EXPLETIVE NEGATION:

From embedded speech-acts to embedded propositions

"Empirical approaches to canonical and non-canonical uses of negation" DGfS Workshop

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A puzzling negation marker

- **Expletive negation**: a negation marker receiving a non-negative reading in embedded clauses.
- (1) Je **crains** qu'elle **ne** tombe malade.
 I fear that she **ExN** fall.3sg.suBJ sick
 'I fear that she might catch a cold.'

With a puzzling distribution in French

- Apprehensive attitudes
 - (2) Je **crains** qu' on **ne** nous ait entendus.

 I fear that 3SG.CL **EXN** 2PL.CL have.3SG.SBJV heard
 'I fear that someone heard what we were saying.'
- Adversative connectives
 - (3) Partez **avant** que je **ne** change d' avis. Leave.IMP before that I **ExN** change.1sg.sbjv my mind. 'You should leave before I change my mind.'
- Comparatives
 - (4) Il est **plus** grand que je **ne** le suis. He is more tall than I **Exn** it.ACC be.3sG.SBJV 'He's taller than I am.'

A cross-linguistic and diachronic perspective

Did negation turned expletive out of a diachronic path of development? If so, how?

- Cross-linguistically, there are two main types of ExNs, originating from (i) the grammaticalization of embedded Negative Imperatives or (ii) the grammaticalisation of embedded Polar Questions.¹
- 2. ExN-complements in French are grammaticalized embedded Negative Imperatives.

¹See also [Makri, 2013], [Roussou, 2015], [Dobrushina, 2020]

INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Two types of Expletive Negations

Cross-linguistically, two main types of complements with ExN with different historical origins ([Dobrushina, 2020]).

- 1. ExN deriving from embedded Polar Questions
 - Indicative mood pattern.
 - Rogative attitudes (e.g. ask, wonder) and epistemic attitudes expressing uncertainty (e.g. hope, doubt).
- 1. ExN deriving from embedded Negative Imperatives
 - Non-indicative mood pattern.
 - Negative priority attitudes (prevent, fear) expressing deontic, teleological or buletic dispreference.

A focus on Indo-European languages

	Declarative	Non-declarative	Expletive
LATIN	non	ne	ne
ALBANIA	N nuk/s'	mos	mos
GREEK	dhen	mi(n)/me	mi(n)/me

Figure: Types of negation

Greek

- Expletive Negation deriving from Negative Imperatives
- (5) Mi féris ton Jáni! NEG₂ bring-PNP.2sG the-ACC Jani-ACC 'Don't bring John!' ([Chatzopoulou, 2017])
- (6) **Fovame** (na) **min** erthi. fear.1sg.IND **SBJV** NEG₂ come.3sg.IND. 'I fear that he comes.' (Giannakidou, 1998)

- Expletive Negation deriving from Polar Questions
- (7) **Mi(=pos)** efije?²
 NEG₂=COMP=IND leave.3SG.
 'Could it be that he left? ([Roussou, 2015])
- (8) Me rotise mi=pos efaga. me asked.3sg NEG₂=COMP=IND ate.1sg. 'She asked me whether I ate.' ([Giannakidou and Mari, 2019])

 $^{^2}$ According to [Giannakidou and Mari, 2019], \it{mipos} questions are paraphrasable as \it{maybe} -polar questions

Albanian

• Expletive Negation deriving from Polar Questions

se

(9) **Mos** e=njihni atë? NEG₂ cl=know.2PL him? 'Do you happen to know him?' ([Roussou, 2015])

Kërkova

(10) **mos** gjeja një search.1sg.past comp=IND NEG2 find.1sg.past one fotografie të Vlorës. photograph of Vlorës. 'I have searched whether I could find a photograph of Vlorës.'

