

The Russian Apprehensive Construction: Syntactic Status Reassessed, Negation Vindicated

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<i>Chapter 1</i>	Introduction	5
	1.1 Restating the problem	5
	1.2 The agenda	7
	1.3 The usage-based approach	7
<i>Chapter 2</i>	Negation: tackling an old problem from a new perspective	9
	2.1 “Inutile” negation	9
	2.2 Jespersen’s paratactic account and subordination	10
	2.3 Uncertainty and undesirability	12
	2.4 Negation and intersubjectivity	15
	Summary	18
<i>Chapter 3</i>	The Russian apprehensive construction: a closer look	19
	3.1 More than fear	19
	3.2 Defining the status of <i>kak</i>	20
	3.3 Verbs	22
	3.4 More constructions	24
	Summary	26
<i>Chapter 4</i>	From purpose to apprehension	27
	4.1 <i>Čtoby</i> vs. <i>kak by</i>	27
	4.2 Link to purpose clauses	28
	4.3 From negative purpose via fear to apprehension	30
	4.4 A diachronic sketch	33
	Summary	36
<i>Chapter 5</i>	Corpus investigation	37
	5.1 External syntax	37
	5.1.1 Independent use dominates	37
	5.1.2 Complement clause?	40

5.1.3	Adjunct?	45
5.1.4	Special cases	47
5.1.5	Speech and thought representation	50
	Interim summary	54
5.2	Verbs: finiteness and aspect	54
5.3	Verbs: lexical semantics	57
5.4	Returning to negation	61
	Summary	68
	Conclusions	69
6.1	Independent construction	69
6.2	Negation: not so special after all	70
6.3	Translation matters	71
	References	76
	Materials used	78

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AUX	auxiliary
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfective
INF	infinitive
INTJ	interjection
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation
PL	plural
PRN	pronoun
PREP	preposition
PFV	perfective
PRS	present
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive

Figures

<i>Figure 1</i>	The construal configuration and its basic elements	16
<i>Figure 2</i>	‘On the contrary’ relates to evoked mental space	17
<i>Figure 3</i>	Negation opens a second mental space	64
<i>Figure 4</i>	Mental space configuration for <i>Ja bojus’, kak by on ne zabolet</i>	68

Tables

<i>Table 1</i>	External syntax of the Russian apprehensive construction	39
<i>Table 2</i>	Verbs found in the CTP slot before the Russian apprehensive construction.	43
<i>Table 3</i>	Verbs most frequently used in the Russian apprehensive construction.	60

Introduction

1.1 Restating the problem

This thesis initially arose from an attempt to come to grips with the function of a seemingly illogical negation in a construction of the Russian language used to express apprehension. In the process, the focus shifted more towards syntax as this track of analysis proved to be promising in terms of accounting for negation as well as bringing to light some notable properties of this construction.

Russian allows two complement alternatives following predicates of fear and apprehension — an affirmative complement clause with a verb in the future indicative form as in (1), and a subjunctive complement clause with negation, seen in example (2). The Russian subjunctive mood, *soslagatel'noe naklonenie*, is marked with the enclitic particle *by* (*b*) that combines with infinitives and verbs in the past tense form (or the so-called *l*-form)¹.

- (1) *Ja bojus', čto on zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG COMP he fall.ill-FUT.PFV.3SG
 'I'm afraid that he will fall ill.'
- (2) *Ja bojus', kak by on ne zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'I'm afraid that he may fall ill.'²

Example (2) is interpreted affirmatively just like example (1), despite the presence of the negative particle *ne*. In both cases the speaker expresses fear that the complement proposition will be realized, i.e. that the referent of *on* 'he' will fall ill. Hence, the negation in (2) is irrelevant in terms of the truth value of the proposition, which makes it seemingly superfluous. It is this “illogical” negation that drew attention to this construction, which incidentally has parallels in other languages, including French with its ubiquitous example *Je crains qu'il ne vienne*. — 'I'm afraid he's coming.' The French case has been widely discussed in the literature, including from the prescriptivist perspective, since the negative particle *ne* is an optional element, i.e. it provides a choice for speakers. In the

1 This form will be glossed as PST (past tense) throughout the paper, although it should be borne in mind that the verbs actually denote hypothetical events that may take place in the future.

2 The reasons for glossing *kak* as PTCL (particle) are discussed in Section 3.2.

Russian construction, the negation is always present, and its “irregularity” is not an issue for speakers. Furthermore, the main clause in (2) can be freely omitted, and the apprehensive construction can be used independently with essentially the same function:

- (3) *Kak by on ne zabolet.*
 PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 ‘He may fall ill.’

Despite the fact that the Russian apprehensive construction is often used independently, without being tied to any predicate of fear or apprehension (as the quantitative data presented in this thesis will show), most of the existing research seems to be based on the assumption that it is essentially a dependent-clause construction, and the problem of negation is tackled accordingly. In this thesis, an attempt will be made to demonstrate that adopting this approach can impose unnecessary restrictions on analysis.

There are, of course, arguments in favor of adhering to the traditional view. First, one may be influenced by similar constructions in other languages, including the aforementioned French case. The desire is then to find a common cross-linguistic solution — a pursuit that sometimes goes far beyond the “illogical” negation that appears after predicates of fear. Second, at the formal level, example (2) seems to be perfectly comparable to (1) as it has all typical attributes of a complementation construction. Under the traditional analysis, *kak* in (2) is assumed to be a conjunction or a constituent of a complex conjunction that links a complement clause to its matrix. The predominant view is also admittedly dictated by usage — the apprehensive construction is specifically associated with predicates of fear and apprehension that do often accompany it. However, there are other mental state predicates that can co-occur with this construction, and there has been no formal study thus far that would offer quantitative data showing how exactly different environments of usage are distributed.

This thesis presents evidence demonstrating that the *kak by ne* construction should be treated as an essentially independent-clause construction distinguished by a high degree of syntactic flexibility, whereas its so-called “complement” use is only secondary. While this can be stated as the main goal of the ensuing discussion and analysis, two other additional tasks are also pursued. This thesis shows that the apprehensive construction is polyfunctional, which directly correlates with its syntactic flexibility. Lastly, the role of negation is not forgotten either: this thesis adds support to the view that the negation in the Russian apprehensive construction is not a dummy but a fully functional element.

1.2 The agenda

In order to answer the main research question regarding the syntactic status of the apprehensive construction, a detailed description of the construction and its constituents is offered first, followed by a discussion of a number of functionally and semantically similar constructions of the Russian language. It is demonstrated that taking the broader construction into account and establishing synchronic links with related constructions can be rewarding in terms of analyzing a specific construction. In particular, it is argued that the existence in Russian of related constructions that are used independently corroborates the view that the apprehensive construction is primarily autonomous. In addition, some diachronic facts establishing links within the construction are also briefly considered, which sheds light on a possible path of the historical development that this construction could have followed. Finally, the central hypothesis is supported by a synchronic usage-based analysis. This analysis is also expected to be instrumental in identifying various functions that can be performed by the apprehensive construction in different syntactic environments.

The research itself represents a corpus investigation for which all instances of the construction covering the last 40 years of usage were retrieved from the Russian National Corpus (www.ruscorpora.ru). The data were inspected manually and categorized into groups based on the syntactic status of the apprehensive construction. The findings are discussed in the light of the available theoretical background, and internal peculiarities of the construction are examined as well.

1.3 The usage-based approach

This thesis adopts a usage-based, constructionist approach to grammar. The basic premise behind the usage-based model is that linguistic knowledge is based on usage, i.e. on generalizations over usage events in a speaker's linguistic experience. The usage-based tenet is shared by most constructionist approaches to grammar, including different varieties of construction grammar (e.g. Goldberg 1995, 2003; Croft 2001) and cognitive grammar (Langacker 1987). Under these approaches, constructions, defined as conventional pairings of function and form at varying levels of complexity and abstraction (Goldberg 1995), are viewed as fundamental units of linguistic analysis. As highlighted by Goldberg (1995: 13), "a construction is posited in the grammar if and only if something about its form, meaning, or use is not predictable from other aspects of the grammar, including previously established constructions." Put differently, constructions are always idiomatic in the sense that they all have some idiosyncratic properties that cannot be derived from knowledge of the rest of the grammar.

Meaning is understood broadly as incorporating all conventionalized aspects of a construction's function, including semantic, pragmatic, and discourse features. When analyzing phrasal constructions, the notion of "constructional meaning" is of great importance, i.e. the content that cannot be directly predicted from the constituents of a construction but that is contributed by the construction itself (see, for example, the analysis of argument-structure constructions in Goldberg 1995).

Constructions of a language do not exist as an unstructured set. They form a network in which nodes are related by inheritance links. This network of constructions is often referred to as "constructicon."

These are some of the underlying assumptions of the chosen theoretical framework that are most relevant to this study. Among other things, they highlight the value of analyzing facts of actual language use, including frequency patterns. With this in mind, a corpus study was chosen as the most appropriate form of investigation.

* * *

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 2 provides an overview of some of the existing accounts of non-standard negation; Chapter 3 discusses key properties of the apprehensive construction and its position in the wider constructicon based on the available literature and some preliminary observations; Chapter 4 explores how the construction could have developed historically and what implications this has in terms of its syntactic profile; Chapter 5 presents the results of the corpus investigation; Chapter 6 contains concluding remarks.

