notes on Negative Sentences in Beowulf' by Miyabe (1974), 'Beowulf Negative Indefinites: The Klima Hypothesis Tested' by Coombs (1975), and 'A Note on Negative Sentences in Beowulf' by Mitchell (1983).

Finally, some remarks may be given to grammars and histories of the English language, which usually include some discussion of negative constructions. In most cases, however, their discussion of negation is by no means substantial. First of all, the main interest tends to lie in phonology and morphology, especially in the case of grammars. Secondly, their accounts are for the most part dependent simply upon specialists' studies of negation which are surveyed above. Fischer's (1992: 280-5) account of ME negation is relatively lengthy, which however is based largely on the research by Jack (1978a, 1978b, and 1978c), for example. The only notable exceptional case is that of Jespersen (1909-49, III and IV), whose original study of English negative constructions later results in his monograph on negation (Jespersen 1917), which is also treated above. Thus grammars and histories of the English language perhaps deserve a somewhat selective treatment here.

Among various issues related with negative constructions, multiple negation (including double negation) is one of the most

common to be mentioned in these studies: Sweet (1892-8, I: §1520), Curme (1931: 139-40), Roseborough (1938: 82), Jespersen (1909-49, V: 451-5), Mossé (1952: 112), Brook (1958), Strang (1970: 152), Kisbye (1971-2, I: 183, 195, and 204), Traugott (1992: 268-9), and Fischer (1992: 283-5). While most of them simply refer to the existence of the phenomenon of multiple negation in early English with some illustrative examples, it is noticeable that Roseborough refers to the earlier decline of the phenomenon in the North. A reference to the Latin influence as a possible reason for the decline of the phenomenon is also common (e.g. Sweet, Jespersen, and Curme). Apart from multiple negation, issues such as negative contraction, pleonastic negation, and figurative negation are sporadically mentioned, but on the whole their accounts extend no more than to point out the phenomena themselves and provide some illustrative examples again. Histories of the English language usually make some reference to the overall development of negative constructions, but it tends to be a fairly sketchy account of ne, ne ... not, and not.

It is clear from the above survey of previous research that ME negative constructions leave much room for further investigation, and this is particularly the case with verse texts. Existing studies of ME verse are virtually confined to Chaucer. The state of affairs of ME prose, by contrast, has been investigated to a much greater extent in existing studies, but the middle period of ME where prose works suitable for investigation are relatively sparse should be supplemented by a study of verse. As for each aspect of negation, the overall development of the usages of ne and not is the most frequent to be dealt with in previous studies. The general frequencies of ne, ne ... not, and not are commonly mentioned in existing studies, for example, and also the relationship between these constructions and syntactic conditions has been studied. The account of never, no, etc. is, however, limited. For example, the

process by which clauses with the adverb ne as well as never, no, etc. lose the adverb ne has been referred to, but the relationship between the usages of never, no, etc. and syntactic conditions still needs further investigation. Never, no, etc. are also indispensable elements of English negative constructions. Multiple negation is another important issue, which has almost constantly been mentioned in grammars and histories of the English language, but nearly all these accounts simply refer to the existence of the phenomenon in early English except that they occasionally point out the influence of Latin grammar upon the decline of the phenomenon. More detailed description of how frequently multiple negation in fact occurs in ME, how many negative elements are actually involved in multiple negation, and how it declines is called for. The present thesis also discusses some other aspects of negation. Negative contraction as in *nam* (< *ne am*) and *noþde* (< *ne wolde*) is one of them. As for the dialectal aspects of the phenomenon, the present thesis intends to supplement the information provided by Levin (1956 and 1958) and McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986). As regards the relationship between the phenomenon and syntactic conditions, the present thesis borrows some ideas from Blockley (1988 and 1990) and attempts to develop an extended discussion. Semantic aspects of negation as most typically represented by pleonastic negation are also worthy of exploration, since these too have never been fully investigated. As mentioned above in 1.1., the present thesis deals with all these issues of negative constructions in ME verse and provides descriptive accounts of them.

### 1.3. Texts examined

#### 1.3.1. Preliminary remarks

In selecting texts I have intended that they should spread evenly over the ME period and over the whole area of England, though in

actuality the intention can hardly be fulfilled, since texts can only be selected from among extant ones, which unfortunately are irregularly distributed. There are at least three types of irregularity that should be taken into consideration:

(1) Quantitative irregularity

It is ideal to select the same quantity of material from each period and from each dialectal area, which however is difficult, since texts are unlikely to match in length. Some texts are short while others are lengthy.

(2) Chronological irregularity

Extant texts are distributed unevenly in respect of chronology. Unfortunately much less material is available in the early ME period than in the late ME period.

(3) Geographical irregularity

Geographical distribution of texts is also irregular. A large number of texts are available in the South-East Midlands, while in northerly parts of England texts are comparatively scanty. The dearth of texts is most pronounced in Kentish.

The geographical problem is interrelated with the chronological irregularity discussed above. The South-West Midlands provide ample material for the early ME period but not for the late ME period, for example, whereas northerly texts are mainly from the later period of ME.

With regard to the quantity of texts, I have intended to select relatively lengthy ones, since they are more convenient for the purpose of the present study. A reasonable number of examples are necessary for my linguistic analyses, while negation of some types

occurs only sporadically. In order to compensate for the chronological and geographical irregularity discussed above, however, comparatively short texts are fairly generously included in the case of the early ME period or in the case of dialectal areas where the scarcity of texts is pronounced. However, if a text is too substantial (for the sake of my purpose, well over 10,000 lines), investigation is conducted selectively, since inclusion of the whole of such texts may only intensify the quantitative irregularity. Texts examined selectively are marked with an asterisk in the following list (1.3.2.).

A brief account of the dating and the localization of each text follows its bibliographical information. For the purpose of identifying dates and regions of the texts, various sources have been taken into consideration, although, unless the matter is particularly disputed, all previous works may not be acknowledged in the following accounts owing to the lack of space. The texts are listed in the approximate order of chronology of their manuscripts. As for linguistic analyses in the present thesis, priority is given to the manuscript reading, although examples are cited from the editions listed below.

Finally, it is relevant to mention that Chaucer's works are not included in the present study since negative constructions in The Canterbury Tales were the subject of my MA dissertation (Iyeiri 1989a).

### 1.3.2. List of texts examined

#### (1) PM = Poema Morale

(a) PM (Lamb) = Poema Morale (London, Lambeth Palace Library 487), ed. J. Hall in Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250, vol. I (Oxford, 1920).

(b) PM (Trin) = Poema Morale (Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 52.), ed. J. Hall in Selections from Early Middle English 1130-1250, vol. I (Oxford, 1920).

(c) PM (Dgb) = Poema Morale (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby A 4), ed. J. Zupitza in 'Zur Poema Morale', Anglia 1 (1878), 5-38.

PM is extant in six manuscripts. Since texts from the beginning of the ME period are particularly rare and tend to be short, three of the six manuscripts are investigated in the present thesis. This is an exceptional case, however, since the present study selects only one of the extant manuscripts in the case of the other texts. Three relatively early manuscripts, MS Lambeth Palace Library 487 (London), MS Trinity College B 14. 52. (Cambridge), and MS Digby A 4 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), are selected. They all differ from each other in their localization as discussed below.

The original text of PM was perhaps composed in Kent in the latter half of the twelfth century (Hill 1972: 277; Hill 1977: 107 and 114), and the dates of the three manuscripts in question are not much later than this. PM (Trin), which is localized in London, for example, is thought to have been produced either before 1200 (Hill 1977: 97 and 107) or shortly after 1200 (Paues 1907: 222; MED, Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 2). PM (Dgb), by contrast, perhaps dates back to the early thirteenth century. The manuscript is localized in Kent (Hill 1977: 98 and 109). Furthermore, PM (Lamb), which perhaps displays the language of the border of north Herefordshire (Hill 1977: 109), is considered to have been prepared in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (Paues 1907: 222; Wells 1916: 385-6). Hill (1977: 98) gives the approximate date of 1200 for this manuscript, while the date proposed by MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 3) is a1225. The process of rendering the original into the South-West Midland dialect is fairly consistent according

to Jordan (1974: 6).

- (2) O&N = The Owl and the Nightingale (London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. ix), ed. E. G. Stanley (London, 1960).

O&N is available in two extant manuscripts: MS Cotton Caligula A. ix (British Library, London); and MS Jesus College 29 (Bodleian Library, Oxford). The Cotton MS, which is considered to be earlier and more faithful to the original (Stanley 1960: 6), is chosen for the purpose of the present study. The other manuscript is, however, occasionally taken into consideration as well.

The Cotton MS of O&N is essentially in the language of the South-Western and the South-West Midlands, although the manuscript presents some forms not typical of these areas according to Stanley (1960: 17). Furthermore, the Cotton MS itself was perhaps copied from a manuscript which was produced by two scribes, and therefore shows two different systems of orthography. One of them, which is observed in ll. 901-60 and l. 1184 to the end, is closer to West Midland dialect forms than the other system, which is observed with the rest of the poem (i.e. ll. 1-900 and ll. 961-1,183) (Stanley 1960: 17). As for the date of the manuscript, Utley (1972: 874) and Atkins (1922: xxiii) suggest an early period of the century, while Wright (1960: 7) and Ker (1963: ix) maintain that it was produced in the second half of the thirteenth century. The later date is normally accepted today.

The original text seems to be localized somewhere around Surrey (Wrenn 1939: 107; Stanley 1960: 18) and dated towards the end of the twelfth century (Stanley 1960: 19; Wright 1960: 7; Baugh 1967: 156).

- (3) KH = King Horn (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg 4.27(2)), ed. J. Hall in King Horn: A Middle English Romance (Oxford, 1901).

KH is accessible in three extant manuscripts: MS Gg 4.27(2) (Cambridge University Library), MS Harley 2253 (British Library, London), and MS Laud Misc. 108 (Bodleian Library, Oxford). I have selected among them the Cambridge MS, which is considered to present the earliest state of the text according to Allen (1984: 3). The manuscript is localized in Berkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 67) and has been dated variously in the range between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries (Allen 1984: 3). Although this manuscript is edited more recently by Allen (1984), I have used the edition by Hall (1901), since Allen introduces much grammatical emendation.

- (4) Havelok (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 108), ed. G. V. Smithers in Havelok (Oxford, 1987).

The present study is based upon the Laud MS, which is the only complete text of Havelok. The other manuscript, MS Add. 4407 (19) (Cambridge University Library) is fragmentary. McIntosh (1976: 36) maintains that the language of the Laud MS can be attributable to a scribe from west Norfolk (see also Smithers 1987: lxxxix). The manuscript is dated around 1300 or soon after (Smithers 1987: xvi; Dunn 1967: 211; MED, Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 1), whereas the language of the original text reveals the dialect of Lincolnshire from around 1280 to 1300 (Dunn 1967: 22).

- (5) SEL\* = The South English Legendary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 145), ed. C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, vol. I, EETS o.s. 235 (London, 1956).

Among numerous extant manuscripts, MS Laud Misc. 108 and MS Corpus Christi College 145 (Cambridge) provide substantial legendaries and are fairly easily accessible in printed editions. I have selected the latter of these, partly because it was edited more recently than the other<sup>7</sup> and partly because MS Laud Misc. 108 is investigated in any case in relation to Havelok mentioned above. The material is so substantial, however, that I examined only the first volume of the edition by D'Evelyn and Mill (1956), which is consistently based upon MS Corpus Christi College 145. MS Harley 2277 (British Library, London), on which the second volume of D'Evelyn and Mill (1956) is partly based, is also referred to in the present study occasionally.

The part of the Corpus MS of SEL which is investigated in the present study (the first volume of SEL, ed. C. D'Evelyn and J. Mill) is localized in Berkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 62), although the manuscript includes a *part* whose linguistic features are those of Hampshire (ff. 210v-213r). It perhaps dates back to the early fourteenth century (D'Evelyn 1956-9, III: 5; D'Evelyn 1970: 414; Görlach 1974: 78), while the original legendaries themselves may have started in the late thirteenth century as Görlach (1976: 8) concludes.

- (6) EMH = English Metrical Homilies (Edinburgh, Royal College of Physicians), ed. J. Small (Edinburgh, 1862).

EMH is found in several manuscripts, of which MS Royal College of Physicians (Edinburgh) is available in a printed edition. The present manuscript, which is apparently the oldest, was perhaps produced in the early fourteenth century (Small 1862: iii; Wells 1916: 289), and McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 88) localize the manuscript in Yorkshire. The original

<sup>7</sup> The Laud MS is edited by C. Horstmann (1887).

text of EMH, on the other hand, can be localized somewhere around Durham, and dates back to a much earlier period (Small 1862: iv; Wells 1916: 288).

- (7) G&E = The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (Cambridge, Corpus Christi 444), ed. O. Arngart, Lund Studies in English 36 (Lund, 1968).

G&E is preserved in a single manuscript, which Arngart (1968: 46) dates to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Muir (1970: 535), on the other hand, takes a more cautious view and suggests the period from 1300 to 1350 for its date. The language of the manuscript is generally attributed to the South-East Midland dialect (Wells 1916: 397; Wilson 1939: 180; Muir 1970: 381). While the southern part of the South-East Midlands used to be proposed as its provenance (Morris 1865: xvi; Hall 1920, II: 636), a rather more northerly region around Norfolk appears to be more prevalingly accepted today as the provenance of the text (Wyld 1920: 126; Arngart 1968: 11; Jordan 1974: 16; Baugh 1976: 160). The text is based on a Northern original (Muir 1970: 381), however. The most recent edition of the text is used for investigation in the present study, although the edition by Morris (1865) is also considered occasionally.

- (8) WS = The Poems of William of Shoreham (London, British Library, Additional 17376), ed. M. Konrath, EETS e.s. 86 (London, 1902).

WS is one of the rare Kentish texts that are available, and therefore indispensable for the purpose of my investigation. The poems were produced by William of Shoreham in Kent (Konrath 1902: xiv; Raymo 1986: 2274). The single manuscript preserved is also localized in Kent by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 100), and its date is assumed to be in the second quarter of the

fourteenth century (Raymo 1986: 2274).

- (9) CM\* = Cursor Mundi (London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian A iii), ed. R. Morris in Cursor Mundi: A Northumbrian Poem of the XIVth Century, parts I and II, EETS o.s. 57 and 59 (London, 1874-5), ll. 1-10,122.

Of the numerous extant manuscripts, MS Cotton Vespasian A iii (British Library, London), which is fully punctuated by Morris (1874-5) is used for the linguistic analysis in the present thesis. Taking advantage of the parallel texts presented by him, however, other manuscripts are also considered.

MS Cotton Vespasian A. iii is localized in the West Riding of Yorkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 108). With respect to the dating of the manuscript, Wright (1960: 11) surmises that it was produced around 1340, pointing to the round heavy hand of the manuscript, which is characteristic of the fourteenth century. Raymo (1986: 2503) also suggests a similar date of ca1350. The date of the manuscript was once assumed to be much later, however. MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 2) suggests the date of a1400 whereas Wells (1916: 339) infers that it was perhaps prepared from the end of the fourteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, although Hupe (1893: 63) had proposed an early date of the first half of the fourteenth century.

The original of the present text was prepared in the North, perhaps at the beginning of the fourteenth century. Wells (1916: 340) and Wright (1960: 11) propose the date 1300-25, while MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 2) and Jordan (1974: 21) suggest the date of a1325 and ca1300 respectively.

- (10) Ferumbras = Sir Ferumbras (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 33), ed. S. J. Herrtage in The English Charlemagne Romances, I: Sir Ferumbras, EETS e.s. 34 (London, 1879).

The present text is preserved in the Ashmole MS, which is an autograph. According to the evidence of the covers, the manuscript was produced in the neighbourhood of Exeter (Devonshire) towards the end of the fourteenth century (Moore, Meech, and Whitehall 1935: 52). McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 145) also go for the localization of the text in Devonshire. Smyser (1967: 261) proposes the approximate date of 1380.

- (11) CA\* = Confessio Amantis (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 3), ed. G. C. Macaulay in The English Works of John Gower, vol. I, EETS e.s. 81 (London, 1900), pp. 1-300.

CA is found in an enormously large number of manuscripts. Although MS Fairfax 3 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), on which the edition of Macaulay (1900) is based, is used for the purpose of various linguistic analyses in the present study, the textual apparatus available in his edition is also taken into account.

The composition of CA is normally considered to have taken at least three different stages of collation. The so-called third recension manuscripts, of which the Fairfax MS is one, were compiled towards the end of the fourteenth century (Fisher, Hamm, Beidler, and Yeager 1986: 2202-3). CA presents linguistic characteristics of Kent and Suffolk, where Gower lived, according to Samuels and Smith (1981: 301).

- (12) HS = Handlyng Synne (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 415), ed. I. Sullens in Robert Mannyng of Brunne: Handlyng Synne (Binghamton, 1983).

This is one of the rare ME texts the author of which is clear. Robert Mannyng, who was born at Brunne (now Bourn) in Lincolnshire, undertook the composition of HS in 1303 (Oakden 1930: 12; Baugh 1967: 204). The text is important in this respect.

Sullens (1983: XVIII) remarks that none of the nine manuscripts of HS reliably reveals the author's original text. MS Bodley 415, which is accessible in printed editions, is investigated in the following study. The manuscript, which is 'at least one copy beyond Mannyng's original and possibly even two or three recensions later' (Sullens 1983: XXIV), was most likely produced around 1400. This approximate date is supported by palaeographical analysis (Sullens 1983: XXV). As for the provenance of the manuscript, it is localized in Hertfordshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 146).

- (13) KA = Kyng Alisaunder (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud 622), ed. G. V. Smithers, EETS o.s. 227 (London, 1952).

Of the several extant manuscripts of KA, MS Laud Misc. 622 is relatively reliable, whereas the other manuscripts are either corrupt or fragmentary (Smithers 1952-7, II: 1-8). The Laud MS is also easily accessible in a fairly recent printed edition, and therefore has been chosen in the present study. It is localized by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 150) in Essex, and dated to ca1400 (Lumiansky 1967: 270).

As for the original text, on the other hand, Lumiansky (1967: 105) maintains that it was composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, probably in a London dialect.

- (14) GGK = Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (British Library, Cotton Nero A. x), ed. J. R. R. Tolkien, E. V. Gordon, and revised by N. Davis, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1967).

GGK is extant in the single manuscript stated above, which is localized in Cheshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 106). The date of the manuscript is ca1400 (Wright 1960: 15; Newstead 1967: 238), whereas the original text is perhaps a little earlier than this (Tolkien, Gordon, and Davis 1967: xxv).

- (15) AMA = The Alliterative Morte Arthure (Lincoln, Cathedral Chapter Library 91), ed. M. Hamel in Morte Arthure: A Critical Edition (New York, 1984).

AMA is preserved in a single manuscript, which was produced by Robert Thornton, a Yorkshire man. According to McIntosh (1967: 231-40), the language of the manuscript is to be localized in Lincolnshire, although the linguistic features are not entirely homogeneous (McIntosh 1967: 231). The atlas of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 98) also goes for the localization. With regard to the dating of the manuscript, Newstead (1967: 44-5) proposes the date of ca1440 whereas Hamel (1984: 3) suggests a slightly earlier date of the 1420s to 1430s. The original text is considered to have been composed from around 1400 to 1402 also in the North-East Midlands (Hamel 1984: 56 and 62).

- (16) A&D = Alexander and Dindimus (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 264), ed. W. W. Skeat in The Alliterative Romance of Alexander and Dindimus, EETS e.s. 31 (London, 1878).

The present text is considered to have been written somewhere around Gloucestershire in the middle of the fourteenth century (Skeat 1878: xxix; Lumiansky 1967: 107). A&D is preserved in three different fragments, of which the present one is found in the unique manuscript, MS Bodley 264. MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 2) dates this manuscript to

ca1450, while Lumiansky (1967: 271) presents a broader verdict that the manuscript is ascribable to the fifteenth century.

- (17) DT\* = The Destruction of Troy (Glasgow, Univ. of Glasgow, Hunterian 388), ed. G. A. Panton and D. Donaldson in The 'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy: An Alliterative Romance Translated from Guido de Colonna's 'Historia Troiana', EETS o.s. 39 and 56 (London, 1869-74), pp. 1-330.

DT is retained in a single manuscript, which was perhaps produced in the middle of the fifteenth century (Lumiansky 1967: 275). According to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 89), the manuscript shows the linguistic features of Lancashire. The original text of DT, which perhaps dates back to the later period of the fourteenth century (Lumiansky 1967: 115), was also most probably in the Northern dialect (Panton and Donaldson 1869-74, I: lxi).

- (18) SMA = The Stanzaic Morte Arthur (London, British Library, Harley 2252), ed. J. D. Bruce in Le Morte Arthur: A Romance in Stanzas of Eight Lines, EETS e.s. 88 (London, 1903).

SMA is preserved in the single manuscript Harley 2252 (British Library, London), which is to be localized in the North-East Midlands and possibly in Rutland (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, I: 111). The original text was composed in the North-West Midlands, however (Newstead 1967: 51). The date of the manuscript is considered to be in the late fifteenth century (Newstead 1967: 237).

The information given above in respect of the date and the localization of each text is assumed hereafter in the present thesis unless otherwise mentioned. Reference to existing studies may not,

therefore, be always repeated in the following discussion.

#### 1.4. Terminology

The terminology that will be used in the analysis of negation is for the most part familiar and therefore not in need of definition here. In some cases, however, I have employed terms that are less widely current or else have been used in somewhat different senses in different studies, and for reasons of clarity a brief explanation of these terms is given below.

##### (1) Negative contraction

The phenomenon by virtue of which forms such as nam (< ne am), nadde (< ne hadde), nołde (< ne wolde), and not (< ne wot) are produced is termed 'negative contraction'. In the present study, the term is especially employed for the combination of the adverb ne and forms of be, will, have, and witen. For further details, see 4.1.1. below.

##### (2) Multiple negation

'Multiple negation' consists of various types. The present study follows the practice of counting as 'multiple negation' any clause with at least two negative elements not cancelling each other's negative sense. The term 'multiple negation' is employed in the present thesis, but the same phenomenon is occasionally called 'cumulative negation' in existing studies (see Strang 1970: 152). 'Multiple negation' with two negative elements is especially given the appellation 'double negation', which is a sub-category of 'multiple negation'. The complementary category to 'multiple negation', on the other hand, is 'single negation', which refers to clauses with only one negative element.

## (3) Pleonastic negation

Clauses which formally provide a negative element or negative elements but which are not negative semantically are examples of 'pleonastic' negation. While the term is constantly employed in the present study, the adjective 'expletive' is occasionally employed in place of 'pleonastic' in existing studies (see Bacquet 1975: 13). 'Pleonastic' negation comprises of some different types, which are discussed in 6.1. below.

## (4) Unexpressed negation

The omission of a negative element which is semantically necessary is called 'unexpressed' negation in the present thesis. Since the phenomenon is not yet established, no standard terminology is available for it. For further details and examples of 'unexpressed' negation, see 6.2. below.

## (5) Existential clauses

Clauses in which the main verb is a form of be used not as a copula are existential clauses. Existential clauses therefore ascribe the existence of animate or inanimate substance. There are books in the room is an existential clause, but Some books are in the room is not. Existential clauses are often but not always introduced by 'there' (e.g. þer). Some existential clauses are introduced by 'it' (e.g. it, hit).

## (6) Imperative clauses and optative clauses

Clauses which indicate a commandment or order are imperative clauses, while clauses which express a speaker's wish are optative clauses. In the case of optative clauses, the finite verb originally takes the subjunctive form, but the form is often like the imperative form in ME (Mustanoja 1960: 455-6). In some

cases, therefore, the distinction between the categories of imperative and optative clauses can only be made with difficulty. In the present study, I have classified those with the subject or the understood subject in the second person as imperative clauses and the rest as optative clauses.

(7) Negative concord

I have borrowed the term from Jack (1978b), who himself borrows it from Labov (1972). As Jack (1978b: 29) maintains, ME shows the phenomenon of employing negative forms such as never, no, and ne 'nor' instead of ever, any and and in a clause which is already negative. The phenomenon is called 'negative concord'.

(8) Non-assertive forms

I have borrowed this term from modern linguistic studies, where it is used to refer to forms such as any, either, and ever (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: §10.60). These forms are occasionally termed 'indefinites' in existing studies (see Klima 1964: 276-83). The contexts where they occur (called 'non-assertive' contexts) are most typically exemplified by interrogative clauses, conditional clauses, and negative clauses. The forms also occur in some subordinate clauses, comparative clauses, 'after words that are morphologically negative or that have negative import' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: §10.61), and in some restrictive relative clauses. The sample of the present study provides the following items and compounds of which they form a part: any, ever, oght, either, and oquere 'anywhere' (and orthographic variants of these forms). The circumstances in which they occur in ME correspond to those of PE except that negative clauses in ME most frequently employ repetitive negative elements instead of

'non-assertive forms' (see 'negative concord' above). In other words, the use of 'non-assertive forms' is more limited in ME than in PE.

(9) Competence and performance

The term 'competence' as against 'performance' is used for phenomena which have been incorporated into the grammatical system of a certain language, while 'performance' refers to linguistic activities which are based on and therefore largely correspond to the 'competence' but which occasionally show some sporadic deviation from it. As Crystal (1987: 409) mentions, the terminology of 'competence' and 'performance', which was introduced by Chomsky, largely corresponds to Saussure's 'langue' and 'parole'.

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NEGATIVE CLAUSES

## C H A P T E R II

## Historical Development of Negative Clauses

## 2.1. Chronological and geographical overview

## 2.1.1. Preliminary remarks

ME negative constructions are marked by: the adverbs ne, not; never, no, etc.; negative conjunctions neither, ne/nor; or various combinations of these items. The adverbs ne and not are both plain negative adverbs with the meaning 'not'. Ne is common in early ME while not is prevalent in later ME instead (Jack 1978a: 299; Jack 1978c: 58), and the transitional period between these stages is characterized by the intermediate form ne ... not. In the actual usages of ME, however, these three stages are by no means clear-cut, but they all occur in a mixed manner. Ne ... not, for example, emerges as early as in the late OE period (Strang 1970: 312), although it is much more common in ME as Jespersen (1917: 9) maintains. A significant expansion of not (as opposed to ne and ne ... not), however, seems to have occurred during the twelfth century (Jack 1978a: 306), and the decline of the adverb ne is to be observed from the thirteenth century onwards (Kisbye 1971-2, I: 195), although Chaucer and certain London documents exceptionally retain the adverb ne to some noticeable extent even in the later ME period (Jack 1978c: 59; Iyeiri 1989a: 5-8). On the whole, the establishment of the form not is considered to have been reached in the fifteenth century (Jespersen 1917: 9), by which time the adverb ne undergoes a sharp decline (Jack 1978c: 59).

The usages of never, no, etc. which occasionally occur with negative elements such as the adverbs ne, not, and the conjunctions neither, ne/nor, are also interesting. As far as the OE usage is

concerned, never, no, etc. are almost always accompanied by the adverb ne in prose (Rauert 1910: 71; Einkenkel 1912: 191-2), whereas never, no, etc. without the adverb ne are common in OE alliterative verse (Mitchell 1985, I: §1629). Despite the common occurrence of never, no, etc. alone in OE verse, never, no, etc. alone are, however, according to Knörk (1907: 40), even in verse more restricted than the adverb ne alone. Supposedly negation was standardly marked by the adverb ne in OE, which may or may not be supported by never, no, etc. The employment of never, no, etc. alone was a rather peculiar usage of OE alliterative verse. To turn to the ME period, the co-existence of the adverb ne and never, no, etc. is still common in early ME, while it comes to be less and less popular in later ME because of the decline of the adverb ne itself. Never, no, etc., however, hardly co-occur with the adverb not. This seems to be a fairly consistent feature throughout the ME period (Jack 1978a: 299; Jack 1978c: 62 and 65-7).

The main concern of the present section (2.1.) is to investigate ME negative constructions marked by the adverbs ne, not and/or never, no, etc., since most negative clauses belong to this type. Clauses with a negative conjunction, which does not affect the negative patterning, are freely included so long as they provide the adverbs ne, not and/or never, no, etc. While the development of ne, ne ... not, and not is extensively investigated in existing studies, studies of never, no, etc. are much sparse, and therefore need supplementing. The patterning of negation in each text is explored in turn in the following section (2.1.2.). As for the dating and the localization of each text, the matters discussed in 1.3.2. above are assumed throughout, and therefore reference to previous studies may not be repeated.

## 2.1.2. Accounts of each text examined

(1) Poema Morale (PM)

The tables below show the situation of PM. The forms ne, ne ... not, and not 'not' are divided into those with never, no, etc. and those without.<sup>1</sup> The number of never, no, etc. alone, which is still small in this early text, is also shown in the tables:<sup>2</sup>

PM (Lamb)	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	33	3	0	-	36
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(91.7%)	(8.3%)			
with	28	0	0	1	29
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(96.6%)			(3.4%)	
Totals	61	3	0	1	65

PM (Trin)	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	44	7	0	-	51
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(86.3%)	(13.7%)			
with	45	0	0	5	50
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(90.0%)			(10.0%)	
Totals	89	7	0	5	101

PM (Dgb)	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	42	9	0	-	51
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(82.4%)	(17.6%)			
with	40	0	0	1	41
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(97.6%)			(2.4%)	
Totals	82	9	0	1	92

<sup>1</sup> Examples of the adverb not which retains the meaning 'not at all' are to be discounted. Relevant examples tend to occur in early ME texts. For instance:

Do nou þin owe confusiun · i ne drede me riȝt noȝt  
(SEL 56/64).

<sup>2</sup> The number of examples in PM (Lamb) is small in comparison to the other two manuscripts. This is simply due to the fact that PM (Lamb) terminates at line 270.

As for the table for PM (Lamb), the following example is excluded, since it is clearly a corrupt one:

þe .Mon. þ̅ uuel don na god. ne neure god lif leden  
(Lamb 123).

As Hall (1901: 337) suggests, uuel can most reasonably be regarded as an error for nule. MS Trinity provides the following for the corresponding line:

Se man þe nafre nele don god ne nafre god lif lade  
(Trin 123).

Some examples illustrating the above tables are:

(a) Ne (examples with and without never, no, etc.)

Nu ich walde ah ich ne mei : for elde & for un helpe  
(Lamb 14)

We wilnieð after wereldes wele þe longe ne mai ilaste  
(Trin 319)

se, þet mai and nele þider come  
sore hit hit sel vorþenche (Dgb 176)

Ne scal neure eft crist þolie deþ for lesen hom of deaþe  
(Lamb 182)

Nemai non herte hit þenche . . . (Trin 289)

Nis no witesse al swo muchel,  
swo mannes oþen hierte (Dgb 53).

(b) Ne ... not

Ne þenke we noht þ he scal deme þa quike & þa dede  
(Lamb 190)

Of þo pine þe þar bieð nelle ich eow naht lie (Trin 291)

On þise liue we nere noht  
alle of one mihte (Dgb 181).

(c) Without the adverbs ne and not

Neure in helle hi com . . . (Lamb 221)

Swo þat he witen þat here pine sal nafre habben ende  
(Trin 294)

vor naht hi solden bidde þer  
ore ne zeuenesse (Dgb 144).

The original text of PM is considered to be produced in the second half of the twelfth century, while the three manuscripts in question are dated towards the end of the twelfth century or shortly after 1200. As expected from an early ME text, most negative clauses in PM exemplify either *ne*, which is predominant, or *ne ... not*, which is rather limited,<sup>3</sup> but not the form not. The three manuscripts do not present any marked discrepancies in this respect.

As the above tables show, almost half the examples of the type *ne* include never, *no*, etc. (28/61 in PM (Lamb), 45/89 in PM (Trin),

and 40/82 in PM (Dgb)), but never, no, etc. do not occur with ne ... not. As for the independent occurrence of never, no, etc., examples are extremely limited. PM (Lamb) and PM (Dgb) provide only a single example of never, no, etc. alone. Although PM (Trin) yields six of these instances, they still belong to the minority in contrast to the 44 examples of never, no, etc. accompanied by the adverb ne. Thus the usages of never, no, etc. in PM is much the same as in OE, or at least as in OE prose, where never, no, etc. are almost always accompanied by the adverb ne (Rauert 1910: 71; Einkenkel 1912: 191-2).<sup>4</sup>

(2) The Owl and the Nightingale (O&N)

O&N is another text which does not provide any examples of not alone. Examples of ne and ne ... not are divided into those with and without never, no, etc. in the table below, as in the case of PM discussed above:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> As the following table shows, the examples of ne ... not occur largely at the same places of the text of each manuscript:

Lamb		132		190  211						
Trin				192	291  322	356	381	382	383	
Dgb	22	63	81	92	139		169	180	180	181

(The numbers in the above table indicate the line number in PM (Lamb), PM (Trin), and the stanza number in PM (Dgb). Examples in the same column in the above table occur at the same places of the text.)

<sup>4</sup> OE alliterative verse provides a number of examples with never, no, etc. alone as mentioned in 2.1.1. above, but they are less common than the adverb ne alone (Mitchell 1985, I: 51629; Knörk 1907: 40).

<sup>5</sup> The following example is excluded from the table, since it is not a sound example:

Nis [MS Wis] nan mon þat ne mai ibringe  
His wif amis mid swucche þinge (1539-40).

This does not make sense as it stands in the manuscript. The Jesus MS, which provides Nis instead of Wis, more likely retains the original reading as far as the present line is concerned. Stanley (1960: 94) adopts Gadow's (1909) emendation of Nis for this line.

O&N	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	119	34	0	-	153
never, no, etc.	(77.8%)	(22.2%)			
with	92	1	0	0	93
never, no, etc.	(98.9%)	(1.1%)			
Totals	211	35	0	0	246

Some illustrative examples are:

(a) Ne (examples with and without never, no, etc.)

Wane ich iso þat men boþ glade  
Ich nelle þat hi bon to sade (451-2)

For þu ne darst domes abide,  
þu wult nu, wreche, fiʒte & chide (1695-6)

Of none wintere ich ne recche,  
Vor ich nam non asvnde wrecche (533-4)

þu ne singst neuer one siþe  
þat hit nis for sum unsiþe (1163-4).

(b) Ne ... not (examples with and without never, no, etc.)

ʒet þu me seist of oþer þinge,  
& telst þat ich ne can noʒt singe (309-10)

Of mine briddes seist gabbinge,  
þat hore nest nis noʒt clene (626-7)

þu nart noʒt to non oþer þinge  
Bute þu canst of chateringe (559-60).

The original text of O&N was composed perhaps as early as the end of the twelfth century, while the date of the Cotton MS is assigned to the second half of the thirteenth century. Negative constructions in the present text show some features typical of the early ME period. The adverb ne is always included, while the occurrence of the adverb not is particularly limited. Although the general tendencies in O&N are much the same as in PM, they are at the same time slightly more progressive than in PM. Ne ... not, though by no means frequent, is slightly more common in O&N than in PM, for example, where the employment of the adverb not itself is extremely limited. Nonetheless, the adverb ne is constantly involved, whereas

the employment of the adverb not is much rarer in O&N, as mentioned above. In particular, not alone is not encountered at all. While a significant expansion of ne ... not takes place during the twelfth century in prose (Jack 1978a: 306), ne ... not is confined only to 35 examples in O&N as against the 211 examples of the type ne. Thus the situation of verse may be slightly more conservative. The constant inclusion of the adverb ne in clauses with never, no, etc. can also be identified as an early feature in O&N. No indication of the decline of the adverb ne is to be attested in clauses with never, no, etc. Together with the fact that never, no, etc. hardly co-exist with not, the employment of never, no, etc. is virtually restricted to the context where they co-occur with the form ne. The present state of affairs indicates that O&N still retains some characteristics which are regarded as rather typical of OE.

(3) king Horn (kH)

kH also exemplifies a stage before the development of not alone or never, no, etc. alone. The adverb ne is always included as the following table displays:

kH	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	34	16	0	-	50
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(68.0%)	(32.0%)			
with	51	0	0	0	51
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(100.0%)				
Totals	85	16	0	0	101

Examples of ne and ne ... not include:

(a) Ne

Heo sede þat heo  nolde  
Ben ispused wiþ golde (1037-8)

De kyng ne dorste him werne (1404)

Ne schal hit  noman derie (786)

Ne kneu heo no3t his fissing,  
 Ne horn hym selue noþing (1149-50).

(b) Ne ... not

For horn nis no3t her inne (312)

Ne canstu me no3t knowe? (1206)

Dunn (1967: 18) dates the original text of KH around 1225, while Allen (1988: 102) suggests a date towards the end of the thirteenth century. The dating of the Cambridge MS also ranges between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries. As far as the negative constructions as displayed in the above table are concerned, KH presents a situation which is almost as early as that of O&N (see (2) above). The adverb ne is included in all the relevant examples in the text while the adverb not is rare even in combination with the adverb ne. Despite Kisbye's (1971-2, I: 195) statement that the decline of the adverb ne is observed from the thirteenth century, it is still fully employed in KH as well as in O&N discussed above.

The usage of clauses with never, no, etc., which account for almost half the examples of clausal negation, also indicates the early stage of the text. As a result of the constant inclusion of the adverb ne as mentioned above, never, no, etc. do not occur alone, either. The feature typically attested in the OE period is still observed in this text.

(4) Havelok

In contrast to PM, O&N, and KH above, Havelok reveals a slightly different stage in terms of the development of negative constructions, as the table below displays:

Havelok	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	65	29	26	-	120
never, no, etc.	(54.2%)	(24.2%)	(21.7%)		
with	63	0	0	73	136
never, no, etc.	(46.3%)			(53.7%)	
Totals	128	29	26	73	256

Examples include:

(a) Ne

Sho ne kan speke ne sho kan go (125)

Þad he ne flete in þe flod (522)

Of knith ne hauede he neuere drede (90)

Ne wisten he non oþer bote-- (1201)

(b) Ne ... not

Þe riche erl ne foryat nouth  
 Þat he ne dede al Engeland  
 Sone sayse intil his hond (249-51)

So þat he with his hend  
 Ne drop him nouth, þat sor[i] fend (2229-30).

(c) Not

Shal it nouth ben als sho þenkes (306)

Was it nouth worth a fir-sticke (967).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Shal sho it neuere more haue (297)

Wile I taken non oþer red! (518)

The Laud MS of Havelok is dated to ca1300 or shortly after, although the original text was perhaps composed towards the end of the thirteenth century. As for ne, ne ... not, and not in general, the development of not alone in Havelok is worthy of note in contrast to the preceding three texts (i.e. PM, O&N, and KH). Despite the date of its manuscript or even of the original text, however, the type ne is still the most common. The overall ratio of ne to ne ... not to not is 128 : 29 : 26. Apparently the adverb ne was retained to a large

extent up to a later period than has hitherto been argued, at least as far as ME verse texts are concerned.

The employment of not, especially of not alone, seems to be still confined to some specific contexts. Of the 26 examples of not alone, as many as 20 instances illustrate clauses with the inverted word order and/or imperative clauses.<sup>6</sup> For example:

Couþe he nouth his hunger miþe-- (653)

Slep wel faste and dred þe nouth-- (662)

Thus the form not is not yet a free alternative to ne and ne ... not.

Another striking feature of Havelok as against PM, O&N, and KH (see (1), (2), and (3) above) is the development of clauses with never, no, etc. alone, of which there are 73 examples. That 63 examples of never, no, etc. are accompanied by the adverb ne suggests that a little more than half of the clauses with never, no, etc. have already dropped the adverb ne. This may be almost parallel to the state of the adverb not in this text, about half the examples of which have developed to not alone with the disappearance of the adverb ne. Not alone is almost as frequent as ne ... not as discussed above, and likewise never, no, etc. occur alone almost as frequently as they occur with the adverb ne. As in other ME texts, never, no, etc. do not occur with the adverb not.

(5) The South English Legendary (SEL)

Despite fairly abundant examples of ne ... not, the situation of SEL is in the main an early one. See the table below:

<sup>6</sup> Relevant examples are much less frequent with ne (40/128) and ne ... not (10/29).

SEL	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	403	425	16	-	844
never, no, etc.	(47.7%)	(50.4%)	(1.9%)		
with	668	10	0	37	715
never, no, etc.	(93.4%)	(1.4%)		(5.2%)	
Totals	1071	435	16	37	1559

Some examples illustrating the above table follow:

(a) Ne

He[o] nas bote þrittene 3er old · þo he[o] was to deþe  
ibro3t (19/3)

A uot nemi3t he uer gon · þe deciples anon forþ wende  
(333/177)

Dame haue wel goday · for inelle habbe no reste (34/71)

Ne worþ ich neuere bliþe of herte · ar þe holy crois be[o]  
fonde (174/224).

(b) Ne ... not

Forto honuri hom wat hy were · for he nas no3t þare  
(33/37)

And þat he in wanhope ne be[o] no3t · & þat he penance  
lede (131/87)

þe Iustice sede nemay ich no3t · mid noþing þerto bringe  
(26/43)

þare wiþ he swonk sore inou · of noman ne tok he no3t  
(35/93).

(c) Not

3ute hi þat bileuede aliue · on God biluuede no3t (23/121)

And vasteþ Cristene men · ac for sein Markes loue no3t  
(161/7).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

þat he us sende bi seint Austin · & neuere for3ute (83/86)

And faste þe prior witeþ þe keie · þat noman comeþ in þerat  
(87/66).

The Corpus MS of SEL is considered to date back to the early fourteenth century, although the composition of the original text perhaps started in the late thirteenth century. Negative

constructions in this text still seem to exemplify a fairly early stage, however. The adverb ne is most frequently included, while not alone is restricted to some small number of examples, and perhaps to some specific cases. It is noteworthy that as many as six examples of not alone (16x) are found in the condition where the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction ne. An example follows:

Muche volk þer was in Rome · þat in gode bileue nere  
 Ne biluede nozt þat þe sacringe · oure Louerdes licame  
were  
(83/89-90).

This is a context where not is preferred to ne ... not in general (see 3.2.13. below). On the other hand, the expanded employment of ne ... not in SEL is a notable contrast to PM, O&N, and KH (see (1), (2), and (3) above). This is a progressive feature of SEL among the five texts so far discussed, all of which show a relatively early stage of development.

The adverb ne is retained in clauses with never, no, etc. (i.e. ne ... never, no, etc.) to a considerable extent in SEL. This is parallel to the frequent occurrence of ne ... not as opposed to not alone, which is mentioned above. Never, no, etc., therefore, hardly occur on their own. The situation of never, not, etc. in SEL is, although slightly more advanced, much the same as the situation in PM, O&N, and KH in that they are still frequently accompanied by the adverb ne.

From a chronological perspective, SEL and Havelok (see (4) above) are largely contemporary texts. Although in both texts the adverb not has been introduced to some noticeable extent, at least in contrast to the other three texts discussed so far (i.e. PM, O&N, and KH), SEL shows a less extensive employment of not alone than Havelok. In other words, the adverb ne is retained to a larger extent in SEL, in which therefore ne ... not is frequently evidenced. The same feature is clear in clauses with never, no, etc. as well.

Never, no, etc. most frequently preserve the adverb ne in SEL, while more than half the examples of never, no, etc. in Havelok have already lost the adverb ne. Thus the state of Havelok is unequivocally more advanced than that of SEL. Various factors may be related to the difference between these two texts. Firstly, the original compilation of SEL may be earlier than that of Havelok. Secondly, the difference may be a dialectal one. SEL is quintessentially from southerly and westerly areas of England. The original text of SEL is localized around Gloucestershire, while the Corpus MS is localized in Berkshire.<sup>7</sup> Havelok, on the other hand, is fundamentally from a northern part of the East Midlands. The Laud MS is localized in Norfolk, whereas the original text of Havelok was perhaps composed in the dialect of Lincolnshire. A progressive nature of eastern and perhaps northerly dialects as opposed to southerly and westerly ones is disclosed by the comparative analysis of SEL and Havelok.

(6) English Metrical Homilies (EMH)

EMH displays a significant expansion of not alone and never, no, etc. alone, as the table below shows:

EMH	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	13	12	100	-	125
never,no,etc.	(10.4%)	(9.6%)	(80.0%)		
with	4	0	0	100	104
never,no,etc.	(3.8%)			(96.2%)	
Totals	17	12	100	100	229

Some examples of the above table are provided below:

(a) Ne

And if thou ne do, thou hase it tynt (81/2)

Bot thoru kind, spec it ne kouthe (91/24)

<sup>7</sup> It is partly localized in Hampshire (ff. 210v-213r). See 1.3.2.(5) above.

For Godd no mai we nangat der (50/12)<sup>8</sup>

For poc no sek no hauid he nan (140/12).

(b) Ne ... not

Bot he no wist noht witerlye (46/8)

For it no stud noht up on hey (101/9).

(c) Not

Bot al men can noht, I wis,  
Understand Latin and Frankis (4/5-6)

And sant Martyn thurght grace it wyste,  
That he was noght Jhesu Crist (69/8-9).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

That na thing gers him tuifald be (41/14)

That mare meknes was neuer harde (65/16).

MS Royal College of Physicians of EMH is roughly dated to the early fourteenth century. Although the manuscript is almost as early as those of Havelok and SEL (see (4) and (5) above), negative constructions in the present text reveal markedly late features in comparison to those of Havelok and SEL. Concerning the overall situation of ne, ne ... not, and not, the form not is predominant as the above table shows. The recession of the adverb ne is clearly visible.

Examples of ne and ne ... not are so limited in EMH as to be attested particularly in some specific circumstances. Seventeen

<sup>8</sup> No in the present example is an orthographic variant of the adverb ne. The same is true of other examples of the same type in EMH. This orthographic variant occasionally occurs in ME. The following is an example of no of this type in MS Lincoln's Inn 150 of KA which corresponds to the form ne in MS Laud Misc. 622 of the same text:

No worþ þe of him oþir acord  
Bote mon quellyng wiþ sweord  
(MS Lincoln's Inn 150 of KA, 3330-1)

Ne worþe þee of hym non oþere acorde  
Bot manqualme wiþ many spere and swerd  
(MS Laud Misc. 622 of KA, 3347-8).

instances of *ne* include six examples of conditional clauses with *if* and four examples of *þat*-clauses. Examples include:

For gyf Adams pryd *ne* war,  
He had bene qwyf of sorow and kar (67/5-6)

And if thou *ne* do, thou hase it tynt (81/2)

Bi this tal har may we se,  
That wis and wair bihoues us be,  
That Satenas *ne* ger us rayk  
Fra rihtwisnes, to sinful laik (58/1-4)

Allas, that scho *ne* had halden the triste (82/11).

Apart from these, seventeen examples of *ne* and *ne ... not* yield a finite verb which can provide a contracted negative form, although negative contraction itself does not occur in *EMH* (see 4.1.2. below).

Some illustrative examples are:

Var scho *ne* hafd ben, I hauid gan  
To won in helle wit Satan (31/9-10)

For he no was noht lic in dede  
Til thaim that heldes als the rede (37/9-10).

The sharp decline of the adverb *ne* is to be observed with examples of never, no, etc. as well. Only four of the 104 examples of never, no etc. occur with *ne*, while all the other examples have already undergone the obliteration of the adverb *ne*. Since *never*, no, etc. and the adverb *not* do not co-occur as the above table shows, clauses with never, no, etc. alone are particularly common in *EMH*. The frequent occurrence of *never*, no, etc. alone (100x) as against never, no, etc. with the adverb *ne* (4x) is parallel to the frequent occurrence of *not* alone (100x) as opposed to *ne ... not* (12x), since both are products of the effacement of the adverb *ne*.

The fairly progressive nature of *EMH* arises from the fact that *EMH* is a Northern text. The original text is thought to be composed somewhere around Durham, and the manuscript concerned is localized in Yorkshire.

(7) The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (G&E)

The adverb ne is retained in G&E to a much larger extent than in EMH as the following table shows:

G&E	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without never, no, etc.	60 (47.2%)	31 (24.4%)	36 (28.3%)	-	127
with never, no, etc.	36 (37.9%)	0	0	59 (62.1%)	95
Totals	96	31	36	59	222

Some illustrative examples are provided in the following:

(a) Ne<sup>9</sup>

Quo ne bar ðanne is merk him on  
Fro godes folc sulde he be don (1003-4)

And get ne migte ðis folc vt-gon,  
Swilc harnessse is on pharaon (3021-2)

Ne sulen it neuere ben un-don,  
Til ihesus beð on rode don (385-6)

Non of his men forðere ne mot  
But ysaac, is dere childe (1304-5).

(b) Ne ... not

And get ne kuðe he noht blinne  
For to don an-oðer sinne (289-90)

Quad iacob, "ðe ne leate ic noht,  
Til ðin bliscing on me beð wroht" (1811-12).

(c) Not

Alle hes hadde wið migte bi-geten,  
Wolde he noht him his swinc for-geten (911-12)

<sup>9</sup> Although Arngart (1968: 134) suggests the reading he for the first ne in the following line, I have counted it as the adverb ne:

For ne cuðen ne gate flen (3224)

The subject he is simply omitted in this line as I surmise (see Iyeiri 1992). The same phenomenon occurs in line 3228 as well:

He ne mogen figten a-gen,  
For wið-vten wopen ben (3227-8).

Der ðu salt ben of werlde numen,  
In-to ðat lond salt ðu nogt cumen (4103-4).

(b) Without the adverbs ne and not

Of Iosep wot ic ending non (2229)

Swilc wreche was ear neuere non (3126).

The unique manuscript of G&E is dated to an earlier period of the fourteenth century, while the original text was perhaps produced around 1250. Although a reasonable extent of the development of the adverb not is observed in the text, negation is still marked by the adverb ne much more frequently. The overall frequencies of ne, ne ... not and not are 96 : 31 : 36. Nearly 60% of the relevant instances still exemplify the type ne or the oldest one.

The employment of the adverb not, especially not alone, seems to be still conditioned by the nature of clauses to some extent. 27 of the 36 examples of not alone illustrate imperative clauses and/or clauses with the inverted word order. Examples include:

Ic am iosep, dredeð gu nogt (2343)

And doð nogt god almigten wrong (3727).

Likewise, eighteen of the 31 examples of ne ... not illustrate imperative clauses and/or clauses with the inverted order. Some examples are cited below:

Get ne let hem nogt helpe-les (3558)

Oc god, ne wile he it nogt for-ge ten (3682).

The issue of syntactic conditions in relation to ne, ne ... not, and not is fully discussed below (see 3.2. below), and therefore does not deserve an extensive account here, but the phenomenon of the adverb not being restricted in use to some specific circumstances is at least interesting, since it signifies that ne ... not and not are still relatively marginal as opposed to ne. At least they are not free

alternatives to the form ne.

Alongside the development of not alone discussed above, G&E yields examples of never, no, etc. without the adverb ne. In this aspect, the decline of the adverb ne is clearer. While ne ... not and not occur with almost the same frequency (31 and 36 examples respectively), the adverb ne has more frequently been dropped (59x) than it has been retained (36x) in clauses with never, no, etc. Curiously enough, the state of clauses with never, no, etc. is more progressive than that of clauses without them as far as G&E is concerned.

The manuscript of G&E is almost contemporary with those of Havelok, SEL, and EMH (see (4), (5), and (6) above). EMH presents a much more advanced stage than G&E, which is due to the fact that EMH is a Northern progressive text as mentioned above. G&E, on the other hand, presents a more progressive nature than SEL, although it is not as progressive as EMH. This is in some respects attributable to the fact that SEL is essentially from South-Western areas as stated above while G&E is from a northern part of the East Midlands. The state of affairs of the manuscript of G&E is in fact very similar to that of Havelok, the Laud MS of which is localized in Norfolk, where G&E is also localized. In both texts, the form ne is preponderant, while ne ... not and not occur with almost the equal frequency. Never, no, etc. are often accompanied by the adverb ne, but they drop the adverb ne more frequently than they retain it. The employment of the adverb not is attested to a slightly larger extent in G&E, however, than in Havelok. This may partly be dependent upon the fact that the text is based upon a Northern original, although the manuscript itself is localized in Norfolk areas, where Havelok is also localized.

(8) The Poems of William of Shoreham (WS)

The adverb ne is preserved to a much larger extent in WS than in G&E as the table below shows:

WS	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	115	103	52	-	270
never, no, etc.	(42.6%)	(38.1%)	(19.3%)		
with	127	3	3	46	179
never, no, etc.	(70.9%)	(1.7%)	(1.7%)	(25.7%)	
Totals	242	106	55	46	449

Examples include:

(a) Ne

Ɔa3 he ne toke iudas out,  
Ɔe worste man on erƆe (20/552-3)

Ac he hyt nele (141/327)

Ac no man ne may di3tti (12/317)

For god ne dede no quead in dede (143/382).

(b) Ne ... not

For yf Ɔou nelt nau3t climme Ɔos (3/55)

Ɔat hy ne be nau3t ine wanhope (31/850)

Ne mede, ne forƆe, no oƆer licour  
Ɔat chaungeƆ wateres kende,  
Ne longeƆ nau3t to cristendom (8/211-13).

(c) Not

Ɔa3 he be nau3t professed (63/1792)

And dorste nau3t adam asaylly,  
Al for to waye (152/647-8)

For Ɔanne scholde hy weddi nou3t,  
By none ry3t[e] lawe (64/1812-13).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Ɔe seuen longet to loue of man,  
Ɔat none scholde wene  
Ine ƆoƆer table sete Ɔo,  
To-gadere and al y-mene (88-9/85-8)

Who hys hit þat neuer yþou3t  
Of pompe þat he se3? (107/259-60)

The manuscript of WS perhaps dates back to the second quarter of the fourteenth century, namely a fairly late period of ME. In respect of ne, ne ... not, and not, however, the adverb ne is still employed in a large number of relevant examples, although the text provides a fairly extensive number of the adverb not as well. The form ne is the most common, followed by ne ... not and then by not. The fact that ne ... not is much more common than not alone also indicates an early feature of the present text. Given the fact that G&E, the manuscript of which is dated to an earlier period of the fourteenth century, provides ne ... not and not with an almost equal frequency, the situation of WS, which provides ne ... not more commonly than not, is fairly conservative, at least in comparison to that of G&E. WS is a significant text in the present study, since it is one of the rare texts from Kent. The slightly more conservative nature of this text in comparison to the nature of other contemporary texts may derive from this fact.

The retention of the adverb ne in WS is even more pronounced with clauses with never, no, etc. As many as 130 of the total of 179 examples of never, no, etc. are still accompanied by the adverb ne. The adverb ne is preserved in WS to a larger extent than in Havelok, EMH and G&E (see (4), (6), and (7) above), all of which are earlier in date than WS. The abundant occurrence of the adverb ne in WS suggests that it was preserved considerably well up to a later period of ME than has often been assumed, at least in some conservative texts. Finally, never, no, etc. scarcely occur with not in WS as well, which is a consistent feature of this text with other ME texts.

