

TWO TYPES OF EXPLETIVE NEGATION : A CROSS-LINGUISTIC COMPARISON OF *FEAR* AND *UNTIL* CLAUSES

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INTRODUCTION

EMPIRICAL DOMAIN

(1) Il **ne** pleut **pas** demain.
It NEG rains NEG today
'It does not rain today.'

(French)

Negative

(2) J'ai peur qu'il (**ne**) pleuve demain.
I.have fear that.it (EXN) rain.sbjv tomorrow
'I fear that it will rain tomorrow.'

(French)

Non-negative

EMPIRICAL DOMAIN

(3) Petr **ne**-přišel na oslavu.
Peter NEG-came.PF to party
'Peter did not come to the party.'

(Czech)

Negative

(4) Bojím se aby Petr **ne**-přišel na oslavu.
fear.1SG REFL that.SBJV P. EXN-came to party
'I fear that Peter will come to the party.'

(Czech)

Non-negative

EMPIRICAL DOMAIN

- | | | | |
|-----|---|----------|--------------|
| (5) | Dani lo afa ugot.
Dani NEG bake.PST.SG.M cakes
'Dani didn't bake cakes.' | (Hebrew) | Negative |
| (6) | Dani yamšix lišon ad še-ha-mesiba lo tatxil. (Hebrew)
Danny will.continue to.sleep until that-the-party NEG start.FUT.3SFS
'Dani will continue sleeping until the party starts.' | | Non-negative |

DISTRIBUTION OF EXN (JIN & KOENIG 2021)

	Trigger	Number of occurrences
→	BEFORE (UNTIL)	50
→	FEAR (AFRAID)	39
→	FORBID (PROHIBIT), WITHOUT (NOT WITHOUT)	10
→	ALMOST (NEARLY), UNLESS, AVOID (INEVITABLE)	8
	PREVENT, DENY	7
	DOUBT, THAN	6
	BEWARE (WATCH OUT), REFUSE	5
→	WORRY, SINCE	4
	IMPOSSIBLE (CANNOT BE THAT), FROM (KEEP FROM, HOLD BACK FROM), TOO...TO	3
	CRITICIZE, ONLY (IT ONLY DEPENDS ON SOMEONE THAT)	2
	ADVISE AGAINST, ANXIOUS, BLAME, CANNOT WAIT, COMPLAIN, DESPAIR, DISLIKE, FORGET, HARDLY, HIDE, LACK, MISS, REGRET, RARELY, STOP, WARN	1

STATUS QUO

WHAT IS EXN?

ExN is expletive (or empty, or null)

- Müller 1978; Espinal 1992, 2000 on Spanish; Larrivée 1994; Brown 1999

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ExN is negative

- Larrivée 1994; Tovená 1994, Rowlett 1998; Vogeleer 2001; Abels 2005, Cepéda 2017, 2018, Cepéda & Depréz 2023 in temporal clauses
- Delfitto et al. 2019; Delfitto 2020 for various clauses with a focus on Italian

WHAT IS EXN?

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- Delfitto et al. 2019; Delfitto 2020 for various clauses with a focus on Italian

ExN is non-negative/modal

- Yoon 2011, Makri 2013, 2015; Tahar 2022, 2023; Tsiakmakis et al. 2022, Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022

EXN IS A UNITARY PHENOMENON

ExN is expletive (or empty, or null)

- Müller 1978; Espinal 1992, 2000 on Spanish; Larrivée 1994; Brown 1999

ExN is negative

- Larrivée 1994; Rowlett 1998; Vogeleer 2001; Cepéda 2018, Cepéda & Depréz 2023 : in temporal clauses: negative
- Delfitto et al. 2019; Delfitto 2020 for various clauses with a focus on Italian

ExN is non-negative/modal

- Yoon 2011, Makri 2013, 2015; Tahar 2022, 2023; Tsiakmakis et al. 2022, Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022

CHALLENGES

EXN IS NOT EXPLETIVE

- If ExN were completely void of meaning, contrasts between minimal pairs should not exist:

- (7) a. Resto qui finché **non** parli. (Italian)
 Stay-I here until NEG speak-you
 'I will stay here until you speak.'
 b. Resto qui finché Ø parli.
 Stay-I here while speak-you
 'I will stay here while you speak.'
 (Tovena 1996)

EXN IS NOT NEGATIVE

Diagnostics have been proposed to identify whether a negative marker contributes semantic/syntactic negation (cf. Tsiakmakis 2024, Gonzalez & Royer 2022, Greco 2019, Delfitto & Fiorin 2013 a.o.):

- NCI/NPI-licensing
- Licensing of negative coordinate constructions
- Co-occurrence with other negative markers
- No reversal of polarity
- ...

NPI/N-WORD LICENSING

- (8) a. **Nikdo** nepřišel na oslavu. (Czech)
Nobody NEG-came.PF to party.
'Nobody came to the party.'
- b. Petr čekal dokud **někdo** nepřišel na oslavu.
Peter waited.IMPF until someone ExN-came.PF to party
'Peter waited until someone/anyone came to the party.'

STACKING

- (9) a. Kita **min** **dhen** piye sto parti. (MG)
 Check ExN NEG went to party
 'Check if she didn't go the party.'
- b. Fovame **min** **dhen** erthei.
 Fear-1 SG ExN NEG come
 'I fear that he won't come.'

NEGATIVE COORDINATES

- (10) a. Luca **non** ha visto un film horror **e neanche** Gianni. (italian)
Luca NEG has seen a film horror and neither Gianni
'Luca has not seen a horror film and neither has Gianni.'
- b. *Che cosa **non** ha visto Luca **e neanche** Gianni !
What thing ExN has seen Luca and neither Gianni
'What things has Luca seen and neither Gianni.'
(Greco 2019)

EXN IS NOT EXPLETIVE — IT'S EPISTEMIC!

- Makri 2013, 2015; Tsiakmakis & Espinal 2022 on Modern Greek, Catalan, Italian; Tsiakmakis, Borràs-Comes & Espinal 2022 on Modern Greek

- (11) a. Fovame min (# malon) troi pola ghlika. (MG)
 fear.1SG ExN probably eat.3SG many sweets
 'I fear he maybe eats a lot of candy.'
- b. Fovame oti malon troi pola ghlika.
 fear.1SSG that probably eat.3SG many sweets
 'I fear that he maybe eats a lot of candy.'
- (Tsiakmakis et al. 2022: 1261, (10))

d.

Fovame **min** (# malon) troi pola ghlika.
fear.1SG ExN probably eat.3SG many sweets
'I fear he maybe eats a lot of candy.'

'I fear he maybe eats a lot of candy.'

(MG)

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Fovame oti malon troi pola ghlika.
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(Tsiakmakis et al. 2022: 1261, (10))

EXN IS NOT EXPLETIVE — IT'S EPISTEMIC!

- Tsiakmakis, Borràs-Comes & Espinal 2022 on Modern Greek

⇒ non-negative min is interpreted uniformly as conveying that the speaker is neither fully ignorant nor negatively biased, but positively biased regarding the expressed proposition p .

