

Not continuity, but change: stable stage II in Jespersen's cycle*

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1. Jespersen's cycle (Dahl 1979)

The history of negative expressions in various languages makes us witness the following curious fluctuation: the original negative adverb is first weakened, then found insufficient and therefore strengthened, generally through some additional word, and this in its turn may be felt as the negative proper and may then in course of time be subject to the same development as the original word. (Jespersen 1917: 4)

(1) Jespersen's cycle in English (See also Horn 1989 : 455)

Stage I clitic	Stage II clitic+free morpheme	Stage III free morpheme	Stage I' free morpheme > clitic
<i>ic ne secge</i>	<i>I ne seye not</i>	<i>I say not</i>	<i>I do not say</i> <i>I don't say</i>
Old English	Middle English	Early Modern English	Present Day English

Jespersen (1917:9-11)

(2) An articulated Stage II
Cf. Posner 1985, Schwegler 1988; 1990, Ladusaw 1993, Rowlett 1998, Geurts 2000, Van Kemenade 2000, Zeijlstra 2004, Schwenter 2006, Van der Auwera and De Vogelaer to appear)

I	stage 1	single (preverbal/clitic) negation marker
II	stage 2	single (preverbal/clitic) negation marker plus optional phrasal emphasiser
	stage 3	bipartite or embracing negation (i)
III:	stage 4	bipartite or embracing negation (ii) with the original marker having become optional and the original emphasiser having become the neutral negator
	stage 5	single (phrasal) negation marker grammaticalised from the original emphasiser
(I'	stage 1'	negation marker weakened to a clitic (preverbal) marker again)

(3) Completion of transition from Stage II to Stage III: variable:
High German : by 1300 (Dal 1966: 164; Lockwood 1968:207f.; Jäger 2006:211)
English: around 1350-1420 (Wallage 2005:195)
Dutch : 1600 (Burridge 1993:190f)

BUT:

Flemish dialects/*tussentaal* retain preverbal marker to this day: see van der Auwera and Neukermans 2004, Zeijlstra 2004, Van der Auwera and de Vogelaer (to appear) for Flemish dialects in General and Haegeman 1995, 1998, 2001, 2002, 2003; Haegeman &

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Zanuttini 1991, 1996; Haerberli & Haegeman 1998 for West Flemish, De Caluwe 2007 for the Flemish *tussentaal*.

Stage II: ‘Embracing negation’, ‘bipartite negation’; symmetric view: both components are associated with [NEG], some form of absorption/checking/feature deletion mechanism (with [+/- interpretable] NEG features) to achieve single logical negation.

2. Functional differentiation at stage II

2.1. *Diachronic evidence (Breitbarth 2007)*

2.1.1. *Formal uses of the preverbal marker*

- expletive negation in the complements of adversative predicates (cf. also Muller 1978 for French, Espinal 2000 for Romance, Van der Wurff 1999, for English, Van der Wouden 1997):

- (4) ne doute the nat that alle thinges **ne** ben don aryght ME
 NE doubt you NEG that all things **NE** are done rightfully
 ‘Do not doubt that all things are done rightfully’
 (Chaucer's Boethius IV P5,49; Wallage 2005:178))

- ‘Expletive’ construction *en* + V2 in subjunctive mood¹

- (5) a. den lîp wil ich verliesen, si **en**werde mîn wîp MHG
 the body will I lose she **NE**.become.**SUBJN** my wife
 ‘I will die unless she becomes my wife’
 (Walther, after Lockwood 1968:208)
- b. Oec en sal men nyemant tot burger ontfangen, men **en** heb on een maent bekant MLG
 also NE shall one n.body to citizen receive one **NE** have.**SUBJN** him one month
 known
 ‘one shall not make anyone a citizen unless one had known him for one month’
 (Klever Rechtsbuch 1430:4v)
- c. Maer dat en mach niet siin het **en** waer een sempel wonde MDu
 but that NE can NEG be it **NE** were.**SUBJN** a simple wound
 ‘But that cannot be unless it were a simple wound’
 (Br 1350; Burridge 1993:181)

2.1.2. *Indefinites in the scope of negation*

- n-indefinites in Middle English, Middle High German and Middle Dutch prefer not to co-occur with the new postverbal negator, while co-occurrence with the preverbal marker is possible. This is a strong tendency in Middle English (Jack 1978a,b, Iyeiri 2001), and absolute in Middle High German (Jäger 2006) and Middle Dutch (Breitbarth 2007).

¹ Postma (2006) calls this use of *en* ‘expletive’ as well.