Negation: tackling an old problem from a new perspective

2.1 “Inutile” negation

The seemingly illogical negation in the Russian apprehensive construction is only one of numerous similar cases (other than negative concord) when negation does not truth-conditionally negate a proposition and thus seems to be functionally superfluous. Non-standard³ negation in apprehensive contexts is also found in Latin, Ancient Greek, Romance languages (French, Catalan), Sanskrit and modern north Indian languages (Hindi, Bengali) as well as Japanese and Korean. Below, a Catalan example from Espinal (1997: 75) and a Bengali example elicited from a native speaker are presented:

- (4) a. Tinc por que arribaran tard.
 have fear that arrive+FUT late
 ‘I’m afraid they will arrive late.’
- b. Tinc por que **no** arribin tard.
 have fear that NEG arrive+SUBJ
 ‘I’m afraid they might arrive late.’
- (5) *tin maś dhore bṛṣṭi hoy ni. jholer obhab*
 three month during rain be-PRS NEG water shortage
na hoy jay.
 NEG be-PRS go-AUX.PRS.3SG
 ‘It hasn’t rained for three months. There may be a shortage of water.’

Non-standard negation also occurs after certain subordinating conjunctions, for example *depuis que* ‘since’ or *avant que* ‘before’ in French as in *Je l’ai prévenu avant qu’il ne soit trop tard* (‘I warned him before it was too late’) or *poka* ‘until’ in Russian as in *Ja budu ždat’, poka on ne pridet* (‘I will wait until he comes’). Comparative constructions in some languages are also known to allow or require negation. For example, negation can be found in Italian comparatives: *Maria è piu intelligente di quanto tu non creda* (‘Maria is more intelligent than you believe’).

3 “Non-standard” is chosen here as the most neutral of the available terms. Other terms include “paratactic”, “expletive”, “pleonastic”, and even “abusive” (Vendryes, 1950).

In addition to these contexts, non-standard negation is also found in exclamatives, emphatic questions, concessive conditionals, and some other constructions.

Quite unsurprisingly, this plethora of cases has generated a considerable amount of attention. A number of accounts have been proposed that ultimately reflect their advocates' answer to the question of whether the seemingly superfluous negation carries any semantic or pragmatic value. Horn (2010: 111–148) provides an illustrative catalogue of examples from different languages along with a brief discussion of some of the existing approaches to the problem.

One of the two basic approaches to this question assigns no functional value to this kind of negation viewing it as a truly expletive, i.e. semantically redundant, element that appears in certain negative licensing contexts. In Van der Wouden (1994), subordinate non-standard negation in comparatives, *before/unless/without*-clauses and clauses after adversative predicates is analyzed as a negative concordance item that is licensed by an operator in a higher clause. According to Van der Wouden, the distribution of negation is akin to the distribution of negative polarity items, and its semantic weight is effectively null.

The problem with this and similar accounts is that they fail to explain why the “inutile” negation exists at all, and more importantly why it is so ubiquitous cross-linguistically. An alternative approach is to recognize that this negation does serve a semantic or possibly pragmatic function, which in turn raises the question as to what exactly this function involves. In this respect, Jespersen's insight of paratactic negation, and some more recent accounts highlighting the link between non-standard negation and non-veridicality as well as the subjective and ultimately the intersubjective side of negation, are most relevant to this study.

2.2 Jespersen's paratactic account and subordination

In his influential monograph *Negation in English and other languages* (1917), Jespersen discusses the use of negation in complement clauses after certain “verbs of negative import” like *deny*, *forbid*, *hinder* or *doubt*, for example as in: *You may deny that you were not* (i.e. you were) *the mean of my Lord Hastings imprisonment* (Shakespeare, *Richard III*). According to his analysis, the complement is “treated as an independent sentence, and the negative is expressed as if there had been no main sentence of that particular type” (1917: 75). Paraphrasing Jespersen, the use of negation signals that the complement clause functions as an independent clause, expressing the content of doubt, prohibition, or denial referred to by the predicate in the main clause.

This account has been repeatedly challenged, including on the grounds that a complement clause with a non-standard negation does not behave more like an independent sentence than an embedded clause. Joly (1972) rearranges parts of the classic French example (6), claiming that if Jespersen's paratactic account were true,

then the negative (7) would correspond to (6) rather than the affirmative (8), whereas in reality it is the other way round. Joly goes on to stress that this kind of negation “never” appears in independent clauses — a claim that flies in the face of facts given that in languages such as Russian, free-standing use is absolutely legitimate.

- (6) Je crains qu’il ne vienne. [cited from Horn 2010: 131]
 ‘I’m afraid that he’s coming.’
- (7) Il ne viendra, je le crains.
 ‘He isn’t coming, I fear.’
- (8) Il viendra, je le crains.
 ‘He is coming, I fear’

Jespersen’s account is valuable for the present discussion because it makes it possible to overcome the fixation on the notions of embeddedness and dependence that are so entrenched in traditional syntactic analysis. Instead, the idea of considerable independence of what is conventionally analyzed as subordinate structures is emphasized. This provides an opportune moment to comment on the noticeable shift in the way complex sentences with elements of the kind *I think*, *I promise*, *I fear* are now treated in the literature.

Complement clauses in such sentences are traditionally analyzed as syntactically dependent structures that occupy an argument position of the predicate in the main clause. Thus, *I think she will come* is believed to have two propositions, with *I think* denoting the process of thinking. More recently it has been shown that this analysis is not always adequate. In their study on child language acquisition, Diesel & Tomasello (2001) demonstrate that predicates of the type *I think* function “as an epistemic marker, attention getter, or marker of illocutionary force” in children’s first complement constructions and that the whole sentence thus “contains only a single proposition expressed by the apparent complement clause” (2001: 97). Likewise, Thompson & Mulac (1991) argue that verbs of propositional attitudes like *think* and *guess* are becoming epistemic parentheticals in English that qualify an assertion rather than introduce a proposition.

On a more conceptual level, Verhagen (2005) examines a wider range of complementation constructions within the context of intersubjective approach, which is central to this study and is discussed in greater detail below. Several notorious problems in the analysis of complementation constructions, such as deciding whether complement clauses in copula constructions of the kind *The problem is that ...* are subjects or predicates, disappear when the intersubjective perspective is adopted. Verhagen argues against the view that matrix clauses of the kind *X thinks/promises/hopes that Y* represent events of some sort as objects of conceptualization, and

instead proposes placing them in the intersubjective dimension, viewing them as performing the task of cognitive coordination. Complementation constructions are thus treated not as “structural devices to present one objectively construed event as subordinate to another, but [as] devices to invite an addressee to consider an object of conceptualization (presented in a complement clause) from a particular perspective in a particular way (as specified in the matrix clause)” (2005: 215). For example, in the exchange below *I promise that X* serves as an argument for the addressee to strengthen the assumption that X will happen:

- (9) a. Can I be in Amsterdam before the match starts? [Verhagen 2005: 109]
 b. I promise that I’ll have the car at the door at 2 o’clock.

This framework can easily incorporate Jespersen’s initial insight regarding a degree of independence of complement clauses with non-standard negation, providing a potentially rewarding avenue for analysis. However, there appears to be much more in the equation.

2.3 Uncertainty and undesirability

The Russian apprehensive construction was introduced at the beginning of this thesis using a standard pair of constructed examples that are repeated below for the convenience of the reader:

- (1) *Ja bojus’, čto on zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG COMP he fall.ill-FUT.PFV.3SG
 ‘I’m afraid that he will fall ill.’
- (2) *Ja bojus’, kak by on ne zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 ‘I’m afraid that he may fall ill.’

As stated in Section 1.1, both sentences are interpreted affirmatively, despite the presence of negation in (2). In both cases the speaker expresses fear that the complement proposition will be realized.

The question immediately arises as to how these two constructions differ semantically. The English translation suggests that the difference between (1) and (2) lies in the varying levels of certainty each sentence projects, with the latter indicating a lower degree of certainty as implied by *may*. This straightforward analysis is proposed, among others, by Noonan (2007: 131): “In Russian, a complement that is interpreted affirmatively is put in the negative (and in the subjunctive) if the

complement represents simple possibility, but in the positive (and the indicative) if the complement is interpreted as something almost certain to occur.” This analysis works well for decontextualized examples and complies with the general idea of a realis/irrealis opposition as being expressed through indicative/subjunctive forms. In other words, to a large extent this claim is based not on negation but on the function of the subjunctive mood it accompanies.

Interestingly, a similar explanation can be found in a recent textbook on Russian syntax: “The conjunction *čto* is accompanied by the indicative mood, hence the fear-provoking situation is rendered as quite realistic and the whole phrase takes on a more categorical character” as compared to cases with the conjunction *kak by*, which “with the help of the subjunctive mood expresses a situation that is only probable” (Skoblikova 2006: 47; translated from Russian). Negation thus appears to take a back seat relative to mood, with the role of negation remaining unclear.

A broader approach has been proposed in connection with the notion of non-veridicality, first introduced by Montague in 1969. According to a definition by Giannakidou (2013: 2), non-veridical contexts are contexts in which “the truth of a proposition *p* is open (i.e. *p* is not entailed or presupposed): questions, modal verbs and adverbs, imperatives, conditionals, the future disjunctions, *before*-clauses, and subjunctive selecting propositional attitudes such as *want*, *hope*, *suggest*”. Put differently, non-veridical contexts can be viewed as involving uncertainty and lack of commitment. The idea that non-standard negation may depend on non-veridicality is favored by, among others, Yoon (2011) who examines a wide range of constructions with non-standard negation, including complement clauses after verbs of fear and hope, exclamatives, emphatic questions, dubitatives, concessive conditionals, *before*-clauses, *until*-clauses, polite requests and comparatives. Yoon argues that “the negative element is adopted for the purpose of circumventing a commitment to a truthful statement” (2011: 18), showing that its distribution tracks that of negative-polarity items and subjunctive mood, i.e. it occurs in non-veridical contexts. She eventually proposes to search for a solution in the subjective, evaluative domain, adding pragmatics to the semantic analysis of negation. Yoon argues that in all these contexts negation contributes an evaluative dimension of negative anticipation, undesirability, or low likelihood. Moreover, in her analysis, negation can also serve to soften or strengthen illocutionary force, being similar in this respect to the subjunctive mood. Overall, affinities between non-standard negation and the subjunctive mood, including their dependence on non-veridicality, are highlighted throughout Yoon’s dissertation, with the researcher concluding that this type of negation can be viewed as a “subspecies of subjunctive mood marker” (2011: 21) and proposing the term “evaluative negation.”

