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# Fear complement clauses in typological perspective

## 1 Introduction

As Michael Noonan noticed, 'fear' complements are peculiar in that "languages differ in the assignment of negation to such complements" [Noonan 1985: 119]. Complement clauses of fear-verbs can have positive (1) and negative (2) predicates that express roughly the same meaning:

(1)   *boj-u-s'*          *čto*        *syn*        ***zabole-et***
       fear-1SG-REFL    COMPL        son          **fall.ill-3SG**
'I am afraid that my son might get ill'.

(2)   *boj-u-s'*          *kak*        ***by***       *syn*        ***ne***       ***zabole-l***
       fear-1SG-REFL    COMPL        **SBJ**        son          **NEG**        **fall.ill-PST**
'I am afraid that my son might get ill'.

French has an optional negative marker *ne* in fear-complements:

French (Fournier 2004: 48)
(3)   *Je crain-s     qu'      il   **(ne)   vienne***
       I    fear-1SG  COMPL   he   **NEG    come.SBJ**
'I am afraid that he might come'.

This phenomenon is known under the name *expletive negation* (Tovena 1996, Van der Wurff 1998):
- "a negative item, which lexically contributes to negation, does not modify the truth value of the proposition in which it occurs" (Espinal 2000: 49).
- "a negative marker that has no negative meaning" (Glottopedia).

Expletive negation has been found in Russian, French, Japanese, Korean, Middle English, Polish, Catalan, Lithuanian and other languages (Yoon 2011, Makri 2015, Lackey 2016) in
- complements of certain verbs,
- exclamatives,
- emphatic questions,
- concessive conditionals,
- before-clauses,
- until-clauses,
- polite requests,
- comparatives (Yoon 2011).

It was generally acknowledged that expletive negation in complement clauses is triggered by verbs and other lexical elements with "negative import": 'to fear', 'to prohibit', 'to hinder', 'to prevent', 'to avoid', 'to deny', 'to refuse' (van der Wouden 1994: 30).

Suwon Yoon: expletive negation also appears in the subordinate clauses of ''positive'' predicates such as *kitayha* 'to hope' in Korean or *kitaisi* 'to hope' in Japanese (Yoon 2013: 135). She suggested an alternative explanation for the nature of expletive negation, proposing that it is a special subcase of the subjunctive mood (Yoon 2013: 145).

Expletive negation often **co-occurs with non-indicative moods** ("It often coincides with subjunctive, conjunctive and other moods that are typically used to express counterfactuals, irrealis etc." - van der

Wouden 1994: 35). On the contrary, the examples of Korean and Japanese introduced by Yoon 2013, exemplify the **co-occurrence of expletive negation and indicative**. I will show that complement clauses with **non-indicative predicates** and those with **indicative predicates** often have a **different distribution in respect of the matrix lexemes** which can take them.

The following questions will be posed in this paper:
- what are typical diachronic paths for fear complement clauses with expletive negation?
- How does negation emerge?
- Why complements with expletive negation and non-indicative moods are often confined to predicates with an inherent negative value, such as *to fear* or *to worry*?
- Why complements with expletive negation and indicative mood tend to occur with a wider range of predicates, including those without negative value (*hope, ask, check*)?

I will argue that the cases of expletive negation after verbs of fear can be divided into three groups of different origin.
1) In the first group (which includes Japanese and Korean), fear complement clauses are expressed by an embedded polar question.
2) In the second group (including Latin, French, and one of Russian cases), fear complement clauses derive from constructions expressing a wish.
3) The third group, presumably exemplified by another Russian case, can be traced back to negative purpose clauses.

The research was not based on any typologically balanced sample of languages, but rather included all languages with expletive negation under the fear verbs which I was able to get my hands on.

## 2 Fear complement clauses: the main patterns

### 2.1. Fear complements without expletive negation

The common pattern is to use an affirmative verb form in the fear-complement clause: future indicative forms, often accompanied by markers of epistemic probability, such as adverbs and modals; past and present indicative are also possible (example (7)). Fear is "both epistemic and attitudinal: it has to do with the speaker's degree of certainty about the factual status of a proposition and also with his or her attitude concerning the desirability of the situation encoded in the clause" (Lichtenberk 1994: 291). Indicative pattern highlights the epistemic part of the meaning of fear by portraying it as a possible event.

Russian
(4)   *boj-u-s',*              *čto*        *ona*        ***prid-et***
       be.afraid-1SG-REFL    COMPL        she          **come.FUT-3SG**
'I fear that she will come.'

Hindi (example courtesy Anvita Abbi)
(5)   *mujh-e     ḍər    hɛ    ki      vo      **a      ja-yega***
       1SG-DAT    fear   AUX   COMPL   3SG     **come   go-FUT.3MSG**
'I fear that he will come.'

