

Negation Particles and Historical Linguistics:
What Part of "Not" Do You Not Understand?

by

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A Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Art - Linguistics
and
Certificate of Medieval Studies

Approved April 2014 by the
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May 2014

ABSTRACT

There are many parts of speech and morphological items in a linguistic lexicon that may be optional in order to have a cohesive language with a complete range of expression. Negation is not one of them. Negation appears to be absolutely essential from a linguistic (and indeed, a psychological) point of view within any human language. Humans need to be able to say in some fashion "No" and to express our *not* doing things in various ways. During the discussions that appear in this thesis, I expound upon the historical changes that can be seen within three different language branches - North Germanic (with Gothic, Old Saxon, Old Norse, Swedish, and Icelandic), West Germanic (with English), and Celtic (with Welsh) - focusing on negation particles in particular and their position within these languages. I also examine how each of these chosen languages has seen negation shift over time in relation to Jespersen's negation cycle. Finally, I compare and contrast the results I see from these languages, demonstrating that they all three do follow a distinct negation cycle. I also explain how these three negation cycles are chronologically not in sync with one another and obviously all changed at different rates. This appears to be the case even within the different branches of the Germanic family.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my father, Richard Loewenhagen, who always reminds me that we were put here to learn as much as we can, and to my family and friends, for reminding me that there is still life outside of the classroom and library.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Elly van Gelderen, Carrie Gillon, and Robert Bjork for their comments and contributions to my thesis as I worked my way through this project. I would also like to thank Elly van Gelderen very much for keeping me grounded mentally and helping me work my way through my syntax trees whenever I got stuck. Thank you also to John Good for all of his help with my Welsh language training and for the lively discussions we've had over negation and mutations in the language.

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Chapter 1. Negation, Negation Particles, and the CP.

There are many parts of speech and morphological items in a linguistic lexicon that may be optional in order to have a cohesive language with a complete range of expression. Negation is not one of them. To date, there are no languages in the great pantheon of world languages, and no dialects in the myriad of dialectal variation found throughout all human languages, that are missing some form of negation. Negation appears to be absolutely essential from a linguistic (and indeed, a psychological) point of view within any human language. We need to be able to say in some fashion "No" and to express our *not* doing things in various ways.

Although that need to express negation exists within a language, of course, this does not alter the fact that, inevitably, language elements will change, even those elements that appear to be universally present in all languages. Languages are as much a living element of human civilization as other societal items, such as communities, political arenas, subsistence practices, various forms of education, etc.; it is an essential part of who we are and how we adapt to survive and advance as a species. As such, language is also just as susceptible to change over time as any of those other societal conventions. Language changes for many different reasons: drift, as populations with a common language spread out and lose constant contact with one another; generational variation, as new generations of a population learn their native language with the slightest variations in phonological and grammatical values, and thus they learn and pass down to the following generations a slightly modified version of what they themselves were taught; internal variation, as spoken values of words and their meanings change with various societal factors within a community; and external factors, as populations are conquered or come more peaceably into contact with other populations and their different native languages.

During the following discussions, I examine the historical changes within three different language branches, focusing on negation particles in particular and their position within these languages. I also discuss how each of these language branches has seen negation shift over time in relation to Jespersen's negation cycle. Finally, I compare and contrast the results I see from these language branches; I demonstrate that they all follow a distinct negation cycle and explain how these three negation cycles are chronologically not in sync with one another and have all

changed at different rates. This appears to be the case even within the different branches of the Germanic family.

The languages I have chosen to examine and to compare and contrast with one another are as follows: from the West Germanic language branch, English; from the North Germanic language branch, Norse, Old Saxon, Gothic, Swedish, and Icelandic; and from the Celtic language family, Welsh. Each of these languages were utilized during the Medieval period in Europe in their older forms (Old English, Old Norse, and Old Welsh, respectively), and each of them has changed over time to the more present-day utilization of their spoken and written forms. In examining the various linguistic changes evident in the negation of each of these three languages, I will not only examine the individual languages' changes and how they may or may not differ with one another over time, but I wish to use them as examples of how different language families have perhaps changed in similar yet very different ways, depending on how their daughter languages function.

The Negation Cycle.

As a quick review of the negation cycle, I refer to two articles by van Gelderen (2008 and 2013); she has performed extensive work on the negation cycle and analyzed it in several different languages, as well as having analyzed the science behind the cycle itself. Van Gelderen (2008, p.198) describes the negation cycle (also known as Jespersen's Cycle) as follows: "Jespersen's Cycle can thus be accounted for by means of a reanalysis of the specifier as head, the subsequent renewal of the specifier position, and the disappearance of the head...". This cycle is portrayed by van Gelderen (2008, p.198) in her figure:

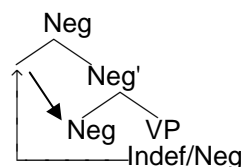


Figure 1. The Negative Cycle.

This cycle posited by Jespersen (1917) demonstrates his theory that negation comes from indefinite objects or adverbs (van Gelderen, 2008, p.196).

Van Gelderen (2013, p.238-9) also offers two negative microcycles, one in which the source of the negation is a verb, and one in which the source is a negative argument. This can be better shown by reproducing a portion of van Gelderen's (2013, p.238) table displaying her examples of cyclical change:

Table 1.

Negative Cycle changes.

<p>Negative Cycle</p> <p>Negative argument > negative adverb > negative particle > zero</p> <p>Negative verb > auxiliary > negative > zero</p>
--

The first cycle is one that we are most familiar with in terms of studying the Indo-European language families. The second can be seen in languages such as Chinese (van Gelderen, 2013). I argue that a third type of microcycle might also be determined to have come from adverbs, as we will see in Welsh, which would provide us with the following cycle:

adverb > negative adverb > negative particle > zero

For the purposes of this study, we will focus on the first cycle of changes, where the negation is derived from a negative argument of some sort, which percolates down to a negative adverb, then a negative particle, and finally takes on a zero value within the language; during this reanalysis period, according to Jespersen's (1917) negation cycle, another negation marker will rise to take the old negation particle's place.

The NegP and Negation Particles.

In review of the negation phrase (NegP) projection and the place within it for negation particles, I begin with Pollock's (1989) work. Pollock (1989, p.397) argues that, in addition to the CP, TP, and AgrP, there is a NegP as well; this is in conjunction with his work in comparing the French and English languages and their negative components. However, he does note in his conclusions that:

...naturally, the idea that there is a NegP in English and Romance does not commit me to the view that there is one universally: languages could differ precisely in that some could have a NegP and others could have a purely adverbial Neg. ... In other languages Neg

might be a specifier of Tense. Many other typological variations concerning the status of Neg readily come to mind. (Pollock, 1989, p.421).

This observation is interesting for a couple of different reasons. The first, of course, is that initial establishment of an official NegP. Second, Pollock (1989) also left open the possibility that sentential negation was not the same in all languages, that it could be handled in many different ways (i.e. via a NegP between the CP and the TP, a NegP between the TP and the VP, a strictly adverbial Neg, etc.).

Ouhalla (1990) argues that the negation particle should fill the head position of the NegP: "It is argued that the blocking effect which negation has on the movement of both head categories and adjuncts in English can be accounted for under Relativised Minimality if both positions of NegP, that is the head and the Spec, are assumed to be filled, the head with *not* and the Spec with an empty operator." (Ouhalla 1990, p.184). Ouhalla (1990) also argues that the NegP can be situated in different locations, either high (between the CP and the TP) or low (between the TP and the VP), depending on the language being studied; this has also been addressed in detail by Cinque (1999).

Potsdam (1997) argues that the negation particle does not belong in the head position of the NegP. He argues instead that "...negation, at least in subjunctive clauses, is structurally realized as an adjunct. As such, it is syntactically parallel to constituent negation or VP-level adverbs, which adjoin to the modified constituent" (Potsdam, 1997, p.538). However, he points out an occurrence of *not* that may place it in the head position of the NegP. This would occur if *not* was precursor to a null VP, such as in the example "We thought we could see the movie but we could not." Potsdam (1997, p.539) argues, "given that it cannot be an adverb and that a null VP is required to be the complement of an overtly realized head, we are led to the conclusion that *not* is this head, projecting to NegP."

Radford (2009, p.137-40) argues that the negation particle should occupy SpecNegP. I argue that it begins in the SpecNegP and then reanalyzes over time to Neg, so that it is possible to allow a subject to move through the NegP on its way from the SpecVP to the SpecTP, as we will see happen with many of my examples in this paper. From a cross-linguistic perspective, however, it must be kept in mind that negation is going to vary between languages; for this reason, it is better

to acknowledge which stage of the negation cycle a language may currently be in, where it came from, and where the cycle is going for that language, rather than looking at a static viewpoint of one moment in time for that language.

Dahl (2010) addresses a couple of aspects regarding negation particles and Jespersen's Negative Cycle. First, he describes negative particles as being "...negators that are characterized by two features: (i) they are independent words rather than affixes ... a somewhat fuzzy condition; (ii) they are not inflected." (Dahl, 2010, p.19); however, negative particles can also be part of Aux as well. He also discusses the phenomenon of 'double particle construction', which "arises from the addition of a particle whose original function was to reinforce the negation... Later development may, as in spoken French and some earlier stages of the Germanic languages, lead to the disappearance of the original particle (Jespersen, 1917), and thus a return to the original simple particle construction." (Dahl, 2010, p.20). So far, this is a classic description of Jespersen's Negative Cycle.

However, later in his analysis, Dahl delves deeper into the explanation of the grammaticalization of the Negative Cycle:

"...although Jespersen's Cycle is often adduced as a paradigm case of grammaticalization, what happens here is actually somewhat different from many other cases of grammaticalization, where a previously optional element becomes obligatory and backgrounded. Grammaticalized elements, such as tense markers, tend to express redundant information that is either presupposed or 'incidental' to the basic message. This is hardly possible with negation, since the very point of a negated sentence is typically the fact that it is negated - that is, the denial of some proposition. ... it is hard to imagine a language in which negation has zero expression, i.e. where negative sentences are identical to their affirmative counterparts. In spite of this, what we observe in language after language is that negation morphemes tend to be unstressed, phonetically reduced, and eventually fuse with the finite verb or auxiliary of the sentence, seemingly without any change in the semantics or pragmatics of the negation morpheme. (Dahl, 2010, p.32-3)

Dahl (2010) refers to negation particles as being independent words (not affixes or clitics); this is not congruous with his later assessment of particles eventually fusing with their respective verbs, but it does suggest that negation particles (as sentential elements) are certainly different from other forms of negation (i.e. phrasal negation elements). Although the negation particle over time is unstressed, reduced, fused with verbs, and eventually replaced by another particle at some point, the overall value of the negation expression does not seem to diminish. Dahl (2010) is correct in his assessment that this does not indicate a normal grammaticalization event; negation is very much like the subject cycle in that respect.

The CP and Negation.

One last subject that deserves recognition and brief review before I continue on with this thesis has to do with the CP and its relation to negation. Rizzi (1997, p.315-8) discusses negative preposing and the anti-adjacency effects it can have upon a sentence. During that discussion, he argues that in negative preposing,

"I to C movement in this case is triggered by the Negative Criterion (Rizzi (1991, p.11-12), Haegeman and Zanuttini (1991), Haegeman (1995)): the Neg feature, which I assume to be generated under T on a par with the Wh feature, must be brought up to the C system if a negative element is preposed in order to create the required Spec/Head configuration. ... I will assume for concreteness that the preposed negative element is moved to a Foc phrase ..." (Rizzi, 1997, p.317).

Roberts (2005) argues this same point in his study of VSO languages, specifically Welsh. He explains his position on the subject:

"In English, the Neg head is found either in the position of the finite auxiliary where there is no inversion or in C - more precisely in Foc, according to Rizzi (1997). The subject cannot form a chain whose head is the Neg-element in the non-inverted auxiliary position but can if the Neg-element is in the Foc position. Features of a complement are c-commanded by the auxiliary position." (Roberts 2005, p.26).

Rizzi's (1997) work suggests that there are minimally three types of projections in the CP: a ForceP, a FocusP, and a FiniteP; a Topic phrase can also be added to that list now. If it is possible for a

preposed negative element to move from the NegP up to the FocP, in English (as Rizzi determined), then it is possible for it to happen in others. I recognize that it is possible that some other phrase within the CP may possibly be a good place for the negation particle to move to, however, such as the Topic phrase; there is a lot of debate about where, exactly, would be the best location in the CP for it to go. For the purposes of this discussion, however, it is not really necessary to distinguish which of the two phrases should be used, merely that the negation moves into the CP somewhere. Therefore, I will refer to the CP in general when I discuss the movement of the negation particle to a higher location in the tree.

My point in bringing up this particular topic will become more apparent in the Welsh language chapter, where we will see the CP being frequently used as a final position for the NegP element as it travels up the tree. The above research by Rizzi (1997) and Roberts (2005) made it clear to me that it was possible, even necessary, to handle the Welsh negation particle in this way, in order to maintain proper word order and c-command within that language. These two studies certainly provided the direction necessary in order to correctly characterize the facts regarding negation particles used in the Welsh language.

Summary.

After reviewing the available information about negation particles in these three languages, it became apparent that there is a great deal of comparative work that can be done between the various languages, at least within the Proto-Indo-European language family tree. My analysis of negation particles and how they have changed over time from their use in the North Germanic, West Germanic, and Brythonic Celtic language branches will, therefore, serve to give some more insight on how negation particles in a given language line may be derived and change via the negation cycle as the language line changes with it. Also, in comparing these three languages and analyzing their negation cycles all together, I will through this research and analysis shed more light on how these particular language lines have either diverged from their original form and usage of negation particles, or developed in a somewhat linear manner over time. It is the emerging pattern that I will demonstrate here, that each of these language branches does follow Jespersen's cycle, albeit at a different pace for each language discussed here.

Chapter 2. The historical negation cycle of the Scandinavian Languages.

Language roots and general syntax of negation particles.

The Scandinavian countries today cover most of northern Europe and the North Atlantic, including Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, and Finland; although, as Haugen (1976, p.23) points out, Finland may be culturally considered to be "Scandinavian", but the dominant language there is from a completely different language family (Finno-Ugric). In terms of languages spoken, then, the "Scandinavian" countries I will include for this study are Norway, Sweden, Iceland, Denmark, and the Faroe Islands; Greenland may be included as well, although Danish is only a second language there (Haugen, 1976, p.23).

The Scandinavian languages today include Norwegian, Swedish, Icelandic, Danish and Faroese, all having derived from the North Germanic branch of languages, which branched off from Proto-Germanic and traces its roots back to Proto-Indo-European (Haugen, 1976, p.27). From a literary standpoint, Haugen (1976, p.89-94) separates Scandinavian history into roughly five time periods. The first is the Prehistoric period, which ended around 550 A.D.; during this time is when writing using the runic alphabet (known as the *futhark*) was the normal form of writing in Scandinavia, and it is in this time period that Northwest Germanic and then Proto-Scandinavian were argued to be the dominant languages in northern Europe.

The second time period is the Ancient Scandinavian period, which spanned from around 550 A.D. to 1050 A.D. This time period is when Common Scandinavian came out of Proto-Scandinavian and then eventually branched off into an Old East Scandinavian and an Old West Scandinavian branch of languages (Haugen, 1976, p.89-94). This branching occurred somewhere around the end of the Viking era in the 10th or 11th century, and also around the time that Christianity was introduced into the Scandinavian culture and the *futhark* was replaced by the Latin alphabet that is used today.

The third era of Scandinavian history is the Middle Ages, which lasted from around 1050 A.D. to 1350 A.D. Haugen (1976, p.93) mentions that this is the time period in which Christianity becomes more firmly attached to the Scandinavian community, along with their system of writing in the Latin alphabet and setting traditions and histories down in a written form. It is during this period

that we see the many of the first stories begin to emerge in manuscripts, which of course broadens our ability to gain knowledge of the linguistic elements of the languages of that time period considerably, in contrast to prior periods. During the Middle Ages, we see the familiar languages of Old Norse and Old Icelandic, and Old Danish and Old Swedish branch off from Old West Scandinavian and Old East Scandinavian respectively.

The Middle Scandinavian period is the fourth era, and it lasted from around 1350 A.D. to about 1550 A.D. Haugen describes this period as being a time where "the old traditions of writing were in rapid dissolution ... Important political changes were forging the present-day languages: especially the dominance of German traders and princes and the establishment of Denmark and Sweden as the two great rival forces in the north" (Haugen, 1976, p.93). He goes on to include the advent of the printing press in the late 15th century and the Reformation itself as reasons for why the writing tradition of the Scandinavian countries became more literary during this period. Danish and Swedish dominated much of the literary material of this time, while Icelandic remained more conservative and quiet on the matter.

Finally, the fifth period of Scandinavian history is the Modern Scandinavian period, which began around 1550 A.D. and continues today. Icelandic has become the primary "pure" language, having remained much more conservative in its linguistic change than the other Scandinavian languages, in both a literary and a phonetic sense. Haugen (1976, p.94) also lists Faroese, New-Norwegian, Dano-Norwegian, and Swedish as also being good literary languages for learning Scandinavian. This is due to a concerted effort by the Scandinavian governments to preserve their languages and educate people on language learning.

With that being said, I will examine the various changes in negation that have occurred within the Scandinavian line of language over time, beginning with what we know of Proto-Germanic and culminating with an analysis of the modern-day Scandinavian languages. Haugen (1982, p.164) argues, "...most negatives in Scand can be traced back to the IE negative adverb **ne*... From this word comes the Gmc neg. adv. **ne* and the prefix **un-*". Haugen (1976, p.160) also presents an example in his book, describing the grammaticalization of new negative

terms within this language line, caused by the loss of **ne* through its combination with other pronouns and adverbs:

PSc *ne aiw-gi* not ever > ON *eigi* not

PSc *ne aint-gi* not anything > ON *ekki* nothing

I wish to examine changes such as these from a syntactic point of view. This will include a review of the syntax from the different time periods, to analyze the negation cycle throughout the Scandinavian language line.