These observations are partially mirrored in a completely different cross-linguistic analysis by Dobrushina⁴ (2006), which is focused specifically on grammatical

4 The Russian names are transliterated in the same way as in English publications of the respective authors.

forms and constructions that express apprehension. In her extensive survey, Dobrushina demonstrates that some languages make use of negative forms of volitive moods such as subjunctive, optative or imperative to express apprehension. She argues that these forms are suitable for the purpose due to their evaluative component: ‘The speaker doesn’t want situation P to take place’. Hence, the negative apprehensive is distinguished by the “volitive” component. By contrast, the affirmative apprehensive simply projects possibility and arises from epistemic modality. In this category, Dobrushina includes epistemic modal verbs and future tense forms as in *Ja boj’us’, čto on zaboleet*. It would thus seem that, under this approach, the component of undesirability becomes more prominent. In a later paper (2012), Dobrushina also links negation to the semantics of *bojat’sja*, citing a detailed analysis by Zaliznjak (1992) that delimitates the epistemic and the volitional components in the semantics of fear predicates.

In a similar vein, Zorikhina Nilsson (2012) appears to suggest that the semantics of the Russian apprehensive construction with negation is distinguished by the component of undesirability, with the speaker expressing the wish that the situation denoted in the complement clause will not take place:

(10) *Ja bojus’, kak by doč ne zaboleta.* [Zorikhina Nilsson 2012: 66]

I am anxious for my daughter not to get ill.

‘The speaker expresses concern about the possibility that the situation [...] may occur.’

‘The speaker expresses the wish that the situation [...] would not occur.’

(11) *Ja bojus’, čto doč zaboleet.*

I am afraid that my daughter will get ill.

‘The speaker expresses concern about the possibility that the situation [...] may occur.’

According to Zorikhina Nilsson, the element of undesirability is found “in a rather weak form” (2012: 66), being essentially produced by the subjunctive mood. As for negation, she argues that the context of the apprehensive construction is an example of assertion-suspending contexts⁵, in which “nontrivial” behavior of linguistic units, including negation, can be expected. Thus, Zorikhina Nilsson appears to concur with Yoon (2011) regarding the link between non-standard negation and contexts in which a proposition is not asserted. She goes on to state that the negative particle in the apprehensive construction has a semantic function, but does not explain what exactly this function involves.

5 The notion of suspended assertion largely overlaps with non-veridicality. Both cover similar linguistic phenomena, however, they are used in different theoretical frameworks. For more details see Paducheva (2015).

Taken together, these accounts highlight undesirability and uncertainty as two possible components of meaning that can be attributed to the Russian apprehensive construction, with the latter being somewhat more salient as uncertainty appears to have more to do with the mood distinctions. To some extent, uncertainty can be also considered secondary relative to undesirability given that construing a situation as undesirable can be expected to imply a lesser degree of certainty in the sense that one would naturally want to distance oneself from a hypothetical adversative event. Undesirability thus emerges as a consensus as far as the semantics of the apprehensive construction is concerned. While this goes a long way towards clarifying the meaning at the constructional level, it does not allow us to determine the precise function of the negation, and an alternative approach is apparently required.

2.4 Negation and intersubjectivity

A fundamentally different view of negation in general, which can be advantageously extended to non-standard negation, is offered within the intersubjective approach (Verhagen 2005), mentioned above in connection with complementation. Underlying this approach is the view that language use is closely tied to the basic and distinctively human ability to coordinate cognitively with others. Rather than to exchange information, humans engage in communication in order to influence the cognition or behavior of their conspecifics. Every utterance is therefore viewed as an invitation from the speaker to the addressee to adopt a certain stance towards an object of conceptualization. Using the terminology of Anscombe and Ducrot (e.g. 1989), Verhagen argues that normal language use is always argumentative: “The default condition for ordinary expressions is that they provide an argument for some conclusion, and this argumentative orientation is what is constant in the function of the expression, while its information value is more variable” (Verhagen 2005: 10).

The idea of intersubjectivity as coordination of cognitive systems is represented graphically in the construal configuration in Figure 1 on page 17 (originally based on the “viewing arrangement” from Langacker 1987: 139). The lower part of the figure, or the Ground, comprises two conceptualizers in a language usage event. The subjects of conceptualization engage in cognitive coordination by means of the utterance: the first subject, who is responsible for the utterance, invites the second subject to jointly attend to an object of conceptualization (the upper half of the figure) and to adopt a certain stance towards it. The Ground also includes the knowledge that the conceptualizers mutually share, including models of each other and of the discourse situation. The subjects of conceptualization are on level S of the construal configuration; the object of conceptualization is on level O.

It is important to distinguish between meaning components at levels O and S. Consider, for example, (12) on the next page. The utterance *There are seats in this*

room induces the addressee to make positive inferences about the degree of comfort, and therefore the continuation with *And moreover* is incongruous unlike the version with the contrastive conjunction *But*. Put differently, the addressee has to treat the utterance of (12) as an attempt on the part of the speaker to induce inferences of a particular kind. This is an example of an operation on level S of the construal configuration. If we were to look only at level O, it would be impossible to explain the acceptability of (a), on the one hand, and the incongruity of (b), on the other hand.

- (12) There are seats in this room. [Verhagen 2005: 11]
 a. But they are uncomfortable.
 b. #And moreover, they are uncomfortable.

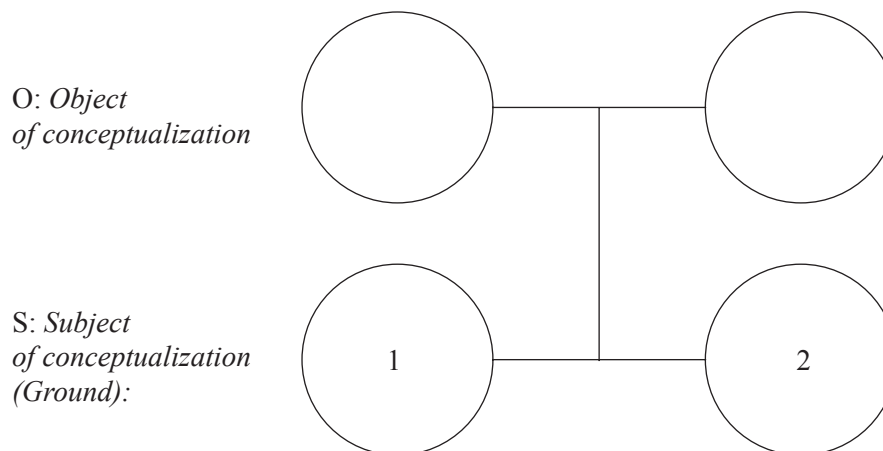
The primary function of negation from this perspective is located at S level, i.e. in the intersubjective dimension. In other words, it is understood in terms of cognitive coordination and not in terms of the relation between language and the objective world, or the speaker and the objective world.

According to Verhagen, when a sentential negation is used the speaker essentially instructs the addressee to entertain two distinct representations, or “mental spaces” in the sense of Fauconnier (1994), and to adopt one of them and reject the other. Compare, for instance, (13) and (14):

- (13) Mary is not happy. [Verhagen 2007: 67]
 (14) Mary is unhappy.

Both expressions activate the notion of happiness serving as the Ground for the characterization of Mary’s emotional state. The two utterances thus do not differ on O level of construal. The difference between them lies in the coordination relation

Figure 1. The construal configuration and its basic elements (Verhagen 2005: 7)



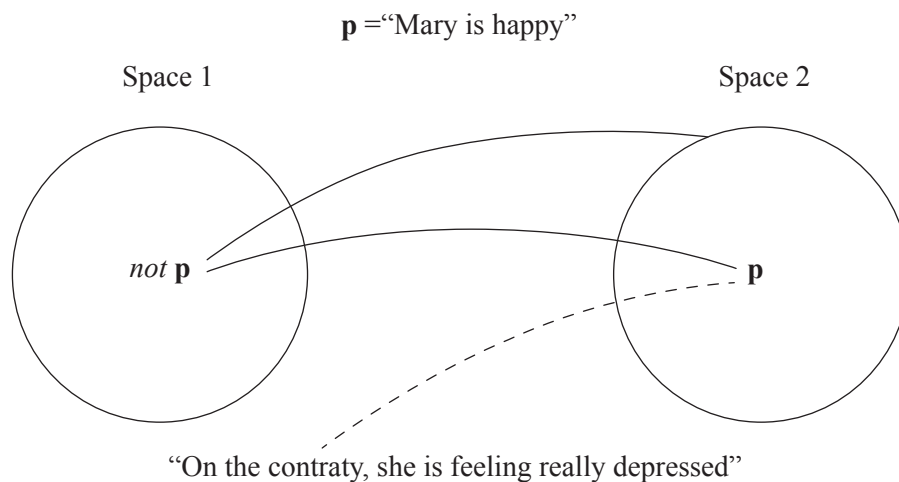
between the conceptualizers. Of the two expressions only (13) profiles two alternative views with respect to the proposition ‘Mary is happy’: conceptualizer 1 rejects the positive epistemic stance of conceptualizer 2. Consider further fragment (15), and the corresponding graphic representation in Figure 2 (Verhagen 2005: 31–32).