WELL, MAYBE NOT... EXN IS NOT (ALWAYS) MODAL

- (12) Petr četl knížku dokud Marie **nepřišla**. (Czech)
P. read.IMPF book until Marie ExN-came.PF
'Peter was reading until Marie came.'

GRECO 2019

weak expletive
negation

strong expletive
negation

	Weak-NPIs	Strong-NPIs	Not-also	N-words
Until-clauses	+	-	-	+
Who knows-clauses	+	-	-	+
Unless-clauses	+	-	-	+
Indirect-Interrogatives	+	-	-	+
Comparative-clauses	+	-	-	+
Negative Exclamatives	-	-	-	-
Rhetorical Questions	-	-	-	-
Not...that- clauses	-	-	-	-
Rather than-clauses	-	-	-	-
Before-clauses	-	-	-	-

Table A: This matrix combines 4 syntactic constructions with 10 types of EN clauses

TSIAKMAKIS (2025)

Apparent expletive negation hosts	Expletive negation hosts proper
Temporal expressions	Emotive doxastics
Negative adverbials	Negative predicates
Comparatives	Dubitative predicates
Optionally biased polar questions	Biased questions
Rhetorical questions	(Conditionals)
Exclamatives	(Free relatives)

IN THIS TALK

- Build on Greco (2019) and Tsiakmakis's (2024) observations that there is a split between different types of expletive negation
- Argue that this split is not between 'apparent' and 'real' negation, but rather between 'tense' and 'modal' markers
- Provide cross-linguistic morphological evidence for this distinction
- Propose an analysis in Nanosyntax (Caha et al. 2024) which may capture this distinction

MORPHOLOGY

MORPHOLOGICAL GENERALISATION?

In general, there are two different types of sentential negation (cf. Miestamo 2005):

- Standard negation (**NEG1**)

= associated with declaratives

- Non-standard negation (**NEG2**)

= associated with modal environments

NEG1 ≠ NEG2

NEG1: *dhen*

(13) Ο Jánis **dhen**/***min** írthe.

the J. NEG came.3SG

‘John did not come.’

(adapted from Chatzopoulou 2013: 2, her (1))

(Modern Greek)

NEG2: *mi(n)*

(14) **Min**/***Dhen** eísai vlakas!

NEG2/NEG1 be stupid

‘Don’t be stupid!’

The form of NEG1 ≠ NEG2

NEG2 CAN BE SPLIT IN AT LEAST 4 NEGS (BAUNAZ & LANDER 2023)

Romeyka Greek (cf. Sitaridou 2014, Chatzopoulou & Sitaridou 2014, Chatzopoulou 2019)

NEG2 = associated with prohibition (cf. 'don't!')

NEG3 = associated with subjunctive mood

NEG4 = associated with counterfactual conditionals

NEG5 = associated with possibility conditionals

Modal
negators

NEG1 = NEG2

NEG1: ne

- (15) Petr **ne**-přišel na oslavu.
Peter NEG1 -came to party.
'Peter didn't come to the party.'

(Czech)

NEG2: ne

- (16) **Ne**-chod' na oslavu!
NEG1 -come.imp to party
'Don't come to the party!'

(Czech)

The form of NEG1 = NEG2

MODERN GREEK: $\text{EXN}_{\text{FEAR}} = \text{MOD NEG}$

NEG1: *dhen*

- (17) Ο Jánis **dhen**/***min** írthe.
the J. NEG came.3SG
'John did not come.'
(adapted from Chatzopoulou 2013: 2, her (1))

NEG2: *mi(n)*

- (18) **Min**/***Dhen** eísai vlakas!
NEG2/NEG1 be stupid
'Don't be stupid!'

ExN: *min*

- (19) Fovame (na) **min** erthi.
fear.1SG SBJV ExN come.PNP.3sg
'I fear s/he may come.'
(Giannakidou 1998)

ALBANIAN: $EXN_{FEAR} = MOD\ NEG$

NEG1: *nuk*/'s

- (20) Nuk /**mos* vajta në bibliotekë.
NEG1/NEG2 go-1 SG.PST in library
'I did not go to the library'
(Turano 2012)

NEG2: *mos*

- (21) **Mos**/**nuk* më ndhimo !
NEG2/NEG1 moi help-IMP
'Don't help me!'
(Turano 2012)

ExN: *mos*

- (22) Kam frikë se **mos** më vdes babai.
have-1 SG fear that NEG2 CL.1 SG die 2SG father-the
'I fear that my father will die.'
(Tahar 2023:(9))

MANDARIN CHINESE: $\text{EXN}_{\text{FEAR}} = \text{MOD NEG}$

NEG1: *bú*

- (23) Tā **bú** shì kuàilé.
(s)he NEG is happy
'She is not happy.'
(De Clercq 2020: 99, her (196a))

NEG2: *bié*

- (24) Nǐ **bié** shuāi zhe le
you NEG2 fall.down suffer LE
'(Watch out!) Don't fall!'
(Pan et al. 2016: 161, their (41))

ExN: *bié*

- (25) Wǒ pà míngtiān duōlúnduō **bié** xià-yǔ
CL.1SG fear tomorrow Toronto ExN fall=rain
'I fear that it will rain tomorrow in Toronto.'

(Jin & Koenig 2019)

EXN_{UNTIL} = ?

- MG, Albanian and Mandarin Chinese → no ExN_{until} clauses
 - French, Italian, Spanish, Czech (etc) → same form for NEG1, NEG2 and ExN
 - Let's look at other languages!

HINDI-URDU: NEG1

NEG1: *nahii*

- (26) ...mAl hinsa tathaa logO kii hatya mE bharosaa **nahii** rakhtaa
I slaughter and people of murder on faith NEG1 keep
“... I don’t believe in the slaughter and murder of people.”
(Lampp:2006:8)

HINDI-URDU: NEG2

NEG2: *na* (conditional, participial, gerundive, subjunctive, honorific imperative, coordinative negation, possibility, counterfactual, tag questions)

- (27) DaakTarO ne vaajpeyii se kahaa hai ki ve kuch dinO tak
Doctors ERG Vaipayi to said AUX(pres.) that(conj.) he some days for
apne pAAvO par zyaadaa bhaar **na** Daale
REFL. feet on too much weight NEG put(subj.)
“Doctors have told Vaipayee that for a few days he shouldn’t strain his
feet.”

(Lampp 2006: 3)

HINDI-URDU: NEG3

NEG3: mat (negative commands, non-honorific imperatives)

(28) **mat** ghabraao
 NEG2 worry(IMP)
 “Don’t worry!”
 (Montaut 2004: 260)

HINDI-URDU: $\text{ExN}_{\text{FEAR}} = \text{NEG2}$

$\text{ExN}_{\text{fear}} = \text{NEG2} : na$

- (29) Muhje dar tha ki kaheen sab pustaken gir **na** jaem
Me-DAT fear was-M that perhaps all books-F fall NEG might.OPT.AUX
'I was afraid that all the books might fall.'
(McGregor 1978)

HINDI-URDU: $EXN_{\text{UNTIL}} = \text{STANDARD NEG}$

$EXN_{\text{until}} = \text{NEG1} : nahi$

- (30) [jab tak train nahĩ: aa-ii] [tab tak Mona steshan-pe-hii
when till train.F NEG come.PFV.F then till Mona.F station-on-only
khar-ii rahii]
stand-PFV.F stay.PFV.F
'Mona kept standing at the station until the train arrived.'