Proto-Germanic, via West Saxon and Gothic.

Proto-Germanic is directly descended from Proto-Indo-European, and is the ancestor language for the Germanic languages in Europe (English, German, Dutch, Norwegian, Icelandic, etc.). While there are no known surviving texts written in Proto-Germanic, the language has been reconstructed using the comparative method, which takes comparable information from two daughter languages of the language to be reconstructed and works backward using known grammatical and lexical rules to produce as accurate a language as possible. As such, the samples I will be using to examine Proto-Germanic negation particle examples will include information from such daughter languages as West Saxon and Gothic.

Hopper (1975, p.37) argues that the verb phrasal complex in Proto-Germanic was constructed from four components: a reflexive pronoun, a preverb, the non-finite verb, and the negative particle *ni*. The non-finite verb carried the lexical definition and meaning of the verb, and the preverb modified that lexical definition and meaning. With regards to the negative particle *ni*, Hopper (1975, p.39,40) describes the studies of Mourek (1903) and Delbruck (1910), who designated two categories of possible negation, qualitative negation (where negation is applied to the entire predicate) and quantitative negation (where negation is applied to only one part of a phrase or sentence: i.e. object, subject, noun, verb, etc.). Qualitative negation in Germanic involves the particle *ni* being applied directly in front of the finite verb. An example of this is cited by Hopper (1975, p.39) in Gothic:

(1) *ni balwja is mis*
 not.NEG torment.PRES me.PRON.1S.A

'do not torment me' (*Mark* 5, line 7; Hopper 1975, p.39)

However, Hopper (1975, p.39) also notes that Gothic is a little different in that "particles and adverbs closely associated with the verb may intervene between the negation and the verb", as in the example he gives:

(2) *ni-u andhafjis waiht*
 Not-Q answer.PRES what

'Do you not answer?' (*Mark* 14, line 60; Hopper 1975, p.39)

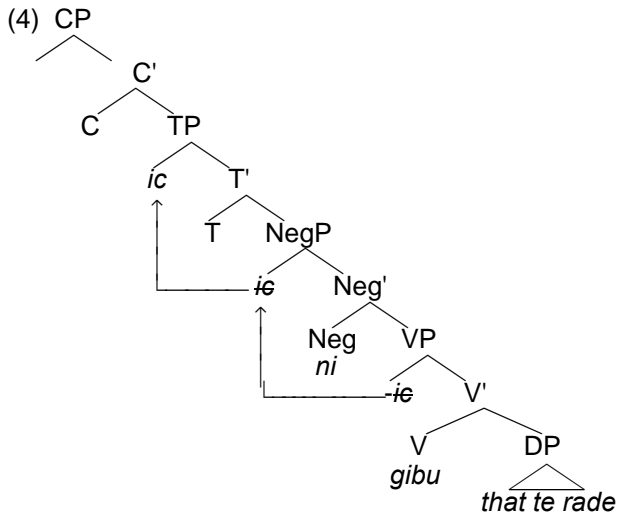
Hopper (1975, p.40) does also mention that although the Gothic evidence is not entirely consistent in most cases, Gothic does match the Proto-Germanic syntactic rule that the negation particle comes directly before the verb, and the reason he gives is that the negation particle *ni* behaves a little bit like a preverb in that enclitics can attach to it (such as in *ni=u*). The negation particle in Gothic can also come directly before a noun phrase in quantitative negation.

Van Coetsem and Kufner (1972, p.261-265) offer another example of negation in Old Saxon from *Heliand* (226), an epic poem which was written in the 9th century:

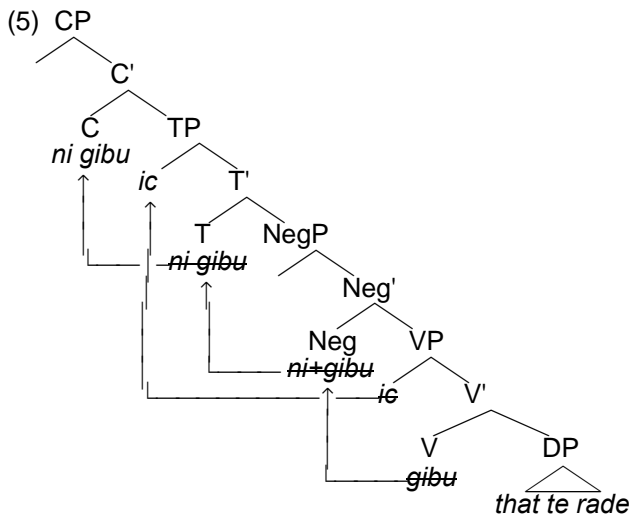
(3) *'ni gibu ic that te rade'*
 not.NEG give.PRES PRON.1S.NOM that.DEM.PRON as.PREP advice
quad he, 'rinco negenun'
 say.PAST PRON.3S man.G.PL none.NEG

'I do not give that as advice,' said he, 'to any of men.' (*Heliand*, line 226; van Coetsem and Kufner, 1972, p.261; gloss is mine)

A tree for part of this example *'ni gibu ic that te rade'* is offered below in (4) for the Proto-Germanic analysis, in which I posit that the negation particle *ni* (not) is present in the head of the NegP rather than the specifier (as Radford (2009) suggested). This is necessary so that the subject DP *ic* is able to properly move from the SpecVP up through the SpecNegP to the SpecTP:



However, the word order in (3) clearly demonstrates a V2-VSO word order, so the tree in (4) is insufficient; we need to see the verb and the preverbal negative particle move up the tree past the SpecTP and its subject DP *ic*. The verb *gibu* moves up through the NegP, picks up the negation particle *ni*, and then the Neg+V raises past the head of the TP up into the head of the CP, as in (5) below:



The example presented in (5) provides us with the structure necessary for this VSO language, while also maintaining the V2 word order.

Old Norse.

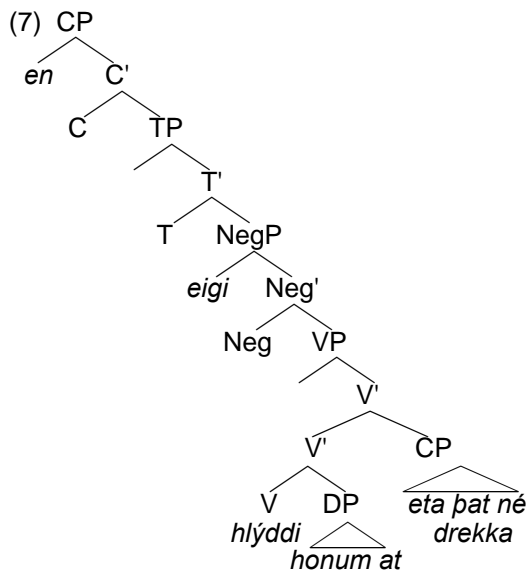
Old Norse is a daughter language of Proto-Germanic; it is the ancestor language for all of the North Germanic languages of the modern day, such as Norwegian, Icelandic, and Danish. It is very well-documented in many Icelandic sagas (Anderwald, 2005, p.131) and Norwegian sagas. Anderwald (2005, p.131) addresses the issue brought up by Haugen (1986, p.149) that "the topic [of negation] has often been discussed by linguists ... but not for the Scandinavian languages and not from a wide-ranging, comprehensive point of view." Apparently, in stark contrast to the other Germanic languages, Old Norse lost its negation particle *ne* (*not*) relatively early on in its developmental stages.

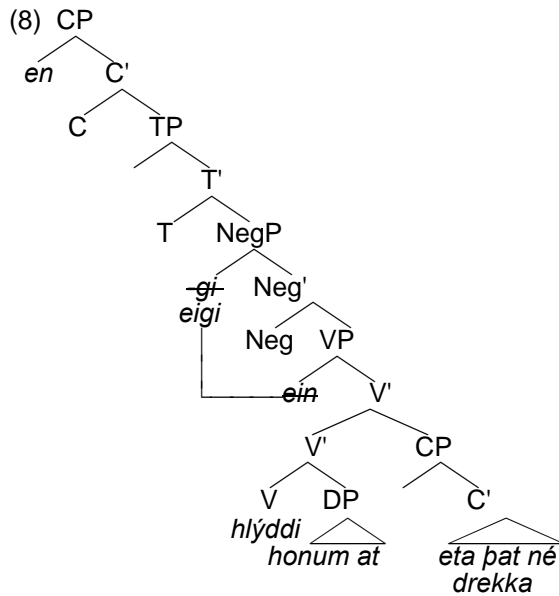
Anderwald (2005, p.132) goes on to paraphrase de Vries (1977, p.s.v. *eigi*) regarding the Old Norse use of the words *eigi* or *ekki*, that were used as markers preceded by the verb in a negative sentence and that have been passed down to the Scandinavian daughter languages we see today. In this description, *eigi* is said to be derived as *ei-* 'one' and *-gi* as a cognate of Latin's *quisque* 'anyone' (de Vries, 1977, p.s.v. *eigi*). Anderwald (2005) then explains Haugen's (1986, p.159) claim that "the suffix [-*gi*] is a generalizer, making the word indefinite ('any', 'ever'), an "implicit" negative that was made explicit by the *ne* that preceded the verb."

Gordon (1974, p.297), on the other hand, describes *engi* 'none/no' as *ein-* 'one' + *gi* and *ekki* (the neuter nominative/accusative form of *engi* 'none/no' as *eit+gi*, where *-gi* is a negative particle. Alternatively, *ei-* and *-gi* could begin in separate positions, where *ei-* moves up from the SpecVP and links with the negative particle *-gi* in the head of the VP. If we take this meaning, then *ekki* when used as an adverb becomes the negative particle *not*, replacing the earlier negation particle *ne*; then the explicit negative has not actually been lost from the language. Going from this perspective, then, we find it possible to find an example in the Old Norse texts, that interestingly enough includes a negative particle *né* as well as *eigi* in it:

(6) ... *en* *ei-gi* *hlýddi* *honum* *at*
 but.CONJ one-not.NEG be allowable.PRES.3S PRO.3S.DAT for.PREP
eta *þat* *né* *drekka*.
 eat.INF that.DEM.PRO.NOM.N.S nor.NEG drink.INF
 '...but that is not allowable for him, to eat nor to drink.' (*Volsunga Saga*, line
 46; Gordon, 1974, p.23; gloss and translation are mine)

This is, however, the only example I was able to find in which the actual negative particle *né* was in use in Old Norse alongside *eigi*, and it was actually being used more as a negative conjunction like the English *nor*, rather than as a true negation particle. It is possible that *eigi* became the closest approximate available to use as a negation particle *not* in that language; this apparently happened much earlier than it did in other Germanic languages. The first tree for example (6) is in (7) below; it shows *eigi* as a complete word in itself, that may occupy either the spec or the head of the NegP. The second tree in (8) demonstrates the alternative structure, where *ei-* moves up the tree from the SpecVP to link with the negation particle *-gi* in the SpecNegP:





Modern Scandinavian.

Modern Scandinavian is comprised of several different languages, including Modern Icelandic, Modern Faroese, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. Holmberg and Platzack (1990, p.93) divide these languages into two groups, based on their tendencies to lean toward a more synthetic grammatical structure (Group 1) versus a more analytic grammatical structure (Group 2). In Group 1, they place all of the old (medieval) Scandinavian languages, Modern Faroese, Modern Icelandic, and some of the Norwegian and Swedish dialects. This group displays both subject-verb agreement and morphological Cases. Group 2 comprises Modern Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian and displays a lack of subject-verb agreement and only shows morphological case on pronouns.

Holmberg and Platzack (1990, p.93) indicated that their research in this particular chapter of theirs was designed "to show how the presence versus the absence of morphological inflection, both Case and agreement inflection, split the Scandinavian languages into two groups". In the course of their research, they also demonstrate how syntactically the placement of the NegP can differ between these two language groups, as can be seen in the examples below, taken from Holmberg and Platzack (1990, p.97) but also referring to Kosmeijer (1986), Holmberg (1988), Platzack (1988), and Sigurðsson (1989) (I have made a couple of my own corrections to the tree

below, changing Adv to Neg - and changing the phrasal order accordingly, where NegP is above VP - and IP to TP):

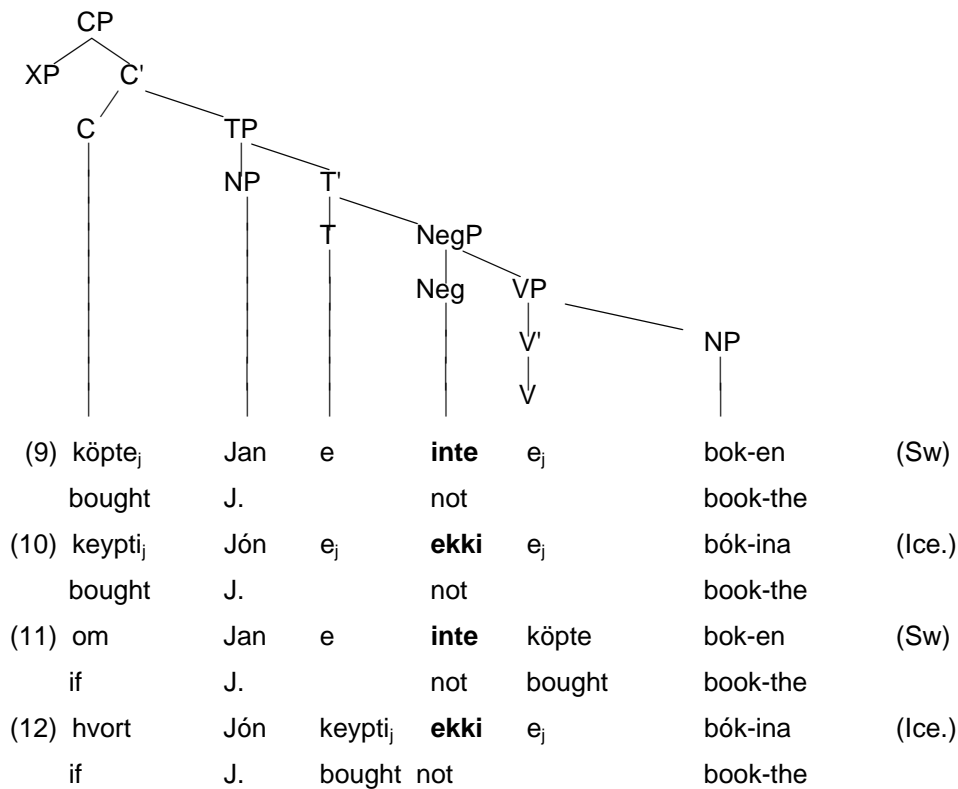
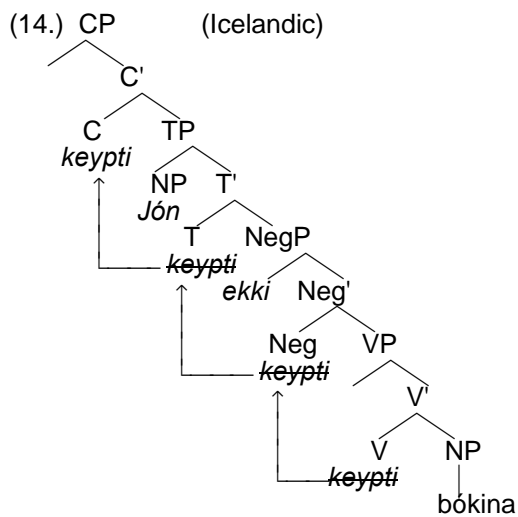
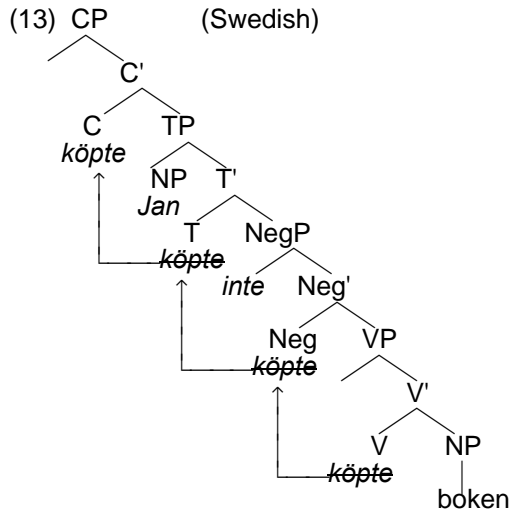


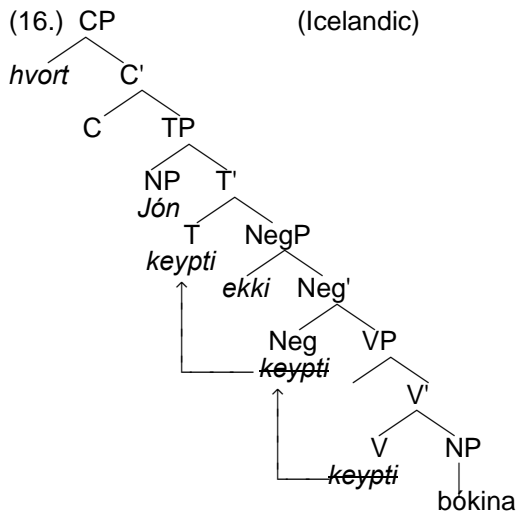
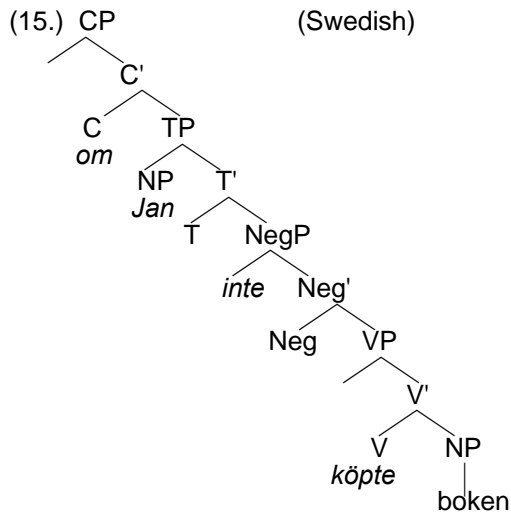
Figure 2: Holmberg and Platzack's (1990, p.97) Examples in Modern Swedish and Icelandic.