(15) Mary is not happy. On the contrary, she is feeling really depressed.

The use of the negation *not* in (15) “opens” another mental space indicated in Figure 2 by the line from *not* to Space 2. It profiles the contrast between the stance towards ‘Mary is happy’ in the base space of conceptualizer 1 (Space 1) and the evoked mental space (Space 2). It is Space 2 that the discourse marker *on the contrary* relates to. Mary’s depressed emotional state is contrary to the idea of her being happy, not to her not being happy (which is what conceptualizer 1 has just expressed). Thus, the sentence with *On the contrary* is opposed to the position of Space 2 evoked by the use of *not* in Space 1.

In short, negation operates as a tool for cognitive coordination by projecting two distinct mental spaces with different epistemic stances towards the same proposition. Verhagen demonstrates that the intersubjective approach has impressive explanatory power and can be applied not only to sentential negation but also to other phenomena related to negation, for instance, the puzzle of double negation or expressions such as *little change, barely, let alone*, as well as the way these interact grammatically. While Verhagen himself does not include any examples of non-standard negation in his discussion, this framework should allow for a natural account for such cases, including the Russian apprehensive construction; and when it can be advantageously applied, this will in turn provide further support for the general approach.

Figure 2. “On the contrary” relates to evoked mental space (≠ Space 1)



Summary

The outline of various strategies for analyzing non-standard negation, presented in this chapter, yields the following important take-aways. First, it allows us to take a fresh look at the issue of subordination and its interaction with the seemingly illogical negation in complement clauses. Jespersen's initial paratactic insight combined with the evolved views on the role of elements of the kind *I think, I promise, I fear* allows us to discard the deeply entrenched notion of embeddedness and dependence and follow a line of analysis based on the hypothesized independence of the apprehensive construction in Russian. As regards semantics, there seems to be a general understanding in existing literature that elements such as undesirability and uncertainty may be at play, with the former being somewhat more salient. However, as noted in Section 2.3, it would hardly be satisfactory to claim that the function of negation consists directly in contributing the notion of undesirability to the semantics of the construction. Therefore, a more precise explanation is still needed. With this in mind, the intersubjective approach will be incorporated into the present research as it appears to offer an opportunity for improved analysis by allowing us to address an old problem from a completely different perspective.

The Russian apprehensive construction: a closer look

Following a general discussion of non-standard negation, in this chapter attention shifts back to the main focus of this thesis: the Russian apprehensive construction. Based on the available literature and some preliminary observations, an overview of its key components is provided along with a discussion of some related constructions. The aim of this chapter is to lay the groundwork for the corpus investigation that follows.

3.1 More than fear

The line of reasoning adopted in this thesis implies that whatever appears in the position preceding *kak by ne*, i.e. matrix clauses with verbs of fear/apprehension or any other elements, is not part of the apprehensive construction but only constitutes its external syntactic environment. In the basic example *Ja bojus'*, *kak by on ne zabolet* it is the string *kak by on ne zabolet* that is an instantiation of the apprehensive construction — a conventional pairing of form and function that is distinguished by its own idiosyncratic features. The matrix clause *Ja bojus'* is viewed as optional and external. This stands in contrast to the traditional approach that treats *Ja bojus'* as the subordinating member of a larger apprehensive construction and *kak by on ne zabolet* as its dependent, subordinated member.

While matrix clauses are viewed here as external to the apprehensive construction, it is nevertheless necessary to examine what type of predicates are possible in the position preceding the construction in order to substantiate this claim. This is done as part of the corpus analysis, so for now only some preliminary points are discussed.

The apprehensive construction can be preceded by a range of complement-taking predicates (CTP), with *bojat'sja* 'fear' representing only one of the potential options. In addition to verbs denoting fear and apprehension like *bojat'sja* as well as *opasat'sja* 'be apprehensive about something', this group, rather predictably, also includes predicates denoting emotive states that are linked to apprehension such as *bespokoit'sja* 'worry' and *volnovat'sja* 'be uneasy'. A distinct semantic subgroup of the predicates that co-occur with the apprehensive construction is represented by verbs of surveillance and supervision, for example *sledit'* 'keep an eye', and the verb of warning *predosteregat'* 'warn', 'admonish'. Apart from the verbs, nouns denoting fear-related emotions such as *strax* 'fear', *opasenie* 'apprehension',

and *bespokojstvo* ‘worry’ can also be found. Lastly, the CTP slot can be filled by the verb *dumat’* ‘think’.

It is of note that most of the verbs listed above are examples of what Verhagen, following Fauconnier (1994), refers to as “mental-space builders.” Such predicates “evoke a mental state or process of a subject of consciousness (...), and the content of the complement is associated with this subject’s consciousness in a particular manner” (Verhagen 2005: 100).

3.2 Defining the status of *kak*

Moving inside the boundaries of the construction, the role of *kak* must be examined. Following the traditional constituent analysis and using (2) as our guiding prototype as compared to (1), *kak* (just like *čto* ‘that’) would be straightforwardly analyzed as a conjunction linking a subordinate clause to its matrix. Another option, also in line with the traditional approach, would be to treat *kak* as a constituent of the complex conjunction *kak by* with the enclitical subjunctive particle *by*⁶. Yet another possibility would be to view the negative particle *ne* as part of this complementizer as well, in recognition of the form-function pairing. Furthermore, in Shvedova (1980) the combination *kak by ne* is placed in the inventory of particles, which appears to reflect the crucial fact that the apprehensive construction is often used independently.

- (1) *Ja bojus’, čto on zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG COMP he fall.ill-FUT.PFV.3SG
 ‘I’m afraid that he will fall ill.’
- (2) *Ja bojus’, kak by on ne zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 ‘I’m afraid that he may fall ill.’

Defining the status and function of *kak* in the apprehensive construction using the standard part-of-speech categories is problematic to say the least. It appears that using the term “particle” instead of assigning to *kak* the label “conjunction” would be a safer choice if we are to give a usage-based assessment of its function. Nevertheless, it is worth separately examining some of the functions of *kak* in other syntactic environments as this can generate useful insights concerning links within the construction as well as shed some light on how the semantics of the apprehensive construction may be motivated.

6 There are a number of other conjunctions with the enclitic *by* in Russian, including *čtoby*, *esli by*, *budto by* etc. See Brecht (1977) for a detailed analysis of *čtoby*.

To begin with, the simple conjunction *kak* is used in Russian to link complement clauses following some predicates of perception as in *Ja videl, kak on vošel* — ‘I saw that he entered.’ Directly related to this is the function of linking subordinate clauses of manner: *Ja ne znaju, kak on vošel* — ‘I don’t know how he entered.’ The combination *kak by* occurs in an infinitival construction expressing will, desire, or intent after certain predicates such as *dumat* ‘think’, *mečtat* ‘dream’, and *norovit* ‘aim to do something’. Cf.:

- (16) *On думает только о том, как бы сдать экзамен.*
 he think-PRS.3SG only PREP PRN COMP SUBJ
 pass-INF.PFV exam
 ‘He is only concerned about passing the exam.’

- (17) *Он думает только о том, как бы не провалит экзамен.*
 he think-PRS.3SG only PREP PRN COMP SUBJ NEG
 fail-INF.PFV exam-ACC
 ‘His only concern is not to fail the exam.’

Sentence (17), which is essentially an instantiation of the apprehensive construction, is parallel to (16), with negation being the only difference between the two apart from the antonymous verbs *sdāt* ‘pass’ and *provalit* ‘fail’. It may be tempting to speak of a more general construction expressing desirability that would subsume the apprehensive construction, however, paradigmatically, the apprehensive construction is more complex as it allows finite verbs, whereas in the affirmative construction only infinitives are possible, so it is probably safer to speak of a partial overlap. Nevertheless, establishing this link is important in demonstrating how the semantics of undesirability in the apprehensive construction is motivated.

In this regard another significant point to consider is the connection between the contexts of desirability and manner contexts. Removing *by* and the emphatic *tol’ko* ‘only’ from (16) would produce a standard clause of manner: *On думает о том, как не провалит экзамен* — ‘He is thinking about how to not fail the exam’ (He is considering steps that would help him prevent this undesirable event). This provides us with a fine example of the two distinct functions of *kak*. The affinity of these two functions can be illustrated by (18) below, where it is difficult to disambiguate between them:

- (18) *A пока руководители ПФ ищут пути, куда бы подеват, как бы израсходоват*
 CONJ meanwhile management [pension fund] look-PRS.3PL ways
 where SUBJ make.disappear-INF.PFV how SUBJ spend-INF.PFV

sredstva, ne vypláčennye pensioneram.

funds NEG paid.out-PTCP.PRS.PL pensioners

‘And in the meantime, the management of PF [pension fund] are thinking where to make disappear, how to spend the funds not paid out to the pensioners.’

In RNC: B. Valentinov. *April'skaja indeksacija* (2003). *Sovetskaja Rossija*. 2003.09.01

On the one hand, *kak* acts here as a subordinate conjunction ‘how’ that connects the clause of manner to the main clause. At the same time, it is followed by the subjunctive particle *by*, which makes the desirability interpretation possible. Alternatively, it can be argued that *by* adds a speculative flavor to this clause of manner. The effect is further enhanced by the verb *podevat'* with a negative connotation, which can be translated here as ‘make disappear.’