- very early on, n-indefinites could already be independently used to mark sentential negation, even in Middle Dutch, which preserved the preverbal marker for so much longer than English, High and Low German:

- (6) a. thaz imo fisg **nihein** intflôh OHG
 that him fish **no.one** escaped
 ‘that no fish escaped him’ (Otfrid V.14,23)
- b. **Nænegum** ārað OE
none spares
 ‘he spares none’ (Beowulf 598)

(7) 13th century Middle Dutch n-indefinites²

	1200-1280							
	<i>en.geen</i> ‘no’		<i>geen</i> ‘no’		<i>niemand</i> ‘no one’		total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<i>en/ne</i> + n-indef.	9	69.2	13	68.4	27	81.8	49	75.4
n-indef. alone	4	30.8	6	31.6	6	18.2	16	24.6

(Breitbarth 2007:14)

- as n-indefinites are able to express sentential negation on their own and compete with the new postverbal negator, the old preverbal marker cannot have been the expression of negation at stage II

2.2. An asymmetric view of ‘bipartite’ negation: ingredients of the analysis

Breitbarth (2007): preverbal marker undergoes a morphosyntactic change from expressing sentential negation at stage I to expressing affective polarity at stage II.

- trigger: change in the semantics of indefinites in the scope of negation from strong NPIs to n-indefinites able to identify sentential negation (Jäger 2007)³: the reanalysis of n-indefinites rendered *ne/en* ambiguous between a negation marker and a polarity marker, reanalysis of the postverbal elements finalised this development

→ **Asymmetric** view of West Germanic bipartite ‘negation’: one component encodes affective polarity, the other negation

“affective” contexts = contexts that license weak negative polarity items (NPIs): negation, questions, conditionals, the complement of the prepositions *before* and *without*, complements of adversative predicates such as *doubt*, *forbid*, clauses containing *hardly* and the standard of comparison (cf. Klima 1964, Giannakidou 1998)

-Sentential negation in itself entails affective polarity of a clause → loss of preverbal marker if no independent evidence for its need (e.g. formal/expletive uses)

² Based on counts of the first 300 deeds from the Corpus Gysseling (Gysseling 1977).

³ Cf. Postma (2002) for a similar proposal in relation to Middle Dutch.

2.3. *Our proposal*

The hypotheses

- (A) In a West Germanic language in stage II of Jespersen's cycle, the preverbal marker is not a negation marker, but encodes affective polarity.
- (B) For a language to maintain such a preverbal marker for an extended period of time, this marker has to acquire further functional specialisation.

The claim

Many Flemish dialects as well as in the WF 'tussentaal', provide empirical evidence for hypotheses (A) and (B).

The data used

- (i) questionnaire-based research undertaken as part of the SAND project (Barbiers et al 2006a, 2006b), (110 locations in Flanders);
- (ii) a sample of the corpus material collected at Ghent University⁴,
- (iii) anecdotal observations;
- (iv) LH's intuitions as a native speaker.

3. The use and interpretation of preverbal *en* in Flemish

3.1 *Overview (Van der Auwera and De Vogelaer to appear)*

3.1.1. *Manifestations of Stage I*

Emphatic contradiction

- (8) a. A: Hij slaapt.
B: Hij/'t **en** doet.
- b. A: Hij zal niet komen.
B: Hij/'t **en** doet.
- c. A: Slaapt hij?
B: Hij/'t **en** doet. (Van der Auwera and De Vogelaer to appear:14)
(Cf. Tavernier 1959:246, Rijckeboer 1986, Van Craenenbroeck 2004: 125-260)

Haegeman (1995: 160):

- (9) A: Valère verkuopt da nie
Valère sells that not
'Valère doesn't sell that'
- B: J'en doet. Je verkoopt da wel. K'een der gisteren gekocht.
He EN does. He sells that indeed. I have some yesterday bought
'He does. He does sell that. I bought some yesterday.'

In many varieties only with reduced subject pronouns and with present tense (cf. also Ryckeboer 1986, Van Craenenbroeck 2004: 125-260)

- (10) a. k'**en** doen
I EN do

⁴ We thank Professor Johan Taeldeman and Professor Magda Devos for allowing LH to use this material. We also thank Godelieve De Pauw for providing us with her material on Buggenhout-Opstal.