The evidence provided in Figure 2 is not, however, caused by any particular change within the NegP itself; rather, the variation is caused by whether or not the C is null and able to accept a movement of the verb up through the TP into the head of the CP. With main clauses, as in examples (9) and (10), "the finite verb moves to C through I in Icelandic, directly from VP to C in Swedish. ... this movement is possible since there is no subject-verb agreement in Swedish" (Holmberg and Platzack, 1990, p.97); by this reasoning, this lack of subject-verb agreement in Swedish makes the Inflectional Phrase (IP) or TP superfluous and it can therefore essentially ignore it in terms of syntax. I argue, however, that because of the Head Movement Restraint, the finite verb in Swedish must move through T, just as in Icelandic and other verb-raising languages. On the other hand, in the case of (11) and (12), where the examples are subordinate clauses and the head of the CP is taken up with the conjunction *if*, the verb can only raise up as far as the head

of the TP in Icelandic; again, because of the lack of subject-verb agreement and inflection in Swedish, the verb does not raise to the TP.

I altered the structure of Holmberg and Platzack's (1990, p.97) tree in Figure 1 above to reflect the negation particle as having its own NegP phrase, rather than allowing it to remain in the SpecVP as an adverb, as the following examples (13), (14), (15), and (16) indicate for (9), (10), (11), and (12) respectively:





Because of the verb's need to be able to move up through the NegP into a higher position on the trees, it is evident that the negation particle (at least in the case of the Modern Scandinavian languages) needs to be situated in the SpecNegP, rather than in Neg. This indicates that the negation particle is still in the midpoint of the negative cycle and not in a position to move up the tree as of yet in its evolution. This will be discussed further in the next section.

Discussion.

After examining the usage of the negation particle in each of the three stages of the Scandinavian language family, from Proto-Germanic to Old Norse to Modern Scandinavian, there is clear evidence that Jespersen's negation cycle is in full motion here.

In Gothic and Old Saxon, the negation particle *ni* is already situated in Neg, making it possible for it to raise up the tree along with the verb if that were necessary, possibly via a cliticization to the verb, or to stay where it is at and allow items in the SpecVP to move up the tree around it. Here, the first step in the negation cycle is complete: the reanalysis of the specifier as the head of the NegP, that indicates a grammaticalization of the negation particle *ni*.

In Old Norse, we see the negation particle *eigi* is very much in use within the language and that the original negation particle *né* has been lost as a negation particle and appears to have been reanalyzed as an adverb akin to the Modern English *nor*. This marks the second step in the negation cycle - that of renewal with a new negation marker, situated in the SpecNegP. Here, there is the possibility that *eigi* may stand on its own in the SpecNegP, or (more likely) that *ei-* has moved up the tree from the SpecVP and cliticized with the negation particle *-gi* to form the complete version of the particle in use.

Finally, our examples in Modern Scandinavian indicate that the negation particle *ekki* (Icelandic) or *inte* (Swedish) remain in the SpecNegP, but the old negation particle *né* is now completely gone. The primary negation particle *ekki/inte* still resides in the SpecNegP, to allow for verb movement through Neg while it raises up the tree to either the TP or the CP. This marks the final stage in the negation cycle, where the head element disappears from the NegP phrase. The cycle is now ready to begin again with (possibly) the next phase in the development of the Scandinavian languages.

In examining these examples throughout this research, I wondered whether *né* appears further back in the IE family; other research I have performed indicates that this negation particle appears in a number of other language lines derived from Proto-Indo-European, that certainly indicates that it also appeared as far back as Proto-Indo-European. This would necessitate further study of more IE families to confirm, however.

I also found it very interesting to see the negation particle being placed in most cases directly before the noun or verb that it was modifying. This placement directly before the modified element indicates the validity of a NegP phrase being placed directly before the VP in many cases. It verifies Radford's (2009) discussion on negation particles and the placement of NegP.

Chapter 3. The Historical Negation Cycle of English.

Language roots and general syntax of negation particles.

The English language is a daughter language of the Proto-Germanic family; it is one of the West Germanic languages, along with Frisian, German, Yiddish, Low German, Dutch, and Afrikaans. English has its closest ties, however, with Frisian, as the two Anglo-Frisian languages (Robinson, 1992, p.12). As van Gelderen (2006, p.3) describes it, "what started as a Germanic dialect spoken in a small part of England is now a language spoken by over a billion people in many parts of the world (as a first or second language)." It is a language that has seen an enormous amount of change over the past 1,500 years and it has grown and adapted with the times to become one of the most prolifically used languages in the world today.

There are four main periods of English that comprise its history: Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English. The English language (and consequently Old English) had its official beginnings as soon as the Germanic tribes migrated to the British Isles in 449 A.D. There is some debate as to when Old English officially shifts into Middle English, but most scholars agree that it happened somewhere around 1150 A.D. This is when we begin to see drastic syntactic changes occur within the English language, that caused it to begin to shift from a synthetic form (as in Old English and the other Germanic languages) into a more analytic form (as in Modern English) (van Gelderen, 2006, p.111). Middle English lasted from around 1150 A.D. to about 1500 A.D.

The Middle English period was a tumultuous time for the English language. A multitude of loan words were introduced from a number of other languages (such as Latin, Old/Middle French, and Old/Medieval Norse), as well as several grammatical changes (such as from Old/Medieval Norse). The Great Vowel Shift began changing the pronunciation of the entire language, beginning in about 1400 A.D. and ending during the Early Modern English period around 1700 A.D. Van Gelderen (2006, p.111) sets the end of the Middle English period at 1500 A.D. to mark the end of the most dramatic changes to the language in terms of morphology and syntax.

The beginning of the 16th century is also a good time to set as the beginning of the Early Modern English period for a couple of reasons (van Gelderen, 2006, p.155-6). First, the printing

press was introduced in Europe by Caxton in 1476, making written texts more widely available to people in general and spreading the English word all over Europe, along with several other widely-spoken languages of that time. The spelling of the English language was also directed to a more standardized form than what was used in various dialects of Middle English. But more importantly, English had stabilized to a point dialectally where today's native speakers of English would (for the most part) be able to understand it by about 1500 A.D. The most major language change to be seen within the Early Modern English period was the Great Vowel Shift, that drastically affected the pronunciation of the language; this ended around 1700 A.D., ending the Early Modern English era and heralding in our Modern English period of today.

From a syntactic standpoint regarding negation in English, there has been widespread change over time with regards to the language, that will be examined in the next few sections of this chapter. Mazzon (2004, p.11) presents evidence that, as with all of the Germanic languages, English began with the Proto-Germanic negation particle *ne/ni*, that generally preceded the verb; later on in the development of the language it also gained an optional secondary negation particle that comes after the verb. Over time within the English language, this multiple negation decreased in frequency of use and finally disappear. As will be seen in succeeding sections of this chapter, word order definitely complicates the picture of negation within a syntactic review of English, especially in Old English, where the synthetic nature of that language allowed for a great deal of variety in placement of word order, including that of negative particles and their corresponding verbs.

In this chapter, I will examine various examples from Old English, Middle English, Early Modern English, and Modern English, to determine the negation cycle present in these time periods within the English language and see what forms that cycle takes within the system. I will then demonstrate and discuss how English follows the usual pattern of the Jespersen Cycle.

Old English.

Old English is a daughter language of Proto-Germanic; as mentioned above, this time period within the English language lasted from 449 A.D. to about 1150 A.D., when many of the major syntactic changes to the language began to occur (van Gelderen, 2006, p.111). Old English

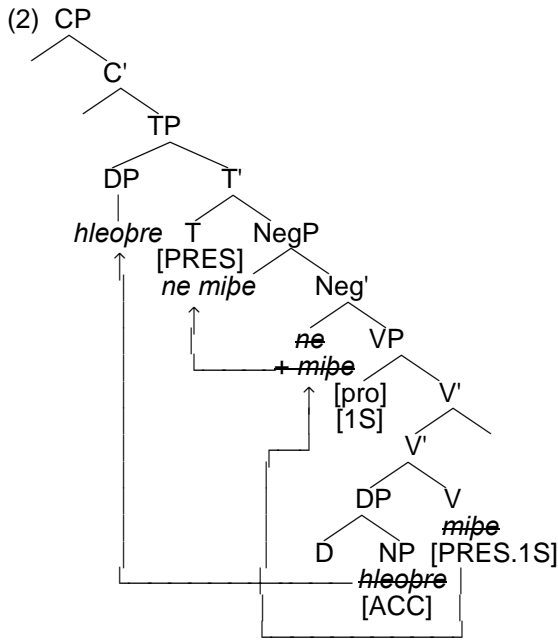
more resembled its parent language Proto-Germanic than it does Modern English; this is because it was a very synthetic language, using variant word order, case endings for its nouns and pronouns, and much more varied declensions of its verbs to indicate what roles the constituents of a sentence play.

Tottie (1991, p.232-235) argued that Old English used the negation particle *ne* kind of like an adverb. She provided several examples of both poetry, in which *ne* occurs once, directly before the tense verb *will*; and prose, in which multiple negation occurs frequently, such as *ne [VERB] nanne (not ... no)* or *noldon naefre [VERB] nanes* - where cliticization to the tense verb occurs in *noldon (not-would never ... nothing)*. This indicates that Old English had some variety in its use of the negation particle *not*; the tendency to use multiple negation, however, began to lessen again as Old English shifted into Middle English, faded out as Middle English approached Early Modern English (as we will see later in this chapter), and the negation particle *ne* was replaced with our present day *not*.

Van Gelderen (2006, p.70) confirms that the negation particle in Old English, for the most part, directly precedes the verb, and provides an example of this:

- | | | |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| (1) <i>hleopre</i> | <i>ne</i> | <i>mipe</i> |
| sound.ACC.S | not.NEG | conceal.1S |
- 'I (do) not conceal sound.' (Riddle 8, line 4, *Exeter* book; gloss is mine)

The tree for (1), demonstrating the singular use of negation particles in Old English, is below in (2). This example indicates that a couple of interesting things are happening with regards to movement. First, there is an understood [pro] that is indicated by the first-person singular form of the verb *mipe*. The accusative object *hleopre*, moves from the VP up to the SpecTP. The verb *mipe* also raises from V to Neg, where it picks up the negation particle *ne*; the negation particle and verb combination then continue to raise up to T. The movement of the object up the tree allows Old English to assume an OSV word order, or at least an OV word order. Since in Old English the verb tends to raise to T, it is necessary that the negation particle begins in the Neg, so that it can raise with the verb; this allows it to maintain its place just before the verb in an OV sentence such as in (2).



Anderwald (2005, p.113) also mentions what she refers to as "negative concord", or multiple negation, in Old English as being relatively common. Here she defines negative concord as "instances where two or more negative morphemes co-occur and effect an overall negative reading in a clause, without logically canceling each other out." (Anderwald, 2005, p.113). Negative concord is not permitted in standard Modern English today, but it was quite ordinary in Old English and Early Middle English until about 1400, along with the solitary negation particle *ne* (Iyeiri, 2005, p.59).

McLaughlin (1983, p.57-58), who also discussed multiple negation being used in English, addresses this in Old English as follows: "In Old English the negative could be copied onto nouns (subjects or objects), verbs (full or auxiliary), and certain adverbs. The chief constraint on copying was that a full verb could not receive the copy when an auxiliary was present" (McLaughlin 1983, p.57). He provides two examples of multiple negation being used in Old English, which I have here, also, fleshed out more fully from a syntactic viewpoint in the glosses in (3) and (4):

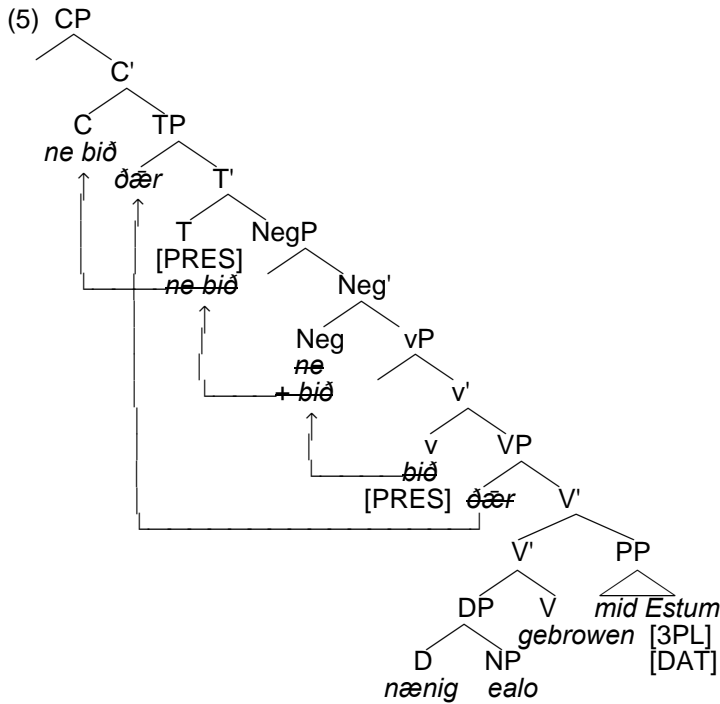
(3) ... *ne* *bið* *ðær* *n-ænig* *ealo*
 NEG be.PRES.3S there.COMP not.NEG-any.QUAN ale.ACC.N
gebrowen *mid* *Estum* ...
 brew.PAST PART. with/by.PREP Est.DAT.PL

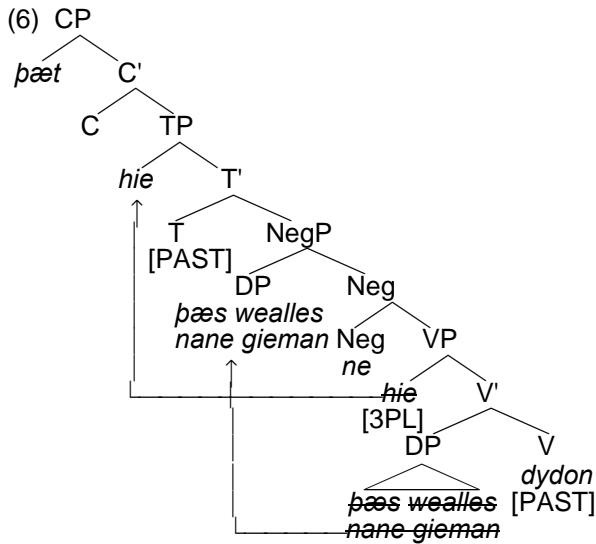
'There is not any ale brewed by the Ests.' (*Orosius*, 17, 5; from Baeteby (Ed.), 1980;
 gloss is mine)

(4) *þæt* *hie* *þæs*
 that.CONJ PRON.3PL the.DEF ART.GEN.S.MASC.
wealles *nane* *gieman* *ne* *dydon*
 wall.GEN.S.MASC NEG heed.ACC not.NEG do.PAST.3PL

'that they did not (take) any heed of the wall' (*Orosius*, 73, 17; from Baeteby (Ed.), 1980;
 gloss is mine)

These two examples are examined via their trees below, in (5) and (6) respectively:





In (5), we see negation in both Neg and in the DP *nænig ealo*. The verb *bið* picks up the Neg particle *ne* as it moves up the tree through the TP into C. Then the complementizer *ðær* moves into the SpecTP. The secondary negation in the sentence is cliticized to the quantifier *ænig* in the object DP *nænig ealo* ('not-any ale'). This provides the construction with double negation without losing the overall negative polarity of the sentence; rather, the negative polarity is emphasized or supported here.

In (6), the subject also moves high up into the tree, that forces higher movement for some components and lower movement for others. The subject *hie* moves up into the SpecTP from the SpecVP, while the object DP *þæs wealles nane gieman* moves up into the SpecNegP; this places this sentence into an SOV word order, leaving both the negation and the verbs to trail at the end of the sentence. Again, as in (5), we see that one of the negation particles *ne* resides in Neg to modify the verb *dydon*, while the other negative particle *nane* ('no/none') has paired with the NP constituent *gieman* ('heed') to form a negative DP within the complex object DP. This negation, once again, provides emphasis of negative polarity via multiple negation within the sentence.

Taking all three of these examples together, (2), (5), and (6), it is apparent that negation in Old English is initially located in Neg. This allows the verb to take the negation particle with it when it raises up through the tree and allows for secondary negation to occur in the SpecNegP when it does appear in a sentence, as in (6). It is extremely important for this negation to be able to move

with whichever constituent it is modifying (i.e. verb or DP), particularly because of the seemingly random word order of many of the other constituents within Old English syntax; it is vital that these particles be able to move close to wherever either their verbs or their nouns have shifted.

Middle English.

As previously discussed above, the Middle English period lasted from about 1150 A.D. to about 1500 A.D. This time marked the period of the most drastic changes within the English language from a syntactic and morphological point of view.

By the late OE period, a fairly uniform West Saxon dialect was in use throughout England as a literary standard, though local speech must have varied considerably from place to place. With the imposition of Norman rule and the banishment of English from seats of authority after the conquest of England by William of Normandy in 1066, there was no longer an administrative mechanism for imposing an English literary standard, with the result that ME texts display a great deal of linguistic variation based in both regional differences and varied textual history. (Fulk, 2012, p.19).