(9) Cursor Mundi (CM)

The decline of the adverb ne is particularly pronounced in CM, as

the following table displays:

CM	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without never, no, etc.	79 (21.2%)	19 (5.1%)	275 (73.7%)	-	373
with never, no, etc.	36 (6.5%)	0	6 (1.1%)	516 (92.5%)	558
Totals	115	19	281	516	931

Some examples illustrating the above table are:

(a) Ne

lok for-þi, þat 3ee tak tent  
þat 3ee ne brek mi commament (661-2)

Foli was it, & sua sco faand,  
Hir luue to seit þar it ne moght stand (4267-8)

For-þi ne was he noþer quar sent  
Bot to þe huse ai tok he tent (3495-6)

0 fede ne dredes it na fraist (9884).

(b) Ne ... not

þe hund ne harmed noght þe hare (687)

Ne minnes yow noght, now mani dai,  
Of a drem, lang siþen gan? (5274-5)

(c) Not

For if þou do, þou es noght wis (656)

þai wald noght lere on noe lare (1832)

For of þin hand he wil noght take  
Nan suilkin warc, it war vnright (8304-5)

þat ye can-not na resun find (9340).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Suilk in herth es fundun nan (77)

Fader is he cald for-þi  
þat he is welle þat neuer sal dri (309-10).

Recent views propose the mid-fourteenth century as the date of the Cotton MS of CM, although the manuscript was once considered much later than this. The original text, however, perhaps dates back to

the beginning of the fourteenth century. In respect of the distribution of ne, ne ... not, and not, CM presents a progressive nature with profuse examples of the adverb not. Among the nine texts so far examined, CM and EMH (see (6) above) are the only texts that show a larger number of the adverb not than the adverb ne. As well as in the case of EMH, the advanced nature of CM can be accounted for from a dialectal point of view. Although the exact localization of the original text of CM has not been made clear yet, it is apparently from the North. The Cotton MS itself is localized in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The progressive nature of CM comes from the fact that it is a Northern text.

The particularly restricted occurrence of ne ... not in CM merits attention. Ne ... not is in fact much less common than ne in the text as the table shows, which perhaps signifies that not has established itself so well that the tentative form ne ... not is no longer called for, whereas the form ne is still retained especially in some specific cases. It is worth while to note that as many as 48 examples of ne (115x) provide a finite verb which can provide a contracted form. (Contracted forms themselves do not occur in CM as discussed in 4.1.2. below.) Examples include:

If god him-self ne had it kydd (1108)

þat þar ne was ded man ligand (6130).

Of the nineteen examples of ne ... not, on the other hand, only four examples provide finite verbs of this type.

Never, no, etc. occasionally occur with the adverb ne (36x), while they hardly occur when the adverb not is involved as in the other texts discussed above. On the other hand, never, no, etc. most predominantly occur alone as the above table shows. This is a phenomenon parallel with the extensive employment of not as against ne ... not, since both arise with the effacement of the adverb ne.

The reduction of the adverb ne is equivocally observed in clauses with never, no, etc. in CM.

(10) Sir Ferumbras (Ferumbras)

In contrast to CM discussed above, Ferumbras still retains the adverb ne to a large extent. See the table below:

<u>Ferumbras</u>	<u>ne</u>	<u>ne...not</u>	<u>not</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>Totals</u>
without	125	85	82	-	292
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(42.8%)	(29.1%)	(28.1%)		
with	182	5	8	101	296
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(61.5%)	(1.7%)	(2.7%)	(34.1%)	
<u>Totals</u>	307	90	90	101	588

Examples include:

(a) Ne

For if þou yknewe me ariȝt : my doynge & my creaunce,  
þou noldest profry me no fiȝt : for al þat gold of fraunce  
(358-9)

Sipþe þe tyme þat he was bore : on batail ne com he non,  
In-to þe day þat he com þore : þat he ne ouercom his fon  
(666-7)

I ne schal neuere, by heuene kyng : a fot ferther wende  
(565)

Of Charlemeyn ne his ferede : nabbecþ þay non help, y legge  
(2367).

(b) Ne ... not

& if it [be] so þat on al-one : ne dar noȝt þat batail take,  
þeyȝ þay come euerechone : nel ich hem noȝt for-sake  
(482-3)

Ne drede ȝe noȝt, myn leue frende : ȝe ne schulleþ haue no  
nede (3320)

& non oþer ne profrede him noȝt : þat batail to vnde[r]fonge  
(208).

(c) Not

þan Ansuereþe þe wardeyn : "hit is noȝt lyȝt to fynde,  
Ac noþeles y-hure me seyn : and haue it on þy mynde"  
(1734-5)

Teche we now wat men we ben, For wel 3e seeþ we mo3e  
no3t flen (4719)

. . . our non him fancy no3t (2949).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

. . . þou turnest agayn no more! (707)

. . . þat neuere no sadel bere (1739).

Although the text is dated to the end of the fourteenth century, *Ferumbras* reveals a state of affairs which is more typical of the middle period of ME. The situation of the present text is rather similar to that of *G&E*, the manuscript of which is dated to the first half of the fourteenth century. Firstly, the type ne is the most common, although ne ... not and not are not infrequent. Secondly, the proportions of ne ... not and not are (almost) equal.

As for clauses with never, no, etc., the adverb ne is retained more prevaillingly in *Ferumbras* than in *G&E*, which is earlier in date. Although ne ... not and not occur almost with an equal frequency both in *G&E* and *Ferumbras*, never, no, etc. much more frequently occur with the adverb ne than without in *Ferumbras*, whereas in *G&E* the adverb ne has been lost to a larger extent than it is preserved in clauses with never, no, etc. In this respect, the situation of *Ferumbras* is more conservative than that of *G&E*.

The conservative nature of *Ferumbras* can be accounted for from a dialectal standpoint. The text is localized in Exeter (Devonshire), which is a relatively conservative area from the linguistic point of view. Moreover, the fact that *Ferumbras* is a text of translation may also be relevant.

#### (11) Confessio Amantis (CA)

The situation of CA is similar to that of CM, which is discussed above, as the table below shows:

CA	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	130	17	369	-	516
never,no,etc.	(25.2%)	(3.3%)	(71.5%)		
with	22	2	10	523	557
never,no,etc.	(3.9%)	(0.4%)	(1.8%)	(93.9%)	
Totals	152	19	379	523	1073

Some examples illustrating the above table follow:

(a) Ne

Bot that ne myhte I natheles  
For al this world obeie ywiss (70/1280-1)

That thou wolt haten eny man,  
To that acorden I ne can,  
Thogh he have hindred thee tofore (251/935-7)

And yet ne take men no kepe (9/179)

For he ne can nothing forbere (239/471).

(b) Ne ... not

Ne hyd it noght, for if thou feignest,  
I can do the no medicine (40/166-7)

And so forth after I beginne  
And loke if ther was elles oght  
To speke, and I ne spak it noght (241/568-70)

And sche ne wolde noght be schore  
For no conseil . . . (83/1751-2).

(c) Not

And yit the cause is noght decided (14/334)

He schal noght faile to receive  
His peine, as it is ofte sene (68/1208-9)

He scholde noght with feigned chiere  
Deceive Love in no degre (56/750-1).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

So may be seker non astat (20/568)

For so wys man was nevere non (47/440).

The so-called third recension manuscripts, of which the Fairfax MS is one, are considered to be prepared towards the end of the

fourteenth century. The usage of negative constructions as displayed in the above table presents a feature which is by and large typical of the later period of ME. Not alone is frequent in CA, while the adverb ne is relatively rare, especially in the form of ne ... not. Concerning ne (as against ne ... not and not), examples seem to be more or less restricted to some specific cases. 152 instances of this form include as many as 89 instances of pat-clauses as the following illustrate:

. . . and so contourbed,  
That I ne may my wittes gete (41/222-3)

Bot certes I may noght obeie,  
That I ne mot algate seie  
Somwhat of that I wolde mene (71/1295-7).

Thus the form ne is retained to some extent in some specific syntactic circumstances, while ne ... not has in most cases already shifted to not alone with the disappearance of ne. The transitional form ne ... not is no longer frequently called for, once not establishes itself as in CA. This indicates the unstable nature of ne ... not.

With regard to clauses with never, no, etc., most examples have already undergone the disappearance of ne. The co-existence of ne and never, no, etc. is limited almost to the same extent as the co-occurrence of the adverbs ne and not. The co-occurrence of never, no, etc. and not is rare as has been the case with all the other texts thus far investigated. Therefore, the text shows a number of never, no, etc. alone.

All in all, the situation of CA is much the same as that of CM, which is earlier in date but which is relatively advanced in nature for its date. Conversely, CA makes a striking contrast to Ferumbras, which is almost contemporary with CA but which is rather conservative in its linguistic features.

(12) Handlyng Synne (HS)

HS also presents an extensive reduction of the adverb ne as the table below shows:

HS	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	125	28	499	-	652
never,no,etc.	(19.2%)	(4.3%)	(76.5%)		
with	38	3	25	648	714
never,no,etc.	(5.3%)	(0.4%)	(3.5%)	(90.8%)	
Totals	163	31	524	648	1366

Some illustrative examples are:

(a) Ne

Al þe penaunce ne coude y telle  
 Ðat y suffre yn a welle (2261-2)

Ðarfore ne myghte he come þat sele (6970)

Ne dele wyþ hym neuere adeyl (238)

Ðat 3e ne dur no wycchecraft doute (8276).

## (b) Ne ... not

Of þys fere ne drede þe noght (2503)

But þat tyme ne com hyt noght (8853)

No creatures ne hateþ he noght  
 But synne þat ys do or wroght (11531-2).

(c) Not

For þou art nat redy to me (1270)

He ys nat wrþy hem to haue (5527)

Beth nat ydyl neure noun (4526).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

To þefte wyle y neuer go (2118)

Þys peyne wyle y suffre nomore (2130).

HS is a late ME text, which is dated to ca1400. In reference to ne, ne ... not, and not, the text displays a fairly progressive feature as the above table shows. Alongside the fairly late date, the

progressive nature of the text may also be attributable to the fact that Robert Mannyng, the author of HS, is from the North (Lincolnshire). The form not is preponderant, while the adverb ne is relatively sparse, especially in the form ne ... not. Ne ... not provides only 31 examples as opposed to the 524 examples of the form not and the 163 examples of the form ne. Most examples of ne ... not have, in fact, shifted to the form not with the obliteration of the adverb ne, and the remaining examples seem to be more or less restricted to certain specific conditions. Eleven examples of ne ... not, for instance, occur in imperative clauses, as the following example illustrates:

Ne beleueþ nat on þese shapperes (9663).

As the above table shows, never, no, etc., which were most frequently accompanied by ne at the beginning of the ME period, now hardly show ne. This is again due to the decline of the adverb ne. The adverb ne has receded from clauses with never, no, etc. to almost the same degree as it has receded from clauses with not. Thus the majority of examples display either not alone or never, no, etc. alone in HS, and the adverb ne has already undergone a sharp decline by this stage.

Finally, it is noteworthy about the above table that the adverb ne accompanied by another negative element is especially limited while the adverb ne alone is still preserved to a larger extent. This is a feature observed in CM and CA as well (see (9) and (11) above). Apparently, the intermediate and rather tentative form ne ... not declines first. This indicates that once a text reaches this stage, the form ne should develop directly to the form not or never, no, etc. alone. As I surmise, ne ... not no longer functions as a bridge between ne alone and not alone.

(13) kyng Alisaunder (KA)

The adverb ne is retained to a considerable extent in KA, while the use of the adverb not is limited conversely. See the table below:

KA	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	195	28	22	-	245
never, no, etc.	(75.6%)	(11.4%)	(9.0%)		
with	206	1	0	71	278
never, no, etc.	(74.1%)	(0.4%)		(25.5%)	
Totals	401	29	22	71	523

Some illustrative examples are:

## (a) Ne

Ne durst hym wipstonde beest (496)

Pai seiden hym, at on word,  
Pai nolden hym more to lorde,  
For hem defenden he ne mizth (1169-71)

Now haþ Alisaundre so myche gyng  
Dat non it noot bot heuene-kyng (1507-8)

Nas neuere non better kni3th,  
And al his folk is stronge and wi3th (3325-6).

## (b) Ne ... not

'Dame,' he seide, 'J nulle þe nou3th bicache (258)

Jt ne helpeþ nou3th al wel ysayed,  
Ac he was þere-of yuel ypayed (6620-1)

Noman ne may hem nou3th ennoye,  
Bot he wil onon-ri3th deye (6558-9).

## (c) Not

And seide to hym: 'be þou nou3th looþ  
Me to telle of oo þing sooþ (303-4)

And Alisaunder seide: 'It is nou3th so!' (4155)

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Fro me shaltou no-whider goo (364)

Was hym neuere er so woo (4277).

The Laud MS of KA is dated to the later period of ME. The approximate date of 1400 has been suggested for the manuscript.

Negative constructions in KA are, however, remarkably conservative for this date. As far as ne, ne ... not, and not are concerned, most relevant examples include the adverb ne on the one hand, while on the other hand the adverb not occurs only occasionally. As a matter of fact, the employment of ne ... not and not are so limited that their examples tend to be attested in some specific conditions. 29 examples of ne ... not include fourteen instances of imperative clauses and/or clauses with the inverted word order, as illustrated below:

Lordynges, ne beep nou3th anguisshous,  
Pei3 3ee habbeþ 3oure frendes ylore (1654-5)

Bot he be ful wel ytau3tte,  
Wiþouten skorne ne passeþ he nou3th! (3137-8)

Furthermore, 22 instances of not alone also include eight examples of imperative clauses and/or clauses with the inverted word order. For example:

'Dame' he seide, 'be þou nou3t looþ--  
Jch am ycome to telle þe sooþ' (227-8)

Mi3th he nou3th dure for þe hate (576).

That not is less frequent than ne ... not also indicates the conservative nature of this text, although the difference between the frequencies of ne ... not and not is not particularly large.

Another conservative feature is also attested in clauses with never, no, etc. Most examples of never, no, etc. still occur together with ne, while those which have undergone the disappearance of ne account for only about one fourth of the relevant examples. The preservation of ne is, in fact, more pronounced with clauses with never, no, etc. than clauses with not. This may be a feature typical of conservative texts. It has notably been attested in WS (see (8) above) and Ferumbras (see (10) above), both of which are relatively conservative for their dates.

The date of KA is more or less as late as the proposed date of

HS discussed above. As thus far discussed, however, negative constructions in KA are notably conservative in contradistinction to those in HS. Since the original texts of KA and HS are both dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the linguistic discrepancy must be explained from a dialectal point of view. While HS is from a relatively northern area despite the localization of the manuscript in Hertfordshire, KA was produced around London, and the present manuscript is localized in Essex. The early date of its composition should always be taken into consideration to assess the conservative feature of KA, however, although this is not striking in the case of HS, which is a contemporary text but which is a relatively northern text.

(14) Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (GGK)

As the following table shows, the adverb not is about twice as frequent as the adverb ne in GGK:

GGK	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	19	2	43	-	64
never,no,etc.	(29.7%)	(3.1%)	(67.2%)		
with	3	0	0	116	119
never,no,etc.	(2.5%)			(97.5%)	
Totals	22	2	43	116	183

Some examples illustrating the above table are:

(a) Ne

Per he watz þreted and ofte þef called,  
And ay þe titleres at his tayl, þat tary he ne myȝt  
(1725-6)

Weldez non so hyȝe hawtesse  
Pat ho ne con make ful tame-- (2454-5)

And he nay þat he noldē neghe in no wyse  
Nauþer golde ne garysoun, er God hym grace sende  
To acheue to þe chaunce þat he hade chosen þere (1836-8)

Sir Gawayn þe knyȝt con mete,  
He ne lutte hym noþyng lowe (2235-6)

And he nikked hym naye, he nolde bi no wayes (2471).

(b) Ne ... not

Bot he nolde not for his nurture nurne hir a3ayne3 (1661)

And now nar 3e not fer fro þat note place  
 Þat 3e han spied and spuryed so specially after (2092-3).

(c) Not

And if I carp not comlyly, let alle þis cort rych  
 bout blame (360-1)

Hit is not two myle henne (1078).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Tas yow þere my cheucaunce, I cheued no more (1390)

Watz he neuer in þis worlde wy3e half so blyþe-- (2321)

The single extant manuscript of GGK is dated to ca1400 and the original text may not be much earlier than this. In comparison to HS, whose manuscript is also dated to ca1400, the situation in GGK is slightly less advanced. This may be dependent upon the fact that HS is more easterly than GGK. HS is from the East Midlands, whereas the manuscript of GGK is localized in Cheshire in the West Midlands. Nonetheless, general features of GGK are later ME ones. The adverb not is copious, while the adverb ne is relatively rare. As in other late ME texts, the employment of ne ... not is particularly limited, and in fact much more limited than ne alone.

The adverb ne seems to be encountered especially in some specific contexts. Of the 24 examples with the adverb ne, as many as nineteen instances provide a contracted negative form (e.g. nis, nolde) and/or occur in a subordinate clause introduced by the conjunction þat. Both of the examples of ne ... not fall under this category as quoted above under (b). Some further illustrations follow:

I nolde bot if I hit negh my3t on Nw 3eres morne  
 For alle þe londe inwyth Logres, so me oure lorde help!  
 (1054-5)

Weldez non so hy3e hawtesse  
 Pat ho ne con make ful tame-- (2454-5)

The usage of never, no, etc. in GGK can also be characterized as a later ME one. As the above table shows, never, no, etc. scarcely occur with ne. Owing to the decline of the adverb ne in general, never, no, etc. have come to be almost entirely independent negative elements. Along with the almost entire transition of ne ... not to not alone, the nearly full development of never, no, etc. alone is to be noted as a late characteristic of GGK. As in other ME texts, however, never, no, etc. and the adverb not do not co-occur in the same clause.

(15) The Alliterative Morte Arthure (AMA)

The adverb ne is relatively limited in AMA, especially in combination with not and with never, no, etc., as displayed below:

AMA	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	20	0	47	-	67
never,no,etc.	(29.9%)		(70.1%)		
with	5	0	1	230	236
never,no,etc.	(2.1%)		(0.4%)	(97.5%)	
Totals	25	0	48	230	303

Examples include:

(a) Ne

Why ne myghte I, dere lufe, dye in 3our armes,  
 Are I þis destanye of dule sulde drye by myne one?  
 (703-4)

He hade peté in herte þat he ne durste profire (2812)

Of this dredfull dreme ne drede the no more (829)

Whylls sexty ware seruede soo, ne sessede they neuer  
 (2132)

That I ne wiste no waye whedire þat I scholde (3231)

That no dynte of no darte dere them ne schoulde (3611)

He ne schownttes for no schame, bot schewes full heghe!  
(3715)

(b) Not

I myght noghte speke for spytte, so my herte trymblyde!  
(270)

Bees noghte abayste of theire boste; abyde on þe erthe--  
(3737)

I will noghte wonde for no werre to wende whare me likes  
(3494).

(c) Without the adverbs ne and not

Hurte thourghe þe harde stele, hele they neuer! (3688)

For dere Dryghttyn this daye dredys no wapyn (3799).

AMA is a fifteenth century piece of work. The manuscript is dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century, whereas the original text perhaps dates back to the beginning of the same century. As far as negation is concerned, not alone prevails in AMA, while the employment of ne is relatively limited. The entire disappearance of ne ... not in AMA claims our particular attention. The faster decline of ne ... not than ne, which is attested in CM, CA, HS, and GGK discussed above, has now reached the ultimate stage. The tentative and rather unstable form ne ... not has entirely disappeared in AMA by the depletion of the adverb ne. On the other hand, the form ne is still preserved especially in some specific circumstances. Seven examples of this type (the total of which is 25 as shown in the table) in AMA, for instance, occur in conditional clauses with the inverted word order, as the following example illustrates:

Ne hade sir Clegis comen and Cleremonte þe noble,  
Oure newe men hade gone to noghte, and many ma oþer  
(1828-9).

þat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause also provide five examples of the form ne. For instance:

Thare ne es kaysere ne kynge þat vndire Criste ryngnes  
 Þat I ne schall kill colde dede be crafte of my handez!  
 (2266-7)

As the above table displays, the state of affairs of never, no, etc. is also a later ME one. The adverb ne is almost on the verge of disappearance from clauses of this type, while the employment of never, no, etc. alone has been firmly established. The co-occurrence of never, no, etc. and ne has now come to be almost as rare as that of never, no, etc. and not, which has always been rare in ME.

(16) Alexander and Dindimus (A&D)

Examples of ne, especially those including never, no, etc. as well, occur frequently in A&D as the table below displays:

A&D	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	6	8	24	-	38
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(15.8%)	(21.1%)	(63.2%)		
with	41	2	0	84	127
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(32.3%)	(1.6%)		(66.1%)	
Totals	47	10	24	84	165

Some examples illustrating the above table follow:

(a) Ne

For skape of þe scorpionus · askape þei ne mizhte (159)

We ne sain but soþ · & sesen by time (368)

But if we ony enimis · wiþ-inne vs asprie,  
 We nolle sclepe in no sclowþe · til we hem sclain haue  
 (343-4)

We ne han none hous bote holus · in þe holou cauus,  
 Vndur hillus ful hie · to holden us inne (434-5).

(b) Ne ... not

For we ne konne þe nouht kenne · our costomus alle (278)

We ne sain noukt, king, be þou sur · for sake of our pride,  
 þat we bolde godus ben · burnus to gie,  
 Ne enuye to hem han · ne hate in þis worde (991-3)

We ne gilte noht god · no no gome here (384)

For we ne lizthe noht our lif · wiþ no luthur dede (400).

(c) Not

For 3if men saiþ bi 3ow soþ · þe sawe þat y hirde,  
Of more meruailouse men · mi3hte i nouht kenne (209-10)

For erþe is nouht our eritage · þat euere schal laste  
(981).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

For what richesse, rink · vs mi3ht þou bi-reue  
Whan no wordliche wele · is wiþ us founde? (31-2)

. . . ful is he neuere (801).

The approximate date of 1450 has been given to the manuscript of A&D. With respect to the usage of negation, the text provides copious examples of ne, most of which, however, also include never, no, etc. As concerns clauses without never, no, etc., however, the employment of the adverb ne is limited to some small number of examples as is typical of late ME. Especially the fact that not alone is far more common than ne ... not reveals one of the typical late ME features of this text.

It is curious, however, that the co-existence of never, no, etc. and ne is fairly common. The extent to which ne has declined from clauses with never, no, etc. is much smaller than the extent to which ne ... not has shifted to not alone. The discrepancy of this kind has thus far been attested with WS, Ferumbras, and KA, all of which are relatively conservative for their dates. The situation in A&D, in fact, reflects a less advanced stage than in AMA (see (15) above), which is another fifteenth century text, the manuscript of which is dated a little earlier than A&D. This may partly be related to the fact that the composition of the original text of A&D was probably in the middle of the fourteenth century. In addition, dialectal differences may have to be considered. AMA is from a northern part of the East Midlands whereas A&D is broadly from south-westerly areas. Furthermore, the fact that A&D is a translation may also be relevant

as in the case of Ferumbras.

(17) The Destruction of Troy (DT)

The loss of the adverb ne is particularly pronounced in DT, as the following table displays:

DT	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	9	8	168	-	185
never,no,etc.	(4.9%)	(4.3%)	(90.8%)		
with	0	0	12	359	371
never,no,etc.			(3.2%)	(96.8%)	
Totals	9	8	180	359	556

Some examples illustrating the above table are given below:

(a) Ne

Hit might sothely be siche on, as your self nold  
ffor mykill of þis medill erthe þat myschefe to se (7585-6)

Ne hade Priam the prise kyng preset hom aboute,  
þat was feghtyng in the feld on the fer syde,  
Myche murthe of his men & myschefe hade fallyn (9053-5).

(b) Ne ... not

Ne trawes not, tru lady, þat I take wolde  
Thy ladyship to losse, ne in lust holde (3351-2)

Ne hopis þou noght, hend doghtur, þat our hegh goddes  
Wold be wrothe at our werkes, & wisshe vs to skathe  
(8145-6).

(c) Not

He for3et not, but 3epely 3arkit hym þerfore (882)

We fors not his frendship, ne fere of his hate (1929)

I think not, by my thrifte, for no þro wordys (1883)

Pai salut not þat souerain with no sad wordes (4981).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Whyle you rixlis in this Reame no riot we drede (221)

And he cast be course what shuld come after,  
Shuld neuer purpos vnperisshit be putto A yssu (2459-60).

The manuscript of DT is dated around the middle of the fifteenth

century, while the original text was perhaps composed towards the end of the fourteenth century. Ne, ne ... not, and not in DT present an extremely late state of affairs. The type not is predominant while the employment of ne is extremely limited. Not only has ne ... not mostly shifted to the form not, but also ne alone is extremely rare. The restricted employment of both ne and ne ... not may show an even more advanced stage than other progressive later texts such as CM, CA, HS, GGK, and AMA (see (11), (12), (14), and (15) above), where ne ... not is much rarer than ne alone. This may be attributable to the fact that DT comes from a relatively northern part of England. McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 89) localize the manuscript of DT in Lancashire.

The extremely limited number of the examples of ne alone again seem to be restricted to some specific conditions. Six examples of ne alone (of the total of nine examples) occur in conditional clauses with the inverted word order as the following example illustrates. All the six examples present a form of have as their finite verb.

Ne hade the buerne from the body bigly ben draghen,  
He hade doutles be dede, & his day comyn (8708-9).

It is also noticeable that as many as four examples of ne ... not (of the total of eight) are found in imperative clauses. For instance:

Ne mynd not þes men of þe mykyll harme (4210).

Furthermore, three examples of ne ... not occur in interrogative clauses, as in:

Ne hope ye not highly, þat here are sum fals,  
And aspies your spede with spit þat þai may,  
To write to þat wale kyng your werkes by-den? (4573-5)

These issues are fully discussed below (see 3.2.).

As the above table shows, examples of ne no longer include never, no, etc. Due to the entire disappearance of the adverb ne

from clauses with never, no, etc., the text has now reached the opposite extremity of PM, O&N, and KH (see (1), (2), and (3) above), where clauses with never, no, etc. almost consistently include the adverb ne. The abundant occurrence of never, no, etc. alone suggests that they have fully developed as independent markers of negation in DT. Together with the copious examples of the form not discussed above, the situation of never, no, etc. in the present text also illustrates a very advanced stage of ME negation.

(18) The Stanzaic Morte Arthur (SMA)

Ne is preserved reasonably well for a late text in SMA, although the adverb not is more frequent than the adverb ne. See the table below:

SMA	ne	ne...not	not	-	Totals
without	29	21	83	-	133
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(21.8%)	(15.8%)	(62.4%)		
with	29	0	1	212	242
<u>never, no, etc.</u>	(12.0%)		(0.4%)	(87.6%)	
Totals	58	21	84	212	375

Examples include:

(a) Ne

As he ne might hys lymmys weld (101)

By-fore we ne suffre hyr to be sorye (1458)

In all this world ne be no mo (587)

Why ne may I nevir be blithe! (871)

(b) Ne ... not

"Nay," he sayd, "my lady fre,  
I ne thinke not it shall be so" (75-6)

I ne shall noght bote wet[e] hyr wylle,  
loke ye make youe glad and blythe (1788-9).

(c) Not

For gold on lyff they lefte them noght (14)

For sorow he my3te not nyght hym nere,  
 But euyr wepyd As he were wode (3444-5)

That glad I may not for no gamys gaye (3227).

(d) Without the adverbs ne and not

Ya, bors, drede the no wight (1880)

So vntrew fynd ye me neuyr mo (3680).

The manuscript of SMA is dated to the later period of the fifteenth century and possibly localized in the Rutland area. Although the feature of negation is not as progressive as in DT (see (17) above), the characteristics of SMA are in the main later ones. As for ne, ne ... not, and not, the form not is the most common, while the employment of the adverb ne is much limited. Since a large proportion of clauses with the adverb ne have lost it, ne ... not is more limited than ne alone. This is a feature commonly attested in texts with late ME features. The difference between the frequencies of ne and ne ... not is not excessively large, however, which indicates that ne ... not is still in the process of decline.

The decline of the adverb ne is evident in clauses with never, no, etc. as well. Although the sporadic co-occurrence of ne and never, no, etc. is encountered from time to time in SMA, they do occur far more frequently alone than with ne. The ample examples of never, no, etc. without ne suggest that never, no, etc. have established themselves as independent negative elements.

SMA is the latest text selected for the purpose of the present study. The situation of the text, although it is in the main a later ME one, represents a slightly less advanced stage than AMA and DT. The issue may be dialectal, since both AMA (Lincolnshire) and DT (Lancashire) are from areas further north than SMA (Rutland), although DT is more westerly than SMA.

### 2.1.3. General remarks

As hitherto discussed, ne is common in early ME while subsequently it comes to be gradually supplanted by not, and this process takes place through the intermediate form ne ... not. The three stages of the development displayed by ne, ne ... not, and not, however, are not as clear-cut as they seem. Ne ... not is fairly unstable or rather tentative instead of being typical of ME usage as Jespersen (1917: 9) argues. The adverb not is indeed introduced in the form ne ... not first, but before ne ... not establishes itself, not alone starts to abound. Since ne alone is retained to some extent even in later ME, especially in some specific syntactic contexts, it is ne ... not, and not ne alone, that declines first. Apparently not was freely employed on its own once the adverb not was established, and there was no need to resort to ne ... not. Since the status of ne ... not is weak, it is virtually the form ne and the form not that compete with each other in the later period of ME.

It has been argued in existing studies that a significant expansion of ne ... not takes place during the twelfth century and the decline of the adverb ne occurs from the thirteenth century onwards (Jack 1978a: 306; Kisbye 1971-2, I: 195). As far as the present study of some ME verse texts is concerned, the adverb ne seems to be preserved to a later period than has thus far been assumed. The first five manuscripts of three texts, PM (Lamb, Trin, Dgb) (towards 1200 or shortly after), O&N (the second half of the thirteenth century), and KH (mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century) provide only limited examples of the adverb not, and of these all the examples of the adverb not are still in the tentative form ne ... not. No decline of the adverb ne has yet been indicated in these texts. As a matter of fact, the adverb ne is almost constantly included in these texts, which therefore reveal a situation virtually the same as the OE prose usage. A slightly later text SEL

(early fourteenth century) also presents a similar state of affairs. The adverb ne is preserved pretty well up to the middle of the fourteenth century except in the two texts from the North EMH (early fourteenth century) and CM (the mid-fourteenth century), where the adverb not is much more commonly employed than the adverb ne. From the latter half of the fourteenth century onwards, the employment of the adverb not extends itself. Among the texts of this later period, Ferumbras (the end of the fourteenth century), KA (around 1400), and A&D (around 1450) are exceptional in that they provide a larger number of the adverb ne than the adverb not. (Most examples of ne in A&D include never, no, etc., however.) Nevertheless, the adverb ne has not entirely disappeared in any of the texts of the present study. At least some 20% to 40% of the relevant examples include the adverb ne except in DT, where the employment of ne is extremely rare.

Negative clauses are also marked by never, no, etc., which frequently occur with the adverb ne especially in early ME, but which hardly occur with the adverb not. That negative clauses rarely include both the adverb not and never, no, etc. seems to be a general feature of English negative constructions. The co-occurrence of never, no, etc. and the adverb ne, however, is almost constant in early ME texts such as PM (Lamb, Trin, Dgb), O&N, and KH. Never, no, etc., however, gradually come to be used on their own due to the decline of ne from clauses of this type. Havelok (around 1300 or shortly after) is the first text among the 20 manuscripts of the eighteen texts discussed above that presents never, no, etc. alone to some reasonable degree. The development of never, no, etc. alone takes the same process as the development of not alone in that they both occur by the disappearance of ne, which is observed in later ME. Curiously enough, however, conservative texts tend to show a slower development of never, no, etc. alone than not alone while

progressive texts display the opposite feature. The slower development of never, no, etc. alone is evidenced in WS, Ferumbras, KA, and A&D, all of which are relatively conservative at least for their dates.

Dialectal aspects of the development of negative constructions had not been discussed in any detail in existing studies. The present study has revealed that there are some texts whose state of affairs is rather different from that of other contemporary texts, which is perhaps relevant to dialectal differences. EMH and CM, for example, show markedly progressive features for their dates. Both of them present a significantly expanded use of the adverb not. Not only does the adverb not predominate as against the adverb ne, but not alone is far more frequently attested than ne ... not. Most examples of never, no, etc. also occur without ne in these texts, and these progressive features are rather exceptional for the middle period of ME, to which the texts are dated. As discussed above, EMH is localized in Yorkshire and CM is localized in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The progressive nature of these two texts has most probably arisen from the fact that they are both from the North.

DT (Lancashire), which is another northerly text, also reveals a distinctively advanced stage. In most later ME texts, ne alone is evidenced to some noticeable extent while ne ... not is much more restricted in use, and on the whole some 20% to 40% of the relevant examples still retain at least the adverb ne. In the case of DT, however, the employment of the adverb ne is extremely rare both alone and in the form ne ... not. Never, no, etc. have entirely dropped ne as well. In other words, negation in DT is marked in most cases either by not alone or never, no, etc. alone. DT reveals the most advanced stage among the 20 manuscripts of the eighteen texts investigated above.

On the other hand, texts from southerly and westerly areas present a more conservative state of affairs than northerly and easterly texts throughout the ME period. SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), KA (Essex), and A&D (Gloucestershire), which preserve early characteristics to a larger extent than other contemporary texts, merit attention in this respect. SEL (Berkshire) is much less advanced than Havelok (Norfolk), which is largely contemporary with SEL. Both in Havelok and SEL, the type ne is the most common, but Havelok shows not alone almost as frequently as ne ... not, whereas in SEL the employment of not alone is much more limited. Never, no, etc. in these texts also present some striking contrast. More than half of the examples in Havelok occur without ne, while more than 90% of clauses with never, no, etc. in SEL still include the adverb ne. Thus SEL, which is more westerly than Havelok, preserves older patterning of negation.

WS (Kent) is roughly contemporary with G&E, and indeed the proportions of the form ne in these two texts are approximately equal. Detailed features of these texts, however, differ so much as to be noted. More than half the examples of the adverb not occur independently of ne in G&E, whereas ne ... not is almost twice as common as not alone in WS. Furthermore, more than 70% of never, no, etc. include ne in WS, while never, no, etc. more commonly occur alone than they occur accompanied by ne in G&E. G&E and WS exemplify north versus south distinctions in terms of the development of negative constructions. In particular, the fact that WS is a Kentish text is related to its conservative features.

The situation of Ferumbras (Devonshire) is also markedly less advanced than CA (Suffolk), a largely contemporary text.<sup>10</sup> CA presents more than twice as large a number of the adverb not as the

adverb ne, whereas in Ferumbras it is the adverb ne that is about twice as common as the adverb not. Almost half the examples of the adverb not in Ferumbras still occur with ne, while in CA most examples of not occur alone. Furthermore, the loss of ne is most pronounced with never, no, etc. in CA, while more than 60% of never, no, etc. still retain the adverb ne in Ferumbras. Thus the situation of Ferumbras, which is a western text, is much less advanced than that of CA, an eastern text.

KA (Essex), which preserves the adverb ne remarkably well despite its suggested date ca1400, is one of the most striking texts. Even in the light of the fact that the composition of the original text is much earlier, the state of affairs of KA is noteworthy since it is less advanced than some earlier texts such as EMH, G&E, CM, and CA, including relatively conservative ones such as WS and Ferumbras. This may be an idiosyncratic feature of KA as well as a feature ascribable to the area where the text was prepared.

The situation of A&D (Gloucestershire) is interesting in that conservative features are mainly observed with never, no, etc. In contrast to other later ME texts, in which around 90% or a larger proportions of never, no, etc. occur without ne, about one third of the examples of never, no, etc. in A&D still retain the adverb ne. Curiously enough, however, the loss of the adverb ne is clearly visible in A&D as far as the development of ne, ne ... not, and not is concerned. The slower development of clauses with never, no, etc. alone than not alone may be one of the features typical of conservative texts. It has been witnessed with WS, Ferumbras, and to some extent with KA. In all the other texts, the proportion of never, no, etc. alone to never, no, etc. with ne is almost equal to or slightly larger than the proportion of not alone to ne ... not.

<sup>10</sup> CA, whose language is thought to present the features of Kent as well as of Suffolk, does not reveal any particular conservatism as far as negation is concerned.

According to the stage of the development of negative constructions, the sample texts can roughly be divided into three groups. Since it has been established that never, no, etc. hardly co-occur with not, the form of the table has been slightly altered. The table employed has an advantage of making an analysis of multiple texts easier.<sup>11</sup>

(1) Group 1: Texts with early characteristics

PM (Lamb), PM (Trin), PM (Dgb), O&N, KH, and SEL fall into this group:<sup>12</sup>

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
never, no							
PM (Lamb)	33	28	3	0	1		65
PM (Trin)	44	45	7	0	5		101
PM (Dgb)	42	40	9	0	1		92
Totals of	119	113	19	0	7		258
PM	(46.1%)	(43.8%)	(7.4%)		(2.7%)		
O&N	119	92	35	0	0		246
	(48.4%)	(37.4%)	(14.2%)				
KH	34	51	16	0	0		101
	(33.7%)	(50.5%)	(15.8%)				
SEL	403	668	435	16	37		1559
	(25.8%)	(42.8%)	(27.9%)	(1.0%)	(2.4%)		
Totals	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		

As the above table shows, the adverb ne is almost consistently involved in this group. By contrast, the adverb not is rare even in combination with ne. Furthermore, not alone is out of question since it is absent in PM (Lamb), PM (Trin), PM (Dgb), O&N, and KH. SEL, which yields some examples of not without ne (1.0%) and which is the most progressive in this group, is also included here, since the

<sup>11</sup> Since never, no, etc. and the adverb not hardly co-occur, the table does not make the subdivision between ne ... not with and without never, no, etc. and that between not with and without never, no, etc.

<sup>12</sup> The proportions of each pattern of negation in PM (Lamb, Trin, and Dgb) are treated altogether in the table below, partly because the situations of the three selected manuscripts do not much differ and partly because the number of examples in each manuscript is not large.

nature of the text is similar to those of the other five texts for the most part. In a sense, however, SEL is a linking text to the second group.

SEL provides some small number of examples with never, no, etc. without ne as well, while never, no, etc. in the present group are almost entirely confined to the case in which they are accompanied by ne. Although PM and SEL show some examples with never, no, etc. alone, the examples are no more than nominal, when compared with the large number of examples of never, no, etc. with the adverb ne. The state of affairs of these texts is not much different from that of OE prose, where never, no, etc. are almost always accompanied by ne (Knörk 1907: 40; Rauert 1910: 71; Einkenkel 1912: 191-2). All of the six texts come from a relatively early period of ME, and that, from southerly areas in a broad sense, where the development of negative constructions is slower than other areas of England.

(2) Group 2: Texts with intermediate characteristics

Havelok, G&E, WS, Ferumbras, KA, and A&D fall under this category:

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+				+	
Havelok	65 (25.4%)	63 (24.6%)	29 (11.3%)	26 (10.2%)	73 (28.5%)		256
G&E	60 (27.0%)	36 (16.2%)	31 (14.0%)	36 (16.2%)	59 (26.6%)		222
WS	115 (25.6%)	127 (28.3%)	106 (23.6%)	55 (12.2%)	46 (10.2%)		449
Ferumbras	125 (21.3%)	182 (31.0%)	90 (15.3%)	90 (15.3%)	101 (17.2%)		588
KA	195 (37.3%)	206 (39.4%)	29 (5.5%)	22 (4.2%)	71 (13.6%)		523
A&D	6 (3.6%)	41 (24.8%)	10 (6.1%)	24 (14.5%)	84 (50.9%)		165
Totals	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)		2203

The table reveals that the adverb ne is still much more common than the adverb not in these texts, although the expansion of the

use of the adverb not is unequivocally observed in contradistinction to Group 1 above, and that, roughly half the examples of the adverb not occur alone, which implies that the adverb ne has already come into the process of decline. This is also a notable contrast to Group 1 discussed above, where the employment of the adverb not was almost always restricted to the form ne ... not. The extent to which ne declines, however, slightly differs depending upon the text concerned. WS, which presents twice as many examples of ne ... not as the form not, is included here, since the situation of WS is not as conservative as that of Group 1, where the type ne is predominant and where the adverb not occurs with ne in most cases. On the other hand, A&D shows the most distinguished development of the adverb not in this group. A&D is also included in the present group, since negative constructions in it do not show as advanced a stage as the third group does. A&D is, in a sense, a linking text to Group 3 below.

Similar situations can be observed with clauses with never, no, etc. as well. More than half the examples of never, no, etc. have undergone the disappearance of ne as far as Havelok and G&E are concerned. The loss of ne is far more pronounced in A&D or the linking text, while WS still shows a significant retention of the negative element, which, however, is not as extensive as in Group 1. Ferumbras and KA also present a much larger number of never, no, etc. with ne than those without, suggesting that their situations are more conservative than those of Havelok and G&E.

Most texts come from the middle period of ME. Although KA and A&D, which are much later, are in some respects exceptional, at least the original text of KA is pretty early. Havelok and G&E, which are relatively early in Group 2, show a fairly advanced stage among this group. The texts are both from the Norfolk area. WS, Ferumbras, and KA, which are more southerly and/or westerly than Havelok and

G&E, present earlier stages despite their later dates than Havelok and G&E. A&D presents the most progressive feature in this group, but the text is much later than the other texts in this group. In fact, the texts contemporary with A&D are all included in the third group. A&D, which is localized in Gloucestershire, is therefore conservative from a chronological perspective.

(3) Group 3: Texts with advanced characteristics

EMH, CM, CA, HS, GGK, AMA, DT, and SMA are included in this group:

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
EMH	13 (5.7%)	4 (1.7%)	12 (5.2%)	100 (43.7%)	100 (43.7%)	229
CM	79 (8.5%)	36 (3.9%)	19 (2.0%)	281 (30.2%)	516 (55.4%)	931
CA	130 (12.1%)	22 (2.1%)	19 (1.8%)	379 (35.3%)	523 (48.7%)	1073
HS	125 (9.2%)	38 (2.8%)	31 (2.3%)	524 (38.4%)	648 (47.4%)	1366
GGk	19 (10.4%)	3 (1.6%)	2 (1.1%)	43 (23.5%)	116 (63.4%)	183
AMA	20 (6.6%)	5 (1.7%)	0	48 (15.8%)	230 (75.9%)	303
DT	9 (1.6%)	0	8 (1.4%)	180 (32.4%)	359 (64.6%)	556
SMA	29 (7.7%)	29 (7.7%)	21 (5.6%)	84 (22.4%)	212 (56.5%)	375
Totals	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)	5016

These texts reveal an extensive development of the adverb not and a significant reduction of the adverb ne. One notable feature of these texts is the fact that ne ... not is extremely limited or even absent, although ne alone is still preserved to some larger extent. The tentative form ne ... not is no longer necessary, once not fully establishes itself. Among the texts listed in the above table, DT shows the most advanced stage. The text presents an extremely limited occurrence of ne as well as ne ... not, indicating that the adverb ne is almost on the verge of total disappearance. In this respect, DT shows a linking feature to the early MnE period. Never,

no, etc. in DT also reveal the most advanced stage. None of the examples of never, no, etc. in this text occurs with ne any longer. Although most examples of never, no, etc. have dropped ne in the other texts of this group, ne is still retained to a very minor extent in them. In general, however, the co-occurrence of ne and never, no, etc. is now almost as limited as the co-occurrence of not and never, no, etc., which is hardly encountered throughout the ME period. One notable point about the above table is the fact that the absolute frequency of never, no, etc. is large, especially in GGK, AMA, DT, and SMA. Apart from SMA, the texts are all alliterative, and this may be a relevant factor. A similar situation is attested in A&D in Group 2, which is also an alliterative text. Furthermore, I have recognized the same feature in Lazamon's Brut, an early ME alliterative text.<sup>13</sup> Most texts of Group 3 are from the later period of ME, although EMH and CM, both of which are from the North, are relatively early. The most progressive text, DT, is also from a relatively northerly area of England (Lancashire).

<sup>13</sup> I presented a paper which deals with this issue at the 1st International Lazamon Conference held in Lausanne on 23-6 August 1992. The substance of the paper will be published in 'That was wel idon': Studies on Lazamon's 'Brut' (Boydell and Brewer), perhaps in 1994.

## 2.2. The locations of the adverbs ne and not

Finally an additional account of the adverbs ne and not is to be provided. As Jespersen (1917: 9) illustrates with some typical examples, ne normally appears immediately before the finite verb, whereas not appear directly after the finite verb. The exact positioning of the adverbs ne and not has not been discussed to any significant extent in previous studies, however, although some sporadic comments on their irregular positioning have been made. As for ne, Knörk (1907: 19) cites some OE verse examples in which the element is separated from the finite verb, while Einkenkel (1912: 20) remarks that the separation of the adverb ne from the finite verb is not evidenced in OE. At least the separation of the adverb ne from the finite verb was uncommon in OE. To turn to ME, the usage of employing ne directly after þat, which is commonly attested in Wycliffite English, has been discussed in previous studies (Einkenkel 1912: 230; Jack 1978c: 63; Warner 1982: 198-225). Due to the occurrence of ne immediately after the conjunction þat, it is frequently separated from the finite verb in this case. Warner (1982: 220-4) maintains that this is an influence of the corresponding usage in Latin (i.e. quin). Examples are found in contexts which are strongly associated with Latin, especially towards the end of the fourteenth century to the beginning of the fifteenth century, according to Warner (1982: 209-10). Apart from these studies, however, the locations of the adverb ne have scarcely been discussed to date.

In respect of not, on the other hand, much focus has been placed upon the early MnE usage rather than the ME usage. Blake (1988: 90-1), for example, argues that 'the negative had achieved a certain amount of freedom in its positioning' by the time of Shakespeare whose English he investigates. He points to the fact that not occasionally appears before the finite verb and that even

when not occurs after the verb, it is not always directly after the finite verb. The phenomenon of placing the adverb not before the finite verb (e.g. I not spoke) is pointed out often in relation to early MnE in existing studies. Curme (1931: 136) infers that it arises side by side with the decline of the adverb ne owing to the tendency for negative items to move forward within clauses.<sup>14</sup> Visser (1963-73, III: §1440) also maintains that this usage is rarer before 1500. Moreover, Partridge (1953: 4) comments that this is typically an Elizabethan usage.

Thus the locations of the adverbs ne and not have not been fully discussed in relation to ME texts. Although, for this particular issue, verse texts may not make an ideal corpus, the following discussion attempts to present *some modest contribution to the present matter*.

It is not surprising that irregular positioning of the adverb ne has scarcely been discussed as yet, since most of its examples occur directly before the finite verb, whereas examples that deviate from this norm are extremely rare. The texts examined provide around 4,300 instances of the adverb ne, of which only 22 examples (about 0.5%) show an irregular usage in respect of word order. The location of the adverb ne, therefore, is almost always directly before the finite verb. The following discussion is concerned with the 22 examples in question.

With respect to the occurrence of the adverb ne after the conjunction þat, there is only one relevant example in the sample. As far as the manuscript reading is concerned, the following example provides the adverb ne directly after þat:

<sup>14</sup> This idea is advanced by Jespersen (1917), who states: 'there is a natural tendency . . . for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negated' (5).

There ne es prelatte ne pape ne prynce in þis erthe  
 That he ne myghte be wele payede of þees pryce metes  
 [MS: ne he] (AMA 229-30).

Despite the fairly frequent occurrence of the phenomenon in Wycliffite English (Jack 1978c: 63; Warner 1982: 198-225), it seems to be relatively rare in other ME texts. The above example is from AMA, which is dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (Newstead 1967: 44-5; Hamel 1984: 3), and therefore does not contradict the statement by Warner (1982: 209) that these examples tend to be observed in the later ME period. Ne and he can occasionally be distinguished only with difficulty in manuscripts, however, and therefore the position of ne before he in the above example (AMA 230) may have arisen accidentally in the process of textual transmission.

Apart from this particular case, the separation of the adverb ne from the finite verb seems to occur frequently when the subject and the finite verb are separated from each other. In fact, as many as sixteen examples (of the total of 22 relevant instances) fall under this category. In the case of the following nine examples, ne has failed to move backwards when the finite verb has moved to the line-final position and thus separated itself from the subject:

Fowerti ger or domes-dai  
 Dis token no-man ne sen mai (G&E 645-6)

. . . lest he ne keuer shulde  
 To se þe seruyse of þat syre, þat on þat self ny3t  
 Of a burde watz borne oure baret to quelle (GGK 750-2)

'Woo es me' quod Wawayne 'that I ne weten hade!'  
 (AMA 2966)

For Angwisshe þat he ne Ride myght  
 Alle his woundis scryved were (SMA 406-7)

If he ne bi time heðe waren (G&E 1088)

þat yee your handes ne þer-wit file (CM 4154)

'Hert sun for-gettes þat ne ei seis' (CM 4508)

Ðat þyn executour ne of þe þus sey (HS 6496)

Come non within þe compas, knyghte ne non oþer,  
Within þe swyng of [the] swerde, þat he ne þe swete leuyd!  
(AMA 4222-3)

As for the first four examples (i.e. G&E 646, GGK 750, AMA 2966, and SMA 406), however, another factor may also be related. The verbal compounds sen mai (G&E 646), keuer schulde (GGK 750), weten hade (AMA 2966), and Ride myght (SMA 406) may be regarded as a set to be preceded by the adverb ne.

The same phenomenon is also evidenced in the middle of lines, as the following six examples illustrate:

þat ilk mede þai suld him hight,  
If þai ne it rede in seuen night (CM 7123-4)

Dauid vnder[stod] þis skil,  
þat lete he noght þis dide wit dil,  
þat he ne it thoght to cheuis sua,  
Als þe angel brogh him bodeword aa (CM 8327-30)

Bot merci no hir aght spede  
Bot-if þat sothfastnes it lede (CM 9607-8)

þa he ne him put til hel pin (CM 10072)

Non ne see mizth hem bitwen  
Who þat schulde maister ben (KA 3946-7)

Ðat þou ne hertely shall haue here a well larger,  
And þi chaunge to chefe choisly the bettur (DT 3366-7).

The adverb ne has failed to move backwards in the above examples despite the backward movement of the finite verb, by which the finite verb is separated from the subject. Curiously enough four of the six examples are from CM, which all illustrate the intervention of an object pronoun between ne and the finite verb. It is at least clear in these examples that the separation of the adverb ne has not been caused by the metrical scheme of the line, since the adverb ne and pronominal objects are both non-ictus bearing items.

Finally the adverb ne occasionally fails to move forward as the

following example illustrates:

Aftyr you haue we thoght full longe,  
To bedde durste I ne no3t dight,  
For drede ye hade som Aunter stronge  
(SMA 1873-5).

Here the finite verb durste has moved forward, while the adverb ne has not. The adverb ne is, as a result, separated from the finite verb.

As thus far illustrated by sixteen examples above, the separation of ne from the finite verb is often caused by the failure of the movement of ne, which is supposed to take place when the finite verb moves forward or backwards separating itself from the subject. The phenomenon is, however, rather minor in view of the large number of regular examples of the adverb ne in ME. The location of the adverb ne before the finite verb is more or less established.

Apart from the cases discussed above, the adverb ne hardly occurs at irregular positions. The remaining five examples are:

Deih we hes ne niseien hie waren ure iferen  
(PM Trin 102)<sup>15</sup>

Dat Y ne drenched [were] þer-ine (Havelok 1380)

Dat hauede ne neuere sch[r]ifte of prest (Havelok 1830)

De deuel ys þat me[y] nau3t ne derye (WS 149/557)

Deye, certys, shulde ne neuere (HS 1401).

PM (Trin 102), Havelok (1380), and WS (149/557) illustrate the case in which ne precedes a non-finite part of the verbal compound.<sup>16</sup> The grammatical metanalysis of the same type is observed in G&E (646), GGK (750), AMA (2966), and SMA (406) as discussed above, where the adverb ne precedes the verbal compounds itself instead of the finite verb in it (i.e. ne sen mai, ne keuer shulde, ne weten hade, and ne

<sup>16</sup> The example in Havelok (1380) may be treated in the same way, though the finite verb is missing in the example.

Ride myght respectively).

The adverb not is, on the other hand, most commonly located immediately after the finite verb and deviation from the norm has principally been discussed in relation to early MnE usage. The location of not, however, is fluid in the ME period as well. I have collected more than 2,800 examples of the adverb not, of which as many as 489 occur at some positions not immediately after the finite verb. In contradistinction to the adverb ne, whose location in the clause is fairly stable, the adverb not presents a fairly flexible situation.

As for the irregular examples (489x) in ME verse texts, there are at least two major cases which are worth discussing: (1) the case in which not occurs before the finite verb (78x), and (2) the case in which a pronominal object intervenes between the finite verb and not (304x). The position of not before the finite verb has been paid

<sup>15</sup> This example presents repetition of ne. Although this may simply be accidental, the sample provides the following four instances with the repetition of ne, including the present one:

Deih we hes ne niseien hie waren ure iferen (PM Trin 102)

3ef wimmon þencheþ luuie derne  
Ne ne mai ich mine songes werne (O&N 1357-8)

Alle þe luþer Deneis · þat ne luuede on him no3t  
 After the bou gan to springe · ne turnde hore þo3t  
 [MS: ne ne] (SEL 155/217-8)

Bot i ne of him ne had pite (CM 9588).

The first two of the above examples have been noted in existing studies. As an editor of O&N, Grattan (1935: 91) maintains, 'There is no need to emend the doubled negation of emphasis,' referring to the existence of the same phenomenon in PM (Trin 102). Stanley (1960: 142) also comments that 'ne in these instances is a form developed from OE nā "by no means", with other negatives "at all". In the light of the fact that the combination of nā ne occurs in OE (Mitchell 1985, I: 51605), the first ne may have originated from the OE nā as Stanley suggests. As far as the above four examples are concerned, however, that in CM may be of a different nature. Here the intervention of of him may have encouraged the repetition of the adverb ne. The case in CM illustrates pleonastic negation and therefore may not be so emphatic as to include nā.

attention as far as early MnE is concerned. OED (s.v. not) spares a separate entry for this usage, for which most examples are after 1500, although it cites two instances in the fifteenth century. As mentioned above, Partridge (1953: 4), Visser (1963-73, III: §1440), and Blake (1988: 90-1) notice the phenomenon in early MnE. Curme (1931: 136) argues that the phenomenon arises alongside the decline of the adverb ne.