Latin

- "Expletive" Negation deriving from Negative Imperatives
- (11) **Ne** sis plora! NEG₂ please cry.2SG.IMP 'Please don't cry' (Pinkster, 2015)
- (12) **Timeo ne** laborem augeam. fear-1sg.prs NEG₂ work-ACC increase-1sg.**sbjv** 'I'm afraid that I shall increase my work.' (Cic, Leg, 1-4)

- Expletive Negation deriving from Polar Questions
- (13) Impetrasti. :: Ai=**n** vero? :: Certe, inquam. achieved.2sg. :: say.2sg.IND=NEG₂ really? :: certainly say.1sg. 'You achieved it. Do you really say so? Certainly, I'm telling you.

 [Schrickx, 2017]
- (14) **Rogato**, servos venerit=**ne** ad eum tuos. ask.2SG.IMP.FUT, slaves.ACC came=NEG₂ at him yours. 'You must then ask whether your slave has come to him.' ([Pinkster, 2015])

Open Issues

- What kind of Polar Questions are Greek mipos-questions,
 Albanian mos-questions or Latine enclitic =ne-questions?
- High Negation Questions are indeed constructed with NEG₁.
 - (15) **Dhen** tha erthis?

 NEG₁ FUT venir.2SG

 Won't you come? ([Makri, 2013])
 - (16) A **nuk** ka ardhur Bujar? Q=PTC NEG₁ avoir.AUX.PST venu Bujar 'Didn't Bujar arrive?'
 - (17) **Non** est iudicatus hostis Antonius? NEG₁ AUX.PRES.3SG judge-PRF ennemy-NOM Antonius-NOM 'Wasn't Antonius declared our ennemy?" (Cic, Phil, 7,13)

PROHIBITIVE NEGATION IN LATIN

Negative Imperatives in Latin

 In Indo-European linguistics, the idea of a historical relation between Negative Imperatives and ExN-complements is not new.³

³Among others, it was explored for Greek by [Chatzopoulou, 2012], for Italian by [Parry, 2013], for Latin by [Lackey, 2015]

Imperative clauses are conventionally associated with a wide range of illocutionary forces.

• COMMAND-type

- (18) Nimium est! **Ne** clama. (**Command**) Excess-ACC is! – NEG₂ shout-2sG-IMP 'That's too much! – Don't shout.' (Ter, Ph, 664)
- (19) Uigila, **ne** somno stude. (Warning) Stay-awake-2sg-IMP, NEG₂ sleep.DAT seek-for-2sg-IMP 'Open your eyes, don't fall asleep.' (Pl, Mil, 215)

- (20) Misericordia commotus **ne** sit. (Advice) pity-NOM moved-NOM NEG₂ be-2SG.SBJV 'Don't be moved by pity.' (Cic, Mur, 65)
- (21) Ignosce, irata **ne** sies. (**Plea**) forgive-2sg-IMP, angry NEG₂ be-2sg.SUBJ 'Forgive me, don't be angry at me.' (Pl, Amph, 94)
- (22) **Ne** interueneris, quaeso. (**Request**) NEG₂ interrupt-2sg.sbjv, please 'Don't interfere, please.' (Pl, Mil, 1333-4)

Wish-type

- (23) **Ne** di sirint! (**Absent wish**)
 NEG2 gods-NOM allow-3PL
 'May the gods not allow it!' (Pl, Amph, 613)
- (24) **Ne** magis sim pulcer quam sum.

 NEG2 more be-1sg.suBJ beautiful-NoM than be-1sg-IND

 'May I not be more beautiful than I am.' (Pl, Mil, 1086)

PERMISSION-type

(25) Haec negat se tuam esse matrem. - Ne
This-one-NoM-FEM denies CL your be mother-ACC. - NEG
fuat se non uolt. (Permission/concession)
be-3sg.suBJ if NEG2 want-3sg-IND
'She says she's not your mother. - Let her not be if she doesn't want
to.'
(Pl, Epid, 584-5)

Prohibitive negation in embedded clauses

Ne-clauses occur with directive and desiderative verbs (and by extension, prohibitive and apprehensives verbs) that encode the same range of illocutionary meanings than (negative) imperatives.