This description provides a reason as to why we hear of so much dialectal change and variation within Middle English texts. It also, consequently, makes those same texts a resource for linguists and historians today who determine where those texts originated from and in what narrow time period they were written.

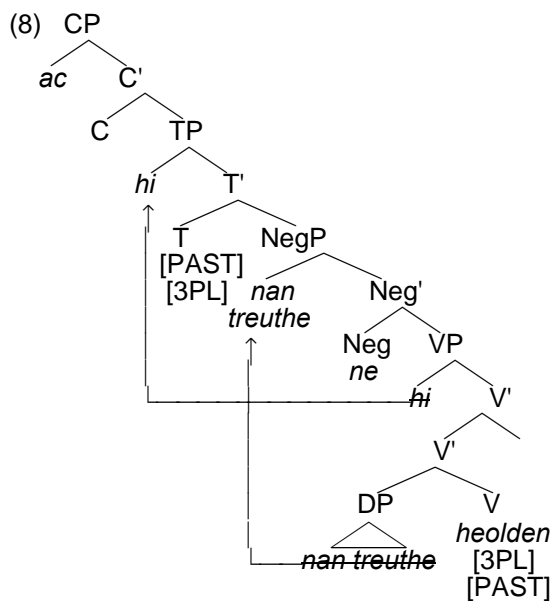
With regards to negation in the Middle English period, Mustanoja (1960, p.339-40) explained that Middle English retained the Old English negative adverb *ne* throughout the period, and this particle was often be procliticized onto the verb or enclitically onto the preceding word before the verb, such as the subject pronoun. Mustanoja (1960, p.339-40) went on to remind us that multiple negation was still very frequent in the early part of the Middle English period, but that it became much less frequent as that period neared its end. In utilizing multiple negation in Middle English, *noht/nawt* was commonly used as a secondary negation particle, deriving from the Old English *nawiht/nowiht*. By the end of the Middle English period, Mustanoja (1960, p.339-40) argues, the reanalyzed *ne* had become more than optional - it had become obsolete; the primary single negation particle by the late 1400's had become *noht/not*.

For the sake of examining the wide dialectal variation and series of syntactic changes that occurred throughout the Middle English period, I will choose my examples from a few different regions of England as well as a few different periods within the Middle English period (i.e. perhaps an example from early on in the period from Kent, versus an example from the middle of the period from the Midlands, etc.). All of the examples will be drawn from the many selections that Fulck (2012) has provided in his manuscript analyses in his book, *An Introduction to Middle English*.

The first example I chose is from a sample of the 12th century manuscript, *The Peterborough Chronicle* (Fulck 2012, p.139), from the entry year 1137, written in the East Midlands of Britain at Peterborough Abbey in what is now Cambridgeshire.

- (7) *ac* *hi* *n-an* *treuthe* *ne*
 but.CONJ PRON.3PL not.NEG-any.QUANT truth not.NEG
heolden
 hold.PAST.3PL
 '...but they did not hold truth.' (*Peterborough Chronicle*, Yr. 1137, line 9)

This example of double negation pairs the object with one negation particle (*ne + an treuthe*) and the other negation particle with the verb *heolden*, as can be seen in tree (8) below:



As can be readily seen from this example (7) and its tree (8), the possibility of an SOV word order is still in evidence early on in the Middle English period, and as was shown in the Old English section above as well, this creates movement of not only the subject, but also the object, in the tree. In (8), we see this myriad of movement again, as the subject *hi* must move up into the SpecTP, while the negative object DP *nan treuthe* ('no/not-any truth') moves up into the SpecNegP. It is necessary for the object DP to raise from the VP to the SpecNegP, in order to maintain the verb-final word order that is still frequently present in Middle English. The negation particle *ne* remains in Neg to modify the verb *heolden*, that remains in its verb-final position for this construction.

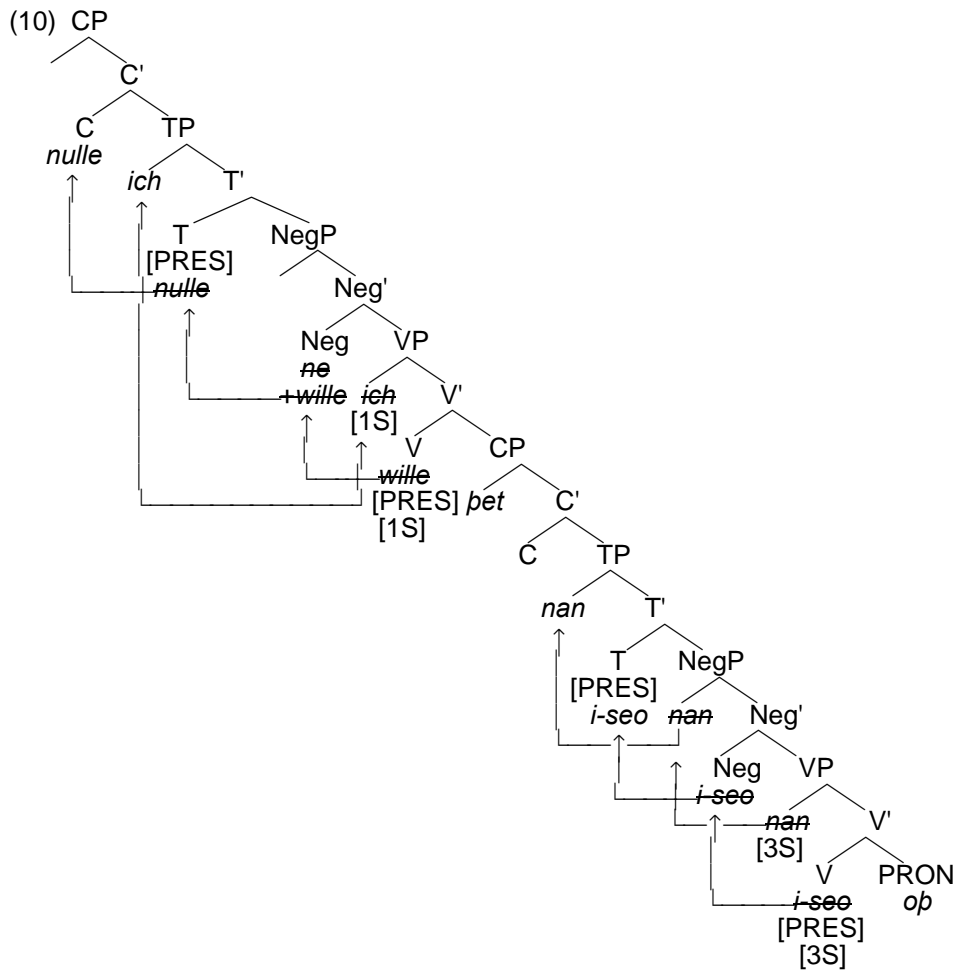
In this example (as in Old English), *ne* is being doubled in its activity as a negator for both noun and verb, but they do not cancel one another out. On the contrary, once again, they support one another here, as if one was in the process of reanalyzing and needed the extra support to clarify its negativity. It is interesting to note that the object DP in both (6) and (8) stops in the SpecNegP, allowing the negative component of those DP's to remain within the NegP. I argue that this may be evidence of the further reanalysis of the negation particle *ne* as it moves through the negation cycle on its way out of Neg; it needs more support in certain circumstances to maintain its negative polarity at this point in the cycle.

The next example I chose to examine for the Middle English period is from the 13th century manuscript *Ancrene Wisse* (Fulk 2012, p.173), that was written in the West Midlands, in Ludlow (southern Shropshire).

(9)	<i>N-ulle</i>	<i>ich</i>	<i>þæt</i>
	not.NEG-wish.PRES.1S	PRON.1S	that.COMP
	<i>n-an</i>	<i>i-seo</i>	<i>op</i>
	not.NEG-one.DET	see.PRES.3S	PRON.2S

'I (do) not wish that no-one/anyone see you.' (*Ancrene Wisse*, line 24)

This example has two separate instances of single negation, but in each case, the negation particle is in a different position within the NegP, as is shown in the tree (10) below:



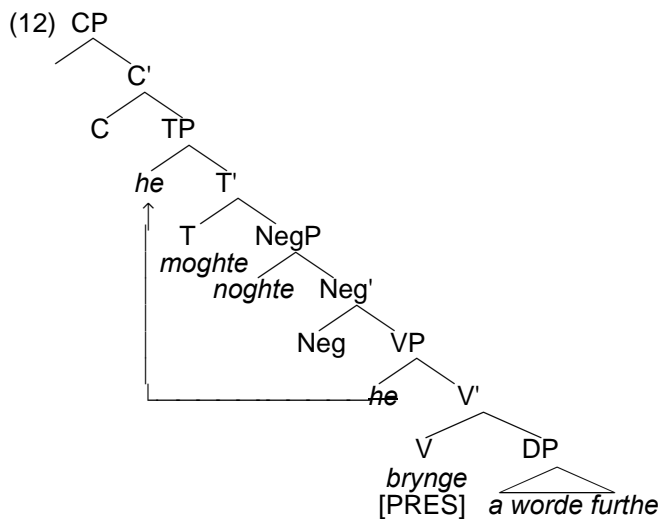
Within the first half of the sentence, we see that the negation particle *ne* begins in Neg, so that it can cliticize onto the head-VP verb *wille* when it climbs the tree to its final position in C, creating the complex phrase *nulle* ('not-wish'). In the second half of the sentence, however, the negation particle *ne* begins with the subject DP *an*, and it climbs the tree to its final position in the SpecTP as the negative DP phrase *nan* ('not-one/not-anyone'). This dichotomy of position placement for the negation particle *ne* indicates again that the particle is in the process of reanalyzing within Neg and needs support as it continues to grammaticalize.

The third example of negation within the Middle English period comes from the mid-14th century manuscript by Richard Rolle, *Three Exempla: (B) A Tale of Verraye Contreycyone* (Fulk 2012, p.310), that was written in the North of Britain, in Yorkshire.

(11) ... *he moghte noghte brynge*
 PRON.3S might.ASP not.NEG bring.PRES.3S
a worde furthe.
 a.DET word forth.ADV

'... he might not bring a word forth.' (*Three Exempla: A Tale of Verraye Contrecyone*, line 19; Fulk, 2012, p.310; gloss is mine)

Around this time in the Middle English period is when we begin to see *noghte* (from the Old English *nawiht/nowiht*) by itself as a negation particle (along with its various other spelling forms, depending on the dialect). This singularity of use suggests that it takes a position within the SpecNegP, as in (12) below:



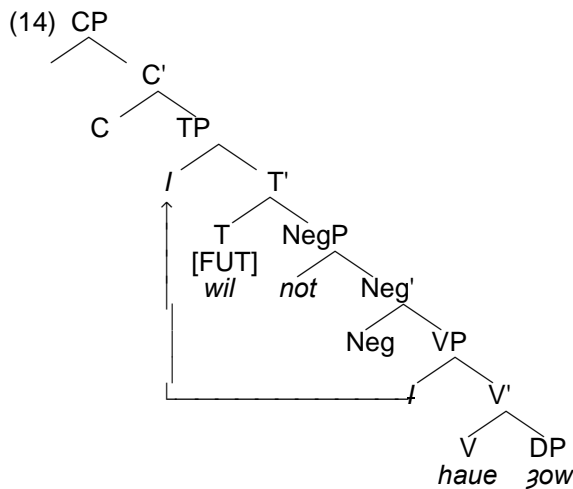
As can be seen in (12) above, it is evident that *ne* as a negation particle has become at least optional by about the middle of the Middle English period (around the early to mid-14th century). The new negation particle has very quickly gained momentum in becoming the renewal particle used and has asserted a place within the SpecNegP of the structure.

The final example of Middle English strengthens this indication of the negation particle *not* being located within the SpecNegP. It comes from an excerpt of the mid-15th century manuscript *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Fulk 2012, p.436), that was originally written in East Anglia, in the East Midlands region of Britain.

(13) *I wil not haue þow*
 PRON.1S will.FUT.1S not.NEG have.INF PRON.2S

'I will not have you.' (*The Book of Margery Kempe*, line 126; Fulk, 2012, p.436)

Again, as can be seen in tree (14) below, the negation particle *not* is located in the SpecNegP; it is able stand on its own without double negation and has taken the place of the old negation particle *ne* from earlier in the period.



So, in reviewing the various examples provided for the Middle English period, it is evident that the period began with the negation particle *ne* having begun to reanalyze from what it was during the Old English period, when it was possible for it to either reside in Neg by itself or to be utilized with other negative particles in a state of multiple negation. In the beginning of the Middle English period, *ne* seemed to begin to reanalyze further, that can be seen in the way that it was used with its verb counterparts. It was necessary for *ne* to be mainly located in Neg, so that it could link with the head-VP verb and raise with it up the tree to T, and cliticization and shortening of the particle would occur, rather than a linking of the particle with the verb (for example, ME *nulle* versus OE *ne bið*).

The double negation at this point in Middle English occurred when the second *ne*, still beginning with the DP, raised along with its object DP to a place above the verb and its negative particle. The continuing reanalysis of the primary negation particle in Neg is indicated by the

evidence that the secondary negation particle no longer raises past the SpecNegP (as could be seen in Old English); in Middle English, it was necessary for the secondary particle to take a stronger support role, so the DP stopped in the SpecNegP, rather than continuing through the NegP to a higher position on the tree.

Then, around the middle of the period, *ne* stopped being used altogether, double negation disappeared for the most part, and *not* had replaced it as the primary negation particle, completing the negation cycle. This corresponds well with Mazzon's (2004, p.56-7) data on the number of negators per clause for different time periods, where it indicates that *ne* begins being dropped in favor of *not* and *no*, and multiple negation declines significantly, around the 15th century.

Early Modern English.

Early Modern English dates from around 1500 A.D. to about 1700 A.D. (van Gelderen, 2006, p.155-7). She argues that the year 1500 A.D. was chosen because of (among other things) the realization of the fact that, by this time in history, it was possible for today's native speakers of English to understand the language of that time period without too much trouble in reading it (although understanding it in its spoken form may still have been problematic to a certain degree). The year 1700 A.D. was chosen as an endpoint for the Early Modern English period mainly because, by that point, the Great Vowel Shift had for the most part ended and because spelling conventions had become mostly uniform in the English language (van Gelderen 2006, p.155). Both of these dates have been debated by many, but for the purposes of this study, I will maintain them.

With regards to negation in the Early Modern English period, van Gelderen (2006, p.173) provides a description that sums up the negative phenomenon:

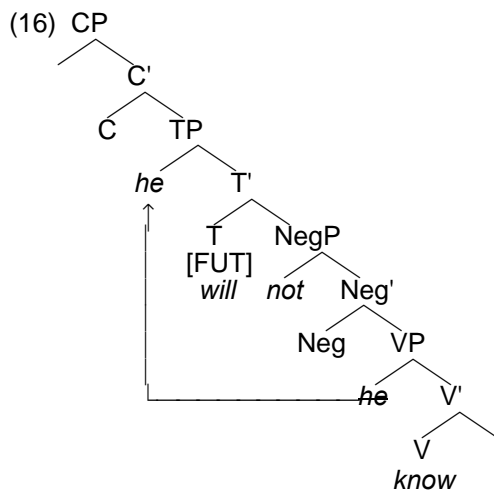
In Old and Middle English, negation can be expressed by one or two negatives. This is changing in Early Modern English where *not* or *nothing* typically appear alone in a clause. There are, however, a few cases where single negation is expressed using multiple negative words: *nothing neither*, as in (49):

(49) Nor go neither: ... and yet say **nothing neither**. (*Tempest* III, ii, 22) (van Gelderen 2006, p.173).

The one other important piece of information about negation in the Early Modern English period is that *do* is optional in negative sentences (van Gelderen 2006, p.172); this will be seen in example (17) and its tree in (18) below. From here forward within this chapter, I will simply provide the quoted examples without their full glosses, as this period marks a time where the examples will not need translation into standard English in order to be understood.

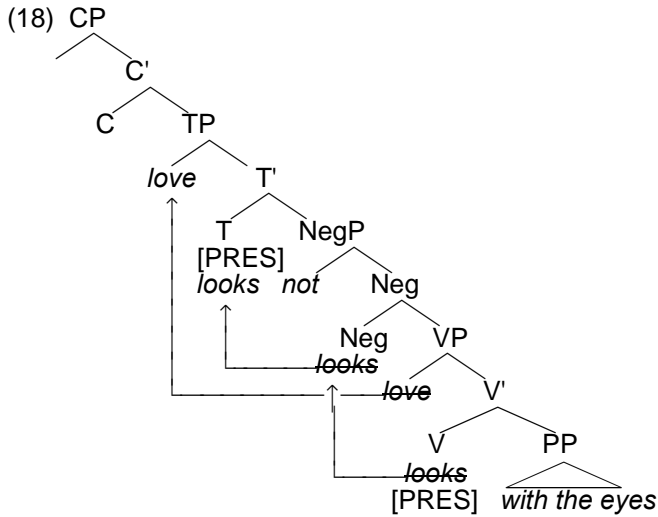
The simplest negative construction in the early part of this period is found in a singular negation that is very familiar to us even in today's standard English practices, as shown in example (15) and its tree (16) below, from William Shakespeare. This example demonstrates the idea that the negation particle *not* does reside in the SpecNegP. The negation particle can stand on its own, leaving a null Neg open for possible verb movement from the VP up the tree.

(15) *He will not know.* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream* I, i, 229)



The second example is also from William Shakespeare; it is meant to illustrate the optional *do*-form, that at the end of the 16th century was still gaining ground in becoming a dominant, obligatory form of speech within the English language. As can be seen in the tree in (18) below, *do* is implied but not necessary for the construction of the sentence. It is also evident that the head-VP verb *looks* raises through Neg to T, while leaving the negation particle *not* in its place in the SpecNegP. The fact that the verb does not pick up the negation particle when it raises argues for the placement of *not* in the SpecNegP.