Armenian (p.c. Victoria Khurshudian)
(6)   *na      čoč-v-um*                    *ēr*                      *jev   jes   vaχen-um*
       s/he    stagger-MED-IPF.CVB          be.AUX.PST.3SG           and   I     fear-IPF.CVB

       *ēi*                          *vor   inʒ      ēl    **karoʁ   ē***              ***khch-el***
       be.AUX.PST.1SG                that  I.DAT    Also  **might   be.AUX.PRS.3SG**   **make.fall-INF**
'He was staggering so much, I was afraid that he may make me fall'.

(7) Armenian

*vaxen-am*      *t'e*    *na*    **ušac'-el**      *ē*      *erek*
be.afraid-SBJV.1SG    that   he/she   be.late-PFV    be.AUX.3SG   yesterday
'I fear that he was late yesterday'.

Fear complement clauses **without expletive negation typically contain indicative** mood forms, although there are exceptions (Section 4).

## 2.2. Fear complements with negation and indicative

The pattern with expletive negation and an indicative verb form is found in languages where fear complements are expressed as embedded polar questions. These embedded clauses use interrogative particles with negative indicative form.

According to Tasaku Tsunoda (p.c.), in Japanese, fear complement clauses with the interrogative particle –*ka* usually include negation (8), but a positive verb form can also occur (9).

Japanese (all examples courtesy Tasaku Tsunoda)

(8) *Nanika*      *waru-i*      *koto=ga*      *oki-**nak**-at-ta=**ka***      *sinpai=da.*
     something    bad-NPST    thing=NOM    happen-**NEG**-LINK-PST=**INTRG**      worried=COP.NPST
'I am worried that something bad has happened.' (literally: '[I] am worried whether something bad did not happen.')

(9) *ʾnanika*      *waru-i*      *koto=ga*      *oki-ta=**ka***      *sinpai=da.*
     something    bad-NPST    thing=NOM    happen-PST= **INTRG**      worried=COP.NPST
'I am worried that something bad has happened.' (literally '[I] am worried whether something bad has happened.')

The interrogative particle *ka* is also used in polar questions:

(10) *nanika*      *waru-i*      *koto=ga*      *oki-**nak**-at-ta=**ka?***
     something    bad-NPST    thing=NOM    happen-**NEG**-LINK-PST= **INTRG**
'Didn't something/anything bad happen?'

Questions with the particle *ka* can be embedded as complement clauses of other verbs, such as 'ask', 'check', 'don't know':

(11) *watasi=wa*    *nanika*      *waru-i*      *koto=ga*      *oki-**nak**-at-ta=**ka***      ***ki-i-ta***
     I=TOP      something    bad-NPST    thing=NOM    happen-**NEG**-LINK-PST= **INTRG**      **ask-LINK-PST**

'I asked if something/anything bad did not happen / I asked if anything bad happened'.

Constructions of the same type are found in Korean; verbs of fear take a complement with an interrogative particle and a negative verb form.

Korean

(12) *John-un*      *Mary-ka*      ***oci-anh-ul-{ci/kka}***      *kekcengha-koiss-ta*
     John-TOP    Mary-NOM    **come-NEG-FUT- INTRG**      fear-ASP-DECL
'John fears that Mary might come.' (example from Yoon 2013: 136)

(13) *John-un*      *Mary-ka*      ***oci-anh-ul-{ci/kka}***      *mut-ess-ta*
     John-TOP    Mary-NOM    **come-NEG-FUT- INTRG**      ask-PST-DECL
'John asked whether Mary might come.' (Example courtesy Elena Rudnitskaia, p.c.)

Yoon glossed the Korean marker *ci/kka* and Japanese marker *ka* as 'non-finite complementation', but remarked that "it is certainly not coincidental that the non-factive complementizers *ci/kka* in Korean and *ka* in Japanese are in a form identical to that of a question particle".

Complement clauses with expletive negation in Japanese and Korean are not confined to verbs of fear or verbs with negative meaning. This type of complements is licensed also in combination with volitional verbs ('hope'), directives ('advise' and 'suggest'), and verbs of uncertainty ('not.know', 'wonder') (Yoon 2013: 156).

## 2.3. Fear complements with negation and non-indicative mood

The third pattern are clauses in which expletive negation co-occurs with non-indicative mood (subjunctive conditional, conjunctive or irrealis). Examples of languages which use negation with subjunctive are Greek, French, Russian, Hindi.

(14) *foboŭ-mai*      *mè:*      *toŭto*      *ɣéne:tai*
     fear.MED.PRS.1SG    **NEG.COMPL**    this.NOM.SG    happen.MED.PRS.SUBJ.3SG
'I fear that this may happen.'

(15) *Je*   *crain-s*   *que*      *la*      *lettre*    ***(ne)***    ***se***      ***Perde***
     I    fear      COMPL   DEF   letter    **NEG**    **REFL**    **lose.SBJ.3SG**
'I'm afraid that the letter will be lost'.