(Munshi, Sadaf & Rajesh Bhatt. 2009)

HINDI-URDU SUMMARY

	ExN?	Neg3	Neg2	ExN?	Neg1
Hindi-Urdu	na	mat/na	na	nahii	nahii

KASHMIRI: NEG1

NEG1: -nl

- (31) a. me ch-nl ba:s:n ki su yiyi az.
I-DAT is-NEG1 believe that he come-FUT today
'I don't believe that he will come today.'
- b. me chu ba:sa:n ki su yiyi-nl az
I-DAT is believe that he come-FUT-NEG1 today
'I believe that he won't come today'
(from Wali and Koul 1997)

KASHMIRI: NEG2

NEG2: *ml*

- (32) Nakhba:r **ml** par!
newspaper NEG2 read
'Don't read the newspaper!'
(from Wali and Koul 1997:114)

KASHMIRI: $\text{ExN}_{\text{UNTIL}} = \text{STANDARD NEG}$

$\text{ExN}_{\text{until}} = \text{Neg1: } ni$

- (33 yotnas ta:m ni zu:n gari a:yi, totnas ta:m
 where.DAT until NEG Zoon home come.PST.FSG, there.DAT until
 khyav ni yu:suf Sah-an akh da:ni
 eat.PST NEG Yousuf Shah-ERG one grain
 ‘Yousuf Shah didn’t eat a single grain until Zoon came home.’

(Munshi, Sadaf & Rajesh Bhatt. 2009)

KASHMIRI: SUMMARY

	Neg2	ExN?	Neg1
Kashmiri	ml	nl	nl

HUNGARIAN: NEG1

NEG1: *nem*

- (34) A jutyá **nem** fogta meg a nyulat.
The dog NEG caught PRT the rabbit.ACC
'The dog did not catch the rabbit'
(É. Kiss 2015: 220, her (2b))

HUNGARIAN: NEG2

NEG2: *ne*

- (35) **Ne/*Nem** engedd be a kutyát!
NEG2/NEG1 let.IMP.2SG in the dog.ACC
'Don't let in the dog!'
(É. Kiss 2015: 222, her (7b))

HUNGARIAN: $\text{ExN}_{\text{UNTIL}} = \text{STANDARD NEG}$

$\text{ExN}_{\text{until}} = \text{NEG1}$

- (36) Vár-ok, amíg János vissza (**nem**) jön.
wait-1SG until John back ExN come.3SG
'I will wait until John comes back.'

HUNGARIAN: SUMMARY

	Neg2	ExN?	Neg1
Hungarian	ne	nem	nem

INTERIM SUMMARY

- ExN is likely not a unitary phenomenon
- We adduced morphological support from Hindi-Urdu, Kashmiri, and Hungarian and other languages for the idea that there are two types of expletive negation:
 - Modal vs. temporal
- Our analysis consists of 3 parts:
 - **Treat morphological identity as syncretism** (cf. De Clercq 2020)
 - **Expansion of NEG FSEQ**
 - **Capture syncretisms in Nanosyntax** (cf. Starke 2009)
 - **Implementation in larger syntactic environments**

SYNCRETISM AND THE NEGATIVE FSEQ

DE CLERCQ (2013, 2020 ET SEQ.)

■ Four structurally different (standard) negators:

- T-NEG
- Foc-NEG
- Class-NEG
- Q-NEG

SYNCRETISM, FSEQ AND THE *ABA THEOREM

- **Syncretism**
- = « a surface conflation of two distinct morphosyntactic structures» (Caha 2009: 6)
- Indication of structural adjacency

SYNCRETISM, FSEQ AND THE *ABA THEOREM

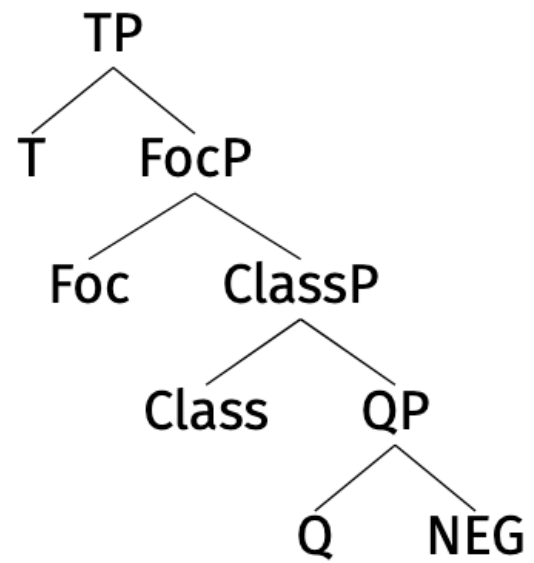
- **Syncretism**
- = « a surface conflation of two distinct morphosyntactic structures» (Caha 2009: 6)
- Indication of structural adjacency

*ABA-theorem (cf. Bobaljik 2007; 2012)= syncretism only targets adjacent cells/functional layers

	T	Foc	Class	Q
Informal English	-n't	not	non-	un-
Formal English	not	not	non-	un-
Modern Greek	dhen	oxi	mi	a-
Hungarian	nem	nem	nem	-tEIE
Latin	nōn	nōn	nōn	iN-
Albanian	nuk/s'	jo	jo-	jo-
Mandarin Chinese	bù	bù	bù	bù

NEGATIVE FSEQ

(37)



BAUNAZ & LANDER (2023): MODAL NEGATION

- (38) a. Thelo na **min/*dhen** kerdisi o Jánis. (Modern Greek)
Want.1SG SBJV NEG2/NEG1 win.PNP.3SG the John
'I don't want John to win.'
(Giannakidou 2009: 1887)
- b. **Min/*dhen** eísai vlakas!
NEG2/NEG1 be.2SG stupid
'Don't be stupid!'

WHERE DO MODAL NEGATORS BELONG IN DE CLERCQ'S HIERARCHY?

(39) T > Foc > Class > Q

WHERE DO MODAL NEGATORS BELONG IN DE CLERCQ'S HIERARCHY?

(40) (Mod? >) T > (Mod? >) Foc > (Mod? >) Class > (Mod? >) Q (> Mod?)

THE POSITION FOR MODAL NEGATOR

	Mod	T	Foc	Class	Q
Albanian	mos	nuk/s'	jō	jō-	jō-
Hungarian	ne	nem	nem	nem	-tEIE _n
Latin	nē	nōn	nōn	nōn	iN-
English	not / -n't	not / -n't	not	non-	un-
Czech	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne

=> locating Mod above T is the only option that is compatible with the *ABA restriction

MORE FINE-GRAINED

Romeyka Greek shows evidence for at least 4 more modal projections (cf. Sitaridou 2014, Chatzopoulou & Sitaridou 2014, Chatzopoulou 2019)

NEG2 = associated with prohibition (cf. 'don't!')