- b. *Ik en doen
- c. *Marie **en** doet
Marie EN does
- d. *K'en degen
I *en* did

Purely formal, non-negative uses of *en* (cf. Tavernier 1959: 246-7: 'expletive'):

(i) *maar* 'but, only'

- (11) a. Ik **en** heb maar drie knikkers.
I EN have but three marbles
(Brugge)
(VdA&DV to appear: 6 (18a))

VdA&DV (to appear: 23-24) the use of *en* with *maar* is common in all dialects that allow *en..niet* in main clauses, see below 4.1.3. (33 locations)⁵

(ii) embedded clauses introduced by *voordat* 'before' (VdA&DV to appear:6): SAND-questionnaires: 3 locations

- (11) b. Je moet niet komen voordat ik geschreven **en** heb.
You should not come before I written EN have
(Kortrijk)
(VdA&DV to appear:6 (18b))

(iii)-the standard of comparison : (VdA&DV to appear:6): 9 locations

- (11) c. Marjo heeft nu meer koeien dan ze vroeger **en** had.
Marjo has now more cows than she before EN had
(Overijse)
(VdA&DV to appear:6 (18c))

→ in Flemish varieties, *en* is (at least) a marker of affective polarity.

3.1.3. Manifestations of Stage II

VdA&DV (to appear: 16-23): questionnaire based material: geographic variation:

-Embedded declarative clauses: Stage II: throughout the Flemish dialect area: 66 locations.

-Main declarative clauses: Stage II: esp. Southern East Flemish, French Flemish: 33 locations.

-Non declarative main clauses:

Negative questions: East Flemish:

V-initial *yes-no* question: 2 locations

Conjunction *maar*+ *yes-no* question: 9 locations

Wh-P-initial: 14 locations

Negative imperatives: esp. French Flanders, southern West Flanders: 10 locations

3.1.2. Manifestations of Stage III

Generally available throughout the Flemish dialects.

⁵ VdA&DV do not discuss the occurrence or not of this pattern in embedded clauses.

3.2 West Flemish

3.2.1. L. Haegeman's intuitions

- clause types: no obvious restriction

- (12) a. da Valère dienen boek niet (**en**)-kent *embedded clause*
 that Valère that book not (EN).knows
 'that Valère does not know that book'
- b. Valère (**en**)-kent dienen boek niet *main declarative*
 Valère (EN) knows that book not
 'Valère doesn't know that book.'
- c. (**En**)-komt (tet) doa nie an. *imperative*
 (EN) come (tet) there not on
 'Don't touch that.' (from Haegeman and Van de Velde 2006: (15))
- c. (**En**)-ee-j gie doa niemand gezien? *yes/no-question*
 (EN) have.you you there n.one seen
 'Did you (really) not see anyone there?' (from Haegeman 2007:fn.3)

- formal (expletive) uses of *en*: only *maar* 'but, only' (13a), not comparative clauses (13b), not *before*-clauses (13c)

- (13) a. K'(**en**) een mo drie marbles
 I (EN) have but three marbles
- b. *k goan-t jun zeggen lyk dat **en**-is
 I.go it.you say like.if.that it EN is
 'I'll tell it to you the way it is.'
- c. *zie da-j ier weg zyt vuo dat-je op je kappen **en** zit
 see that you here away are before that he on you hood EN sits
 'Clear out before he gets you.'

- expressive function of *en*:

- (14) A: Geef me nen keer Valère zenen telefoon.
 give me once Valère his phone number
 'Can you give me Valère's phone number?'
- a. B: k'(en) een-k ik Valère zenen telefon nie.
 I (EN) have -I I Valère his phone not
 'I don't have Valère's number.'
- b. B: k-zeggen jen toch dan-k em nie (en)-een.
 I say you particle that -I him not (EN) have
 'I am telling you I don't have it.'

(Haegeman 2002:11)

3.2.2. West Flemish corpus

Corpus material: 2 transcribed recordings.

- (i) Dudzele. 20 April 1964. +/- 6000 words
 (ii) Moerkerke, 5 July 1965: +/-9.500 words

(15): a Negation data Dudzele

Dudzele	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	24	13	5	0	1	0	0	43
+en	2	1	2	0	0	0	1	6
total	26	14	7	0	1	0	1	49

(15): b Negation data Moerkerke

Moerkerke	niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	23	8	10	1	0	0	0	42
+en	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	5
total	25	10	11	1	0	0	0	47

Key:

Niet X: negated constituent with sentential scope (16a)

geen N: negative NP ('no NP')

n-word: negative indefinite and n-words such as *niemand* ('no one'), *niets* ('nothing'), *nooit* ('never'), etc

NC: negative concord, co-occurrence of *niet* and an *n-words* (16b)

NS: negative spread, co-occurrence of two n-words or other negative indefinite expressions (16c,d)

- (16) a. da se doa nie meer weunt
That she there no more lives
- b. da ze da nooit nie weet
That she that never not knows
- c. k'em er niks ne meer va gekocht⁶
I have there nothing no more of bought
- d. daar was nieverst geen plaats
there was nowhere no space

⁶ Observe that *ne meer* ('no more') is very frequent in this type of construction. This is probably due to the fact that in certain cases, *nie meer* is the only option.

