

## PREPUBLICATION PAPER

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The final version of this paper will be published in *Language and Beyond: A Festschrift for Hiroshi Yonekura on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Shizuya Tara, Mayumi Sawada, and Larry Walker (forthcoming, 2006). There will be change in pagination and some minor alterations in the final version.

## **Decline of Some Middle English Features of Negation in the Fifteenth Century: A Study of *The Paston Letters***

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### **1. Introduction**

The fifteenth century is an interesting period in terms of the development of English negation, although it is relatively under-researched.<sup>1</sup> Whereas some constructions typical of Middle English negation reveal a significant recession towards the end of the fourteenth century, they can still be observed throughout the fifteenth century. The negative adverb *ne*, for example, undergoes a sharp decline after 1400 (Jack 1978: 59; Kisbye 1971-72, I: 195), but it is still attested in the fifteenth century, although significantly marginalized (Jespersen 1917: 9; Jespersen 1940: 427; Carstensen 1959: 288-92; Iyeiri 2001: 20-35). Multiple negation, i.e. heaping up of negative items in a single clause without cancelling out the negative sense, is another phenomenon to be noted. Whereas recent studies on negation demonstrate that much recession of multiple negation takes place in later Middle English, it is still encountered to some extent in the fifteenth century (see Iyeiri 1998: 121-26; Iyeiri 2001: 127-55; Mazzon 2004: 62-63). As a matter of fact, the fifteenth century is a period of transition, in which the demise of the older system leads to the introduction of the newer system of negation. The aim of the present paper is to describe and to analyse this “finalizing” stage of Middle English negation, by observing the decline of the negative adverb *ne* and the decline of multiple negation. This paper will also discuss the decrease of so-called *no*-negation (i.e. negation with *never*, *no*, *neither*, etc.<sup>2</sup>) and the increase of *not*-negation (i.e. negation

with the negative adverb *not*) in the fifteenth century, in view of Tottie's (1991: 235) statement that English negative constructions shift from the former to the latter, and that the former is more frequent in Middle English. For these purposes, I will investigate the letters and documents written by the Paston family from Norfolk. Whereas Ukaji (2006) discusses the use of the negative adverb *ne* in *The Paston Letters and Papers*, the present paper covers other aspects of negation.

As the table below shows, the letters and papers I will investigate go back to various different dates of the fifteenth century. In general, the language used in the letters is "colloquial in the sense that it is easy and unaffected" (Davis 1983: xxii).<sup>3</sup>

Table 1. The letters and papers I have investigated

	Date of birth <sup>4</sup>	Investigated letters and papers
William Paston I	1378	letters and papers, 1425-1444
Agnes Paston	around 1400-05	letters and papers, 1440-1479
John Paston I	1421	letters and papers, 1444-1465
William Paston II	1436	letters and papers, 1452-1496
Clement Paston	1442	letters, 1461-1466
Elizabeth Poyning or Brown	1429	letters and a will, 1459-1487
Margaret Paston	around 1420-25	letters and papers, 1441-1482
John Paston II	1442	letters and papers, 1461-1479
John Paston III	1444	letters and papers, 1461-1485
Edmond Paston II	around 1450	letters and papers, 1471-1492
William Paston III	1436	letters, 1478-1492
Margery Paston	around 1455	letters, 1477-1489

I have excluded the family members who have left far less than 2,500 words. Those whose letters were edited by Davis (1971) in his first volume but who have been excluded from the present analysis are: Edmond I, Walter, and William IV. Otherwise, I have analysed all the letters and papers in Table 1 edited by Davis (1971) in his first volume with the exception of texts written in Latin and inventories, which are essentially a list of items.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. The adverb *ne*