NEG3 = associated with subjunctive mood

NEG4 = associated with counterfactual conditionals

NEG5 = associated with possibility conditionals

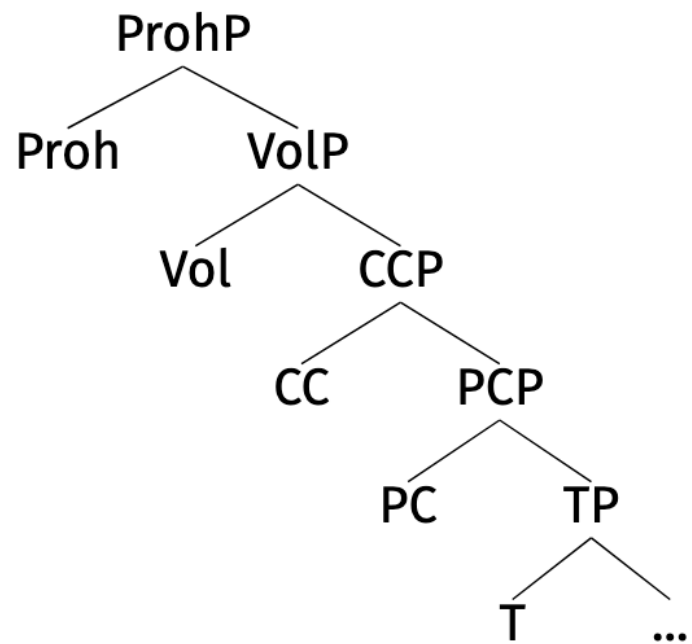
Modal
negators

BAUNAZ & LANDER (2023): MODAL NEGATORS ACROSS LANGUAGES

Table 2	Proh	Vol	CC	PC	T	...
RG	mi	xe	mutš	midhen	u(tš)(i)	...
Mandarin Chinese	bié	bù	bù-	bù	bù	
Vietn.	đừng	không	không	không	không	...
Hu.	ne	ne	nem	nem	nem	...
MG	min	min	dhen	dhen	dhen	...
Latin	nē	nē	ni-	nōn	nōn	...
Alb.	mos	mos	mos	nuk	nuk / s'	...

MODAL-NEGATIVE FSEQ

(41)



POSITION(S) IN THE FSEQ

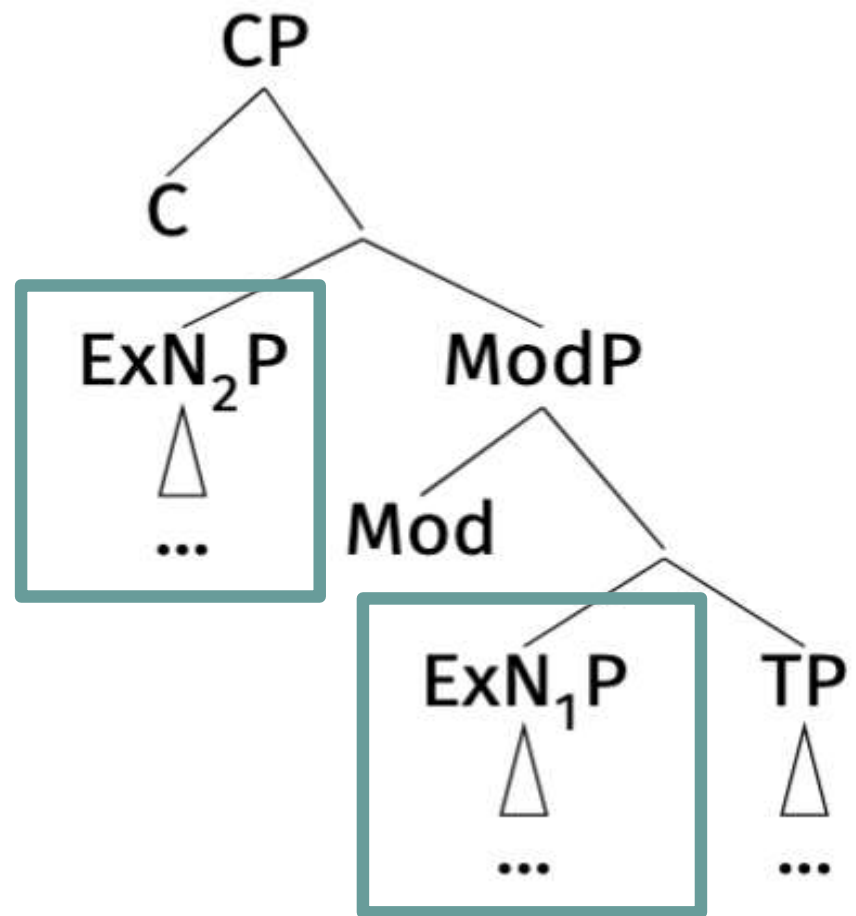
BAUNAZ AND DEMONIE (2024): CROSS-LINGUISTIC SYNCRETISMS WITH EXN IN FEAR-CLAUSES

	ExN?	Proh	Vol	CC	PC	T	...
Czech	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	...
Albanian	mos	mos	mos	mos	nuk	nuk/s'	...
Modern Greek	min	min	min	dhen	dhen	dhen	...
Latin	ne	ne	ne	ni-	non	non	...
Mandarin Chinese	bié	bié	bù	bù	bù	bù	...

CROSS-LINGUISTIC SYNCRETISMS WITH EXN IN UNTIL-CLAUSES

	Proh	Vol	CC	PC	ExN?	T	...
Czech	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	ne	...
Hindi-Urdu	mat/na	na	na	na	nahii	nahii	...
Hungarian	ne	ne	nem	nem	nem	nem	...
Kashmiri	mī	mī	nī	nī	nī	nī	...