There is no reason to assume, however, that this is typical of early MnE, even though it has been pointed out frequently about early MnE. The OE antecedent of the adverb not occurs before the finite verb as illustrated below, which implies that the position of the adverb not before the finite verb is by no means impossible. The following are examples from Ælfric's Supplementary Homilies (ed. Pope 1967-8):

þeah ðe hit naht ne fremige, ne heora freondum ne him  
(XI/272)

and Gode naht ne hearmað þeah ðe þu hine forgite  
(XXX/47).

In fact, the phenomenon is common in ME verse texts as well as in early MnE, both in the cases of ne ... not and not. The examples are so numerous that they can only be cited selectively:

Vor ich bi daie no3t ne flo (O&N 372)

þat þu no3t ne linne (KH 992)

Vp she stirte and nouth ne sat (Havelok 567)

Amang is deciples made is cene · þat þou it no3t bileue  
(SEL 144/228)

And þat oþer nau3t for-bedep (WS 11/294)

þou lok þi werk be noght vnslei,  
A hous als in to drink and ete  
And wardropp þat þou noght for-get (CM 1684-6)

Olyuer þe vitails no3t for-3yt : bot after wente þo  
(Ferumbras 2774)

Lo now, my Sone, advise the,  
That thou thi sihte noght misuse (CA 47/436-7)

De lady noȝt forȝate,  
Com to hym to salue;  
Ful erly ho watz hym ate  
His mode for to remwe (GGK 1472-5)

And, ludus, ȝif hem loþ be · to listne ȝoure bonus,  
Hit ȝou norcheþ any · for thei ȝou nouht heren (A&D 768-9)

Ne that thy-selfe with me not fyghte (SMA 2149).

As the above examples illustrate, most instances locate the finite verb at the line-final position, and therefore may be related with the exigency of rhyme. The table below shows how many examples of not occur before the finite verb in each text and how many of them illustrate the case in which the finite verb is attested in rhyme:

The pre-verbal adverb not and the rhyme scheme<sup>17</sup>

Texts	Totals(Finite verbs in rhyme)	
PM (Lamb, Trin, Dgb)	0	(0)
O&N	5	(5)
KH	1	(1)
Havelok	6	(5)
SEL	4	(4)
EMH	2	(2)
G&E	0	(0)
WS	4	(2)
CM	6	(4)
Ferumbras	6	(5)
CA	7	(7)
HS	21	(16)
kA	2	(2)
GGK	2	(1)
AMA	0	-
A&D	0	-
DT	11	-
SMA	3	(2)
Totals	80	(56)

Examples are found from early ME onwards as the above table shows. Since the finite verb is located at the line-final position in most of the cases in which not occurs before the verb, however, the phenomenon is closely related to the rhyme scheme of lines. Visser

<sup>17</sup> In the case of GGK, only non-alliterative short lines which present rhyme are taken into consideration.

(1963-73, III: §1440) in fact notices that examples are for the most part observed in poetry even in early MnE. Thus it may simply be a phenomenon most typically found in verse texts both in ME and in early MnE. There are, however, some sporadic examples at clause-medial positions. Examples include:

"Sais þou soth?" "yaa, sa mot i the,  
And if þat þou noght traues me,  
Rise up and come þi-self and se" (CM 5150-2)

þan spak Naymes and sayde, "nay, Certis, syre, þov no3t :  
ne may  
Gon out of oure ferede"  
(Ferumbras 3467-8)

May I saffly wone ther aye,  
That ye wythe werre not come me on?  
(SMA 2446-7)

Examples also occur in alliterative verse:

And syþen þis note is so nys þat no3t hit yow falles  
(GGK 358)

Syn ye haue tarit ouer tyme tomly at home,  
And noght hastid with harme your hething to wenge  
(DT 4580-1).

Secondly, the intervention of pronominal objects between the finite verb and not is to be dealt with. More than 60% of the examples of not which does not occur directly after the finite verb (304/489) belong to this group. Some illustrative examples are:

He tok horn his cloþes,  
Dat nerre him no3t loþe (KH 1059-60)<sup>18</sup>

Slep wel faste and dred þe nouth-- (Havelok 662)

Oure godes ne helpeþ us no3t · þat alle habbeþ to wolde  
(SEL 29/127)

You kissed me noht sin I com ine (EMH 18/23)

Ðe .x. comen, for nede sogt,  
To Iosep, and he ne knewen him noht (G&E 2161-2)

<sup>18</sup> The present example yields a pronominal object in the dative case. All the other examples present a pronominal object in the accusative case as far as the present study is concerned.

þa3 we ne mowe hyt nau3t ise (WS 7/169)

þan mai we sai, we sagh him noght (CM 4160)

þys frenschemen ne andurieþ ous no3t : beo we y-bro3t  
 þer-to  
 (Ferumbras 3217)

I fare as thogh I herde it noght  
 And as I no word understode (CA 185/2040-1)

And þerfore, I pray yow, displese yow no3t (GGK 1839)

'Greue 3ow noghte' quod Gawayne 'for Godis luffe of heuen'  
 (AMA 2686)

For we ne konne þe nouht kenne · our costomus alle  
 (A&D 278)

And euyn laiked as hom list, lettid hom noght (DT 7046)

he wenys þat we know hym noght (SMA 130).

Although Blake (1988: 90-1) provides the impression that this usage is an early MnE development by saying that 'the negative had achieved a certain amount of freedom in its positioning' by the time of Shakespeare, examples are certainly abundant in ME as well. In some of the above examples, the separation of not from the finite verb seems to be beneficial for the sake of the rhyme scheme. Apparently, however, the intervention of an object pronoun is a more general phenomenon. The sample provides as many as 304 examples of this type, whereas it provides only 40 examples in which a pronominal object is located after not. Furthermore, in all the texts examined, the examples in which a pronominal object occurs after not belong to a very weak minority. Some illustrations follow:

That the bischop moht noht him halde (EMH 113/9)

For is here ðhogt nogt me for-holen-- (G&E 3446)

. . . yee knau noght me (CM 5336)

And for þat he wil noght me here (CM 5909)

"y nam of hymen no3t agaste : þei mowe no3t helpe þe"  
 (Ferumbras 2434)

And dorsten noght slen him for fere (CA 75/1439)



examples, not occurs after the verbal compound, and not particularly after the finite verb within the compound. The phenomenon is exemplified below:

Sudeakne mey be ywedded nau3t (WS 63/1779)

And fyndeþ þe barons in bedde ibro3t : & hymen he charmeþ  
so,  
þat hy ne my3te a-wakye no3t : for wele ne for wo  
(Ferumbras 2411-12).

This may occasionally be combined with the intervention of an object pronoun discussed above:

þo he nolde hom granti no3t · þat he wolde to hom wende  
(SEL 93/217)

For ho þat nele by-leue hyt nau3t,  
To helle he schel (WS 134/131-2)

þy god ne may þe helpe no3t : þyn heued þou schalt  
for-gone  
(Ferumbras 689)

So wo hym was on is þo3t þat he ne my3t hem answerie  
no3t,  
for al þe worlde god  
(Ferumbras 4049-50)

Wan þat Fyrumbras y-knew ys þo3t, & þat he ne my3t hym  
turnne no3t,  
On herte hym lekid ille  
(Ferumbras 5851-2)

But all that myght helpe hym noght (SMA 866).

The sample provides 42 examples of this type, of which 28 are found in SEL. In the light of the abundant occurrence of not, the phenomenon, which is found only with 42 examples, is by no means common, at least outside SEL. Texts other than SEL provide only fourteen examples, of which eleven are evidently related to the rhyme scheme of the line. The exceptions are:

Ac þat ne my3te be nau3t y-knowe (WS 156/782)

The hali gast haued warned him  
That he suld dey noht ar that tim (EMH 157/3-4)

And vche gift þat is geuen not with goud wylle (GGK 1500).

As for the 28 examples of SEL, on the other hand, nine of them occur in the middle of lines, and not in rhyme. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is still minor in SEL as well, at least in contrast to the large number of the other examples of not that are observed in the text.

As discussed in the present section, ne, ne ... not, and not present some variants in terms of the locations of the adverbs ne and not. Irregular examples of the adverb ne are extremely rare, however. Some examples illustrate the case in which ne has failed to move forward or backward despite the movement of the finite verb, by which the finite verb separates itself from the subject. Furthermore, some other examples reveal the case in which ne precedes the whole verbal compound instead of the finite verb within the compound. All in all, however, irregular positioning of the adverb ne is confined to some minor cases.

By contrast, the locations of the adverb not are much more fluid. The positioning of not before the finite verb, for example, is fairly common. This is perhaps much more frequently attested in ME than has been pointed out to date, although most examples in the sample are related to the exigency of rhyme, as in early MnE. Another feature to be noted with not is its separation from the finite verb. This is most typically caused by the intervention of a pronominal object. The phenomenon is also more popular in ME than has thus far been noted in existing studies, and may not be so much conditioned by the exigency of rhyme. There are a large number of examples of this type as against only a restricted number of counterexamples. The separation also occurs when not manifests itself after the verbal compound, and not after the finite verb within the compound. This phenomenon is, however, much more limited than

the other cases mentioned above. Examples are not frequent except in SEL, which observes some 30 examples. Furthermore, most examples of this type are related to the rhyme scheme.

## C H A P T E R III

## Negative Elements and Various Linguistic Conditions

## 3.2. Negative elements and the finite verb

The relationship between the nature of the finite verb and negative constructions has scarcely been discussed in existing studies. Although there are some studies about MnE, the main discussion in them deals with the development of the auxiliary do in negative clauses, and not with the adverbs ne and not, which are the central concern of the present study. As for OE and ME, on the other hand, discussions of the finite verb in relation to negative constructions are rather sparse. As for the studies available as yet, the relationship between verbs which are contracted with ne (e.g. nys, nolde, nadde, nyste) and negative constructions has occasionally been treated, particularly with reference to Chaucer's English. Burnley (1983: 65) maintains that contracted negative forms hardly occur unless they are supported by another negative element. In other words, the adverb ne accompanied by another negative element is common with verbs of this type. The situation of these verbs is, however, disputed. Baghdikian (1979: 675), who investigates Chaucer's Boece, states that contracted forms of be tend to yield the adverb ne alone instead of the adverb ne plus another negative. Despite the possibility that Boece, which is a translated text, should not always share the same nature with the other works of Chaucer, the contention proposed by Baghdikian is in some respects contradictory to that of Burnley. Unfortunately, Baghdikian comments only on contracted forms of be, and not on contracted forms of the other verbs. Apart from Burnley and Baghdikian, Kent (1890: 121), who also examines Chaucer's English, argues that the

adverb ne alone is common with forms of be, have, will, and witen.<sup>1</sup> He simply mentions forms of be, have, will, witen, and does not particularly discuss contracted forms of the four verbs, but it seems likely that the proposition by Kent is, in practice, of a rather contradictory nature to Burnley, since negative contraction seems to be common with Chaucer's English when verbs which can provide a contracted form are involved.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the four verbs mentioned above, Baghdikian (1979: 678-9), in discussing the English of Chaucer's Boece, remarks that the adverb ne alone occurs with may twice. The occurrence of only two examples of ne may hardly merits attention, however. Unless may provides a particularly large proportion of the adverb ne alone in contrast to the other verbs, the point raised by her is not of any practical use. Baghdikian does not display how infrequent the adverb not is with may in Boece. Thus the existing studies of the relationship between finite verbs and negative constructions are virtually confined to the issue of the contracted forms of be, will, have, and witen in Chaucer's English. And even here, no consensus has been reached yet. The present section attempts to further the discussion on this matter.

As for the contracted forms of be, will, have, and witen, the adverb ne frequently occurs along with another negative element, although not infrequently does it occur alone as well. Some illustrative examples are given below:

<sup>1</sup> Kent (1890: 121) lists the verbs witen, wilne, bee, and have. In practice, however, he means forms of will by wilne according to his illustrations. For example, he comments on the form noide and remarks: 'this contraction of ne and wilne is one of the most frequent in CHAUCER'.

<sup>2</sup> I have explored the state of affairs of these verbs in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Oddly enough, forms of have provide a larger number of uncontracted forms than contracted ones. Apart from them, however, the phenomenon of negative contraction is fairly regular (Iyeiri 1989a: 32-5).

Nele no man þat wisdom can  
Hure of is wiue do him schame (O&N 1482-3)

Were we a litel ner þe tour : þanne ne we in none doute  
(Ferumbras 3051)

For lenger nolde he sparye (KA 2620)

Nade he ben duȝty and dryȝe, and Dryȝtyn had serued  
(GGK 724).

The following table shows the proportions of the adverb ne plus another negative element (i.e. not or never, no, etc.) to the total frequency of the adverb ne in the case of: (1) a finite verb which is contracted, and (2) the whole sample:

The proportions at which ne is accompanied  
by another negative element (%)

		contracted forms	the whole sample
Group 1	PM (Lamb)	13/ 23 (56.5%)	31/ 64 (48.4%)
	PM (Trin)	21/ 37 (56.8%)	52/ 96 (54.2%)
	PM (Dgb)	19/ 35 (54.3%)	49/ 91 (53.8%)
	O&N	48/ 102 (47.1%)	127/ 246 (51.6%)
	kH	24/ 31 (77.4%)	67/ 101 (66.3%)
	SEL	419/ 626 (66.9%)	1103/1506 (73.2%)
Group 2	Havelok	3/ 3 (100.0%)	92/ 157 (58.6%)
	G&E	0/ 3	67/ 127 (52.8%)
	WS	104/ 153 (68.0%)	233/ 348 (67.0%)
	<u>Ferumbras</u>	66/ 113 (58.4%)	272/ 397 (68.5%)
	kA	78/ 135 (57.8%)	235/ 430 (54.7%)
	A&D	5/ 6 (83.3%)	51/ 57 (89.5%)
Group 3	<u>EMH</u>	0/ 0	16/ 29 (55.2%)
	CM	0/ 0	55/ 134 (41.0%)
	CA	1/ 38 (2.6%)	41/ 171 (24.0%)
	HS	0/ 4	69/ 194 (35.6%)
	GGK	4/ 12 (33.3%)	5/ 24 (20.8%)
	<u>AMA</u>	0/ 1	5/ 25 (20.0%)
	DT	0/ 1	8/ 17 (47.1%)
	SMA	18/ 33 (54.5%)	50/ 79 (63.3%)

According to the table, the adverb ne is commonly accompanied by another negative element at least in the texts of Groups 1 and 2, but this is a feature attested not only with a finite verb which is contracted but also with the whole sample. In fact, some texts show an even larger proportion of the adverb ne accompanied by another negative element in the case of the whole sample than in the case of contracted forms. This is exemplified by O&N, SEL, G&E, Ferumbras,

and A&D as far as the texts of Groups 1 and 2 are concerned. Thus no consistency is available among the texts under discussion. To turn to Group 3 which shows an advanced stage of the development of negative constructions (i.e. EMH, CM, CA, HS, GGK, AMA, DT, and SMA), the occurrence of the adverb ne itself is so limited that proper tendencies are untraceable from the above table. Especially, the occurrence of contracted forms itself is extremely limited.

The main reason why no consistent tendencies are to be obtained from contracted negative forms in general is that forms deriving from each of the four verbs at issue (i.e. contracted forms of be, will, have, and witen) present significantly different features. The situation also differs depending upon different stages of the development of negative constructions. The table below shows the state of affairs of the four verbs in the texts of Group 1:

Contracted forms and negative constructions (Group 1)

Texts	Contracted forms of	ne	ne + not, never, no, etc.	Totals
PM (Lamb)	be	0	8 (100.0%)	8
	will	7 (87.5%)	1 (12.5%)	8
	have	0	3 (100.0%)	3
	witen	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	4
PM (Trin)	be	3 (17.6%)	14 (82.4%)	17
	will	8 (72.7%)	3 (27.3%)	11
	have	1 (25.0%)	3 (75.0%)	4
	witen	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5
PM (Dgb)	be	3 (21.4%)	11 (78.6%)	14
	will	9 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	12
	have	0	4 (100.0%)	4
	witen	4 (80.0%)	1 (20.0%)	5
O&N	be	28 (45.9%)	33 (54.1%)	61
	will	11 (84.6%)	2 (15.4%)	13
	have	5 (38.5%)	8 (61.5%)	13
	witen	10 (66.7%)	5 (33.3%)	15
KH	be	1 (5.3%)	18 (94.7%)	19
	will	6 (66.7%)	3 (33.3%)	9
	have	0	3 (100.0%)	3
	witen	0	0	0
SEL	be	64 (23.3%)	211 (76.7%)	275
	will	61 (35.7%)	110 (64.3%)	171
	have	29 (28.2%)	74 (71.8%)	103
	witen	53 (68.8%)	24 (31.2%)	77

As the above table shows, the situation does differ significantly depending upon the verbs involved. As far as the six manuscripts

of the four texts displayed above are concerned, contracted forms of will and witen tend to present the adverb ne alone whereas contracted forms of be and have tend to involve not only the adverb ne but also another negative element (i.e. not or never, no, etc.). This is almost consistent with all the texts of Group 1, but most marked with PM (Lamb, Trin, Dgb) as the above table shows. KH is perhaps another text to show an outstanding contrast, which however, does not provide any relevant examples of forms of witen. In the case of O&N and SEL, the distinction between forms of will, witen and forms of be, have has been slightly reduced, but certainly observed. The reduction of the contrast of the situation in these texts is related with the decline of the adverb ne from the construction which include ne and another negative element (i.e. not or never, no, etc.), since this leads to the reduction of the absolute frequency of the construction which includes ne and another negative element.

The different situations among the verbs concerned may be a syntactic issue to some extent. As treated in 3.2. below, forms of witen followed by an interrogative tend to yield ne alone, while in existential clauses, which most frequently involve forms of be, tend to present never, no, etc. (as well as the adverb ne) (see 3.2.8. and 3.2.15. below respectively). Thus the adverb ne accompanied by another negative element is common with contracted forms of be and the adverb ne alone is common with contracted forms of witen.

The general features discussed above have been slightly blurred by the stage of the texts of Group 2. The situation of contracted forms of these texts is displayed below:

## Contracted forms and negative constructions (Group 2)

Texts	Contracted forms of	ne	ne + not, never, no, etc.	Totals
Havelok	be	0	3 (100.0%)	3
	will	0	0	0
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0
G&E	be	0	0	0
	will	3 (100.0%)	0	3
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0
WS	be	25 (25.3%)	74 (74.7%)	99
	will	8 (47.1%)	9 (52.9%)	17
	have	10 (38.5%)	16 (61.5%)	26
	witen	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	11
Ferumbras	be	17 (37.8%)	28 (62.2%)	45
	will	10 (30.3%)	23 (69.7%)	33
	have	13 (50.0%)	13 (50.0%)	26
	witen	7 (77.8%)	2 (22.2%)	9
KA	be	26 (34.7%)	49 (65.3%)	75
	will	26 (61.9%)	16 (38.1%)	42
	have	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	2
	witen	4 (25.0%)	12 (75.0%)	16
A&D	be	0	3 (100.0%)	3
	will	1 (33.3%)	2 (66.7%)	3
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0

Since the adverb *ne* gradually declines, the rather marked distinction between contracted forms of *will*, *witen* and contracted forms of *be*, *have*, as observed with the texts of Group 1, comes to be less and less clear. In some of the texts of Group 2, in addition, the occurrence of contracted forms itself is rather limited. This is certainly the case with *Havelok*, *G&E*, and *A&D*. As for the remaining three texts (i.e. *WS*, *Ferumbras*, and *KA*), the general feature as described above in relation to Group 1 is carried over in that if some forms yield the adverb *ne* alone to a larger extent than others, they tend to be forms of *will* and/or forms of *witen*. *WS* preserves the contrastive situation between contracted forms of *will*, *witen* and contracted forms of *be*, *have*, although in a pretty much reduced manner. *Ferumbras*, on the other hand, presents a relatively high frequency of *ne* alone in the case of forms of *witen*, and *KA* in the case of forms of *will*. In *Havelok*, *G&E*, and *A&D*, which provide only a small number of contracted forms, these contracted forms seem, at

least in Havelok and A&D, to include not only the adverb ne but also another negative element (i.e. not or never, no, etc.), which is slightly different from the feature of the texts of Group 3 discussed below, where the construction including the adverb ne and another negative element is relatively rare.

Group 3 includes texts which have already undergone a notable decline of the adverb ne. The situation of contracted negative forms in them is displayed below:

Contracted forms and negative constructions (Group 3)

Texts	Contracted forms of	ne	ne + not, never, no, etc.	Totals
EMH	be	0	0	0
	will	0	0	0
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0
CM	be	0	0	0
	will	0	0	0
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0
CA	be	10 (90.9%)	1 (9.1%)	11
	will	1 (100.0%)	0	1
	have	0	0	0
	witen	26 (100.0%)	0	26
HS	be	0	0	0
	will	3 (100.0%)	0	3
	have	0	0	0
	witen	1 (100.0%)	0	1
GGk	be	1 (50.0%)	1 (50.0%)	2
	will	4 (57.1%)	3 (42.9%)	7
	have	3 (100.0%)	0	3
	witen	0	0	0
AMA	be	0	0	0
	will	0	0	0
	have	0	0	0
	witen	1 (100.0%)	0	1
DT	be	0	0	0
	will	1 (100.0%)	0	1
	have	0	0	0
	witen	0	0	0
SMA	be	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	4
	will	7 (31.8%)	15 (68.2%)	22
	have	3 (75.0%)	1 (25.0%)	4
	witen	3 (100.0%)	0	3

As the above table shows, relevant examples are much rarer in these texts than in the texts of Groups 1 and 2, which is mainly due to the general decline of the adverb ne. Furthermore, some texts come from an area where the phenomenon of negative contraction itself no

longer occurs or occurs only occasionally. EMH (Yorkshire) and CM (the West Riding of Yorkshire), for example, provide no examples of negative contraction at all, while AMA (Lincolnshire) and DT (Lancashire) each present only a single example of negative contraction. The most notable feature of the Group 3 texts is the fact that negative contraction, if it ever occurs, tends to occur in the form in which the adverb ne stands alone. This is not generally the case with Havelok and A&D in Group 2, both of which present only a limited number of contracted forms. The situation of the Group 3 texts indicates that the construction which includes the adverb ne and another negative element (i.e. not or never, no, etc.) has on the whole lost the adverb ne, shifting to the construction which includes not alone or never, no, etc. alone. The adverb ne, on the other hand, tends to be retained if it is the sole negative element of a clause. This is why negative contraction, if it ever occurs in Group 3, tends to be in the form which includes the adverb ne alone. By contrast, the difference between contracted forms of will, witen and contracted forms of be, have, which is unequivocally attested in the texts of Group 1 and which has come to be slightly opaque in the texts of Group 2, is no longer clear at all in the texts of Group 3. This is again ascribable to the reduction of the adverb ne in general which has taken place by the stage of the texts of Group 3.

Since a shared feature of contracted forms in general is not available until the stage of the Group 3 texts where the occurrence of contracted forms comes to be extremely limited, it is not necessary to analyze the issue of finite verbs particularly within the framework of contracted forms. Namely, the frequent occurrence of ne accompanied by another negative element is perhaps simply a feature of forms of be and have whether or not they are contracted. Likewise, the frequent occurrence of ne alone is perhaps simply a

feature of forms of will and witen in general whether or not they are contracted. Unfortunately, the texts of Group 1, where the adverb ne is almost fully preserved and therefore where the distinctions concerned among verbs of each type are virtually intact, provide only a limited number of forms of be, have, will, and witen that are not contracted. There are 55 examples of be which do not show negative contraction, only two examples of have that do not show negative contraction, and only ten examples of witen which do not show negative contraction, while all the examples of will are in a contracted form.

It is, however, reasonable that forms of be tend to reveal the construction in which the adverb ne is accompanied by another negative element, since a large number of the examples occur in existential clauses which themselves favour the adverb ne plus never, no, etc. as mentioned above. The 448 examples of forms of be in Group 1 (contracted and uncontracted) include 128 examples of existential clauses, of which 110 are in the form ne plus never, no, etc. while the remaining eighteen examples of existential clauses provide the adverb ne alone. Certainly, existential clauses account for a large proportion of clauses with forms of be in general, and therefore it is not surprising for the situation of existential clauses to contribute to the general tendency of forms of be to a great extent. The issue is more fully discussed in 3.2.15. below.

Another point to note is the tendency for forms of witen to occur with the adverb ne alone. This is again related to a syntactic condition as suggested above. As the discussion below reveals (see 3.2.8.), forms of witen followed by an interrogative tend to provide the adverb ne alone, and as many as 81 examples of forms of witen of Group 1 (not necessarily with negative contraction) out of 116 belong to this group. This certainly must not be ignored.

As for the remaining verbs (forms of will and have), at least

forms of will have an understandable reason for their frequent occurrence with the adverb ne alone. The frequent occurrence of ne alone here, especially in the Group 1 texts, seems to be identical with the general tendency of modal verbs. Modal verbs tend to yield the adverb ne alone more frequently than verbs of the other types especially in the texts of Group 1 as the table below shows:

The nature of the finite verb and the patterning of negation (Group 1)

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
PM (Lamb)							
be	1 (11.1%)	7 (77.8%)	1 (11.1%)	0	0		9
modal	17 (60.7%)	11 (39.3%)	0	0	0		28
others	15 (53.6%)	10 (35.7%)	2 (7.1%)	0	1 (3.6%)		28
PM (Trin)							
be	4 (20.0%)	12 (60.0%)	3 (15.0%)	0	1 (5.0%)		20
modal	26 (54.2%)	19 (39.6%)	1 (2.1%)	0	2 (4.2%)		48
others	14 (42.4%)	14 (42.4%)	3 (9.1%)	0	2 (6.1%)		33
PM (Dgb)							
be	3 (20.0%)	10 (66.7%)	2 (13.3%)	0	0		15
modal	28 (57.1%)	18 (36.7%)	2 (4.1%)	0	1 (2.0%)		49
others	11 (39.3%)	12 (42.9%)	5 (17.9%)	0	0		28
O&N							
be	32 (45.7%)	28 (40.0%)	10 (14.3%)	0	0		70
modal	42 (60.9%)	23 (33.3%)	4 (5.8%)	0	0		69
others	45 (42.1%)	41 (38.3%)	21 (19.6%)	0	0		107
kH							
be	1 (4.8%)	14 (66.7%)	6 (28.6%)	0	0		21
modal	21 (47.7%)	19 (43.2%)	4 (9.1%)	0	0		44
others	12 (33.3%)	18 (50.0%)	6 (16.7%)	0	0		36
SEL							
be	76 (24.3%)	143 (45.7%)	86 (24.5%)	3 (1.0%)	5 (1.6%)		313
modal	179 (30.0%)	258 (43.3%)	152 (25.5%)	0	7 (1.2%)		596
others	148 (22.8%)	267 (41.1%)	197 (30.3%)	13 (2.0%)	25 (3.8%)		650

As the above table shows, modal verbs in general display a stronger tendency to include ne alone than verbs of the other types. This is consistent and fairly clear with all the texts of this group. It is most reasonable, therefore, that forms of will, which belong to the category of modal verbs, tend to occur in the construction in which the adverb ne is not accompanied by not or never, no, etc.

It is quite possible that this peculiar feature of modal verbs comes to be slightly blurred in later texts where the adverb ne declines in the same way as the distinction between contracted forms of will, witen and contracted forms of be, have tends to be blurred in later texts. The table below displays the situation of the texts of Group 2:

The nature of the finite verb and the patterning of  
negation (Group 2)

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Havelok						
be	6 (11.1%)	13 (24.1%)	4 (7.4%)	3 (5.6%)	28 (51.9%)	54
modal	11 (13.4%)	29 (35.4%)	7 (8.5%)	10 (12.2%)	25 (30.5%)	82
others	48 (40.0%)	21 (17.5%)	18 (15.0%)	13 (10.8%)	20 (16.7%)	120
G&E						
be	8 (25.8%)	4 (12.9%)	2 (6.5%)	6 (19.4%)	11 (35.5%)	31
modal	35 (40.2%)	16 (18.4%)	8 (9.2%)	11 (12.6%)	17 (19.5%)	87
others	17 (16.3%)	16 (15.4%)	21 (20.2%)	19 (18.3%)	31 (29.8%)	104
WS						
be	29 (20.3%)	60 (42.0%)	41 (28.7%)	6 (4.2%)	7 (4.9%)	143
modal	39 (30.5%)	23 (18.0%)	32 (25.0%)	19 (14.8%)	15 (11.7%)	128
others	47 (26.4%)	44 (24.7%)	33 (18.5%)	30 (16.9%)	24 (13.5%)	178
Ferumbras						
be	28 (21.1%)	27 (20.3%)	13 (9.8%)	29 (21.8%)	36 (27.1%)	133
modal	32 (17.9%)	55 (30.7%)	35 (19.6%)	34 (19.0%)	23 (12.8%)	179
others	65 (23.6%)	100 (36.2%)	42 (15.2%)	27 (9.8%)	42 (15.2%)	276
kA						
be	32 (27.1%)	55 (46.6%)	6 (5.1%)	7 (5.9%)	18 (15.3%)	118
modal	103 (52.0%)	60 (30.3%)	13 (6.6%)	6 (3.0%)	16 (8.1%)	198
others	60 (29.0%)	91 (44.0%)	10 (4.8%)	9 (4.3%)	37 (17.9%)	207
A&D						
be	1 (4.0%)	5 (20.0%)	1 (4.0%)	4 (16.0%)	14 (56.0%)	25
modal	3 (9.7%)	3 (9.7%)	1 (3.2%)	10 (32.3%)	14 (45.2%)	31
others	2 (1.8%)	33 (30.3%)	8 (7.3%)	10 (9.2%)	56 (51.4%)	109

Modal verbs present the adverb ne alone more frequently than verbs of the other types as far as G&E, WS, KA, and A&D are concerned. Havelok and Ferumbras, however, no longer show the tendency. As discussed above in 2.1., those negative constructions which occur with a considerably small frequency tend to be confined to some specific syntactic contexts. This implies that the factor of syntactic

conditions can be more and more prominent in later texts as the adverb ne declines, and that the distinction between modal verbs and verbs of the other types comes to be less and less clear. It is, nonetheless, noticeable that four texts out of six still show the adverb ne alone more commonly with modal verbs than with verbs of the other types.

The state of affairs in the texts of Group 3, which have lost the adverb ne to a large extent, is displayed below:

The nature of the finite verb and the patterning of  
negation (Group 3)

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
<u>EMH</u>						
be	2 (5.4%)	1 (2.7%)	1 (2.7%)	17 (45.9%)	16 (43.2%)	37
modal	1 (1.1%)	2 (2.2%)	4 (4.5%)	45 (50.6%)	37 (41.6%)	89
others	10 (9.7%)	1 (1.0%)	7 (6.8%)	38 (36.9%)	47 (45.6%)	103
<u>CM</u>						
be	10 (4.6%)	5 (2.3%)	3 (1.4%)	62 (28.3%)	139 (63.5%)	219
modal	24 (7.6%)	12 (3.8%)	0	99 (31.2%)	182 (57.4%)	317
others	45 (11.4%)	19 (4.8%)	16 (4.1%)	120 (30.4%)	195 (49.4%)	395
<u>CA</u>						
be	16 (7.0%)	1 (0.4%)	3 (1.3%)	83 (36.4%)	125 (54.8%)	228
modal	42 (9.2%)	9 (2.0%)	9 (2.0%)	196 (42.7%)	203 (44.2%)	459
others	72 (18.7%)	12 (3.1%)	7 (1.8%)	100 (25.9%)	195 (50.5%)	386
<u>HS</u>						
be	13 (5.7%)	4 (1.8%)	5 (2.2%)	103 (45.4%)	102 (44.9%)	227
modal	66 (12.3%)	14 (2.6%)	8 (1.5%)	215 (40.0%)	235 (43.7%)	538
others	46 (7.7%)	20 (3.3%)	18 (3.0%)	206 (34.3%)	311 (51.7%)	601
<u>GGk</u>						
be	1 (3.4%)	0	1 (3.4%)	11 (37.9%)	16 (55.2%)	29
modal	9 (18.0%)	2 (4.0%)	1 (2.0%)	15 (30.0%)	23 (46.0%)	50
others	9 (8.7%)	1 (1.0%)	0	17 (16.3%)	77 (74.0%)	104
<u>AMA</u>						
be	4 (5.4%)	0	0	7 (9.5%)	63 (85.1%)	74
modal	6 (8.7%)	1 (1.4%)	0	16 (23.2%)	46 (66.7%)	69
others	10 (6.3%)	4 (2.5%)	0	25 (15.6%)	121 (75.6%)	160
<u>DT</u>						
be	0	0	1 (1.2%)	17 (20.5%)	65 (78.3%)	83
modal	3 (4.5%)	0	0	14 (20.9%)	50 (74.6%)	67
others	6 (1.5%)	0	7 (1.7%)	149 (36.7%)	244 (60.1%)	406
<u>SMA</u>						
be	3 (3.2%)	2 (2.1%)	1 (1.1%)	24 (25.3%)	65 (68.4%)	95
modal	15 (9.3%)	16 (9.9%)	16 (9.9%)	39 (24.2%)	75 (46.6%)	161
others	11 (9.2%)	11 (9.2%)	4 (3.4%)	21 (17.6%)	72 (60.5%)	119

Modal verbs still retain the adverb ne alone to a larger extent than verbs of the other types as far as HS, GJK, AMA, DT, and SMA are concerned, but it should be taken into consideration that the absolute frequencies of ne alone are by no means large, which may not be helpful for the purpose of accurate statistics. Furthermore, EMH, CM, and CA reveal a different situation than the five texts mentioned above. At least in contrast to the texts of Group 1, the distinctive feature of modal verbs is much blurred by this stage. Judging from the fact that the tendency is less clear in later texts where the occurrence of ne alone is more and more prominently related with some syntactic conditions, the factor of the nature of the finite verb is only secondary to syntactic conditions as far as the patterning of negation is concerned.

As hitherto discussed, no common or general features are to be observed with contracted forms, at least up to a fairly late stage of ME where examples of contracted forms themselves are rare. Contracted forms of be and have tend to provide the adverb ne plus another negative element, while contracted forms of will and witen tend to occur with the adverb ne alone. This is attested almost coherently with the texts of Group 1, although the situation of witen is less clear than the other verbs concerned due to the infrequent occurrence of relevant examples. Some of the texts of Group 2 preserve the tendency mentioned above, but in general it is slightly less clear by this stage. The texts of the third group, which have already undergone a significant decline of the adverb ne, on the other hand, provide only a nominal number of contracted forms, and they tend to show the adverb ne alone. This signifies that most examples of the pattern in which the adverb ne is accompanied by another negative element have already lost the adverb ne. They

have moved to the construction which includes not alone or never, no, etc. alone. The tendency observed in Group 1 and partly in Group 2 is no longer attested, and only at this stage a common and general feature of contracted forms is attained. Judging from the fact that the general situation of contracted forms is by no means consistent, at least in the texts of Group 1 and perhaps in the texts of Group 2, the distinction between forms of be, have and forms of will, witen may not be confined to their contracted forms. In fact, forms of witen followed by an interrogative tend to present the adverb ne alone as discussed below (see 3.2.8.), and this syntactic condition may well contribute to the overall situation of forms of witen to a great deal. The frequent occurrence of ne followed by another negative with contracted forms of be may also be envisaged from a syntactic point of view. Existential clauses, which most frequently involve forms of be, tend to present never, no, etc. (see 3.2.15 below), and this can contribute to the overall situation of forms of be.

Apart from these, it is at least notable that the frequent occurrence of ne alone with forms of will is most likely related to the same tendency of modal verbs in general. As the above discussion reveals, modal verbs tend to show ne alone more frequently than other verbs, which is consistent with the texts of Group 1, where the adverb ne is almost fully retained, and slightly less consistent with the texts of Groups 2 and 3. This distinctive feature of modal verbs is important per se, but the fact that it comes to be rather less clear in later texts indicates that the nature of the finite verb is not too strong a condition on the patterning of negation. The use of ne alone, in fact, seems to be most prominently conditioned syntactically in later texts where the pattern is only marginal.

### 3.2. Negative elements and syntactic conditions

#### 3.2.1. Preliminary remarks

The relationship between negative constructions and the syntactic conditions in which they occur has fairly often been discussed in existing studies, although the discussion is mainly concerned with the employment of ne as opposed to ne ... not and not in later ME, and especially with Chaucer's English. As for early ME, by contrast, material which deals with the issue of syntactic conditions is virtually confined to Jack (1978a), who investigates the situation of early ME prose texts. He maintains about early ME prose texts that the following syntactic contexts are particularly favourable for the use of ne as against ne ... not: (1) clauses with never, no, etc.; (2) negative interrogative clauses; and (3) clauses in which the combination of ne and but<sup>3</sup> presents the meaning 'only' (299, 301, and 304). With respect to ne ... not, on the other hand, he states that the following are the conditions especially associated with its employment: (1) declarative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject; (2) optative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject; and (3) imperative clauses (301-4). He also considers the factors that may have given rise to the differences in distribution shown by ne and ne ... not. First of all, the adverb not is in principle an element to reinforce the negation of ne so that not is unnecessary in clauses with never, no, etc. which perform essentially the same function. Secondly, the employment of ne ... not in declarative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject enables a formal distinction to be made between them and interrogative clauses where the verb also precedes the subject. The same function of ne ... not is applicable to imperative clauses which often occur with the order verb-subject, but not to optative clauses, since verbs in them tend to occur in

<sup>3</sup> Orthographic variant forms such as buten and bote are all included. The convention is followed hereafter.

subjunctive forms, which is a distinctive feature in itself. Noticing that *ne ... not* occurs not only in the specific contexts listed above but also elsewhere fairly abundantly and that the functional use of *ne ... not* to make a formal distinction is more outstanding in relatively late texts of early ME than in much earlier ones, he conjectures that the function of ne ... not as described above arose after the form had spread somewhat, rather than being a factor causing its development (306-9).

Turning to later ME, existing studies are fundamentally concerned with the usage of *ne*, and especially with the use of ne alone. Jack (1978c) investigates some later ME prose texts, among which Chaucer's works and the pre-1400 material of the Book of London English retain the adverb *ne* fairly extensively (59). According to him, *ne* alone is particularly favoured in the following syntactic circumstances as far as these texts are concerned: (1) clauses in which the combination of *ne* and but gives the meaning 'only', (2) þat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative or a negative clause, (3) þat-clauses subordinate to some specific verbs with negative connotation such as *douten* 'to doubt', (4) conditional clauses introduced by 'if', and (5) clauses whose finite verb is a form of *witen* 'to know' followed by an interrogative (59-61). There are some other studies which specifically examine Chaucer's English including verse texts (Kent 1890, Baghdikian 1979, Iyeiri 1989a), whose contentions are largely to the same effect. It is noticeable, however, that the form ne seems to be common in conditional clauses of Chaucer's English in general, not only in those introduced by 'if' but also in those with the order verb-subject and without 'if' (Kent 1890: 123-4; Iyeiri 1989a: 13-14). Moreover, existential clauses tend to present never, *no*, etc. extensively, but when they occur without never, *no*, etc., ne is much more frequently observed than *ne ... not* as far as Chaucer's Canterbury Tales are concerned (Iyeiri 1989a:

14). After 1400, on the other hand, the employment of the adverb ne itself comes to be particularly restricted in prose texts (Jack 1978c: 63). Among texts of this group, Wycliffite sermons presents ne alone especially in: (1) þat-clauses dependent upon a negative or an interrogative clause, and (2) þat-clauses whose superordinate clause includes specific verbs with negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt'. Outside Wycliffite sermons, ne is again favoured in conditional clauses without 'if' but with the order verb-subject (Jack 1978c: 63-4).

Thus most discussions on later ME are concerned with the employment of ne alone, and ne ... not and not have not been much commented upon. As in early ME, however, it is consistent in later ME that clauses with never, no, etc. hardly co-occur with not (Jack 1978c: 62). Another point raised about ne ... not and not is the fact that fundamentally these forms seem to be simple alternatives, although later ME prose reveals that not is preferred to ne ... not when the finite verb is immediately preceded by the conjunction ne and therefore the employment of ne ... not would cause the repetition of ne (Jack 1978c: 61-2 and 65). According to my analysis, the same tendency is recognized in Chaucer's verse texts as well (Iyeiri 1989a: 15-16). Apart from these, ne ... not tends to occur in interrogative clauses in Wycliffite sermons according to Jack (1978c: 65).

As hitherto mentioned, various syntactic conditions have been investigated in respect of the patterning of negation in existing studies. None of the studies so far available, however, examines the ME period throughout, and an examination of usage during the whole of the ME period is therefore desirable. Furthermore, the situation of never, no, etc. has not been much revealed, except that they hardly co-occur with not. Most studies so far available are concerned with the usage of ne, ne ... not, and not. The following discussion, therefore, examines in more detail constructions where

never, no, etc. are involved. The discussion deals with: (1) syntactic conditions particularly related to ne with or without never, no, etc. (3.2.2. to 3.2.9 below), (2) syntactic conditions more relevant to ne ... not and not (3.2.10. to 3.2.14. below), and (3) another syntactic condition (3.2.15 below).

### 3.2.2. Clauses with never, no, etc.

The existence of never, no, etc. militates against the occurrence of not, and this seems to be a strong and consistent tendency all through the ME period. As regards early ME prose, Jack (1978a: 299) observes that never, no, etc. freely occur with ne but they are particularly uncommon with ne ... not and not. As for later ME prose, he notices the same phenomenon especially in pre-1400 material where the occurrence of the adverb ne is common (Jack 1978c: 62). After 1400, the adverb ne itself undergoes a sharp decline especially when it is accompanied by another negative element so that the co-occurrence of ne and never, no, etc. is infrequent as well as the co-occurrence of not and never, no, etc. is. That never, no, etc. hardly occur along with not is also consistent in ME verse as revealed in 2.1. above in the present thesis. The texts of Group 1 (PM (Lamb), PM (Trin), PM (Dgb), O&N, KH, and SEL) supply 1,599 examples of the form ne, of which 924 (57.8%) present never, no, etc. whereas they supply 521 instances of ne ... not and not, of which only eleven (2.1%) include never, no, etc. The same tendency is observed with the texts of Group 2 (Havelok, G&E, WS, Ferumbras, KA, and A&D) as well: 655 examples of the total of 1,221 examples of ne (53.6%) yield never, no, etc. while only 22 examples of the total of 548 of ne ... not and not (4.0%) present never, no, etc. The contrast between ne and ne ... not, not is slightly weaker in the texts of Group 3 (EMH, CM, CA, HS, G GK, AMA, DT, and SMA), on the other hand, where the adverb ne itself comes to be fairly limited in

number. The texts provide 561 examples of ne, of which 137 (24.4%) include never, no, etc., whereas they supply 1,751 examples of ne ... not and not, of which 60 (3.4%) include never, no, etc. This is due to the fact that the construction with both the adverb ne and never, no, etc. has largely undergone the decline of ne by the stage of these texts, resulting in never, no, etc. alone. All in all, however, the tendency for never, no, etc. not to occur with not is consistent throughout the ME period. The proportions of the clauses of this type to the whole sample of ne ... not and not are only 2% to 4%. Judging from its consistency, this linguistic feature overrides other linguistic features conditioning the patterning of negative constructions, which are explored below.

### 3.2.3. Negative interrogative clauses

As mentioned above, negative interrogative clauses are one of the syntactic contexts where ne is preferred to ne ... not in early ME prose according to Jack (1978a: 301). As for later ME, Jack (1978c: 65) notices that in Wycliffite sermons, where the usual adverb of negation is not, the rare instances of ne ... not are, more often than not, found in negative interrogative clauses. In early ME the innovative marker of negation is ne ... not as opposed to ne, and at a later stage in ME the innovative marker is not as opposed to ne ... not. Therefore if negative interrogative clauses favour the use of ne rather than ne ... not in early ME, and of ne ... not rather than not in later ME, this would suggest that such clauses were conservative in their negative usage throughout the ME period. The late ME situation of negative interrogative clauses has not fully been discussed apart from the work mentioned above, however, except that Baghdikian (1979: 676) claims that the simple ne tends to be attested in negative interrogative clauses in Chaucer's Boece.

Although the evidence of relevant examples is not particularly

extensive in the sample of the present study, they are still substantial enough to indicate which negative patterns tend to be employed in this syntactic condition. The table below shows how many relevant examples are evidenced in the sample texts.<sup>4</sup> The situation of the whole sample (divided into Groups 1, 2, and 3) are also added at the bottom of the table, which would function as a scale for the analysis of interrogative clauses:<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Since never, no, etc. and the adverb not hardly co-occur, the table does not make the subdivision between ne ... not with and without never, no, etc. and that between not with and without never, no, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Despite Hall's (1920, II: 338) note, which maintains that the following is interrogative, it is not included in the table:

Monimon seit hwa rechð of pine þe scal hebben þende.  
 Ne bidde ich na bet bo alesed a domes dei of bende  
 (PM Lamb 133-4).

The corresponding part in the Trinity MS runs as follows:

Maniman seið hwo reche pine þe sal hebben ende  
Ne bidde ich no bet bie ich alesed a domesdai of bende  
 (PM Trin 135-6).

Here bie in line 136 cannot be an infinitive, but must be the present subjunctive. Thus the meaning of line 136 in PM (Trin) is: 'I pray for nothing better, provided that I am released . . .' Similarly, the example in PM (Lamb) is also declarative. Line 134 in PM (Lamb) is either defective or it means 'I do not pray for anything better than to be released'.

## Negative interrogative clauses

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Negative interrogative clauses							
PM (Lamb)							
PM (Trin)							
PM (Dgb)						1	1
O&N	6						6
KH			1				1
SEL	12	1	8	1			22
Totals of	18	1	9	1		1	30
Group 1	(60.0%)	(3.3%)	(30.0%)	(3.3%)		(3.3%)	
Havelok	1	1	1				3
G&E			1	1			2
WS	3	1	1	1			6
Ferumbras	1			1			2
kA	2			1			3
A&D							
Totals of	7	2	3	4			16
Group 2	(43.8%)	(12.5%)	(18.8%)	(25.0%)			
EMH				1	1		2
CM		1	3	6	4		14
CA					1		1
HS	1			9	2		12
GGK							
AMA	1						1
DT			3	11	1		15
SMA	3	2		3	1		9
Totals of	5	3	6	30	10		54
Group 3	(9.3%)	(5.6%)	(11.1%)	(55.6%)	(18.5%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

Some illustrative examples follow:

Wi nultu singe an oder þeode  
 Ðar hit is muchele more neode? (O&N 905-6)

Ne þenkeste nowt of mine oþes  
 Ðat Ich haue mi louerd sworn? (Havelok 579-80)

"Was þou not at me right now,  
 And fedd me wit þi fang i trau?" (CM 3727-8)

"Syr, shall I neuyr of cordemente wene  
 That we myght frendys be A-þeyne?" (SMA 2422-3)

Among the Group 1 texts, O&N and SEL present a notable number of negative interrogative clauses. Of these two texts, O&N shows a clear preference for ne (6x) to ne ... not (0x). Ne alone is unequivocally

favoured in the text. Not only the use of the adverb not but also of never, no, etc. is equally avoided in interrogative clauses, which is a striking feature in view of the frequent occurrence of ne plus never, no, etc. in the whole sample of Group 1 (42.7%). To turn to SEL, not only ne alone (12x) but also ne ... not (8x) is fairly common unlike the situation of O&N, but the tendency to avoid never, no, etc. is clearly observed in this text as well, as the table above shows.

Concerning Group 2, examples of negative interrogative clauses are not entirely common. The totals of Group 2, however, reveal a clear contrast to the whole sample of Group 2 presented at the bottom of the table. The occurrences of ne alone (43.8%), ne ... not (18.8%), and not (25.0%) are all more common in interrogative clauses than in the whole sample (25.7%, 13.4%, and 11.5% respectively). This is partly due to the particularly limited occurrence of never, no, etc. in negative interrogative clauses. The whole sample of Group 2 provides 29.8% of the pattern in which ne is accompanied by never, no, etc. and 19.7% of never, no, etc. alone as a result of the disappearance of ne, while negative interrogative clauses present only 12.5% of ne plus never, no, etc. and no instances of never, no, etc. alone.

The tendency for interrogative clauses not to employ never, no, etc. is carried over to Group 3 as well, where never, no, etc. alone are usually common (53.9% of the whole sample). As for negative interrogative clauses, only ten out of 54 exemplify never, no, etc. alone (18.5%) as the above table shows. This is a consistent outcome of the infrequent occurrence of ne plus never, no, etc. at early stages of the development illustrated by Groups 1 and 2.

On the whole, however, no significant features about ne, ne ... not, and not are observed with the present syntactic context. Ne is particularly common in some texts, but ne ... not and not are not especially limited compared with the situation of the whole sample.

More significant, on the other hand, is the fact that the adverb ne hardly occurs together with never, no, etc. in early texts where ne accompanied by never, no, etc. is usually common. The present state of affairs conforms to the later development of negation in interrogative clauses. Ne ... not and not freely develop in later ME, since never, no, etc. which hardly occur together with not and which therefore militate against the development of not are sparse to begin with. Moreover, the Group 3 texts supply a much more limited proportion of never, no, etc. alone in contrast to the whole sample. As far as the above data are concerned, interrogative clauses cannot simply be regarded as a conservative condition, but they are rather a context in which never, no, etc. are only sparingly employed, and this is observed throughout the ME period. Since negative interrogative clauses often imply a positive presumption, negative clauses may not have to be marked as strongly as to include never, no, etc. The employment of ne ... not, which ultimately develops to not, is not particularly limited, however.

#### 3.2.4. Clauses in which the combination of negation and but yields the meaning 'only'

The adverb ne is occasionally used in combination with but, yielding the meaning 'only'. For example:

Ne schaltu haue bute game (KH 198)

Nys he bot of twelue zer olde-- (KA 789).

This usage is most typical of ne, but it is also attested with not as the following illustrate:

3if 3e nouht wirche but wel · in þis word here (A&D 832)

Had he noght rested bot a thrau,  
0 maidens sagh he cum on raw (CM 3281-2).

Kent (1890: 116), who investigates Chaucer's English, states that ne

alone is quite sufficient here particularly because the collocation of *ne* but is used to convey a positive idea emphatically. Jack (1978a: 304; 1978c: 59-60 and 65) also observes that ne tends to stand alone instead of involving not in ME prose works as far as this linguistic condition is concerned. In fact, but later develops the meaning 'only' on its own (or rather but comes to carry the meaning 'only' for itself), and then the negative element which used to be employed along with *but* falls into disuse (Curme 1931: 326; Jack 1978c: 65). This implies that the function of the negative element in this usage is not to convey a negative force as Kent rightly suggests. Negative elements make sense only in combination with but, and that, in a fixed form. Once the meaning 'only' is transferred to but itself, negation is no longer necessary. Together with the fixed nature of *ne but*, the fact that to convey a negative force is not the function of negative elements here is a factor for the favoured use of the weak form *ne* as opposed to ne ... not and not. The frequent employment of *ne* alone in this syntactic context is also confirmed by the ME verse texts investigated in the present study as the table below displays:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Examples as illustrated below also belong to this category:

*Þu nard no3t bute ded (O&N 1138).*

Here the combination of negation and but possesses the function of emphasis, but it is not negation that is conveyed emphatically but the positive idea 'be dead'.

Negative clauses with but 'only'<sup>7</sup>

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Negative clauses with <u>but</u> 'only'							
PM (Lamb)							
PM (Trin)	1						1
PM (Dgb)	1						1
O&N	10		1				11
KH	2						2
SEL	22		1				23
Totals of	36		2				38
Group 1	(94.7%)		(5.3%)				
Havelok		1					1
G&E							
WS	6	1	1				8
Ferumbras	8						8
KA	9						9
A&D	1			2			3
Totals of	24	2	1	2			29
Group 2	(82.8%)	(6.9%)	(3.4%)	(6.9%)			
EMH				2			2
CM	4			6			10
CA	1			1			2
HS	1			5			6
GGK							
AMA							
DT							
SMA							
Totals of	6			14			20
Group 3	(30.0%)			(70.0%)			
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

The adverb ne almost exclusively stands alone while ne ... not and not are rather uncommon. The most noteworthy feature revealed in the above table is the fact that never, no, etc. are almost entirely

<sup>7</sup> The examples of PM (Trin) and PM (Dgb) are from lines which correspond to each other:

Nis hit bute gamen & glie of þat man mai here drie  
(PM Trin 292)

nis hit, bute gamen and glie,  
al, þet man her mai driezen (PM Dgb 139).

It is not entirely impossible to interpret but in these examples in the meaning 'except'. Especially the punctuation given by Zupitza (1878) for PM (Dgb) hints upon the possibility. As for PM (Lamb), the text terminates before it reaches this line.

avoided in this syntactic condition. Never, no, etc. are in fact even rarer than not, which itself is rather rare in comparison to the adverb ne. The only two examples that include never, no, etc. run as follows:

Fro londe woren he bote a mile,  
 Ne were neuere but ane hwile  
 Ðat it ne bigan a wind to rise  
 Out of þe north men calleth 'bise' (Havelok 722-4)

. . . for no man hy ne takeþ  
Bote onelepy syþe (WS 18/489-90).

Thus this is a condition in which the adverb ne tends to stand alone, which is most pronounced with Groups 1 and 2. In the Group 3 texts, however, where the adverb ne has receded to a notable extent (see 2.1.3. above), the adverb not is also occasionally employed. However, the employment of never, no, etc. is consistently avoided throughout the ME period.

This tendency is attested only in the case when the combination of negation and but occurs in a fixed form with the meaning 'only'. However, when but retains its original meaning 'except', conversely the occurrence of never, no, etc. is particularly common, as the following table displays:

Negative clauses with but 'except'<sup>8</sup>

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Negative clauses with <u>but</u> 'except'							
PM (Lamb)		1					1
PM (Trin)		1					1
PM (Dgb)		1					1
O&N		6					6
KH							
SEL	7	20	2			6	35
Totals of	7	29	2			6	44
Group 1	(15.9%)	(65.9%)	(4.5%)			(13.6%)	
Havelok	2	7				1	10
G&E		2				1	3
WS	1	2	3				6
Ferumbras	1	3	1			2	7
KA	11	15	1			1	28
A&D		4		1		4	9
Totals of	15	33	5	1		9	63
Group 2	(23.8%)	(52.4%)	(7.9%)	(1.6%)		(14.3%)	
EMH				3		6	9
CM		1		1		19	21
CA		1				15	16
HS				2		27	29
GGK						7	7
AMA				1		11	12
DT				4		8	12
SMA			1			6	7
Totals of		2	1	11		99	113
Group 3		(1.8%)	(0.9%)	(9.7%)		(87.6%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16		44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)		(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253		434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)		(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639		2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)		(53.9%)	

Some illustrative examples with never, no, etc. are:

Nadde he noman bote God · to answerie ne to rede  
(SEL 12/116)

Was no pomarie so pighte of pryncez in erthe,  
Ne none apparayll so prowde, bot Paradys one  
(AMA 3364-5).