- (i) a. K'een niemand nie /nie meer gezien
I have no one not /no more seen
'I haven't seen anyone anymore.'
- b. K'een geen studenten nie meer/*nie gezien
I have no students no more/*not seen
'I didn't see any students any more.'
- c. K'zyn doa nie lange nie meer/*nie gebleven
I am there not long no more/*not stayed
'I didn't stay there long;'

For discussion see Cf. Haegeman and Zanuttini (1996: 143), Haegeman and Lohndahl in preparation.

(17) The distribution of *en* according to main/subordinate finite clause

	Main total	<i>En</i>	Sub total	<i>En</i>	All finite cl	<i>en</i>
Dudzele	42	5	7	1	49	6
Moerkerke	33	2	14	3	47	5
Totals	75	7	21	4	96	11

3.2.3 Uses of *en*- *maar*:

- (18) ‘k **en** he(bbe)n maar enen
 I EN have but one
 ‘I only have one’

(Dialect recording, Dudzele, UGent, Dutch Department 20.6.64)

- expressive function of *en*:

- (19)L: in de winter was de gewoonlijk ip zulken bedryven, me spreken nu voort van vijventwintig ‘ectaren, ewel, da waren ton viere à vijf scheurdessers, eh
 ‘in winter were there usually in such farms, we talk about 25 acres, well, there were four or five threshers

A: ja ja

L: t Was daarvan da de dink, dat de...

It is because of that that the...

da die mensen ulder verdiensten nie meer e waren in die tijd of ip een klein bedrijf hé,
 that these people their merits not more EN were than that time than in a small farm, hé,
 omdat de kostprijs even ‘oge was
 because the cost was as high.

(Dialect recording, Moerkerke, UGent, Dutch Department 5.07.65)

- (20)L: Da wierd allemale er platse gekeernd
 That was all locally churned

A: ja’t eh, enne ,oe dejen se dat azo?
 Yes, and, how did they do that?

L: ja , in de g’elen ouden tijd lieten ze die melk verzuren hé. De melk lijk of dat je was hé
 wier ton gekeernd hé.

In the very old days the let the milk go sour. The milk as it was was then churned

A: ja

L: omdan der euh afromers nog nie **en** bestonden.
 Because there eu ‘decreamers’ not yet EN existed

A: nee’s, nee’s
 No, no

L: Da bestond nog niet hé.
 That existed not yet , hé

(Dialect recording, Moerkerke, UGent, Dutch Department 5.07.65)

- (21) Anecdotal evidence: 2007-2008: MV: female, °1953, Heist dialect:
 a. Ze kreeg een koeksje zonder zuiker.
 She is given a biscuit without sugar.

K'en eten da niet. Pak da mo were me!⁴

I EN eat that not. You can take it back

K'en moen da nie en, die Becel.

I EN must that not have, that Becel.

(MV. Heist dialect, 02.01.08)

- b. K'gingen no de viswinkel en j'is gesloten. K stoengen do.
I went tot he fish shop and it is closed. I was standing there.
K'en an geen vis vu morgen.
I EN had no fish for tomorrow.

(MV. Heist dialect, 04.12.07)

- c. K woren al een eure bezig me kerstkoarten te moaken.
I was already an hour busily making Christmas cards
Mo t'en ging nie.
But it EN went not

(MV. Heist dialect, 05.12.07)

- d. k'oalen geen lekker eten meer in us.
I get no nice food more in house
K'en en geen unger.
I EN have no hunger.
'I don't buy nice things to eat any more. I am not hungry.'

(MV Heist dialect, 18.01.08)

- e. k'moeten t'z nie verwyten. K'en doet zelve nie
I must it not her reproach. I EN do it self not
'I can't reproach her (for not eating properly). I don't do it myself.'

(MV Heist dialect, 22.02..08)

3.3 East Flemish data

3.3.1. East Flemish corpus data

3.3.1.1. Buggenhout Opstal (De Pauw 1973)

Buggenhout Opstal: 2 transcribed recordings: 45 minutes

Opstal I: PV, male, °1907
RC, female, °1918.
Opstal II: CK, male, °1912,
FM, female, °1912.