(16) *Boj-u-s',*      ***kak***      ***by***      *on*   ***ne***    ***zabole-l***
     be.afraid-1SG-REFL    **COMPL**    **SBJ**      he    **NEG**    **fall.ill-PST.SG.M**
"I am afraid that he may fall ill'.

(17) *Boj-u-s',*      ***čto-by***      *on*   ***ne***    ***zabole-l***
     be.afraid-1SG-REFL    **COMPL-SBJ**    he    **NEG**    **fall.ill-PST.SG.M**
"I am afraid that you will fall ill'.

(18) *mujh-e*   *ḍər*   *hɛ*   *ki*      *vo*   *a*      ***na***    ***ja-ye***
     1SG-DAT   fear   AUX   COMPL   3SG   Come   **NEG**    **go-SBJ**
'I am afraid he might come'.

Some languages use negative optative. This case is less frequent, since optatives are not a wide-spread category.

Kumyk

(19) *ol*    *qorq-a*      *sen*      *awru-p*
     he/she    be.afraid-PRS    you.SG    be.ill-CVB

     ***qal-ma-ɣaj***      *edi-ŋ*      *dep*
     **remain-NEG-OPT**      **AUX-2SG**    COMPL
'He is afraid that you will get ill'. (example courtesy Nurmagomed Gadzhiakhmedov)

## 2.4. Summary

| Type | indicative verb form | interrogative marker | expletive negation | negative value of the matrix predicate |
|------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Epistemic pattern | Yes | No | No | No |
| Interrogative pattern | Yes / no (depending on the language) | Yes | Yes | No |
| Non-indicative pattern | No | No | Yes | Yes / no depending on the language) |

Table 1. Three types of fear complement clauses.

It follows from Table 1 that only the pattern with negation and non-indicative mood can be restricted to verbs with an inherent negative value. The question that arises is the following: what is the connection between the negative value of the matrix predicate and that of the subjunctive in the dependent clause?

# 3. Functional motivation for the usage of expletive negation

## 3.1. Functional motivation for the usage of expletive negation in clauses with an embedded question

Apart from Japanese and Korean, fear complements with expletive negation and an interrogative marker also exist in Russian:

(20) *Boj-u-s',*        **ne**    *prid-et*       **li**       *otec*
     fear-ISG-REFL   **NEG**   come.FUT-3SG   **INTRG**   father.NOM
'I am afraid that he might come'.

The particle *li* is used in ordinary polar questions (21) and in complement clauses with predicates that do not imply a negative evaluation of the embedded situation, such as '*to ask', 'to think', 'to check', 'to specify', 'to recollect'* and many others (22) (Hansen et al. 2016: 188-191).

(21) **(Ne)**    *prid-et*       **li**       *otec?*
     **NEG**   come.FUT-3SG   **INTRG**   father.NOM
'Won't he come?'

(22) *Spros-i,*       **(ne)**    *prid-et*       **li**       *otec*
     ask-IMP.2SG   **(NEG)**   come-3SG   **INTRG**   father.NOM
'Ask whether he will come.'

Polar questions are known to be embedded under uncertainty predicates cross-linguistically. Verbs of fear can be understood as uncertainty predicates, since they imply that the embedded situation is a possibility.
Independent and embedded polar questions often include negation that does not change the meaning of the sentence (see examples 21, 22). Some matrix verbs regularly include a negative element, some do not. In Russian, constructions with an embedded question and a verb of fear almost always have a negative element.
Why interrogative fear-complements contain expletive negation?
Polar questions are biased towards negative or positive answers. The bias of the question is reflected in its form – positive or negative (see Gunlogson & Büring 2000, Romero 2005, Sudo 2013, Krifka 2015). Polar questions which can be embedded under the verbs of fear have apprehensional value, which means that they refer to negative events and are biased towards the negative answer:

(23) - *Ty*    *ne*      *opazdyva-eš'?*
     2SG   NEG   be.late.IPF-2SG

   - *Ne*        *opazdyvaj-u*
     NEG        be.late.IPF-1SG
'Aren't you running late? – No, I am not.'

The questions which refer to a negative event but do not contain formal negation don't sound like a warning, rather like an ordinary question which is aimed at getting information, because they have a "wrong" bias (towards negative outcome).

(24) - *Ty*    *opazdyva-eš'?*
     2SG   be.late.IPF-2SG

   - *Opazdyvaj-u*
     be.late.IPF-1SG
'Aren't you running late? – Yes, I am.'

The questions, which name positive events and do not contain negation can hardly be apprehensive, since they focus on the alternative which is evaluated positively:

(25) - *Ty*    *uspeva-eš'?*
     2SG   be.in.time.IPF-2SG

   - *Uspevaj-u*
     be.in.time.IPF-1SG
'Are you in time? – Yes, I am in time'.