- Command-type
 - Impero ('order')
 - Prohibeo ('forbid')
- WARNING-type
 - Moneo ('warn')
 - . ?
- REQUEST-type
 - Rogo ('ask')
 - Impedio ('prevent')

- Advice-type
 - Suadeo ('advise')
 - Dissuadeo ('dissuade')
- PLEA-type
 - · Obsecro ('beg')
 - . ?
- Wish-type
 - Opto ('wish')
 - Timeo ('fear')

ANALYSIS



Embedded Imperatives: The Missing Chain Link

- [Jespersen, 1917]; [Ageno, 1955]; [Parry, 2013] claimed that Latin embedded *ne*-clauses are in fact **paratactic** clauses, ie. clauses that are juxtaposed to the main verbal clause.
- I propose that *ne*-clauses are **embedded negative imperatives**; they represent an intermediary stage of development between parataxis and hypotaxis.

 Indeed, even though ne-clauses are introduced by no embedding device, they display characteristic properties of embedded clauses.⁴

1. Sequence of tense

(26) Caesar suis imperavit ne quod omnino
Caesar POSS.DAT order-3SG.PRF NEG₂ some none
telum in hostes reicerent.
weapon-ACC to enemies-ACC throw-3PL.SBJV.IPFV
'Caesar ordered them not to thrown back any weapon.'
(Caes, Bell.Gall., 1-46)

2. Coreference between matrix and embedded subject

(27) [Sententiam **ne** diceret_i] recusavit_i.
opinion-ACC NEG₂ say-3SG.SBJV.IPFV refuse-3SG.PERF
'He refused to give his opinion.' (Cic, Off, 3)

⁴For a discussion of these properties, see [McCloskey, 2006].

In a series of recent studies, Krifka has promoted the idea and developed a formal model for speech act embedding.⁵ He argues that the verb *say* only embeds a proposition in (28-a); in (28-b), *say* is claimed to embed a speech act (of assertion).

- (28) a. Mary said that she hates John.
 - b. Mary said she hates John.
- (29) a. $[[v_P Mary [v_T say [c_P that [v_P she hates John]]]]]$
 - b. [[VP Mary [V] say [ForceP] she hates John]]]]

⁵See [Krifka, 2014]; [Krifka, 2017]; [Krifka, 2020]; and for a discussion see also [Crnič and Trinh, 2009]; [Kaufmann, 2012]; [Woods, 2016]

In this perspective, *ne* is a specialized negation in ForceP, assuming a clause-typing function.

- (30) Metuo, **ne** patrem, dum morior, occidam. fear-1sg, NEG₂ father-ACC, while die-1sg.PRS, kill-1sg.SBJV Lit. 'I fear, may I not kill my father, while dying' (Ad, 403)
- (31) [[VP metuo [ForceP ne patrem occidam]]]

Parenthetical Performatives

An important hindsight of [Krifka, 2014] is that speech act embedding verbs are not attitude reports. Rather, they are speech act reports, ie., they describe a locutionary act.

- Verbs explicitely denoting a locutionary act (e.g; ask)
- Verbs implicitely denoting a locutionary act⁶ (e.g; wonder)

⁶Describing the psychological attitude one has when performing a question speech act to oneself (e.g; *se demander*, *sich fragen*, 'ask oneself').

Latin directives and desideratives receive a parenthetical use, which can be assimilated to (illocutionary force) **hedging**⁷.

- Directives (and prohibitives) explicitely denote a locutionary act; they indicate the intended illocutionary force of the embedded speech-act (presentative function).
 - (32) 'X {advises/dissuades}: PROHIBITION'
- Desideratives (and apprehensives) implicitely denote a locutionary act, they indicate the subject's emotional orientation wrt the embedded speech-act (evidential function).
 - (33) 'X {wishes/fears}:: PROHIBITION'

⁷[Simons, 2007]



Downward-reanalysis

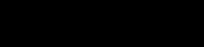
- From Latin to French, the use of the complementizer que (from Latin quod) develops and systematizes. The "ne" undergoes downward-reanalysis from ForceP to MoodP ([Cinque, 1999]).
- (34) Je crains **que** mon frère **ne** soit à I fear.1sg.IND that my brother ExN be.3sg.sbjv in l'intérieur. inside 'I fear that my brother may be inside.'
- - In line with [Abels, 2005]; [Zovko-Dinkovic, 2017]; [Yoon, 2011]; [Liu, 2019], I argue that *ne* is akin to an **evaluative adverb**.