(22): a Negation data Opstal I

Opstal I	niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	maar	total
-en	40	15	15	11	1	6	0	88
+en	6	0	0	1	0	1	0	8
total	46	15	15	12	1	7	0	96

(23): b Negation data Opstal II

Opstal II	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	total	maar
-en	38	18	5	2	1	4	68	0
+en	10	1	5	0	0	1	17	1
total	48	19	10	2	1	5	85	1

(24): The distribution of en according to main/subordinate clause

	Main total	En	Sub total	En	total	en
Opstal I	92	7	4	1	96	8
Opstal II	76	15 ⁷	12	5 ⁸	88	20
Totals	168	22	16	6	184	28

3.3.1.2. Ghent (Leemans 1966: 186-193): additional data⁹

(24) Gent dialect: Overall distribution of en (Leemans 1966: 186-193)

Gent	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	total	maar
-en	? ¹⁰	?	?	?	?	?	427	36
+en	34	0	10	5	1	1	52	1
total	?	?	?	?	?	?	479	37

3.3.1.3. The dialect of Geraardsbergen (Vergauts 1971: 194-207)

(25) a. Geraardsbergen dialect (Vergauts 1971: 194-201): Main clauses:

GB	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	total	maar
-en	155	14	27	13	12	9	230	2
+en	137	7	29	12	9	10	205	9
total	292	21	56	25	21	19	435	11

(25) b. Geraardsbergen dialect (Vergauts 1971: 201-203): sub clauses:

	Niet	niet X	geen N	n-word	NC	NS	total	maar
-en	14	1	1	0	0	0	16	2
+en	23	4	2	0	2	0	31	3
total	37	5	3	0	2	?	47	5

⁷ This includes 2 non-negative uses of *en*, cf. 3.3.2⁸ This includes 1 non-negative use of *en*, cf. 3.3.2⁹ For the Ghent dialect, Tavernier (1959: 245) reports the results of a questionnaire in which *en* was used in 5 out of 22 negative sentences.¹⁰ Our table reproduces Leemans's figures (1966: 186-193): she does not break down the negative sentences without *en*.

(25) c. Geraardsbergen dialect (Vergauts 1971: 204): totals¹¹:

GB	main	sub
+en	205 (47.1%)	31 (65.9 %)
-en	230	16
total	435	47

The much higher frequency of *en* in embedded clauses in this dialect (in the 1970s) confirms VdA&DV's (to appear) observation that the particle *en* remains more frequent in this context in southern East Flemish dialects. We leave this point for future study.

3.3.2 Uses of *en*

- *ten doet*:

- (26) S1: Au...da! Vijf^o onderd frang de kilo 'eeg 'et nu feitelijk niet geweest, nou!
oh ... there five hundred francs the kg has it now in.fact not been, now
S2: Da's wel waar!
that.is well true
S1: Ba ...t'en doet. t'welksten?
bah ... it EN does the which
S2: 't Rundvlees.
the beef
S1: Maar t'en doet. Vijf^o onderd frang nooit niet!
but it EN does five hundred francs never NEG
(Buggenhout Opstal II , De Pauw 1973: page 18)

- purely formal, non-negative uses of *en*:

Ghent dialect:

- (27) a. *maar*
ten is maar een kleintsje
It.EN is only a little-one
'it's only a little one' (Tavernier 1959 246)
- b. *comparative clauses*
i'kgoa 'tu zeggen gelakofda 't en-es
I.go it.you say like.if.that it EN is
'I'll tell it to you the way it is.'
ii ...gelijk dat 't nu tegenwoordig en is ewaar
... like that it now presently EN is, isn't it
'as it is nowadays' (Leemans 1966: 191)
iii Ge moet 't zegge gelijk of 't en is.

¹¹ In addition, there are also four instances of 'Stage I' *en doet/n* (three whose subject is 't ('it'), one with 'k ('I') as the subject).

- You must it say like if it EN is
'you must tell it the way it is' (Leemans 1966: 191)
- c. *before-clause*
Zie dadier wig zat veur dat a op u kappe en-komt
see that.you here away are before that he on you hood EN comes
'Clear out before he gets you.' (Tavernier 1959: 247)
- d. *conditional clause*
en aa't slecht weer en is
and if it bad weather EN is
'and it the weather is bad' (Leemans 1966: 191)
- e. *exceptive construction, complement of exceptive construction*
(≈negative conditional)
ten ware da me tuiz en bleve
it.EN were.SUBJN that we home EN stayed
'Unless we stayed at home'
(Tavernier 1959: 246-7)

Opstal II extracts :