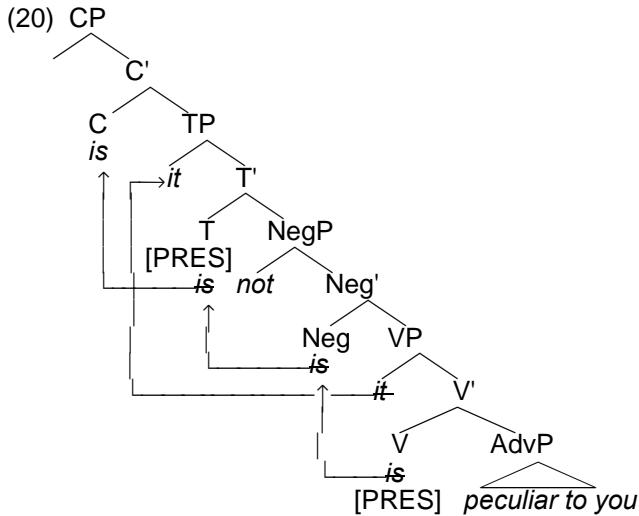
(17) *Love looks **not** with the eyes.* (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, i, 234)



The final two examples I chose to provide for this time period come from the mid-17th century, when the construction of the negation particle begins to change and weaken in its placement. Example (19) and its tree (20) are taken from Sir Thomas More:

(19) *... is it **not** peculiar to you ...* (*The Commonwealth of Utopia*, ca.1639, 30)

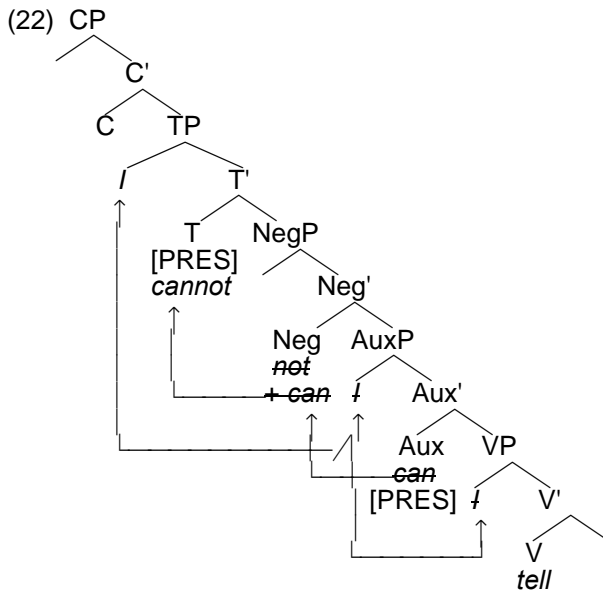
In (20) below, it is possible to see that the negation particle *not* is still in SpecNegP, allowing the head-VP verb *is* to pass through the NegP on its way up to T. However, I will demonstrate below why it is possible that the negation particle has begun to reanalyze to Neg, allowing the verb to have the option of raising through the NegP and either picking up a cliticized negation particle as it raises through Neg or leaving the negation particle behind in the SpecNegP.



The final example I have chosen for this section is also from Sir Thomas More, in example (21) and its corresponding tree (22) below:

(21) ... *I cannot tell* ... (*The Commonwealth of Utopia*, ca.1639, 24)

In this example (22), the negation particle begins in Neg and moves up the tree with the Aux verb *can* to form the complex phrase head *cannot* in T. This indicates that the negation particle *not* is reanalyzing enough to be able to affix itself onto verbs and follow along with them up the tree, rather than taking its own place in the tree.



To review the process within the negation cycle for the Early Modern English period, this section began with two examples from Shakespeare, from the late 16th century. These two examples demonstrated that the negation particle *not* did not, at that time, need any kind of secondary negation to support it, and it was able to maintain its place in the SpecNegP. By the time we reach the second half of this period, however, in Sir Thomas More's time of the mid-17th century, this had begun to change. The negation particle *not* had reanalyzed to a point where it could be placed in either the SpecNegP or in Neg, to provide the option of attaching to the verb as it raises to the TP layer.

Modern English.

This brings us up to date, to the Modern English period, that began at the end of the Great Vowel Shift around 1700 A.D. and continues through to today. With the end of the Early Modern

English period, the beginning of the 18th century, and the advent of the Industrial Revolution era, there also came a revolution of sorts with regards to the structuring of English grammar; van Gelderen (2006, p.214) refers to this structuring, saying "the current Modern English system is very complex, the result of 18th century grammar rules." She goes on to discuss one of the problems within this strict grammarian structure, regarding the adverb/negative particle *not/-n't*; she compares the particle to *ne* from Old English in its changing state, where it is becoming more acceptable recently for certain dialects of Modern English to utilize another negative to reinforce or support the particle *-n't*. Van Gelderen (2006, p.214) uses Labov's (1972, p.177) example "I don't measure **nothin**." to illustrate this point, while also adding that, as this particular construction is highly ungrammatical according to our currently-used rules for English, it will probably not become standard any time soon. This indicates that it is only within Standard Modern English that negative concord is disallowed; in other dialects of English it is considered acceptable.

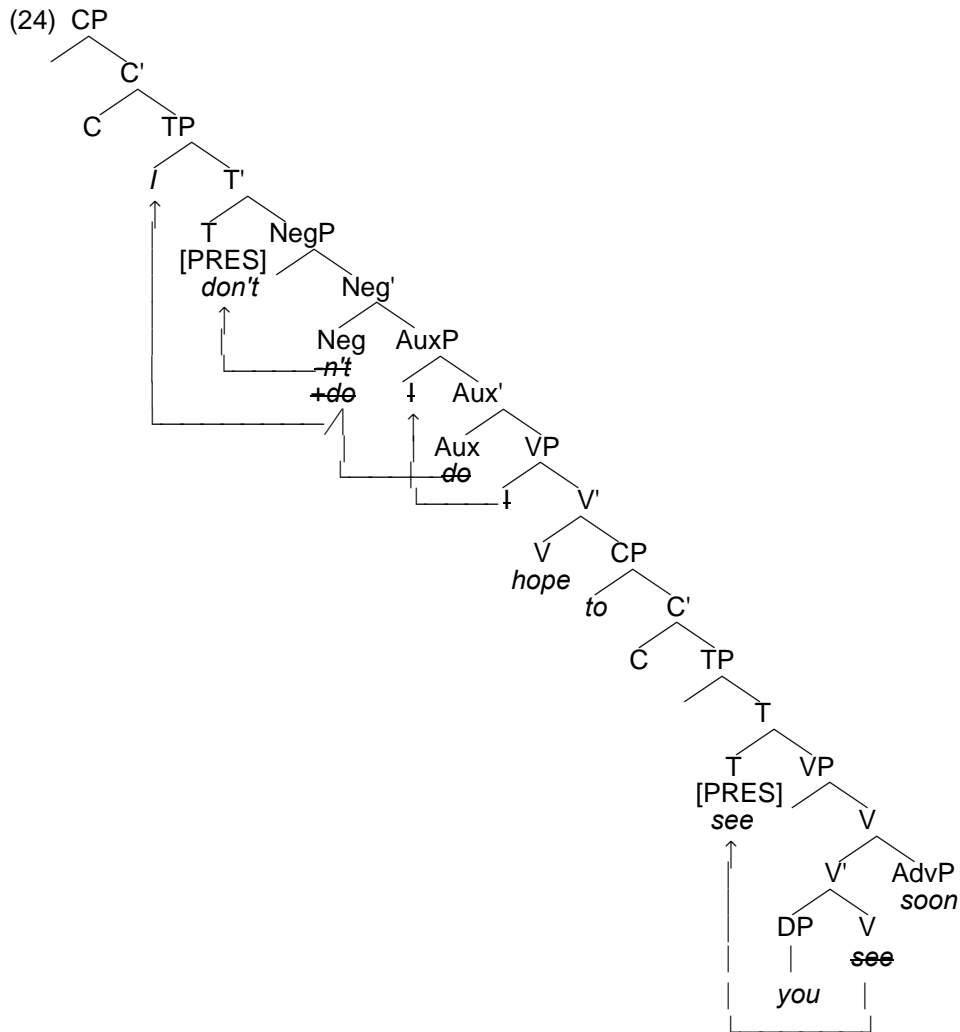
Radford (2009, p.138-40) examined present-day negation in Modern English, explaining that constructions such as his example "I care not for her" are no longer grammatically correct: "The answer is that neither T nor NEG contains a strong affix with a V-feature in present-day English, and so they are unable to attract a main verb like *care* to move through NEG into T" (Radford 2009, p.138). I add that, at some point during the Early Modern English to Modern English time period, because the main verb stopped raising to T, it became necessary for the *do*-form to begin raising to T in order to check for tense. This gives us our modern-day version of "I care not for her" as "I do not care for her".

Finally, Mazzon (2004, p.96-9) examines negation in terms of Neg-Raising in Modern English, and she goes into some detail as to the theories about which groups of verbs tend to trigger Neg-Raising versus which groups do not do so. She includes Fischer's (1999, p.78-80) theories on Neg-Raising being used to add options in face-threatening social situations, so that the speaker of a negatory statement can hedge around or decrease the potentially damaging effects of the message being conveyed. That is, however, a subject beyond the scope of this study and one that I would like to pursue at another time in terms of multiple language comparisons. She does,

however, provide some good examples of Modern English sentence structure, that I will examine below as some of my samples for this section.

I will begin my analysis of Modern English negation with one of those examples, that I will make my example (23), along with a tree for it (24) below:

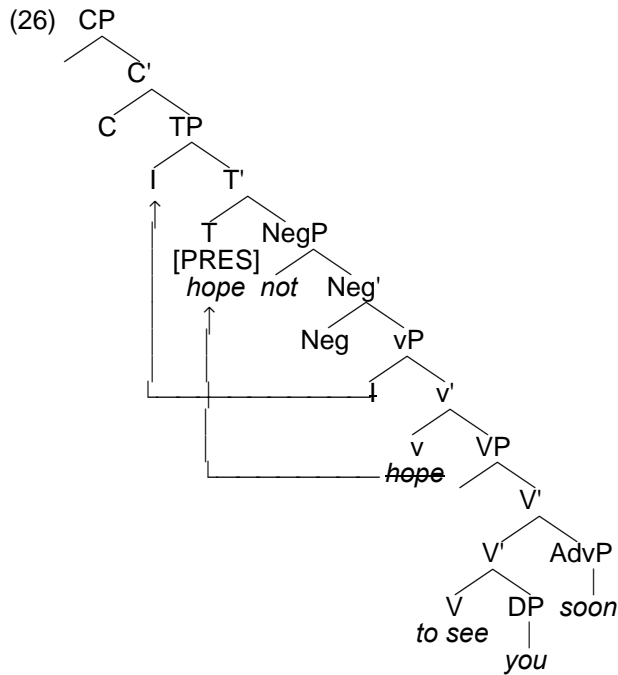
(23) *I don't hope to see you soon.* (Mazzon 2004, p.98, ex. 228a)



In (24) above, it is possible to see the placement of the negation particle *-n't* in Neg, that is necessary in order to allow it to cliticize onto the Aux verb *do* as it raises up the tree to T, leaving the main verb *hope* in its place at the head of the VP. It is apparent that *-n't* has reanalyzed to the point of not being able to stand on its own, and in this example it needs the auxiliary verb *do* to support it as a clitic at this point in the negation cycle.

If the negation particle *not* had been used, however, it would still have been located in SpecNegP; it does not cliticize onto the verb and raise with it. This can be seen in the second of the examples I chose from Mazzon (2004), that I reproduce here as (25); my tree for this example is (26) below:

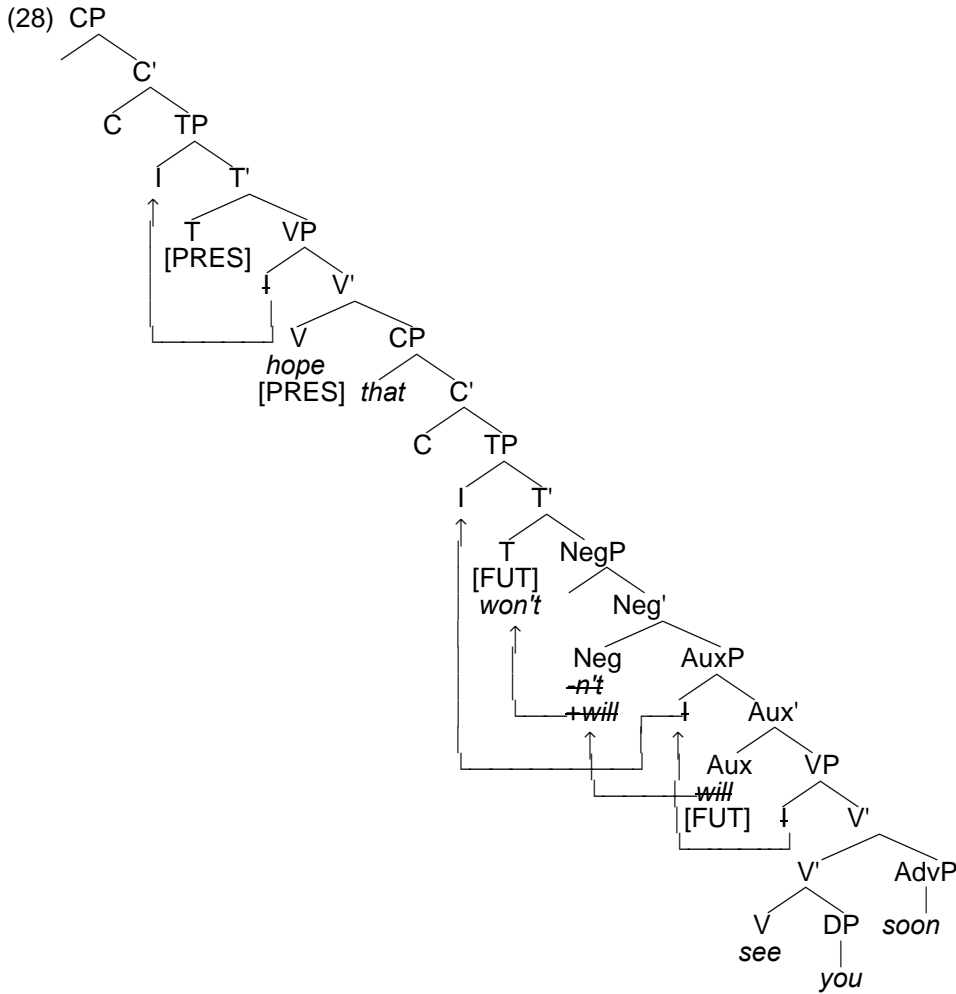
(25) *I hope not to see you soon.* (Mazzon 2004, p.98, ex. 228b)



These two examples above serve to illustrate that the negation particles *not/-n't* are reanalyzing further over time, to the point that *-n't* (as a clitic in Neg) has become an equal-usage partner to the stand-alone *not* in the SpecNegP. It is also apparent from (24) and (26) that it is again optional for the verb to either pass through the NegP as it raises without gaining a negation particle as it travels upward, or to pick up a negation particle as part of the raising process; this lends credence to the notion that *not* is slowly reanalyzing and its cliticized version *n't* in Neg is becoming more grammaticalized.

The final example I provide is a variation on (25) above, that is also the interpretation used by Mazzon (2004, p.98) when she was clarifying her example 228b. This is shown in (27) below, and my tree for it is (28):

(27) *I hope that I won't see you soon.* (Mazzon 2004, p.98, ex. 228b interpretation)



This example illustrates again the need for *-n't* to be located in Neg, so that the auxiliary verb *will* can pick it up as an affix on its way up the tree to T. If this sentence had been, "I hope that I will not see you soon", however, the negation particle *not* would have been placed in the SpecNegP instead, to allow *will* to raise alone through Neg to T. I would like to note that it is the auxiliary verbs that raise through the NegP; the main verbs no longer raise at all in English.

Discussion.

After examining the evidence given above of the usage of the negation particle throughout the history of the English language, it is clear that Jespersen's negation cycle is definitely present.

In Old English, the negation particle *ne* resides in Neg, yet various forms of multiple negation are also utilized throughout that period, that may suggest a latent beginning of analyzation

of the particle even during this period. To review, during times of multiple negation, there is a negative particle in Neg; this Neg particle can cliticize to an element (usually the verb) moving up the tree and then the Neg+verb can either raise out of Neg or remain there, depending on the word order of the sentence. The secondary negation in the sentence typically is already attached to a constituent (such as a subject DP or object DP), and it moves up to the SpecNegP and either remains there or continues to move up the tree. In Old English, we saw that this form of multiple negation was common.

In Middle English, we see a change occur over time, where the negation particle *ne* reanalyzes to a point where its main position in Neg needs support, and it becomes more likely for the particle to cliticize to the verb as the verb raises. In the first half of the period, multiple negation continues, allowing a secondary negation particle to be linked with the subject or object DP as it travels up the tree. Later on in the period, however, multiple negation begins to lessen and finally all but disappear, and the negation particle *ne* becomes optional and then obsolete. Finally, the renewal negation particle *noghte/not* (from Old English's *ne* + *waht*) becomes the dominant, new negation particle in the SpecNegP. This completes a full circuit of Jespersen's Cycle by the end of the Middle English period.