The questions, which refer to positive situations and contain formal negation, are not apprehensional as well, because they are biased towards negative answer:

(26) - *Ty*   *Ne*       *uspeva-eš'?*
     2SG   NEG       be.in.time.IPF-2SG

   - *Ne uspevaj-u*
     NEG be.in.time.IPF-1SG
'Are you not in time? – I am in time'.

Therefore, two factors shape interrogative fear-complements: negative event and the bias towards positive outcome. Questions embedded under verbs of fear almost invariably contain negatively-valued predicate and negation (27). Other options are ungrammatical or almost ungrammatical. Negatively valued predicate without negation (28) and positively valued predicate with negation (29) both have "wrong" biases (toward bad alternative). Positively valued predicate without negation (30) zooms on positive event, and thus does not denote fear. All patterns are represented in the Table 2.

(27) *Boj-u-s',*       *ne*    *opozdaj-em*   *li*       *my*
     fear-1SG-REFL   NEG   be.late-1PL   INTRG   1PL
'I am afraid that we might be late' (literally: 'whether we will not be late')

(28) *\*Boj-u-s',*       *opozdaj-em li*       *my*
     fear-1SG-REFL   be.late-1PL   INTRG      1PL
'I am afraid that we might be late' (literally: 'whether we will be late')

(29) *Boj-u-s',        ne           uspej-em        li        my
      fear-1SG-REFL   NEG          be.in.time-1PL   INTRG    1PL
'I am afraid that we might not come in time' (literally: 'whether we will not come in time')

(30) ??Boj-u-s',       uspej-em        li        my
      fear-1SG-REFL    be.in.time-1PL   INTRG    1PL
'I am afraid that we might not come in time' (literally: 'whether we come in time')

Some examples with positively valued predicate and negative marker are found in the corpus (http://ruscorpora.ru):

   Èto strašno mnogo dlja novogo, tol'ko čto puščennogo zavoda, i u nas est' somnenija na ètot sčet. **Bojus', spravimsja li my.** [B. M. Levin. Golubye konverty (1930)]

(31) Boj-u-s',        **sprav-im-sja**       li        my
      fear-1SG-REFL   **manage-1PL-REFL**   INTRG    1PL.NOM
['This is a big lot for a new factory that has just been launched. We have our doubts.] **I am afraid that we might not manage'** (literally: 'whether we manage').

(32) *Boj-u-s',        **ne   sprav-im-sja**       li        my
      fear-1SG-REFL    **NEG  manage-1PL-REFL**   INTRG    1PL.NOM
'I am afraid that we might not manage' (literally: 'whether we not manage').

| Inherent value of predicate | Formal negative marker present | Formal negative marker absent |
|---|---|---|
| Predicate with inherent negative value | | |
| Predicate with positive inherent value | | |

Table 2. Interrogative fear-complements in Russian (shaded boxes are ungrammatical or highly improbable)

   Unlike the pattern with expletive negation and subjunctive, the embedded question pattern is not confined to verbs of fear or, more broadly, to verbs with a negative value.

### 3.2. Functional motivation for the usage of expletive negation in complement clauses with a non-indicative mood.

### 3.2.1. Fear complements with volitional forms

   Kumyk, a Turkic language of Daghestan, has a dedicated optative with the suffix -ɣaj. When combined with a marker of negation, the optative denotes a situation that is undesirable for the speaker (examples courtesy N.E. Gadzhiakhmedov).

(33) jaxši   jangur   **jav-ɣaj   Edi**
      strong  rain     **go-OPT   AUX**
'Would that it rain!'

(34) jaxši   jangur   **jav-ma-ɣaj     edi**
      strong  rain     **go-NEG-OPT    AUX**
'Would that it not rain!'

(35) sen      awru-p         **qal-ma-ɣaj        edi-ŋ**
      you.SG   be.ill-CVB     **remain-NEG-OPT   AUX-2SG**
'Beware not to fall ill!'

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The negative optative can be used in fear-complement clauses:

(36) ol        qorq-a          sen        awru-p
      he/she    be.afraid-PRS   you.SG     be.ill-CVB

      **qal-ma-ɣaj           edi-ŋ          dep**
      **remain-NEG-OPT       AUX-2SG        COMPL**
'He is afraid that you will get ill'.

Most probably, Kumyk fear complement clauses with negative optative are a result of the parataxis of a main clause with a verb of fear and a negative optative: 'X is afraid. May p not happen!'.

(37) Ol        qorq-a:          jaxši    jangur   **jav-ma-ɣaj      Edi**
      he/she    be.afraid-PRS    strong   rain     **go-NEG-OPT     AUX**
'He is afraid that it will rain' (lit. He is afraid: may it not rain!').