As I mentioned above in the Introduction, the use of the adverb *ne* is among the features which are typical of Middle English negation and which display recession in the fifteenth century. As a matter of fact, the same negative item shows the "final" stage of its recession in *The Paston Letters*. In the letters I have investigated, there are 2,569 examples of negative clauses, of which only 13 (0.5%) show the employment of the

negative adverb *ne*. Of the twelve family members investigated in the present paper, it is only William I, John I, and William III that provide examples of it, as the table below shows:

Table 2. Negative clauses with the adverb *ne* in *The Paston Letters*

William I	4 examples (12.5 % of the total of negative clauses)
John I	8 examples (4.6% of the total of negative clauses)
William III	1 example (1.6% of the total of negative clauses)

The above table reveals that there is a fairly clear gap in terms of the frequency of the negative adverb *ne* after the letters by William I. In fact, the eight examples of the adverb *ne* in the letters of John I include three duplicated examples in three different versions of the same letter. If we count them only once rather than three times, the number of the examples of the adverb *ne* in John I would be even smaller. In other words, the gap after William I would be even greater. Furthermore, the single example found in the letters of William III may not be his own. Ukaji (2006: 38) is careful enough to note that it occurs in a copy of a letter written by the king. I am uncertain as to how the copying process was, but it is a reasonable conjecture that the adverb *ne* here was used by the king in his original writing. All in all, there is a significant fall in the use of the negative adverb *ne* by at least the middle of the fifteenth century. In the later part of the century, its use is extremely limited.

The state of *The Paston Letters* is more or less consistent with the situation of some other Middle English prose texts I have analysed. See the following table:

Table 3. The use of the adverb *ne* in some Middle English prose texts in the fifteenth century<sup>6</sup>

Richard Rolle (Northern)	3 examples (1.4% of the total of negative clauses)
Mandeville (Hertfords)	28 examples (11.0% of the total of negative clauses)
Capgreve (Norfolk)	No examples
Caxton, <i>Fox</i> (London)	4 examples (0.6% of the total of negative clause)
Caxton, <i>Paris</i> (London)	3 examples (0.8% of the total of negative clauses)

The first two texts in Table 3 belong to the earlier half of the fifteenth century, while the latter three texts belong to the later part (see Iyeiri 2001: 16-20). Apparently, there is a fairly clear gap after Mandeville. The use of the negative adverb *ne* is relatively limited in the text of Richard Rolle for its early date indeed, but this is most probably due to its origin in the North, where negative constructions were more progressive than in areas further south (Iyeiri 2001: 25-26). In any case, it is clear that the adverb *ne* is very close to extinction in the late fifteenth century, while it is to some extent preserved in the

earlier half of the century.

The gap between the letters of William I and those of John I is even clearer when the examples of *ne* in their letters are scrutinized in detail. The four examples of *ne* in the letters of William I are all accompanied by the negative adverb *not* as illustrated below (see (1) to (4)), while those in the letters of John I are more frequently attested alone:

- (1) wherefore þe seyde William, hese clerkes, and seruauntz *ne* durst *not* at here fredom nothyr goon ne ryde (William I, 9/34-36)
- (2) ne þat þe seyde William *ne* is *not* satisfied of þe seyde cxx li. ne no peny þer-of (William I, 11/134-35)<sup>7</sup>
- (3) wherefore þe seyde William nothyr hese frendes ne hese seruauntz in hys companye at here fredam sithen þe seyde parlement at Leycestre durst not, ne yet *ne* dar *not*, rydyn ne goo abowte swyche occupacion as he arn vsed and disposed, to here grete and importable drede and vexacion in here spirites and gret harme and damage and losse of here pouere goodes  
(William I, 11/146-12/151)
- (4) and þat þe seid John Roys *ne* kept *not* his dayes of þe payementz, &c.  
(William I, 15/11-12)<sup>8</sup>.