Furthermore, affirmative phrases with *kak by* can be used independently to express desirability, although this usage is not frequent. Moreover, the problem of disambiguating between the two possible readings arises. For example, (19) can be interpreted as an expression of desire or as a question, or perhaps as a non-specific question masking a desire.

- (19) *Kak by mne segodnja poran'she ujtj s raboty(?)*
 how SUBJ me today earlier leave-INF.PFV PREP work
 ‘How do I leave office earlier today?’ (It would be nice if I could leave office earlier today.)

By contrast, *Kak mne segondnja poran'she ujtj s raboty?*, without the subjunctive particle *by*, can only be interpreted as a *how*-question.

The examples discussed above show that the apprehensive construction, or at least its infinitival version, has an affirmative counterpart that expresses desirability of an event. They also provide support for treating *kak* with caution, without assigning any set syntactic label to it.

3.3 Verbs

As shown in the previous section, the apprehensive construction allows both finite verbs and infinitives, irrespective of whether there is a matrix clause present. Below, in (20) and (21), the subject of the matrix clause and the implied subject of the infinitival clause are co-referential. The first-person personal pronoun *mne* can be added here to further specify the referent. When an apprehension-causing situation applies to someone other than the speaker, an infinitive is

also possible if preceded by an appropriate noun or personal pronoun in the dative case as in (22).

- (20) *Ja bojus', kak by (mne) ne zabolet'.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ me-DAT NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV
 'I'm afraid that I may fall ill.'
- (21) *Kak by (mne) ne zabolet'.*
 PTCL SUBJ me-DAT NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV
 '(I'm afraid that) I may fall ill.'
- (22) *Kak by emu ne zabolet'.*
 PTCL SUBJ he-DAT NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV
 'I'm afraid that he may fall ill.'

While both finite and infinitive forms are equally acceptable in the apprehensive construction, there are serious restrictions in terms of aspect. The verb slot seems to allow predominantly perfective forms⁷, which applies both to finite verbs and infinitives. Imperfective verbs are possible (Zorikhina-Nilsson 2012: 157), but they appear to be extremely infrequent. Importantly, this restriction on aspect does not apply to verbs in affirmative complement clauses following predicates of fear and apprehension. Cf.:

- (23) *Ja bojus', čto on budet dolgo bolet'.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG COMP he AUX for.a.long.time be.ill-INF.IPFV
 'I'm afraid that he will be ill for a long time.'
- (24) *#Ja boju's, kak by on ne bolet dolgo.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG be.ill-PST.IPFV.SG.M
 for.a.long.time

Taking into account the crucial role of aspectual distinctions in Russian, the fact that the *kak by ne* construction exhibits a clear preference for perfective is worth exploration as this is almost certain to be significant in regard to the function of the construction.

In accordance with the prevailing consensus in the literature (see, for example, Paducheva 1996 among many others), boundedness/unboundedness of an event

7 All examples used so far have verbs in the perfective form. Dobrushina (2006) specifies in her scheme that the construction only allows perfective aspect, without elaborating on possible implications.

in time is considered to be the basic semantic distinction at the core of the perfective/imperfective dichotomy in Russian. This can be reconceptualized using the idea of a change of situation. It is often highlighted (see, for example, Paducheva 1996: 24) that the semantics of perfective invariably involves a change of situation. Fortuin (2000) applies this idea to the dative infinitival construction (see Section 3.4 for further discussion), which is formally and functionally very close to the apprehensive construction. Cf.:

- (25) *Ne otstavaj, ne opozdat' by* [Fortuin 2000: 434]
 not stay.behind-IMP not get.late-INF-PERF IRR
k obedu.
 to dinner
 'Come on, move, we don't want to be late for dinner.'
 (B. Pasternak, Postoronnij)

According to Fortuin, the perfective aspect can be motivated in the following manner: "...the speaker focuses on the absence of the change of situation, since the effect of that change is associated with negative consequences" (2000: 436). This explanation can be extended to the apprehensive construction, which essentially expresses apprehension regarding an undesirable situation that the speaker deems possible and wants to avoid. Before drawing any conclusions, however, it is first necessary to examine the data in order to determine how prevalent the perfective aspect actually is, and to explain any occurrences of imperfective verbs.

3.4 More constructions

Apart from the *kak by ne* construction, Russian has a number of functionally and formally similar constructions for expressing desirability/undesirability in which the slot of *kak by* is taken up by such elements as *tol'ko by* or *liš by* 'if only' as well as *hot' by* 'I wish' (*hot'* historically derives from the verb *xotet'* 'want')⁸. Among the features that these constructions share is the presence of the subjunctive mood and the possibility of filling the verb slot either with a finite form or with an infinitive as in (26a) and (26b), respectively. While in (26) the speaker expresses the wish that the event will not take place, in (27) a desire for the event to happen is conveyed. *Tol'ko* can be replaced with *liš* or *hot'* without any material change in the meaning.

8 In the literature, constructions of this kind are often referred to as optative. More Russian constructions, for example those that begin with *esli by* and *vot by*, can be included in this group. However, due to space constraints the discussion is limited to the most relevant cases only.

- (26) a. *Tol'ko by on ne zabolet.*
 only SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'I hope/I pray he won't fall ill'
- b. *Tol'ko by ne zabolet'.*
 only SUBJ NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV
 'I hope I won't fall ill'
- (27) *Tol'ko by on vernulsja.*
 only SUBJ he return-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'If only he would return.'

In complex sentences, the constructions with *tol'ko by* and *liš by* function as purpose clauses. In (28), *tol'ko by* highlights the speaker's strong desire and, more generally, his emotional involvement in the situation described. It can be replaced with the standard purpose conjunction *čtoby*, which would make the phrase neutral.

- (28) *Ja sdelaju vse vozmožnoe, tol'ko by on*
 I do-FUT.PFV.1SG everything possible only SUBJ he
ne zabolet.
 NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'I will do everything I can so that he doesn't fall ill.'

Furthermore, a construction without *tol'ko by*, *liš by* etc. is possible. Being an enclitic, the subjunctive particle *by* shifts to the postverbal position in (29) and (30), while the negative particle occupies the sentence-initial position:

- (29) *Ne zabolet by on.*
 NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M SUBJ he
 '(I hope) he won't fall ill.'
- (30) *Ne zabolet' by mne.*
 NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV SUBJ me-DAT
 '(I hope) I won't fall ill.'

Phrases like (29) are used rather infrequently compared to constructions with *kak by*, *tol'ko by* etc. In contrast, for the bare infinitival construction as seen in (30), the situation is quite different. In fact, expressing desirability/undesirability is one of its two main functions, while the other is referring to counterfactual events. Fortuin (2000: 434) explains that "in sentences with a perfective infinitive the speaker considers the hypothetical state of affairs that would be bad for him and expresses

an apprehension that this bad thing might happen.” Sentences like (31) are interpreted by Fortuin as expressing a desire to do something in order to prevent the situation that is causing apprehension:

- (31) *Ne zabyt' by, kak nazyvaetsja dačnyj posekok*
 not-forget-INF-PERF IRR how call-REFL dača settlement
na peschanoj kose
 on sand spit⁹
u kotorogo zakončilas' vojna.
 at which ended war
 ‘We mustn’t forget, what the dača settlement on the sandy spit is called, where the war ended.’

(Upssala corpus)

Kak can be felicitously added to (31) without generating any material change in the semantics and affecting only the word order (*Kak by ne zabyt' ...*), while adding *tol'ko, lish or xot'* would result in this sentence expressing a desire.

Summary

In this chapter, the focus has been on the separate components of the apprehensive construction. It has been shown that the CTP slot preceding the construction can be taken by elements other than typical verbs of fear and apprehension, which deserves special attention and will be looked into as part of the corpus investigation. Another important issue raised in this chapter concerns the dominance of the perfective aspect and its implications for the semantics of the construction. In addition to this, links within the wider construction with the so-called optative constructions, as well as with clauses of manner, have been established. In the next chapter, another important link is examined as part of the reconstruction of a historical path along which the apprehensive construction may have developed.

9 PERF — perfective, IRR — irrealis, REFL — reflexive.

From purpose to apprehension

In this chapter, the discussion will go beyond the boundaries of the Russian language. The center of attention shifts to a recurring cross-linguistic pattern that links apprehensive elements and purpose clauses. The historical development of the *kak by ne* construction is reconstructed and compared with this pattern, which ultimately gives more support to the view that we are dealing with an independent-clause construction.

4.1 *Čtoby* vs. *kak by*

An important detail that has been omitted thus far is that in some complex sentences *kak by* can be felicitously replaced with *čtoby* after predicates of fear¹⁰. This complex conjunction, consisting of *čto* ‘that’ and the subjunctive particle *by*, is used in purpose clauses and after a wide range of predicates of desire, manipulation, achievement, deontic necessity, and possibility (Dobrushina 2012).

Based on corpus data for *kak by* and *čtoby* complements after the verb *bojat'sja* ‘fear’, Zorikhina Nilsson (2012: 59) notes that the latter option is becoming increasingly rare in apprehensive contexts. According to her observation regarding frequency distribution, the *čtoby* version occurs more frequently in the fiction of the 19th and early 20th centuries, while the *kak by* version prevails in the subsequent period. Zorikhina Nilsson states the following: “The semantics of causation and purpose with regard to *čtoby (ne)* clearly conflict with the expression of undifferentiated meaning of presumption and of the hypothetical nature of the event, for which reason the conjunction *kak by (ne)* is preferred.” Thus, while in (32), for example, *čtoby* does not seem problematic, in (33) it appears awkward. Zorikhina Nilsson concludes that *čtoby* is going out of use in apprehensive contexts in the modern language, whereas the construction with *kak by* has acquired a more pronounced specialization.