To continue the process during the Early Modern English period, in Shakespeare's time of the late 16th century, the negation particle *not* continues to reside in the SpecNegP. However, barely 50 years later, during More's time in the mid-17th century, we already see signs that the negation particle *not* is reanalyzing toward an optional position in Neg; this is evidenced by the beginnings of the use of compound negation-verb phrases such as "cannot". This reanalysis has continued to a point within today's Modern English period where the negation particle *not* still resides in the SpecNegP, but it can also optionally reside in Neg in its cliticized version *-n't*. A clear renewal negation particle has not yet appeared in the English language to replace *not*.

Chapter 4. The Historical Negation Cycle of Welsh.

Language roots and general syntax of negation particles.

Welsh is a Celtic language, deriving from the Brythonic branch of proto-Celtic; the Brythonic languages are also referred to as P-Celtic and include Breton, Cornish, and Welsh. Welsh's vocabulary has remained mainly Celtic in nature, being relatively insular in its acceptance of new words; only a few exceptions were taken from Latin during the Roman era, when certain words for building constructions became necessary in the language, such as the word for *bridge* (*pons* Latin; *pont* Welsh) - bridges were not a known entity in that area of the British Isles before the Romans arrived (Davies, 1993, p.8; Lofmark, 1989, p.7). This has changed slightly over the past century or so, as new technologies and social medias have required the adoption into Welsh of many modern English terms. With this being said, however, there are several words in Welsh that reach back to Indo-European as cognates to the other Indo-European language families; common lexical words such as *tri* (Latin *tres*; English *three*; Sanskrit *trayas*) and *gweddw* (Latin *vidua*; English *widow*; Sanskrit *mi vidhava*) are proof of this ancient link between these language families (Davies, 1993, p.3).

In relation to the history of the Welsh language, Morris-Jones (1921, p.A2) describes the following periods according to changes over time: Early Welsh (6th to 8th century A.D.), Old Welsh (8th to 11th century A.D.), Medieval Welsh (11th to 14th century A.D.), Early Modern Welsh (14th to 16th century A.D.), and Late Modern Welsh (16th century A.D. to present). The examples I present and examine below come from Medieval Welsh (mid 13th century); Early Modern Welsh (mid-14th c.) and Late Modern Welsh (present day). I will not be addressing the negation present in Early Welsh and Old Welsh for reasons that are discussed below.

Hailing from a predominantly VSO language family like Celtic, Welsh also has a strong VSO basic word order. Also prevalent in Welsh are consonant mutations, particle usage, and inflected prepositions (Fife, 1993, p.22). The VSO word order creates a great deal of movement with regards to the verb (V) and the subject within a typical Welsh tree. Roberts (2005, p.9-33) conclusively shows that in Welsh, the V, when finite, generally moves out of the VP entirely and raises into the head position of a ForceP within the CP; he indicates in this case "that (a) Tense (T)

has a strong V-feature and (b) T has a weak D-feature" (Roberts, 2005, p.9). The subject also moves out of the VP, but it will not move as far up the tree; because the T has that weak D-feature, the subject will generally raise up into the SpecTP. As we will see later on, this will be substantiated by the fact that the negative particle *ddim* comes just after the subject, that (if placed in the SpecNegP) would necessitate that the subject raises to at least the specTP.

Morris-Jones (1921, p.183-4) argues that negative particles appear in Welsh in the following forms:

(1) Before verbs: in a direct sentence, *ni, nid*; in an indirect sentence *na, nad*; in a relative sentence usually the first form, sometimes the second...; in commands, *na, nac (...nag...)*; in answering a question *na, nac (...nag...)*. The forms *nid, nad, nac* are used before radical initial vowels; the forms *ni, na* before consonants... With infix pronouns: *ni'm, na'm, ni'th, ni's, ni'n, ni'ch, ni's*. ... (2) Before a noun, adj., pron., adv. or prep., the form is *nid* ..., before consonants as well as vowels; indirect, *nad*.

It is also quite common to see cases of double negation, where the above negation particles are supplemented by *ddim* (Morris-Jones, 1921, p.185), that normally directly follows either the finite verb or the subject. This description of Welsh negative particles points to the correlation between the Brythonic languages and their ancestor language, Indo-European, whose main negation particle as discussed by Haugen (1982, p.164) was the negative adverb **ne*.

During the course of this chapter, I will analyze the syntax of negation particles for each of the three time periods mentioned above (Medieval Welsh, Early Modern Welsh, and Late Modern Welsh). This will prove to be an example of the negation cycle and the predictable changes it has over the course of time within a language. In chapter 5, I will compare my results with the Welsh language to the other languages being discussed in this thesis.

Early, Old, and Medieval Welsh.

As discussed above, Early Welsh covers the Welsh language from roughly the 6th century to the 8th century A.D. (Morris-Jones, 1921, p.A2). I say "roughly", because there is a major issue when trying to determine at what point Brythonic transitioned into Early Welsh. Davies (1993, p.12) describes the situation and its challenges. Brythonic was known to be a very synthetic language,

where the meaning of its sentences and words was mainly locked into declensions or suffixes. Welsh was considered to have become a separate language from Brythonic when it shifted into a more analytic language, where the word order of its sentences and the use of prepositions began to convey more meaning than the word endings, most of which have disappeared. It is interesting to note, however, that the Late Modern Welsh utilized today has reverted to such synthetic practices as the increased declension of certain words, although it is a very different group of words to decline - its prepositions (that normally are used in analytic languages to assist with meaning and reference through word order).

To date, there has been no evidence found to mark this transition from Brythonic to Welsh in any kind of written form; in fact, we have no written evidence at all for Brythonic itself. Many areas of Europe during that time period either seemingly did not have many written resources or appear to have lost many of their written documents; with Welsh, either of these situations could be true. From an anthropological/archaeological/sociological standpoint, there are a couple of easy reasons why written records may no longer exist. The Welsh civilizations of the 6th to 11th centuries A.D. had a very rich oral culture. and many of its stories and poetry may simply not have been put into writing until later. John Good, teacher of Welsh and President of the Welsh League of Arizona, argues that during the Early Welsh period especially and the early Old Welsh period, writing was taboo in Welsh culture; all records except for a few rare Ogham stone inscriptions would have been orally passed along from generation to generation. Then again, when or if things were written down, it is also likely that most of the mediums used for creating the written word were not sturdy enough to stand the test of time and simply could not survive.

However, that does not mean that the works of that time period have been lost; rather, there are several authors whose works are still in circulation today, who existed around the end of the 6th century/early 7th century A.D. Some of these authors include Taliesin, whose poetic works include *The Battle of Argoed Llwyfain*, many of the older works in *The Black Book of Carmarthen*, and *The Book of Taliesin*; Aneirin, who was a contemporary of Taliesin and is known for his poetry in *Y Gododdin*, posited to be Britain's oldest heroic saga and "the oldest known Welsh poem of any considerable length (Jarman, 1988, p.ix); and Llywarch Hên, whose poetic works are reproduced

in the early 15th century *Red Book of Hergest*, but whose poetry was originally dated to the 6th century A.D.

The complication regarding the examination of these Early and Old Welsh works is as follows: either the original works were generated in an oral tradition and passed down through the generations verbally, until they were finally written down in the Welsh medieval or early modern period; or they were written down at some point and the original manuscripts were ultimately lost, leaving us with only the versions that were recorded in the Welsh medieval or early modern period. Either way, the currently available versions of the works of these Early Welsh poets were ultimately written in manuscript form during the Medieval Welsh or very early in the Early Modern Welsh periods (depending on the manuscript). This presents the question of whether or not the syntax and grammar utilized in these later manuscripts was the same syntax and grammar that was utilized in the Early and Old Welsh periods. Even though they may have been passed down from an oral tradition and some of those traditions have been found culturally to sometimes pass their information down word-for-word (which tends to preserve older syntax and grammar), it cannot be guaranteed that when the written version was generated in these cases, this word-for-word tradition was preserved on the written page.

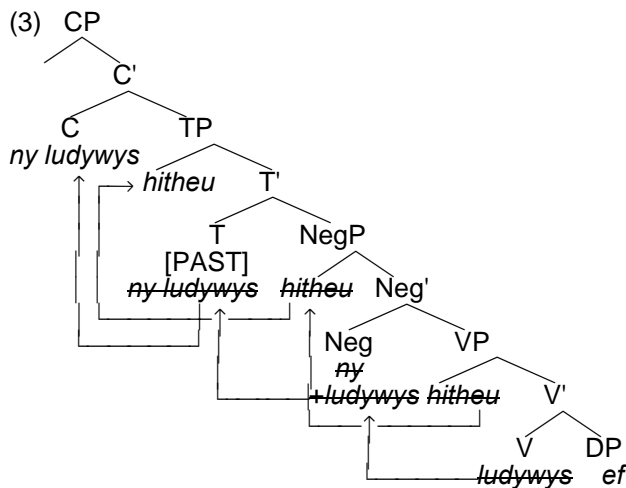
For this reason, and because the samples available from authors of these two early periods are almost exclusively in poetic form and therefore are not suitable for the study of normal syntactic rules and changes, I have chosen not to utilize the examples taken from these later manuscripts for the purposes of this discussion. Other examples from Medieval Welsh are also potentially problematic; there are several Latin manuscripts dating to the medieval period that have short Welsh glosses but that provide no good examples of negation in Welsh. Therefore, the samples I have chosen to examine and discuss here came exclusively from the Medieval Welsh prose document, *Pedeir Keinc y Mabinogi*, or *The Four Branches of the Mabinogi*; Ifor Williams (1930) provides a copy of the original manuscript, along with notes and discussion points, and Jeffrey Gantz (1976) provides a good translation of that text into English, for reference points. Throughout the remainder of this section, I will refer to this document by its more frequently-used name, *The Mabinogion*.

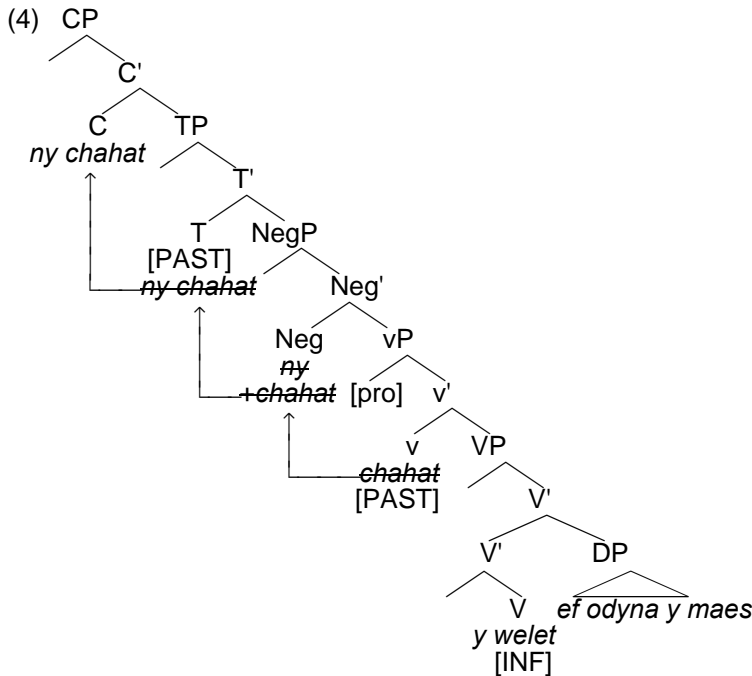
While examining the examples I found in *The Mabinogion*, I observed that both single and double negation are in use here; it does not appear that one method of negating was preferable over the other. The first two examples, demonstrating single negation, are as follows:

(1) *ny ludywys hitheu ef*
 not.NEG hinder.3S.PRES REF.PRON.3S.F.NOM PRON.3S.M.ACC
 'she (herself) did not hinder him.' (Williams, 1930, p.86)

(2) *ny chahat y welet ef*
 not.NEG be able.2S.PRES [link] see.INF PRON.3S.M.ACC
o-dyna y maes
 from.PREP-there.ADV.LOC out.PREP
 'you could not see him again.' (Williams, 1930, p.88)

Here we see several things about Medieval Welsh: the single negation; the VSO word order; and the ability for PRO-drop, as in (2), being the most obvious items of interest. The trees for (1) and (2) are representative in (3) and (4) below respectively:





These two trees demonstrate that the negative particle *ny* begins in Neg. This will enable the particle to cliticize to the verb *cahat* (that mutates to *chahat* because of the vowel component at the end of *ny*) and they will both raise to the CP layer. It is also worth noting here that it is what we call today an auxiliary verb (*cahat* 'to be able') that declines in (2) and gives us the ability to drop the subject pronoun, and it is that "auxiliary" verb that moves up the tree to a higher position in (4), rather than the "main" verb (*gwelet* 'to see', in the infinitive, that mutates to *welet* because of the vowel component in the link *y*). Perhaps this indicates that *cahat* had not yet grammaticalized to become an auxiliary verb per se, enabling it to move as it does here.

Double negation is also evident in Medieval Welsh, although I argue that it is a relatively weak double negation, as I will discuss below. Examples (5) and (6) demonstrate the double negation as follows:

- (5) **ny** *mynnwys* *ef* **dim**
not-NEG accept.3S.PRES PRON.3S.M.NOM any/none.NEG
'He does not accept anything/nothing.' (Williams 1930, p.27)

(6) *nyt* *oed* *dim* *ohonaw*
 not-NEG be.3S.PAST any/none-NEG of.PREP-him.PRON.3S.M

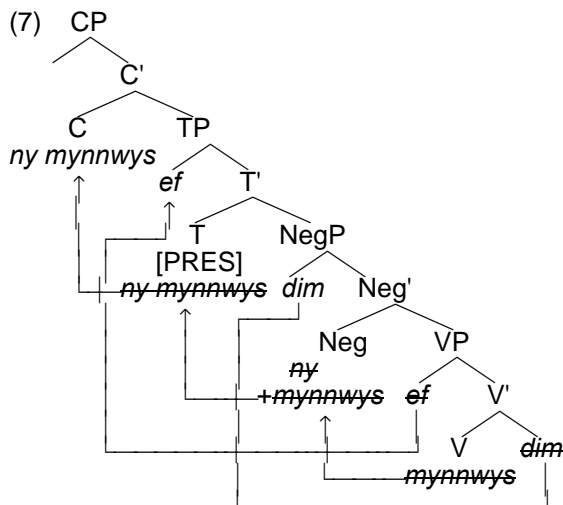
yno

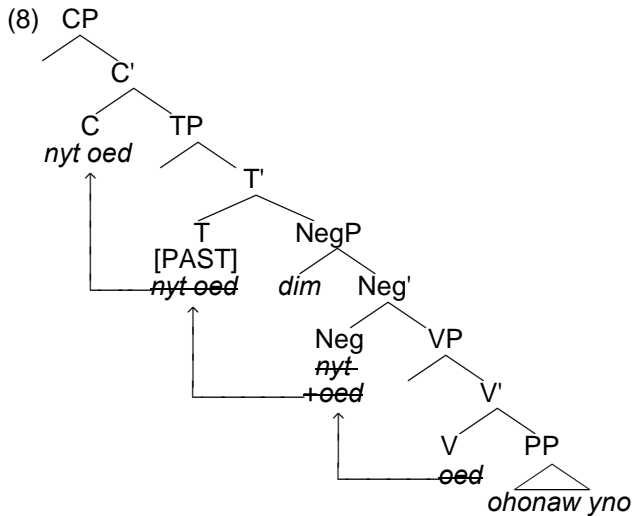
there.ADV.LOC

'(PRO/COMP) was not any/none of him there'

> '(There) was no trace of him there.' (Williams 1930, p.20)

Here we see the secondary negation particle *dim* 'any/none' acting as a negative complement to the negation particle *ny* 'not'. The tree below in (7) indicates that the secondary particle *dim* moves to the SpecNegP from the VP. In (8), however, the secondary particle occupies the SpecNegP, which indicates a more supportive use of a secondary negative element than what is suggested above.





Early Modern Welsh.

Early Modern Welsh was defined by Morris-Jones (1921, p.A2) as having covered the 14th through 16th centuries A.D. By this time, the Welsh language had begun to utilize a more modern form of spelling and various lexical meanings had begun to shift toward their more present-day forms. However, a certain question does arise in this time period with regard to how the negation shifts, as I will discuss below. The examples I have chosen to use were taken from Dafydd ap Gwilym's poetic works from the 14th century A.D. His works were prolific and popular during that time, and were much easier to find in terms of reference material than any prose medium for which I searched; some of his poetry was of a longer stanza form (a *cywydd*), so the writing was at times more sentence-like than poetic and may still stand as an acceptable written example for the purposes of syntactic analysis here. A good Welsh copy and translation of these examples can be found in Bromwich (1982), which is where I will take my examples from exclusively.