As I argue in Iyeiri (2001: 23-26), the form *ne* alone lingers longer than the form *ne ... not* in later Middle English, and this is partly due to the fact that there are some syntactic contexts which particularly favour the use of *ne* alone (see Iyeiri 2001: 69-125).<sup>9</sup> In fact, the eight examples of the negative adverb *ne* in the letters of John I include six examples of *ne* alone (rather than *ne ... not*), all of which illustrate conditional clauses, as in:

- (5) and there and than the seid felechep wold have kelled the seid two seruauntis at the prestis bakke *ne* had they be lettyd, as it semed  
(John I, 59/15-17)
- (6) *ne* had be that dayly this x days it hath be do us to wete that his Highnesse shuld come in-to Norwyche or Claxton (John I, 65/25-27)

(7) and than and there wold haue kyllyd the sayd Herry and Thomas atte  
the prestys bakke, *ne* had they be lettyd (John I, 78/111-13)

(8) *ne* had be your gode lordshep and wrytyng to here and me  
(John Paston I, 81/12-13).

Conditional clauses are inclined to yield the negative adverb *ne* alone throughout the Middle English period (Iyeiri 2001: 74-81). This perhaps explains why *ne* is kept in the letters of John I, where the same item is almost on the verge of extinction otherwise. Furthermore, all the verbs involved in the six conditional clauses are forms of *have*. The use of *ne had ...* may have been a fairly fixed phrasing for John I,<sup>10</sup> as Ukaji (2006: 39-40) points out about *The Paston Letters* in general. Apart from these particular cases, the use of the negative adverb *ne* itself is very much marginalized in the later part of the fifteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Presumably, the exceptionally conservative feature of William I is related to his early date of birth. Note that William I is the only member born in the fourteenth century, i.e. 1378. Incidentally, Moerenhout and van der Wurff (2000) investigate the frequencies of the object-verb word order in the letters of the Paston family, and their results also demonstrate that William I is exceptionally conservative. See Moerenhout and van der Wurff (2000: 516).

### 3. Multiple negation

Multiple negation also merits attention. As I argue in Iyeiri (2001: 128-33), there is a significant fall in the frequency of multiple negation by the beginning of the fifteenth century, and its frequencies are stable with proportions of around 20% or less throughout the century.<sup>12</sup> This general description largely applies to *The Paston Letters*, with the exception of the letters by William I, where around 60% of the negative clauses provide two negative items or more, as Table 4 reveals. Here I take the widest definition of multiple negation and refer to cases where two or more negatives occur in a single clause without cancelling out the negative sense:

Table 4. The proportions of multiple negation to the totals of negative clauses

	Multiple negation	Totals of negative clauses	Proportions to the totals of negative clauses
William I	19	32	59.4%
Agnes	5	65	7.7%
John I	49	292	16.8%
William II	18	122	14.8%
Clement	10	51	19.6%
Elizabeth	1	10	10.0%
Margaret	168	830	20.2%
John II	92	545	16.9%
John III	79	490	16.1%
Edmond II	2	31	6.5%
William III	7	61	11.5%
Margery	6	40	15.0%

Examples include:

- (9) and the shyrf sayd playnly that he wolnot *nor* derst *not* serue it, ...  
(Margaret, 306/4-5)
- (10) *No* man can get *no* leue for to go home but if they stell a-wey, and if they myth be knowe they schud be scharply ponyshyd (John III, 524/25-27)
- (11) And I besech èowe þat this bill be *not* seyn of *non* erthely creature safe only èour-selfe, &c. (Margery, 663/21-22).

Clearly, the frequencies of multiple negation are stable in a marginalized way from Agnes onwards, and its occurrence is especially restricted in Edmond II (6.5%). By contrast, the linguistic situation of the letters by William I is notably different. The phenomenon under consideration is not at all marginalized in his letters: nearly 60% of negative clauses include more than one negative item and the negative sense is not cancelled out.