TWO POSITIONS FOR EXN



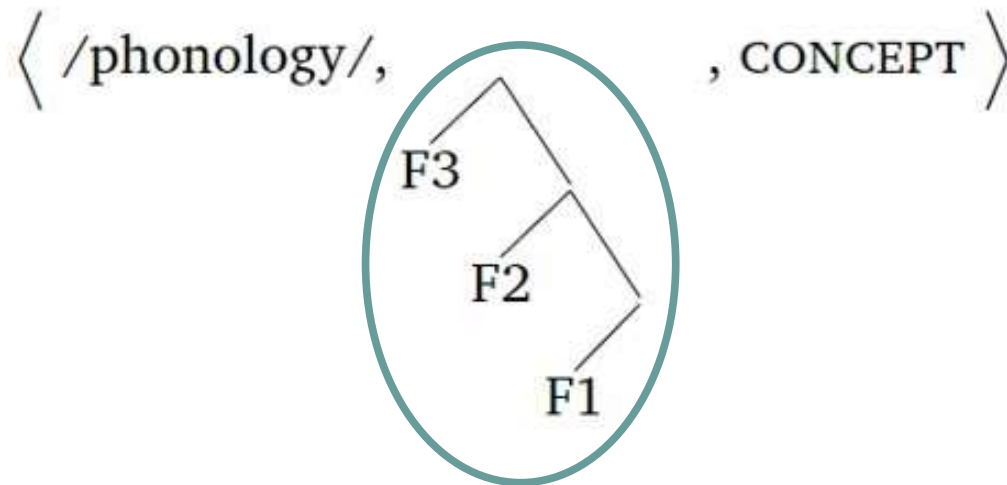
A FEW NOTES ON NANOSYNTAX

GENERAL

- Nanosyntax (cf. Caha et al. 2024, Starke 2018; 2009) is a Late Insertion theory of morphology

LEXICAL ITEMS

- Lexical items are links between phonology, semantics and a syntactic tree with multiple features

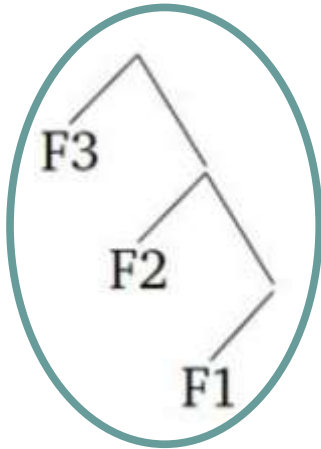


Lexical structure = syntactic structure
stored in a lexical entry

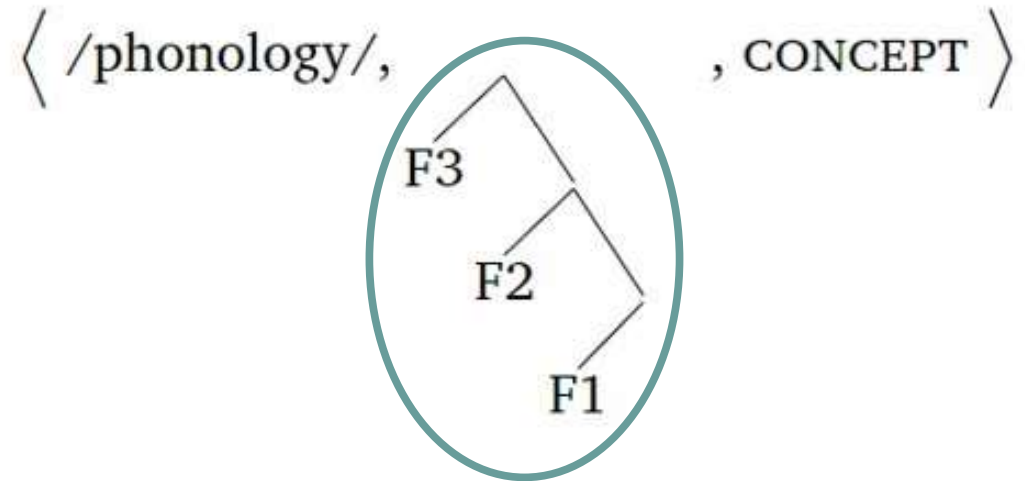
LEXICALISATION

Lexicalisation is a process of matching between syntax and the lexicon based on identity

Syntactic structure:



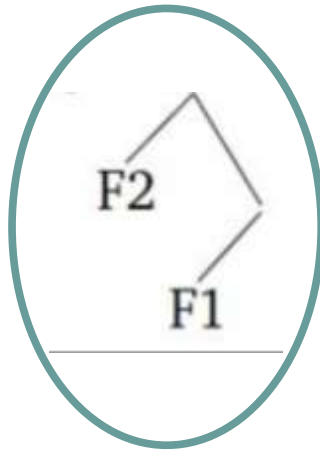
Lexical Entry₁:



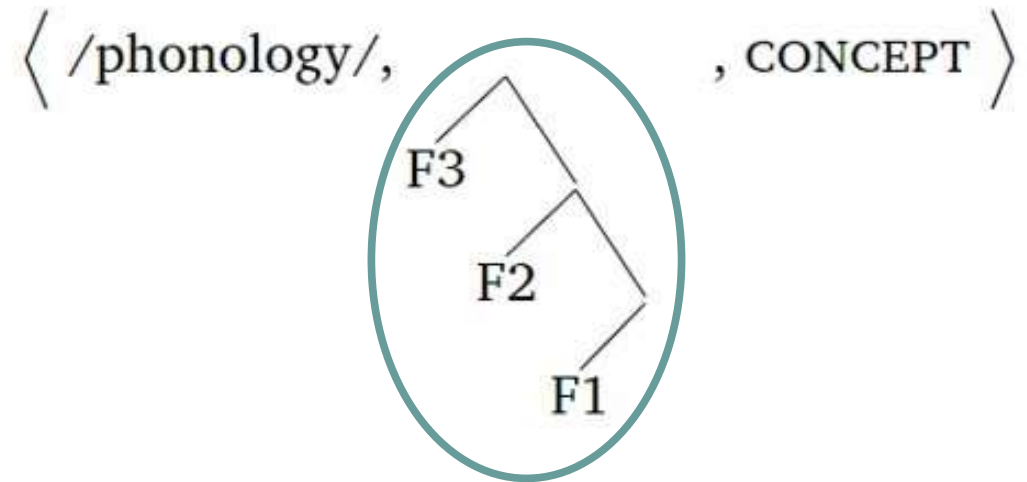
SUPERSET EFFECT

F3 [F2 [F1]] is a superset of the syntactic structure

Syntactic structure:



Lexical Entry₁:

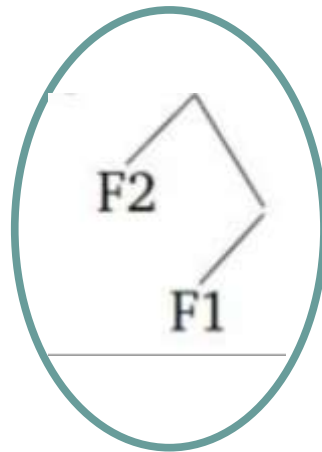


ELSEWHERE CONDITION

The lexical item with the least amount of (extra) features gets to lexicalise first

Lexical Entry₁ \langle /phonology/, , **CONCEPT** \rangle **Lexical Entry**₂ \langle /phonology/, , **CONCEPT** \rangle

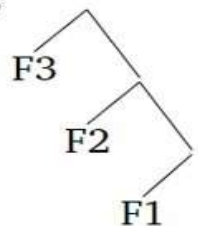
Syntactic structure:



OVERRIDE

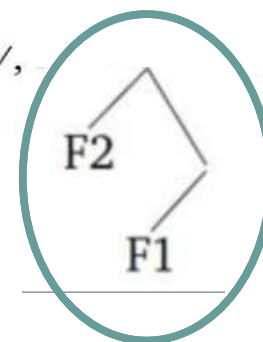
Previous lexicalisations are overridden

Lexical Entry₁ \langle /phonology/,



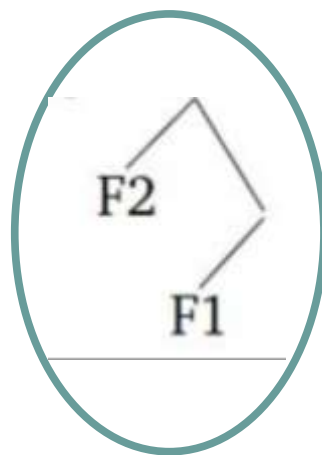
, CONCEPT \rangle

Lexical Entry₂ \langle /phonology/,



, CONCEPT \rangle

Syntactic structure:

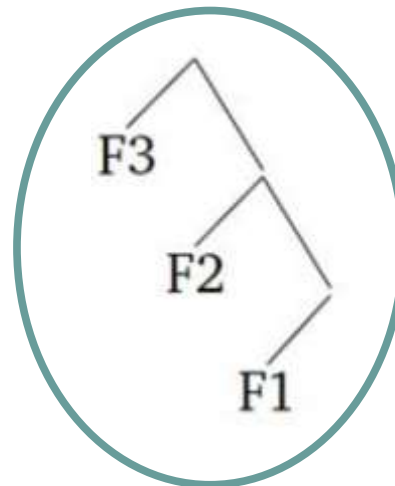


OVERRIDE

Previous lexicalisations are overridden



Syntactic structure:

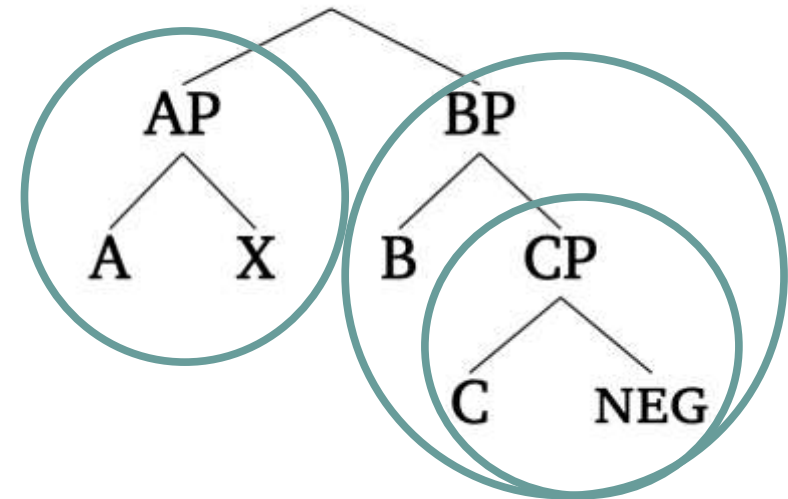
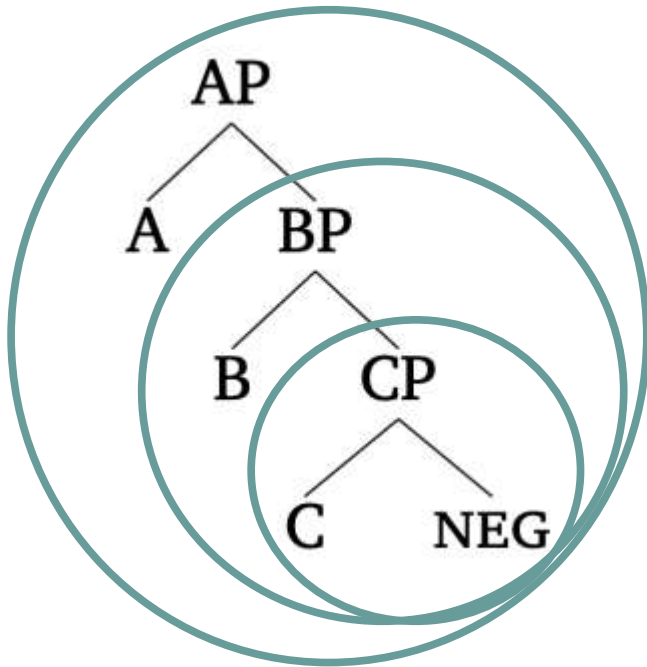


CROSS-LINGUISTIC VARIATION

- Variation is understood in terms of different patterns of lexicalisation
- = Each language packages the same underlying functional sequence (FSEQ) in its own language-specific way

CROSS-LINGUISTIC VARIATION

Lexical items differ in size and shape:



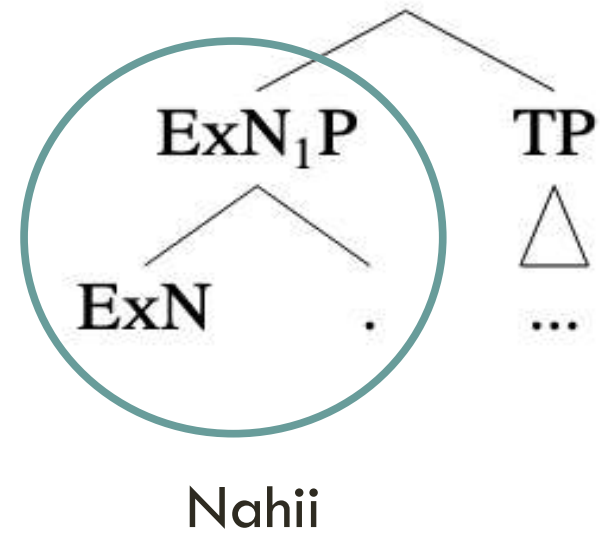
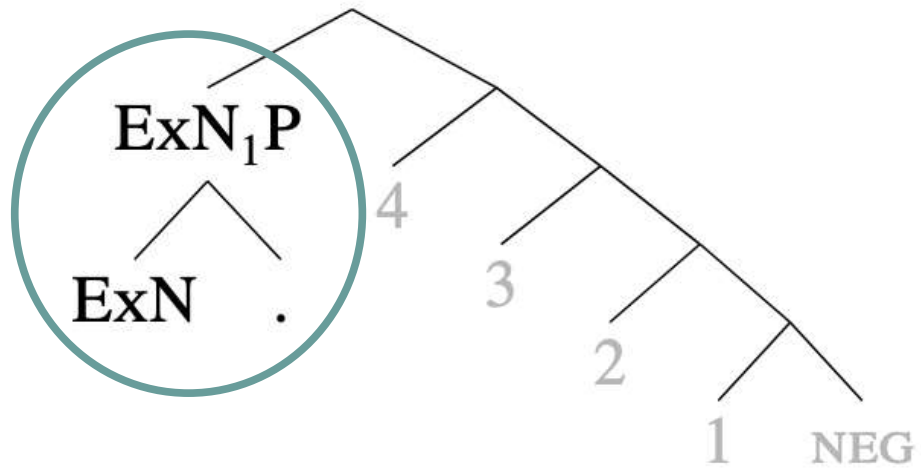
SYNTACTIC IMPLEMENTATIONS