- (28) *conditional clause*
'Gij zijt zeker enen dat achter ne velo komt?' zeet en tege mij.
'You must have come to fetch a bicycle,' said he to me
K Zeg: 'Ja vriend.'
I say: 'Yes, my friend.'
'E wel jong, nog twee zijn der,' zeet en,
Well, boy, there are two left, said he
'die nieuwen en nog een van die ander' zeet en.
The new one and one of the other, said he
'Maar m'emmen ene moeten afgeven, 'e,
But we have had to give in one
maar, e geluk da me z'alle drie nie kwijt en zijn, 'e! zeet en.¹²
But it's lucky that we have not lost all three, said he
'k zeg: 'ja', 'k zeg: 'aster den nieuwen maar en is',¹³
I say, 'yes', I say: 'if there the new one but EN is
'I said: 'yes', I said. 'As long as the new one is still there,
'kzeg, 'dan ben ekik al gered.'
I say, 'then I am saved'.
(Buggenhout Opstal II , De Pauw 1973: 5)

- expressive function of *en* in negative sentences:

- (29) daarmee kwamp ik daar in Zele.
'Then I arrived in Zele.'
En daar roepe z'achter mij(n) gat: 'Staan blijven!'
'And there they called behind my back: Stop!'

¹² The exclamation mark suggests an emphasis.

¹³ A similar use is reported for the Ghent dialect in Tavernier (1959: 247):

- (i) Dasse nu toch moar **en** kost kome
That-she now still *maar* EN could come
'If only she could come'

'Maar ik en bleef nie staan, ik zijn voorts gere(d)en.

But I EN remained not stand, I am further ridden

'But I did not stop, I rode on.'

'k Wist ekik da wel dat da Duitse waren, dat achter mij riepen, maar 'k ben voortsgere(d)en.

I knew that those were the Germans who called but I rode on.'

(Buggenhout Opstal II, De Pauw 1973:8)

- (30) Daar achter nen velomaker gaan beginnen te zoeken.

Looking for a bicycle repairer there.

Mijnen eersten, pf..., die kost mij nie gerieven.

My First one: he couldn't help me

A ja, da's da was afgebroken 'e/ ...

Well, yes, that's broken of, isn't it

Mar 'ij kost mij niet gerieven, allee.

But he couldn't help me

'K Zeg: maar 'oe is 't nu mogelijk allee, 'k zeg, voor ne velomaker!

I say: 'but how is that possible, I say, you are a bicycle repairer.

– A ja, kom. Allee, 't en kost nie zijn: 'ij kost mij nie bestellen.

Well, yes, that's it. It EN could not be, he could not help me.

(Buggenhout Opstal II, De Pauw 1973:6)

- (31) a. LH: Ik wil niet op uw handen kijken

I want NEG on your hands look

'I don't want to sit and watch while you work'

- b. ?? K'en ee kik do geen last van

I EN have there no bother of

'It wouldn't bother me at all'

(native speaker from Deinze, in his 50s, p.c. 08.01.2008)

- observe: emphasis does not impose use of *en*.

- (32) Enne... ze zee tege mij: 'wat erre gij daar gezeet?'

And she said to me: what have you said?

'Ik iet(s) gezeet? ... 'k em ekik niks gezeet'

Me, say something? I have not said anything.

'Da's wel! G'eet daar iet gezeet;'

You did, you said something.

'Ik 'em niks gezeet', zei'k ...

... 'As ge zegt da g'et gezeet 'et dane...dan moogde naar 'uis gaan;'

...'If you tell me what you have said, then you can go home.'

'A, 'k en moen ekik da niet zeggen, wane ik 'em 'et nie gezeet', zei ik

Ah, I EN must I that not say, because I have it not said.' I said

'I don't have to tell you what I said, because I did not say anything.'

(Buggenhout Opstal I, De Pauw 1973: 13)

3.4. Anecdotal evidence from the 'Tussentaal' (cf. De Caluwe 2002, 2007)

- expressive function of *en* in negative sentences:

- (33) ik **en** kan geen tweede keer weer
I EN can no second time again
(Source: GPV , Lebbe, De Caluwe 2007: 4)
[De Caluwe (2007: 4)]
- (34) a. Goedkoop en is't nie, maar ge hebt kwaliteit
Cheap EN is it not, but you get quality (about wine)
(HDP, 15.11.07 about wine)
- b. Ge kunt niet accepteren dat er in de officiële vergaderingen op Vlaams
grondgebied Frans gepraat wordt. Dat en gaat nie.
You cannot accept that in the official meetings on Flemish Territory French
talked is. That EN goes not
'One cannot tolerate that French is being used in official meetings on Flemish
territory. That just won't do.'
(HDP, 16.11.07 comment on TV programme)
- c. Ge kunt toch nie verwachten dat de mensen 110 jaar worden en op 55 op
pensioen gaan.
You cannot expect that people live till 110 years old and retire at 55.
Dat en gaat niet.
That EN goes not
That won't do
(HDP, 25.11.07 , 10.05 a.m)
- d. Ik heb dat ook nog gedaan. Maar als z'u duidelijk zeggen: Dat en mag niet'...
I have that also still done. But when they you clearly say: that EN may
not
'I used to do that too. But when they clearly tell you: 'You should not do that'
(HDP, 27.01.08 comment on official reimbursement policies)
- e. Ik zeg aan DB (name omitted):
I say to DB
G'hebt nu te kiezen of te delen, maar dat en kan niet.
You have now to chose or to share, but that EN cannot
'You have to make a decision, but that is not possible'
(HDP, 07.02.08, discussing different deployment of personnel)
- f. HDP: Der staan er daar in die nen interessante job hebben,
there stand some there in who an interesting job have
dat ge denkt, dat moet toch wat zijn:
that you think, that must indeed something be
Hun netto inkomen is... 1500 euro '
Their net income is...1500 euros
'You find people there who have an interesting job, you think: they must
have decent pay, their net income is... 1500 euros.'
- LH: [simultaneous]: 1500 euro
1500 euros

HDP: 'Da kan toch niet? dat en kan toch niet?'
 That can *toch* not, that EN can *toch* not
 'That cannot be right, that cannot be right, can it?'
 (HDP, 10.02.08, discussing salary scales)

4 Analysis

4.1 . The syntax of polarity and emphasis

4.1.1. Bipartite negation is affective polarity + negation

“C'est l'**ensemble du discordantiel et du forclusif** qui constitue la négation française. [...] Le discordantiel ne forme pas à lui seul la négation. Il la **prépare** seulement. Et c'est ensuite le forclusif qui la réalise. [...] [L]e français [...] *décroche d'abord sa pensée de la notion affirmative*, puis il la raccroche à la notion négative, ce qui lui permet de nuancer le degré de la négation. *C'est le discordantiel qui opère le décrochage*, tandis que le forclusif exprime le **raccrochage**.”

Tesnière (1959: 224f)

- (35) a. Les derniers sondages **ne** laissent guère d'espoir à Ségolène Royal
 the last surveys NE leave hardly of.hope to S. R.
 'The last surveys leave hardly any hope for S.R.'
 (La Tribune 06/05/2007)
- b. Je crains qu'il **ne** soit trop tard.
 I fear that.it NE be.SUBJN too late
 'I am afraid that is is too late'

Breitbarth (2007): preverbal *ne/en/n* in the history of the West Germanic languages is a lexicalisation of a functional head encoding affective polarity at stage II of Jespersen's cycle, i.e., when 'bipartite' constructions are found.

Haegeman (2001, 2002) and Haegeman and Lohndahl (in prep) West Flemish *en*: polarity head

4.1.2. The syntax of polarity

- (36) a. PolP/ Σ P > TP
 Laka 1990; 1994, Culicover 1991, Progovac 1994, Zanuttini 1997, Martins 1998, Kato 2000, etc.
- b. NegP>TP
 Van Kemenade 1998, 2000, Lindstad 2006, Ingham 2007 etc
- c. For multiple NegPs see also Zanuttini 1997, Poletto 2007 (see also below)

4.1.3. The syntactic representation of emphasis: the role of C

4.1.3.1. Some proposals in the literature

Hungarian (Lipták (2003) : *igenis* ('yes also') used for the expression of contradictory sentential emphasis (reported in Van Craenenbroeck 2004: 168)

Hernanz (2007: 143, her (20)) Spanish emphatic *bien* and *si* :

- (43) a *Sí* [+Affirmative, + Emphatic]
 b *bien* [+Affirmative, + Emphatic, + Presuppositional]

- (44) [_{ForceP} ... [_{FocP} *bien/sí* [_{PolP} *t_i* [_{IP} ...]]]] (based on Hernanz 2007 : 152 : her (47))

The movement of *bien/sí* to FocP is triggered by the feature [+Emphatic] on *bien/si*.

