The distributional properties of negation and adjuncts have played an important role in recent work on the clausal syntax of early English. As Van Kemenade (1999, 2000) and Haeberli (2000) show, data involving negation and adjuncts can be used to shed light on various issues arising in the context of the structural analysis of Old English (OE) and Early Middle English (EME) word order. Furthermore, Van Kemenade's work also raises the more specific question as to what the adequate representation of negation is within the clause structure of early English. This paper pursues these lines of investigation further by focusing on the placement of negation and adverbs in EME. We show that the distribution of adverbs provides evidence for a main clause/subordinate clause asymmetry with respect to the position occupied by finite verbs. It is proposed that, whereas finite verbs occupy the highest inflectional head in main clauses (Agr in the clause structure we adopt), they move only to T in subordinate clauses. Extending this analysis to the syntax of negation, we argue that the distributional properties of negation in subordinate clauses is incompatible with van Kemenade's (1999, 2000) claim that negation is represented in a fixed NegP above TP in EME. We therefore propose that EME had a NegP below TP which possibly co-existed with the high NegP postulated by van Kemenade. Finally, evidence from the interaction of objects with negation and adverbs is shown to support the assumption that low negation occupies a structural position specifically assigned to negation (NegP) rather than a general adjunct position shared by both negation and adverbs.