HINDI-URDU

	ExN?	Neg3	Neg2	ExN?	Neg1
Hindi-Urdu	na	mat/na	na	nahii	nahii

IN UNTIL-CLAUSES

Nahii \Leftrightarrow



IN FEAR-CLAUSES

- 2 options: either ExN_1 has to be moved or ExN_2 is merged in situ



MOVEMENT

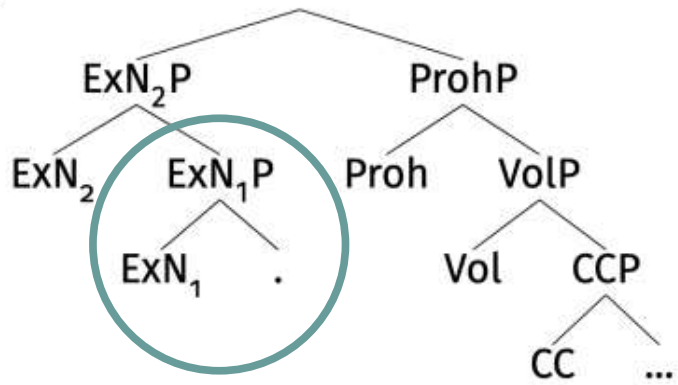
- For languages like Czech, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Italian, Burushaski etc. which have a syncretism across the board, we may expect that movement is necessary to ensure override and NO doubling

- (42)
- a. Petr čekal dokud se Marie **neprobudila**.
P. waited.IMPf until REFL M. ExN-woke.up.PF
'Peter waited until Marie woke up.'
- b. Peter se bojí aby někdo **nepřišel** na oslavu.
P. REFL fears SBJV someone ExN-came.PF to party
'Peter fears that someone will/might come to the party.'

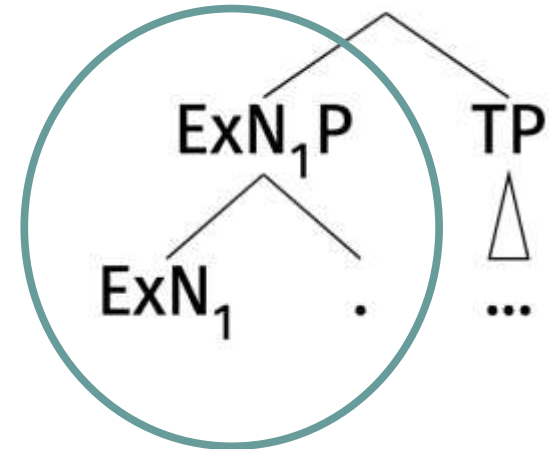
MOVEMENT

Lexicon:

ne- ⇔



Syntax:

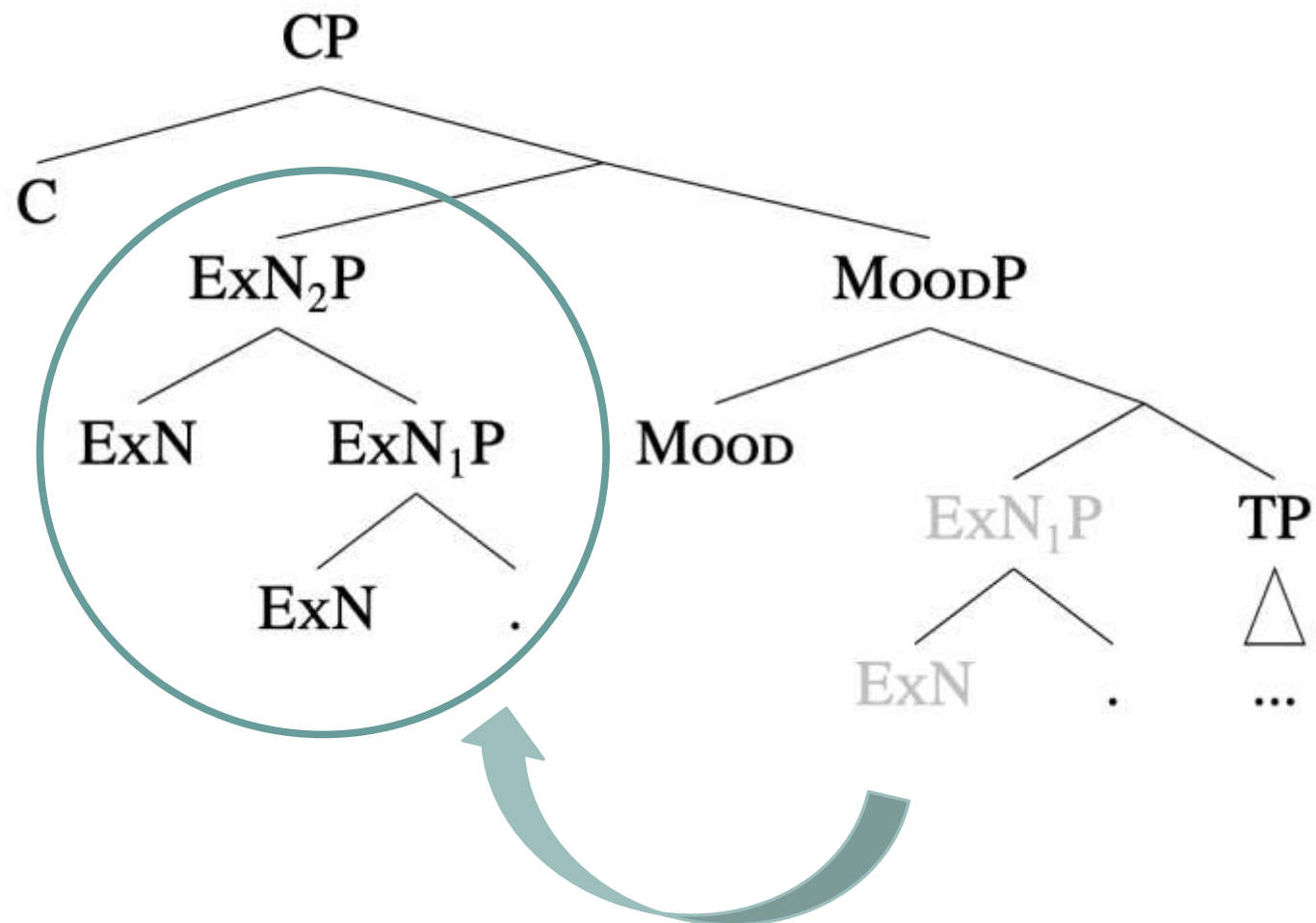
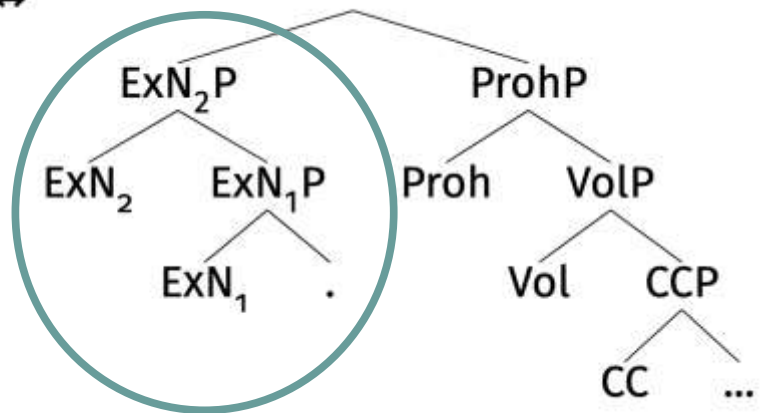