Holmberg (2007): Finnish:

- (45) a On Joni ranskaa puhunut.
 Has John French spoken
 ‘John has (indeed) spoken French.
 b CP_{polloc} > TopP > PolP > TP > vP¹⁵,

Derivation (partial):

- (46) c [_{TP} [_T on] [_{PrCP} puhu+ nut [_{VP} Joni ~~puhu~~ ranskaa]]] → vP to TopP
 d [_{TopP} [_{VP} Joni ~~puhu~~ ranskaa]
 [_{PolP} on [_{TP} [_T ~~on~~] [_{PrCP} puhu+ nut [_{VP} ~~Joni puhu ranskaa~~]]]]]
 → on to C_{polloc}
 e [_{CP}_{polloc} [_C on] [_{TopP} [_{VP} Joni ~~puhu~~ ranskaa] [_{PolP} ~~on~~ [_{TP} [_T ~~on~~] [_{PrCP} puhu+ nut [_{VP} ~~Joni~~
~~puhu ranskaa~~]]]]]]]

4.1.3.2. Flemish *en* and emphatic polarity

- (47) *En* in Flemish dialects
 Spells out Pol [+fin+aff+emph]
en : [+aff(ective)], [+emph(atic)].
- (48) [_{CP/PolP} C/Pol [+fin+aff (+emph)] [... [_T (*en* [+aff+emph])-V[+fin] ...] *niet* [+neg] ...]

4.2 Continuity is change

- (49) a. *Old system* (OHG, OE, OLF/ODu):
 Pol/C [+aff] Neg
 Ø *ni/ne*
- b. *intermediate system* (MHG, ME, MDu)
 Pol/C [+aff] Neg
ne/en niht/niet/not
- c. *further development* (Flemish dialects)
 Pol/C [+aff, +emph] Neg
en/Ø nie(t)/ne meer

- (50) *Alternative Realisation*

A syntactic feature F canonically associated in UG with category B can be alternatively realised in a closed class grammatical morpheme under X⁰, provided X⁰ is the lexical head of a sister of B.

(Emonds 1987 : 615 (4), 2000: Def. 4.20)

¹⁵ Holmberg (2003) assumes, like Martins, but with different labels, the order C > Pol. The full hierarchy of functional heads is: C > Pol > T(M) > Asp > Prt > Voice > V (Lindstad (2006: 68 (14))

- (51) *stage I → stage II in Middle Dutch*
 [CP/PolP C/Pol [+fin+aff] [... [VP ...] [T *ne* [+neg]-V[+fin]]] →
 [CP/PolP C/Pol [+fin+aff] [... *niet* [+neg] [VP ...] [T *ne* [+aff]-V[+fin]]]¹⁶
- (52) *the further step in the Flemish dialects:*¹⁷
 [CP/PolP C/Pol [+fin+aff] [... *niet* [+neg] ... [T *ne* [+aff]-V[+fin] ...]] →
 [CP/PolP C/Pol [+fin+aff (+emph)] [... *niet* [+neg] ... [T (*en* [+aff+emph])-V[+fin] ...]]

5. Summary

- asymmetric view on stage II of Jespersen's Cycle in West Germanic: preverbal marker expresses affective polarity, not negation;
- evidence: (a) availability in non-negative affective contexts, (b) behaviour of pre- and postverbal marker w.r.t. n-indefinites;
- most West Germanic varieties have lost the preverbal marker.
- Modern Flemish dialects have maintained a(n optional) preverbal marker, WHY?
 - uses in non-negative affective contexts → *en* is (at least) a marker of affective polarity.
 - uses in emphatic contradiction → *en* has a new (w.r.t. to its older West Germanic cognates) emphatic function.
- the acquisition of this new function ensures the relative stability of *en*, it is even preserved into the emerging *tussentaal* in Flanders.

Data

[Buggenhout Opstal] De Pauw, Godelieve (1973). *Syntaktische kenmerken van het dialect van Buggenhout-Opstal*. Licentieverhandeling Universiteit Gent.

[Moerkerke] Transcript of recording Ghent University, Department of Dutch linguistics.

[Dudzele] Transcript of recording Ghent University, Department of Dutch linguistics.

[Gent] Transcript of recording Ghent University, Department of Dutch linguistics

[Geraardsbergen] Transcript of recording Ghent University, Department of Dutch linguistics

Informants:

[Heist] Marleen Vandenberghe, p.c. 55 years old

[Opstal, tussentaal] Hedwig De Pauw, p.c. 55 years old

[Deinze] (mechanic, p.c.) male in his 50s.

¹⁶ For expository reasons we will assume a head final structure, with V moving to T. Obviously this would have to be revised in a Kaynean antisymmetric proposal. See for instance Haegeman (2001, 2002) and Biberauer and Roberts (2005) for different implementations. The issue of the derivation of OV orders in Germanic is beyond the scope of our paper.

¹⁷ We underline that (+emph) is not a general feature of negative sentences, so that *en* is not always present.

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