In Groups 1 and 2, the adverb ne also occurs alone, which is illustrated by the following:

<sup>8</sup> The examples of PM are all from lines corresponding to one another of the three chosen manuscripts (i.e. PM (Lamb 110), PM (Trin 110), and PM (Dgb 51)).

Of his bodi ne hauede he eyr  
Bute a mayden swiþe fayr (Havelok 110-11).

Thus clauses with ne but 'only' and clauses with but 'except' present almost complementary features in terms of the occurrence of never, no, etc. They are almost entirely avoided in the former, while they are most freely and frequently employed in the latter. This suggests the possibility that but when combined with never, no, etc. tends to have the meaning 'except' and when not linked with never, no, etc. tends to have the meaning 'only'. In fact, the meaning 'only' presented by the collocation ne but is not entirely irrelevant to the original meaning of but 'except'. Burnley (1983: 73-5) interests himself in the phrase I nam but deed in Chaucer's English, which is often rendered 'I am only dead'. He refers to the original sense of but 'except' and concludes that the phrase should be understood as 'I am not other than dead'. As I understand it, the collocation ne but 'only' is a special case that derives from the original meaning of but 'except' especially when but is not followed by a complement noun and but therefore functions as an adverb.

### 3.2.5. þat-clauses dependent upon a negative or an interrogative clause

While the present syntactic condition has not been discussed in relation to early ME, it tends to yield ne rather than ne ... not and not as far as later ME prose is concerned (Jack 1978c: 60 and 63). There are some further relevant studies which particularly investigate Chaucer's English. Kent (1890: 131), for example, remarks that ne alone is favoured in clauses subordinate to a negative clause in Chaucer. Baghdikian (1979: 676) makes an argument to the effect, although she deals especially with Chaucer's Boece. Neither Kent nor Baghdikian refers to þat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative clause, however. In Chaucer's Canterbury Tales the tendency to

employ ne alone is weaker when the superordinate clause is interrogative than when it is negative, but ne rather than ne ... not and not is still frequent in both cases (Iyeiri 1989a: 12-13). Thus a more detailed assessment of texts throughout the ME period is necessary. The table below shows the patterning of negation in pat-clauses subordinate to a negative clause in the sample texts (those subordinate to an interrogative clause are discussed later):

Pat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
<u>Pat</u> -clauses dependent upon a negative clause							
PM (Lamb)							
PM (Trin)							
PM (Dgb)							
O&N	12						12
kH	1						1
SEL	52	3	2			1	58
Totals of	65	3	2			1	71
Group 1	(91.5%)	(4.2%)	(2.8%)			(1.4%)	
Havelok	25					2	27
G&E	1						1
WS	8	2					10
Ferumbras	27						27
kA	10	1					11
A&D						4	4
Totals of	71	3				6	80
Group 2	(88.8%)	(3.8%)				(7.5%)	
EMH						1	1
CM	9			2			11
CA	46			5	6		57
HS	20			6	1		27
GGK	2						2
AMA	5						5
DT	1			2	2		5
SMA	3			1			4
Totals of	86			16	10		112
Group 3	(76.8%)			(14.3%)	(8.9%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

Some illustrative examples are:

Nis nout so hot pat hit nacoleþ (O&N 1275)

So mey me nau3t in ewe ardaunt,  
Pat neþ no wateris wyse (WS 8/223-4)

Alle þe luþer Deneis · þat ne luuede on him no3t  
 After the bou gan to springe · ne turnde hore þo3t  
 (SEL 155/217-8)<sup>9</sup>

God ys noght payd here we fynde  
 Þat þe sone to þe fadyr ys nat kynde (HS 1171-2)

Swyche men halewe nat gostly  
 Þat on þe halyday leuyn no foly (HS 983-4).

As the above table shows, it is not only in later ME as argued in previous studies but also in early ME that ne is favoured much more than ne ... not and not, or rather, much more than any other construction. Never, no, etc. as well as the adverb not are rather avoided in þat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause. In some of the texts, relevant examples themselves are by no means abundant, but if an example occurs, it still tends to show ne alone. The proportion of ne alone is as large as 91.5% in Group 1 where ne is particularly common in any case irrespective of any syntactic conditions. Despite the predominance of ne as opposed to ne ... not and not in the overall sample of the Group 1 texts, however, the preference for ne alone in the present condition is still clearly visible. Ne ... not is much more limited here than in the whole sample of Group 1. Furthermore, never, no, etc., which freely occur in the Group 1 texts frequently in combination with ne, are almost entirely avoided in this particular syntactic circumstance. Never, no, etc. alone are even more limited. The sole instance of never, no, etc. alone, which occurs in SEL runs as follows:

Inelle þat noman bote God · me wissi and rede  
 (SEL 56/74).

The example in SEL as cited above illustrates the case in which but retains the meaning 'except', which is a condition associated with the

<sup>9</sup> The þat-clause in the present example is subordinate to a negative clause, although the negative element of the superordinate clause occurs after the þat-clause as far as its location is concerned.

use of never, no, etc. independently, as discussed above (see 3.2.3. above).

The tendency to employ ne rather than ne ... not and not even more clearly stands out in the texts of Groups 2 and 3, where ne ... not and/or not come to be common in the whole sample. As in the case of Group 1, never, no, etc. are also avoided. It is striking indeed that as many as 71 of the total of 80 examples (88.8%) in Group 2 still present the adverb ne alone (the corresponding proportion in the overall situation of Group 2 is 25.7%) and that as many as 86 of the total of 112 instances (76.8%) in Group 3 also show ne alone (the corresponding proportion in the whole sample of Group 3 is no more than 8.5%). The tendency to employ ne alone is consistently attested throughout the ME period in this condition.

The situation does differ to some extent depending upon the nature of pat-clauses, although on the whole ne alone is favoured in any case. The tables below show the patterning of negation in: (1) nominal clauses, (2) consecutive clauses, and (3) relative clauses.

(1) Nominal clauses

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Group 1	17		1		1		19
Group 2	16				3		19
Group 3	25			1			26
Totals	58		1	1	4		64
	(90.6%)		(1.6%)	(1.6%)	(6.3%)		

(2) Consecutive clauses

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Group 1	30	2					32
Group 2	28						28
Group 3	51			7	5		63
Totals	109	2		7	5		123
	(88.6%)	(1.6%)		(5.7%)	(4.1%)		

## (3) Relative clauses

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Group 1	18	1	1			20
Group 2	27	3			3	33
Group 3	10			8	5	23
Totals	55	4	1	8	8	76
	(72.4%)	(5.3%)	(1.3%)	(10.5%)	(10.5%)	

Especially with Group 3, where constructions other than ne alone come to increase, relative clauses present a slightly weaker tendency to employ ne alone than pat-clauses of the other types, although the state of things do not differ much according to the nature of pat-clauses in Groups 1 and 2. I have applied the chi-square test to the table below to see if any significant differences in distribution of ne alone as against the other constructions are observed depending on the nature of pat-clauses, which presents the value of 11.91. The value is much larger than the critical value of 3.84 for the five percent level, and therefore the distinction among the three clause types is statistically significant.<sup>10</sup>

	ne alone	others
Nominal clauses	58	6
Consecutive clauses	109	14
Relative clauses	55	21

That relative clauses show a slightly weaker tendency to present ne alone is partly linked with the fact that the superordinate versus subordinate relationship can occasionally be loose in the case of relative clauses. The following is a typical case of this:

<sup>10</sup> That the value yielded by the chi-square test is larger than the critical value of 3.84 for the 5.0% level indicates that the probability that the deviation of the three clausal types is the result of chance is smaller than 5.0%. In fact, the value yielded by the test (11.91) is even larger than the critical value of 10.83 at the 0.1% level. In other words, the probability that the deviation is due to sampling error is smaller than 0.1% (see Kenny 1982: 110-19; Butler 1985: 112-26).

Wan it was gouen, ne michte men finde  
 So mikel men michte him in winde  
 Of his in arke ne in chiste  
 Jn Engelond, þat noman wiste (Havelok 220-3).

The þat-clause here is rather independent of its superordinate clause. Smithers (1987: 93-4) argues that the example above illustrates the absolute use of þat-clauses.

Examples of þat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative clause are, on the other hand, rather limited in number, as the table below reveals:

Pat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative clause

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Pat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative clause						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)						
PM (Dgb)						
O&N	3	1	1			5
KH						
SEL	1	1*				2
Totals of	4	2	1			7
Group 1	(57.1%)	(28.6%)	(14.3%)			
Havelok						
G&E						
WS	4*	6*			5*	15
Ferumbras						
KA						
A&D					1*	1
Totals of	4	6			6	16
Group 2	(25.0%)	(37.5%)			(37.5%)	
EMH						
CM	1			1*	1*	3
CA	1*					1
HS	1*					1
G&K						
AMA				2*	1*	3
DT				1*	2*	3
SMA				1		1
Totals of	3			5	4	12
Group 3	(25.0%)			(41.7%)	(33.3%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

\* The superordinate interrogative clause is introduced by an interrogative such as 'who'.

Some illustrative examples are given below:

What man shuld þyr be yn þys lyue  
 Pat hyt ne wlde se & þyder dryue? (HS 9162-3)

Schal he, þat þerof no þing not,  
 Hit wite me, for ich hit wot? (O&N 1247-8)

Wi atuitestu me mine unstrengþe  
 An mine ungrete & mine unlengþe,  
 An seist þat ich nam no3t strong  
 Vor ich nam noþer gret ne long? (O&N 751-4)

May I saffly wone ther aye,  
 That ye wythe werre not come me on? (SMA 2446-7)

"Wijtles," he said, "quat es catell,  
 Or quat es strenght wit for to dele  
 Man þat na wijt has him to lede?" (CM 8557-9)

The number of relevant examples attested in the sample is so small that the tendency of this syntactic condition is difficult to obtain. Furthermore, most examples of the above table are subordinate to a clause introduced by an interrogative such as 'who' (marked by an asterisk in the above table), which is for the most part a rhetorical question as illustrated below. As a matter of fact, all the examples of this type attested in the sample are rhetorical in some way or another in that they all imply an understood answer to the question.

Who mai to love make a werre,  
 That he ne hath himself the werre? (CA 270/1645-6).

As far as the above table is concerned, these examples do not seem particularly to avoid never, no, etc., which are rather consistently avoided when the superordinate clause is negative rather than interrogative. A rhetorical question which is positive yields a negative presumption, in which respect superordinate clauses of this type are similar to those that are negative. Rhetorical questions, however, tend to impose a strong emotional vehemence of the author's, and this is perhaps why never, no, etc. are also not uncommon. The following is a special case to illustrate this, where rhetorical questions are used in succession:

For who hys þat neuere set hys þou3t  
 And erþe to be he3?  
 Who hys hit þat neuer yþou3t  
 Of pompe þat he se3?

Who yst þat neuer nas rebel  
 A3eins hys souerayn?  
 Wo ist þat be nome schel,  
 And nabbe non agayn?

Who yst þat neuere gollich nas,  
 Wanne chaunce at wylle come?  
 Who yst þat, wanne he preysed was,  
 Neuer at he3 hyt nome?

Who hyst þat neuer þo3te  
 He scholde honoured be  
 For dedes þat he wroute,  
 Wanne men (ne) hy3t mytte se?

Who hys þat neuer he3þe dro3  
 Toward hys þat wes?  
 Ho hys [þat] neuer ne kedde wo3  
 In boste to hys sugges?

Ho neþ wyþ prompe y-schewed hym  
 3et oþer þane he was?  
 Nou ypocresy, kepe nym,  
 Regneþ, hyt nys no leas.

Ho yst þat neuer nas yblent  
 Wyþ non surquydery?  
 Þat hys, wanne a proud man heþ y-ment  
 Oþer þane hyt schel by.

Wo þat neuer ne dede þous  
 He wole prede by-fle3;  
 3ef þat kebbede eny of ous,  
 Ich wo3t wel þat he le3 (WS 107-8/257-88).

Finally, there are some remarks which suggest that þat-clauses themselves should be associated with the use of ne alone whatever their superordinate clauses may be. Kent (1890: 126) argues about Chaucer's English that ne alone is frequently employed in clauses of result even when their superordinate clause is in the positive, while Baghdikian (1979: 675) maintains about Chaucer's Boece that ne alone most commonly occurs in subordinate clauses in general. The table below shows the patterning of negation in þat-clauses which are not subordinate to a negative or an interrogative clause:

Dat-clauses not dependent upon a negative or  
an interrogative clause

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Dat-clauses not dependent upon a negative or an interrogative clause							
PM (Lamb)	2		1				3
PM (Trin)	4	2			1		7
PM (Dgb)	14	3	1				18
O&N	23	15	10				48
KH	7	4	3				14
SEL	94	127	75	5	11		312
Totals of	144	151	90	5	12		402
Group 1	(35.8%)	(37.6%)	(22.4%)	(1.2%)	(3.0%)		
Havelok	8	16	4	2	8		38
G&E	13	6	1	1	9		30
WS	27	19	14	5	14		79
Ferumbras	26	24	10	3	14		77
KA	33	28		1	5		67
A&D	3	5	1	1	23		33
Totals of	110	98	30	13	73		324
Group 2	(34.0%)	(30.2%)	(9.3%)	(4.0%)	(22.5%)		
EMH	4		2	27	20		53
CM	29	1	1	37	89		157
CA	32	10	7	57	107		213
HS	27	8	4	84	139		262
GGK	6	1		2	17		26
AMA	4	2		1	32		39
DT				24	73		97
SMA	3	3	2	6	20		34
Totals of	105	25	16	238	497		881
Group 3	(11.9%)	(2.8%)	(1.8%)	(27.0%)	(56.4%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

The tendency to employ ne alone is far less strong than in the case where dat-clauses are superordinated by a negative clause. In fact, the situation displayed in the above table does not show much deviation from the overall situation of the whole sample whose data are exhibited at the bottom of the table as a scale, but the chi-square test suggests that the difference in distribution is significant in Groups 2 and 3, but not in Group 1. Since the adverb not is not fully developed in Group 1, the tendency to employ ne alone may simply be hidden in this group. The significant point is, however, that never, no, etc. are freely employed in the present

syntactic context, which are almost entirely avoided when the superordinate clause is negative. All in all, pat-clauses not dependent upon a negative or an interrogative clause present a considerably different patterning of negation at least from those subordinate to a negative clause. As the chi-square test suggests, however, a slight inclination towards the use of ne alone is still observed here. The Group 2 texts, for example, provide the proportion of 34.0% for ne alone, which is much larger than the corresponding ratio in the whole sample of Group 2 (25.7%). The elements which are limited at this cost are not never, no, etc. but the adverb not. Group 3 shows the same tendency, although to a lesser extent than Group 2.

### 3.2.6. Pat-clauses dependent upon douten 'to doubt', forbeden 'to forbid', etc.

It is maintained especially about later ME that pat-clauses dependent upon some specific verbs with negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid'<sup>11</sup> most commonly supply ne alone. The phenomenon is acknowledged in later ME prose texts in general (Jack 1978c: 60 and 63) and especially in Chaucer's usage (Kent 1890: 129; Baghdikian 1979: 676; Iyeiri 1989a: 10-13). Interestingly enough, however, this does not seem to apply to pat-clauses subordinate to a positive clause, where negative elements other than the adverb ne freely occur according to Warner (1982: 210). This is a significant point, since pat-clauses subordinate to a negative clause have separately been proved to be in favour of ne alone as already discussed (see 3.2.5. above).

Examples are particularly limited. The sample texts of the

<sup>11</sup> The sample provides the following as verbs of this type: ascapen, bileuen, bireuen, defenden, douten, eschuien, forbeden, forberen, forsaken, foryeten, ishilden, leten when it is negative, letten, mistruen, nayen, sparen, weren, weyven, and willen when it is negative. For details, see 6.1. below.

present study provide only about 40 instances as displayed below. They are separately counted depending upon whether the superordinate clause is in the negative or not, as shown below:

Pat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause  
with douten, forbeden, etc.

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
	-	+			+	
Pat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause with <u>douten</u> , <u>forbeden</u> , etc.						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)						
PM (Dgb)						
O&N	2					2
KH						
SEL	3				1	4
Totals of Group 1	5 (83.3%)				1 (16.7%)	6
Havelok	4					4
G&E						
VS	1					1
Ferumbras	2					2
KA	2					2
A&D						
Totals of Group 2	9 (100.0%)					9
EMH						
CM	2					2
CA	6					6
HS	3					3
GGK						
AMA						
DT						
SMA						
Totals of Group 3	11 (100.0%)					11
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675 (31.2%)	924 (42.7%)	505 (23.3%)	16 (0.7%)	44 (2.0%)	2164
Group 2	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)	2203
Group 3	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)	5016

Pat-clauses not dependent upon a negative clause  
with douten, forbeden, etc.

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
	-	+			+	
Pat-clauses not dependent upon a negative clause with <u>douten</u> , <u>forbeden</u> , etc.						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)						
PM (Dgb)						
O&N						
kH						
SEL		2			1	3
Totals of		2			1	3
Group 1		(66.7%)			(33.3%)	
Havelok						
G&E						
WS	1					1
Ferumbras	1	1				2
KA		1				1
A&D						
Totals of	2	2				4
Group 2	(50.0%)	(50.0%)				
EMH						
CM						
CA				1		1
HS					2	2
GGK		1			1	2
AMA						
DT						
SMA						
Totals of		1		1	3	5
Group 3		(20.0%)		(20.0%)	(60.0%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675 (31.2%)	924 (42.7%)	505 (23.3%)	16 (0.7%)	44 (2.0%)	2164
Group 2	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)	2203
Group 3	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)	5016

Examples include:

(1) Those dependent upon a negative clause

Ne mai his strenþe hit ishilde  
Pat hit nabu3þ þe lutle childe (O&N 781-2)

Y nel spare for no fere þat y ne schal þat erant bere  
& make hym come sone (Ferumbras 3465-6)

Inelle þat noman bote God · me wissi and rede  
(SEL 56/74).

## (2) Those not dependent upon a negative clause

"Leue dame, say me now,  
 Wy heþ god for-bode hyt 3ow  
 þet ze ne mote  
 Eten of al þat frut þat hys  
 Here growynde in paradys  
 To 3oure bote?" (WS 152/655-60)<sup>12</sup>

Ac by kynde hem is bireued  
 Ðat hij ne haue no tunge in her heued (KA 6590-1)

Yit sit it wel that thou eschuie  
 That thou the Court noght overhaste (CA 271/1674-5)

For þe fre lorde hade defende in fermysoun tyme  
 Ðat þer schulde no mon meue to þe male dere (GGK 1156-7).

As the above tables reveal, the adverb ne almost exclusively stands alone when the superordinate clause is negative, and this applies not only to the later ME period as proposed in previous studies but also to the early period of ME. SEL (56/74), which is cited above, is the only exception that the sample of the present study yields. Here the adverb ne is not involved at all. When the superordinate clause is not negative, on the other hand, constructions other than the adverb ne alone freely occur conversely, as the second table displays. There are only two examples of ne alone, one of which is subordinate to an interrogative clause (cited above [WS 152/655-60]). The remaining example runs as follows:

y not how þay schul a-scape þen : þat hy ne goþ to dede  
 (Ferumbras 2380).

Here the clause superordinate to the þat-clause itself is subordinate to a negative main clause and, in addition, introduced by an interrogative. Thus the two examples of the adverb ne alone are both rather exceptional. It is clear from the above tables that þat-clauses dependent upon such verbs as douten and forbeden show a strong tendency to yield the adverb ne alone when the

<sup>12</sup> This is the sole clear example in which the þat-clause is subordinate to an interrogative clause.

superordinate clause is negative and constructions other than ne alone when the superordinate clause is not negative. This is, however, a general tendency of þat-clauses as discussed above (see 3.2.5. above), and not at all confined to þat-clauses dependent upon verbs such as douten and forbeden.

### 3.2.7. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses in Chaucer's English have been proved to present ne alone most frequently (Kent 1890: 123; Baghdikian 1979: 676; Iyeiri 1989a: 10-14). Apart from Chaucer, a number of instances of ne have been attested in conditional clauses introduced by 'if' in some pre-1400 later ME prose works and in conditional clauses with the inverted word order in some post-1400 prose texts (Jack 1978c: 61 and 64). As to early ME texts, by contrast, no previous studies are available in respect of conditional clauses. The tables below show the patterning of negation in: (1) conditional clauses without if but with the inverted word order, and (2) conditional clauses introduced by if.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Orthographic variants such as yif and zif are all included.

## Conditional clauses with the inverted word order

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Conditional clauses with the inverted word order							
PM (Lamb)							
PM (Trin)							
PM (Dgb)							
O&N							
KH							
SEL	1		2				3
Totals of	1		2				3
Group 1	(33.3%)		(66.7%)				
Havelok	1						1
G&E							
WS	2						2
Ferumbras	10				1		11
KA	8						8
A&D							
Totals of	21				1		22
Group 2	(94.5%)				(5.5%)		
EMH				1	1		2
CM							
CA							
HS	1						1
GGK	1				1		2
AMA	7				1		8
DT	6			7	1		14
SMA	1						1
Totals of	16			8	4		28
Group 3	(57.1%)			(28.6%)	(14.3%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2303
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

Conditional clauses with if<sup>14</sup>

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Conditional clauses with <u>if</u>						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)	1					1
PM (Dgb)						
O&N	4					4
KH	3					3
SEL	8	4	5			17
Totals of	16	4	5			25
Group 1	(64.0%)	(16.0%)	(20.0%)			
Havelok	1					1
G&E	11	1		1		13
WS	8	4	2	5		19
Ferumbras	4		2	2	1	9
kA						
A&D				1		1
Totals of	24	5	4	9	1	43
Group 2	(55.8%)	(11.6%)	(9.3%)	(20.9%)	(2.3%)	
EMH	6			5	3	14
CM	9			4	3	16
CA					4	4
HS	13	1		40	12	66
GGk	1			3	3	7
AMA						
DT				4	4	8
SMA	1			2	3	6
Totals of	30	1		58	32	121
Group 3	(24.8%)	(0.8%)		(47.9%)	(26.4%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

Some illustrative examples are given below:

## (1) Conditional clauses with the inverted word order

Ne had he had tryacle þoo,  
Hadden hij neuer forþer goo (KA 5065-6)

Hou þencheþ zou segge ich soþ · nadde it nozt be[o] note  
(SEL 260/388)

<sup>14</sup> PM shows an example of negative conditional clauses introduced by if only in MS Trinity as the table shows (PM Trin 336). MS Lambeth terminates before it reaches the corresponding line, while MS Digby employs bute 'unless' instead of if followed by a negative clause (see PM Dgb 160).

Dere the grekes hade grymly ben gird vnto dethe,  
 Hade not Achilles ben cheualrous & choise of his dedis  
 (DT 5247-8)

Haf he neuer sli sin don (EMH 105/8).

(2) Conditional clauses with if

Heo feol on hire bedde,  
 Þer heo knif hudde,  
 To sle wiþ king loþe  
 & hure selue boþe,  
 In þat vlke niȝte,  
 If horn come ne miȝte (KH 1195-1200)

Ȝyf he ne myghte wyþ noun answeze  
 On ouþer maner hym seluen were,  
 Þe prest þat tellyþ goddys cunseyl,  
 He shal se hyt wroþer heyl (HS 3671-4)

Ac wo me ssel answeze . Ȝif þou nemiȝt noȝt aȝen come  
 (SEL 7/64)

Quoþ þat burde to þe burne, 'Blame ȝe disserue,  
 Ȝif ȝe luf not þat lyf þat ȝe lye nexte,  
 Bifore alle þe wyȝez in þe worlde wounded in hert'  
 (GGK 1779-81)

And thought "whethyr I better bee,  
 yif neuyr man it After had" (SMA 3456-7).

Conditional clauses in general present a fairly marked tendency to employ ne alone throughout the ME period as the above tables display, which however is more pronounced with conditional clauses where the verb precedes the subject. As the first table shows, even the Group 2 texts, whose overall sample provides some notable number of the adverb not, still present ne alone almost consistently (94.5%). That never, no, etc. are almost entirely avoided is also noteworthy in the light of their frequent occurrence in the whole sample. Group 3 develops some examples of not, which however are mainly attested in DT (seven of the total of eight examples). Ne alone is still common at this late stage of the development of ME negative constructions, at which not alone or never, no, etc. alone are predominant elsewhere. The situation is not clear in the case of Group 1 because of the sparseness of relevant examples, but the non-occurrence of never, no, etc. in this group at least does not

contradict the whole picture where ne alone is common in this syntactic condition.

Similarly, conditional clauses introduced by if also present a fairly marked tendency to employ ne alone at least in contrast to the overall situation displayed at the bottom of the table as a scale. The adverb not is not entirely avoided in this case, however, while the employment of never, no, etc. is more limited than the employment of not. Due to the sparseness of never, no, etc. in the present condition, the tendency for this condition to employ ne alone is clearly visible even at the stage of Group 1, where the employment of the adverb ne is common at any rate. The particularly restricted occurrence of never, no, etc. makes a striking contrast to the whole sample. Thus the tendencies of conditional clauses hitherto described are consistent throughout the ME period despite the remarks by previous studies *which are more or less confined to the later ME period*.

The tendency of conditional clauses is possibly ascribable to the same ground as in the case of interrogative clauses. Conditional clauses present a proposition not as strongly as declarative clauses do. The weak nature of the negative force involved in conditional clauses conforms to the favoured use of ne alone.

Apart from the conditional clauses discussed above, there are four examples of those introduced with but 'unless':

Bot we ne were vs wit þar kin  
 Ðat sal our kingrik fra vs win (CM 5501-2)

Was neuer man born þat cuth wirc  
 Ne yark suilk a-noþer kirc,  
Bot godd ne had him sli wisdom  
 Giuen, als he gaf salamon (CM 8855-8)

Ði doghter ne aght i neuem me,  
Bot i ne of him ne had pite (CM 9587-8)

Thow betydes tourfere or thow hyen turne,  
 Bot thow tell me tytte and tarye no lengere,  
 What may staunche this blode þat thus faste rynnes  
 (AMA 2582-4).

Since the three examples in CM all illustrate pleonastic negation,<sup>15</sup> features of conditional clauses introduced by but 'unless' per se are difficult to obtain.

### 3.2.8. Clauses with forms of witen followed by an interrogative

As discussed above in 3.1., forms of witen tend to present ne rather than ne ... not and not. Some existing studies indicate in this connection that it is particularly the case when forms of witen are followed by an interrogative. This is proved especially about Chaucer's English (Kent 1890: 113-14; Jack 1978c: 61; Iyeiri 1989a: 12), and also about some pre-1400 London documents (Jack 1978c: 61), while early ME texts and later ME texts after 1400 have not been investigated yet. The table below displays the situation of forms of witen followed by an interrogative in the sample texts of the present study:

<sup>15</sup> For a detailed discussion of pleonastic negation, see 6.1. below.

Clauses in which forms of witen are followed by an  
interrogative

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Clauses in which forms of <u>witen</u> are followed by an interrogative							
PM (Lamb)	1	1					2
PM (Trin)	2	1					3
PM (Dgb)	1	1					2
O&N	6	3					9
kH							
SEL	55	6	4				65
Totals of Group 1	65 (80.2%)	12 (15.8%)	4 (4.9%)				81
Havelok	2		1		1		4
G&E	1		2		1		4
WS	4	3					7
Ferumbras	7		1				8
KA	2	2			1		5
A&D							
Totals of Group 2	16 (57.1%)	5 (17.9%)	4 (14.3%)		3 (10.7%)		28
EMH			2	2	2		6
CM	11		1	5			17
CA	25			5	10		40
HS	6			1	8		15
GGk					1		1
AMA	1	1					2
DT							
SMA	4	1	1	1			7
Totals of Group 3	47 (53.4%)	2 (2.3%)	4 (4.5%)	14 (15.9%)	21 (23.9%)		88
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675 (31.2%)	924 (42.7%)	505 (23.3%)	16 (0.7%)	44 (2.0%)		2164
Group 2	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)		2203
Group 3	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)		5016

Some illustrative examples are:

Swo mai of pine þe not hwat is pine þe sal ilasten  
(PM Trin 148)

Hit nuste neuer hwat hit was (O&N 1441)

Lo quap on of þis deuelen · þou nost nozt wat þis is  
(SEL 98/387)

He wist noght wyder-ward he zodd (CM 1806)

I wot neuer where þou wonyes, bi hym þat me wrozt  
(GGK 399).

The situation of forms of witen not followed by an interrogative is

displayed below for the purpose of comparison:

Clauses in which forms of witen is not followed by an  
interrogative

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Clauses in which forms of <u>witen</u> is not followed by an interrogative							
PM (Lamb)	2						2
PM (Trin)	2						2
PM (Dgb)	4						4
O&N	4	2					6
KH		1					1
SLL	3	9	7	1			20
Totals of	15	12	7	1			35
Group 1	(42.9%)	(34.3%)	(20.0%)	(2.9%)			
Havelok	1	1					2
G&E		1	5		2		8
WS	4	3			1		8
Ferumbras		2			1		3
kA	3	10					13
A&D							
Totals of	8	17	5		4		34
Group 2	(23.5%)	(50.0%)	(14.7%)		(11.8%)		
EMH			1	3			4
CM	1			7	3		11
CA	5	1		4	15		25
HS	1			4	3		8
GGK					1		1
AMA	1			2	1		4
DT				7	2		9
SMA	2	1		1	1		5
Totals of	10	2	1	28	26		67
Group 3	(14.9%)	(3.0%)	(1.5%)	(41.8%)	(38.8%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

A contrastive analysis of the above two tables reveals that forms of witen followed by an interrogative display a stronger tendency to employ ne alone than those not followed by an interrogative, and this is observed not merely in late ME texts as already pointed out in existing studies but also in texts with early characteristics. Furthermore, not only is ne preferred to ne ... not and not, but also never, no, etc. are only sparingly employed in the present syntactic

context.<sup>16</sup> More than 80% of relevant examples present the adverb ne alone in Group 1, for example (see the table of 'Clauses in which forms of witen is followed by an interrogative'). Although the proportion of ne alone gradually decreases by the stages of Groups 2 and 3 simultaneously with the decline of ne itself, it is still much higher than in the overall situation. It is rather remarkable indeed that more than half the relevant examples of Group 3 still yield ne alone, while in the overall situation the use of ne alone is limited to less than 10% of the examples of the group.

### 3.2.9. Temporal clauses introduced by 'when' and concessive clauses introduced by 'though'

The present section examines two adverbial clauses: (1) temporal clauses introduced by 'when', and (2) concessive clauses introduced by 'though'. Although these two types of clauses have not been discussed in previous studies, Baghdikian (1979: 675) proposes the contention about Chaucer's Boece that ne alone is common in subordinate clauses in general. This is a relevant remark to clauses of these two types. Clauses introduced by 'when' and 'though'

<sup>16</sup> Many examples are in the inverted word order, which is a syntactic condition rather favourable for the use of not or never, no, etc. independently (see 3.2.11. below). With the exclusion of these examples, the sample shows an even stronger tendency to employ ne alone in the present syntactic context. The table below shows the situation of those with the examples in the inverted word order excluded:

Clauses in which forms of witen is followed by an interrogative (excl. the order verb-subject)

<u>ne/not</u>	<u>ne</u>		<u>ne...not</u>	<u>not</u>	<u>-</u>		Totals
<u>never, no</u>	-	+			-	+	
Group 1	63 (82.9%)	10 (13.2%)	3 (3.9%)				76
Group 2	13 (68.4%)	3 (15.8%)	2 (10.5%)			1 (5.3%)	19
Group 3	46 (60.5%)	2 (2.6%)	2 (2.6%)	11 (14.5%)		15 (19.7%)	76

occasionally provide non-assertive forms (e.g. any and ever)<sup>17</sup> as illustrated below even when the clause is in the positive:<sup>18</sup>

When thou had Any sorow stronge (SMA 2401)

Þogh men prykke hyt wyþ oght (HS 11929).

Thus some usages of these clauses can be associated with a non-assertive context where proposition is presented without reality (non-factual), although temporal clauses occasionally and concessive clauses most frequently refer to something which has already happened as well. In this sense, clauses of these types present an affinity to interrogative and conditional clauses discussed above (3.2.3. and 3.2.7. above). The table below shows the distribution of various types of negation in temporal clauses introduced by 'when':

<sup>17</sup> For a definition of non-assertive forms, see 1.4.(8) above.

<sup>18</sup> The condition 'even if the clauses are in the positive' is important, since negative clauses themselves are a non-assertive context (see 1.4.(8) above).

## Temporal clauses with 'when'

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
	-	+			+	
Temporal clauses with 'when'						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)		2				2
PM (Dgb)	1					1
O&N	1		1			2
KH						
SEL	20	15	12		1	48
Totals of	22	17	13		1	53
Group 1	(41.5%)	(32.1%)	(24.5%)		(1.9%)	
Havelok						
G&E		1				1
WS	3	3	1		1	8
Ferumbras		1			2	3
hA	1					1
A&D		1			3	4
Totals of	4	6	1		6	17
Group 2	(23.5%)	(35.3%)	(5.9%)		(35.3%)	
EMH						
CM	1			1	6	8
CA	1			3	2	6
HS	2			9	10	21
GGK					1	1
AMA						
DT						
SMA						
Totals of	4			13	20	37
Group 3	(10.8%)			(35.1%)	(54.1%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

Examples include:

Wanne þe deueles hous ne mi3te · þere a3en stonde þere  
(SEL 219/54)

Wan he with non ne may ymete : on herte him greueþ sare  
(Ferumbras 72)

Wanne manne neþ nau3t hys chaunce  
to wylle, and also þenkþ (WS 110/333-4)

Whan þe soule fro pyne may hyt nat hyde (HS 8788)

When non wolde kepe hym with carp he co3ed ful hy3e  
(GGK 307).

Relevant examples themselves are not numerous at all, but the above table suggests that the situation of this particular syntactic context

does not differ much from the overall situation. Group 1 shows a slightly larger proportion of *ne* alone (41.5%) than in the whole sample (31.2%), but this is almost entirely based upon the data from SEL. At the cost of the frequent occurrence of *ne* alone, *never*, *no*, etc. are slightly limited in Group 1, which is however most likely accidental, since the occurrence of *never*, *no*, etc. (either alone or with the adverb *ne*) is not restricted at all in Groups 2 and 3. Despite the alleged contention that subordinate clauses tend to be associated with the use of *ne* alone at least as far as Chaucer's *Boece* is concerned, it does not apply to temporal clauses introduced by 'when'. The question of what type of subordinate clauses they are is therefore of some importance, and temporal clauses introduced by 'when' are certainly different in nature from conditional clauses, for instance, where an unequivocal inclination towards the employment of *ne* alone is observed.

The situation of concessive clauses introduced by 'though' is also exhibited below:

## Concessive clauses with 'though'

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Concessive clauses with 'though'							
PM (Lamb)	2						2
PM (Trin)		1	1				2
PM (Dgb)	1		1				2
O&N	7	1	1				9
KH							
SEL	5	4	4			1	14
Totals of	15	6	7			1	29
Group 1	(51.7%)	(20.7%)	(24.1%)			(3.4%)	
Havelok							
G&E		1		1			2
WS	7	3	5	6	1		22
Ferumbras				1			1
KA	1						1
A&D							
Totals of	8	4	5	8	1		26
Group 2	(30.8%)	(15.4%)	(19.2%)	(30.8%)	(3.8%)		
EMH							
CM							
CA	2			8	11		21
HS				8	17		25
GGK				1	1		2
AMA							
DT				1			1
SMA		1		1	5		7
Totals of	2	1		19	34		56
Group 3	(3.6%)	(1.8%)		(33.9%)	(60.7%)		
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

The six examples of PM fundamentally come from two parts of the text. The following examples are cited from PM (Dgb), but the corresponding lines in PM (Lamb) and PM (Trin) also provide relevant examples:

pe3h we hi nisten ne ise3en,  
hi weren vre iueren (PM Dgb 47)

Pah ne bi here ea3en naht  
al iliche brihte:  
nabbeð hi naht iliche muchel  
alle of godes lihte (PM Dgb 180).

Some further examples are:

Dog was nogt is kinde lond  
 Richere he it leet ðan he it fond (G&E 1279-80)

Now ridez þis renk þurȝ þe ryalme of Logres,  
 Sir Gauan, on Godez halue, þaȝ hym no gomen þoȝt  
 (GGK 691-2).

The number of relevant examples is again not at all large. As far as the data available in the present study are concerned, the adverb not does not seem to be avoided at all. Group 1 shows some 25% of ne ... not, though not alone is not found in it. Moreover, the frequencies at which the adverb not occurs are larger than in the overall situation in Groups 2 and 3 as well as in Group 1. Never, no, etc. are, on the other hand, rarer in concessive clauses introduced by 'though' as far as Groups 1 and 2 are concerned, which however is most likely accidental. In view of the frequent attestation of never, no, etc. alone in Group 3, frequent occurrence of ne plus never, no, etc. may be expected from Groups 1 and 2, although the situation of Group 3 displayed in the above table is for the most part dependent upon the data from CA and HS.

All in all, adverbial clauses introduced by 'when' or 'though' do not reveal a particularly strong tendency to employ ne alone, even though they are both subordinate clauses.

### 3.2.10. Imperative clauses

In contrast to the conditions thus far discussed, some syntactic circumstances seem to be associated with the use of ne ... not and not rather than ne. The later the period the less distinctive these conditions are, since the adverb not itself comes to be more and more common in later ME. This is perhaps why these conditions are more often discussed in relation to early ME, where the distinction can rather clearly be made. Imperative clauses are one of these syntactic conditions. As for early ME prose, Jack (1978a: 303-4)

remarks that ne ... not is much preferred to ne in imperative clauses, whereas no significant survey has been made in previous studies about later ME except about Chaucer's English, where ne ... not and not are preferred to ne in imperative clauses as in early ME according to Kent (1890: 120). As far as the sample of the present study is concerned, the table below displays the consistent nature of the present condition all through the ME period:

Imperative clauses<sup>19</sup>

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Imperative clauses						
PM (Lamb)	1					1
PM (Trin)	1					1
PM (Dgb)						
O&N		1				1
kH	1					1
SEL	1	20	28	3	2	54
Totals of	4	21	28	3	2	58
Group 1	(6.9%)	(36.2%)	(48.3%)	(5.2%)	(3.4%)	
Havelok			1	4	1	6
G&E	3	2	3	6	1	15
WS	2	3	5	10	6	26
Ferumbras		10	5	8	7	30
kA		8	5	4	5	22
A&D				2		2
Totals of	5	23	19	34	20	101
Group 2	(5.0%)	(22.8%)	(18.8%)	(33.7%)	(19.8%)	
EMH				3		3
CM		3	3	15	16	37
CA	1		3	9	12	25
HS	1	5	11	64	39	120
GGK				2	7	9
AMA		1		17	15	33
DT			4	10	22	36
SMA		1		1	6	8
Totals of	2	10	21	121	117	271
Group 3	(0.7%)	(3.7%)	(7.7%)	(44.6%)	(43.2%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

<sup>19</sup> The two examples in PM are from mutually corresponding lines (PM Lamb 29, PM Trin 29).

Some illustrative examples are:

ffor me þu ne wonde (KH 736)

Honure oure godes sede þe duk · ne spek of him namore  
(SEL 55/41)

Quoth Ubbe, 'Louerd, ne dred þe nowth!' (Havelok 2169)

Lat thou noht this child miscarye (EMH 112/21)

Part neuer fro þat pepull, ne the prise leue (DT 4505).

Some texts provide only a couple of relevant examples. Moreover, the data of Group 1 are almost entirely based on SEL. The sample largely shows, however, a tendency not to employ ne alone. By contrast, negative constructions other than ne alone are freely used. Especially the adverb not is much more extensively used in imperative clauses than in the overall situation, and this is the case throughout the ME period. Both Groups 1 and 2 present about twice as large a proportion for the employment of not as in the whole sample according to the above table. The distinction between imperative clauses and the overall situation comes to be minimized to a certain extent by the stage of Group 3, which has developed an extended use of the adverb not. Group 3 still shows an even more extended use of ne ... not (7.7%) and not (44.6%) than in the whole sample (the corresponding proportions are 2.2% and 32.7% respectively). The employment of never, no, etc., however, is not restricted at all whether or not they are accompanied by the adverb ne. They are freely employed at least to the extent that they occur in the whole sample.

Thus the tendency for imperative clauses to present a construction other than ne alone is consistent throughout the ME period, and not confined to early ME texts where ne is common elsewhere. Imperative clauses refer to a commandment or order. Especially when they are negative, the proposition involved tends to be expressed with an emphatic vehemence, since they present a

proposition which is virtually equal to prohibition. This is possibly why negative constructions take an emphatic form other than ne alone.

### 3.2.11. Optative clauses

Optative clauses are another condition where ne seems to be rather infrequent according to previous studies. Ne ... not is preferred to ne in early ME prose according to Jack (1978a: 301-2), though he notices the tendency especially in those optative clauses where the verb precedes the subject. As for later ME, however, Kent (1890: 128) supplies some examples of ne alone as well as those of ne followed by never, no, etc. in optative clauses. On the whole, the later ME patterning of negation in this syntactic condition has not been made clear so far. The situation of the sample texts of the present study is given below:

## Optative clauses

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
	-	+			+	
Optative clauses						
PM (Lamb)						
PM (Trin)						
PM (Dgb)						
O&N						
KH		1				1
SEL		2				2
Totals of Group 1		3 (100.0%)				3
Havelok						
G&E				1		1
WS			1			1
Ferumbras		1	2			3
KA	1	1				2
A&D		1				1
Totals of Group 2	1 (12.5%)	3 (37.5%)	3 (37.5%)	1 (12.5%)		8
EMH				1	1	2
CM					1	1
CA						
HS			1	2		3
GGK					1	1
AMA					1	1
DT				1	2	3
SMA						
Totals of Group 3			1 (9.1%)	4 (36.4%)	6 (54.5%)	11
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675 (31.2%)	924 (42.7%)	505 (23.3%)	16 (0.7%)	44 (2.0%)	2164
Group 2	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)	2203
Group 3	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)	5016

Some illustrative examples are:

Ne be it 3ou for my broþer looþ (KA 7594)

By twene hem þan þay sede stille : "ne come he neuere  
a3en!" (Ferumbras 322)

Ne be we nat slogh but sone vpryse (HS 5319)

Mak we us better noht than we er (EMH 50/11)<sup>20</sup>

'Criste comforthe 3one knyghte and kepe hym fro sorowe,  
And latte neuer 3one fend fell hym o lyfe!  
(AMA 1138-9)

Since the occurrence of relevant examples is not at all common in the sample of the present study, it is perhaps unwise to pay too much

attention to the percentages displayed in the above table. If an example of an optative clause occurs, however, it certainly tends to include never, no, etc. or the adverb not, and this is the case throughout the ME period. The employment of ne alone is confined only to a single example, which is quoted above (KA 7594). As Jack (1978a: 308) points out, imperative clauses and optative clauses show a close affinity in meaning, and this is perhaps why they share a common feature of negative constructions.<sup>21</sup> Negative optative clauses, which convey a negative wish, can indeed convey a fairly strong negative force as negative imperative clauses do.

### 3.2.12. Declarative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject

As for early ME prose, Jack (1978a: 301-3) maintains that ne ... not outnumbered ne in declarative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject. This condition has never been discussed in relation to later ME in general or early ME verse. The table below displays the patterning of negation in this syntactic condition in the sample of the present study;<sup>22</sup>

<sup>20</sup> As stated above at 1.4.(6), it is occasionally difficult to tell optative clauses from imperative clauses, and I have classified those with the subject or the understood subject in the second person as imperative clauses and the rest as optative clauses. As the present example illustrates, however, clauses with the subject in the first person plural are occasionally jussive and very similar in meaning to imperative clauses. The classification does not matter too much, however, at least for the purpose of the linguistic analysis of the present study, since imperative and optative clauses present similar features in respect of negative constructions that they employ.

<sup>21</sup> See also 1.4.(6) above.

<sup>22</sup> Existential clauses are consistently excluded from the data given in the table, since the finite verb most typically precedes the subject in them, especially when they are introduced by þer 'there'. Incidentally, the exclusion of existential clauses is also beneficial for the purpose of the analysis of the present condition, for they have a marked tendency to employ never, no, etc. as discussed below (see 3.2.15.). In fact, the tendency is so strong that it would hinder the analysis of the declarative clauses with the inverted word order if existential clauses were to be included.

## Declarative clauses with the inverted word order

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Declarative clauses with the inverted word order						
PM (Lamb)	12	18	2			32
PM (Trin)	13	23	4		1	41
PM (Dgb)	14	25	6			45
O&N	17	37	10			64
KH	15	19	7			41
SEL	29	88	69	1		187
Totals of	100	210	98	1	1	410
Group 1	(24.4%)	(51.2%)	(23.9%)	(0.2%)	(0.2%)	
Havelok	7	22	6	16	31	82
G&E	16	7	13	18	31	85
WS	20	20	30	14	5	89
Ferumbras	19	65	29	15	24	152
KA	56	46	9	3	20	134
A&D		3		6	22	31
Totals of	118	163	87	72	133	573
Group 2	(20.6%)	(28.4%)	(15.2%)	(12.6%)	(23.2%)	
EMH		3	3	30	34	70
CM	6	18	7	70	141	242
CA	3	3	3	35	95	139
HS	15	7	4	41	108	175
GGk	3		1	6	30	40
AMA		1		2	77	80
DT				15	35	50
SMA	2	3	2	17	57	81
Totals of	29	35	20	216	577	877
Group 3	(3.3%)	(4.0%)	(2.3%)	(24.6%)	(65.8%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

Some examples illustrating this condition are:

Ne shaltu, for Engelonde,  
At þisse worde me atstonde (O&N 749-50)

Of knith ne hauede he neuere drede (Havelok 90)

Of hise endinge ne wot ic nogt (G&E 487)

And saide--"abid & torn to me, Ferþer-more schalt þou nozt  
fle  
her ri3t schalt þov dye"  
(Ferumbras 3673-4)

Bot resun yett, al herd zee noght,  
Quare of mans saul was wroght (CM 553-4).

Declarative clauses with the order verb-subject are profusely met

with in ME verse. Almost one out of five examples fall under this category as far as the present study is concerned. Thus the picture of this condition makes a large contribution to the picture of the whole sample, and in other words the deviation of this syntactic condition from the overall situation, if it exists, appears smaller than it in fact is. Still the chi-square test suggests that there is a clear distinction in the usage of negation between declarative clauses with the inverted word order than the whole sample at least as far as Groups 1 and 3 are concerned. The value given by the test for Group 2 (9.29) is below the critical value at the five percent level (9.49), but the difference between the two values is not large.<sup>23</sup> Since a large proportion of the overall sample in fact includes examples of the present syntactic condition, I have also applied the chi-square test to the following tables which compare and contrast the situation of declarative clauses in which the verb precedes the subject and the situation of all the other examples:

- (1) Declarative clauses with the inverted word order (Dec.V-S)  
vs. examples which do not belong to this category (Group 1)

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Dec.V-S	100	210	98	1	1	410
(Group 1)	(24.4%)	(51.2%)	(23.9%)	(0.2%)	(0.2%)	
Others	575	714	407	15	43	1754
	(32.8%)	(40.7%)	(23.2%)	(0.9%)	(2.5%)	

- (2) Declarative clauses with the inverted word order (Dec.V-S)  
vs. examples which do not belong to this category (Group 2)

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Dec.V-S	118	163	87	72	133	573
(Group 2)	(20.6%)	(28.4%)	(15.2%)	(12.6%)	(23.2%)	
Others	448	492	208	181	301	1630
	(27.5%)	(30.2%)	(12.8%)	(11.1%)	(18.5%)	

<sup>23</sup> For some details of the chi-square test, see note 10 of this chapter.

(3) Declarative clauses with the inverted word order (Dec.V-S)  
vs. examples which do not belong to this category (Group 3)

ne/not  never,no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			+		
Dec.V-S	29	35	20	216	577	877	
(Group 3)	(3.3%)	(4.0%)	(2.3%)	(24.6%)	(65.8%)		
Others	395	102	92	1423	2127	4139	
	(9.5%)	(2.5%)	(2.2%)	(34.4%)	(51.4%)		

The chi-square test then indicates that declarative clauses with the inverted word order present a marked difference from the other examples in Groups 1, 2, and 3.

The most significant point involved is the less common occurrence of *ne* alone in the present syntactic condition. Conversely, the proportions of *never*, *no*, etc. tend to be larger in declarative clauses with the inverted word order. In Group 1, for example, *ne* followed by *never*, *no*, etc. is found in 51.2% of the examples of this condition, while the corresponding proportion of the whole sample is 42.7%, and the corresponding proportion in the examples which do not belong to the present condition is 40.7%. To turn to Group 2, *never*, *no*, etc. alone present a notably larger proportion in declarative clauses of the present type, although the use of *ne* plus *never*, *no*, etc. is not particularly extensive. Similarly in Group 3, *never*, *no*, etc. are much more common in the present syntactic circumstance than elsewhere.

Due to the extensive use of *never*, *no*, etc. in the present condition, the adverb *not* does not appear markedly common as far as the main table is concerned. It is noteworthy, however, that the relative proportion of *ne* ... *not* to *ne* alone is larger here than in the whole sample in Group 1 (*ne* alone : *ne* ... *not* in the existential clauses of Group 1 = 100 : 98; *ne* alone : *ne* ... *not* in the whole sample of Group 1 = 675 : 505). Likewise, the relative proportions of *ne* ... *not* and *not* as against *ne* alone are larger than in the whole sample in Groups 2 and 3 as well. The fairly limited occurrence of *ne* alone in this condition is, therefore, consistent all through the ME

period, and not confined to the early ME period.

### 3.2.13. Clauses in which the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction ne

About later ME prose where not is frequently attested as well as ne ... not, Jack (1978c: 61) maintains that ne ... not and not are simple alternatives on the whole, but he points out that not is preferred to ne ... not when the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction ne (61-2 and 65). It is most reasonable that the present condition, which is especially linked with not as opposed to ne and ne ... not, is discussed only in relation to later ME where not commonly occurs. The situation of early texts is nonetheless interesting, as the table below shows:

Clauses in which the finite verb directly follows the  
conjunction ne

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
	-	+			+	
Clauses in which the finite verb directly follows the conjunction <u>ne</u>						
PM (Lamb)	3					3
PM (Trin)	2					2
PM (Dgb)	2					2
O&N						
KH						
SEL				6	6	12
Totals of Group 1	7 (36.8%)			6 (31.6%)	6 (31.6%)	19
Havelok						
G&E				2		2
WS				2	1	3
Ferumbras						
KA	1			1		2
A&D				1		1
Totals of Group 2	1 (12.5%)			6 (75.0%)	1 (12.5%)	8
EMH						
CM					4	4
CA			1		1	2
HS				5	9	14
GGK					2	2
AMA				3	2	5
DT				7	7	14
SMA						
Totals of Group 3			1 (2.4%)	15 (36.6%)	25 (61.0%)	41
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675 (31.2%)	924 (42.7%)	505 (23.3%)	16 (0.7%)	44 (2.0%)	2164
Group 2	566 (25.7%)	655 (29.7%)	295 (13.4%)	253 (11.5%)	434 (19.7%)	2203
Group 3	424 (8.5%)	137 (2.7%)	112 (2.2%)	1639 (32.7%)	2704 (53.9%)	5016

Since relevant examples are extremely limited, the data given above should be handled carefully. Especially, examples which include the adverb ne are limited only to nine examples, of which four examples are duplicated ones from different manuscripts of PM. PM (Lamb 165) corresponds to PM (Trin 167, Dgb 80), while PM (Lamb 262) corresponds to PM (Trin 266, Dgb 128). The following is the complete list of examples which include the adverb ne (duplicated examples are not cited):

þach we nusten ne ni seþen. ho weren ure ifere  
(PM Lamb 102)<sup>24</sup>

for him ne scameþ ne ne gromeð þe sculen bon iborþen  
(PM Lamb 165)

Ne nalde iheren godes sonde. þenne he hit herde bode  
(PM Lamb 262)

Ne sauþe he neuere so fair atoure,  
Ne ne smelled so swete odoure (KA 6824-5)

Mi fader, as touchinge of al  
I may noght wel ne noght ne schal  
Of veine gloire excuse me (CA 110/2721-3)

Some illustrative examples which do not provide the adverb ne are also given below:

Here doghtyr was nat al reddy  
Ne com nat at here ferst cry (HS 1263-4)

He spake neuer dispitously, ne spiset no man (DT 3889).

Despite the extremely limited evidence as mentioned above, the nature of the present syntactic circumstance is rather straightforward and consistent. The adverb ne is almost regularly avoided in this condition except in some particular texts. Apparently, the consecutive use of the conjunction ne and the adverb ne, which results in ne ne, was not favoured. The sole example of ne ... not in the condition, which is cited above (CA 110/2722-3), even shows the reversed order of the adverbs ne and not so that the repetition of ne may be avoided. As the examples in PM (Lamb, Trin, Dgb) indicate, however, the texts in which the adverb ne is almost always employed as a marker of negation, and in which the use of not alone

<sup>24</sup> This does not have a corresponding example of the same usage in MS Trinity or in MS Digby. The line in MS Trinity, which runs as follows, is rather corrupt:

þeih we hes ne niseien hie waren ure iferen (PM Trin 102).

Ne in the above line cannot be interpreted as the conjunction ne syntactically by any means, although it may have arisen from the conjunction ne in the original text. The example is not counted here. The line is discussed at note 15 in 2.2. above.

or of never, no, etc. alone has not developed to any noticeable degree, may be rather exceptional. That most examples which include the adverb ne are attested in PM is not therefore accidental. The following example in PM (Dgb), however, does not resort to the supposedly unfavourable use of ne ne. Here the negation of the second clause is represented only by the negative conjunction ne:

þe3h we hi nisten ne ise3en,  
hi weren vre iueren (PM Dgb 47).