   Finno-Ugric languages have no morphological optative, but in some of these languages, fear complement clauses contain an optative particle.
      In Finnish, as reported by Hannu Tommola (personal communication), fear complements have expletive negation if they contain a particle meaning 'only':

(38) Pelkää-n,    ett-**ei**           **vain**   tul-isi          astma
      fear-1SG     COMPL-**NEG.3SG**   **only**   come-COND        asthma
'I'm afraid it may develop to asthma'.

This construction can also be used with indicative:

(39) Pelkää-n,    ett-**ei**           **vain**   tule          astma
      fear-1SG     COMPL-**NEG.3SG**   **only**   come          asthma
'I'm afraid it may develop to asthma'.

The particle vain 'only' cannot be used in this fear complement clause without negation:

(40)
*Pelkää-n,    että          vain          tule astma
fear-1SG      COMPL         only          come asthma
'I'm afraid it may develop to asthma'

The fear complement contains negation only if the particle vain is present in the clause. Otherwise fear complement clause has positive predicate:

(41) Pelkää-n,    että          **tulee**        astma
      fear-1SG     COMPL         **come-3.SG**    asthma
'I'm afraid that it may develop to asthma'

If the particle is used in the fear complement clause without negation, its meaning will be completely different, and the whole construction does not express wish:

(42)
**Pelkää-n,    että    vain** pahenna-n          tilanne-tta,       jos kirjoita-n        häne-lle.
fear-1SG      COMPL   only make.worse-1SG      situation-PRTV    if      write-1SG       3SG-ALL
'I'm afraid that I'll just make the situation worse, if I write to her'

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That the particle 'only' demands negation in the complement clause, is explained by the fact that it contributes to the construction a meaning of wish. The word *vain* can be found in independent utterances which express the wish of the speaker, either with the expletive negation (43), or without it (44):

(43) **Ett-ei** **vain** *kehitty-isi* *astma!*
**COMPL-NEG** **only** develop-COND asthma
'If only it would not develop to asthma!'

(44) *Kun-pa hän* **(vain)** *tul-isi!*
when-PTCL 3SG **only** come-COND
'If only he came / If only he'd come!'

A similar phenomenon is reported for Komi, where a negative element occurs only in clauses with an optative particle (Klumpp 2016: 574-575, Serdolbol'skaja et al. 2012: 431). As Klumpp 2016 puts it: "The complement-internal negation in this example is triggered by the fact that the state of affairs expressed in the complement is undesirable […] It seems that this negation is dependent on the use of the particle *med*".

Komi-Zyrian (Klumpp 2016: 575)

(45a) *me pol-a,* **myj** *ošk-ys* **vötć-as** *me börśa.*
I fear-PRS.1SG **COMPL** bear-3SG **follow-FUT.3SG** I after

b. *me pol-a,* **med** *ošk-ys* **o-z** **žö** **vötćy** *me börśa.*
I fear-PRS.1SG **COMPL.OPT** bear-3SG **not.PRS-3** **MOD** **follow.CN** I after

c. *me pol-a,* **myj** **med** *ošk-ys* **o-z** **žö** **vötćy** *me börśa*
I fear- **COMPL** **COMPL.OPT** bear- **not.PRS-** **MOD** **follow.CN** I after
PRS.1SG 3SG 3
'I'm afraid the bear will follow me.'

Komy, Ižma dialect (Serdolbol'skaja et al. 2012: 431)

(46) *mam-ys pol-e* **med** *č'el'ad'-ys* **o-z** **kynmy**
mother-3 fear-PRS.3 **PTCL** children-3 **NEG.NPST-3** **freeze**
'Mother is afraid that her children feel cold' (Serdolbol'skaja et al. 2012: 431)

In summary, Kumyk, Finnish and Komi use constructions that are dedicated to the expression of wish in fear complement clauses. The negative element is obligatory in these clauses, and the construction as a whole originates from the paratactic construction 'X is afraid. May P not happen!'.

## 3.2.2. Fear complements with subjunctive

In the languages where fear complements use subjunctives and expletive negation, the construction can also be traced back either to the expression of wish or to the negative purpose clauses.

### 3.2.2.1. Fear complements with subjunctive derived from wish

Classical Greek negative marker *mé: (μή)* was used in prohibitives (example (47)), negative wishes (49) and fear complements. "By prefixing *deído:* or *foboũmai* to any of the subjunctives with *mé:*… we get the full construction with verbs of fearing; as *deído: mè: nê:as hélo:si*, 'I fear they may seize the ships', in which *mè: hélo:si* represents an original construction which at first followed *deído:* paratactically – 'I fear: may they not seize the ships' – and afterwards became welded with it as a dependent clause" (Goodwin 1897: 90).

Greek (all examples from Goodwin 1897: 89, 96, 106, 109, glosses from Lichtenberk 1995: 311-312)

(47) **mé:** *poié:se:is* *toûto*
**NEG.COMPL** you.SG.do.IMP this.ACC
'Do not do this'.