(32) *Ona tebjá ljubit i boitsja, čtoby tebjá ne obmanuli.* [Zorikhina Nilsson 2012: 59]
She loves you and is afraid that you could/might/would be fooled.
(Ye. Yevtushenko (1999) — RNC)

(32) *Vračí bojalis', kak by (???čtoby) ja ne dogadalsja.*
The doctors were afraid in case/that I guessed/I could/might/would
find out (S. Alešin (2001) — RNC)

10 This does not apply to the verb *dumat* ‘think’.

What is not mentioned by Zorikhina Nilsson is that the divergent fortunes of these two constructions may be at least partially dictated by the fact that unlike *kak by*-clauses, *čtoby*-clauses cannot be used independently with the function of expressing apprehension without an accompanying matrix clause. Elliptical usage of *čtoby* phrases does exist in Russian, but it is limited to performatives such as wishes, curses, and commands (*čtoby* in such cases often appears in its phonetically reduced form *čtob*):

- (34) *Čtob ty lopnul!*
 CONJ.SUBJ you burst-PST.PFV.SG.M
 ‘Blast you!’/‘Damn you!’
- (35) *Čtob mne tak žit’!*
 CONJ.SUBJ me-DAT like.this live-INF.IPFV
 ‘I wish I could live this way!’
- (36) *Čtoby ne bylo voiny!*
 CONJ NEG be-PST.S.N war
 ‘May there be no war!’

Before going any further, it is important to emphasize that generally, the semantics of purpose is not an impediment to the development of apprehensional semantics. On the contrary, as is shown below, in many typologically diverse languages grammatical forms and constructions that express apprehension historically arise from purpose clauses. Therefore, the reasons the *čtoby* version seems to be losing ground compared to the *kak by* version apparently cannot be reduced to semantics. It appears that the *kak by ne* construction has prevailed due to its polyfunctionality and considerable syntactic flexibility, which in its turn has to do with its autonomous nature.

First, it is important to look more closely at the link with purpose clauses and discuss the phenomenon of insubordination before returning to the topic of competition between *čtoby* and *kak by*.

4.2 Link to purpose clauses

As indicated in the previous section, *čtoby* is the standard Russian complementizer that connects purpose clauses to main clauses. Its other basic function is to link complement clauses to main clauses that contain specific predicates, including those denoting desire and fear. As noted by Dobrushina (2012: 121), in both the cases “the subject of the main predicate is involved in the situation described

by the subordinate clause by intention, causal relations or by the wish to have the described situation come true/happen/take place.” In a sense, the two types of sentences can be said to be united by the semantics of goal orientation. Compare, (37) and (38), for instance, where the complement clause and the purpose clause are structurally indistinguishable from one another and clearly share this component of meaning.

(37) *Ja xoču, čtoby on bol'she ne prixodil.*
 I want-PRS.1SG COMP.SUBJ he more NEG come-PST.IPFV.SG.M
 ‘I don’t want him to come again.’

(38) *Ja pomenjal zamok, čtoby on bol'she ne prixodil.*
 I change-PST.PFV.SG.M lock in.order.that he more
 NEG come-PST.IPFV.SG.M
 ‘I changed the lock so that he doesn’t come again.’

As regards the apprehensive construction in particular, its functional affinity with purpose clauses manifests itself most distinctly in warnings and admonitions after verbs of supervision and precaution such as *sledit* ‘keep an eye on’ and *smotret* ‘look out’, ‘watch out’, especially when these are used in the imperative mood as in (39) and (40) where the component of goal orientation is clear. In this case, the goal consists in preventing an apprehension-causing situation from happening.

(39) *Smotri', kak by tebja ne obmanuli.*
 watch.out-IMP.SG PTCL SUBJ you NEG cheat-PST.PFV.PL
 ‘Watch out, don’t let yourself be cheated.’

(40) *Sledi, čtoby ona ne sbežala.*
 keep.an.eye-IMP.SG CONJ.SUBJ she NEG escape-PST.PFV.SG.F
 ‘Keep an eye [on her] so that she doesn’t escape.’

The idea of goal orientation is also built into the semantics of related constructions that express desirability of an event, including those with the restrictive elements *tol'ko by* and *liš by* (see Section 3.4). Incidentally, these constructions function as purpose clauses in complex sentences. The semantics of goal orientation is central to the infinitival affirmative construction with *kak by* discussed in Section 3.2, and is also discernible in clauses of manner, which, as was demonstrated in the same section, partially overlap with the apprehensive construction. This is to highlight again the functional affinity between these constructions and the apprehensive construction.

Next, we move beyond the boundaries of the Russian language and discuss the process of grammaticalization from negative purpose markers to the so-called “apprehensional epistemics” as described in Lichtenberk (1995). This allows us to draw important cross-linguistic parallels and consequently outline a possible path along which the Russian apprehensive construction could have evolved.

4.3 From negative purpose via fear to apprehension

Lichtenberk (1995) examines a range of modality markers in typologically diverse languages that perform an “apprehensional-epistemic downtoning function” (1995: 319): they signal a less-than-full certainty regarding the factual status of a proposition in addition to marking the speaker’s negative attitude towards the situation described. Apart from this function, the apprehensional epistemics can also have a “precautioning” function when they appear in negative-purpose clauses and a “fear” function when they are used in clauses embedded under predicates of fear. Based on the data studied, Lichtenberk concludes that the historical process of grammaticalization of these functions takes place along the following cline:

precautioning > fear > apprehensional-epistemic

To illustrate the intricacies of this development, Lichtenberk uses data from To’aba’ita, an Austronesian language spoken in the Solomon Islands, which has a modality marker *ada* that can perform all the three functions listed above (see (41) for the precautionary function, (42) for the “fear” function, and (43) for the apprehensional-epistemic function). Lichtenberk glosses elements like *ada* as LEST.

- (41) *Nau ku agwa ‘I buira fau ada wane ‘eri*
 I I:FACT hide at behind rock LEST man that
ka riki nay
 he:SEQ see me¹¹
 ‘I hid behind a rock so that the man might not see me.’/ ‘I hid behind a rock lest the man see me.’

- (42) *Nau ku ma’u ‘asia na’a ada laalae to’a baa*
 I I:FACT be.afraid very LEST later people that
ki keka lae mai keka thaungi kulu.
 PL they:SEQ go hither they:SEQ kill us(INCL)

11 FACT — factive, SEQ — sequential, INCL — inclusive.

‘I am scared the people might come and kill us.’/ ‘I am scared lest the people should come and kill us.’

- (43) *Ada wane ‘eri ka riki nau.*
 LEST man that he:SEQ see me
 ‘[I fear] the man might see me.’

According to Lichtenberk’s reconstruction, *ada* initially functioned as a verb meaning ‘see, look at, watch’, which later acquired a ‘warning’ meaning in combinations of the type ‘look out, Y might/will happen’, or ‘look out so that Y may not happen.’ At the next stage, *ada* ceased to function as a verb and evolved into a negative-purpose marker signaling that a precaution was to be taken due to a possible adverse situation. Then followed an intermediate stage of the “fear” function: as an undesirable hypothetical situation is likely to cause fear, *ada*-clauses began to be embedded under predicates of fear through this metonymy. At this stage, the notion of apprehension was signaled by a predicate of fear, while clauses with *ada* encoded possible apprehension-causing situations. Later, however, *ada* came to be associated with apprehension, hence a predicate of fear became expendable. As a result *ada* now signals in To’aba’ita both possibility and apprehension and can introduce independent clauses.

The process described by Lichtenberk may be seen as a special case of insubordination. Evans (2007) proposed this term to refer to “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on *prima facie* grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses” (2007: 367). Evans surveyed functions of insubordination in typologically-diverse languages, concluding that by far the most common type involves some form of interpersonal control, “primarily imperatives and their milder forms such as hints and requests, but also permissives, warnings, and threats” (2007: 387). In the subgroup of warnings and admonitions, Evans includes independently used purpose or negative purpose clauses as well as special apprehensive constructions.

While a considerable share of apprehensional-epistemic markers appears to be concentrated in Australia and Oceania, these morphemes are found in all linguistic macro-areas (Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 130). English, for example, has the relatively obsolescent form *lest*. In fact, it has become common practice in the literature to refer to markers of the kind described by Lichtenberk as LEST elements. The English *lest*, however, normally cannot introduce independent clauses and act as an apprehensional-epistemic marker *per se*. Its precautionary and “fear” functions are illustrated below:

- (44) *Alexei formed a smile as he spoke, lest she detect a hint of the offence in his words.*

[Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 130]

- (45) *Wendy and I were at once amazed and embarrassed, but also concerned lest he be mown down by a passing train.*

[Schmidtke-Bode 2009: 186]

Since *ada* from To'aba'ita and the English *lest* already signal negative purpose, there is no other negative marker in the clauses they appear in. In some languages, however, apprehensional-epistemic markers develop from purpose markers that can signal both positive and negative purpose. To illustrate this, Lichtenberk discusses Czech, where grammatically negative purpose clauses with *aby* may be embedded under predicates of fear or used independently with an apprehensional-epistemic function. Cf.:

- (46) *Bojím se aby nám ne -pršelo na cestu.*
I.am.afraid MID.ACC LEST:3SG us:DAT NEG-it.rained on road:ACC
'I'm afraid it might rain while we're on the road'.
- (47) *Aby ne -byl nemochej.*
LEST:3SG NEG-he.was sick
'[I fear] he might be sick.'