One interesting point about multiple negation in William I is his relatively frequent employment of the type of (10) and (11) above, i.e. multiple negation with various combinations of *not*, *never*, *no(n)*, *neither*, etc.<sup>13</sup> (with or without the additional involvement of *ne* and/or *nor*). In (10) above, for instance, the negative item *no* occurs twice, whereas in (11), *not* is combined with another negative in the list, i.e. *non*. This

type of multiple negation was increasingly limited towards the end of the Middle English period, and became very rare by the time of the early Modern English period, where most examples of multiple negation came to illustrate double negation with *ne* or *nor* plus another negative item (see Iyeiri 1995: 74-78; Iyeiri 2002: 127-31). See Figure 1 below:

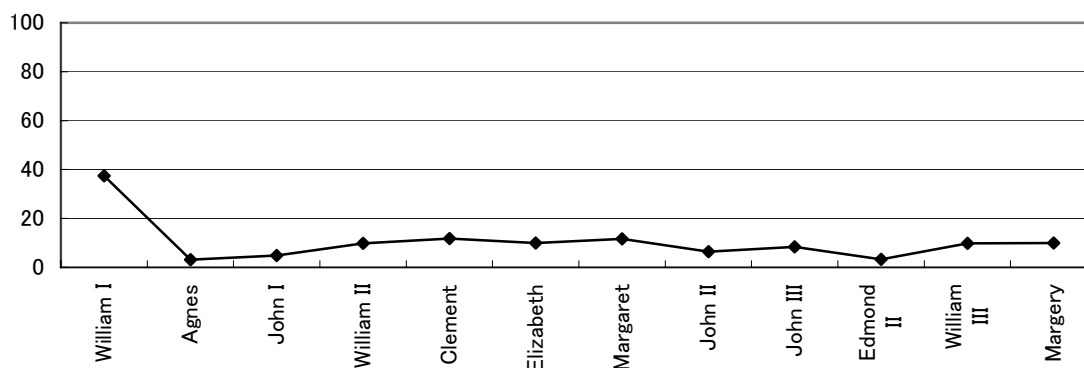


Figure 1. Multiple negation with *not*, *never*, *no(n)*, *neither*, etc. repeated (per 100 negative clauses)

Multiple negation of this type in the letters of William I almost reaches the level of 40 times per 100 negative clauses, which is an exceptionally large proportion when contrasted with the cases of the other family members in this graph. In this respect, William I's language is significantly more archaic than that of the others. In fact, the frequency of this type of multiple negation as observed in his letters is rather exceptional, even when contrasted with some earlier Middle English texts. I have investigated 40 Middle English texts and found that multiple negation of this type hardly exceeds the frequency of 20 times per 100 negative clauses throughout the Middle English period (see Iyeiri 2001: 142-44). This feature of William I may be related to the frequent occurring of *never*, *no*, *neither*, etc. themselves in his letters, the matter of which will be discussed in Section 4 below.

Before closing Section 3, I would like to present further detailed analyses of Margaret's letters, which come from different dates within the range of more than 40 years and which are written in various different hands (cf. Davis 1954-55: 121; Davis 1971: xxxvii-xxxix). The language of the letters by Margaret can therefore be a mixture of different stages of the development of negation, or at least, can display different linguistic features. As far as multiple negation is concerned, however, discrepancies among different letters by Margaret are not noticeable. The following table shows the

frequencies of multiple negation in her letters of earlier dates (Nos. 124-187) and of later dates (Nos. 188-230):

Table 5. The proportions of multiple negation (all types) in the letters of Margaret

	Multiple negation	Totals of negative clauses	Proportions to the totals of negative clauses
Margaret (earlier)	93	455	20.4%
Margaret (later)	75	375	20.0%

Multiple negation in the selected letters of the Paston family fluctuates within the range of 6% to 21% when William I is excluded (see Table 4 above again). Within this range, Margaret's language gives the highest frequency. This conservative feature of her letters most probably reflects her own linguistic behaviour, judging from the consistency between her earlier letters and later ones. I do not necessarily assert that the amanuenses had no influence on the language of her letters, but simply surmise that their influence is attested minimally as far as negation in Margaret's letters is concerned. In fact, Davis (1972) investigates the auxiliary *do* in Margaret's letters and maintains that the use of the same item in them most likely reflects her own linguistic behaviour. See also Moerenhout and van der Wurff (2000: 514), who argue that in regard to the female letters of the Paston family "the amanuenses had little influence on matters like sentence construction and choice of words".