(48) **mé:** *dé:* *nê:as* *hélo:si*
NEG.COMPL indeed ships.ACC they.seize.SBJ
'May they not (as I fear they may) seize the ships'. (Homer, Iliad, XVI. 128)

(49) *dedoika* **mé:** **epilathó:metha** *tê:s*
fear.PERF.PRS.1SG **NEG.COMPL** **forget.1PL.SBJ** DEF.GEN
*oikade* *hodoû*
homeward road.GEN
'I fear that we may forget the road home' (Xenophon, Anabasis III. 2, 25)

(50) *machoúmetha* **mé:** *nê:as* *hélo:si*
we.will.fight NEG.COMPL ships.ACC they.seize.SBJ
'We will fight that they may not seize the ships'.

Subjunctive constructions with *mè* and expletive negation could also be used with the verbs which have no negative value, such as *thaumazo* 'to wonder' and *phrontizo* 'to think'.

(51) phrontizo: me: ariston **e:i** eksandrapodisasthai spheas
examine.PRS.1SG NEG best is.SBJ.3SG.PRS enslave.PST.PSV.INF them.ACC
I examine whether it is better to enslave them. Hdt. 1.155
[example courtesy anonymous reviewer, quoted from Makri 2013: 35-36]

Latin has a subjunctive negative particle *ne:*, which is used to denote negation in wish and directive constructions (52), and it plays the role of conjunction in negative purpose clauses and in complements of verbs of wish and manipulation:

(52) **nē** *difficili-a* *opt-e-mus!*
**COMPL.NEG** difficult-PL.ACC wish-CONJ-1PL
'Let us not wish difficulties!'

(53) *utinam* **nē** *vērē* **scrīberem**
if.only **COMPL.NEG** truly **write.1SG.IMPRF.SBJ**
'I wish that I were not writing the truth'. (Cic. *Fam. 5.17.3*, quoted from Lackey 2016)

(54)

| *vere-or* | ***nē*** | *illa* | *mē* | ***vide-a-t*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| fear-1SG.PRS | **COMPL.NEG** | DEM.F.NOM.SG | 1.ACC.SG | **see-SBJ-3.SG.PRS** |

'I am afraid that she might see me'. (Morwood 1999: 102, quoted from Lackey 2016)

Russian uses two types of constructions with subjunctive and expletive negation for fear complements. They differ only in respect of the complementizer – *kak* 'how' or *čto* 'what', but most likely have different origin.

(55)

| *Boj-u-s',* | ***kak / čto*** | ***by*** | *on* | ***ne*** | ***zabole-l*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| be.afraid-1SG-REFL | **COMPL** | **SBJ** | he | **NEG** | **fall.ill-PST.SG.M** |

"I am afraid that you will fall ill.'

The construction with *kak by* is found in independent clauses with some kind of wish semantics.

(56)

| ***Kak*** | ***by*** | *mne* | ***zasnu-t'*** | *poskoree!* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **COMPL** | **SBJ** | 1SG.DAT | **fall.asleep-INF** | sooner |

'Would that I fall asleep as soon as possible!'

(57)

| ***Kak*** | ***by*** | *mne* | ***ne*** | ***zasnu-t'!*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **COMPL** | **SBJ** | 1SG.DAT | **NEG** | **fall.asleep-INF** |

'Would that I not fall asleep!'

The construction with *kak* + subjunctive without negation can be used in complements clauses with a restricted set of verbs that have a positive meaning (such as *mečtat'* 'to dream', or *ždat'* 'to wait for'), often with additional expressive particles.

(58)

| *Ja* | *tol'ko* | *i* | *mečtaj-u,* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | only | PTCL | dream-1SG |

| ***Kak*** | ***by*** | *mne* | ***zasnu-t'*** | *poskoree* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **COMPL** | **SBJ** | 1SG.DAT | **fall.asleep-INF** | sooner |

'I only dream how to fall asleep as soon as possible'.

The same construction with negation is used with fear verbs and corresponds to positive verb in English translation:

(59)

| *ja* | ***boj-u-s'*** | ***kak*** | ***by*** | *mne* | ***ne*** | ***zasnu-t'*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1SG | **fear-1SG-REFL** | **COMPL** | **SBJ** | 1SG.DAT | **NEG** | **fall.asleep-INF** |

'I am afraid that I fall asleep.'

There is certain evidence that fear complement clauses with the complementizer *kak* and the subjunctive are derived from the juxtaposition of the two clauses. They allow a pause between the main clause and the subordinate clause. A colon can be used in these sentences:

(60)

| *on* | *ispuga-l-s'a:* | ***kak*** | ***by*** | *je-go* | ***ne*** | *pojma-l-i* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he | get.afraid-PST.M-REFL | **COMPL** | **SBJ** | he-ACC.SG | **NEG** | catch-PST-PL |

'But then he became afraid: would that they do not catch him'.