Evans (2007: 393) shows that in Polish, another Slavic language, negative subjunctive clauses with *żeby* 'in order that' can be used independently as warnings.

- (48) *Żebyś sie tylko nie wywrocił-a*
in.order.that-you REFL only not fall-PST-F
'Make sure you don't fall! You might fall!'

The Czech and Polish examples are very close to the Russian apprehensive construction, most notably in terms of the presence of negation and the verbal tense. It can be said that these three Slavic languages coincide at least partially in the manner they grammaticalize apprehension, with one major difference being that while Czech and Polish make use of their standard purpose complementizers, in Russian the picture is not as simple: the standard purpose complementizer *čtoby* appears to have been largely outstripped by *kak by*. In the following section, historical data is presented in order to illustrate how and perhaps why *kak by* rather than *čtoby* has prevailed. This small digression into diachrony is ultimately designed to highlight the autonomous nature of the apprehensive construction with *kak by*, and should not be treated as a comprehensive historical account but rather an outline of how the construction could have developed.

In order to reconstruct the evolution of the Russian apprehensive construction, the first step is to determine approximately when Lichtenberk's "fear" stage took place. A search conducted in the main section of the RNC, which covers the period between the middle of the 18th century and the beginning of the 21st century, shows that the earliest examples of the *kak by ne* apprehensive construction preceded by verbs of fear in main clauses are seen in the beginning of the 19th century, while *čtoby* clauses with negation following predicates of fear began to appear somewhat earlier, in the middle of the 18th century. It appears that prior to this, neither *kak by* nor *čtoby* was used in this syntactic environment. Indeed, a search in the historical subcorpus covering the period between the 15th century and the early 18th century yielded no examples of clauses with *kak by* or *čtoby* following predicates of fear.

The next step is to examine how both *čtoby* and *kak by* were used in the "pre-fear" period. *Čtoby* functioned as the standard purpose conjunction that linked both negative and positive purpose clauses to their matrix clauses in the same way as it does today. *Kak by* linked predominantly infinitival clauses expressing intentionality or some desired state of affairs, which is quite similar to the function of a purpose conjunction. See, for instance, (49) where *kak by* operates very much like a purpose complementizer. Meanwhile, example (50) reminds us of the infinitival construction of will/desire/intent that has survived in the language (see Section 3.2) and that overlaps with clauses of manner.

- (49) *I oni delajut vse to, kak by tebja, brata moego,*
 CONJ they do-PRS.3PL all PRN kak SUBJ you brother mine
so mnoju ssorit'.
 with me cause.to.quarell-INF.IPFV
 'And they do everything so as to make you, my brother, have a quarrel with me.'

In RNC: Posol'skaja kniga po svjazjam Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Nogajskoj Ordoj.
 Kniga 5-ja. (1557–1561)

- (50) *My iš'em, togo, kak by krov' xrest'janskaja unjati,*
 we seek-PRS.1PL PRN CONJ SUBJ blood Christian stop-INF.PFV
a ty iš'eš togo, kak by voevati,
 CONJ you seek-PRS.2SG PRN CONJ SUBJ fight-INF.IPFV
da krov' xrest'janskaja nepovinnaja prolivati.
 CONJ blood Christian innocent spill-INF.IPFV
 'We seek to stop the bloodshed of Christians, while you seek to fight and shed the blood of the innocent Christians.'

Crucially — and somewhat surprisingly — the search for *kak by* in the historical subcorpus yielded a fine example of an independently used apprehensive construction.

- (51) *A govoril by esi te slova, kak by*
 CONJ say-PST.IPFV.SG.M SUBJ if DEM words PTCL SUBJ
mež nas krepkaja družba ne porušilas'.
 between us strong friendship NEG fall.apart-PST.PFV.SG.F
 ‘And if [...] said those words, (I fear) the strong friendship between us could fall apart.’

In RNC: Posol'skaja kniga po svjazjam moskovskogo gosudarstva s nogajskoj ordoj. kniga 5-ja. (1557–1561)

These data suggest that the independent apprehensional stage for the *kak by ne* construction, i.e. Lichtenberk's third stage, may have preceded the “fear” stage given that the first examples where the construction is used following predicates of fear do not appear until two and a half centuries later. Put differently, it can be the case that the *kak by ne* construction in Russian had already gone a long way towards acquiring the apprehensional specialization by the time it came to be used with predicates of fear. This in turn may mean that it is not a product of insubordination, i.e. that it did not arise as a result of an ellipsis of its main clause with verbs of fear.

This view is indirectly corroborated by the fact that other constructions of desirability/undesirability, including those with the particles *tol'ko by*, *liš by* etc. as well as the bare subjunctive construction, were already being used autonomously by the 16th century. Below, an example of the latter dated beginning of that century is given:

- (52) *A v pir na dvore brežen že chelovek nadobe, vsego by smotril i bereg, i domashnie vsjakie porjadni: ne okrali by chevo.*
 NEG steal-PST.PFV.PL SUBJ something
 ‘When there is a feast, there needs to be a man who would look after everything and watch over the household valuables so that nothing would be stolen.’

In RNC: Domostroj (1500–1560)

This bare construction can be viewed as a product of insubordination itself, at least as per Evan's proposal, however, this is not specifically relevant to the present discussion. What is relevant is that the *kak by ne* construction had a pattern to

follow, indicating that it may well be the case that the mechanism of analogy influenced its development.

Finally and most importantly, it is worth examining corpus data straddling the period when the *kak by ne* construction began appearing with predicates of fear. An analysis of the first 60 instances of the construction from the main section of the RNC that roughly cover the period from between 1750 and 1850 shows that it is preceded by a predicate of fear only in 10 cases. In 34 cases, which is equivalent to more than 50% of the sample, it is used independently. These figures unequivocally indicate that in this case Lichtenberk's "fear" stage could not have preceded the independent apprehensional stage.

The remainder of the 1750–1850 sample includes examples that overlap with clauses of manner and often involve verbs of mental activity such as *dumat'* 'think' and *myslit'* 'reason'. This affinity with clauses of manner, which was already noted earlier, could be significant in terms of accounting for the emergence of the independent apprehensive use. It can be hypothesized that in discourse, the construction had as its precursor *how*-questions with negation. Indeed, there is only one small step that separates asking, perhaps rhetorically, how to avoid an undesirable event and expressing one's apprehension that this event might happen. See, for example, (53) taken from the 1750–1850 sample:

- (53) *Es'li že i prodolžat' sej podvig:*
 if PTCL PTCL continue-INF.IPFV DEM exploit
kak vozmožno bylo želaemago oždat' uspexa?
 how possible be-PST.SG.N desirable wait-INF.IPFV success
kak ne oslab by dux protivu takovago
 how NEG weaken-PST.PFV.SG.M SUBJ spirit against such
vooruženija?
 weaponry
kak by čelovečeskaja slabaja plot' ne pala
 how SUBJ human weak flesh NEG fall-PST.PFV.SG.F
pod bremenem takovyx stradanij?
 under weight such sufferings
 'And if one perseveres with this exploit: how would it be possible to expect the desirable success? How not to let one's spirit wither against such weaponry? How not to let the weak human flesh fall under the weight of such suffering?'

In RNC: Arxiepiskop Platon (Levšin). *Slovo v den' svjatyja Troicy* (1779)

Taken together, the observations made above seem to confirm that the apprehensive construction with *kak by* followed a path of development that was

somewhat different from Lichtenberk's three stages and that apparently did not involve insubordination, at least not from complex sentences with predicates of fear. As regards the *čtoby* version, it was discussed above that it began combining with predicates of fear earlier than the *kak by* version, in the middle of the 18th century, and it is quite possible that the *kak by* version simply followed suit. Then, unlike in Czech where the insubordinated apprehensive construction features the standard purpose conjunction *aby*, in Russian the *čtoby* version remained bounded to its matrix, never moving beyond Lichtenberk's "fear" stage, and began to shed ground in competition with the more versatile and flexible *kak by* version. Ultimately, diachronically, there are compelling arguments in favor of conferring the independent status to the *kak by ne* construction rather than viewing it as a constituent of a complex complementation construction or a product of ellipsis.

Summary

While there are obvious cross-linguistic parallels that can be drawn between the Russian apprehensive construction and similar constructions in other languages, the Russian construction holds a somewhat special place given the competition between the *kak by* and *čtoby* versions, which the former variant appears to be winning. Crucially, the construction with *kak by* appears to deviate from the recurrent cross-linguistic pattern of development as identified by Lichtenberk: there is compelling diachronic evidence suggesting that it did not undergo the stage of insubordination from complex sentences with predicates of fear, which, in turn, serves as another argument in favor of viewing it as an essentially independent-clause construction.

Corpus investigation

In this chapter, the results of the corpus analysis are presented. First, the syntactic environments in which the Russian apprehensive construction occurs, in other words, its external syntax, are discussed. The focus then shifts to the range of verbs used in the apprehensive construction and the function of negation.