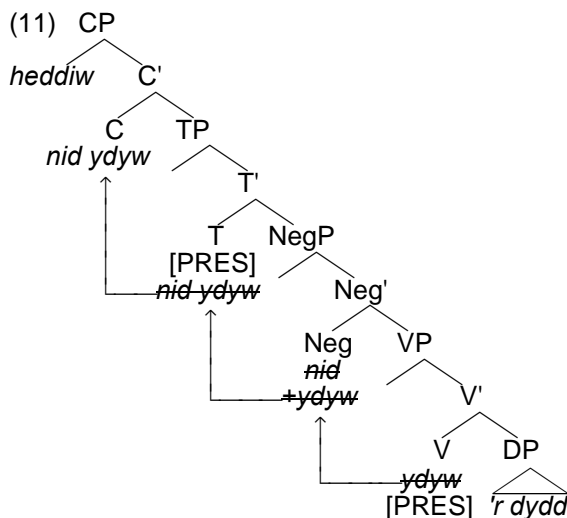
The first chosen example is shown below with two separate parses in (9) and in (10). In examining this example, I determined that there were two ways that this could be structured. I argue that one method, shown in (9) and in its tree in (11), gives a straightforward translation with the supposition that *ni* has mutated to *nid* because the next word begins with a vowel; this is a valid assumption in Welsh, as vowels tend to cause mutation of consonants and the addition of consonants between vowels at frequent times in that language. The other method is shown in (10)

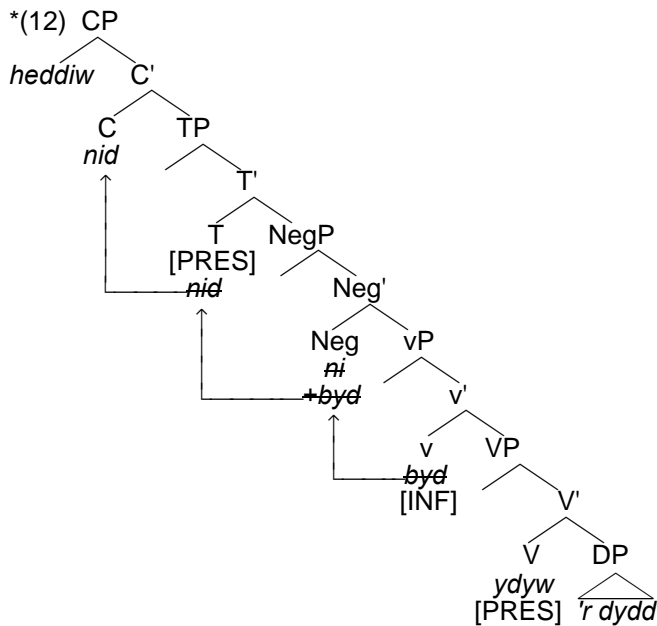
and in its tree in (12); here there is a doubling of the verb *byd* 'to be', in which case the first verb will cliticize onto the negation particle and they will climb the tree together. I have not found any current arguments during the course of my research, but my studies of the grammatical, phonetic, and phonological structure of Welsh so far indicated initially that either theory could be the correct one.

However, after examining the syntax necessary to construct the trees in (11) and (12), I argue that (12) (and therefore (10)) could not be true. We can see that (11) is the better tree of the two, if we look at the features for checking tense with the verb that raises; the raising verb needs to be checked in T, where there is a feature for present tense. If the doubling of *byd* were to occur, as in (12), it would be the infinitive form that would raise, pick up the negation particle and then travel upward to be checked; this cannot be correct, as the infinitive would not properly check with T's present tense feature.

- (9) *heddiw nid ydyw'r dydd*
 today.COMP not.NEG be.3S.PRES-the.DEF ART day
 'Today is not the day.' (*Yr Adfail*, line 22; Bromwich, 1982, p.187)

- *(10) *heddiw ni-d ydyw'r dydd*
 today.COMP not.NEG-be.INF be.3S.PRES-the.DEF ART day
 'Today is not (like) that day.' (*Yr Adfail*, line 22; Bromwich, 1982, p.187)





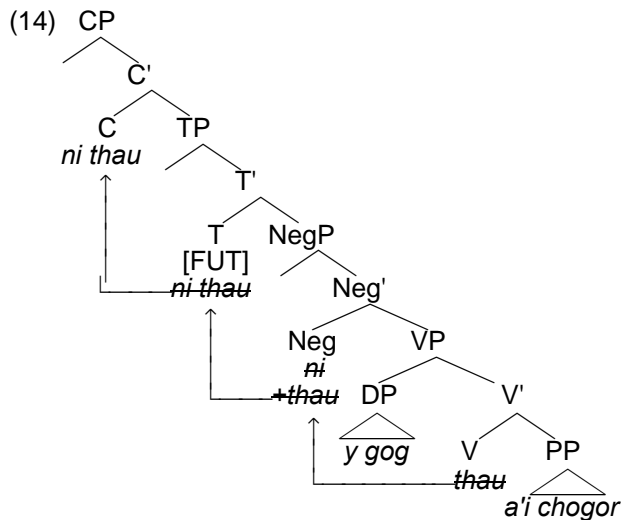
In both examples (11) and (12), *ni/nid* will reside in Neg before moving up to the head of the CP, after the verb moves up through the NegP and attaches to the negation particle. The only difference is, as discussed above, which version of *bydd* will travel to attach to the negation particle. These two trees provide an example of the use of feature checking to determine which solution is the best one to use in interpreting the syntax of Welsh. Otherwise, it may have been more difficult to assess the validity of (12), as cliticization and the combining of words is rather common in Welsh.

Interestingly, I did not find any double negation examples in Early Modern Welsh, which gives a little credence to the idea of an adverbial negator or other renewal particle having been used in Medieval Welsh above, but that will be discussed more fully in the comparison analysis of this chapter. I do provide a simpler example below in (13), along with its tree in (14) for Early Modern Welsh, to provide some contrast to the above analysis.

(13)	<i>ni</i>	<i>thau</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>gog</i>
	not.NEG	will be silent.3S.FUT	the.DEF ART	cuckoo
		<i>a-'i</i>	<i>chogor</i>	
		with-his.PRON.3S.M.POSS	chatter	

'The cuckoo will not be silent with his chatter.' (*Talu Dyled*, line 35;

Bromwich, 1982, p.33)



Late Modern Welsh.

Late Modern Welsh stretches from the 16th century to the present day (Morris-Jones, 1921, p.A2). It is still commonly spoken throughout Wales and in many small groups across the United States. The present-day Welsh population has retained a fierce love of independence within its regional borders and a sense of personal pride about maintaining their own language; as such, the Welsh language continues to thrive in the British Isles, even though English has become the predominant language of that country in general.

Russell (1995) reviews the use of negation in Late Modern Welsh. He describes negation as being "marked both by pre-sentential particles and/or by medial negative particles" (Russell 1995, p.181). His explanation of the basic structure of negation indicates that the sentence order utilized is

negative particle + verb + subject + *ddim*

The use of double negation is not as common anymore - usually, either the negative particle before the verb is used or *ddim* is used, in writing; in spoken Welsh, however, the preverbal negative particle is almost never used anymore, except the occasional use as a cliticized version attached to the finite verb - *ddim* is more commonly used. This medial negation particle *ddim* used to simply mean 'thing'; Russell (1995, p.182) likens the change in the word's usage to its becoming a negative particle in the sense of its being the second element of the double negation of French's

ne...pas or Breton's *ne...ket*. He goes on to discuss the current verbal usage: "In the spoken language the functional shift has now gone so far that the initial negative has been lost" (Russell 1995, p.182).

In the Pembrokeshire Welsh dialect, however, the structure is slightly variant from the norm. Here, the medial negative *ddim/dim* can be paired with *bod* 'to be', and this combination can be placed between the verb and the subject; then it also carries the preposition *o* along with it (Russell 1995, p.182-3). Russell (1995, p.183) gives a few examples showing the dialectal differences of Pembrokeshire Welsh to the more prevalent usage of negation in Welsh and how Pembrokeshire Welsh most likely derived its present negation forms; I have included those and I have also added my own gloss to the three examples in the Pembrokeshire negation set in (15), (16), and (17), as well as to the comparison example in Standard Welsh in (18), to flesh out the complete change - the comparison is shown below in Table 2:

Table 2

Pembrokeshire Welsh Negation vs. Standard Welsh Negation

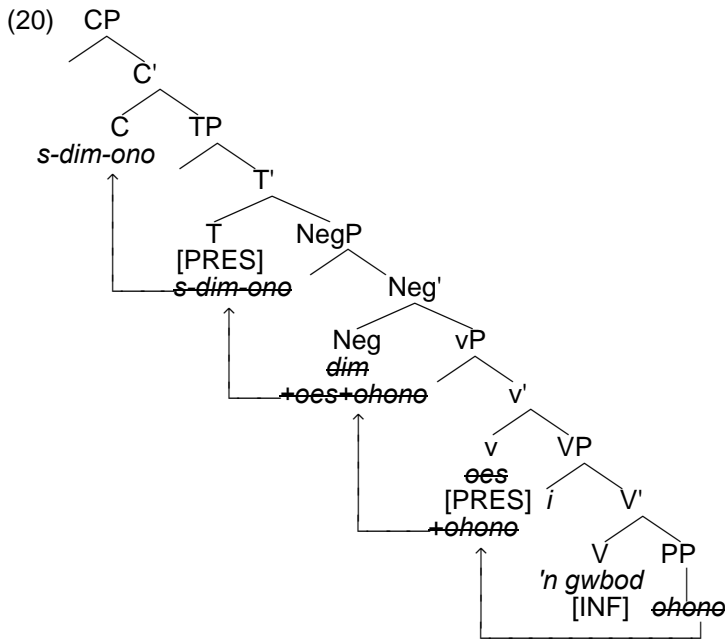
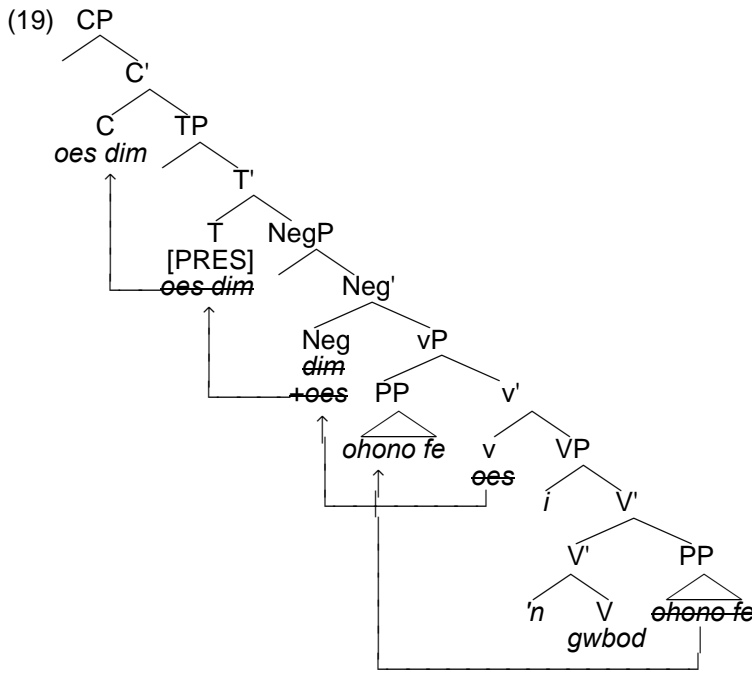
Original form of Pembrokeshire negation (15) and changes (16) and (17):

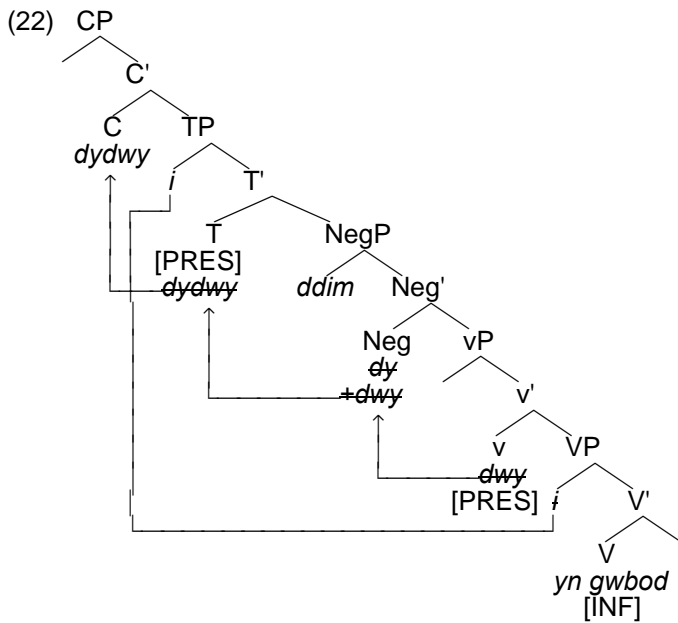
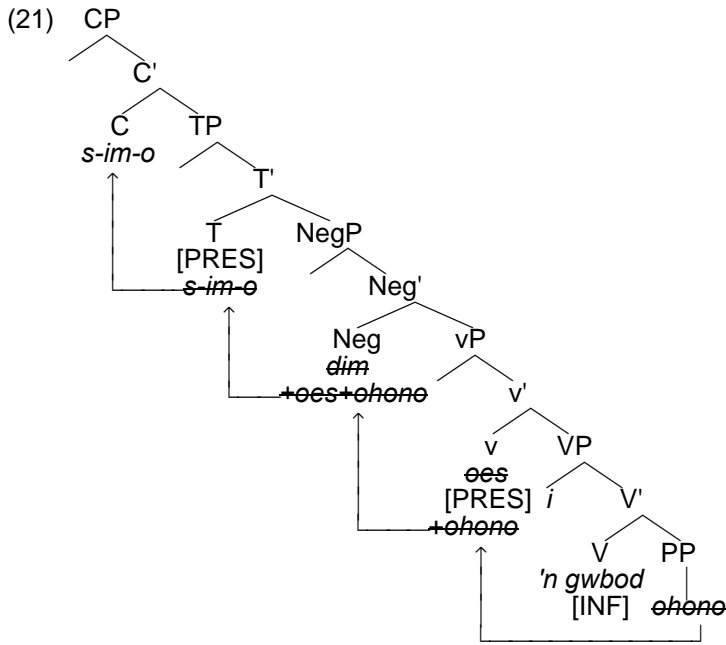
(15)	<i>oes</i>	<i>dim</i>	<i>ohono</i>	<i>fe</i>	<i>i'n</i>	<i>gwbod</i>
	be.PR.3S	not.NEG	of	it	PRN.1S-[link]	know
> (16)	<i>s-dim-ono</i>			<i>i'n</i>	<i>gwbod</i>	
	be.PR.3S-not-of			PRN.1S-[link]	know	
> (17)	<i>s-im-o</i>			<i>i'n</i>	<i>gwbod</i>	
	be.PR.3S-not-of			PRN.1S-[link]	know	
	'I don't know'					

Standard Welsh form of negation:

(18)	<i>(dy)dwy</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ddim</i>	<i>yn</i>	<i>gwbod</i>
	NEG-did	PRN.1S	not.NEG	[link]	know
	'I don't know'				

Both of these variations in Welsh negation can be examined more fully with the use of trees, as in (19), (20), and (21) for Pembrokeshire Welsh and (22) for standard Modern Welsh below:





Another good example of standard Late Modern Welsh negation can be found in a book of Welsh stories called *Four Stories for Welsh Learners*, by Ivor Owen (1964). This book was a good resource for examining some of the more verbal structure of standard Modern Welsh, as it more closely mirrors how the general Welsh public speaks the language. I also use the following examples to examine the quote given above from Russell (1995, p.182), that the preverbal negation has been lost in modern-day Welsh usage. Many of the examples I found in modern-day

Welsh literature and in spoken conversations I have had with a native Welshman, John Good (Welsh teacher at the Phoenix Irish Cultural Center) from whom I have been learning to speak standard Welsh, it is evident that the preverbal negation particle has not been lost in spoken or literary Welsh. Rather, the preverbal negation particle has cliticized onto the finite V as the finite V raises to meet the Neg element and then continues up the tree to the CP. This cliticization and concurrent movement with the finite V indicates that the preverbal negation particle has reanalyzed to the point that it can no longer stand on its own and must have the V present in order to continue to be used. The negative particle *dim/ddim* that appears later in the sentence in the SpecNegP is capable of retaining its own structure and place in the sentence.