As for the second Russian type of subjunctive fear complement clause, that with the complementizer *čto,* it is likely that it origins from negative purpose clauses.

### 3.2.2.2. Fear complements with subjunctive derived from negative purpose

That the negative purpose clauses can give rise to fear complement clauses, was argued for English lest-clauses (López-Couso 2007: 20) and (tentatively) for Check *aby* clauses (Lichtenberk 1995), and discussed in Schmidtke-Bode (2009). Lichtenberk supposed that negative purpose clauses expand to fear complements because of the meaning which he calls 'avertive'. First, the aim to avert the undesirable situation is expressed, at a later stage the aversion starts being interpreted as fear.

Another candidate for being derived from negative purpose are Russian fear complements with subjunctive complementizer *čtoby (čto + by)*.

Independent wish constructions are unlikely to be the source of fear complements with *čtoby* (as they were with *kak by* clauses). Independent wish clauses with *čtoby* were quite rare, and all examples of those are pure instantiations of insubordination. Another evidence towards the unlikeliness of the origin from the expressions of wish is that, unlike *kak by*, the clauses with *čtoby* cannot include a pause, never occur with a colon in written texts, and do not show any other symptoms of being autonomous:

(61a)

| *Bol'še* | *vs-ego* | *ona* | *boja-l-a-s',* | ***čto-by*** | ***ne*** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| more | all-GEN.SG | she | fear-PST-F-REFL | **COMPL-SBJ** | **NEG** |

| ***pozvoni-l-i*** | *iz* | *polici-i* |
|---|---|---|
| **call-PST-PL** | from | police-GEN |

'Her worst fear was that she would get a phone call from the police.'

(b) *\*Bol'še vsego ona bojalas': čtoby ne pozvonili iz policii.*

There are examples of *čtoby* introducing fear complements already in 17th century (but not earlier), and they are frequent in 19th century texts. At the same period (17th and 18th centuries), there was another common way to render fear complement clauses - with conjunction *daby*, which is now obsolete. Both conjunctions *čtoby* and *daby* in 17th - 18th centuries were used in a wide range of complements, including the verbs 'to want', 'to ask', 'to demand', 'to order', and positive and negative purpose clauses. Taking into account other languages, it seems quite plausible that Russian fear complements with *čtoby* arose from negative purpose clauses.

### 3.3. Summary

I considered the origin of **three types of fear complement clauses with expletive negation**.

**First**, fear complements can be expressed as **embedded polar questions**. They contain interrogative markers and, usually, indicative verb. This pattern follows from the epistemic component of fear verbs: to fear something means to consider it probable. Fear is thus related to the predicates of ignorance and uncertainty. Negation in these clauses is due to the bias of the speaker towards the negative answer.

**Second**, in the languages where expletive negation is used with the subjunctive, the fear complement clause can often be traced back to an **expression of negative wish**. That expletive negation is historically motivated by negative wish constructions is even more evident in cases when the fear complement contains dedicated volitional forms or constructions, such as optatives or optative particles.

**Third** possible origin of some fear complement clauses with subjunctive and negation is from **negative purpose clauses**. I argued that this might be the historical motivation for Russian complements with *čtoby*.

These three constructions, embedded polar questions, expressions of wish, and purpose clauses are used under the verbs of fear with negative marker. The reason why negation became an inseparable part of fear complement clauses is common for all of them - the situation is unwanted. However, negative wish has directly shaped only one of these three patterns. In case of embedded polar questions, the main motivating semantic component was uncertainty, and in case of negative purpose markers – the intention to avert negative event.

## 4. Constructions with expletive negation: different stages of development

It was shown that fear complement clauses with a non-indicative mood and an expletive negation often developed from parataxis, in which an independent clause expressing a negative wish was juxtaposed to a sentence with a fear verb: 'X fears. Would that it not P!'.

Once the embedded construction is no longer associated with the expression of wish, the negative element becomes redundant. Further development can be associated with the loss of expletive negation. This stage is observed in modern French. Constructions with expletive negation in French are regularly attested already in the 16th century (Fournier 2004), and are considered to be the successors of Latin fear complements with *ne* (Orlandini 2003). Consequently, in French the negative particle *ne* is used for expletive negation (61). Meanwhile, the regular negation in modern standard French is the bipartite construction *ne... pas*, which is the result of the reinforcement of the older negation *ne* (Hansen 2013). Fear complement clauses use the regular bipartite negation to express true negative meaning (63), while the particle *ne* functions as expletive negation and is optional in fear complements in contemporary French.

(62)  *Je    crain-s    qu'    il    **(ne)    vienne***
    ISG   fear-1SG   COMPL   3SG   **(NEG)   come.SBJ**
'I am afraid that he might come'.