The construction of this type is indeed observed even in later ME where not or never, no, etc. could have been inserted in addition without any difficulty. A possible explanation is that negative proposition need not be expressed in a strong form when the second negative clause follows the structure of the first clause that has already been marked by a negative element. In other words, the tendency for this syntactic condition to employ never, no, etc. alone or not alone is not attributable to any strong nature of the negative proposition. Negative clauses in which the finite verb immediately follows the conjunctions ne and in which no further negative element are used are found in: PM (Dgb) (1x, the above example), KH (1x), SEL (1x), G&E (4x), WS (3x), KA (1x), EMH (1x), CM (1x), HS (23x), GGK (1x), DT (11x), and SMA (1x). In the above example from PM (Dgb), the two finite verbs involved share the same conjunction þe3h. Many of the examples are in fact found in the context in which two finite verbs connected by ne are dominated by a single conjunction such as 'though', 'if', and 'that'. Some more examples are given below:

3ef ine come ne sende,  
Tak þe husebonde,  
ffor me þu ne wonde (KH 734-6)

Lok þat þou ne reue ne stele,  
Ne ber þou witnes nan bot lele (CM 6477-8).

### 3.2.14. Figurative negation

Figurative negation as illustrated below is well attested in ME. Here nouns such as ston 'stone' and leke 'leek' are used figuratively rather than literally to indicate a trivial thing. According to Hein (1883: 425), figurative negation starts to abound around 1250 and is in the widest use around 1400.

Þat nis wurþ one of hire heare (O&N 1550)

Byleueþ zoure false godes · for hy nabbeþ poer non  
Enes to meuy of þe stude · namore þanne a ston  
(SEL 22/103-4)

Of hem ne yeue Ich nouth a slo! (Havelok 2052)

Thi vayage es noht worthe a leke (EMH 54/10)

þay moʒe no more do þan a ston . . . (Ferumbras 757).

Whatever the origin of this type of expression may be,<sup>25</sup> it is relevant for the purpose of the present study that it conveys negation in an emphatic form as Mittermann (1973: 193) and Blake (1988: 95) maintain. Whether the emphatic nature of this type of expression is related to the patterning of negation is the question in the present section. The situation of the sample of the present study is given below:

<sup>25</sup> For a discussion about the origin of figurative negation, see Mittermann (1973: 193-4). As mentioned above in 1.2., it is outside the purview of the present study to investigate the nature of figurative negation.

## Figurative negation

ne/not never, no	ne		ne...not	not	-		Totals
	-	+			-	+	
Figurative negation							
PM (Lamb)							
PM (Trin)							
PM (Dgb)							
O&N	2						2
KH							
SEL	4	1	9				14
Totals of	6	1	9				16
Group 1	(37.5%)	(6.3%)	(56.3%)				
Havelok	1		2	3			6
G&E							
WS							
Ferumbras	2		3	5	2		12
KA	3						3
A&D							
Totals of	6		5	8	2		21
Group 2	(28.6%)		(23.8%)	(38.1%)	(9.5%)		
EMH				1			1
CM							
CA	1			4			5
HS				1			1
GGK				1			1
AMA							
DT							
SMA							
Totals of	1			7			8
Group 3	(12.5%)			(87.5%)			
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3							
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44		2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)		
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434		2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)		
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704		5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)		

As far as the above table is concerned, ne ... not and not are indeed employed more commonly than in the whole sample of clausal negation. It is a striking feature, for example, that more than half the relevant examples in Group 1 (56.3%) present the adverb not in the light of the relatively infrequent occurrence of the adverb not in the overall sample of the group. Similarly, ne ... not and/or not are common in Groups 2 and 3 as well. The emphatic nature of this type of expression therefore conforms to the patterning of negation.

It is, however, rather unusual that a condition which favours the use of ne ... not and not rather than ne tends not to include never, no, etc. even when the adverb not is not involved. The employment

of never, no, etc., both with and without the adverb ne, are most limited in the present syntactic condition as the table above reveals. Figurative negation tends to be found in some rather established constructions with worthe 'worth' or with some specific verbs such as *recche* 'care' (Kent 1890: 134-5; Iyeiri 1989a: 79-81). They are perhaps simply fixed in the way they do not involve never, no, etc.

There are some other forms of expression which convey emphasis, but literally and not figuratively.<sup>26</sup> In these constructions, never, no, etc. are frequently employed:

A uot nemi3t he uer gon · þe deciples anon forþ wende  
(SEL 333/177)

O fote nolde nouthur fle ne founde  
frome loughe none tulle late nyght (SMA 1593-4)

And sge ne bi-swac him neuere a del (G&E 1444)

Bot thei of the suggestioun  
Ne couthen noght a word refuse (CA 63/1014-15)

He durste noghte stire a steppe, bot stodde for hym seluen  
Till thre stalis ware stroyede þe strenghe of hym one!  
(AMA 4133-4)

Cryst loue y neuer adeyl,  
Ne noun þat on hym byleueþ weyl (HS 12559-60).

I have collected some 60 examples of this type, of which more than 30 include never, no, etc. The rest of the examples illustrate ne ... not or not, except that SEL and SMA provide fifteen and one examples of ne alone respectively.<sup>27</sup> The connection between the emphatic nature of negation and the common employment of not or never, no, etc. is undeniable as these expressions illustrate.

<sup>26</sup> Jespersen (1924: 336) maintains that these are also forms of expression to convey emphasis.

<sup>27</sup> Although the occurrence of fifteen examples of ne in SEL may sound notably frequent, most of them illustrate the ne ... a uot 'not a foot' type. This may be a peculiar feature of this phrase in SEL.

## 3.2.15. Existential clauses

Existential clauses illustrate a clear case in which never, no, etc. are frequently employed. I have pointed out with reference to Chaucer's Canterbury Tales that the construction in which the adverb ne is accompanied by never, no, etc. is common in them (Iyeiri 1989a: 22-3). A similar point has been raised about Chaucer's Boece and Mirk's Festial by Jack (1978c: 62 and 65). The table below shows the distribution of various negative forms in existential clauses in the samples:

Existential clauses

ne/not	ne		ne...not	not	-	Totals
never, no	-	+			+	
Existential clauses						
PM (Lamb)		4				4
PM (Trin)	4	6				10
PM (Dgb)	1	7				8
O&N	3	10				13
kH	1	9				10
SEL	9	74				83
Totals of	18	110				128
Group 1	(14.1%)	(85.9%)				
Havelok	2	7	1		19	29
G&E	1	2			5	8
kS	9	33	2		1	45
Ferumbras	11	17	1		22	51
kA	18	30			9	57
A&D		2			2	4
Totals of	41	91	4		58	194
Group 2	(21.1%)	(46.9%)	(2.1%)		(29.9%)	
EMH	3	1			7	11
CM		1		1	83	85
CA	2	1		1	74	78
HS	4	2		3	29	38
GGK					3	3
AMA	2				18	20
DT				2	31	33
SMA	2	2			35	39
Totals of	13	7		7	280	307
Group 3	(4.2%)	(2.3%)		(2.3%)	(91.2%)	
Cf. The whole sample of Groups 1, 2, and 3						
Group 1	675	924	505	16	44	2164
	(31.2%)	(42.7%)	(23.3%)	(0.7%)	(2.0%)	
Group 2	566	655	295	253	434	2203
	(25.7%)	(29.7%)	(13.4%)	(11.5%)	(19.7%)	
Group 3	424	137	112	1639	2704	5016
	(8.5%)	(2.7%)	(2.2%)	(32.7%)	(53.9%)	

Some examples illustrating existential clauses are:

For nis a worlde þing so god (O&N 1363)

For þar nas of ham no partye (WS 158/850)

"Sir duk," quap Rolond, "what eyleþ þe : þer ne buþ no3t  
xxx<sup>ti</sup> þare"  
(Ferumbras 1560)

O corn es þar noght an þat yeilds (CM 4720)

There is no worship in weping, ne in wan teres (DT 3602).

The table above reveals that the essential point involved here is the distinctively frequent employment of never, no, etc. throughout the ME period, usually occurring side by side with the adverb ne in early texts where the adverb ne is well retained, and on their own in later ones where the adverb ne has undergone a sharp decline. In other words, ne accompanied by never, no, etc. predominantly occurs in the Group 1 texts while never, no, etc. alone come to be more and more frequent by the time of the Group 3 texts. The texts of Group 2 show an intermediate situation in this respect.

Another point to be noted about the present syntactic condition is that the employment of not is particularly avoided. Since never, no, etc. hardly occur together with the adverb not, it is reasonable for existential clauses which most frequently involve never, no, etc. to avoid the use of the adverb not. There are still some examples which include the adverb ne but not never, no, etc. (i.e. ne alone) in Group 1. The number of these examples decreases by the stage of Group 3, but the adverb not does not become extended in place of ne alone. A possible explanation is that ne alone directly shifts to never, no, etc. alone rather than ne ... not and not, once the employment of never, no, etc. alone in the present syntactic condition is well established. Thus existential clauses tend to present never, no, etc. on one hand, while they tend not to present the adverb not on the other hand. The tendency is consistent during the whole

period of ME and especially outstanding in late ME, where ne ... not and not are common elsewhere.<sup>28</sup> One of the reasons why never, no, etc. are common in existential clauses is that the employment of no(n) before the noun involved in existential clauses is almost established, although as the table shows, it is not obligatory.<sup>29</sup>

### 3.2.16. General remarks

From the above discussion, the following conclusions may be drawn. Clauses with never, no, etc. rarely supply the adverb not, while never, no, etc. freely occur together with the adverb ne. This seems to be a feature which overrides all the other syntactic conditions discussed above. Since not itself is in origin an element to strengthen the negative force, clauses with never, no, etc. need not employ not in addition.

Outside this fairly prevailing rule, the strength of the negative proposition should be considered. Negative imperative clauses, which is almost equivalent to a prohibition, commonly present ne ... not and not as opposed to ne throughout the ME period. Never, no, etc. are

<sup>28</sup> The point is noted by myself at least about Chaucer's Canterbury Tales. Never, no, etc. are common in existential clauses, but if they are not involved, ne alone rather than ne ... not or not is predominant even in this late text (Iyeiri 1989a: 14).

<sup>29</sup> Apart from existential clauses, the use of no(n) is almost established before nouns with such meanings as 'wonder', 'need', 'help', and 'doubt' as well. Examples include:

Bot þa3 þe ende be heuy haf 3e no wonder (GGK 496)

"There-of no wondir thinkith me" (SMA 635)

"Ne drede 3e no3t, myn leue frende : 3e ne schulleþ haue  
no nede" (Ferumbras 3320)

Of oþur hous þan her arne · haue we no nede (A&D 62)

Bot for al that yit dar I say,  
I finde unto miself no bote (CA 185/2050-1)

Agayne þe wyles of wemen to wer is no bote (DT 448)

He prechede hom of Godes sone · he ne bileuede for no  
doute (SEL 166/68).

also commonly employed in them. Optative clauses frequently provide negative constructions other than ne alone for the same reason. Clauses with figurative negation, which is a way to convey proposition emphatically, also present ne ... not and not commonly, although never, no, etc. are rather reluctantly used in them. Never, no, etc. are freely employed, however, in expressions such as negation plus a word and negation plus a del, which are also emphatic but literal rather than figurative. The use of the adverb not is also *common in this case*.

When the negative force is relatively weak, on the other hand, the adverb ne tends to be the sole negative element in the clause. Not only the adverb not but also never, no, etc. are rather reluctantly employed in this case. Conditional clauses illustrate a clear case of this, where negative proposition is not factual. They do simply provide a possible condition, and ne alone is common here throughout the ME period. Negative interrogative clauses, which enquire whether a negative proposition is true or not, are another example, where ne alone is favoured, though ne ... not also occurs at least *more commonly than in conditional clauses*. *Clauses in which* the combination of ne and but yields the meaning 'only' also illustrate the case. Ne does not convey a negative force, but it functions only in combination with but in a rather fixed form. Thus negative connotation itself does not have to be presented emphatically. Chronologically, the adverb ne falls into disuse once the meaning 'only' is transferred to but itself. Furthermore, it has been proposed that subordinate clauses should tend to present ne alone. Theoretically, this is most likely to be the case, since subordinate clauses tend to be associated with subjunctive forms of verbs in many European languages, at least more than declarative clauses, and therefore rather remote in nature from declaration. In practice, however, it seems to be the type of subordinate clauses

that matters at least as far as the data of the present study are concerned. Conditional clauses tend to provide ne alone, as has been pointed out. Temporal clauses introduced by 'when' and concessive clauses introduced by 'though', by contrast, present a much weaker tendency to show ne alone despite the fact that they occasionally refer to something which has never happened. The situation of subordinate clauses introduced by pat differs depending upon the nature of their superordinate clauses. When the superordinate clause is negative, pat-clauses tend to yield the adverb ne alone whereas they tend to show not or never, no, etc., with or without the adverb ne, when their superordinate clauses are positive. This general rule most frequently applies to pat-clauses subordinate to some specific verbs with negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid'. Inclinations are rather unclear, however, in the case of pat-clauses dependent upon an interrogative clause. Most of the examples available in the present study have turned out to be rhetorical questions, which are theoretically similar in nature to negative clauses, since the presumption involved in them tends to be negative if the rhetorical question does not include negation. The employment of never, no, etc. is, however, common in pat-clauses dependent upon them, which may be attributable to the emphatic nature of rhetorical questions.

In some cases, certain constructions seem to be rather fixed. One of the cases is illustrated by the collocation in which the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction ne. The combination of the conjunction ne and the adverb ne, which results in ne ne, is simply avoided. Thus constructions which do not include the adverb ne are usually used in the present syntactic condition. Not only the adverb not alone but also never, no, etc. alone are, therefore, common here. This is, however, irrelevant to any strength of negative proposition. Secondly, clauses in which the combination of ne and but yields the

meaning 'only' should be classified here as well. It is almost in a fixed form. Furthermore, figurative negation, which tends not to include never, no, etc. may also fall under this category. Finally, the employment of no(n) before the noun involved in existential clauses is rather fixed, although there are a notable number of exceptions, where the adverb ne stands alone.

Apart from these conditions, declarative clauses with the order verb-subject tend to present constructions other than ne alone, and in particular never, no, etc. are commonly employed. Conversely, forms of witen tend to present ne alone especially when they are followed by an interrogative.

The significant point about these syntactic conditions is the fact that these features are consistent throughout the ME period, although, in some texts of some periods, they are shadowed by the overall situation of negative constructions and have been difficult to envisage in analysis.

## C H A P T E R IV

## Negative Contraction

## 4.1. Chronological and geographical distribution of negative contraction

## 4.1.1. Preliminary remarks

As the examples below illustrate, the negative adverb ne is occasionally agglutinated to the following finite verb when it is a form of be, will, have, or witen, and begins with a vowel or, h or w followed by a vowel:

Nis so hei prince in þe lond · þat þe nolde bicomē  
(SEL 54/18)

Ha nolde nauȝt he were a-slawe,  
Ne forþe y-iuged by þe lawe  
    To by stend wyþ stone (WS 118/100-2)

Nade he sayned hymself, segge, bot þrye,  
Er he watz war in þe wod of a won in a mote,  
Abof a launde, on a lawe, loken vnder boȝez  
Of mony borelych bole aboute bi þe diches (GGK 763-6)

swo mai of pine, þet not, wat is  
pine, þet eure mo sel leste (PM Dgb 70).

The present study deals specifically with the combination of the negative adverb ne and relevant forms of be, will, have, and witen, but it is worth mentioning that a similar phenomenon occurs arbitrarily with the combination of the adverb ne and the finite verb of other types if it starts with a vowel, as illustrated below:

Nassaileþ none of alle þise osten (KA 2139)

Ne sholde he, uor boþe his eȝe,  
So don, ȝif he þe bet niseȝe (O&N 381-2).

The phenomenon is not regular, however. KA, which provides examples of contraction of this type, also presents uncontracted

forms as follows:

No beest ne abytt his fi3tтыng (KA 6531).

It is also noteworthy that even the conjunction ne presents a similar phenomenon as the following examples illustrate, although the phenomenon is observed only occasionally:

Character, þet is prente ycliped,  
 Nys non of eliinge,  
 Ne furþ of penaunce ne þe mo,  
Nof housel, nof spousynge,  
 In þede (WS 43/1205-9)

Gret perile bitwene hem stod,  
Nif Maré of hir kny3t mynne (GGK 1768-9).

Negative contraction is observed from the OE period onwards. How frequently the phenomenon occurs, however, is dependent upon dialectal areas according to Levin (1958: 493-8). He examines some early OE texts and states that 'in West Saxon the usage almost entirely favors contraction, whereas in Anglian uncontracted forms are freely employed' (495). He identifies: 306 contracted forms as against nine uncontracted forms in selected West Saxon texts, 127 contracted forms as opposed to 56 uncontracted forms in selected Mercian texts, and 66 contracted forms versus 43 uncontracted forms in selected Northumbrian texts. Levin further explores the later OE usage of negative contraction and concludes that the same dialectal distinction is still to be observed (495-8). With respect to stylistic aspects of negative contraction, a recent perusal of the phenomenon by Blockley (1988: 447-9) concludes that verse texts tend to present a mixture of contracted and uncontracted forms whereas prose texts are inclined to provide either contracted forms exclusively or uncontracted forms alone in OE.

To turn to the ME period, however, the stylistic distinction as observed by Blockley does not appear to be retained according to Levin (1958: 499-500), although Forsström (1948: 228) maintains that

contracted forms were still used as 'convenient variants to meet the exigencies of the metre' in verse.<sup>1</sup> As regards the dialectal differences discussed above, on the other hand, ME inherits the characteristics found in OE to some noticeable extent. Negative contraction is a phenomenon much more commonly attested in the South and in the West Midlands than in the North and in the East Midlands (Forsström 1948: 228; Levin 1958: 498-500; Mustanoja 1960: 339). Kentish is considered to be in accordance with the East Midland and the Northern dialects as far as the usage of negative contraction is concerned (Levin 1958: 498, n. 22). One striking feature in comparison to OE is the fact that in Northern texts of late ME, contracted forms are virtually non-existent (Levin 1958: 499-500; Forsström 1948: 228). The general tendency of negative contraction, in fact, is to decline by the later period of ME (Forsström 1948: 228; Mustanoja 1960: 339), perhaps more or less in parallel with the recession of the adverb *ne* itself. Negative contraction was still preserved, however, in some areas of England in later ME. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, for example, present a fairly substantial proportion (about 80%) of contracted forms side by side with uncontracted ones (Iyeiri 1989a: 30).

Negative contraction is one of the features systematically investigated in relation to southerly parts of England by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986). Their analysis, which is based upon a large selection of texts, reveals that this is a phenomenon widely attested in southerly parts of England, perhaps with the western centre of Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire on the one hand and with the eastern centre of Essex on the other, although the phenomenon is sporadically witnessed in some further north areas as well (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, I: 532-3).

<sup>1</sup> The remarks by Forsström are based upon his analysis of forms of be, and not of forms of will, have, or witen.

The geographical range of the phenomenon, however, seems to differ depending on the item in question. Nis/nys, for instance, widely spreads over 24 counties, whereas nam is identified only in the central five counties listed above. Negative contraction of present-tense forms of will is found in 25 counties, while that of preterite-tense forms of will appears merely in six counties (Bedfordshire, Dorset, Essex, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Suffolk), excluding even the apparent western centre: Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, IV: 218-19).

Since this is the most up-to-date *and detailed account* of negative contraction so far available, I would like to use McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) as the principal foundation of my discussion below. The material investigated by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) is chiefly from the period 1350-1450, and their results do not normally provide direct information about usage in early ME. However, if it is established that negative contraction was found in a particular area in the period 1350-1450, it is reasonable to assume that it was also present in the same area before 1350, and the results presented by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin therefore provide a valuable source of comparison for the early ME period as well as for later ME. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the non-attestation of negative contraction between 1350 and 1450 need not imply that the phenomenon was absent at an earlier period.

#### 4.1.2. Accounts of each text examined

In the following discussion, texts are examined in the approximate order of chronology. The state of affairs of each text is examined in turn. As to the dating and the localization of each text, the matters discussed in 1.3.2. above are assumed throughout, and therefore reference to existing studies may not be repeated.

(1) Poema Morale (PM)

As the following table displays, negative contraction is almost constant in PM:

		Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
Lamb	ne + is	7	0	7
	ne + were	1	0	1
	ne + wolde(n)	4	0	4
	ne + walde	4	0	4
	ne + habbeð	2	0	2
	ne + haf(ð)	1	0	1
	ne + wute	1	0	1
	ne + wusten	3	0	3
Trin	ne + is	13	0	13
	ne + wes	1	0	1
	ne + ware(n)	3	0	3
	ne + wel/welle	3	0	3
	ne + welleð	1	0	1
	ne + wolde(n)	7	0	7
	ne + habbe(ð)	3	0	3
	ne + haue(ð)	1	0	1
	ne + wot	1	0	1
	ne + witen	1	0	1
	ne + weste	3	0	3
Dgb	ne + ys	11	0	11
	ne + were	3	0	3
	ne + wele/welle	4	0	4
	ne + wolde(n)	8	0	8
	ne + habbeð	3	0	3
	ne + haueð	1	0	1
	ne + wot	1	0	1
	ne + wite-	2	0	2
	ne + wisten	1	1	2
	ne + westen	1	0	1
Totals		95	1	96
		(99.0%)	(1.0%)	

The sole uncontracted form in PM runs as follows:

in liue boc hi sullen isien,  
 þet her hi ne wisten (Dgb 183).

The corresponding line in MS Trinity provides a contracted form:<sup>2</sup>

On him he sullen ec isien al þat hie ar nesten (Trin 388).

<sup>2</sup> The Lambeth MS is not complete, and does not provide the corresponding line.

Some further illustrative examples of contracted forms are:<sup>3</sup>

(a) MS Lambeth

Nis na lauerd swich se is crist. ne king swuch ure drihten  
(80)

Nere na mon elles ded ne sec ne nan unsele (199)

þa þe god werc bigunnen & ful enden hit nolden (243)

Nalde hit mei do for mei. ne suster for broðer (185)

Ac þe þ̅ þer naƿ[ð] nocht ibet : wel muchel he haueð to  
beten (132)

Nute hi hweþer hem deþ wurs mid neure nane wisse (236)

Ich hit wille seggen þan þe hit hom solf nusten (225).

(b) MS Trinity

Nis him no þing forholen swo muchel is his mihte (76)

De nes naht of godes bode ne of godes hease (296)

Nare we naht swo ofte bicherd ne swo euele bikeihte (322)

Of þo pine þe þar bieð nelle ich eow naht lie (291)

De muzen & nelleð þider cume hit hem mai of þunche (374)

Ac þe þe her naueð ibet muchel he haued to bete (134)

Swo mai of pine þe not hwat is pine þe sal ilasten (148)

[N]u waren her & nu þar & nesten hwat he wolden (248).

(c) MS Digby

Nis no witnesse al swo muchel,  
swo mannes ozen hierte (53)

Nere no man elles dead  
ne siec ne vnvele (97)

Se man, þet neure nele don god  
ne neure god lif leden (58)

And se, þet his ozen  nolde  zeuen,  
þer he iseþh þo niede (128)

nabbeð hi no þing vorþete  
of þan, þet hi iseþen (45)

<sup>3</sup> Since contracted forms are predominant as against uncontracted forms in the present text, examples of contracted forms are cited selectively. This convention is followed throughout. Due to the lack of space, not all relevant forms are illustrated.

ac, se þet naueð hier naht ibet,  
muchel he haueð to beten (63)

swo, þet hi niten, þet here pine  
ne sal habben ende (140)

þe3h we hi nisten ne ise3en,  
hi weren vre iueren (47)

Ich hit wille siggen þan,  
þet hit ham selue nesten (110).

The original text of PM was produced in Kent in the latter half of the twelfth century. The provenance of PM (Trin), however, is assumed to be London, and the manuscript is thought to have been produced either before 1200 or shortly after 1200. PM (Dgb) is, on the other hand, considered to reveal the language of Kent, perhaps of the early thirteenth century. Furthermore, PM (Lamb) perhaps exhibits the language of the border of north Herefordshire as Samuels maintains (Hill 1977: 109).<sup>4</sup> According to Jordan (1974: 6), the process of rendering the original into the South-West Midland dialect is considered to be fairly consistent. The manuscript is considered to have been produced in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. Hill (1977: 98) gives the approximate date of 1200, while the date proposed by MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 3) is a1225.

Although negative contraction in early ME has never been analyzed in detail in existing studies, it can safely be inferred in the light of the almost constant attestation of the phenomenon in PM (Trin and Dgb), that it was common in south-eastern parts of England in general in the early period of ME. This is of notable importance, since it indicates the entirely opposite feature of Levin's (1958: 498, n. 22) account that Kentish usage agrees with the usage in the North and the East Midlands, where negative contraction is relatively sparse. In fact, the phenomenon seems to be observed in

<sup>4</sup> Hill (1977) refers to Samuels' unpublished personal letter by his permission.

London and in Kent to a considerable extent even in the later period of ME according to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20). On the other hand, however, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20) do not identify nam, nart/nert, preterite-tense forms of will, present-tense forms of have in London or in Kent, and do not observe preterite-tense forms of witen in Kent. Whether these forms, which were perhaps present in the early period of ME in the same areas came to be lost by the time of 1350 is difficult to prove because of the gap of some 150 years. I would rather surmise that they were existent in later ME as well but simply escaped from their investigation. As the following discussions of some other texts reveal, the forms which are not recorded in a selected portion of sample cannot necessarily be regarded as forms which are not existent.

In respect of PM (Lamb) which is localized in Herefordshire, on the other hand, negative contraction is again constant as the above table shows. According to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), the phenomenon is common there in late ME as well. They do not find the form nam, however, in Herefordshire. In view of the coherent occurrence of contracted forms as opposed to uncontracted ones in PM (Lamb) and of ample examples of the other contracted forms in the area in later ME as displayed in the atlas by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), the form nam was perhaps existent both in early and late ME. It is rather unnatural to assume that only the form nam and not any other contracted forms disappeared by late ME. The non-existence of the combination of ne and am in PM (Lamb) itself suggests that relevant forms themselves are simply rare.

(2) The Owl and the Nightingale (O&N)

Negative contraction regularly occurs with the relevant verbs in O&N

as the following table displays:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	4	0	4
ne + art/ard	11	0	11
ne + is	38	0	38
ne + was	2	0	2
ne + were	6	0	6
ne + wel-	4	0	4
ne + wul-	6	0	6
ne + wolde	3	0	3
ne + haueþ	7	0	7
ne + hauest/heuest	2	0	2
ne + habbed	1	0	1
ne + had-	3	0	3
ne + wot	10	0	10
ne + wost	1	0	1
ne + wute	1	0	1
ne + wust-	3	0	3
Totals	102 (100.0%)	0	102

The following are some illustrative examples of the phenomenon:

Vor ich nam non asvnde wrecche (534)

Du nart fair, no þu nart strong,  
Ne þu nart þicke, ne þu nart long (579-80)

Vorþi nis neuere mon redles  
Ar his horte bo witles (691-2)

Du liest iwis, þu fule þing,  
Ð[urh] me nas neauer ischend spusing (1335-6)

'Ðat nere noht riht,' þe Hule sede (549)

Vorþat hi nelleþ to uor go (653)

An eke ich can of þe goddspelle  
More þan ich nule þe telle (1209-10)

Ich noide don þat þu me raddest (159)

Naueþ no man none sikerhede (1265)

& ek ich frouri uele wihte  
Ðat mid hom nabbed none mihte (535-6)

For zef heo is þarto ibroht  
He deþ þat heo nadde ear iþoht (1559-60)

An, forþan þat hit no wit not (780)

Du ne canst finde, ne þu nost (1112)

Hi nute elles wat hi do (1010)

Hit nuste neauer hwat hit was (1441).

The language of the Cotton MS of O&N is ascribed to the South-Western and the South-West Midlands, while the original text of O&N seems to be localized somewhere around Surrey. The constant manifestation of contracted negative forms in O&N is almost consistent with the mapping of the phenomenon presented by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), although their analysis is based upon late ME whereas the Cotton MS of O&N is considered to have been produced in the second half of the thirteenth century. McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin frequently observe contracted forms in South-Western and South-West Midland counties. The form nold- is not evidenced in this area, however, by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219), whereas the form is evidenced three times in O&N. It is difficult to decide whether the contracted form disappeared by the time of the later period of ME in this area or simply escaped from the sampling by them. It is interesting, at least, that all the other types of contracted negative forms are retained until the later ME period in the area and that the Corpus MS of SEL, which is slightly later than O&N and which is ascribed mainly to Berkshire, still provides copious examples of noalde (see (5) below). A possible existence of nold- in late ME in the South-Western and the South-West Midlands may be proposed here.

### (3) King Horn (KH)

As the following table displays, negative contraction is regular in KH with the exception of only two instances:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	8	0	8
ne + was	7	1	8
ne + were	4	0	4
ne + welle	1	0	1
ne + wolde	8	0	8
ne + hast	1	0	1
ne + hadde	2	0	2
ne + wiste	0	1	1
Totals	31 (93.9%)	2 (6.1%)	33

The examples of uncontracted forms are:

Ne was þer non þat louʒe (1480)

þat no payn hit ne wiste (78).

Some examples of contracted forms also follow:

Nis non þat him biwreie (362)

Iwis he nas no Niþing (196)

Hit nere noʒt for loren (479)

Wyn nelle ihc Mucche ne lite  
Bute of cuppe white (1131-2)

Nolde he noʒt go one (527)

For horn nastu namore (1193)

Bute horn alone  
Nadde þerof no mone (1113-14).

The Cambridge MS of KH is localized in Berkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 67). Although it has been dated variously within the range between the mid-thirteenth and the mid-fourteenth centuries, the manuscript is thought to present a fairly early state of the English language, at least in comparison with the other two manuscripts of KH (Allen 1984: 1).<sup>5</sup>

Negative contraction is generally considered to be common in southern parts of England as mentioned above (see 4.1.1. above) and

<sup>5</sup> The other two manuscripts of KH are: (1) MS Harley 2253 (British Library, London); and (2) MS Laud 108 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

KH is not an exception in this respect. Of the 33 relevant examples in the text, as many as 31 occur contracted. The examples of the phenomenon in KH, though the text is early in date, mainly provide supportive material to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), who observe most examples of negative contraction in Berkshire in late ME. It is noticeable, however, that all of the examples of *ne + wolde* in KH are contracted whereas nold- is not met with in Berkshire as far as the atlas by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219) is concerned. This is interesting despite the fact that the Cambridge MS of KH may be slightly earlier than the principal material investigated by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986),<sup>6</sup> since the constant occurrence of nold- rather than ne wold- in KH suggests the possible existence of nold- in Berkshire in late ME as well. By contrast, the contracted form nam, which is missing from the record of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218), provides no relevant examples in KH. It is nonetheless noticeable that SEL, which is later, but also localized in Berkshire, presents eleven examples of the adverb ne followed by am, all of which present the contracted form nam (see (5) below). It is most likely that the contracted form nam was also existent in the early period of ME in Berkshire.

#### (4) Havelok

Negative contraction hardly occurs in Havelok, although the adverb *ne* followed by *is* presents three examples of the contracted form nis as against one instance of the uncontracted form ne is as the table below shows:

<sup>6</sup> The present manuscript of KH, however, is included in the texts examined by them (see McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, I: 67 and 175).

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	3	1	4
ne + was	0	9	9
ne + were(n)	0	9	9
ne + wile	0	2	2
ne + wold-	0	9	9
ne + haue(s)	0	10	10
ne + hauede	0	11	11
ne + wot	0	1	1
ne + wiste(n)	0	4	4
Totals	3 (5.1%)	56 (94.9%)	59

The three instances of nis are:

Weilawei! nis it no korn,  
Dat men micte maken of bred? (462-3)

And þer nis he nouth to frie (1999)

Jn þis middelerd nis no knith  
Half so strong ne half so with (2245-6).

In contrast, the only example of the uncontracted form ne is in Havelok runs as follows:

Of me ne is me nouth a slo (850).

Some other examples of uncontracted forms are also given below:

Jt ne was non so litel knaue  
For to leyken ne for to plawe,  
Dat he ne wode with him pleye (950-2)

Neuere yete ne weren he wroþe,  
For here loue was ay newe-- (2974-5)

'Dat ne wile Ich neueremo' (2723)

Þer ne wolden he dwellen longe,  
For he wisten and ful wel sawe  
Dat Godrich hem hatede--þe deuel him hawe! (1187-9)

J ne haue neyþer bred ne sowel,  
Ne cloth but of an hold with couel (1144-5)

Of knith ne hauede he neuere drede (90)

Js non of us, yung ne old,  
Dat he ne wot þat Aþelwold  
Was king of þis kunerike  
And ye his eyr, and þat þe swike  
Haues it halden with mikel wronge-- (2803-7)

He ne wisten hwat he mouthen  
 Ne he ne wisten wat hem douthe--  
 Per to dwellen to þenne to gonge (1184-6).

The language of the Laud MS of Havelok is ascribed to west Norfolk, and dated to ca1300, although the original text may have been produced in a northerly area, perhaps in Lincolnshire. The situation which Havelok displays largely coincides with the picture provided by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), who identify the contracted form nis and contracted present-tense forms of will in Norfolk. As shown above, the combination of ne and is provides three examples of the contracted form as opposed to one instance of the uncontracted form in Havelok. Although Havelok does not provide any contracted forms of wile, on the other hand, this is not a strong counter evidence to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, since there are only two relevant examples in the text. Whether all the other forms of negative contraction were entirely absent in Norfolk, however, is open to question. Since uncontracted forms (as opposed to contracted forms) have not been systematically recorded in existing studies, it is difficult to reach any definitive conclusion. As far as Havelok is concerned, uncontracted forms are consistent in all relevant examples except in the combination of ne and is. It is at least a reasonable conjecture that the phenomenon is rather rare, though it may not be entirely absent, with relevant forms other than ne is. Nis may simply be a form which is more common and which therefore spreads more widely than any other form of negative contraction. Texts from the border areas in terms of the distribution of negative contraction, of which Havelok is one, may well provide only common forms like nis but not other forms. In other words, the form nis occurs even in the areas where the other contracted negative forms are not necessarily attested. However, of the three examples of nis in the present text, two illustrate an existential clause, and therefore the occurrence of nis may be somehow related

to this particular syntactic condition. The issue is discussed below in 4.2.

(5) The South English Legendary (SEL)

As the following table displays, negative contraction is almost constant in SEL:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	11	0	11
ne + ert	3	1	4
ne + is	45	0	45
ne + was	139	0	139
ne + wer(e)	77	0	77
ne + wel(e)/welle	47	0	47
ne + wolle(þ)	11	0	11
ne + welt	7	0	7
ne + weles	1	0	1
ne + wolde	105	0	105
ne + haue	3	2	5
ne + habbe(þ)	25	0	25
ne + haþ	3	0	3
ne + has	1	0	1
ne + hast	4	0	4
ne + hadde	67	0	67
ne + wot	8	0	8
ne + wute(þ)	6	0	6
ne + wost	3	0	3
ne + woste	2	0	2
ne + wuste	58	0	58
Totals	626 (99.5%)	3 (0.5%)	629

The examples of uncontracted forms are:

In so vil prison & so strong · ne ertou of gret pris  
(253/182)

At þe messenger axe wat he be[o] [·] & ne haue of him no  
drede (65/75)

Ac watso þou ise[o] oþer ihure · ne haue þou none drede  
(221/28).

Some examples of contracted forms are also presented below:

For ich wot 3e sede soþ · inam no3t worþe þerto (13/164)

Nas þis maide iwemmed no3t · for it ne touchede no3t ene  
(23/114)

Þat fur queinte into al þat lond · ri3t as it neuere neru  
(58/130)

Dame haue wel goday · for inelle hadde no reste (34/71)

He neles no3t is wile · þat he oure Leuedy so biso3te  
(226/166)

Icham he sede þin abbot · of me naue þou no fere (201/626)

For we nabbeþ poer noman · to bringe in sunne a3en mode  
(65/103)

Nastou no3t quaþ þe abbot · in þe olde lawe ifonde  
(191/339)

Touward þe gode holi cors · ac poer nadde he[o] non  
(116/198)

3e wrecche foles quaþ sein Ieme · inot wat 3e wolde here  
(330/67)

Lo quaþ on of þis deuelen · þou nost no3t wat þis is  
(98/387)

Hi wope for hore moder deþ · hi nuste neuere wat do  
(51/124).

The main hand of the Corpus MS of SEL is localized in Berkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 62).<sup>7</sup> It was produced in the early fourteenth century, although the original of the legendary itself may have begun in the late thirteenth century.

While negative contraction is generally considered to be common in southerly parts of England, some of the contracted forms are missing in Berkshire according to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20): *nam*, preterite-tense forms of will (e.g. noalde), and preterite-tense forms of witen (e.g. nyste). Not only are these contracted forms available in SEL, however, but they regularly present negative contraction as the above table shows. The occurrence of abundant examples of the contracted form nold- is especially noteworthy in the light of the absence of the same form in the atlas by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20). Judging from the fairly consistent occurrence of negative contraction

<sup>7</sup> The sample which the present study deals with (the first volume of SEL, ed. D'Evelyn and Mill, 1956) is entirely attributable to the first and main hand. See 1.3.2.(5) above for some details of the manuscript.

in SEL in general, forms not recorded in the atlas were presumably all available in Berkshire.

(6) English Metrical Homilies (EMH)

EMH does not provide any examples of negative contraction, as the table below shows:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + was	0	1	1
ne + war(e)	0	3	3
ne + wille	0	1	1
ne + wald	0	2	2
ne + haf	0	1	1
ne + hafd	0	2	2
ne + hauid	0	3	3
ne + had	0	1	1
ne + wat	0	1	1
ne + wist	0	2	2
Totals	0	17	17
		(100.0%)	

The following are some relevant instances of uncontracted forms:

For he no was noht lic in dede  
Til thaim that heldes als the rede (37/9-10)<sup>8</sup>

. . . als noht ne ware (131/17)

Wrang no wille I nan the do (56/11)

Bot scho ne wald noht cum him ner (161/18)

That he no haf miht us to tele  
With gastly dranc and wit darnele (152/1-2)

Yef it no hafd ben thi mercye (84/17)

For poc no sek no hauid he nan (140/12)

Allas, that scho ne had halden the triste (82/11)

The fend ansuerd and said sone,  
No wat thou noht quat thou hauis done  
In licheri igaines me (54/5-7)

For graitheli no wist he noht,  
Hougat this yong child spac him tille,  
Quethir with god gast, or wit ille (92/4-6).

<sup>8</sup> The form no occasionally occurs in EMH as an orthographic variant of the adverb ne. See note 8 in 2.1.2. above as well.

MS Royal College of Physicians (Edinburgh) of EMH is localized in Yorkshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 88). It was perhaps produced in the early fourteenth century, while the original text of EMH, which can be localized somewhere around Durham, dates back to an earlier period.

Negative contraction has been proved to be a phenomenon fairly confined to southerly parts of England as discussed above (see 4.1.1.). EMH, which is a Northern text, indeed displays no examples of the phenomenon. Moreover, the adverb ne itself seems to be almost on the verge of decline in this text. There are 232 examples of clausal negation (including those only with the conjunction ne) in EMH, of which only 29 examples include the adverb ne (see 2.1.2.(6) above).

(7) The Middle English Genesis and Exodus (G&E)

Negative contraction is not a common phenomenon in G&E as the following table shows:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + ist	0	1	1
ne + was	0	2	2
ne + were(n)	0	4	4
ne + wor(e)	0	3	3
ne + wile	2	1	3
ne + wold(en)	1	1	2
ne + wuld(en)	0	6	6
ne + wot	0	2	2
ne + wiste(n)	0	7	7
Totals	3	27	30
	(10.0%)	(90.0%)	

The three examples of contracted forms in G&E are:

Wulde he non senwe siðen eten,  
Self his kinde nile ðat wune forgeten (1805-6)

Nile he blinnen, swilc sorwe he cliued,  
Til him he sweren ðat he liued (1963-4)

Ðe wicches hidden hem, for-ðan  
Bi-foren pharaun nolden he ben,  
So woren he lodelike on to sen (3028-30).

Uncontracted forms are also illustrated below:

"Ilc gure wel in herte mune,  
Ne ist nogt moyses, amrame sune,  
 De ge sulen to-dai here speken (3471-2)

Ne was ðor non lik adam (223)

Dis erðe is to-gidere luken,  
 Als it ne were neuere or to-broken (3779-80)

Ðor ðrette god hem alle to slen,  
 If moyses ne wore ðor-agen (3729-30)

Oc god, ne wile he it nogt for-geþen (3682)

For scrið ne mede ne wold he ðor  
 Quer on nigþ drechen nummor (1419-20)

Quat-so his dremes owen a-wold,  
 Dis dede was don; wid herte sor  
 Ne wulde ruben nogt drechen ðor (1944-6)

Des dremes swep ne wot he nogt (2112)

Oc iacob ne wiste it nogt,  
 Til ðat wreche to bale was wrogt;  
 Oc michil he fregtede for-ði  
 Boðen symeon and leui (1859-62).

Although negative contraction is not a usual phenomenon in G&E, it is interesting to note that all of the contracted forms evidenced in the text are forms of will. As for forms of have, there are no relevant instances in G&E, and this is due to the restricted occurrence of forms of have in general in the text.<sup>9</sup> To turn to forms of be and witen, relevant forms all stay uncontracted.

Arngart (1968: 11) dates the manuscript of G&E to the first quarter of the fourteenth century whereas Muir (1970: 535) takes a more cautious view and suggests a date from 1300 to 1350. The dialectal features of the manuscript are generally attributed to the South-East Midlands. The southern part of the South-East Midlands used to be proposed as its provenance. Recently, however, a more northerly region around Norfolk seems to be more prevailingly

<sup>9</sup> G&E provides only five examples of clausal negation with forms of have.

accepted as the provenance of the text.

As far as negative contraction is concerned, it seems to be a reasonable conjecture that the provenance of G&E should be in Norfolk, since in areas further south such as Suffolk and Essex, negative contraction is fairly extensively met with even in late ME according to the mapping of the phenomenon by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), whereas it only occasionally occurs in G&E.<sup>10</sup> Provided that the provenance of the text is Norfolk, the situation of negative contraction in G&E fairly reasonably matches the picture presented by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), who evidence the contracted forms nil- and nys in this county, since the contracted forms which G&E presents are nile (2x) and nolden (1x). It is, however, difficult to determine whether the form nolden, which is available in G&E, was lost by the later ME period, for which the atlas of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin does not record nold-. Since nold- is a form which is scarcely recorded in the atlas and which is attested with a considerable frequency in the sample of the present study, it is most likely that the form was available in Norfolk in late ME as well as in early ME (see (1) (2) (3) (5) above and (8) (10) (12) (14) (17) (18) below).

(8) The Poems of William of Shoreham (WS)

As the following table shows, contracted negative forms are common in WS:

<sup>10</sup> It must be noted, though, that the text is perhaps based on a Northern original. See 1.3.2.(7) above.

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + art	3	0	3
ne + ert	1	0	1
ne + is/ys/hys	68	1	69
ne + wes	5	0	5
ne + was	1	0	1
ne + were	21	1	22
ne + wel	6	0	6
ne + wolde(st)	11	1	12
ne + habbe(þ)	3	1	4
ne + heþ(e)	11	0	11
ne + hast	1	0	1
ne + hadde	3	0	3
ne + hedde	8	0	8
ne + wot(e)	6	0	6
ne + wyte	0	1	1
ne + west(e)	5	0	5
Totals	153 (96.8%)	5 (3.2%)	158

The examples of uncontracted forms are exhaustively given below:

For þa3 hy by-knowe hyt,  
 Ne hys nau3t y-helde trewe  
 By lawe (61/1718-20)

And 3et ne were hyt no3t y-no3  
 One to agredy hyre loo3  
 And he3 ine heuene blysse (123/260-1)

Ne forþe þe moder þet hyt beer,  
 Ne woldest þou nase y-fa3e (66/1861-2)

Vndigne  
 Per-fore ne habbeþ nau3t þat þing,  
 Bote þe bare signe (16/425-7)

Þe3 non ne wyte ne se hy3t (68/1939).

Some examples of contracted forms also follow:

"Ac 3yf þou nart, ich cristni þe" (12/314)

Man, þy laddre nys nau3t of wode  
 Þat may to heuene leste (2/43-4)

Per nes no senne þer amonge (119/122)

Per nas wane of no ly3t (119/131)

Wader þy[s] worldle euer were,  
 Oþer a some tyme nerē,  
 And þo by-gan? (138/229-31)

For gode nele nau3t þat þou hyt do (92/183)

Wo ist þat be nome schel,  
And nabbe non agayn? (108/263-4)

For, þie hiȝt were water ferst,  
Of water neþ hit tale (8/209-10)

Ȝef þou wenst deie, and nast no prest (33/916)

Elles nedde hyt be no senne (159/877)

Ac he not nefer wat hy beep (90/119)

Hy neste wat y mende,  
For þran ha þole[de] to be do  
To deþ for man-kende (83/104-6).

WS is one of the rare ME texts whose original dialect has always been clear. The poems were produced by William of Shoreham in Kent, and the manuscript of WS is also localized in Kent. The date of the manuscript is ascribed to the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

The almost regular occurrence of contracted negative forms in WS, together with the almost regular occurrence of contracted forms in PM (Dgb) (see (1) above), indicates that the phenomenon was common in Kent despite Levin's (1958: 498, n. 22) account that the usage in Kent was more in conformity with the usages in the North and the East Midlands, where negative contraction was relatively rare.

As to forms of be, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218) observe nis/nys, nes, and ner, while WS additionally provides nart/nert and nas. In view of the preponderant feature of contracted forms in general, the form nam, which does not provide any relevant examples in WS, may also have been existent in Kent.

To turn to forms of will, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-19) evidence contracted present-tense forms, but not of preterite-tense forms. The form nold- commonly occurs in WS, however, whereas the uncontracted form ne wold- occurs only once in the same text. In the light of the frequent attestation of nold- in WS, it is rather unlikely that the form disappeared suddenly by the

beginning of the period 1350-1450. The form was perhaps more widely existent than has been recorded in existing studies.

Contracted preterite-tense forms of have are attested by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219), but they do not record contracted present-tense forms of have in Kent. WS again provides various contracted forms including present-tense forms, however. Judging from the almost constant attestation of contracted forms in general, negative contraction was perhaps normal with all forms of have in Kent.

In the case of witen, on the other hand, the contracted forms not and nyteþ are recorded by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219-20), and in addition the form neste is found in WS. Furthermore, the fact that nyteþ is found by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 220) makes it likely that the form nyte was also existent in Kent, although WS shows only ne wyte, not nyte.

(9) Cursor Mundi (CM)

Negative contraction does not occur in CM as the following table displays:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + er(n)	0	2	2
ne + ys	0	1	1
ne + es	0	4	4
ne + was	0	5	5
ne + war(e)	0	4	4
ne + wil	0	2	2
ne + wild	0	1	1
ne + wald	0	4	4
ne + has	0	2	2
ne + had	0	14	14
ne + wat	0	6	6
ne + wist	0	7	7
Totals	0	52	52
		(100.0%)	

Some relevant examples are presented below:

I sai it noght for-qui þat yee  
Ne ern lickli lel men to be (4877-8)

Hit neys bot fantum for to say (55)

For þou nees bot a pudre plain (929)

For-þi ne was he noþer quar sent  
Bot to þe huse ai tok he tent (3495-6)

If þou ne war sua lightli to tru! (7222)

Noþer i knau him þat yee sai,  
Ne i ne wil lat þe folk a-wai (5857-8)

Bot þai ne wild þam self for-fare,  
to loke bi hind þam neuer mare (2829-30)

Quat he was to his lauerd tru  
þat moght na reunes do him reu,  
þat he ne wald leuer his child cole  
þan of his lauerd wrath to thole,  
þat child þat was sa mani yere,  
Ar it was send, soght wit praiyer (3133-8)

þar he ne has merci neuermare (484)

"I wat," he said, "þat þou art clene,  
War it not sua if i ne had bene (2983-4)

Wydur to wende ne wat he noght (64)

For þai ne wist quar-of þam fede (2402).

McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 108) localize the Cotton MS, which was presumably produced in the middle of the fourteenth century, in the West Riding of Yorkshire. The original text is considered to have been also produced in the North around the beginning of the same century.

In any case, the text seems to be outside the boundary of areas where negative contraction is encountered in ME. The analysis here does not provide any illuminating results in respect of the phenomenon, which however supports the contention of previous studies that negative contraction does not occur in the North in ME (see 4.1.1. above).

(10) Sir Ferumbras (Ferumbras)

The following table displays the distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms in Ferumbras:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	1	0	1
ne + is/ys	15	5	20
ne + was/wace	21	2	23
ne + were	8	3	11
ne + wil(t)/wyl	0	11	11
ne + wel-	9	0	9
ne + wulleth	1	0	1
ne + wolt	0	5	5
ne + wold-	23	1	24
ne + haue-	1	6	7
ne + habbe-	2	1	3
ne + hath	1	0	1
ne + hast	1	1	2
ne + had-	21	6	27
ne + hauede	0	1	1
ne + wot	3	1	4
ne + wiste/wyst-	6	0	6
Totals	113 (72.4%)	43 (27.6%)	156

Examples of contracted and uncontracted forms are selectively presented below:

"y nam of hymen no3t agaste : þei mowe no3t helpe þe"  
(2434)

þer nys non her ich vndertake, þat þilke Message ne wil  
for-sake  
þat of ys lyf ys fayne (3431-2)

Were we a litel ner þe tour : þanne nere we in none doute  
(3051)

Tak þyn armys if þou wilt : no lenger nel y þe spare (568)

"& we nulleþ spare for no drede : to help him with al our  
mi3t" (2932)

"By Mahoun," saide þe kyng a3ee, "y noilde þe lete lyues bee  
for a þousend pound of golde"  
(3685-6)

& þy wounde ys 3ut al newe : & no medecyn naueþ ihad  
(295)

3ute naþ he no desyr : to aryse and go þenne (2257)

Nad his auentaile y-beo þat heel, France had þo be delyured  
weel  
of a ful traytrous man (5651-2)

y not how þay schul a-scape þen : þat hy ne goþ to dede  
(2380)

Oþer passage ne ys þar non bote by þat brigge y-mad of  
ston (4317)

Neuere ne was he with-oute strif, Bot ay wykke[d]liche  
 lyuede ys lyf,  
 On þefþe & robberye (4111-12)

And þat þow scholdest a-bigge sare, If þe kyng hem-self  
ne ware  
 Her now in present (4105-6)

"Fader," sayd he, "þow dost folye þat þow ne wolt þyn  
 herte abyge  
 To Char[lis] þat ys so gret  
 (5657-8)

By Mahonet ys oþ þanne a swer : as he was þar al-one  
 þat he ne wolde for no fer : out of þat felde gone,  
 Er Charlis wiþ þe hore berde : wer take ouþer a-slaȝe,  
 & discoumfit were al his ferde : þat lyuede on þe cristene  
 lawe,  
 him self schelde þer ben is bane : he swor þan by his  
 driȝte (82-6)

& bred ne wyn ne haue we non : þat we hure mowe take,  
 Hure to conforty wiþ-in þis nede : ne non of þe burdes alle  
 (2596-7)

now god to þe cristene take kepe, For þay ne habbeþ on  
 hure hepe,  
 bote þe þridde del! (5437-8)

þow ne hast no power now an-honde, His grete assemble to  
 wiþ-stonde,  
 Wan þay comeþ to fiȝte (4035-6)

"Hit ys no þyng on hymen ylong þat y ne hadde y-lost  
 Rolond,  
 & myn barons hende (4291-2)

þe fairnesse þar-of no man ne wot : to telle it al on sonder  
 (1698).

In the case of Ferumbras, the classified frequencies of forms of be,  
 will, have, and witen, as displayed below, are worthy of note:

Forms of	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
be	45 (81.1%)	10 (18.2%)	55
will	33 (66.0%)	17 (34.0%)	50
have	26 (63.4%)	15 (36.6%)	41
witen	9 (90.0%)	1 (10.0%)	10
Totals	113	43	156

Negative contraction is a fairly common phenomenon in Ferumbras  
 especially with forms of be and witen, while the phenomenon is less  
 frequent with forms of will and have. In the case of will, however,  
 the preterite-tense forms are usually contracted (23/24) whereas the

present tense varies between contracted and uncontracted forms, which also show different stem-vowels: the uncontracted forms are *ne + wil(t)/wyl* and *ne + wol(t)*, whereas the contracted forms are *neI-* and *nulleth*.<sup>11</sup>

The Ashmole MS of Ferumbras is localized at Exeter in Devonshire. Although the mapping of contracted negative forms in McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20) matches the state of affairs of the present text fairly well, Ferumbras still presents some supplementary information. As for forms of be, for example, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218) attest nys, nere, nas, but not nam, nart/nert. This is perhaps owing to the infrequent occurrence of relevant examples themselves in general. The form nam is provided by the Ashmole MS of Ferumbras, but no relevant examples of nart/nert are met with in this text, either. It is at least noticeable that nert is found in Somerset, one of the neighbouring counties according to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218), since it suggests the possible existence of the form in Devonshire.

As for forms of witen, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219-20) find no examples in Devonshire. As far as the relevant sample of Ferumbras is concerned, however, contracted forms of witen are fairly common. To turn to forms of will, McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-19) evidence present-tense forms in Devonshire, but not preterite-tense forms, while ne wold- almost constantly occurs in contracted forms as far as Ferumbras is concerned.

Finally, the description concerning forms of have in McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), is consistent with Ferumbras. Contracted forms are encountered both in the present tense and in the preterite tense here.

<sup>11</sup> A similar phenomenon is already attestable in late West Saxon OE, where 'will' shows positive forms in will-/wyll- and negative forms in nyll-/nell- (Campbell 1959: §265).