With that being said, examples (23), (24), and (25) from Owen (1964) are as follows:

(23) ***D-oedd*** *y* *teulu* ***ddim***
 NEG-be.PAST.3S DEF.ART. family.NOM not.NEG

 yn-hapus *wedyn.*
 ADV-happy then.ADV

'The family was not happy then.' (Owens 1964, p.9)

(24) *Fyddan* *nhw* ***ddim*** *yn* *dod*
 be.FUT.3PL PRN.3PL not.NEG [link] come.INF

 i-mewn-i 'r *ty.*
 into.PREP DEF.ART house

'They will not come into the house.' (Owens 1964, p.10)

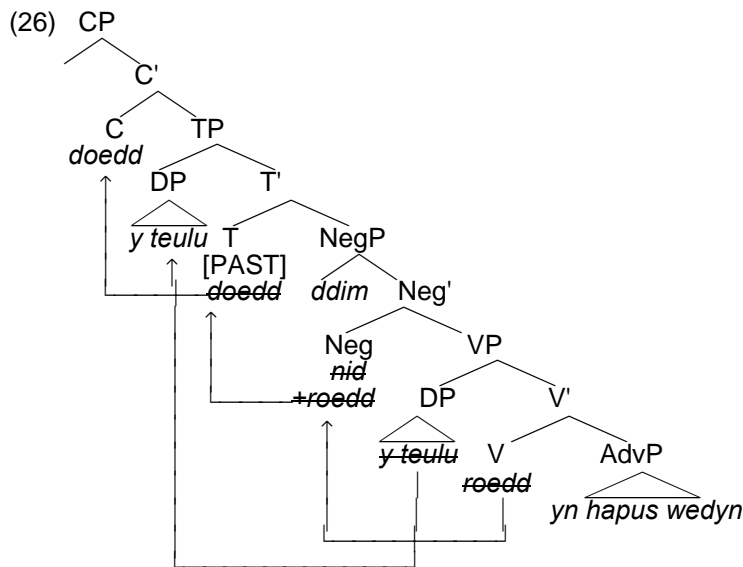
(25) ***D-ydyn*** *nhw* ***ddim*** *yn* *dod*
 NEG-be.PRES.3PL PRN.3PL not.NEG [link] come.PRES.PART

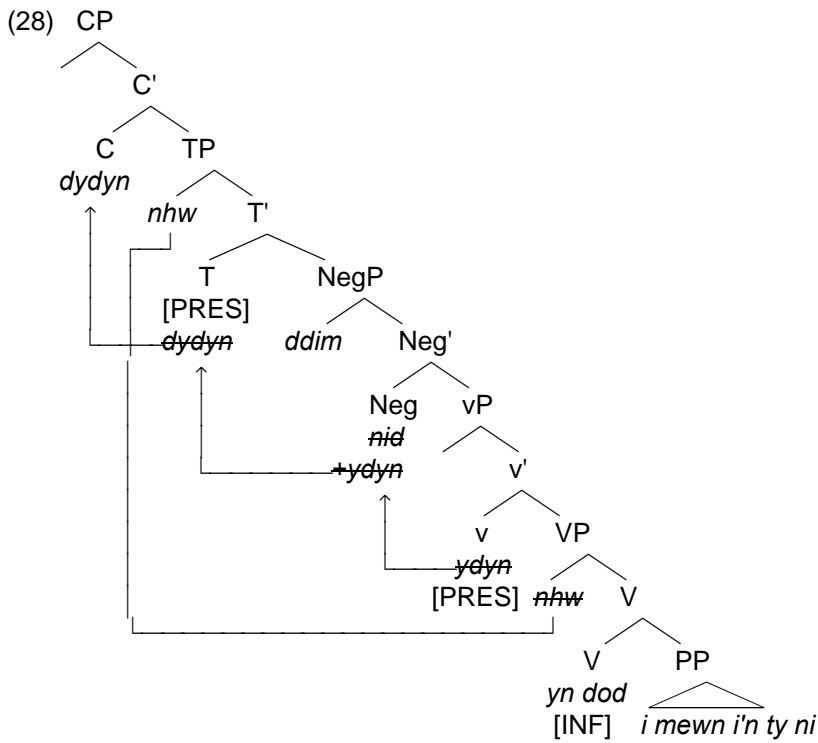
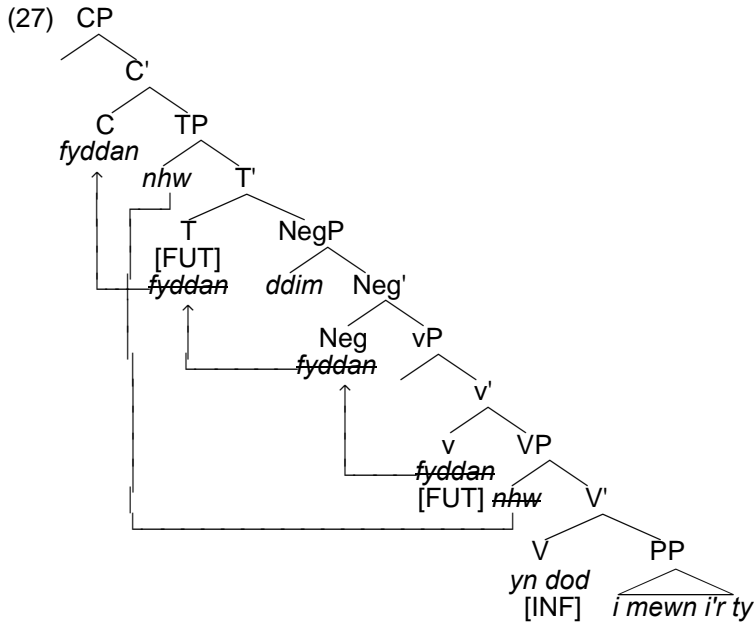
 i-mewn-i 'n *ty* *ni.*
 into.PREP DEF.ART house PRN.POSS.1PL

'They are not coming into our house.' (Owens 1964, p.10)

After examining the above three glosses, a number of different syntactical items are of note here, but one item in particular stands out that is immediately relevant to this study of negation particles. It is evident from (23) and (25) that the past and present tense negation retain the

cliticized preverbal negation particle with the initial verb, along with the secondary negation particle *ddim*; the future tense negation shown in (24), however, drops the preverbal negation particle in favor of just the standard future tense form of *bod* 'to be', and it retains only the secondary negation particle *ddim*. The evidence for the preverbal negative having been dropped rather than never having been there lies in the future tense spelling and pronunciation of the verb *bod*, which is *fyddan*; before it dropped, the negative particle's final vowel component caused the [b] sound in *bod* to mutate to an [f] sound. So, Welsh lost the preverbal negative particle before the future tense verb, but the mutation of the verb form remained. All of this supports the notion that the language is possibly moving in a direction of losing the cliticized preverbal negation particle and that the secondary negation particle *ddim* can now to stand on its own as a primary negation particle. This analysis can be even more closely observed in the trees below for (23), (24), and (25), represented as (26), (27), and (28) respectively:





Discussion.

In Old Welsh, we saw the negation particle *ny* residing in Neg; the particle has reanalyzed enough at this point that the verb, on its way up the tree to the CP, is able to pick up *ny* and raise with it. This allows for the well-known Welsh word order given by Willis, et al (2013, p.242) of

negative - verb - subject - object, which necessitates that both the negative and the verb reside high up in the tree, above the SpecTP, where the subject raises from its initial position in the SpecVP. This satisfies the first step of Jespersen's negation cycle, with the reanalysis of the negation particle from specifier to head position of the NegP.

In Medieval Welsh, the negation particle *ny* still remains in Neg, but we also see some double negation beginning to show. The secondary negation is in the form of an adverb negator *dim* ('any/none'), which begins in the object position and then raises to the SpecNegP to lend some small support to *ny* in providing negation within the sentence. The primary negation particle *ny* continues to link with the verb as it moves up through Neg on its way up to the CP above the subject (which moves up to the SpecTP). This satisfies the second step in Jespersen's negation cycle, where a renewal negator begins to appear in the SpecNegP as support to the Neg particle.

Early Modern Welsh shows the negation particle changing slightly in terms of spelling to *ni/nid*, but essentially remaining the same negator, occupying Neg. By the end of the 16th century, the secondary negation particle *dim* has shifted in spelling to *ddim* (probably due to consonant mutation, which is extremely frequent in Welsh), and *ddim* now begins in the SpecNegP, rather than in the object position and then raising upward. This indicates that *ddim* is truly becoming the replacement renewal negation particle, and that *ni/nid* has continued to reanalyze. This continues with step two of Jespersen's cycle.

Modern Welsh shows that *ni/nid* has phonologically reduced down to the prefix *dy* for the verb *bod* 'to be', in its present tense form *dwy*; the negation particle can no longer stand on its own as a negator. As *dwy* raises and picks up *dy*, the prefix + verb combination climb together as one word *dydwy* to the head of the CP. This negation particle no longer appears in any other form or with any other verb than the present tense and past tense forms of *bod*, and it always appears with *ddim* also in the sentence. Indeed, the original particle is also optional; *ddim* as a negation particle in the SpecNegP often appears alone in Modern Welsh. This shows a distinct continuance with step two and will lead into step three of Jespersen's negation cycle eventually.

Chapter 5. Analysis and Conclusions.

Analysis recapitulation of the Scandinavian languages, English, and Welsh.

In this thesis, I examined three separate languages from two different language branches: Norse and English from the Germanic language family (specifically, the North Germanic and Anglo-Frisian branches respectively), and Welsh from the Celtic language. During the course of those examinations, I noted the negation cycles present in each language and described the changes within those cycles as the languages themselves have changed over time. I will now recapitulate those findings here and then take the analysis one step further, in comparing the three languages' negation cycles with one another and describing the major differences between them.

The Scandinavian languages.

In the Scandinavian languages, I began Gothic and Old Saxon examples, to examine the negation present there, because we do not have any written sources available to us from Proto-Germanic itself. In both Gothic and Old Saxon, the negative particle was *ni*, both having been determined to have derived from Proto-Germanic's reconstructed **ne*. I argued that *ni* occupied Neg, because it must be able to prefix onto the verb as the verb travels to C; this is necessary to maintain the VSO/V2 word order that was prevalent in this language group during that time period. The first step in Jespersen's negation cycle is complete here: the reanalysis of the negation particle *ni* from SpecNegP to Neg, indicating an alteration of the particle and leaving room open for a renewal in the SpecNegP.

Moving on to Old Norse, the old negation particle *ni/né* was lost very early on within that time period; in fact, the only example I could find with *né* in it was not one where it was actually behaving like a negative particle, but more of a conjunction like the English *nor*. It may have been reanalyzed by that time. Instead, the primary negation particle was *eigi/ekki*, that is likely derived from a combination of *eit* "one" and *-gi*, the negation particle. This combining of the determiner *eit* with the negation particle suffix *-gi* indicates that the negation particle either begins in the SpecNegP, so that it can cliticize onto the DP as it raises, or it begins with the DP and raises to the NegP with the DP. I argue that since the old particle *né* had been largely reanalyzed by this time, it is more likely that the first idea is true, that *-gi* occupied the SpecNegP and would cliticize onto the

raising DP; I find it unlikely that the renewal process would leave a gap where a negation particle was not established as being primary and constantly in use and *né* was no longer working in that capacity on a consistent basis. This is the completion of the second step in the negation cycle: the further reanalysis of the old particle and the renewal of a new negation particle in the SpecNegP.

In Modern Scandinavian, we saw that *ekki* (Icelandic) or *inte* (Swedish) remains in the SpecNegP. This is apparent by the way in which the verb needs to be able to pass the negation particle entirely as it raises to its place in either the T or C. The negation particle *né* is nowhere to be seen; it has completely disappeared by this time. The final step in the negation cycle is completed here: that of the disappearance of the old negation particle, leaving the current primary negation particle on its own to also weaken and be replaced eventually during the course of a new cycle.

English.

In the English language, I began with Old English, where multiple negation was frequently in use. Despite the multiple uses of negation within a sentence, however, only one negation particle at a time actually begins in the NegP; *ne* occupies Neg and can link with the verb it modifies as the verb raises to whichever position it will remain in, depending on that sentence's word order. The support negation that gives us our negative concord situation will typically begin its journey cliticized onto a determiner element (i.e. such as *ænig* 'any', to form *nænig* 'not-any') within a subject DP or object DP, and then sometimes that negative DP will raise up to reside in the SpecNegP. At this time, the first step in Jespersen's cycle is complete: the reanalysis of *ne* from SpecNegP to Neg, that leaves the SpecNegP open for a possible renewal item as *ne* grammaticalizes over time. The multiple negation is there to lend support during this reanalysis, but the renewal particle has not yet appeared.

In Middle English, we almost see a full negation cycle happen within the boundaries of this one time period. At this point, the negation particle *ne* has reanalyzed to a point where it cliticizes (rather than prefixing or suffixing) onto its verbal companion as the verb raises through the NegP. Also, its main position in the Neg continues to need support as the Neg particle continues to grammaticalize, so multiple negation continues in the first half of the period; the secondary

negation still begins as part of a subject or object DP and it raises up to SpecNegP. Multiple negation, however, lessens in frequency and finally disappears in the second half of the Middle English period, and the negation particle *ne* decreases in usage and becomes obsolete. It is during the second half of the Middle English period that we also see renewal with the new negation particle *noghte/not*, which occupies the SpecNegP. We see elements of all three of the steps in Jespersen's negation cycle here: further reanalysis of the particle in Neg (Step 1); renewal with a new negation particle appearing in the SpecNegP, while the old particle becomes optional to the point of being obsolete (Step2); and the disappearance of the old negation particle entirely (Step 3).

In Early Modern English, the negation cycle continues on. Through the late 16th and early 17th centuries, the new negation particle *not* (in its various spelling forms) carries on in its position within the SpecNegP. By the time of the mid-17th century, however, this particle is beginning to reanalyze toward a future position in the Neg; the evidence for this lies in the first sightings of cliticization between the negation particle and the verb 'can', to form 'cannot'. Jespersen's cycle has begun to move through Step 1 again as the negation particle reanalyzes toward Neg. This effect has continued into our Modern English period to today, where the negation particle *not* is still placed in SpecNegP; however, it has also grammatically altered to a point where it is frequently utilized in its cliticized affix form of *-n't*, which occupies Neg. We have not seen any clear competitors in the contest to see which word will surface as the renewal negation particle for English yet and take its place in the SpecNegP.

Welsh.

In Old Welsh, I argued that the negation particle *ny* occupied Neg. At this point, the verb, while it raises to the CP, is able to pick up *ny* and travel with it. This allows for the well-known Welsh word order given by Willis, et al (2013:242) of negative - verb - subject - object, which necessitates that both the negative and the verb reside high up in the tree, above the SpecTP, where the subject raises from its initial position in the SpecVP. This satisfies the first step of Jespersen's negation cycle, with the shift of the negation particle from specifier to head position of the NegP.

In Medieval Welsh, the negation particle *ny* still remains in Neg, but we also see some double negation. The secondary negation is in the form of an adverb negator *dim* ('any/none'), that

begins in the object position and then moves up to the SpecNegP to lend some small support to *ny* in providing negation within the sentence. The primary negation particle *ny* continues to link with the verb as it raises through the NegP on its way up to the CP above the subject (which moves up to SpecTP). This satisfies the second step in Jespersen's negation cycle, where a renewal negator begins to appear in the SpecNegP as support to the particle in Neg.

Early Modern Welsh shows the negation particle changing slightly in terms of spelling to *ni/nid*; the *y* to *i* spelling change may have been due to a slight change in pronunciation, but the addition of a *-d* ending was probably due to mutation occurring when one word ends with a vowel sound and the next word begins with a vowel sound, which causes an insertion of a consonant in between, at the end of the first word. Essentially, though, *ni/nid* remained the same negator, residing in Neg. By the end of the 16th century, the secondary negation particle *dim* has shifted in spelling to *ddim* (probably due to consonant mutation, which is extremely frequent in Welsh), and *ddim* now begins in the SpecNegP, rather than in the object position and then raising upward. This indicates that *ddim* has grown in strength as a negator, and that *ni/nid* has continued to weaken in strength. This continues with step two of Jespersen's cycle.

In Modern Welsh, I argue that that *ni/nid* has reduced down to the prefix *dy* in the verb *bod* 'to be', in its present tense form *dwy*; the negation particle can no longer stand on its own as a negator. As *dwy* raises and picks up *dy*, the prefix + verb combination climb together as one word *dydwy* to the CP. This negation particle no longer appears in any other form or with any other verb than the present tense form of *bod*, and it always appears with *ddim* also in the sentence. Indeed, the older particle is now also optional; *ddim* as a negation particle in the SpecNegP often appears alone in Modern Welsh. This shows a distinct continuance with step two and will lead into step three of Jespersen's negation cycle eventually.

The Welsh negation cycle has proven to be a relatively slow one. For example, the proto-Indo-European negative particle *ni* can still be seen in texts today and is still heard in spoken Welsh; it is not seen as often as it used to be, and it is disappearing in favor of the negation particle *ddim*, but it is still in use. However, *ddim* is definitely the primary negation particle and is the one used in situations where there is only one form of negation in a sentence. This renewal particle

dim/ddim appears as early as the 12th century; but it remains in more of a context in relation to DP's, without an initial placing in the NegP until around the 16th century, when it becomes a true renewal negation particle and begins to occupy the SpecNegP. Change does not come quickly within this language.

Comparison of the three languages.

In analyzing these three language branches, the negation cycle is evident in all three of them, and I have seen that it is a very regular cycle for each one of them. It was apparent, however, that the timing of the cycles has not exactly been in sync with one another. When I began my research into this topic, I thought that because these groups of people had been in so much physical contact with one another historically, and because these people had so much influence over one another from a language standpoint (especially the Scandinavians over the populations of Britain), perhaps the negation cycles would also have shown similar connections with regards to timing of change. However, this was not the case; the negation cycles in these three language branches have shown very different paces of change.

In the Scandinavian languages, for example, the original negative particle from Proto-Germanic, **ne*, disappeared from the language family much earlier than in the other two languages; it was gone from the Scandinavian languages long before the end of the Middle Ages ended in that region around 1350 A.D, perhaps sometime in the 11th century or so. In English, some form of *ne* remained until about the middle of the Middle English period; I assume that it disappeared sometime in the 14th century or so. In Welsh, however, the negative particle *ni* can still be seen in texts today, although it is finally disappearing; *ddim* is now the primary negation particle and is the one used in situations where there is only one form of negation in a sentence.

The two Germanic language sub-branches also differ in their timing with regards to when the renewal negation particle makes its appearance in the SpecNegP in step two of Jespersen's cycle. In the Scandinavian languages, the renewal particle *eigi/ekki* appears early in the Middle Ages, perhaps as early as the 11th century. In contrast, however, we do not see the renewal negation particle *not* in English until somewhere around the 14th century. In Welsh, the renewal particle *dim/ddim* appears as early as the 12th century, but it remains in a more supportive negative

DP context until around the 16th century, when it becomes a true renewal negation particle and begins in the SpecNegP.

Conclusions.

In examining these three language branches, it is obvious that while they each underwent the negation cycle as described by Jespersen (1917), the timing of the changes for the cycle are different from one another. The Scandinavians occupied a large portion of the British Isles in what was called the Danelaw during the Medieval period, and they interacted very frequently with the inhabitants of that countryside. In fact, a good portion of English grammar and vocabulary today is due to that interaction period with the Scandinavians. The English invaded Wales and have occupied that territory as a district of the British Isles as a country ever since; it is fair to assume that interaction has been relatively frequent between those groups as well, despite the well-known Welsh desire to be independent and left alone.

Somehow, however, as discussed in my comparison analysis above, the negation cycles appear not to have been particularly affected by these interactions, despite the many other grammatical influences that have managed to be inserted into one language from another, via contact of different peoples (i.e. the vocabulary and grammatical changes made to the English language via the British people's contact with the Scandinavians). Given more time and access to language resources, I would take this study further and examine more instances historically of manuscripts and the linguistics within, to flesh out this timing idea more fully. In the course of that expanded study, it would be worthwhile to include other linguistic change cycles, such as the agreement cycle and the verbal cycle; I would also examine the possibility of a subject cycle as well.

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