MOVEMENT

Syntax:

Lexicon:

ne- ⇔



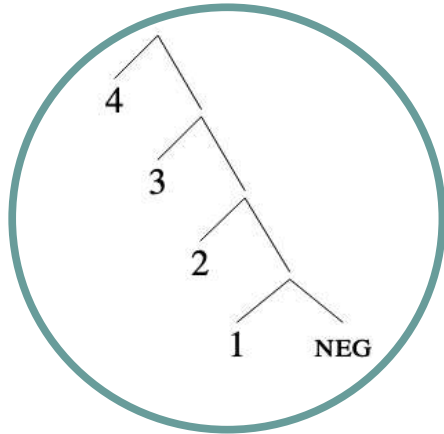
MERGE IN SITU

- Modern Greek: stacking may provide an argument for merge in situ

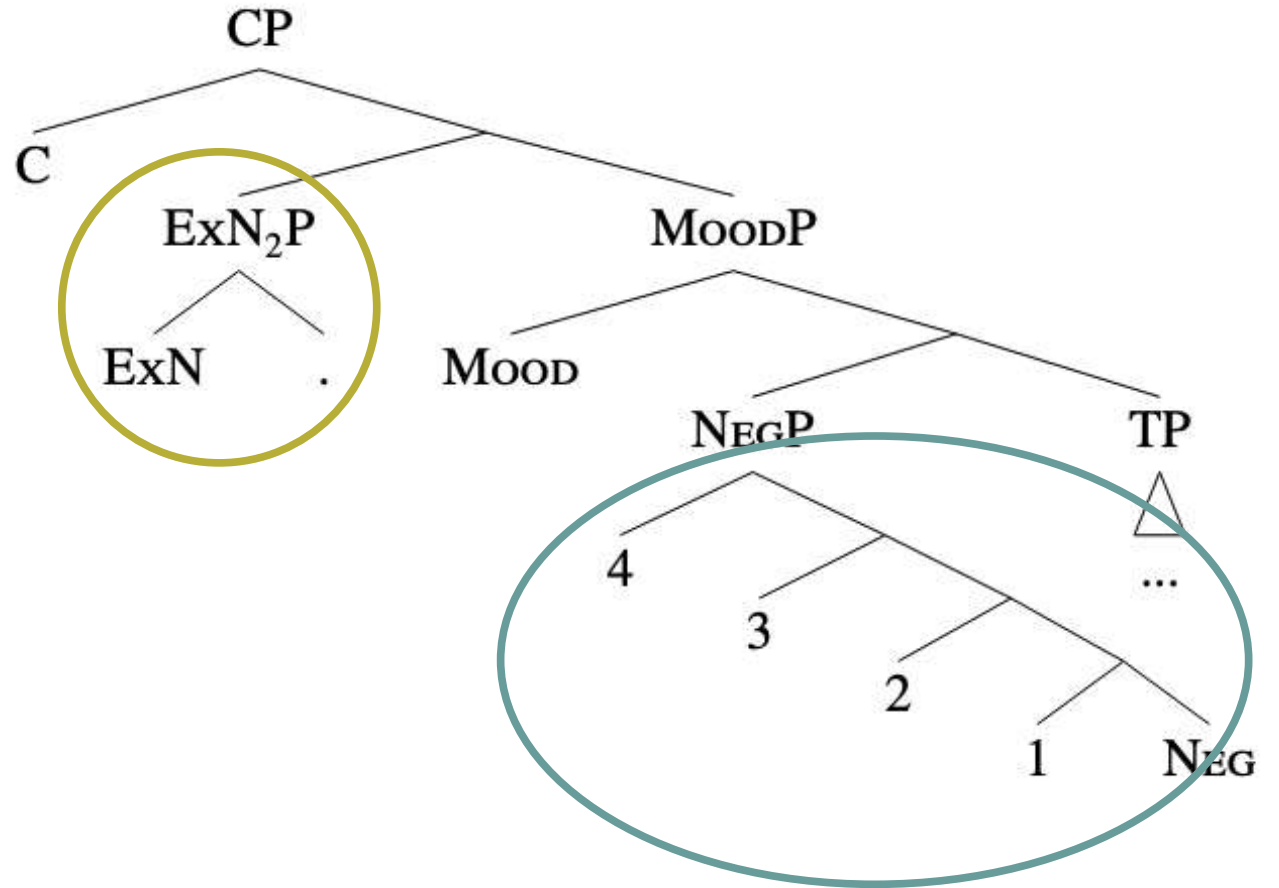
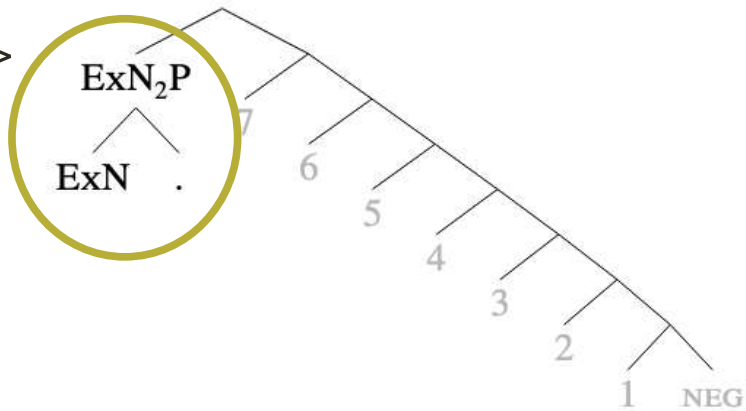
- (43) a. Kita **min dhen** piye sto parti. (MG)
Check ExN NEG went to party
'Check if she didn't go the party.'
- b. Fovame **min dhen** erthei.
Fear-1 SG ExN NEG come
'I fear that he won't come.'

MERGE IN SITU

dhen \leq



min \leq



CONCLUSION

- Build on Greco (2019) and Tsiakmakis's (2025) observations that there is a split between different types of expletive negation
- Argue that this split is not between 'apparent' and 'real' negation, but rather between 'tense' and 'modal' markers
- Provide cross-linguistic morphological evidence for this distinction
- Propose an analysis in Nanosyntax (Caha et al. 2024) which may capture this distinction

Thank you !

- We also thank **Karen De Clercq** for the insightful discussions on the technical implementation of ExN