(11) Confessio Amantis (CA)

The following table displays the distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms in CA:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	2	0	2
ne + is/ys	9	0	9
ne + was	0	4	4
ne + were	0	1	1
ne + wyle	1	0	1
ne + wol-	0	2	2
ne + wolde	0	3	3
ne + have	0	2	2
ne + han	0	2	2
ne + hadde(n)	0	3	3
ne + wot	24	0	24
ne + wiste/wyste(n)	2	5	7
Totals	38 (63.3%)	22 (36.7%)	60

Some illustrative examples are given below:

As touchende othre seie I noght  
That I nam somdel forto wyte  
Of that ye clepe an ypocrite (56/742-4)

Bot yit I mai noght will forsake,  
That he nys Maister of my thoght,  
Or that I spede, or spede noght (258/1190-2)

That Hate nyle his felonie  
Fulfille and feigne compaignie (252/961-2)

I not how that thei scholde amende  
The woful world in othre thinges (11/254-5)

Wherof in wommanysse drede  
Sche wok and nyste what to rede (60/913-14)

Wher as sche was be nyht or day,  
That Danger ne was redy ay (268/1541-2)

Me thenkth sche mihte noght be qwyte  
That sche ne were an homicide (269/1588-9)

Which nevere cowthe hise wordes hide,  
That he ne wole himself avaunte (100/2388-9)

Bot he ne wolde him noght forbere (120/3119)

That I ne have for love be  
The betre adressed and arraied (110/2724-5)

And for this cause I axe that,  
 Who mai to love make a werre,  
 That he ne hath himself the werre? (270/1644-6)

That he ne hadde ben exiled (284/2179)

For sche ne wiste what thei were (161/1143).

Negative contraction seems to be largely confined to certain forms in CA. As to forms of be, for example, ne + am and ne + is/ys consistently occur in contracted forms while preterite-tense forms of be regularly appear in uncontracted forms. To turn to forms of will, the phenomenon of negative contraction is extremely limited. The instance cited above where the adverb ne and wyle are contracted is the sole example of contraction. Furthermore, negative contraction is not evidenced with forms of have at all. In respect of forms of witen, on the other hand, the form wot constantly exhibits the contracted form, whereas the alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms is observed with wiste/wyste(n). It may be worthy of note here that both of the contracted forms reveal ne + wyste(n), while all the uncontracted forms (5x) display ne + wiste (as against ne + wyste(n)).

Relevant examples are not numerous in CA in the light of the fairly large sample of negative clauses in the text (see 2.1.2.(11) above), which is due to the overall reduction of the adverb ne in general. The above table therefore provides only modest supplementary information to the atlas of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20). CA, the Fairfax MS of which shows an amalgam of elements drawn from Kent and Suffolk (Samuels and Smith 1981: 301), present the contracted form nam, which is not recorded in the atlas for Kent or Suffolk (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, IV: 218).

(12) Handlyng Synne (HS)

As the following table displays, the occurrence of negative contraction is extremely limited in HS:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	0	1	1
ne + are	0	1	1
ne + art	0	1	1
ne + ys	0	7	7
ne + was	0	3	3
ne + were	0	1	1
ne + wel	1	0	1
ne + wyl(1)	0	3	3
ne + wyle	0	2	2
ne + wylt	1	2	3
ne + wlde	0	7	7
ne + wylde	0	1	1
ne + wolde	1	1	2
ne + wldest	0	1	1
ne + woldyst	0	1	1
ne + haue	0	1	1
ne + haueþ	0	1	1
ne + haþ	0	4	4
ne + hast	0	1	1
ne + hadde	0	1	1
ne + wot(e)	0	2	2
ne + woot	1	1	2
ne + wvste	0	3	3
Totals	4 (8.0%)	46 (92.0%)	50

The four examples of negative contraction are:

Ɔat y nel rekene ne telle of tale (2036)

Wyltou, nyltou, hyt wyl þe spyl (8440)

Ɔarfore nolde he þe kyrtyl were (5720)

Feyr men come þedyr, but y noot how,  
And by hys armys vp hym drow (1475-6).

Some illustrative examples of uncontracted forms also follow:

Ɔat y ne am þar wyþ tempted soure (8492)

Ɔat þou ne art preysed furþer þan he (3967)

And þefte ne ys god ne gode man lef (2110)

Yn al þe land ne was hys pere (4376)

3yf mercy of Ihu cryst ne were (5682)

Ɔat treyturhede ne wyll hym asayle (4208)

And þou ne wylt a nyghtes gest (10296)  
 For he wende þat god ne wolde  
 Haue for3eue hym, þat he hym solde (5193-4)  
 When þou þy self ne wldest þe wysse? (6456)  
 Þat þou ne haue for hyt no wrang (9590)  
 Ne haueþ no trust of 3our socour (6299)  
 Of þy wo fare ne haþ he þoght (6483)  
 Þat þou ne hast nede of þo (5087)  
 Ne hadde here helpe be þat was so nere (971)  
 Þey mette togedyr, y ne woot how (3803)  
 Þey ne wote wheþer þey be saued or noun (9526)  
 Hyt bycom he ne wyste whore (7494).

The present manuscript of HS is localized in Hertfordshire by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 146). The manuscript, which is 'at least one copy beyond Mannyng's original and possibly even two or three recensions later' (Sullens 1983: XXIV), was most likely produced around 1400.

Negative contraction is considered to be common in southerly parts of England (see 4.1.1. above), and Hertfordshire in later ME attests most forms of negative contraction as a matter of fact (McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin 1986, IV: 218-20).<sup>12</sup> In view of this general situation, the restricted occurrence of the phenomenon in HS is rather remarkable. This may be related to the fact that Robert Mannyng who produced the original text is a man from Lincolnshire, which is much more northerly than the region where the manuscript is ascribed. Negative contraction is virtually confined to forms of will and witen in the text, and even here examples are extremely scanty. In a similar way to CA, the number of relevant examples in

<sup>12</sup> The forms nam, nold-, contracted forms of have, and the contraction of the preterite-tense forms of witen are missing in Hertfordshire as far as the mapping of the phenomenon by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20) is concerned.

HS is rather small in the light of the copious examples of negative clauses in general in the text (see 2.1.2.(12) above). The adverb ne itself is again on the verge of decline in this text.

(13) Kyng Alisaunder (KA)

Negative contraction is fairly common in KA as the following table reveals:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	21	1	22
ne + art-	1	0	1
ne + was	40	2	42
ne + were	13	2	15
ne + wil-/wyl-	21	4	25
ne + wel-	1	0	1
ne + wolde	20	4	24
ne + habbe-	1	7	8
ne + hast	0	2	2
ne + hath	0	6	6
ne + haue	0	5	5
ne + han	0	2	2
ne + had-	1	22	23
ne + haste	0	1	1
ne + wo(o)t	10	0	10
ne + wist/wyst	3	1	4
ne + wiste(n)/wyste(n)	3	0	3
Totals	135	59	194
	(69.6%)	(30.4%)	

Some illustrative examples of negative contraction are presented below:

Erþelich kniȝth ne erþelich kyng  
Nys so swete, in none þing (429-30)

'Nartou so hardy' quoþ Candace  
 'More to seen Candulekes face' (7752-3)

For þere nas non oþer waye  
 Bot ouere þe mountayne to þe sky on heiȝe (6242-3)

Wiþ marchaundes to ben it were hende,  
 Neren þacountes at bordes ende (7354-5)

Þe kyng seeþ þat no kniȝth hende  
Nylle more þat Percien defende (4042-3)

Ac non noide hym answeze (5134)

We nabbeþ ygabbed neuere a worde (1804)

He noot nouȝth of þis bridale (1069)

Nyst noman his doleful cas  
Bot Besas and Besanas (4585-6)

Nisten men neuere heþen kyng  
Haue so riche al berizing (8006-7).

Uncontracted forms are also illustrated below:

Ne is lyues man non so sleiþe (9)  
So woo ne was hym neuere ar (2470)  
Who so ne wil by oþer hym chaste (3035)  
She ne wolde it neuere yleue (326)  
For hij ne habbeþ wille, Ich woot wel (27)  
Non ne had flesshe so hardy (3874)  
(His grete oste it ne wist) (4108).

A careful examination of the above table reveals that the situation of negative contraction differs depending on the type of finite verbs in KA. Forms of have display a strong tendency to employ uncontracted negative forms whereas forms of be, will, and witen almost constantly provide contracted forms. The point is more clearly depicted in the following table:

Forms of	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
be	75 (93.8%)	5 (6.2%)	80
will	42 (84.0%)	8 (16.0%)	50
have	2 (4.2%)	45 (95.8%)	47
witen	16 (94.1%)	1 (5.9%)	17
Totals	135	59	194

The language of the Laud MS of KA is localized in Essex and the manuscript is considered to have been produced around 1400, although the original text perhaps shows the London dialect of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The situation in KA as displayed in the above table confirms the general tendency described by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20), who identify most forms of negative contraction in Essex, which is perhaps the eastern centre of the phenomenon. That

uncontracted forms are common with forms of have may also be consistent with the analysis of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219), who reveal an inclination of the phenomenon towards South-Western areas of England, especially in respect of present-tense forms of have. Since uncontracted forms of have have not been analyzed substantially in previous studies, however, the situation should be handled rather cautiously. As another eastern text, I have explored Chaucer's Canterbury Tales (London English similar to the Chancery standard),<sup>13</sup> which also exhibits an extensive employment of uncontracted forms of have (about 90%, as opposed to around 10% of contracted forms of have). This is a marked phenomenon, since the text shows an almost regular occurrence of negative contraction with forms of be, will, and witen (Iyeiri 1989a: 33-4). On the other hand, however, I have also examined MS Laud 108 of SEL<sup>14</sup> sporadically and found that a notable number of uncontracted forms of have are also found in this western manuscript where negative contraction is much more common with forms of be, will, and witen.<sup>15</sup>

(14) Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (GGK)

Negative contraction occurs constantly in GGK as the following table exhibits:<sup>16</sup>

<sup>13</sup> See Burnley (1983: 10).

<sup>14</sup> The Early South-English Legendary or Lives of Saints, ed. C. Horstmann (1887).

<sup>15</sup> However, as McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 149) maintain, MS Laud 108, where SEL is included, shows western characteristics (perhaps those of Gloucestershire) with an East Anglian overlay.

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + ys	1	0	1
ne + ar	1	0	1
ne + wolde	7	0	7
ne + haf	1	0	1
ne + hade	2	0	2
Totals	12	0	12
	(100.0%)		

Some relevant examples are:

For I haf founden, in god fayth, yowre fraunchis nobele,  
 And oþer ful much of oþer folk fongen bi hor dedez,  
 Bot þe daynté þat þay delen, for my disert nys euen  
 (1264-6)

For I haf wonnen yow hider, wyþe, at þis tyme,  
 And now nar 3e not fer fro þat note place  
 Þat 3e han spied and spuryed so specially after (2091-3)

And he nikked hym naye, he nolde bi no wayes (2471)

Naf I now to busy bot bare þre dayez,  
 And me als fayn to falle feye as fayly of myyn ernde  
 (1066-7)

Nade he ben duþty and dryþe, and Dryþtyn had serued,  
 Douteles he hade ben ded and dreped ful ofte (724-5).

The manuscript of GGK is localized in Cheshire, and dated to ca1400. The composition of the original text was perhaps a little before the manuscript date, but cannot be dated precisely.

The regular occurrence of negative contraction, though infrequent due to the dearth of the adverb ne itself, is of decided interest, since negative contraction, which has been regarded as a feature of southerly parts of England, may have been a phenomenon more widespread than previously recorded. The paucity of texts from the earlier period of ME in northerly parts of England and the earlier decline of the adverb ne in the same area may have made it

<sup>16</sup> Levin (1956: 64) suggests that the following is a possible example of uncontracted forms:

As wyþ þat wolde of his wyte, ne wyst quat he myþt (1087).

I would rather suspect, however, that this is an example of the conjunction ne followed by wyst.

difficult to envisage the situation clearly in relatively north areas of England. The analysis of negative contraction by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) was carried out in relation to southerly parts of England, and therefore does not unfortunately provide information about Cheshire.

(15) The Alliterative Morte Arthure (AMA)

As the following table shows, negative contraction is extremely rare in AMA, although this may partly be dependent upon the fact that relevant examples are not abundant in the text because of the decline of the adverb *ne*:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + es	0	2	2
ne + ware	0	2	2
ne + has	0	1	1
ne + had(e)	0	5	5
ne + wot	1	0	1
ne + wiste	0	1	1
Totals	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	12

The sole instance of negative contraction runs as follows:

. . . I not watte it ment (977).

Also some instances of uncontracted forms are provided below:

There ne es prelatte ne pape ne prynce in þis erthe (229)

Ne ware it fore þe wylde fyre þat he hym wyth defendez  
(797)

That he ne has clenly dystroyede all the knaue chilyre  
And them caryede to þe cragge and clenly deworyde  
(850-1)

Ne hade sir Clegis comen and Cleremonte þe noble (1828)

That I ne wiste no waye whedire þat I scholde (3231).

The language of the manuscript of the AMA is localized in Lincolnshire, although Robert Thornton, who produced the manuscript, was a Yorkshire man. As for the dating of the

manuscript, Newstead (1967: 44-5) proposes the date of ca1440 whereas Hamel (1984: 3) suggests a slightly earlier date of the 1420s to the 1430s. The original text is thought to have been composed around 1400 to 1402, also in the North-East Midlands.

Since previous studies do not provide any satisfactory information in respect of northerly parts of England, the northern boundary of negative contraction is not entirely clear. It is noteworthy, however, that AMA displays at least one example of contraction as the above table shows, although, in the main, the phenomenon is extremely limited in the present text. The region in which the manuscript of AMA was produced is not entirely outside the northern boundary of the phenomenon. McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) unfortunately do not provide any information about the phenomenon for Lincolnshire.

(16) Alexander and Dindimus (A&D)

The following table displays the distribution of contracted and uncontracted negative forms in A&D:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + am	0	1	1
ne + is	3	1	4
ne + wol/wolle	3	0	3
ne + haue	0	3	3
ne + han	0	2	2
ne + hadde	0	2	2
Totals	6	9	15
	(40.0%)	(60.0%)	

Some examples of contracted and uncontracted forms follow:

Per nis no lawe in oure land · ludus to chaste (379)

But if we ony enimis · wiþ-inne vs asprie,  
We nolle sclepe in no sclowþe · til we hem sclain haue  
(343-4)

Þat i ne am temted ful tid · to turne me þennus (98)

Hit ne is no leue in our land · þat ludus þer-inne  
Scholde more of hure mete · þan mesure take (311-12)

I ne haue no lordschipe of lif · to lengþe my daies (76)

We ne han none hous bote holus · in þe holou cauus,  
Vndur hillus ful hie · to holden us inne (434-5)

And 3if þei ne hadde none holis · on þe holw erþe,  
As hadde þe weies þat were · here wordliche makus? (57-8)

The situation of A&D is difficult to elucidate, since only fifteen relevant examples are available in the text. As far as the limited examples are concerned, however, forms of will regularly present contracted forms while forms of have constantly provide uncontracted forms. The alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms is witnessed with forms of be, whereas forms of witen do not provide any relevant instances.

The limited instances in A&D do not provide any supplementary information to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218-20). The present text is considered to have been written somewhere around Gloucestershire, which is an area where negative contraction is supposed to be most frequently encountered as discussed above (see 4.1.1.). The phenomenon is, however, not particularly prevalent in A&D, and in particular, forms of have regularly exhibit uncontracted negative forms. This may be due to the fact that the present text belongs to a relatively late period of ME. MED (Plan and Bibliography, Supplement, I: 2) dates the manuscript of the text to ca1450, while Lumiansky (1967: 271) more broadly assumes that the manuscript was produced in the fifteenth century.

(17) The Destruction of Troy (DT)

DT provides only one instance of negative contraction and all the other relevant examples are uncontracted, although relevant examples themselves are not abundant:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + was	0	1	1
ne + wold	1	0	1
ne + hade	0	6	6
Totals	1 (12.5%)	7 (87.5%)	8

The example which shows negative contraction runs as follows:

Hit might sothely be siche on, as your self nold  
ffor mykill of þis medill erthe þat myschefe to se  
(7585-6).

Uncontracted forms are also exemplified below:

Ne was hit not your wille, & your weghe all (9707)

Ne hade Priam the prise kyng preset hom aboute,  
þat was feghtyng in the feld on the fer syde (9053-4).

The manuscript of DT is localized in Lancashire, and it was perhaps produced in the middle of the fifteenth century, although the original text of DT, which is also in the Northern dialect, perhaps dates back to the later period of the fourteenth century.

As has often been discussed above, the northern border of the phenomenon of negative contraction has never been made clear in existing studies. Lancashire is not investigated in respect of the phenomenon by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986). The border may be a little further north, especially in the case of westerly areas, than has usually been expected. As far as my observation is concerned, GGK (Cheshire) shows a constant attestation of contracted forms (see (15) above), while Havelok and G&E (both in Norfolk) do not provide particularly ample examples of negative contraction despite their earlier dates than GGK (see (4) and (7) above). In contradistinction to GGK, on the other hand, the Cotton MS of CM (the West Riding of Yorkshire) does not provide any examples of negative contraction (see (9) above). It is interesting that DT, which is localized between GGK and CM geographically, provides at least one

instance of negative contraction. Because of the extensive reduction of the adverb ne in general, the whole situation is difficult to assess, although it seems likely that negative contraction was probably a fairly minor phenomenon in Lancashire in the middle of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the phenomenon is not entirely absent there.

(18) The Stanzaic Morte Arthur (SMA)

The following table displays the distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms in SMA:

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + ys	3	0	3
ne + was	1	0	1
ne + wyll(e)	4	0	4
ne + woll(e)	0	1	1
ne + welle	1	0	1
ne + wold(e)	17	4	21
ne + haue	0	1	1
ne + had-	4	1	5
ne + wote	1	0	1
ne + woste	0	1	1
ne + wiste/wyste	2	4	6
Totals	33 (73.3%)	12 (26.7%)	45

Some illustrations of contracted forms are:

Thys day nys nought yit gone to the ende (1531)

In alle the world nas suche a knight (579)

"The lord that we have lovid all-way,  
In courte why nylle he nevir dwelle!" (822-3)

Certenly I nelle nought dwelle  
Bot come A-gayne to youe All swythe (1790-1)

Off All the day he noide not oute goo (1983)

kyng and courte hade ofte bene slayne,  
Nad he bene better than we mo (1698-9)

I note whedyr they wyll vs good or ylle (3426)

They nyste what it myght by-mene (856).

Uncontracted forms are also illustrated below:

Tille that he haue launcelot sene  
 Night ne day ne wolde he byde (550-1)

They ne wolde no3t be of hys assente (1937)

"lord, As I ne haue gilte no wyght (1377)

Why ne had I lenger thus be ledd? (3873)

And, syr, thou ne woste not Ryght wiseliche  
 What harme hathe falle there-of and myght (1158-9)

he ne wiste what was beste Rede (907).

On the whole, contracted negative forms occur much more frequently than uncontracted forms in SMA, although forms of witen show an inclination towards uncontracted forms. According to McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 111), the manuscript of SMA is to be localized in the North-East Midlands and presumably in Rutland, whereas the original text was perhaps produced in the North-West Midlands. Although the general tendency of negative contraction in northerly parts of England is not clear, the phenomenon is fairly common as far as the usage of SMA is concerned. The common occurrence of contracted forms here merits attention also in the light of the fact that the manuscript concerned was produced as late as in the late fifteenth century. Relevant examples themselves are still found fairly frequently for a short text (a little less than 4,000 lines) of this late period.

#### 4.1.3. General remarks

As discussed above, negative contraction is widely and abundantly observed in ME. In the later period of ME, however, the number of relevant examples gradually decreases because of the reduction of the adverb ne itself. This is particularly pronounced in the North. EMH and CM, both of which are localized north of the Humber, do not provide any instances of negative contraction, although the

phenomenon was witnessed in Northumbrian to some extent in the OE period.

The northern boundary of the negative contraction, however, may be further north than has thus far been assumed. The constant occurrence of contracted forms in GGK (Cheshire) is most notable in this respect, although this is partly related to the fact that the text is from western areas where negative contraction is more common than in eastern regions as frequently mentioned above (Levin 1958: 498-9). SMA (Rutland) also displays a fairly frequent occurrence of negative contraction. DT (Lancashire) and AMA (Lincolnshire) present at least one example of contraction each, although relevant examples themselves are scanty in the texts. These four texts are all beyond the northern boundary of areas examined by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986) in respect of negative contraction.

Concerning more southerly areas, the phenomenon in the East Midlands is less frequent than that in the South and the South-Western areas as Levin (1958: 498) argues. Negative contraction is fairly frequent in KA (Essex) and CA (Suffolk and Kent), while in Havelok and G&E (both in Norfolk), which are both localized slightly further north than KA and CA, present only a modest frequency of contracted forms in contrast to ample uncontracted forms. Furthermore, western areas provide copious examples of contracted negative forms as Levin (1958: 498) and McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, I: 532-3) suggest. This is, however, more pronounced with early texts such as PM (Lamb), O&N, KH, and SEL, where the occurrence of the phenomenon is almost constant. Ferumbras and A&D, which are relatively late, demonstrate uncontracted forms with the frequency of some 30% to 40%. As for the Kentish usage, negative contraction is much favoured in contradistinction to Levin's remark to the opposite effect (see 4.1.1. above). PM (Dgb) and WS, both of which are localized in Kent, show

an almost regular attestation of contracted forms.

The distribution of negative contraction seems to yield slight differences depending upon the item concerned. KA, for example, shows a predominant use of uncontracted forms of have, while the other relevant examples in the same text present a strong inclination towards negative contraction. In Havelok, on the other hand, negative contraction is virtually limited to the combination of the adverb ne and is. Similarly in G&E, negative contraction is limited to forms of will. In Ferumbras, however, negative contraction is more common with forms of be and witen than with forms of have and will. On the whole, forms of have seem to present a weaker tendency to be contracted than the other relevant forms when texts are of the type which provide both contracted and uncontracted forms. CA is another text which does not provide any contracted forms of have, but some contracted forms of be, will, and witen. The text also shows an interesting tendency to prefer contracted forms for present-tense forms and uncontracted forms for preterite-tense forms.

The discussion in 4.1.2. above also reveals the individual situation of each item concerned. As for nam, for example, the contracted form has been evidenced by McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 218) only in five central counties: Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, and Essex. This has, however, turned out to be attributable to the sparseness of the adverb ne followed by am in general. Nam is met with outside the five counties mentioned above despite the paucity of relevant examples: in CA (Suffolk and Kent), SEL (Berkshire), Ferumbras (Devonshire), and in O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland). Thus the form was more widespread than has thus far been argued. Nold- is another interesting example. McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986, IV: 219) identify the form in Shropshire, Herefordshire, Dorset,

Bedfordshire, Suffolk, and Essex, but the form is found in most of the texts that I have investigated, although some of the texts investigated in the present study are much earlier in date than the chronological coverage of McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986). In order to make the situation of each item clearer, texts providing each form are listed below. For the purpose of comparison with McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin (1986), the texts from areas where negative contraction is not identified by them are presented in bold characters. (The convention is followed with texts earlier than the period 1350-1450 as well.)

(1) nam

O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), SEL (Berkshire), Ferumbras (Devonshire), CA (Suffolk and Kent), KA (Essex)

(2) nart/nert

O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), KA (Essex), GGK (Cheshire)

(3) nis/nys

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), Havelok (Norfolk), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), CA (Suffolk and Kent), KA (Essex), GGK (Cheshire), A&D (Gloucestershire), SMA (Rutland)

(4) nas/nes

PM (Trin, London), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), KA (Essex), SMA (Rutland)

(5) ner- (preterite tense)

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), KA (Essex)

(6) Present-tense forms of will

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), G&E (Norfolk), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), CA (Suffolk and Kent), HS (Hertfordshire), KA (Essex), A&D (Gloucestershire), SMA (Rutland)

(7) Preterite-tense forms of will

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), G&E (Norfolk), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), HS (Hertfordshire), KA (Essex), GGK (Cheshire), DT (Lancashire), SMA (Rutland)

(8) Present-tense forms of have

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), KA (Essex), GGK (Cheshire)

(9) Preterite-tense forms of have

O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), KH (Berkshire), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), KA (Essex), GGK (Cheshire), SMA (Rutland)

(10) Present-tense forms of witen

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), CA (Suffolk and Kent), HS (Hertfordshire), KA (Essex), AMA (Lincolnshire), SMA (Rutland)

(11) Preterite-tense forms of witen

PM (Trin, London), PM (Dgb, Kent), PM (Lamb, Herefordshire), O&N (South-Western and South-West Midland), SEL (Berkshire), WS (Kent), Ferumbras (Devonshire), CA (Suffolk and Kent), KA (Essex), SMA (Rutland)

#### 4.2. Syntactic Conditions

As the above discussion reveals, negative contraction is highly conditioned dialectally, and this has so far been the principal issue of interest in the phenomenon. Recent studies by Blockley (1988 and 1990), however, examine the relationship between negative contraction in OE verse and syntactic conditions. According to her, OE verse presents the alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms, which is conditioned syntactically, whereas OE prose usually shows either contracted forms only or uncontracted forms alone (1988: 429 and 449; 1990: 476 and 489-90). She argues that uncontracted forms in OE verse are reserved for some special cases and they are employed when a clausal element, especially a verbal complement, is unexpressed but understood (1988: 443; 1990: 476). This includes various cases: not only the omission of an element, which is understood from the context, but also the movement of an element which leaves a trace (topicalization). She compares and contrasts the following two passages from Genesis, for example:

salwigfeðera        secan nolde  
(Genesis 1448 [from Blockley (1988: 435)]); and

                                  Æfre siððan  
se monlica,        þæt is maære spell,  
stille wunode,     þær hie strang begeat  
wite, þæs heo wordum        wuldres þegna  
hyran ne wolde  
(Genesis 2567-71 [from Blockley (1988: 435)]).

She argues that the first example does not have any verbal complements after nolde whereas in the second example the trace of the indirect object has been moved to the position before ne wolde and that this is why negative contraction is blocked in the second example (Blockley 1988: 435). This is a case of topicalization, which is included under the category which hinders negative contraction (Blockley 1988: 438). She points to the fact in this connection that clause-final position is a location which tends to indicate the

existence of an unexpressed element or trace of elements, and which therefore tends to display uncontracted forms (1988: 441-2). By 'unexpressed and understood' elements, she also means elements that conjoin clauses. By citing the following example from Klaeber's Beowulf, she comments upon this point:

Ne wæs þæt eðe sið,  
 þæt se mæra maga Ecgðeowes  
 grundwong þone ofgyfan wolde;  
 sceolde [ofer] willan wic eardian  
 elles hwergen, swa sceal æghwylc mon  
 alætan lændagas. Næs ða long to don,  
 þæt ða aglæcean hy eft gemetton.  
 Hyrte hyne hordweard, hreðer æðme weoll  
 (Beowulf 2586-93 [from Blockley (1990: 478)]).

The occurrence of the uncontracted form ne wæs in line 2586 she explains by referring to the fact that the clause introduced by sceolde is closely attached to the preceding clause where ne wæs occurs and therefore these two clauses could have been connected by a conjoining element and this is understood. This is not the case, however, with næs in line 93 (Blockley 1990: 478-9).

With respect to the ME period, on the other hand, syntactic conditions have not been dealt with in relation to negative contraction. The discussion below aims, therefore, at a contribution in this field. As far as the present survey of selected ME verse texts is concerned, negative contraction seems primarily to be conditioned geographically as discussed in the preceding section (4.1. above). Thus syntactic conditions can only be secondary to geographical issues. Two Northern texts EMH (Yorkshire) and CM (the West Riding of Yorkshire), for instance, constantly provide uncontracted forms, which therefore cannot be influenced by any syntactic circumstances in which they occur. Conversely, PM (Trin, Lamb), O&N, and GGK do not provide any examples of uncontracted forms but solely contracted ones, which again cannot be conditioned syntactically. In fact, the dialectal situations are so consistent that

even the metrical scheme does not seem to be much involved in the alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms, although Forström (1948: 288) argues that contracted forms were 'convenient variants to meet the exigencies of the metre'. As mentioned above, EMH and CM do not provide any examples of contracted forms, whereas PM (Lamb, Trin), O&N, and GGK show only contracted ones. In these texts, therefore, metrical features are entirely irrelevant to the phenomenon of negative contraction. In some other texts, however, either contracted or uncontracted forms make an extreme minority. DT and AMA, for example, provide only one example of negative contraction each, while PM (Dgb), KH, and SEL provide only a few examples of uncontracted forms. For negative contraction to function as a useful poetical device, the existence of a fairly substantial number of both contracted and uncontracted forms is necessary. It is virtually only in East Midland texts and in some late texts from the West Midland area that a reasonable alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms is evidenced. Acknowledging the fact that syntactic conditions can only be secondary, and not primary, the following discussion deals in turn with: (1) syntactic conditions related to contracted forms, and (2) syntactic conditions relevant to uncontracted forms.

As concerns contracted forms, Havelok, HS, AMA, DT, and A&D, where uncontracted forms are dominant and where contracted forms therefore belong to the minority, are interesting to examine.<sup>17</sup> It seems likely that existential clauses show a slight preference for contracted forms over uncontracted ones. This is by no means such a strong condition, however, that in existential clauses contracted forms are much more frequent than uncontracted forms. There is simply a slight inclination towards negative contraction than usual. A&D provides the alternation between contracted negative forms (3x)

and uncontracted ones (2x) with forms of be, and two of the contracted forms occur in existential clauses, as cited below:

Per nis no lawe in oure land · ludus to chaste (A&D 379)

But swiche wordus of wise · we wilnen to lere,  
Pere nis no iargoun no iangle · ne iuggeme[n]tis falce  
(A&D 461-2).

These two are the only relevant examples to illustrate the case of existential clauses in A&D as the following table shows. It is therefore difficult to tell if the tendency is observed with preterite-tense forms as well.

Existential clauses in A&D

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	2	0	2
ne + was/were	0	0	0
Totals	2	0	2

Of the other four texts where contracted forms belong to the minority group, HS, AMA, and DT do not present any relevant forms of be. Havelok, by contrast, provides three examples of contracted forms of be, two of which again illustrate existential clauses. They are:

Weilawe! nis it no korn,  
Pat men micte maken of bred? (Havelok 462-3)

Jn þis middelerd nis no knith  
Half so strong ne half so with (Havelok 2245-6).

It is noticeable, however, that Havelok does not present negative

<sup>17</sup> It is perhaps clearer to start with the identification of the minority pattern as the marked class. Of the texts that I have investigated, two relatively northern texts DT and AMA, for instance, each provide only one instance of contracted forms. Here the dominant group of uncontracted forms do not seem to be conditioned syntactically. This does not necessarily mean, however, that forms of the majority pattern are not conditioned syntactically at all. As an extreme case, Blockley (1988: 436-7) argues that the syntactic conditions favourable for uncontracted forms are valid even when a text yields only one example of contracted forms as opposed to a large number of uncontracted forms.

contraction of preterite-tense forms of be despite the fact that five examples of existential clauses in the preterite tense are attested in the text. The following table shows the distribution of contracted and uncontracted forms in existential clauses in Havelok:

Existential clauses in Havelok

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	2	0	2
ne + was/were	0	5	5
Totals	2	5	7

Some illustrative examples of the preterite tense are:

Ne was þer spared gos ne henne,  
Ne þe hende ne þe drake (Havelok 1241-2)

Jn al þe borw ne was no knith  
Ðat betere couþe on stede riden,  
Helm on heued ne swerd bi side (Havelok 1758-60).

This is perhaps simply ascribable to the fact that the form nis is much more common than nas or nerre in ME on the whole, as discussed above (see 4.1.).<sup>18</sup> This state of affairs also assures the fact that syntactic conditions are secondary to the general distribution of negative contraction, as mentioned above. The contracted forms nas and nerre are not available even in existential clauses in Havelok, which displays a border-area situation where common forms such as nis are available but not the other forms of negative contraction.

Since the five texts concerned (i.e. Havelok, HS, AMA, DT, and A&D) provide only a limited number of relevant examples, those texts in which contracted forms preponderantly occur are also worthy of note if the alternation between contracted and uncontracted forms of be is ever evidenced and existential clauses are fairly abundantly

<sup>18</sup> Negative contraction is more common with is than with was and were. The most notable text in this respect is CA, as discussed above, where all examples of ne + is exemplify negative contraction whereas the adverb ne followed by was or were is always uncontracted.

encountered in them. KA and Ferumbras are texts of this kind. Examples of existential clauses in these texts are classified in the tables below as in the case of Havelok, while the general situation of forms of be, which functions as a scale, is displayed above the tables:

- (1) Existential clauses in KA (cf. contracted forms of be : uncontracted forms of be = 75 (93.8%) : 5 (6.2%))<sup>19</sup>

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is	12	0	12
ne + was/were	32	1	33
Totals	44	1	45
	(97.8%)	(2.2%)	

- (2) Existential clauses in Ferumbras (cf. contracted forms of be : uncontracted forms of be = 45 (81.1%) : 10 (18.2%))

	Contracted	Uncontracted	Totals
ne + is/ys	10	1	11
ne + was/were	9	2	11
Totals	19	3	22
	(86.4%)	(13.6%)	

Since the general predominance of contracted forms (93.8% in KA and 81.1% in Ferumbras) hinders a clear view of the situation of existential clauses in these texts, KA and Ferumbras provide only weak evidence. Nevertheless, the situation in these texts is at least consistent with A&D and Havelok discussed above. The above tables appear to indicate that contracted forms, especially in the present tense, are favoured in existential clauses, although the tendency is by no means strong. The proportions of contracted forms are at least slightly higher with existential clauses (97.8% in KA and 86.4% in Ferumbras) than with the whole sample of relevant forms of be (93.8% in KA and 81.1% in Ferumbras). Some illustrative examples of contracted forms follow:

<sup>19</sup> Only those forms of be which can provide contracted forms are counted. Thus the following is not included, for example:

In all this world ne be no mo (SMA 587).

Þere nys non so slowe wi3th jnne (KA 3882)

Nas fairer body in a londe (KA 2002)

In al paynye nys prync3 ne kyng : þat berþ so gret a name  
(Ferumbras 122)

þer nas non oþer bote (Ferumbras 4532).

The examples of uncontracted forms are also provided below:

Þere ne weren moo ne las (KA 6883)

Oþer passage ne ys þar non bote by þat brigge y-mad of  
ston  
(Ferumbras 4317)

To seche þe worlde al aboute : ne was man of fairer fasoun  
(Ferumbras 1075)

Ne were þer þo bot kni3tes ne3ene : to fi3te a3en þat host  
(Ferumbras 2720).

Apart from the condition discussed above, no particular syntactic features which seem to be closely related to negative contraction are available in the five texts at issue (i.e. Havelok, HS, AMA, DT, and A&D). It is at least noticeable, however, that one of the four contracted forms available in HS is found in a fixed phrase as cited below:

Wyltou, nyltou, hyt wyl þe spyl (HS 8440).

Another example of the same phrase is found in KA. Although KA is a text where contracted forms are preponderant instead of uncontracted forms, the example is perhaps worth while to quote below:

Wil he, nyl he, ded he is-- (KA 2313).

Contracted forms in this phrase come down even to the MnE period. OED gives some examples of willy-nilly and of nilly-willy down to the end of the nineteenth century (s.v. willy-nilly and nilly-willy respectively). The phrase is not yet obsolete. In other words, the

phrase is in use in a fossilized form even in circumstances where contracted forms are usually no longer available.

As for conditions particularly concerned with uncontracted forms, PM (Dgb), KH, SEL, WS, Ferumbras, KA (other than forms of have, which give a marked preference for uncontracted forms), and SMA, where uncontracted forms are preponderant, are interesting to explore. As stated above, Blockley considers that uncontracted forms are used when a clause is incomplete in OE verse. In other words, uncontracted forms are employed when a clausal element such as a verbal complement or a conjunctive element is unexpressed but understood. Under the same category, she includes the case in which a gap of an element is produced in a clause because of the movement of an element. Linguists call the gap a trace, while they call the whole phenomenon topicalization. Since the nature of OE verse and that of ME verse are mutually different, the conditions proposed by Blockley may not necessarily be applicable to ME verse texts as they stand. For example, the frequent omission of a conjunctive element, which Blockley considers blocks negative contraction, may be typically applicable to OE where asyndetic structures are common. ME verse texts, however, present some similar cases, which may as well be related to Blockley's conjecture. The sole uncontracted form in PM (Dgb), for example, is found in the context where a clausal element is preposed (topicalization):

þæt her hi ne wisten (PM Dgb 183).

Likewise, KH provides only two instances of uncontracted forms, one of which illustrates the same syntactic context:

Þat no payn hit ne wiste (KH 78).

The only instance of uncontracted forms of witen in KA, for instance,

runs as follows:

(His grete ost it ne wist) (KA 4108).

The object of the finite verb is preposed here. Furthermore, the following example in Ferumbras, which also illustrates this condition, is also the only uncontracted form of witen in the text:

þe fairnesse þar-of no man ne wot : to telle it al on sonder  
(Ferumbras 1698).

These four examples,<sup>20</sup> however, account for only a small portion of the large number of uncontracted forms in the seven texts listed above (80 examples).<sup>21</sup> One notable point of the above examples is that all illustrate the case in which the finite verb is located at the end of a line and three of them (except for the example in Ferumbras) are at the clause-final position as well. Blockley (1988: 440-2) suggests that clause-final position tends to provide uncontracted forms owing to the fact that it is a place where clausal complements tend to be *unexpressed*. As far as the seven *ME* texts in question are concerned, however, the clause-medial position shows a higher proportion of uncontracted forms (about six percent) than the clause-final position does (roughly three percent). The issue is

<sup>20</sup> Apart from the four examples in PM (Dgb), KH, KA, and Ferumbras, examples also occur in texts where uncontracted forms are more common than contracted ones. G&E, for instance, provides the following examples:

For he wið hire ne wulde speken,  
Ghe ðhenkeð on him for to ben wreken (G&E 2027-8)

In here told he stonden a-gen  
Moyses, and v[t] ne wulde gon (G&E 3769-70).

The following are examples in CA:

Bot he the sothe noght forthi  
Ne wiste, and ther was sorwe tho (CA 94/2150-1)

And feigneth as he noght ne wiste (CA 95/2197).

<sup>21</sup> Forms of have in KA are excluded, since they present a distinctive preference for uncontracted forms, as discussed above.

rather more likely to be connected with emphasis, as I understand it.<sup>22</sup> Contracted negative forms are most probably associated with lack of emphasis whereas uncontracted forms with emphasis, at least to a larger degree than contracted forms. The clause-final position is a sensitive position in this respect. In PE, for example, the clause-final position happens to be a location where the tone nucleus falls. It is reasonable that uncontracted forms are often found there in ME, but this is by no means a rule. The present study in fact shows a higher proportion of uncontracted forms in clause-medial positions than in the clause final position. Unlike OE verse, the clause-final position in ME verse tends to be a position of rhyme, where authors pay a rather special attention. This is another possible factor for the use of uncontracted forms, but again this does not necessarily imply that uncontracted forms are more frequently found at this position than elsewhere. Furthermore, tone nucleus also falls upon the finite verb when the rest of the verbal complement is absent in PE. Similarly, uncontracted forms in ME may also be related to the existence of an element which is unexpressed but understood. Since various factors are concerned with the issue of emphasis, each of these conditions (such as the position in the clause and the existence of an unexpressed or understood element) can by no means be clear or even consistent. Moreover, syntactic conditions themselves are rather secondary to geographical conditions as mentioned repeatedly.

Emphatic environments are indeed available even when a clause is complete and does not have an unexpressed element. The slight tendency for imperative clauses to show uncontracted forms may be related with this factor. Two of the three examples of uncontracted forms in SEL are evidenced in imperative clauses:<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> The point is noticed by Blockley (1988: 444), who, however, pays more attention to formal syntactic features, that is, the position of the finite verb as a result of the omission of an element.

At þe messenger axe wat he be[o] [·] & ne haue of him no  
drede  
 (SEL 65/75)

Ac watso þou ise[o] oþer ihure · ne haue þou none drede  
 (SEL 221/28).

Another uncontracted example of an imperative clause is attested in Ferumbras, although this is merely one of the 43 examples of uncontracted forms in the text:

"þer-of," quap . O[lyuer], "ne haue þou no fere," : & turnd  
him þat sor to hyde  
 (Ferumbras 503).

Some other examples in Ferumbras are also to be identified in fairly emphatic contexts, most characteristically with never:

For y ne wil no3t by god almy3t : & wyt þat þyn owen  
wrong,  
 & ho so takeþ hit on þy part : y swere by cryst in trone,  
 Of me neuere after-wart : loue ne get he none  
 (Ferumbras 161-3)

& yf he ne doþ no3t as y say : þat neuere ne wil y sees,  
 Til y haue him distruyed : & alle þat y fynde of his  
 (Ferumbras 1529-30)

& elles ne wol he neuere cees : til þow beo bro3t to schond  
 (Ferumbras 1947)

neuere ne wil y ete more : or þey be dede ecchone  
 (Ferumbras 2162)

Neuere ne was he with-oute strif, Bot ay wykke[d]liche  
lyuede ys lyf  
 On þefþe & robberye (Ferumbras 4111-12)

þe Amyrel haþ sworn by ternagan þat neuere ne wil he  
departie þan,  
 for no3t þat may betyde,  
 Til þay be-take in dispyt of þe, And an-honged he3e on þe  
galwetre,  
 euerech by oþres syde (Ferumbras 4267-70)

Oþer passage ne ys þar non bote by þat brigge y-mad of  
ston,  
 nys þer non oþer grace (Ferumbras 4317-18)

<sup>23</sup> Since contracted forms reveal a predominance in SEL in general, contracted forms also occur frequently in imperative clauses. There are seven instances of imperative clauses in the relevant sample of SEL, five of which present a contracted form.

And if he wil assenty þar-to, non harm þanne ne wyl y do  
 To hym ne non of hys (Ferumbras 5303-4).

KA (other than forms of have) provides only fourteen examples of uncontracted forms (as against 133 examples of contracted forms), some of which are again in fairly emphatic contexts:

And swore, by Adam and by Eue,  
 She ne wolde it neuere yleue (KA 325-6)

So woo ne was hym neuere ar (KA 2470)

Who so ne wil by oþer hym chaste,  
 Ouerþrowe he shal in haste (KA 3035-6)

For no power ne for no wonder  
 3ut ne weren we neuere vnder (KA 3049-50)

Ac non ne w[ol]de ansuere a word,  
 Neiþer to man ne to lorde (KA 5815-16).

Three of the above examples include never. The third example cited above, which does not include never, has a similar effect, since the concessive clause introduced by who so . . . implies 'whoever . . .' The last example above, where a word gives emphasis upon the negative proposition, is also interesting in the same respect.<sup>24</sup> A similar example is observed in SMA as well:

"lord, As I ne haue gilte no wyght (SMA 1377).

Again the example shows an uncontracted form.

The present discussion may be extended to some texts where uncontracted forms are more common. In G&E, for instance, all the examples of negative contraction of will (3x) occur when the adverb ne is employed alone (weaker form of negation), whereas three of uncontracted forms of will (8x) reveal the construction in which the adverb ne is supported by nogt (stronger form of negation), as the

<sup>24</sup> The emphatic nature of expressions of this type is discussed by Mittermann (1973: 193) and by Blake (1988: 95) about ME and early MnE respectively. The issue is discussed in 3.2.14. above as well.

following illustrate:

Oc he ne wulden his dogtres nogt,  
For wicke and feble was here ðogt (G&E 1071-2)

Quat-so his dremes owen a-wold,  
Dis dede was don; wid herte sor  
Ne wulde ruben nogt drechen ðor (G&E 1944-6)

Oc god, ne wile he it nogt for-geten (G&E 3682).

The examples of contracted forms are also given below:

Self his kinde nile ðat wune forgeten (G&E 1806)

Nile he blinnen, swilc sorwe he cliued (G&E 1963)

Ðe wicches hidden hem, for-ðan  
Bi-foren pharaun nolden he ben,  
So woren he lodelike on to sen (G&E 3028-30).

The situation of Havelok also merits attention. Although uncontracted forms are predominant in the text, the combination of the adverb ne and is occurs more frequently contracted (3x) than it occurs uncontracted (1x). The sole example of the uncontracted form runs as follows:

Of me ne is me nouth a slo (Havelok 850).

The example is of the same type as KA (5815-16) and SMA (1377) discussed above, and clearly emphatic.

The above discussion reveals the following conclusions. The alternation between contracted and uncontracted negation is highly conditioned dialectally so that syntactic conditions relevant to the phenomenon can only be secondary. This is a significant point to be noted in relation to all the conditions discussed in the present section.

It is noticeable that existential clauses show a slight inclination towards negative contraction, although this is by no means a strong condition. That the fixed phrase willy-nilly occurs in this form even

in a text where negative contraction is not usual at all is also worthy of note.

Uncontracted forms, on the other hand, seem to be associated with emphasis, at least more than contracted forms are. Emphatic contexts are, therefore, generally favourable for the employment of uncontracted forms. The tendency for uncontracted forms to occur when an unexpressed but understood element is identified after the finite verb is one of the factors related with the issue of emphasis. Emphatic contexts are not, however, restricted to this case. Uncontracted forms, for example, also tend to occur in imperative clauses. Furthermore, uncontracted forms are also encountered in some other clauses with a strongly negative connotation. For example, those with never, and those with a negative followed by a word (as in KA 5815-16), a slo (as in Havelok 850), etc. also belong to this type.

**MULTIPLE NEGATION**

## C H A P T E R V

## Multiple Negation

## 5.1. Preliminary remarks

It has been known that multiple negation commonly occurs both in OE and in ME. Brook (1958) states: 'In Old and Middle English the idea of negation was often expressed several times in a single sentence' (145-6). Kisbye (1971-2, I: 183 and 195) remarks that multiple negation is extremely common in OE, while he maintains that the phenomenon continues up to the ME period. How frequently multiple negation occurs as against single negation has, however, never been fully investigated in existing studies. It seems at least likely that multiple negation reaches its peak only in the ME period. Miyabe (1968: 92) argues that it is only in the early period of ME that multiple negation takes over single negation, and that negative clauses marked only by the adverb ne are much more common in OE. With respect to the relationship between the phenomenon and style in OE, Mitchell (1983: 11; 1985, I: §§1603 and 1609) states that multiple negation is more frequently observed in prose than in verse.

The ME period eventually undergoes the decline of multiple negation, especially in the later period. From a dialectal point of view, it has been claimed that multiple negation recedes earlier in the North than in the other parts of England (Roseborough 1938: 82; O'Hearn 1982: 296). Even in later ME, however, the phenomenon of multiple negation is still encountered. Wyld (1940: 41-2), for example, cites a number of examples from fifteenth-century writings. The relationship between the decline of the phenomenon and style in ME has not been much discussed to this day, but at least as far as Chaucer is concerned, multiple negation is fairly commonly preserved

in his writings in formal style (Burnley 1983: 61; Iyeyiri 1989a: 66-8).

Multiple negation is still met with even in early MnE. Sugden (1936: §439) comments that it is of a considerable frequency in Spenser's Faerie Queene. The existence of the phenomenon in Shakespeare's English is also noted by Abbott (1872: 295), Brook (1976: 65), and Blake (1988: 106-7). After the time of Shakespeare, however, the employment of multiple negation comes to be much rarer, and as Barber (1976: 283) and Austin (1984: 142) note, the usage becomes substandard during the seventeenth century, although the phenomenon was not entirely exceptional until the latter half of the seventeenth century (Partridge 1969: 88). Nevertheless, Blake (1981: 123) argues that multiple negation is not wholly unacceptable in the eighteenth century, while Curme (1931: 139) even gives an example from Coleridge. Even in PE the phenomenon has not ceased to exist as Kerkhof (1982: 406) mentions as far as non-standard varieties of English are concerned. Multiple negation as hitherto discussed has often been regarded as a means of emphasis (Poutsma 1904-26, I: §91; Brook 1958: 146; Miyabe 1968: 92; Elliott 1974: 401; Brook 1976: 65; Burnley 1983: 66).

The decline of multiple negation has commonly been thought to have taken place through the influence of Latin grammar (Sweet 1892-8, I: §1520; Curme 1931: 139-40; Jespersen 1909-49, V: 451; Kisbye 1971-2, I: 204; Leith 1983: 111). More recently, however, it came to be analyzed in relation to the development of non-assertive forms in negative clauses (e.g. any and ever),<sup>1</sup> which perhaps took over the role of redundant negative elements in multiple negation (Labov 1972; Jack 1978c: 70; Burnley 1983: 60; Blake 1988: 106; Fischer 1992: 283-4). Namely, never, no, etc., which occur by the side of the adverbs ne and not in early English, gradually come to be replaced by their corresponding non-assertive forms such as ever

<sup>1</sup> For a definition of non-assertive forms, see 1.4.(8) above.

and any. This ultimately contributes to the reduction of multiple negation. Furthermore, the ME phenomenon of employing the conjunction ne/nor in negative clauses in place of the conjunctions and and or as in MnE is also a feature of multiple negation which cannot be ignored (Jack 1978b: 29). The conjunction ne/nor freely occurs in a clause which is already negative, and indeed, the frequent involvement of the negative conjunction as one of the multiple negative elements has been noticed by Sugden (1936: 5439) as well as by Franz (1939: 5410). The obliteration of the conjunction ne/nor in this usage, or the more and more extended use of and or or in its place, therefore, also contributes to the decline of multiple negation.

As thus far mentioned, frequent occurrence of multiple negation in early English has constantly been pointed out, but little systematic analysis has been conducted either into the nature of the phenomenon itself or into the nature of its decline, which takes place in the later period of ME. The present chapter attempts to provide a chronological and geographical overview of the phenomenon and discusses the process of its decline, referring to several linguistic factors possibly related with the phenomenon.

## 5.2. Multiple negation and the adverb ne

Multiple negation is frequently attested in the selected ME verse texts of the present study:

Herto ne uindestu neuer andsware (O&N 657)

Hit ne no3t for loren (KH 479)

Ɔat he ne moucte no more liue  
For gol[d] ne siluer ne for no gyue (Havelok 356-7)

He[o] ne tok for þulke dede · of noman mede ne winne  
(SEL 137/15)

Nas noþer fourme ne materye,  
Ne ly3t ne derk (WS 138/251-2)

. . . ne dradde þay noþyng þan Amerel  
ne non of al þe hepe (Ferumbras 5071-2)

Wheþer hade he no helme ne hawbergh nauþer,  
Ne no pysan ne no plate þat pented to armes,  
Ne no schafte ne no schelde to schwue ne to smyte  
(GGK 203-5).

As the examples cited above illustrate, multiple negation consists of various types. In the case of KH (479), for example, the adverb ne is simply supported by the adverb not, which results in multiple negation. In WS (138/251-2) and GGK (203-5), by contrast, the negative connectives neither and ne are involved in multiple negation as one of the negatives. Since the *objective of the present chapter* is to clarify the general development of multiple negation from a chronological point of view, clauses with one negative element are simply treated as examples of single negation, while clauses with more than one negative element as examples of multiple negation whatever the negative elements involved may be. In other words, the analysis is based upon the criterion of how many negatives are included in one clause with one finite verb.

While the existence of multiple negation in early *English* and the decline of the phenomenon from later ME onwards are often mentioned in existing studies, types of multiple negation are scarcely discussed. However, the clarification of which negative elements multiple negation consists of helps to elucidate the process of its decline. The present section is focused upon the relationship between multiple negation and the adverb ne and its relevance to the decline of multiple negation itself. The most fundamental issue involved in the decline of multiple negation, as I understand it, is the decline of the adverb ne from clauses which include not only the adverb ne but also other negative elements such as not and never, no, etc. Since the decline of the adverb ne takes place in later ME, multiple negation itself is frequently reduced to single negation in later ME as well. Consequently, single negation as a result of the decline of

the adverb ne is by no means a dominant phenomenon in the texts of Group 1 where the adverb ne is fully preserved. The overall situation of single v.s. multiple negation in the Group 1 texts is displayed below:

Single v.s. multiple negation in Group 1

Group 1	one negative	two negatives	three negatives	more than three	Totals
PM (Lamb)	22 (33.8%)	31	10 (66.2%)	2	65
PM (Trin)	30 (29.4%)	45	17 (70.6%)	10	102
PM (Dgb)	29 (30.9%)	43	13 (69.1%)	9	94
O&N	100 (40.5%)	124	20 (59.5%)	3	247
kH	29 (28.4%)	67	4 (71.6%)	2	102
SEL	415 (26.5%)	1040	81 (73.5%)	31	1567
Totals	625 (28.7%)	1350	145 (71.3%)	57	2177

As the above table shows, around 25% to 40% of negative clauses illustrate single negation, while the rest yield more than one negative element. As far as multiple negation is concerned, most examples provide two negative elements, and those including more than two are significantly less frequent. In other words, multiple negation is, in most cases, virtually the same as double negation.

The nature of single and multiple negation should also be considered to make the situation of the Group 1 texts clearer. The situation of single negation is firstly displayed below:

## Single negation in Group 1

Group 1	ne (adverb)	not (adverb)	never, no, etc.	neither, ne/nor	Totals
PM (Lamb)	21 (95.5%)	0	1 (4.5%)	0	22
PM (Trin)	26 (86.7%)	0	3 (10.0%)	1 (3.3%)	30
PM (Dgb)	28 (96.6%)	0	0	1 (3.4%)	29
O&N	98 (98.0%)	0	1 (1.0%)	1 (1.0%)	100
KH	28 (96.6%)	0	0	1 (3.4%)	29
SEL	374 (90.1%)	10 (2.4%)	26 (6.3%)	5 (1.2%)	415
Totals	575 (92.0%)	10 (1.6%)	31 (5.0%)	9 (1.4%)	625

Some examples illustrating the above table follow:

Ne mi3te heo adri3e (KH 1035)

3ute hi 3at bileuede aliue · on God biluuede no3t  
(SEL 23/121)

Swo 3at he witen 3at here pine sal nafre habben ende  
(PM Trin 294)

For fule venne 3e ri3tte strete,  
Ne sunne 3e later shine  
3e3 hit bo ful ine nest 3ine? (O&N 962-4)

Since this group includes relatively early texts where the adverb ne is almost fully preserved, most of the examples of single negation in fact present the adverb ne as its sole negative element. These are examples of the early type of single negation which is most frequently observed in OE. They all are potential candidates for multiple negation, since they can later develop the form ne ... not. In other words, multiple negation is still in the process of increase in these texts. At the same time, however, there are a handful of instances of single negation of the later type, especially in SEL, which is the latest text of this group. The text yields examples of not alone and never, no, etc. alone, which are a product of the depletion of the adverb ne.