#### 4. *No-negation* vs. *not-negation*

The final point I would like to discuss is the decrease of so-called *no-negation* (and the increase of *not-negation*) in the fifteenth century. As mentioned in the Introduction, Tottie (1991: 235) maintains that English negative constructions shift from *no-negation* (with *never*, *no*, *neither*, etc.)<sup>14</sup> to *not-negation* (with the negative adverb *not*) in the history of English. She also asserts that the former is most frequent in Middle English. Thus, the point to be discussed in the present section is how frequently *no-negation* occurs in the letters of the Paston family and how it decreases in the fifteenth century. In contrast to the negative adverb *ne* (Section 2 above) and multiple negation (Section 3 above), both of which experience the ultimate demise in Standard English, *no-negation* never disappears in the course of the history of the English language, although it decreases. This is, therefore, simply a matter of frequency.

The letters of the Paston family present examples of *no-negation* as well as those of *not-negation*. In the following, the first illustrates the former while the second

the latter:

(12) I pray èow excwse me to here þat I wryte here *no* letter, fore thys was y-now a-doo (Clement, 198/33-34)

(13) And yf it please èowe to here of my welefare, I am *not* in good heele of body ner of herte, nor schall be tyll I here from yowe (Margery, 662/4-5).

Due to lack of research into this issue, it is difficult to tell if *no*-negation was indeed in the majority in Middle English.<sup>15</sup> From the account in my previous research (Iyeiri 2001: 31-35), one can surmise that 40% to 60% of negative clauses illustrate *no*-negation in Middle English but the same account does not necessarily support the chronological decrease of the same type of negation. This is, however, most probably due to the fact that the fifteenth-century material in my previous research was not very substantial. In fact, the data of the present study demonstrate that there is indeed a decrease in the use of *no*-negation in the course of the fifteenth century, as displayed below in Table 6:

Table 6. Proportions of *no*-negation in *The Paston Letters*<sup>16</sup>

	Proportions <i>no</i> -negation to the totals of negative clauses
William I	56.3%
Agnes	46.2%
John I	39.4%
William II	41.0%
Clement	43.1%
Elizabeth	40.0%
Margaret	47.7%
John II	34.7%
John III	42.2%
Edmond II	16.1%
William III	37.7%
Margery	45.0%

Here again, there is a fairly clear gap after the letters of William I, where *no*-negation predominates with the proportion of 56.3%. In the other letters of the Paston family, the use of *not*-negation is more frequent, with the extreme case of the letters of Edmond II, where *no*-negation is marginalized to a noticeable extent (16.1%). (Edmond II is the most progressive in respect of multiple negation, too. See Section 3 above.) Thus, this aspect of negation also proves that William I's language shows an earlier stage than the

language of the other family members.<sup>17</sup>

As in the case of multiple negation, Margaret's data are more or less consistent, when viewed chronologically. The following table provides the proportions of *no*-negation in her letters of earlier dates (Nos. 124-187) and of later dates (Nos. 188-230):

Table 7. The proportions of *no*-negation in the letters of Margaret

Proportions to the totals of negative clauses	
Margaret (earlier)	48.8%
Margaret (later)	46.4%

Despite the existence of various hands involved in the drafting of her letters, they seem to be more or less consistent in their relatively frequent employment of *no*-negation. Furthermore, with the single exception of William I, who displays older features of negation in general than the other family members, Margaret's letters (both earlier and later) present the most frequent use of *no*-negation. Margaret's letters are again more conservative in their language than other contemporary members.