(63)  *Je    crain-s    qu'    il    **ne    vienne    pas***
    ISG   fear-1SG   COMPL   3SG   **NEG   come.SBJ   NEG**
'I am afraid that he might not come'.

A more advanced stage of grammaticalization can be found in Italian. In modern Italian, fear complement clauses are rendered by the complementizer *che* and the subjunctive without a negative element:

Italian
(64)  *tem-o         che       **arriv-i**    papa*
    be.afraid-1.SG    COMPL    **arrive-SBJ.3SG** dad
'I am afraid that father might come.'

By zooming in on the history of Italian fear complement clauses it becomes clear that the negative element was present at a certain stage, and then was lost later on. It is claimed in Parry (2013: 99), that in the complement clauses of verbs of preventing and fearing, "tighter syntactic subordination to the main clause made the negative marker increasingly redundant so that it is omitted in modern usage".

Genoese, 14th century
(65)  *De    defender    che    li    mercanti    toeschi    **no    zeyssen**    a    Venexia*
    To    prevent    that    the    merchants    German    **NEG    Went**    to    Venice
'to prevent the German merchants from going to Venice' (Proposizioni fatte dal Comune di Genova, 24: 24–5) (Parry 2013: 99)

Modern Italian
(66)  *per    impedire    che    i    mercanti    tedeschi    andassero    a    Venezia*
    to    prevent    that    the merchants    German    went.SUBJ.3PL    to    Venice
'to prevent the German merchants from going to Venice' (Parry 2013: 99)

As it was shown by Marco Budassi (manuscript) in the corpus of Italian texts from the 13th– until the beginning of 14th century, several types of fear complements were competing. First, there was a construction with the expletive negative element *non* and the subjunctive, which came directly from Latin (67). Second, there was a mixed construction in which the Latin pattern was combined with the complementizer *che* (68). And, finally, in the same period the modern construction with the complementizer *che* and the positive subjunctive is already present (69). Italian data show how fear complements with expletive negation and subjunctive can lose the negative element.

(67)  *Temendo             **no**    'l             mio    dir*
    fear.PRES.GER         **NEG**   DEF.M         my    saying

*gli        **fosse**              grave*
to_him     **be.IMPF.SBJ.3S**     bothersome
'Being afraid of bothering him with my words (lit. being afraid that my saying was bothersome to him)' (Dante A., *Inferno*, III, v. 80). (Example courtesy Marco Budassi)

(68)  *Temo             **che**    la          venuta*
    fear.PRES.IND.1S     **that**   DEF.F       arrival

***non    sia***          *folle*
**NEG   be.PRS.SBJ.3S**   insane
'I fear my arrival to be insane' (Dante A., *Inferno*, II, v. 35). (Example courtesy Marco Budassi)

(69)  *Ed    io    mi        disvegliai              allor    temendo        **ched***
    and   I     myself    wake.PST.REM.IND.1S     then     fear.PRS.GER    **that**

*e'    **non    fosse***              *in    compagnia    d'    amore*
he    **NEG    be.IMPF.SBJ.3S**      in    company      of   love
'and I woke up, then, fearing that he was not with Love (personification of love)' (G. Cavalcanti, *Rime*, 40 vv. 3-4). (Example courtesy Marco Budassi)

The negative element became redundant in Italian and French fear complement clauses because the construction with the complementizer and subjunctive was no longer associated with wish, as it was in Latin and in early Italian. Once the meaning of wish was lost, the negative element became "illogical": *I am afraid that s/he does not come* could not any longer be understood as 'I am afraid that s/he comes'. The combination of the verb 'to fear' and the expression of negative wish was reinterpreted as a combination of the verb 'to fear' and the expression of possibility.

## 5. Conclusion

The phenomenon of expletive negation is not homogeneous even within one case, fear complement clauses. Three different patterns of fear complement clauses with expletive negation were identified in this paper.

Two generalizations can be drawn from these observations. First, that expletive negation usually co-occurs with indicative if the clause contains interrogative markers. Second, that if a fear complements contains a non-indicative mood, it usually also contains a negation. Since the latter is not always true, as for example in Italian, I considered more closely the history of Italian fear-complements and showed that the positive subjunctive in this case is a result of the loss of the negation.

To sum up, historically the expletive negation in fear complements was semantically driven and motivated by the negative value of the matrix verb. On a synchronic level, however, this is not always the case, since the construction could have lost its connection with the structures that motivated its emergence. "Individual constructions may originate from mechanisms other than those that can be postulated on synchronic grounds, and these mechanisms may not be the same from one instance of the construction to another […]. This implies that any model of the principles that lead to the use particular constructions, including competing motivation models, should take into account the diachronic development of these constructions, rather than just their synchronic distribution" (Cristofaro 2015: 297).

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