The nature of multiple negation should also be taken into

consideration. Since double negation (two negative elements in a clause) by nature shifts to single negation once the adverb ne involved in it disappears, double negation deserves a separate entry in the table below:

Multiple negation in Group 1

Group 1	the number of negatives	<u>ne</u> + other negative(s)	without <u>ne</u>	Totals
PM (Lamb)	two negatives	31 (100.0%)	0	31
	more than two	12 (100.0%)	0	12
PM (Trin)	two negatives	44 (97.8%)	1 (2.2%)	45
	more than two	26 (96.3%)	1 (3.7%)	27
PM (Dgb)	two negatives	41 (95.3%)	2 (4.7%)	43
	more than two	22 (100.0%)	0	22
O&N	two negatives	124 (100.0%)	0	124
	more than two	23 (100.0%)	0	23
KH	two negatives	67 (100.0%)	0	67
	more than two	6 (100.0%)	0	6
SEL	two negatives	1020 (98.1%)	20 (1.9%)	1040
	more than two	110 (98.2%)	2 (1.8%)	112

Examples include:

for nan ne knauð him ase zere : buten ane drihte  
(PM Lamb 110)

Nare noman elles dead ne sic ne unsele (PM Trin 201)

Ne mai hit no man oþre  
siggen mid iwise (PM Dgb 187)

Ðu ne singst neuer one siþe (O&N 1163)

H't nere no fair wedding  
Bitwexe a þral & a king (KH 423-4)

Hy ne dorste bileue at no toun . . . (SEL 58/127).

As mentioned above, multiple negation is already more common than single negation in the present group, and most examples of multiple negation supply two negative elements, illustrating double negation. That double negation, which has only one redundant negative element, accounts for most examples of multiple negation is an important fact, since this implies that most examples of multiple negation can move to single negation by the loss of one negative element. Since the Group 1 texts almost fully preserve the adverb

ne, most examples of multiple negation include the adverb ne, and this is not exceptional with double negation. A large number of the examples of multiple negation indeed include the adverb ne plus another negative element such as not and never, no, etc., and they all shift to single negation once the adverb ne disappears. In other words, multiple negation of Group 1 is full of potential candidates for single negation.

Judging from the nature of single and double negation discussed so far, the following conclusions may be drawn about the texts of Group 1. In view of the fact that the adverb ne is almost fully preserved and it often occurs alone in this group, multiple negation is still in the process of increasing by developing the form ne ... not. The proportion of single negation is the smallest in SEL, therefore, which is the latest among the texts of this group. In fact, 1,152 examples of double negation in SEL include 435 examples (37.8%) of ne ... not (Cf. PM (Lamb) 3/43 (7.0%), PM (Trin) 7/72 (9.7%), PM (Dgb) 9/65 (13.8%), O&N 35/147 (23.8%), KH 16/73 (21.9%)). Ne ... not is most fully developed in SEL in this group. On the whole, the texts of this group present a stage at which on the one hand multiple negation increases more and more, while on the other hand the decline of the adverb ne, which leads to a sudden increase of single negation, has not yet observed to any noticeable degree. Since SEL shows some examples of not alone and never, no, etc. alone as a product of the depletion of the adverb ne, however, multiple negation reaches its summit around the stage of this text, after which the process by which multiple negation shifts to single negation accelerates itself, although the process by which ne develops to ne ... not resulting in multiple negation may not stop entirely. This is shown by the texts of Group 2.

The situation of single and multiple negation in the texts of Group 2 are displayed below:

## Single v.s. multiple negation in Group 2

Group 2	one negative	two negatives	three negatives	more than three	Totals
Havelok	134 (50.2%)	94	21 (49.8%)	18	267
G&E	141 (61.8%)	78	8 (38.2%)	1	228
WS	188 (41.4%)	222	29 (58.6%)	15	454
Ferumbras	282 (47.7%)	265	35 (52.3%)	9	591
KA	229 (43.3%)	224	49 (56.7%)	27	529
A&D	93 (54.1%)	55	13 (45.9%)	11	172
Totals	1067 (47.6%)	938	155 (52.4%)	81	2241

Single negation is almost as frequent as multiple negation in the texts of Group 2. It appears that single negation, which was once reduced down to 26.5% by the stage of SEL in Group 1, now increases again. In particular, G&E shows a remarkably extended employment of single negation for this period. Apparently, multiple negation, which culminated towards the end of the Group 1 texts has now entered into the stage at which it declines. This is mainly caused by the decline of the adverb ne, since most examples of multiple negation yield the adverb ne plus another negative element in the early stage as attested with Group 1 above. The investigation of the nature of single negation in the Group 2 texts as discussed below confirms this:

## Single negation in Group 2

Group 2	ne (adverb)	not (adverb)	never, no, etc.	neither, ne/nor	Totals
Havelok	50 (37.3%)	24 (17.9%)	53 (39.6%)	7 (5.2%)	134
G&E	51 (36.2%)	33 (23.4%)	53 (37.6%)	4 (2.8%)	141
WS	96 (51.1%)	47 (25.0%)	40 (21.3%)	5 (2.7%)	188
Ferumbras	109 (38.7%)	81 (28.7%)	91 (32.3%)	1 (0.4%)	282
KA	149 (65.1%)	20 (8.7%)	55 (24.0%)	5 (2.2%)	229
A&D	6 (6.5%)	21 (22.6%)	60 (64.5%)	6 (6.5%)	93
Totals	461 (43.2%)	226 (21.2%)	352 (33.0%)	28 (2.6%)	1067

Some illustrative examples are:

Per ne wolden he dwellen longe (Havelok 1187)

Tac ðu nogt in idel min name (G&E 3497)

He swor he scholde neuere beo fayn : til þey were alle  
an-honge  
(Ferumbras 1951)

Ne sette solow on þe feld . . . (A&D 295)

The adverb ne, which is almost exclusively employed as a marker of single negation in texts with early features (i.e. the texts which belong to Group 1), is still preserved in Group 2, while never, no, etc. and the adverb not as a product of the loss of the adverb ne are more and more frequently employed as a marker of single negation. The table shows that a fairly large number of the examples of single negation are newly produced by the obliteration of the adverb ne. In fact, single negation of the new type marked by not or never, no, etc. has surmounted the single negation marked by the adverb ne in the overall situation of the texts which belong to this group. It is, however, noticeable that WS, Ferumbras, and KA still preserve a large number of negative clauses marked only by ne. They have already entered into the stage at which the reduction of ne produces single negation of the new type, but their nature is on

the whole rather conservative.

Multiple negation, which again most frequently corresponds to double negation still includes the adverb ne as one of the two negative markers in it as the table below shows. In other words, the texts of Group 2 still preserve a number of potential candidates for single negation, since double negation which includes the adverb ne directly shifts to single negation once the adverb ne disappears:

Multiple negation in Group 2

Group 2	the number of negatives	ne + other negative(s)	without <u>ne</u>	Totals
Havelok	two negatives	79 (84.0%)	15 (16.0%)	94
	more than two	28 (71.8%)	11 (28.2%)	39
G&E	two negatives	67 (85.9%)	11 (14.1%)	78
	more than two	9 (100.0%)	0	9
WS	two negatives	211 (95.0%)	11 (5.0%)	222
	more than two	40 (90.9%)	4 (9.1%)	44
Ferumbras	two negatives	249 (94.0%)	16 (6.0%)	265
	more than two	39 (88.6%)	5 (11.4%)	44
KA	two negatives	211 (94.2%)	13 (5.8%)	224
	more than two	70 (92.1%)	6 (7.9%)	76
A&D	two negatives	35 (63.6%)	20 (36.4%)	55
	more than two	16 (66.7%)	8 (33.3%)	24

Some examples of multiple negation with the adverb ne follow:

Grith ne get Y neueremo (Havelok 511)

Oc god, ne wile he it nogt for-geten (G&E 3682)

Who yst þat neuer nas rebel  
Azeins hys souerayn? (WS 108/261-2)

hys better nys nowar non (Ferumbras 3880)

Nere none better in no contreye (KA 2126)

Pei ne graunte no grace · but greuen zou ofte (A&D 709).

One notable feature of the above table is the fact that the proportion in which the adverb ne is involved in multiple negation is not as large in A&D as in the other texts of this group. In A&D, a large number of potential candidates for single negation have already moved to single negation, and the relative proportion of multiple negation of the other types has increased. A&D is the latest text of

this group, which shows a linking feature to Group 3, in which group the decline of the adverb ne is reaching the final stage. WS, Ferumbras, and KA, on the other hand, show the opposite feature to A&D, showing that most examples of multiple negation still include the adverb ne as one of the negative elements.

By and large, the texts of Group 2 reveal the stage at which multiple negation which culminated towards the end of the Group 1 texts is in the process of decline. This is caused by the decline of the adverb ne as these texts display. Newly produced single negation is, therefore, often marked by not or never, no, etc., although, on the other hand, single negation marked by the adverb ne alone is still retained in these texts. However, the fact that a large proportion of double negation still preserves the adverb ne as one of the two negatives indicates that a sharp decline of multiple negation is yet to occur. It is in progress at the stage of the Group 2 texts.

The texts of Group 3, which undergo a notable decline of the adverb ne, reveal an extended occurrence of single negation as the table below displays:

Single v.s. multiple negation in Group 3

Group 3	one negative	two negatives	three negatives	more than three	Totals
<u>EMH</u>	205 (88.4%)	22	4 (11.6%)	1	232
<u>CM</u>	787 (81.8%)	139	25 (18.2%)	11	962
<u>CA</u>	990 (91.4%)	74	17 (8.6%)	2	1083
<u>HS</u>	1119 (78.4%)	239	58 (21.6%)	12	1428
<u>GGK</u>	155 (81.6%)	23	8 (18.4%)	4	190
<u>AMA</u>	246 (80.1%)	40	14 (19.9%)	7	307
<u>DT</u>	417 (69.3%)	124	44 (30.7%)	17	602
<u>SMA</u>	300 (78.3%)	71	9 (21.7%)	3	383
Totals	4219 (81.3%)	732	179 (18.7%)	57	5187

As the above table shows, the occurrence of single negation is much more extended in this group. Some 70% to 90% of the examples of clausal negation illustrate single negation. Multiple negation, by contrast, has been largely marginalized, which indicates that a large number of potential candidates for single negation have already shifted to single negation. The situation in which most examples of multiple negation include only two negative elements still remains in this group.

As may be expected from texts where the adverb ne has declined to a large extent, the marker of single negation in Group 3 tends to be either not or never, no, etc. alone. Although single negation of the early type marked by the adverb ne is still available, it is for the most part marginalized and mostly limited to some specific syntactic contexts as discussed above in 3.2. The negative elements involved in single negation are shown below:

Single negation in Group 3

Group 3	ne (adverb)	not (adverb)	never, no, etc.	neither, ne/nor	Totals
EMH	13 (6.3%)	96 (46.8%)	95 (46.3%)	1 (0.5%)	205
CM	71 (9.0%)	262 (33.3%)	442 (56.2%)	12 (1.5%)	787
CA	130 (13.1%)	362 (36.6%)	492 (49.7%)	6 (0.6%)	990
HS	103 (9.2%)	453 (40.5%)	518 (46.3%)	45 (4.0%)	1119
GGk	18 (11.6%)	40 (25.8%)	92 (59.4%)	5 (3.2%)	155
AMA	17 (6.9%)	39 (15.9%)	188 (76.4%)	2 (0.8%)	246
DT	9 (2.2%)	128 (30.7%)	240 (57.6%)	40 (9.6%)	417
SMA	24 (8.0%)	81 (27.0%)	193 (64.3%)	2 (0.7%)	300
Totals	385 (9.1%)	1461 (34.6%)	2260 (53.6%)	113 (2.7%)	4219

Examples of each type include:

So prively that sche ne wiste  
Wher he becom . . . (CA 61/931-2)

That I meself es noht worthi  
 Bifor him for to sit on knes,  
 The binding of his scho to les (EMH 49/2-4)

Of wemen werkes wilnet ho none (DT 3996)

3yf þanne þyn erend sped ne sette (HS 365).

The situation of multiple negation, which most frequently corresponds to double negation, also reveals a stage at which the reduction of multiple negation caused by the loss of ne has occurred to an extensive degree. See the table below:

Multiple negation in Group 3

Group 3	the number of negatives	<u>ne</u> + other negative(s)	without <u>ne</u>	Totals
EMH	two negatives	14 (63.6%)	8 (36.4%)	22
	more than two	2 (40.0%)	3 (60.0%)	5
CM	two negatives	60 (43.2%)	79 (56.8%)	139
	more than two	3 (8.3%)	33 (91.7%)	36
CA	two negatives	33 (44.6%)	41 (55.4%)	74
	more than two	8 (42.1%)	11 (57.9%)	19
HS	two negatives	70 (29.3%)	169 (70.7%)	239
	more than two	21 (30.0%)	49 (70.0%)	70
GGK	two negatives	5 (21.7%)	18 (78.3%)	23
	more than two	1 (8.3%)	11 (91.7%)	12
AMA	two negatives	6 (15.0%)	34 (85.0%)	40
	more than two	2 (9.5%)	19 (90.5%)	21
DT	two negatives	8 (6.5%)	116 (93.5%)	124
	more than two	0	61 (100.0%)	61
SMA	two negatives	46 (64.8%)	25 (35.2%)	71
	more than two	9 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	12

Some illustrative examples follow:

Bot ye no know him noht, I wisse (EMH 48/24)

Wydur to wende ne wat he noght (CM 64)

Non other reson thei ne fonge (CA 256/1111)

Y ne shal skape for no nede (HS 4890)

And he nikked hym naye, he nolde bi no wayes (GGK 2471)

Whylls sexty ware seruede soo, ne sessede they neuer  
 (AMA 2132)

Ne hopis þou noght, hend doghtur, þat our hegh goddes  
 Wold be wrothe at our werkes, & wisse vs to skathe  
 (DT 8145-6)

He ne myght proue it neuer more (SMA 2072).

As the above table shows, the occurrence of the adverb ne in multiple negation is no longer regular, although it has not yet disappeared from multiple negation. This signifies that a large number of examples which were about to shift to single negation have already lost the adverb ne and attained the status of single negation by this stage. On the whole, about half the examples of double negation are different in nature from the double negation of the principal type of Groups 1 and 2. The relative proportion of double negation without the adverb ne has increased, on the other hand. A different process from the loss of the adverb ne is now necessary for these examples to be reduced to single negation. The most progressive text in this respect is DT. HS, GCK, and AMA are fairly progressive, while SMA is rather conservative for its date. EMH also includes the adverb ne relatively frequently, but the text is particularly early in date.

Thus the texts which belong to Group 3 show the stage at which a large proportion of multiple negation has already shifted to single negation by the depletion of the adverb ne. Nonetheless, about half the examples of double negation still present the adverb ne, being ready to be reduced to single negation. The process by which single negation is produced is still on its way.

The above discussion reveals that the decline of the adverb ne makes a great contribution to the reduction of multiple negation in ME, since most examples of multiple negation include only two negative elements, one of which tends to be the adverb ne. Most examples of multiple negation, therefore, transform themselves into single negation by the natural development of negative clauses once the adverb ne disappears, instead of being instigated by the influence of Latin grammar. Latin grammar may, however, be

relevant to the disappearance of multiple negation that occurs later in the history of the English language.

As far as ME verse is concerned, multiple negation is still in the process of increase in early ME texts where the adverb ne is almost fully preserved. The proportion of multiple negation reaches its zenith only in SEL, which is the latest text of Group 1. This is an interesting text in many respects. While on the one hand it shows the largest proportion of multiple negation, on the other hand it provides some notable number of instances of single negation marked by not or never, no, etc. alone, which is a feature of the decline of the adverb ne. The occurrence of this new type with a frequency which cannot be ignored in SEL is an outstanding phenomenon, which may be contrasted with the other texts of Group 1, where single negation is almost always marked by the adverb ne as in OE. In this sense, SEL reveals a situation of a turning point in terms of the development of single and multiple negation, after which single negation of the new type is to be produced in a massive manner at the cost of the reduction of multiple negation.

The Group 2 texts, which show the intermediate stage in terms of the general development of ME negative constructions, have all entered into the stage at which single negation marked by not or never, no, etc. alone is on the increase. At the same time, however, single negation of the old type marked by the adverb ne alone still remains, and the processes by which multiple negation declines and multiple negation increases co-exist. By the stage of A&D, which has already lost a large number of the adverb ne, single negation comes to be notably extended. On the whole, however, the texts of Group 2 reveal a situation in which most examples of double negation still preserve the adverb ne, which is to disappear at a later stage. This group still possesses a number of potential candidates for single negation.

The reduction of the adverb ne is attested to a notable extent by the stage of the Group 3 texts. Single negation is more common than multiple negation in this group, which implies that the process for multiple negation to shift to single negation with the depletion of the adverb ne has already occurred to a great extent. As a result, a large number of single negation of the new type which is marked by not or never, no, etc. are attested in this group, although single negation marked by ne alone is still observed particularly in some specific syntactic contexts. The involvement of the adverb ne in double negation is no longer regular, which indicates that a number of potential candidates for single negation have already moved from multiple negation to single negation. About half the examples of double negation now yield two negative elements neither of which is the adverb ne, although at the same time the other half of the examples of double negation still include the adverb ne. The situation differs notably depending upon the text. HS, GCK, AMA, and DT are particularly progressive in Group 3.

### 5.3. Multiple negation and the conjunction ne/nor

The above discussion in 5.2. reveals that most examples of multiple negation consist of the adverb ne accompanied by another negative element (double negation). Because of the decline of the adverb ne in later ME, double negation of this type naturally transforms itself into single negation. The obliteration of the adverb ne, therefore, causes a significant reduction of multiple negation in later ME. There are, however, some further issues which are related with the decline of multiple negation: (1) the development of and and or in negative clauses in place of the conjunction ne/nor;<sup>2</sup> and (2) the development of non-assertive forms such as ever and any<sup>3</sup> in negative clauses in place of never, no, etc. Ne/nor and never, no,

etc. freely occur in a clause which is already negative in ME, and this results in the phenomenon of multiple negation ('negative concord') (Jack 1978b: 29; Burnley 1983: 59).<sup>4</sup> The conjunction *ne/nor* later comes to be replaced by and, or, while never, no, etc. are similarly replaced by ever, any, etc. in negative clauses. The present section discusses the use of ne/nor in multiple negation and the employment of and and or in its stead. The use of forms such as ever and any in negative clauses is discussed in 5.4. below.

The frequent involvement of the conjunction ne/nor in multiple negation is pointed out especially in relation to early MnE (Sugden 1936: §439; Franz 1939: §410). I have also noted that ne/nor is a common negative element of multiple negation in Chaucer's English (Iyeiri 1989a: 65). This is not exceptional with the texts investigated in the present study, as the table below shows:

<sup>2</sup> Orthographic variants such as *no* 'nor' and na 'nor' are all included under the category of ne/nor. In practice, however, ne 'nor' is the most common in ME while other orthographic forms are particularly limited. Even nor is virtually confined to SMA and A&D in the sample of the present study. Some illustrative examples of spellings other than *ne* 'nor' follow:

was þar na leue on, less na mare (CM 1322)

We ben busy of no swink · nor no burn maken  
For to wirchen our wil · & wordliche serue (A&D 426-7)

He made here nat man to greue  
No to be maystyr but felaw leue (HS 1613-14)

I wyll not now, by crosse on Rode,  
Nor neuer yit dyd by day nor nyght (SMA 2928-9).

<sup>3</sup> For a definition of non-assertive forms, see 1.4.3.(8) above.

<sup>4</sup> The phenomenon of 'negative concord' is explained at 1.4.3.(7) above.

## Ne/nor in multiple negation

	the number of negatives	with <u>ne/nor</u>	without <u>ne/nor</u>	Totals
PM (Lamb)	two negatives	11 (35.5%)	20 (64.5%)	31
	more than two	11 (91.7%)	1 (8.3%)	12
PM (Trin)	two negatives	10 (22.2%)	35 (77.8%)	45
	more than two	25 (92.6%)	2 (7.4%)	27
PM (Dgb)	two negatives	13 (30.2%)	30 (69.8%)	43
	more than two	21 (94.5%)	1 (5.5%)	22
O&N	two negatives	12 (9.7%)	112 (90.3%)	124
	more than two	17 (73.9%)	6 (26.1%)	23
KH	two negatives	6 (9.0%)	61 (91.0%)	67
	more than two	3 (50.0%)	3 (50.0%)	6
Havelok	two negatives	23 (24.5%)	71 (75.5%)	94
	more than two	36 (92.3%)	3 (7.7%)	39
SEL	two negatives	41 (3.9%)	999 (96.1%)	1040
	more than two	65 (58.0%)	47 (42.0%)	112
EMH	two negatives	8 (36.4%)	14 (63.6%)	22
	more than two	5 (100.0%)	0	5
G&E	two negatives	16 (20.5%)	62 (79.5%)	78
	more than two	7 (77.8%)	2 (22.2%)	9
WS	two negatives	23 (10.4%)	199 (89.6%)	222
	more than two	40 (90.9%)	4 (9.1%)	44
CM	two negatives	69 (49.6%)	70 (50.4%)	139
	more than two	34 (94.4%)	2 (5.6%)	36
Ferumbras	two negatives	16 (6.0%)	249 (94.0%)	265
	more than two	23 (52.3%)	21 (47.7%)	44
CA	two negatives	23 (31.1%)	51 (68.9%)	74
	more than two	16 (84.2%)	3 (15.8%)	19
HS	two negatives	149 (62.3%)	90 (37.7%)	239
	more than two	62 (88.6%)	8 (11.4%)	70
KA	two negatives	37 (16.5%)	187 (83.5%)	224
	more than two	57 (75.0%)	19 (25.0%)	76
GGK	two negatives	12 (52.2%)	11 (47.8%)	23
	more than two	11 (91.7%)	1 (8.3%)	12
AMA	two negatives	26 (65.0%)	14 (35.0%)	40
	more than two	20 (95.2%)	1 (4.8%)	21
A&D	two negatives	20 (36.4%)	35 (73.6%)	55
	more than two	22 (91.7%)	2 (8.3%)	24
DT	two negatives	97 (78.2%)	27 (21.8%)	124
	more than two	60 (98.4%)	1 (1.6%)	61
SMA	two negatives	20 (28.2%)	51 (71.8%)	71
	more than two	9 (75.0%)	3 (25.0%)	12

Some illustrative examples are:

Ne þu ne cumest noȝt in Scotlonde (O&N 908)

Þat þer ne valle in þulke hous · no qualm in al þe zere  
 Ne gret siknesse ne hunger strang · þat þer of ne be[o] no  
 fere  
 (SEL 158/91-2)

Ne wið ðe lese non ma[n] ne dere (G&E 3514)

And lete non houndes me todrawe  
Ne no tygre ne no lyoun,  
 J þe biseche, gentyl baroun (KA 4620-2)

For suche a brawne of a best, þe bolde burne sayde,  
Ne such sydes of a swyn segh he neuer are (GGK 1631-2)

he nyste where þat he mighte  
ne where that launcelot wold lend (SMA 616-17).

Since the conjunction ne/nor does not occur when the meaning of a clause does not require the existence of a conjunction at all, it would perhaps be wrong to pay too much attention to the absolute frequencies displayed in the above table. It is, however, an important fact that ne/nor tends to be involved as one of the negative elements in multiple negation, and this is especially the case when a clause includes more than two negative elements as far as the above table is concerned. It is quite likely that the function of the conjunction ne/nor leads to its frequent occurring together with more than one other negative element, possibly in structures such as a combination of two phrases connected by ne/nor which both include no, for instance. Multiple negation with more than two negative elements which includes ne/nor as one of them does not immediately transform itself into single negation simply by the replacement of ne/nor by and or or, but it is at least a process by which the number of redundant negative elements is reduced. Furthermore, texts with later features present a relatively large proportion of double negation which include ne/nor as one of its two negative elements, which directly shifts to single negation once ne/nor is replaced by and or or. By this stage, the adverb ne has declined to a great extent from double negation, and the relative proportion of double negation which include ne/nor as one of the two negative elements has increased. Thus the relationship between the conjunction ne/nor and multiple negation is also one of the central issues of multiple negation.

The alternation between the conjunction ne/nor and the conjunction and, or has been dealt with in existing studies.

According to their convention, the discussion may better be divided into the following two cases: (1) the case in which two clauses are combined by a conjunction, and (2) the case in which two elements are connected together by a conjunction in a negative clause. With respect to the first case, Jack (1978b: 30-3), who examines early ME prose, maintains that ne/nor is preferred to and when two negative clauses are combined, while conversely and is preferred to ne/nor when a negative clause is conjoined to its preceding positive clause. He also notices as a rather minor point that and seems to be commonly employed before a negative interrogative clause. Apparently, this feature is preserved up to the later ME period. Jack (1978c: 67-9) examines the situation of later ME prose and states that the distinction between ne/nor and and as observed in early ME is still clearly attested in later ME, although he perhaps by intention does not refer any longer to negative interrogative clauses. In general, however, he argues that more and more extended use of and instead of ne/nor is observed in later ME prose (69).

The verse texts investigated in the present study reveal that indeed ne/nor is favoured when two negative clauses are conjoined, whereas and is preferred when a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive clause. The table below displays the situation of each text in this respect.<sup>5</sup> The texts are laid in the approximate order of chronology:

<sup>5</sup> Examples in which the conjunction ne/nor is the sole negative element are not included, since ne/nor in this case cannot be replaced by and.

And and ne/nor which connect two clauses

		Positive + Negative	Negative + Negative
PM (Lamb)	and	3	0
	ne	1	4
PM (Trin)	and	3	1
	ne	1	5
PM (Dgb)	and	3	0
	ne	1	4
O&N	and	6	0
	ne	1	8
KH	and	1	0
	ne	0	3
Havelok	and	12	0
	ne	2	9
SEL	and	109	3
	ne	9	29
EMH	and	16	1
	ne	2	0
G&E	and	14	1
	ne	0	8
WS	and	26	0
	ne	11	19
CM	and	43	2
	ne	15	24
Ferumbras	and	47	4
	ne	1	3
CA	and	88	9
	ne	0	5
HS	and	145	4
	ne	7	56
KA	and	22	0
	ne	0	12
GGK	and	20	0
	ne	1	7
AMA	and	29	0
	ne	0	9
A&D	and	13	1
	ne	1	21
DT	and	62	4
	ne	3	58
SMA	and	9	0
	ne	0	4

Some illustrative examples follow:

(1) the conjunction and

And spak aȝen hym baldeliche · & ne sparede for no drede  
(SEL 11/95)

Fyrst he watz funden fautlez in his fyue wyttez,  
And efte fayled neuer þe freke in his fyue fynGRES  
(GGK 640-1).

(2) The conjunction ne/nor

He ne wisten hwat he mouthen  
Ne he ne wisten wat hem douthe-- (Havelok 1184-5)

For no þyng Ihu cryst more quemyþ  
 Ðan loue yn wedlak þer men hyt 3emyþ.  
 Ne no þyng ys to man so dere  
 As wommans loue yn gode manere (HS 1903-6).

The conjunctions ne/nor and and seem to be more or less complementary to each other in terms of their distribution. The tendency to employ ne/nor in connecting two negative clauses and to employ and in conjoining a negative clause to its preceding positive one is generally attested throughout the ME period, although WS, Ferumbras, CA, and CM provide a notable number of exceptions. Ferumbras and CA show a larger number of and than ne/nor even when two negative clauses are combined, while WS and CM present a notable number of ne/nor which links a negative clause to its preceding positive one. Some examples follow:

We ne buþ [but] ten her now : & mo ne beo we no3t.  
 And of þus Sarasyns þer nys no numbre : þat ous haueþ  
by-set  
 (Ferumbras 2940-1)

He not what is to be felawe,  
 And serve may he noght for pride (CA 69/1244-5)

Ilkin thing, on serekin wise,  
 3eld til adam þar seruise;  
 Ne þe nedder was noght bittur  
 Ðan, þowf he was euer wittur (CM 695-8)

For 3ef a3t lefþ þat croude my3t,  
 God so þou schelt ywenne.

Ne non ne may hym schryue ary3t (WS 32/895-7).

In the case of the example from Ferumbras (2940-1), the first clause of the first line provides a positive connotation even though it is a negative clause grammatically, and this may partly be why and is employed. The second and in the same passage, however, is a genuine instance which connects two negative clauses. With respect to WS, on the other hand, the employment of the conjunction ne at the head of a stanza, whether or not following a positive clause, may

simply be an idiosyncratic feature of the text. There are some more cases in which a new stanza is introduced by the conjunction ne in WS. For example:

Ne hy ne wondeþ messeday,  
 Ne none holy tyde,  
 Ne holy stede, wyþ-oute peryl  
 Ða3 hy my3te abyde (WS 71/2031-4)

Ne hy3t nys a3eyns sacrement  
 By assent Ða3 hy be clene  
 In spoushoþ, 3ef hy louieþ hem,  
 And wel libbeþ imene (WS 72/2052-5).

Provided that ne/nor is being gradually supplanted by and, the use of and should gradually intrude into the case in which two negative clauses are conjoined on the one hand, while on the other hand the case in which a negative clause is linked to a positive one should present an even stronger inclination towards the use of and in later ME. As far as the above table is concerned, however, the situation does not differ much all through the ME period. The tables below show the sub-totals of ne/nor and and in three different stages of the development of negative constructions. According to the convention of the present study, Group 1 includes texts with early characteristics of negation (PM [Lamb, Trin, Dgb], O&N, KH, SEL), while Groups 2 and 3 include those with intermediate and advanced features respectively (Group 2: Havelok, G&E, WS, Ferumbras, KA, A&D; and Group 3: EMH, CM, CA, HS, GGK, AMA, DT, SMA):

(1) Positive + Negative

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Totals
and	125	134	412	671
ne	13	15	28	56

(2) Negative + Negative

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Totals
and	4	6	20	30
ne	53	72	163	288

The chi-square test applied to the above tables yields the values of

2.85 and 1.15 respectively, both of which are much smaller than the critical value at the five percent level (3.84).<sup>6</sup> Thus the situations of ne/nor and and do not differ to any significant degree depending upon the three different stages of the development displayed by the texts of Groups 1, 2, and 3. The employment of and in later ME seems to be still confined largely to the case where a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive one, as far as the texts explored in the present study are concerned. It is a fact, however, that Jack (1978c: 69) notices the gradually extended use of and in later ME prose. The following table can be worked out from the data given by Jack (1978b: 31; 1978c: 68) about the case in which two negative clauses are conjoined:

Negative + Negative	early ME	later ME
<u>and</u>	9	128
<u>ne</u>	145	244

There exists a clear distinction between the early ME and the later ME usages. In the case where a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive one, on the other hand, the situation is not as straightforward. From the data given by Jack (1978b: 31; 1978c: 67), the following table may be worked out:

Positive + Negative	early ME	Wycliffite sermons
<u>and</u>	210	457
<u>ne</u>	73	9

Although the employment of and in this syntactic context seems to be more and more extended by the stage of Wycliffite sermons (later ME), as many as 62 of the total of 73 examples of ne/nor in early ME are according to him attested in the so-called AB language.<sup>7</sup> Outside the particular texts of the AB language, the employment of and in the

<sup>6</sup> For some details of the chi-square test, see note 10 in Chapter III above.

present syntactic circumstance is almost established already in early ME.

As for the above discussion about the conjunctions ne/nor and and which connect two clauses, the following conclusions may be drawn. In general, ne/nor is preferred to and when two negative clauses are combined while and is favoured rather than ne/nor when a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive clause. More specifically, the prose texts selected by Jack (1978b and 1978c) present an extended use of and even in the field of ne/nor in later ME, whereas the verse texts of the present study do not. The reasoning may be twofold. Firstly, this is a transition which certainly takes place, but is rather slow in pace and rather inconsistent in comparison to the decline of the adverb ne, which is the most dominant feature of the decline of multiple negation. The replacement of ne/nor by and is, therefore, rather difficult to observe, and the situation may fluctuate to some extent depending upon the text. Secondly, it is quite possible that prose texts and verse texts should present different features as far as this issue is concerned, since the employment of and to connect two clauses is itself a rather prosaic feature.

Apart from the major point thus far analyzed, Jack (1978b: 30) proposes that interrogative clauses tend to be introduced by and instead of ne/nor in early ME prose. Provided that ne/nor is being gradually replaced by and, later ME is supposed to present an even more pronounced tendency to employ and in the present syntactic context. However, Jack (1978c), who discusses the later ME usage in prose, no longer mentions this syntactic context. Apparently, either the tendency is rather weak or relevant examples themselves are not profusely attested. At least the state of affairs in the present study does not contradict the inference that and is common before an

<sup>7</sup> The language of MS Corpus Christi College Cambridge 402 and MS Bodley 34.

interrogative clause all through the ME period. The sample provides fifteen examples of interrogative clauses prefaced by a conjunction, which is in all the cases the conjunction and. They are all preceded by a positive clause, however, and therefore are not examples to support the conjecture strongly. The employment of and in these examples may simply be ascribable to the nature of the preceding clause, which is positive. The tendency to employ and before an interrogative clause is, however, expected from a theoretical point of view. Negative interrogative clauses often provide a positive presupposition, which perhaps induces the employment of and rather than ne/nor. Thus the nature of the preceding clause may or may not in fact be relevant in this case. The tendency is therefore consistent throughout the ME period. An illustrative example is provided below:

Hyt may weyl be hymself haþ myght,  
 Syn 3e drede hys croys by syght.  
 And ys nat 3yt þe same tre  
 Haþ þat tokene more myght þan 3e? (HS 8237-40)<sup>8</sup>

To turn to the conjunction ne/nor which connects elements or phrases (clausal constituents) in a negative clause, a consideration of some semantic aspects is necessary. The conjunction ne/nor of this type can be replaced either by and or or depending upon the meaning involved, but the connotations would then differ from the connotation provided by ne/nor. Jack (1978b: 33-8; 1978c: 69-70) argues that the scope of negation is a single one when and is employed whereas the employment of ne/nor provides the connotation

<sup>8</sup> The passage may better be punctuated as follows, for lines 8239 and 8240 are separate clauses, both of which are interrogative.

Hyt may weyl be hymself haþ myght,  
 Syn 3e drede his croys by syght.  
 And ys nat 3yt þe same tre?  
 Haþ þat tokene more myght þan 3e?

that two elements connected by the conjunction are negated one by one. Hence the double scope of negation. According to him, this semantic distinction is observed throughout the ME period. As to the use of *or* instead of ne/nor, Jack (1978c: 70) notices that there is a distinction between early ME and later ME usages. He maintains that in later ME *or* may occur in replacement of ne/nor without altering the implication, but not in early ME. In the early ME usage, the two elements combined by or are alternatives so that one of them is to be realized, but not both. This early usage does not disappear even in later ME, however, according to him.

The sample collected in the present study also provides abundant examples of *ne/nor* and and which connect elements or phrases within a negative clause, while the occurrence of *or* at issue is rather limited. As far as *and* in negative clauses is concerned, the semantic contrast proposed by Jack (1978b: 33-8) with ne/nor is observed throughout the ME period in the sample of the present study as well. *And* and *ne/nor* are not free alternatives. When elements or phrases are combined by ne/nor, they are negated one by one, whereas elements or phrases combined by and are under a single scope of negation and negated altogether. In other words, elements or phrases are tightly combined against negation when and is employed, whereas those combined by ne/nor are simply normal clausal constituents which both happen to be negative. For example, droupe and dare are combined under a single scope of negation in the following example:

That longe wylle not droupe And dare (SMA 2575).

The same is true with the following instance, where hole and hele is a set of constituents to be negated:

Allas! that he nere hole and fere! (SMA 411)

By contrast, the case in which ne/nor is employed instead may be illustrated by the following example:

I may nocht strecche up to the hevене  
Min hand, ne setten al in evene  
This world, which evere is in balance (CA 35/1-3).

In this case, two different pieces of action are denied one after another.

As a result of the semantic feature of and which connects elements tightly under a single scope of negation, and is frequently found in a context where the syntactic connection of elements is fairly tight. For instance, and is often met with where two elements are dominated by a single and shared preposition, as illustrated by the following examples:

Of erf and wimmen leue ic nocht (G&E 3079)  
Sua that thar was na herberie  
To Josep and his spouse Marie (EMH 63/5-6).

The constituents dominated by a single and common preposition are by nature combined together under the scope of the preposition. In the above examples, both erf and wimmen and Josep and his spouse Marie are a set of closely linked elements. It is not a difficulty that they stay together under a single scope of negation as well. Similarly, an infinitive marker can be shared by two elements combined by and, as the following illustrates:

Vnto the fyfty day at the morne  
They lefte not for to synge And Rede (SMA 3896-7).

Since the syntactic feature of this kind derives from the semantic distinctions caused by the use of ne/nor and and, approximate frequency of these cases would suffice to obtain a general picture. Moreover, the exact number of the instances is in any case rather difficult to count, since there are some examples in which and and

ne/nor are not entirely interchangeable grammatically: (1) those with neither ... ne/nor (where ne/nor may not be displaced by and); (2) those with both ... and (where and may not be replaced by ne/nor); (3) those with between ... and (where and rather than ne/nor may be obligatory); and (4) those in which the conjunction ne/nor is the only negative element (where ne/nor cannot be replaced by and). All these instances having been excluded from consideration, however, there are more than 90 examples of and which connects constituents dominated by a common preposition or an infinitive marker (which is ultimately a preposition). The conjunction ne/nor, however, also occurs in this syntactic context as the following examples illustrate:

Of Charlemeyn ne his ferede : nabbeþ þay non help, y legge  
(Ferumbras 2367)

I wyll not now, by crosse on Rode,  
Nor neuer yit dyd by day nor nyght (SMA 2928-9).

There are in fact almost as many examples of ne/nor (about 100 examples) as and in this particular circumstance, although this is partly due to the much more common occurrence of ne/nor than and in general. More markedly and frequently (about 170 examples), ne/nor is employed when a preposition is repeated before the constituents concerned. Some illustrative examples are:

Jt ne was non so litel knaue  
For to leyken ne for to plawe,  
Dat he ne wode with him pleye (Havelok 950-2)

By-lef þou in no wychecraft,  
Ne ine none teliinge,  
Ne forþe inne none ymage self (WS 92/177-9)

Certes, that were grete pyte,  
So As man had neuyr yit more  
Off biaute ne of bounte (SMA 1737-9).

The conjunction ne/nor, by which the constituents concerned are negated one by one, may simply be more appropriate than and in the case where the constituents are dominated by a separate preposition

each. That a shared preposition is also common with ne/nor, however, indicates that this is by no means absolute, but simply a tendency which arises from the semantic distinctions found between the usages of ne/nor and and. In fact, the following example provides both a repetitive preposition and a shared preposition along with the conjunction ne/nor:

Ðat wyl I welde wyth guod wylle, not for þe wynne golde,  
 Ne þe saynt, ne þe sylk, ne þe syde pendaundes,  
For wele ne for worchyp, ne for þe wlonk werkkez  
 (GGK 2430-2).

It is at least noticeable that the employment of and is rarer when a preposition occurs repeatedly. There are no more than 20 examples of the conjunction and in this case (cf. about 170 examples of ne/nor). Some illustrations follow:

A monk wende him out a day · so ne a3te he no3t do  
Wipoute leue of sein Benet · & wipoute is blessinge also  
 (SEL 126/145-6)

Barons with þeire baronage bydez no langere  
 Of Perce and of Pamphile and Preter Johne landes  
 (AMA 587-8).

The example in AMA exemplifies the combination of repetitive and shared use of a preposition.

In contrast to the fairly large number of examples of and in negative clauses, relevant instances of or are much limited especially in early ME. The number of examples differs depending upon how to count the repetitive occurrence of or in a single passage, but the sample provides around 30 to 35 examples, of which only four retain the so-called early usage of disjunction. Here the elements combined by or are alternatives so that either of them should realize, but not both:

Ðat him ne hauede grip or ern,  
 Leoun or wlf, wluine or bere,  
Or oþer best þat wolde him dere! (Havelok 573-5)

þat he ne broucte bred and sowel  
 Jn his shirte or in his couel,  
 Jn his poke benes and korn (Havelok 768-70)

Why ne sendeþ he duk Rolond : with me for to fiȝte,  
Ouþer olyuer with þe harde hond : þat is so god a kniȝte;  
Oþer duk bera[r]d of montdisdier : ouþer Ogeroun þe wiȝte?  
 (Ferumbras 454-6)

ȝyf man or womman may nat be chaste,  
 Take one and do no more waste (HS 7461-2).

Apart from the four examples cited above, the sample yields another example of the same type. The example, however, shows the eyther ... or construction, which is favourable for the employment of or instead of ne/nor in any case:

longe tyme ne shalle it noght be  
 That I ne shalle eyther come or send (SMA 566-7).

All the other examples are virtually a free variant to the conjunction ne/nor semantically. The examples are identified in SEL, KA, A&D, CM, CA, HS, DT, and SMA, most of which texts are from the later period of ME. It is, however, difficult to decide if this usage of or (i.e. the so-called later usage) is indeed from the later period of ME, since the occurrence of or in negative clauses itself is rather limited as far as early ME is concerned. The fact that a relatively early text SEL presents an example suggests that the usage could be existent in early ME as well, although by no means common. The example runs as follows:

Ac non so lite þat i ne finde · here ouþer in helle  
 (SEL 199/578).

Some of the examples of this type occur in a parallel combination with ne/nor. Examples include:

And wyle nat ȝeue hym for to lere,  
 Clergye ne craft or ouþer mystere (HS 1201-2)

The nynþe comaundement yn oure tellyng  
 Ys: coueyte noght þy neighbors þyng  
 For to reue hyt hym wykkydly  
 Wyþ wrong ples or ouþer maystry,  
No wyþ glosyng, no wyþ queyntyse,  
No wyþ destresse on noun wyse,  
No wyþ wykkyd procurement  
 To make hym lese hys tenement (HS 2903-10).<sup>9</sup>

The parallel use of ne/nor and or as illustrated above confirms that the two conjunctions were mutually interchangeable. Moreover, there are some cases in which ne/nor alternates with or depending upon the manuscript concerned. This also suggests that ne/nor and or are so freely interchangeable as to be susceptible to change in the process of textual transmission. The following illustrate this case:

Tunge ne haue hij non, jwis,  
 To speken Latyn oiþer Englissh (KA 6426-7)

cf. Tonge haueþ þey none y wis  
 To speke Latyn no Englysch  
 (MS Lincoln's Inn 150 of KA)

Bot moght i neuer gete hider til,  
 Mi child a-gain, for god or il (CM 8677-8)

cf. and miȝt I neuer gete hidder tille.  
 my childe agayne for gode ne ille  
 (MS Fairfax 14 of CM)

cf. Bot miht i neuer hider tille,  
 Mi child gett for godd nor ille  
 (MS Göttingen theol. 107 of CM)

cf. But myȝt I neuer hidur tille  
 No childe gete for good nor ille  
 (MS Trinity College Cambridge R.3.8. of CM).

The conjunction or is indeed used instead of ne/nor even in a context where a modern reader would expect ne/nor, but not or. The following example of or is used in combination with noþer 'neither':

For þe soules are no þyng  
 Wrsheped wyþ þat offryng,  
Noþer vs to cunseyle or to rede (HS 7965-7).

<sup>9</sup> No in this example is a conjunction. See note 2 above.

As hitherto discussed, ME occasionally provides the conjunction ne/nor where PE would employ and or or instead. Thus ne/nor is often involved as one of the negative elements in multiple negation, although not as frequently as the adverb ne is. Thus the development of and and or in place of ne/nor is one of the aspects of the decline of multiple negation. As far as conjunctions to connect two clauses are concerned, there exists a fairly clear distinction between the employment of ne/nor and and. Ne/nor is preferred to and when two negative clauses are connected to each other, whereas and is favoured more than ne/nor when a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive clause. The tendency is observed throughout the ME period, although Ferumbras and CM provide ne/nor rather commonly even when the preceding clause is positive, and CA rather exceptionally provides a larger number of and than ne/nor when two negative clauses are combined. The distributional contrast between ne/nor and and as hitherto described still remains in the later ME period, as far as the sample of the present study is concerned. The extended use of and in place of ne/nor is not observed yet.

As concerns ne/nor and and which combine constituents in a negative clause, a major semantic contrast exists. Two elements combined by and are under a single scope of negation, while elements connected to each other by ne/nor are negated individually in turn. In other words, elements are more tightly combined by and, at least in relation to negation, whereas elements connected by ne/nor are simply individual clausal constituents. This semantic distinction seems to stay intact throughout the ME period. Thus the conjunctions ne/nor and and are by no means free variants.

In contrast to abundant examples of and, the employment of the conjunction or in negative clauses is much more restricted all through the ME period as far as the sample of the present study is

concerned. It provides only around 30 to 35 relevant examples. Some early examples preserve the early usage of disjunction, by virtue of which elements combined are alternatives to each other so that either of them should realize, but not both. The conjunction or as an unconditionally free variant to ne/nor is also found occasionally, but all in all the occurrence of or in place of ne/nor is still limited. Together with the functional distinction between ne/nor and and, the situation of the conjunctions concerned is rather stable throughout the ME period. In other words, multiple negation which involves ne/nor as one of the negative elements remains well into the early MnE period. In fact, the fairly frequent involvement of nor as one of the negative elements in a clause in early MnE is known as mentioned above (Sugden 1936: §439; Franz 1939: §410).

#### 5.4. Multiple negation with never, no, etc. and the adverb not

As discussed in 5.2. and 5.3. above, the adverb ne and the conjunction ne/nor tend to be one of the negative elements in multiple negation. Multiple negation which yields more than once negative elements other than these is also evidenced in ME. Multiple negation of this type includes: (1) clauses where never, no, etc. occur more than once; and (2) clauses with the adverb not accompanied by never, no, etc. Some illustrative examples follow:

I will noghte wonde for no werre to wende whare me likes  
 Ne for no wy of this werlde þat wroghte es on erthe  
 (AMA 3494-5)

felyd I nevir none so sore (SMA 485).

Examples of this type can freely include the adverb ne or the conjunction ne/nor as well, as the following examples illustrate:

Naueþ no man none sikerhede (O&N 1265)

Nas neuere non better kni3th (KA 3325)

Hade he no fere bot his fole bi frythez and dounez,  
Ne no gome bot God bi gate wyth to karp (GGK 695-6)

He sent vs neuer no schame ne schenchipe in erthe  
 (AMA 4299).

The table below shows the proportion of multiple negation of this type to the whole sample of multiple negation in the texts investigated in the present study:

Clauses in which never, no, etc. repeatedly occur or they are followed by not

	the number of negatives	Relevant	Others	Totals
PM (Lamb)	two negatives	0	31 (100.0%)	31
	more than two	3 (25.0%)	9 (75.0%)	12
PM (Trin)	two negatives	0	45 (100.0%)	45
	more than two	7 (25.9%)	20 (74.1%)	27
PM (Dgb)	two negatives	0	43 (100.0%)	43
	more than two	7 (31.8%)	15 (68.2%)	22
O&N	two negatives	0	124 (100.0%)	124
	more than two	8 (34.8%)	15 (65.2%)	23
KH	two negatives	0	67 (100.0%)	67
	more than two	5 (83.3%)	1 (16.7%)	6
Havelok	two negatives	0	94 (100.0%)	94
	more than two	2 (5.1%)	37 (94.9%)	39
SEL	two negatives	1 (0.1%)	1039 (99.9%)	1040
	more than two	61 (54.5%)	51 (45.5%)	112
EMH	two negatives	0	22 (100.0%)	22
	more than two	1 (20.0%)	4 (80.0%)	5
G&E	two negatives	3 (3.8%)	75 (96.2%)	78
	more than two	2 (22.2%)	7 (77.8%)	9
wS	two negatives	3 (1.4%)	219 (98.6%)	222
	more than two	16 (36.4%)	28 (63.6%)	44
CM	two negatives	17 (12.2%)	122 (87.8%)	139
	more than two	19 (52.8%)	17 (47.2%)	36
Ferumbras	two negatives	13 (4.9%)	252 (95.1%)	265
	more than two	27 (61.4%)	17 (38.6%)	44
CA	two negatives	16 (21.6%)	58 (78.4%)	74
	more than two	11 (57.9%)	8 (42.1%)	19
HS	two negatives	41 (17.2%)	198 (82.8%)	239
	more than two	42 (60.0%)	28 (40.0%)	70
KA	two negatives	8 (3.6%)	216 (96.4%)	224
	more than two	24 (31.6%)	52 (68.4%)	76
GGK	two negatives	7 (30.4%)	16 (69.6%)	23
	more than two	10 (83.3%)	2 (16.7%)	12
AMA	two negatives	10 (25.0%)	30 (75.0%)	40
	more than two	14 (66.7%)	7 (33.3%)	21
A&D	two negatives	0	55 (100.0%)	55
	more than two	12 (50.0%)	12 (50.0%)	24
DT	two negatives	19 (15.3%)	105 (84.7%)	124
	more than two	33 (54.1%)	28 (45.9%)	61
SMA	two negatives	9 (12.7%)	62 (87.3%)	71
	more than two	5 (41.7%)	7 (58.3%)	12

The proportion of this type (see the column of 'Relevant' in the

above table) is by no means large as the table above shows, and this is more or less consistent throughout the ME period.

Although multiple negation of this type belongs to a weak minority throughout the ME period, the existence of this type is, however, certainly of importance in that it undergoes a different procedure before it finally comes to be uprooted. Linguistically, the development of non-assertive forms such as ever and any in place of redundant never, no, etc. causes the decline of multiple negation of this type as discussed in existing studies (Labov 1972; Jack 1978c: 70; Burnley 1983: 60; Blake 1988: 106; Fischer 1992: 283-4). Sociolinguistically, this process may be accelerated by a concept of grammar once the use of non-assertive forms such as ever and any in negative clauses is reasonably established and the redundancy of negative elements comes to be recognized by English speakers. This grammatical concept can occur when a large number of examples of multiple negation with the adverb ne plus another negative element undergoes the decline of ne, resulting in a massive amount of newly produced single negation. As often pointed out in previous studies, the influence of Latin grammar can also be an important factor to instigate this (Sweet 1892-8, I: §1520; Curme 1931: 139-40; Jespersen 1909-49, V: 451; Kisbye 1971-2, I: 240; Leith 1983: 111).

However, as the discussion above shows (see 5.2.), ME texts as illustrated by the corpus of the present study still reveal the stage at which multiple negation is by no means an uncommon phenomenon. The development of non-assertive forms is attested in the sample, especially in later ME texts or in texts with later ME features, but never to a great extent. The sample provides 48 examples of non-assertive forms in negative clauses,<sup>10</sup> of which as many as 39 are identified in the texts of Group 3, that is, texts with advanced features. The instances are found in: CM (5x), CA (10x), HS (18x), and DT (6x). Some illustrative examples follow:

þat was þar neuer þar-of mad oght,  
Til þat þe croice þar-of was wroght (CM 8847-8)

Sua hei na-thing was euer wroght (CM 9465)

It schal nocht stonde with me so,  
To worchen eny felonie  
In love for no such Envie (CA 136/214-16)

That I unto mi lyves ende  
Ne wol hire serven everemo (CA 273/1734-5)

She shal nou3t to any be sette  
Wyþ outyn leue of my maumette (HS 189-90)

Late vs neure wyþ vnryght  
Coueyte oght azens hys wyll,  
No wyþ auaryce to holde for yll (HS 6512-14)

Hit was neuer herd, as I hope, sith heuyn was o loft,  
In any coste where ye come but ye were *clene victorius*  
(DT 1100-1).

In contrast, non-assertive forms occur in negative clauses only sporadically in texts with early and intermediate characteristics. The following is the complete list of relevant examples in the texts of Groups 1 and 2:

<sup>10</sup> Non-assertive forms occasionally occur in a clause with an element which has a negative connotation. For example:

Vnneþe lasteþ oght þat men bye  
Wyþ þat ys wunne wyþ marchaundye.  
.....  
Vnneþe ys any þat haþ gode grace  
To lyue weyl wyþ swych purchace (HS 9477-82).

These examples are not included in the figure. Blake (1988: 107) comments that in Shakespeare's English examples of this type can be used with a negative element, since non-assertive forms are not fully developed. As far as the sample of the present study is concerned, however, clauses of this type present non-assertive forms more commonly than a negative element. Non-assertive forms of this type are found in: SEL (1/6, 101/470), CM (245, 1648), G&E (2181), CA (28/845, 294/2536), WS (1/15, 37/1042, 96/313), and HS (7681, 9481, 9477, 11498). However, instances of a negative element, a phenomenon which, as Blake mentions, is in a sense similar to multiple negation, also occur. For example:

For vnneþe watz þe noyce not a whyle sesed (GGK 134).

Examples with a negative element are found in: SEL (80/71, 343/89, 345/146), CM (9011), HS (3649, 5076), and GGK (134).

For hi ne ssolde hom temie noȝt · eny þing to lede  
(SEL 333/170)

Ne acombre nauȝt þy wyt any mo,  
To meche to þenche hou hyt was þo (WS 138/253-4)

þat day we seeþ þys tresour fyn ne dar ous adrede of no  
Sarsyn  
to don ous any dere  
(Ferumbras 5069-70)

Ac nouȝth ysen hym in any place (KA 1312)

On se saile ȝe nouht · in sesoun of ȝere,  
For to fihche on þe fow · or finde any praie (A&D 203-4)

Ne sette solow on þe feld · ne sowe none erþe,  
In ony place of þe plow · to plokke wiþ oxen (A&D 295-6)

We maken no medisine · no no man prayen  
Wiþ ony haþelene help · to helyn oure bodius (A&D 319-20)

Ne we agayn hem to go · nol no gome procre,  
Ne of no haþel vndur heuene · any help seche (A&D 347-8)

& ȝit may þer no man · in any maner wise  
Wiþ solepne sacrifice · serue hem at onus (A&D 734-5).

Among the texts of Group 1 (the group of early features), SEL, which is the latest text in this group, is the only text that provides an example. Examples are sparse even in the texts of Group 2, except in A&D, where five instances are proved. A&D is also the latest in date in the group with intermediate features.