## 5. Conclusion

The present paper has so far discussed three aspects of English negation in the fifteenth century: the negative adverb *ne*, multiple negation, and *no*-negation (as opposed to *not*-negation). All these features are considered to characterize Middle English but to decrease towards the end of the Middle English period. The present research has demonstrated that there is a fairly noticeable and significant drop of these forms of negation by the earlier parts of the fifteenth century, which makes the letters of William I, whose date of birth is the earliest, unique in contradistinction to the letters of the other family members. The adverb *ne*, for instance, is absent in most Paston letters with the exception of William I, John I, and William III. It is most frequent in the letters of William I, while William III gives only a single and dubious example. John I presents eight examples of the negative adverb *ne*, which however are mostly confined to particular syntactic contexts which favour the use of the same negative item. Thus, the negative adverb *ne* is almost close to extinction after William I. Similarly, multiple negation declines in later Middle English. Here again, it is found in about 60% of the negative clauses of William I, while the other letters of the Paston family preserve multiple negation only at the level of around 20% or less. The data are consistent with the data of some other contemporary prose texts as discussed above. Finally, the present

paper studied the decrease of *no*-negation, which again reveals a fairly clear gap after William I. He preserves *no*-negation much more extensively than the other family members. Apart from William I, Margaret is the most conservative in her use of language.

All in all, the fifteenth century is an interesting period in terms of the development of English negative constructions. Whilst the present paper has focused upon the decline of some Middle English features in the fifteenth century, it is also a period when the newer system of negation becomes outstanding. In fact, the demise of the negative adverb *ne* signifies the establishment of the newer negative adverb *not*, and perhaps a subsequent development of the auxiliary *do* (cf. Jespersen 1940: 429).<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the decline of multiple negation equals the increase of single negation. Finally, the decrease of *no*-negation means the increase of *not*-negation. The language of the Paston family clearly elucidates this chronological shift and the interchange between the older and the newer systems of negation in English.

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<sup>1</sup> Ukaji's (2006) paper on the negative adverb *ne* in *The Paston Letters* was published, when the editors of this volume were handling and editing the present paper. Apart from Ukaji (2006), one can find Tieken's (1995) work entitled *The Two Versions of Malory's Morte Darthur: Multiple Negation and the Editing of the Text* and a series of papers published by Nakao (e.g. 1987, 1993, 2004), who also investigates negation in Malory.

<sup>2</sup> Compounds of *never* and *no(n)* are included here, e.g. *never more, nowhere, nothing*. Although Tottie's (1991: 8) definition of *no*-negation includes *nor*, I will ignore the existence of the same item (and the conjunction *ne* 'nor') in the present study. This is due to the fact that the conjunction *ne* 'nor' / *nor* freely occurs along with *not* in Middle English. Throughout the present paper, spelling variants are all included under the representative forms.

<sup>3</sup> See also Davis (1954-55: 119; 1958: xiv).

<sup>4</sup> For the dates of birth of the Paston family, I have relied upon the accounts by Davis (1971: liii-lxxiv) and Moerenhout and van der Wurff (2000: 516).

<sup>5</sup> This applies to John II, whose letters alone are discussed in Iyeiri (2001). The inconsistencies of figures between Iyeiri (2001) and the present paper are, therefore, due to the additional analysis of legal documents in the present paper, which are excluded from the investigation of Iyeiri (2001).

<sup>6</sup> Richard Rolle = *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole* (Lincoln Cathedral Library, Thornton A.1.17), ed. G. G. Perry, revised edition, EETS o.s. 20 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921). Mandeville = *Mandeville's Travels* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus C.xvi), ed. P. Hamelius, EETS o.s. 153 (London: Oxford University Press, 1916). Capgrave = *John Capgrave's Abbreviation of Chronicles* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Gg 4.12), ed. P. J. Lucas, EETS o.s. 285 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983). Caxton, *Fox* = *The History of Reynard*

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*the Fox*, ed. N. F. Blake, EETS o.s. 263 (London: Oxford University Press, 1970). Caxton, *Paris = Paris and Vienne Translated from the French and Printed by William Caxton*, ed. M. Leach, EETS o.s. 234 (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

<sup>7</sup> This example of *ne* is found in the interlineation *ne is not satisfied*.