Modal Harmony

- ExN conveys the speaker's preferential attitude towards the negation of *p* at the level of Conventional Implicature⁸ and enters Modal Harmony with the apprehensive attitude.
- (36) **Modal Harmony**: ([Lyons, 1977]; [Huitink, 2012]; [Giannakidou and Mari, 2018]) is the phenomenon whereby the adverb and the verb bear similar modal meaning⁹.
 - a. John must definitely be at home.
 - The embedding attitude and the expletive negation both convey preference for not-p.

⁸See also [Yoon, 2011] and [Liu, 2019]

⁹(wrt. force and flavor)



PREDICTIONS

The distribution NEG₂ ... NEG₁

- (37) Sed timeo **ne non** impetrem. [Latin]
 But fear-1sg.PRS NEG₂ NEG₁ achieve-1sg.sBJV

 'But I fear that I may not obtain it. (Cic, Att, 9)

 (Lit.: But I fear, may it not be that I not obtain it.')
- (38) [VP Timeo [ForceP **ne** [NegP **non** [IP impetrem]]]

- (39) Fovame mi dhen fai tipota. [Greek]
 Fear.1sg NEG₂ NEG₁ eat.3sg anything.
 'I fear he will not eat anything.'
- (40) Two options:
 - a. [VP Fovame [ForceP **mi** [NegP **dhen** [IP fai tipota]]]
 - b. $[VP Fovame [CP \emptyset [MoodP mi [NegP dhen [IP fai tipota]]]]$

- (41) Frika se **mos** ata **nuk** vinin. [Albanian] fear-1sG that NEG₂ they NEG₁ come-3PL.IND 'I fear that(/whether) they will not come.'
- (42) $[_{VP} Frika [_{CP} se [_{MoodP} mos [_{NegP} nuk [_{VP} ata vinin]]]]$

The co-occurrence of NEG₂ and SBJV

Diachronic relation between the imperative (sentential mood) and the subjunctive (verbal mood).¹⁰

- Subjunctive mood as a bound morpheme
- (43) a. Je crains qu' il **ne** soit.**sBJv** à l'intérieur. I fear.1sg.IND that he EXN be.3sg.sBJv in inside 'I fear that he may be inside.'
 - b. Je crains qu' il n' #est.IND à l'intérieur. I fear.1sg.IND that he ExN be.3sg.IND in inside 'I fear that he may be inside.'

¹⁰[Zanuttini, 1996]; [Kempchinsky, 2009]

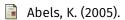
- (44) a. Bijau, kad pradės.**IND** lyti. [Lithuanian] fear.1sg comp begin.3sg-fut rain.INF 'I fear that it may start raining.'
 - Bijau, kad ne-pradėtų.SBJV lyti. fear.1sg comp ExN-start.3sg-sBJV rain.INF 'I fear that it may start raining.' ([Holvoet, 2016])

- Subjunctive mood as a free morpheme
- (45) Bojus, kak **by** on **ne** zabolel. [Russian] fear-1sg comp sbjv he ExN fall=ill-3sg 'I fear that he will fall ill.'
- (46) Bojus, čto on **ne** zabolel. fear-1sg COMP he NEG fall=ill-3sg 'I fear that he will not fall ill.' ([Inkova, 2006])

CONCLUSION

In this talk, I have argued that:

- ExN-complements may either be (i) grammaticalized embedded Negative Imperatives or (ii) grammaticalized embedded Polar Questions.
- 2. In case of (i), ExN derives from the grammaticalization of 'prohibitive' negation, undergoing downward-reanalysis from ForceP to MoodP.



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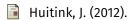
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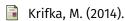
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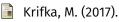
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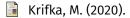
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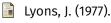
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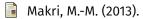
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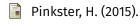
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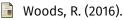
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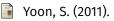
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