As the examples in the sample reveal, the development of non-assertive forms is certainly a phenomenon clearer in later ME than in early ME. The proportion of multiple negation under consideration to the whole sample of clausal negation stays for the most part stable, however, throughout the ME period, as the table below shows:

## To the whole sample of clausal negation

Group 1	<u>PM</u> (Lamb)	3/ 65	(4.6%)
	<u>PM</u> (Trin)	7/ 102	(6.9%)
	<u>PM</u> (Dgb)	7/ 94	(7.4%)
	<u>O&amp;N</u>	8/ 247	(3.2%)
	<u>KH</u>	5/ 102	(4.9%)
	<u>SEL</u>	62/1567	(4.0%)
Group 2	<u>Havelok</u>	2/ 267	(0.7%)
	<u>G&amp;E</u>	5/ 228	(2.2%)
	<u>WS</u>	19/ 454	(4.2%)
	<u>Ferumbras</u>	40/ 591	(6.8%)
	<u>KA</u>	32/ 529	(6.0%)
	<u>A&amp;D</u>	12/ 172	(7.0%)
Group 3	<u>EMH</u>	1/ 232	(0.4%)
	<u>CM</u>	36/ 962	(3.7%)
	<u>CA</u>	27/1083	(2.5%)
	<u>HS</u>	83/1428	(5.8%)
	<u>GGK</u>	17/ 190	(8.9%)
	<u>AMA</u>	24/ 307	(7.8%)
	<u>DT</u>	52/ 602	(8.6%)
	<u>SMA</u>	14/ 383	(3.7%)

The table does not reveal the decline of multiple negation of this type particularly in later ME, despite the fact that non-assertive forms are found more frequently in later ME texts.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the decline of multiple negation of the type under discussion is different from the decline of multiple negation caused by the loss of the adverb ne. Not only does it experience a different process as described above, but also it occurs later than the loss of the adverb ne which makes a great contribution to the transformation of multiple negation into single negation by the time of later ME. The decline of multiple negation which shows a repetitive occurrence of never, no, etc. or never, no, etc. plus not, on the other hand, has not occurred on a large scale even towards the end of the ME period, although the tendency is already observed as the slightly extended use of non-assertive forms such as ever and

<sup>11</sup> Conversely, the proportion of multiple negation of this type is relatively large in some late ME texts such as GGK, AMA, and DT. This is, however, related with the fact that the absolute frequency of never, no, etc. tends to be large in alliterative verse as discussed above (see 2.1.3. above).

any in negative clauses in later ME shows.

### 5.5. General remarks

The above discussion reveals that there are several different phases in the decline of multiple negation. As far as the decline of multiple negation in ME is concerned, the most significant aspect is the obliteration of the adverb ne which takes place in later ME in particular. This is an especially important feature, for as a matter of fact most examples of multiple negation provide only two negative elements (double negation) and, if they include the adverb ne, they all move directly to single negation once the adverb ne disappears from them. The situation of negative constructions which involve the adverb ne contributes to the general picture of single and multiple negation to a large extent. Multiple negation increases from the early period of ME to the middle period of ME, when ne develops to ne ... not. As far as the texts investigated in the present study are concerned, SEL shows this peak, giving the full development of ne ... not, although it also shows some feature of the loss of the adverb ne. With this text as the peak, multiple negation starts to decline, and this is mainly because the adverb ne declines from clauses with more than one negative element. By the stage of the texts of Group 3 of this study, much multiple negation has already been reduced to single negation by the obliteration of the adverb ne, although the fact that about half the examples of multiple negation still preserves the adverb ne indicates that the whole process is still in progress.

While the decline of the adverb ne is the most important aspect as far as the decrease of ME multiple negation is concerned, there are at least two other aspects of multiple negation which merit attention. The frequent involvement of ne/nor 'nor' as one of the negative elements in multiple negation is one of them. The conjunction ne/nor of this type comes to be replaced by and or or in

the later stage of the development, reducing the total number of multiple negation. As far as the ME verse texts investigated in the present study are concerned, however, the process by which ne/nor comes to be replaced by and or or has not gone very far. The occurrence of or is particularly limited, while and and ne/nor still preserve their semantic or syntactic distinctions which are available from early ME onwards. The decline of multiple negation of this type occurs on a large scale slightly later than the decline of multiple negation as a result of the loss of the adverb ne.

Finally, the development of non-assertive forms such as ever and any in negative clauses in place of redundant never, no, etc. in negative clauses is another phase of the decline of multiple negation. Multiple negation which includes never, no, etc. repeated or accompanied by not is relevant to this. An extended use of forms such as ever and any is certainly observed in the present study in texts with later characteristics, but on the whole multiple negation of this type is preserved rather well up to the later period of ME. The decline of multiple negation of this type may also be slightly later than the decline of multiple negation as a result of the loss of the adverb ne. As mentioned above, the influence of Latin grammar has often been raised as a factor in the decline of multiple negation in existing studies. This can particularly be connected with this type of multiple negation.

Thus the decrease of multiple negation shows several different stages, and the stage at which a large proportion of multiple negation comes to be reduced to single negation by the depletion of the adverb ne is most characteristically evidenced in the present corpus, but multiple negation can by no means be uprooted only by this process.

SEMANTIC ASPECTS OF NEGATION

## C H A P T E R VI

## Pleonastic Negation and Unexpressed Negation

## 6.1. Pleonastic negation

In the usage of early English, negative elements occasionally occur where they are not semantically necessary. The phenomenon is called 'pleonastic negation'. Although the existence of pleonastic negation in early English itself has often been mentioned in existing studies, it has not to date been fully explored or discussed. Moreover, the term 'pleonastic negation' has often been used broadly to refer to various different cases in which unnecessary negative elements are used. Thus the principal concern of the following discussion is to collect as many relevant examples as I can from the sample of the present study and to attempt to provide a clearer and more systematic picture of the phenomenon on this basis. The following discussion first of all investigates pleonastic negation in pat-clauses, which has most frequently been dealt with in previous studies, and then the phenomenon in other syntactic circumstances.

Examples of pleonastic negation are fairly abundant in pat-clauses, and especially and most commonly in pat-clauses subordinate to a clause which includes some specific verbs with negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid'. As discussed above in 3.2.6., the adverb ne tends to be the sole negative element in pat-clauses of this kind when their superordinate clause is negative, while negative elements other than ne tend to be involved in the pat-clauses of this type when their superordinate clause is positive<sup>1</sup> as illustrated below:

Quen he was ded ne dout he nan  
 þat his saul ne was til hel gan (CM 1435-6)

Crist forbeode þat þou neuere · such folie ne do  
 (SEL 89/104).

In neither of the above cases is ne or neuere in the þat-clause required semantically. Examples of this type are observed from the OE period onwards (Einenkel 1916: 76; Bacquet 1975; Warner 1982: 210) and is evidenced even in early MnE (Baghdikian 1979: 676). The present study also evidences copious examples of this type from ME texts. Verbs such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid' are often cited by those who have discussed the phenomenon, but verbs concerned with the phenomenon are in fact much more wide-ranging and versatile as the list below shows. Bacquet (1975: 14) claims that these verbs imply prohibition, hesitation or uncertainty. Smithers (1987: 112) remarks that these verbs imply non-fulfilment of an action, whereas Warner (1982: 210) calls them 'a negative meaning verbal'. They all refer to the negative connotation associated with the verbs concerned. The following is the list of the verbs at issue and their examples found in the sample of the present study. It is not always easy, however, to eliminate þat-clauses that are consecutive, in which case negative elements in them are not pleonastic (Shibata 1981: 77; Smithers 1987: 111-12). The issue of this ambiguity is discussed below after the list.

(1) ascapen 'to avoide', 'to escape'<sup>2</sup>

y not how þay schul a-scape þen : þat hy ne goþ to dede  
 (Ferumbras 2380)

<sup>1</sup> These negative elements are occasionally accompanied by the adverb ne.

<sup>2</sup> All forms and orthographic variants of the verb are included under this category. The convention is followed hereafter.

(2) bileuen 'to give up', 'to abandon'

He nebileuede for no drede · þat he ne prechede bliue  
(SEL 267/69)

(3) bireuen 'to deprive'

Ac by kynde hem is bireued  
þat hij ne haue no tunge in her heued (KA 6590-1)

(4) defenden 'to defend', 'to forbid'

For þe fre lorde hade defende in fermysoun tyme  
þat þer schulde no mon meue to þe male dere (GGK 1156-7)

(5) douten 'to doubt', 'to fear'

Quen he was ded ne dout he nan  
þat his saul ne was til hel gan (CM 1435-6)

(6) eschuien 'to avoid', 'to shun', 'to escape'

Yit sit it wel that thou eschuie  
That thou the Court noght overhaste (CA 271/1674-5)

(7) forbeden 'to forbid', 'to prohibit'

And forbed þat non of ham · ouer þe marke wende  
(SEL 6/22)

Crist forbeode þat þou neuere · such folie ne do  
(SEL 89/104)

Ac sein Brandan hom forbeod · in oure Louerdes name  
þat he nadde for þulke niȝt · neuere þe more ssame  
(SEL 200/603-4)

Ac y for-bed hem alle þere : wan y departede hem fro,  
þat non of hem so hardy were : fro þenne þay ne scholde  
go,  
Or ich hadde sum viage done : & til hem come a-geyn  
(Ferumbras 802-4)

þy fader me for-bed al-so : þat for þyng þat miȝte be-falle  
þat to no man ne schold y þe dore v̄ndo : with hymen to  
speke or calle  
(Ferumbras 1230-1)

wy heþ god for-bode hyt zow  
þet ze ne mote  
Eten of al þat frut þat hys  
Here growynde in paradys  
To zoure bote? (WS 152/656-60)

And seyde, "on goddes half, y zow forbede  
þat ze no lenger do swych dede" (HS 9070-1)

For god forbede noun shuld be take (HS 12390)<sup>3</sup>

- (8) forberen 'to withhold', 'to prevent', 'to spare'

Forbar he neyþe[r] tun ne gronge  
 Ðat he ne to-yede with his ware (Havelok 765-6)

So that I wol nothing forbere,  
 That I the vices on and on  
 Ne schal thee schewen everychon (CA 42/244-6)

His herte mai it noght forbere  
 That he ne roreth lich a Bere (CA 134/159-60)

- (9) forsaken 'to abandon', 'to give up', 'to neglect'

Ðe king ne wolde nouth forsake  
 Ðat he ne schulde of hem take  
 Manrede þat he beden and ok  
 Hold-opes sweren on þe bok (Havelok 2779-82)

- (10) foryeten 'to forget', 'to neglect'

Ðe riche erl ne foryat nouth  
 Ðat he ne dede al Engelond  
 Sone sayse until his hond (Havelok 249-51)

Hauelok þe gode ne for gat nouth  
 Bertram, þat was þe erles kok,  
 Ðat he ne dide callen ok,  
 And seyde . . . (Havelok 2898-2901)

Forzete nat þan þat þou ne do  
 Ðe penaunce þat he ioyneþ þe to (HS 10867-8)

- (11) ishilden 'to protect', 'to shield from'

Ne mai his strenþe hit ishilde  
 Ðat hit nabu3þ þe lutle childe (O&N 781-2)

- (12) leten 'to allow', 'to abandon', 'to desist'

Ne mai ich for reoþe lete,  
 Wanne ich iseo þe tohte ilete  
 Ðe luue bring[þ] on þe 3unglinge,  
 Ðat ich of mur3þe him ne singe (O&N 1445-8)

Ðe ladde ne let nowith forþi,  
 Ðey he criede 'merci, merci!'  
 Ðat ne flow [him] eueril del  
 With knif mad of grunden stel (Havelok 2501-4)

Ye wolden for noght elles lete,  
 That I ne scholde be your wif (CA 127/3366-7)

Nyl he lete for no trauaile  
 Ðat he ne wil vs abataile (KA 3377-8)

<sup>3</sup> This example does not include the conjunction þat, but is essentially of the same nature as the other examples cited under the category of forbeden.

- (13) letten 'to hinder', 'to prevent', 'to delay'

He nolde lette  
 Dat he nold[e] man afounde (WS 151/633-4)

So that it myhte noght be let  
 For yifte ne for no beheste,  
 That sche ne was al at his heste (CA 133/128-30)

For wel I wot, thou miht noght lette,  
 That thou ne schalt thin herte sette  
 To love, wher thou wolt or non (CA 276/1873-4)

He ne lette for no fals oth,  
 Ne for wraþþe of leff no loth,  
 Dat he ne made ofte desherysun  
 And holy cherche traueyled wyþ tresun (HS 4381-4)

- (14) mistruen 'to distrust', 'to mistrust'

"For-soth," sco said, "mistru thar nan  
 Of hebru childer þat þis ne es an" (CM 5629-30)

- (15) nayen 'to deny'

And he nay þat he nolde neghe in no wyse  
Nauþer golde ne garysoun, er God hym grace sende  
 To acheue to þe chaunce þat he hade chosen þere  
 (GGK 1836-8)

- (16) sparen 'to spare', 'to refrain from', 'to forgive'

He ne sparede for no drede · þat he nolde þe ri3te wey gon  
 (SEL 163/15)

He ne sparede in none stude · þat he ne slou to gronde  
 (SEL 265/4)

Y nel spare for no fere þat y ne schal þat erant bere  
 & make hym come sone (Ferumbras 3465-6)

- (17) weren 'to defend', 'to forbid'

Certeyn þe shal no þyng were,  
 þat for hys deþ þou ne shalt answere (HS 1317-18)

- (18) weyven 'to refuse', 'to leave'

And let do crien al aboute,  
 Up peine of deth that noman weyve  
 That he baptesme ne receive (CA 223/3468-70)

- (19) Others<sup>4</sup>

Inelle þat noman bote God · me wissi and rede (SEL 56/74)

He nylle þat zoure barouns ne his  
Ne beren carke of al þis (KA 7284-5)

IF thou the vices lest to knowe,  
 Mi Sone, it hath noght ben unknowe,  
 Fro ferst that men the swerdes grounde,  
 That ther nis on upon this grounde,  
 A vice forein fro the lawe (CA 226/1-5)

Also hyt ys vyleynye to werche  
 A lewed man to plete yn cherche,  
 Lay court, or elles counte,  
 Per any man myght dampned be,  
 Ne queste take of endytement  
 Yn holy cherche oþer 3erd pursent (HS 8913-18).

Thus the verbs concerned are wide-ranging in kind. The so-called verbs with negative connotation, in fact imply prohibition, denial, doubtfulness, prevention, abandonment, negligence, avoidance, opposition, refusal, hindrance, resistance, and distrust. As far as the examples that the present study provides are concerned, the verbs concerned may be divided into the following three categories: (1) verbs of uncertainty or denial, pertaining to proposition (i.e. douten, mistruen, and nayen), (2) verbs of hindering or preventing another from doing something (i.e. defenden, forbeden, leten when negated, letten, weren, and possibly willen when negated), and (3) verbs of neglecting to do something oneself, or of avoiding doing something oneself (i.e. ascapen, bileuen, eschuien, forberen, forsaken, foryeten, sparen, weyven, and possibly willen when negated). It is occasionally difficult as mentioned above, however, to tell whether the þat-clause involved is consecutive or not, and if the þat-clauses are consecutive, the negative elements in them are not pleonastic. As far as the above three categories are concerned, verbs of the first type which imply uncertainty or denial take a complement which can be

<sup>4</sup> Strictly speaking, these examples do not include the verbs in question, but they occasionally present similar constructions. In the case of SEL (56/74) and KA (7284), not the verb willen but rather the combination of ne plus willen provides a connotation of refusal or reluctance. The other examples illustrate a combination of forms of be plus a past participle or an adjective. The example from CA (226/1-5) shows the connotation of ignorance, while the last example from HS (8913-18) illustrates a quasi-prohibition. Thus these examples are similar in nature to those listed above. Indeed the examples show the pleonastic use of negative elements in the þat-clauses, although this may not regularly be the case.

either a noun, pronoun, or nominal clause. The þat-clauses involved cannot be consecutive simply because of the semantic nature of the verbs concerned, and therefore negative elements in them as illustrated in the above list are pleonastic. The following discussion is, therefore, concerned with the other two categories.

Verbs of hindering or preventing another from doing something (i.e. the second type), by nature, require the following two verbal complements: (1) someone who is hindered or prevented from doing something, and (2) something which someone is hindered or prevented from doing. Both these complements are necessary to satisfy the semantic requirement of the verbs concerned, although the first of these complements (i.e. someone who is hindered or prevented from doing something) may be unexpressed if non-specific people are referred to. As I understand it, these complements occur not only as constituents of the main clause (i.e. in the non-finite form) but also in the form of a complement clause (i.e. in the finite form) as illustrated by:

Crist forbeode þat þou neuere · such folie ne do  
(SEL 89/104).

The above example corresponds to the simplex clause: Crist forbeode þe to . . .<sup>5</sup> Thus þat-clauses as illustrated by SEL (200/603-4) are not consecutive clauses with the meaning 'so that' but nominal clauses, and therefore the negation involved is pleonastic.

Verbs of hindering or preventing someone from doing something (i.e. the second type) occasionally present a construction which is somewhat ambiguous syntactically. For example:

<sup>5</sup> Some ME verbs which take both finite and non-finite complements (not necessarily such verbs as douten and forbeden) are discussed by Manabe (1989: 97-189), who argues that the ratio of non-finite complements increases in the course of the development of ME.

þy fader me for-bed al-so : þat for þyng þat mi3te be-falle  
 þat to no man ne schold y þe dore v̄ndo : with hymen to  
 speke or calle  
 (Ferumbras 1230-1).

The main clause provides me as a verbal complement, but something which is hindered or prevented from me is not available as a constituent of the main clause. Thus the semantic requirement of the verb for-bed is not fulfilled. The above is a construction which shows the intermediate stage between the constructions whose verbal complements are non-finite and finite. One of the necessary complements takes the form of a main-clause constituent, whereas the other complement is expressed in the form of a subordinate clause. The redundancy of the complement which expresses 'someone to be hindered or prevented from doing something' occurs, but this is simply because the second complement occurs as a finite clause which usually, though not always, takes an expressed subject.<sup>6</sup> Thus the þat-clause of the above example (Ferumbras 1230-1) is nominal rather than consecutive, and negation in it is pleonastic. Examples of this type are consistently cited in the above list.

There is another case in which þat-clauses involved may better be understood as nominal rather than consecutive and the negative elements in them are therefore pleonastic. Some illustrative examples are:

Wy heþ god for-bode hyt 3ow  
 Ðet 3e ne mote  
 Eten of al þat frut þat hys  
 Here growynde in paradys  
 To 3oure bote? (WS 152/656-60)

So that it myhte nocht be let  
 For yifte ne for no beheste,  
 That sche ne was al at his heste (CA 133/128-30).

<sup>6</sup> The omission of the subject in þat-clauses is pointed out by Smithers (1987: 112). His statement 'what sets the consecutive force of the subordinate clause beyond doubt is the presence of an expressed subject' may not always be true as the counterexample illustrated above (Ferumbras 1230-1) suggests, however.

The pat-clauses in these examples are anteceded by the cataphoric 'it', and therefore nominal rather than consecutive. Negation in the pat-clauses is pleonastic.

The same argument is applicable to verbs of neglecting to do something oneself (i.e. the third type) except that someone who is hindered or prevented from doing something is no longer necessary as a complement in this case. Something which someone neglects, however, is a necessary verbal complement, which can occur in the form of a complement clause, as in:

He nebileuede for no drede · þat he ne prechede bliue  
(SEL 267/69).

The above instance, where the pat-clause is nominal rather than consecutive, corresponds to the following construction with a non-finite complement: He nebileuede for no drede to . . . . The negative element in the pat-clause is therefore pleonastic.

Thus many of the seemingly ambiguous examples of pat-clauses dominated by verbs with a negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid' have been proved to be nominal rather than consecutive and negation in them is pleonastic. This is clearly the case when the semantic requirement of complements by the verb is not satisfied within the main clause. It is, however, a fact as well that the sample provides other examples where the pat-clauses concerned may better be regarded as consecutive and therefore where the negative elements at issue are perhaps called for. Some illustrative examples are given below:<sup>7</sup>

Hise bode ne durste he non atsitte,  
þat he ne neme for to wite  
Sone hwat wolde þe iustise (Havelok 2201-3)

& lokieþ ze ne spre gret ne smal : þat he ne go to dede  
(Ferumbras 2275)

<sup>7</sup> The possibility of the pat-clause being nominal rather than consecutive cannot entirely be dismissed in some cases.

Bot this thing mai noght be foryete,  
 That thou ne sende ous word anon  
 What is thi wille therupon (CA 156/978-80)

Bot yit I mai noght will forsake,  
 That he nys Maister of my thoght,  
 Or that I spede, or spede noght (CA 258/1190-2)<sup>8</sup>

That thei ne mihte his hand ascape,  
 That he his fyr on hem ne caste (CA 262-3/1352-3)

For god forbede hym þat tre  
 Þat he ne shuld ete þer of ne she (HS 12359-60).

They do present a similar structure to the structures of some examples of pleonastic negation discussed above. The complement requirement of the verb is fulfilled within the main clause, however, and therefore the þat-clauses in the above examples are consecutive clauses in which negative elements are semantically necessary.

The origin of the phenomenon of pleonastic negation is a difficult issue to solve. First of all, pleonastic negation of the type discussed above cannot be a matter of accident at all, for it occurs almost regularly and systematically. Bacquet (1975: 13) considers that pleonastic negation is a phenomenon which manifests itself in a 'variable negatively charged zone' by a process of negative concord.<sup>9</sup> Negative elements or negatively coloured expressions indeed create their scope of negation or of quasi-negation within which items particularly associated with negation tend to occur (non-assertive

<sup>8</sup> This is a slightly problematic example, since almost half the number of the extant manuscripts present wel in place of will. According to the reading of wel, it would be most reasonable to take the þat-clause as a verbal complement and therefore negation in the subordinate clause would be regarded as pleonastic.

<sup>9</sup> For details of 'negative concord', see 1.4.(7) above.

feature).<sup>10</sup> While PE would provide non-assertive forms<sup>11</sup> within the scope of negation, ME allows the repetitive occurrence of negative elements within the scope ('negative concord').<sup>12</sup> This is especially the case with the constructions under discussion, since pat-clauses dominated by verbs of the particular type virtually functions as a verbal complement of the main clause, at least semantically. Judging from the fact that the phenomenon is available in Middle High German as well (Warner 1982: 211), it appears to have a long history, although actual examples of the phenomenon may display influence of Latin or French when Latin or French sources are involved in the production of ME texts. As Bacquet (1975: 13) remarks, the phenomenon is shared by some Indo-European languages. Whatever the origin of the phenomenon may be, however, pat-clauses dependent upon the specific verbs as listed above especially illustrate a fixed case of the phenomenon, which has attained the status of 'competence' (as against 'performance').<sup>13</sup>

It is indeed important that the construction of the verbs of this type followed by a pat-clause in which a negative element occurs is almost in a fixed form.<sup>14</sup> There are only a handful of examples in which the verbs concerned are involved and in which pleonastic negation does not occur. See the following example:

This brother mihte it nocht asterte  
That he with al his hole herte  
His love upon his Soster caste (CA 230/163-5).

<sup>10</sup> That negatively coloured expressions also create a scope as negative elements do is pointed out in existing studies. Burnley (1983: 59-60), for example, observes the feature with the very verbs at issue such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid'.

<sup>11</sup> For a definition of non-assertive forms, see 1.4.(8) above.

<sup>12</sup> The occurrence of non-assertive forms in the complements dominated by 'to refuse', 'to deny', etc. in PE is pointed out by Klima (1964: 314).

<sup>13</sup> For details of 'competence' and 'performance', see 1.4.(9) above.

Here the antecedent it refers to the þat-clause, which therefore is nominal rather than consecutive. The þat-clause, however, does not supply a negative element.

For the following example, however, pleonastic negation does not occur in MSS Bodley 902 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) and Cambridge University Mm.2.21. (Trinity College, Cambridge), though it does in the other manuscripts of CA as cited below:

And let do crien al aboute,  
Up peine of deth that noman weyve  
That he baptesme ne receive (CA 223/3468-70).

Despite the fairly regular occurrence of the phenomenon of pleonastic negation as discussed above, it was still vulnerable to change in the process of textual transmission.

Apart from the two examples observed in the sample, MED also provides a few more examples which do not show the phenomenon of pleonastic negation even when the verbs at issue are involved. Under the entry of forbēden, for example, the following is encountered as one of these examples:

I forbede þat itt soo be (The York Plays 175/109).

Since examples which do not yield pleonastic negation are bound to

<sup>14</sup> In some cases, þat-clauses are preceded by but instead of a negative element being inserted in them:

Dys ryche man wldē nat lete,  
But þat he swore euer oþys grete (HS 693-4).

Warner (1982: 222-3) points to the fact that but of this type takes the place of the whole construction of þat-clauses with ne once the adverb ne starts to decline. He maintains that the former ousts the latter during the fifteenth century.

Furthermore, Einkenkel (1912: 213) also finds a variant construction in which the subordinate clause is introduced by lest rather than þat with negation:

& is of-dred leste God habbe hire al uor3iten  
(Ancrene Riwe [from Einkenkel (1912: 213)]).

be from relatively late periods of ME as far as the sample of the present study and MED are concerned, it may be a reasonable conjecture that the awareness of the pleonastic nature of the negative elements in þat-clauses was cultivated towards the end of the ME period especially side by side with the decline of multiple negation and the development of forms such as any and even, although the absence of pleonastic negation occasionally occurs even in OE. As for the phenomenon in OE, Joly (1982: 187) remarks that he has come across some examples where negation is not expressed in þat-clauses of the type at issue. Traugott (1992: 270) also provides an example where pleonastic negation does not occur.

Apart from the type of þat-clauses discussed above which accounts for the major part of the phenomenon, there are two more types of þat-clauses which have been related in discussion of previous studies to pleonastic negation. To illustrate the first type, Einkenkel (1916: 76-7) gives the following example:

Ne hadde he bote þis word iseid, þat þare ne cam a wind  
blowe  
 (St. Patrick's Purgatory [from Einkenkel (1916: 76)]).

The example may be rendered: 'Scarcely had he uttered this word when there came a gust of wind'. Examples of this type are also available in the present sample:

Fro londe woren he bote a mile,  
 Ne were neuere but ane hwile  
 þat it ne bigan a wind to rise  
 Out of þe north men calleth 'bise' (Havelok 722-5)

He nadde bote þis word ised · þat þer ne com a wynd blowe  
 (SEL 98/389)

Nadde he bote þis word ised · þat þer ne com ali3te  
 A maner breþ fram heuene adoun · þat ssinde cler and  
brizte  
 (SEL 106-7/619-20)

Nadde he bote þis word ised · þat þer necom to þe kinge  
 A messenger þat him bro3te · a sori tyþinge

(SEL 381/229-30).<sup>15</sup>

According to Smithers (1987: 111-12), this construction, which may simply be a rather fixed expression,<sup>16</sup> displays a pat-clause which is consecutive and the adverb ne in it is semantically called for. Despite Smithers's remark, the adverb ne in the pat-clauses in the above is not obligatory as the examples below illustrate. In the following examples in CM, the conjunction pat is not expressed so that the second clause should be interpreted consecutively in the linear order after the first. Here the adverb ne is not included in the second clause:

Had he nocht rested bot a thrau,  
O maidens sagh he cum on raw (CM 3281-2)

Ne had þai sojurnd bot a stond,  
Iacob þam said, "time es to fund" (CM 5019-20).

Quintessentially, expression of this type refers to two separate events which take place consecutively, with one immediately after another. Since one of the events occurs almost simultaneously as the other event occurs or about to occur, ne in the second clause stays unexpressed occasionally. In the light of the fact that the case in

<sup>15</sup> Since relevant examples are sparse, I have supplied this example from MS Harley 2277 (British Library, London) of SEL. The example is cited from the second volume of SEL (ed. C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, 1956). The example has turned out to be very similar to the other examples from SEL, however.

<sup>16</sup> This indeed is established, but as Einkenkel (1916: 76) states, pat-clauses of this type are finally to be replaced by than. GGK and CM present some further interesting examples in this respect, where the subordinate clause is instead introduced by er 'before' and quen 'when' respectively. Pleonastic negation does not occur in these examples:

Vnnethes has he tald his tale,  
Quen þai come all wit in a rutte,  
And hailsand forwit him þai lute (CM 5154-7)

Had he nocht regnd bot a stund,  
Quen he a hus be-gan to fund (CM 7875-6)

Nade he sayned hymself, segge, bot þrye,  
Er he watz war in þe wod of a won in a mote (GGK 763-4).

which ne is not expressed is evidenced only in CM, where the conjunction þat is omitted, the pattern which includes ne in the þat-clause may simply be more fixed.

Finally, Einkenkel (1916: 76) also provides the following as an example of pleonastic negation:

hit nes na3t longe efterward þet þe asse ne yse3 his lhord  
com hom (Ayenbite [from Einkenkel (1916: 76)]).

The present study also observes the following instances, which are of the same type:

Þis nas no3t longe þer afterward · as þe boc us deþ telle  
þat þe abbot ne sende him out [·] to on of hore celle  
(SEL 120/59-60)

Vnneþe ys hyt day ne oure  
þat y ne am þar wyþ tempted soure (HS 8491-2)

Hit nas no3t longe þer afterward : þat þe Chanceler nesede  
& þe hexte maystres of þe toun : þat he schulde bigynne  
& rede  
(SEL 500/243-4).<sup>17</sup>

þat-clauses in the above examples are all nominal and referred to by the cataphoric items hyt, þis, and hit. SEL (500/243-4), for example, means: 'it was not for a long time afterwards that the chancellor did not speak'. In other words, it means: 'the chancellor spoke immediately'. The adverb ne in these examples is not pleonastic but semantically necessary.

Pleonastic negation also occurs outside þat-clauses, which has not been fully discussed in previous studies, but has been noted only sporadically. Wackernagel (1920-4, II: 307-8) notices in some languages the occurrence of pleonastic negation in clauses introduced

<sup>17</sup> Examples are so limited that I have added this instance from MS Harley 2277 (British Library, London) of SEL. The example is cited from the second volume of SEL (ed. C. D'Evelyn and A. J. Mill, 1956), which is not included in the texts consistently analyzed in the present study.

by 'before', 'until', etc. Labov (1972: 805) observes the same phenomenon in PE. The pleonastic use of negation of this type, however, is far less established than the phenomenon in þat-clauses dependent upon some specific verbs such as douten 'to doubt' and forbiden 'to forbid' as discussed above. The sample provides some examples, as quoted below:

Cums again, wit-vten dute,  
 Haf yee þe dais al fasten vte  
 þat i bad ar i ne went? (CM 6557-9)<sup>18</sup>

But we nylle not so glad hyr make  
By-fore we ne suffre hyr to be sorye  
 (SMA 1457-8)

Bot we ne were vs wit þar kin  
 þat sal our kingrik fra vs win (CM 5501-2)

Was neuer man born þat cuth wirc  
 Ne yark suilk a-noþer kirc,  
 Bot godd ne had him sli wisdom  
 Giuen, als he gaf salamon (CM 8855-8)

þi doghter ne aght i neuem me,  
 Bot i ne of him ne had pite (CM 9587-8).

Clauses introduced by 'before', 'unless', 'until', etc., in a sense, refer to non-fulfilment of an action, which provides a non-assertive context where the use of negative elements may be incited. In fact, the other option is to employ non-assertive forms such as any and ever as illustrated below:

Pas into þere prouyns, pray in hor londys,  
 Dyng hom to deth er any dyn ryse;  
 Er any batell be boune, hom to bale worthe,  
 þat vnwarnyt of our werkes or hom wo happon  
 (DT 2134-7).

<sup>18</sup> Morris (1865: 380) suggests that ne as in the manuscript should be read as me. In fact the corresponding passage in the Göttingen MS (Göttingen University, Germany) runs as follows:

Comis again widuten doute,  
 Haue 3e þe dais al fastid vte,  
 þat i bad, ar i me went (CM 6557-9).

The possibility of ne being pleonastic exists, however, even though it may simply be a scribal introduction.

Pleonastic negation in clauses introduced by 'before', 'unless', 'until', etc. is, therefore, also attributable to the non-assertive nature of them. As Wackernagel and Labov find examples outside ME, this is a relatively widely-attested phenomenon both from a geographical and chronological point of view. The phenomenon is again related to the general human mental activity. I have come across the same phenomenon among modern Japanese speakers who happen to be rather careless, although the usage is unequivocally erroneous in the language. In view of the fact that it is far less established than the pleonastic use of negative elements in þat-clauses discussed above, however, the phenomenon has not attained the 'competence' *status* at all. It is recognizable only at the level of 'performance'. In other words, pleonastic negation of this type is by no means regular, although the phenomenon, if it ever occurs, is able to be supported by the same rationale as in the case of pleonastic negation associated with such verbs as douten and forbeden.

The same is true of pleonastic negation which occurs in a comparative construction as the following example illustrates:

An eke ich can of þe goddspelle  
 More þan ich nule þe telle (O&N 1209-10).

The occurrence of non-assertive forms in comparative constructions like this is proved in PE (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech, and Svartvik 1985: §10.61). The above shows another case in which a pleonastic negative element is employed with the incitement of the non-assertive nature of the context. It is, however, the sole relevant example of a comparative construction found in the sample of the present study. The example shows a case of 'performance' again.

Thus pleonastic negation is a phenomenon widely encountered in various linguistic circumstances. The most frequent and major type is found in þat-clauses dependent upon some specific verbs with a

negative connotation such as douten and forbeden. This is the type which is most commonly discussed and referred to in previous studies. The type in ME commonly corresponds to the same usages in Latin and French when Latin or French sources are involved. Apart from this major type, some other syntactic contexts associated with non-assertiveness or non-fulfilment of an action occasionally present examples of pleonastic negation, although with a much lesser frequency. For example, clauses introduced by 'before', 'until', 'unless', etc. and comparative constructions occasionally present ne which is not necessary semantically.

As the above discussion reveals, pleonastic negation is related to a general human mental activity. As Joly and Bacquet argue, it is a fairly widely-attested phenomenon which occurs in circumstances with negative colouring or the connotation of non-fulfilment of an action. In this respect, the fact that Wackernagel identifies many relevant examples from various different languages is significant, although it is not clear from his accounts how widely the phenomenon may be found outside the Indo-European language family. It is essentially a variety of 'negative concord'.

It is important, however, that the present usage of pleonastic negation is in a fixed form, which is different from the sporadic occurrence of pleonastic negation of other types. Here the famous metaphor of the long neck of giraffes may be applicable.<sup>19</sup> It is true that the present usage is closely connected with the negative connotation or the non-assertive nature of the linguistic context,

<sup>19</sup> This metaphor is frequently used in modern linguistics. Giraffes have developed a long neck to adjust themselves to the environment. The factor of the environment, however, does not function for each individual giraffe. The distinctive feature will simply be passed on to the following generation by heredity. Likewise, some linguistic features may be related to certain particular factors, which do not function all the time. Once the features are established, they are simply incorporated into the grammatical system. These established features may be passed on to the following generation as 'competence', while those which have not been established may simply be an issue of 'performance'.

which is a factor for the occurrence of pleonastic negation in general, but once the usage is fixed, the use of pleonastic negative elements comes to be regularized. The original factor does not need to function for each occurrence of the phenomenon. In this sense, examples of this type should be treated separately at the 'competence' level from other sporadic examples of pleonastic negation, which may be treated at the level of 'performance'.

## 6.2. Unexpressed negation

Omission of negative elements which are grammatically required (henceforth referred to as 'unexpressed negation') has never been discussed systematically in existing studies, although some editors of ME texts notice sporadic examples in which negation is unexpressed. The treatment of such examples has been varied to this day. While some of them have been emended by editors with negative elements inserted, others have been left as they stand in the manuscripts. The following discussion attempts a more consistent analysis of the phenomenon of unexpressed negation.<sup>20</sup>

Most examples of unexpressed negation, although they are limited in number, occur in pat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause:

<sup>20</sup> While examples are fairly exhaustively treated in the present discussion, obviously corrupt examples are not dealt with. In the following example in GGK, for instance, m is erroneously employed instead of n:

I were a knyzt kowarde, I myzt not be excused  
[MS mot] (GGK 2131).

That m and n were distinguished with difficulty is suggested by the fact that some examples illustrate the case in which n is wrongly employed instead of m conversely:

For mon may hyden his harme, bot vnhap ne may hit  
[MS non] (GGK 2511).

Do nauȝt so, ac mercy crye,  
 Pat þe [ne] tyde wors (WS 103/141-2)

Of otherwise I wol noght seie  
 That if I founde a seker weie,  
 I wolde as for conclusioun  
 Worche after Supplantacioun,  
 So hihe a love forto winne (CA 195/2421-5)

Ne so wel can noman affile  
 His tunge, that som time in rape  
 Him mai som liht word overscape (CA 240/516-18)

And in þat grete regioun  
 Nas castel, cite, ne toun  
 Pat nam bi loue oiþer miȝtte  
 Lesse þan jn fourtene niȝtte (KA 1495-8)

Þoo nas þere non of so good loos  
 Pat in herte hym agroos (KA 5335-6)

For werre wrathed hym not so much þat wynter nas wors  
 [MS was] (GGK 726).

Interestingly enough, Robinson (1957: 690) notices in his edition of the complete works by Chaucer four examples where necessary negation is not expressed, all of which happen to be in the same circumstance as well. The examples are:

. . . But nathelees, certeyn,  
 I kan right now no thrifty tale seyn  
 That Chaucer, thogh he kan but lewedly  
 On metres and on rhymyng craftily,  
 Hath seyde hem in swich Englissh as he kan  
 Of olde tyme, as knoweth many a man  
 (The Man of Law's Tale 45-50)

The see may never be so stille  
 That with a litel wynde it nille  
 Overwhelme and turne also,  
 As it were wood, in wawis goo  
 [MS wille] (The Romaunt of the Rose 3773-6)

Noon so fulfilled of bounte,  
 That he with love may daunted be  
 (The Romaunt of the Rose 4763-4)

Ek of the day ther passed nought an houre  
 That to hymself a thousande tyme he seyde  
 (Troilus and Criseyde, I 456-7).

The occurrence of negative elements both in the superordinate and subordinate clauses in these cases would cancel negation and provide the positive sense as a whole, which is perhaps why the second

clauses happen to be left in the positive form. The positive meaning of the whole sentence overrides the strict grammatical rule involved in the relationship between superordinate and subordinate clauses. Thus unexpressed negation is infinitely close to an error as unestablished patterns of pleonastic negation are. Unexpressed negation and pleonastic negation are both associated with a general human mental activity. In the case of unexpressed negation, the overall meaning is positive, which leads to the omission of negative elements, while in the case of pleonastic negation, the overall meaning is negative, which leads to the redundant employment of negative elements. Unexpressed negation has by no means attained the 'competence' status, however, but *simply an issue of 'performance'*, as the particularly limited occurrence of the phenomenon suggests.

The phenomenon is, therefore, fairly unstable and susceptible to change in the process of textual transmission. The following example in CA merits attention in this respect:

And natheles I wol noght say,  
That I nam glad on other side (CA 110/2750-1).

Here the omission of a negative element (i.e. am instead of nam) is attested in about half the number of the extant manuscripts while the other manuscripts display nam as illustrated above.

All the other relevant examples fundamentally illustrate cases of a rather obvious error,<sup>21</sup> except the following where the omission of the negative conjunction ne can be explained in the light of the flexible boundary of the scope of negation in ME:

(More of thies Myrmydons mell I not now,  
Enabit in (pat aile,) [ne] Etil will I ferre (DT 109-10)

"Dame, saw I not And sat be-syde,  
The knyght when thou with poyson sloughe?  
(SMA 1366-7)

They knew hym and he hem nought (SMA 3913).

The scope of negation in ME is occasionally wide enough to cover the parts which would require another negative element in PE. As far as the above examples are concerned, two clauses are conjoined, of which only one includes a negative element. It semantically applies to both clauses, however.

As hitherto discussed, unexpressed negation tends to occur in some specific syntactic contexts. Examples are most frequently found in þat-clauses dependent upon a negative clause. The positive meaning of the whole sentence, which is supposed to include two negative elements cancelling each other, overrides the grammatical rule. Unexpressed negation therefore shows the opposite case of pleonastic negation whose occurrence is instigated by the overall negative meaning of the sentence involved. Unexpressed negation is infinitely close to an error, however, and has by no means attained the 'competence' status. The phenomenon is not at all common. As an issue of 'performance', however, it is particularly interesting, since the phenomenon is observed in a specific grammatical context and it is most understandable from the perspective of a general human mental activity. At least it merits as much attention as unestablished patterns of pleonastic negation do, which also remain at the 'performance' level.

<sup>21</sup> Curiously enough, errors tend to occur in subordinate clauses, as in the following:

Wanne þou [ne] halst þy masseday (WS 93/211)

The sample provides three more examples of this type (O&N 405-6, GGK 1815-16, and SMA 3768-9). Errors are also common with forms that can provide a contracted form:

3yf eny was þat for drede [n]olde · þulke sunne do  
[MS wolde] (SEL 138/53).

Examples are also found in: Havelok (1721-2), KA (779-80), and GGK (1053).

## C H A P T E R VII

## Summary and Conclusions

ME negative clauses are marked by the adverbs ne and not together with never, no, etc. and/or the negative connectives neither and ne/nor. The historical overview of the development of ME negative constructions has been one of the central issues discussed in the present thesis (Chapter II). As for the usages of the adverbs ne and not, early ME still displays the stage at which the dominant form is ne whereas by the time of later ME, the employment of ne comes to be more and more limited and conversely not comes to be dominant. The middle period of ME is characterized by the intermediate stage which shows some development of ne ... not, although the form ne is still preserved fairly commonly. The present study indicates that ne ... not is fairly unstable or rather tentative, since before ne ... not establishes itself, not alone starts to abound and once not alone comes to be common in use, the form ne directly shifts to not alone without going through the stage of ne ... not. While ne alone is retained to some extent even in later ME, especially in some specific syntactic contexts which particularly favour the form, ne ... not undergoes an even earlier and sharper decline in later ME. Since the status of ne ... not is by no means stable, it is in fact the forms ne and not that compete with each other in the later period of ME.

As far as the whole process of the development of the usages of ne and not described above is concerned, verse texts seem to be slightly more conservative than prose texts in ME. In verse, the adverb ne is preserved well into the middle period of ME. Even in later texts, ne has not at all disappeared. At least some 20% to 40% of the examples of clausal negation still include the adverb ne in

later ME texts except in DT, where its employment is extremely limited exceptionally.

From the geographical point of view, the decline of the adverb ne is much earlier in northerly areas, as CM (the West Riding of Yorkshire), EMH (Yorkshire), and DT (Lancashire) illustrate, than any other part of England. Easterly areas of England except Kent are also more progressive than southerly and westerly areas of England. Kent, on the other hand, shows a rather conservative usage of negation with a fairly extensive employment of ne even in a relatively late period.

The decline of the adverb ne occurs with negative clauses marked by never, no, etc. almost in the same manner. As far as texts with early features are concerned, clauses with never, no, etc. almost always include the adverb ne, which however gradually recedes in the course of the ME period, leaving never, no, etc. alone. The process in which never, no, etc. alone are produced seems to take place slightly earlier than the process in which not alone is produced, especially in those texts which display relatively progressive features for their date. On the whole, northerly texts display an earlier decline of ne from negative clauses marked by never, no, etc., while southerly texts, especially those from westerly areas or from Kent, are comparatively conservative in this respect. One feature to be noted is the fact that never, no, etc. are especially frequent as markers of clausal negation in some later ME texts such as GGK, AMA, and DT, which may be connected with the alliterative style of these texts.

As a minor point, the present study also discussed the locations of the adverbs ne and not in a clause. While examples of irregular location of the adverb ne are extremely rare, it occasionally fails to move despite the movement of the finite verb of the clause, and thus the finite verb separates itself from the adverb ne. Other irregular

examples display the case in which ne precedes a non-finite element of a complex verb phrase instead of the finite verb itself. The locations of not are much more fluid, on the other hand. The separation of not from the finite verb is most common when a pronominal object is involved, which tends to manifest itself between the finite verb and not. Apart from this case, the placing of not before the finite verb is also fairly common, which can most reasonably be concerned with the exigency of rhyme. The sample also yields some examples in which not is located after the verbal compound and not after the finite verb itself, although this phenomenon is much limited and most examples of *this type are* related with the *rhyme scheme*.

The relationship between linguistic conditions and forms of negation is another issue to be discussed in the present thesis (Chapter III). The issues dealt with are: (1) the nature of the finite verb and forms of negation, and (2) various syntactic conditions and the patterning of negation. The present study reveals about the nature of the finite verb that forms of be tend to provide ne plus another negative element. This feature is, however, related with the frequent occurrence of the construction in existential clauses, where forms of be are almost always involved as the finite verb. Forms of witen and will tend to yield ne alone, on the other hand. The frequent occurrence of ne alone with forms of witen is ascribable to the same feature with the construction in which forms of witen are followed by an interrogative to a large extent. The frequent occurrence of ne alone with forms of will, by contrast, is a feature shared by other modal verbs as well, at least as far as texts with early features are concerned. Although forms of be, witen, and will are all verbs which can provide a contracted form, no shared feature seems to be available. Incidentally, forms of have, which can also show negative contraction, seem to favour the construction where ne

is accompanied by another negative element, unlike forms of will and witen.

As for the relationship between negative constructions and the syntactic conditions where they occur, the following are the points discussed in the present study. First of all, negative clauses marked by never, no, etc. hardly ever provide the adverb not, while they freely include the adverb ne. This seems to be such a consistent rule that it overrides the other syntactic conditions treated in the present thesis. Apart from this, most syntactic conditions favour either the adverb ne alone or constructions other than the adverb ne alone. Ne alone is particularly favoured when the proposition is not strong, or not factual. Conditional clauses and þat-clauses dependent upon a negative or an interrogative clause belong to this group. Negative interrogative clauses may also be classified here, although they present some use of ne ... not as well. Not only the employment of not but also the employment of never, no, etc. is rather rare in these conditions, and it is the case throughout the ME period. Apart from the conditions mentioned, clauses with but which in combination with negation yields the meaning 'only' also fall under this category, since negation in them functions only in a fixed form with but and does not function to provide a genuinely negative proposition. Once the meaning 'only' is established and then transferred to but, negation itself is no longer necessary and it disappears. But comes to mean 'only' on its own.

When, however, the proposition involved in the negative clause is relatively strong, constructions other than ne alone tend to be employed. Imperative and optative clauses belong to this case. Negation plus a word and negation plus a del, etc., where negation is emphatic, also fall into this category. Not only not but also never, no, etc. are frequently used in these conditions. Figurative negation as illustrated by not worth a straw, which is also emphatic but

figurative rather than literal, may also fall under this category, though it tends to occur with not more frequently than with never, no, etc.

Outside these relatively clear cases, there are some more conditions which merit attention. Clauses with forms of witen followed by an interrogative tend to present ne alone, whereas clauses with the order verb-subject favour never, no, etc. as well as not. Moreover, not alone or never, no, etc. alone are common when the finite verb immediately follows the conjunction ne, and this is so perhaps because the consecutive occurrence of the conjunction ne and the adverb ne which results in ne ne is simply unfavourable. Finally, existential clauses most frequently involve never, no, etc., and when they are not involved, the adverb ne tends to be the sole negative element. Not is scarcely used in them.

Negative contraction as in nam (< ne am) and nadde (< ne hadde) is another issue to be discussed in the present thesis (Chapter IV). As regards the geographical distribution of the phenomenon, two major axes are involved. Southerly areas of England display contracted forms more commonly than northerly areas, and westerly areas of England show contracted forms more abundantly than easterly areas. While Kent was once considered to conform to the East Midland and Northern usages (Levin 1958: 498, n. 22), it has turned out to present negative contraction fairly consistently, at least in ME verse. The present study has also presented a clearer picture of the distribution of the phenomenon in the East and West Midlands. In GJK (Cheshire) and SMA (Rutland) negative contraction is common, while DT (Lancashire) and AMA (Lincolnshire) present only a single example of contraction each. The difference between GJK and DT and that between SMA and AMA helps to draw some ideas about the distribution of the phenomenon in northern parts of the West and East Midlands. Areas further north, however, do not show

negative contraction at all. Neither CM (the West Riding of Yorkshire) nor EMH (Yorkshire) presents a single example of the phenomenon.

One significant point that the present study deals with is the contrast between the early ME and later ME usages. The tendency to show contraction is more pronounced in early texts such as PM (Lamb), O&N, KH, and SEL, where the occurrence of the phenomenon is almost constant, than in later ones such as Ferumbras and A&D, which demonstrate uncontracted forms with the frequency of some 30% to 40%. Geographically, they are all from relatively westerly areas of England. In fact, the absence of contracted forms in the North is partly due to the decrease of relevant examples, which is ultimately ascribable to the reduction of the adverb ne itself.

It has also been proved that the frequency at which negative contraction occurs should be investigated separately for each verb. KA and Ferumbras, for example, reveal that forms of have are less inclined to be contracted than the other verbs which can provide a contracted form. There are also some cases in which contracted forms occur only with particular verbs, especially in texts where the phenomenon itself is relatively uncommon. Havelok and G&E, for example, provide only a mere handful of contracted forms, which are observed only with forms be and/or will. It is highly likely that only common forms of negative contraction occur around border areas of the phenomenon, where Havelok and G&E are largely localized (Norfolk). Furthermore, CA shows an interesting tendency to prefer contracted forms for the present tense and uncontracted forms for the preterite tense.

Thus the mapping of the phenomenon should be presented separately for each verb. The present study has provided much supplementary information in this respect to existing studies. In some cases, a certain contracted form has been identified in much

broader areas than had been recorded. Nold- is one of the most typical examples of this case. In other cases, the present study has simply displayed that the non-existence of a certain contracted form can be ascribable to the absence of relevant examples themselves. Nam is the most typical example of this case. For a number of counties, the present study has simply pointed out the absence of ne am as well as nam.

Syntactic conditions are another factor related to the phenomenon of negative contraction. As far as the present study of ME negative contraction is concerned, the fundamental issue involved in the syntactic factors is emphasis of negation, *although syntactic factors themselves are secondary to geographical conditions mentioned above.* Emphatic contexts of negation are favourable for the employment of uncontracted rather than contracted forms. Negative imperative clauses, clauses with never, and those with a negative element followed by a word (as in KA 5815-16), a slo (as in Havelok 850), for example, belong to this type. Here uncontracted *forms tend to occur*. On the other hand, existential clauses display a slight inclination for contracted rather than uncontracted forms, although the tendency is not strong at all. Furthermore, the relatively fixed expression willy-nilly remains contracted until a fairly late stage of the development of negative construction.

The existence of multiple negation in OE and ME has long been known. This is another important issue of negation discussed in the present thesis (Chapter V). One simple but significant point revealed by the present investigation is the fact that most examples of multiple negation present only two negative elements (double negation) while clauses with more than two negative elements are relatively rare. This is important, since it implies that the decline of multiple negation (mostly double negation) is virtually the same phenomenon as the decline of the adverb ne. The majority of

examples of multiple negation indeed illustrate the case in which the adverb ne is involved as one of the negative elements. Examples of this type increase as part of the development of ne ... not, which culminates in SEL, and after this peak they start to decrease because of the decline of ne itself towards the end of the ME period. Once the adverb ne starts to decline, a larger and larger number of single negation with not alone or never, no, etc. alone is to be produced, while multiple negation comes to be more and more marginalized at the same time. Multiple negation which exceeds 70% of clausal negation at the stage of SEL decreases down to around 50% by the stage of texts with intermediate features (Group 2) and further down to around 20% by the stage of texts with late features (Group 3). Even in later ME texts, however, some 30% to 70% of the examples of multiple negation still tend to preserve the adverb ne as one of the negative elements, indicating that the process described above is still in progress.

Multiple negation with the conjunction ne/nor and multiple negation with never, no, etc. repeated or accompanied by not displays a different process in reducing the number of the negative elements involved in them. As for the former case, the conjunction and or or comes to be more and more frequently employed in place of ne/nor, but this process seems to occur much later than the decline of the adverb ne mentioned above. At least as far as the texts investigated in the present study are concerned, the employment of or of this type is by no means extensive yet, and there still remains a relatively clear distinction in terms of the distribution of and and ne/nor. When two negative clauses are combined by a conjunction, it tends to be ne/nor, for instance. And is principally used when a negative clause is connected to its preceding positive one. As for the case in which more than one clausal constituents are combined, the employment of and produces a single scope of negation for the

whole combination of the constituents, while the use of ne/nor produces a scope of negation for each constituent. There still exists a semantic distinction between the usages of and and ne/nor. In other words, the conjunction ne/nor and and are not yet free alternatives, and therefore the decline of multiple negation as a result of the development of and and or in place of ne/nor is not yet observed to any significant extent.

The same is true with multiple negation with never, no, etc. repeated or accompanied by not, which historically shifts to single negation by the development of forms such as ever and any in place of redundant never, no, etc. The present study reveals that forms such as ever and any are indeed more commonly evidenced in later ME than in early ME, but on the whole, the absolute frequency of multiple negation of this type does not yet decrease even in later ME. The decline of multiple negation of this type is, therefore, a phenomenon particularly in early MnE. The influence of Latin grammar, which had often been mentioned in existing studies (Sweet 1892-8, I: §1520; Curme 1931: 139-40; Jespersen 1909-49, V: 451; Kisbye 1971-2, I: 204; Leith 1983: 111), can most appropriately be applied to multiple negation of this type.

The last chapter of the present thesis deals with two semantic aspects of negation, the first of which is the issue of pleonastic negation (Chapter VI). It had long been known that early English occasionally employs a negative element which is semantically unnecessary (i.e. pleonastic negation). The present thesis lists as many examples of the phenomenon as possible from the selected verse texts. The most frequent and major type of pleonastic negation is found in pat-clauses dependent upon some specific verbs with negative connotation such as douten 'to doubt' and forbeden 'to forbid'. The verbs of this type are various. Apart from this case, however, some other syntactic contexts associated with non-fulfilment

of an action occasionally present examples of pleonastic negation, although with much lesser frequency: clauses introduced by 'before', 'until', 'unless', etc. and comparative constructions.

Pleonastic negation is related to a general human mental activity. It is a fairly widely attested phenomenon which occurs in circumstances with negative colouring or the connotation of non-fulfilment of an action, and not confined to early English. In this sense, it is simply a variety of 'negative concord'. It is significant, however, that pleonastic negation in pat-clauses dependent upon such verbs as douten and forbeden is by and large fixed, whatever the origin of the phenomenon may be. Thus examples of this type are different from other sporadic examples of pleonastic negation as in clauses with 'before', 'until', 'unless', or in comparative clauses, whose occurrence is much more irregular.

The second part of the last chapter throws light on the issue of unexpressed negation. The present study has displayed that most examples of unexpressed negation are found in pat-clauses subordinate to a negative clause. The positive meaning of the whole sentence with two negative elements cancelling each other overrides the grammatical rule and negation necessary is occasionally left unexpressed. This makes a contrast to pleonastic negation which is associated with the negative meaning of the overall sentence. Unexpressed negation is therefore another phenomenon which may be explained from the perspective of a general human mental activity.

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