<sup>8</sup> This example is an exception to Ukaji's (2006) argument that *ne ... not* always occurs with auxiliary verbs. I do not discuss the issue of the types of the finite verb here, partly because examples of the adverb *ne* are too infrequent, and partly because I take the view that chronological and syntactic conditions are stronger in the case of *The Paston Letters*.

<sup>9</sup> Jespersen (1917: 9-11) describes the development of English negative constructions in the following five stages: (1) *ic ne secge* [ne] → (2) *I ne seye not* [ne ... not] → (3) *I say not* [not] → (4) *I do not say* [do not] → (5) *I don't say* [don't]. This gives the impression that one construction develops into another. In fact, however, Middle English gives (1) to (3) at the same time and even (4) to some extent. Moreover, in later Middle English, the form *ne ... not* (i.e. (2) above) tends to be more restricted in use than *ne* alone (i.e. (1) above) as I mention in Iyeiri (2001: 23-26).

<sup>10</sup> Jack (1978: 64) points to a noticeable occurrence of the negative adverb *ne* rather than *not* in conditional clauses with the inverted word order in some post-1400 prose texts.

<sup>11</sup> One of the examples of *ne ... not* in John I shows *nil*, a contracted form of *ne* and *will*: *ner I nil not begine þat exsample ne thralldam of gentilmen ner of othir* (John I, 135/45-46). The issue of contraction may be relevant to the preservation of the negative adverb *ne* in this example, although one cannot prove this due to lack of evidence.

<sup>12</sup> As I mention in Iyeiri (2001: 155), "much of the declining process of multiple negation, in fact, takes place during the M[iddle] E[nglish] period". Although this is increasingly agreed upon in recent studies, views on much later recession of multiple negation are still persistent. Martínez (2003: 478) refers to four historical linguists and says that they "agree on the fact that multiple negation started to decline during the seventeenth century and eventually became non-standard", while he also refers to Rissanen (2000: 125), who shows how double negation was avoided in legal texts in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

<sup>13</sup> Compounds of *never* and *no(n)* are included here, e.g. *never more*, *nowhere*, *nothing*. See also Note 2 above.

<sup>14</sup> Negative clauses with the conjunction *ne* 'nor'/*nor* alone belong neither to *no*-negation nor *not*-negation in my definition of the two types of negation, as I ignore the same negative item, which freely occurs both with *not*-negation and *no*-negation in Middle English. See also Note 2 above.

<sup>15</sup> Tottie's (1991: 235) account of the dominant use of *no*-negation in Middle English comes from her conjecture based upon Mitchell's (1985: 1611) remark on Old English.

<sup>16</sup> I have counted instances so long as they provide *never*, *no*, *neither*, etc. There are examples which illustrate both *no*-negation and *not*-negation, yielding *not* and *never*, *no*, *neither*, etc. at the same time. In any case, the number of these examples is very limited even in Middle English. This mutually-exclusive tendency is due to Jack's law (see Iyeiri 2001: 21-22).

<sup>17</sup> For the moment, this is the safest conclusion to be drawn from the data of Table 6. It is, however, relevant to mention that Tottie (1988: 255; 1991: 140) points out the contrast between written and spoken American English today. According to her, *no*-negation is much more frequent in the former than in the latter. Thus, it is possible that stylistic factors are relevant in Middle English as well.

<sup>18</sup> For the auxiliary *do* of various types in *The Paston Letters*, see Davis (1972), Koma (1994), Sonoda (1997), and Ogura (2003).