5.1 External syntax

5.1.1 *Independent use dominates*

Following the traditional constituent analysis, the Russian apprehensive construction, when it co-occurs with predicates of fear, would be analyzed as an object complement dependent on its matrix, while its free-standing use would be treated as a result of an ellipsis of its matrix. The ample background as well as the diachronic observations provided in the previous chapter have gone some way towards showing that this approach may not be adequate in that it inaccurately portrays the apprehensive construction as a syntactically dependent element and, by doing so, creates obstacles for explaining the presence and function of negation, among other things. The aim of the usage-based analysis of synchronic data, covered in this chapter, is to provide further evidence in favor of treating the apprehensive construction as an independent-clause construction. The numerous examples that follow also illustrate its versatile functional profile.

The search in the RNC¹² covered the period between 1976 and 2016. It yielded a total of 1,226 instances of the apprehensive construction with *kak by*, which were first examined in terms of their syntactic environment and function, i.e. whether they could be treated as a complement, a sentential adjunct, or an independent (main) clause. The results are summarized in Table 1 on page 39. In around 53% of the examples retrieved from the corpus (653/1,226), the apprehensive construction constitutes an independent clause. Most typically, it occurs in the sentence-initial position of a single-clause sentence as in (54) or in a chain of clauses, separated by a comma, as in (55):

- (54) *Tema trepentaja. Kak by ne bylo spekulacij.*
 topic sensitive PTCL SUBJ NEG be-PST.SG.N speculation
 ‘The topic is sensitive. Speculation may arise.’ (‘Let there be no speculation.’)

In RNC: Saša Denisova. *Teatral'nyj roman. Russkij reporter*, 2010

12 Consultation date May 21, 2016.

- (55) *Tovariš'i, očen' paxnet kerosinom, kak by*
 comrades very smell-PRS.3SG kerosene PTCL SUBJ
ne bylo požara, zdes' že deti.
 NEG be-PST.SG.N fire here EMPH children
 'Comrades! There is a strong smell of kerosene, a fire may break out,
 there are children in here!'

In RNC: Ljudmila Gurčenko. *Aplodismenty* (1994–2003)

The independent-clause group also includes a considerable number of examples in which a paratactic link can be established between the clause with the apprehensive construction and the other clause in a sentence. In (56), the clause with the

Table 1. External syntax
 of the Russian apprehensive
 construction

	Number of tokens, total share
Independent clause	653 (53.3%)
Complement	482 (39.3%)
after:	
<i>bojat'sja</i> (v. 'fear'), <i>bojazn'</i> (n. 'fear'), <i>opasat'sja</i> ('be apprehensive'), <i>opasenie</i> (n. 'apprehension'), <i>ispugat'sja</i> ('get scared'), <i>strašit'sja</i> (v. 'fear', 'dread'), <i>strax</i> (n. 'fear', 'fright') etc.	
<i>dumat'</i> ('think'), <i>mysl'</i> (n. 'thought') etc.	
<i>bespokoit'sja</i> (v. 'worry'), <i>bespokojstvo</i> (n. 'worry'), <i>trevožit'sja</i> ('be anxious'), <i>zabotit'sja</i> ('be concerned'), <i>zabota</i> (n. 'concern'), etc.	
Adjunct	76 (6.2%)
after:	
<i>smotret'</i> ('watch out', 'look out'), <i>sledit'</i> ('keep an eye on'), <i>gljadet'</i> ('watch', 'look out'), <i>bdit'</i> ('keep watch, vigil'), <i>osteregat'sja</i> ('beware of', 'be on one's guard')	

apprehensive construction serves as an explanation for the preceding part of the sentence, and this is a pattern that reoccurs in the data. The connectedness of the clauses is signaled by a dash. The same punctuation mark is present in (57), which is a special case of conditional sentences. Neither of the two examples has any overt linkage markers, and the clauses are connected only pragmatically.

- (56) *Daže oružie posylat' russkim riskovanno — kak by*
 even weapons send-INF.IPFV russians risky PTCL SUBJ
ono ne popalo v ruki nemcev.
 it NEG fall.into-PST.PFV.SG.N PREP hands germans
 'It's even risky to send weapons to the Russians. They may fall into the hands of the Germans.'

In RNC: Valentin Berežkov. *Rjadom so Staliny* (1998)

- (57) *Otdaš emu den'gi — kak by bedy ne*
 give-FUT.PFV.2SG he-DAT money PTCL SUBJ trouble NEG
vyšlo.
 happen-PST.PFV.SG.N
 'You give him money, and there may be trouble.'

In RNC: Aleksej Slapovskij. *Sindrom Feniksa. Znamja*, 2006

The apprehensive construction can also act as a main clause in standard conditional sentences with the conjunction *esli* 'if' as in (58) below as well as in sentences in which a condition is presented by a verb in the imperative mood as in (59) (see Fortuin & Boogaart 2009 for a detailed discussion of imperative conditional constructions in Dutch and Russian).

- (58) *No esli delat' akcent i dal'se na političeskie*
 but if do-INF.IPFV emphasis PTCL further PREP political
dela, to kak by sovsem ne zapolitizirovat'
 issues then PTCL SUBJ completely NEG politicize-INF.PFV
naše obš'estvo.
 our society
 'But if one keeps putting emphasis on political issues, then society may become completely politicized.'

In RNC: Delaem gazetę vmeste. Čaepitie u glavnogo redaktora (2001). *Izvestija*, 2001.07.20

- (59) *Pusti delo na samotek, i kak by ne let-IMP.SG affair out.of.control CONJ PTCL SUBJ NEG polučilas' istorija iz russkoj narodnoj skazki, come.out-PST.PFV.SG.F story from Russian folk tale kogda lisa vystavila zajca iz sobstvennogo doma. when fox force.out-PST.PFV.SG.F hare from own house*
 'Let things get out of control, and you may get the story from the Russian fairytale when the fox forced the hare out of his own house.'

In RNC: Grigorij Fuks. *Dvoe v barabane. Zvezda*, 2003

A somewhat higher degree of integration is found in (60), where there is a cataphoric phrase *bojat'sja odnogo* 'be afraid of one thing' referring to the ensuing apprehensive construction, which explains what exactly causes the fear. Nevertheless, the apprehensive construction retains its independence as it can freely stand independently just as the preceding clause — both are formally and semantically autonomous.

- (60) *Dva časa prosidel ja, ne šeloxnuvšis', two hours sit.through-PST.PFV.SG.M I NEG stir-PTCP.PST.PFV bojas' tol'lko odnogo — fear-PTCP.PRS.IPFV only one.thing kak by ne vzdumali ustroit' antrakt PTCL SUBJ NEG conceive.idea-PST.PFV.PL hold-INF.PFV intermission*
 'I sat without moving a muscle for two hours, fearing only one thing — that they may decide to have an intermission.' ('Let there be no intermission.')

In RNC: Mixail Kozakov. *Akterskaja kniga* (1978–1995)

5.1.2 Complement clause?

Approximately 39% of the total hits (482/1,226) fall into the complement-clause category. Even before analyzing specific details, it is significant that this raw number is more than 10 percentage points lower than the total figure for the independent-clause category. This is enough to at least cast doubt on the view that the apprehensive construction is a dependent, complement-clause construction.

As shown in Table 1 on page 39, the slot immediately to the left of the apprehensive construction can be taken by verbs or nouns expressing fear/apprehension or related emotions, as well as by the verb *dumat* 'think' and related nouns. This is roughly in line with what was discussed in Section 3.1, however,

this list covers only the most frequent items and it is worth considering the full range of possibilities.

A complete list of verbs that appear in the CTP slot along with frequency data in descending order is provided in Table 2 on page 43. Predictably, *bojat'sja* 'fear', 'be afraid', and *opasat'sja* 'be apprehensive' are the two verbs with the highest frequency figures of 203 tokens and 97 tokens, respectively. As discussed in Section 2.4, elements of the kind *I think, I promise, I believe* etc. are sometimes better analyzed as epistemic or illocutionary markers — or, in other words, as tools for cognitive coordination — rather than as clauses describing fully elaborated events. The verbs *bojat'sja* and *opasat'sja* also fall under the category of mental-state builders that function primarily in the intersubjective dimension. In (61), the function of *Ja očen' bojus'* is to mediate cognitive coordination between the speaker and the addressee. In fact, this part of the sentence is dispensable, which runs counter to its traditional syntactic designation as “main clause”. In terms of discourse contribution, it is the clause with *kak by* that is primary and necessary. In example (62), *bojus'* is hardly a literal expression of the emotion of fear. Rather, it appears to act more like an epistemic marker akin to *I think*.

- (61) *Ja očen' bojus', kak by rasčety*
 I very fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ calculations
ne prevratilis' v prosčety
 NEG turn.into-PST.PFV.PL PREP miscalculations
kotorye mogut očen' dorogo obojtis' narodu
 that can very expensive cost-INF.PFV people
i gosudarstvu.
 CONJ state
 'I am very afraid that the calculations may turn into miscalculations that could be very costly for the people and the state.'

In RNC: Mixail Kozakov. *Akterskaja kniga* (1978–1995)

- (62) *Ja dumal, čto umru*
 I think-PST.IPFV.SG.M COMP die- FUT.PFV.1SG
ot starosti, no bojus', kak by mne ne
 PREP old.age but fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ me-DAT NEG
umeret' ot smexa.
 die-INF.PFV PREP laughter
 'I thought I would die from old age, but now I'm afraid I may die from laughter.'

In RNC: Aleksandr Jakovlev. *Omut pamjati*. T.1 (2001)

Table 2. Verbs found
in the CTP slot before the Russian
apprehensive construction

Verb	Number of tokens
<i>bojat'sja</i> ('fear')	203
<i>opasat'sja</i> ('be apprehensive')	97
<i>dumat'</i> ('think')	51
<i>bespokoits'ja</i> ('worry')	20
<i>ispugat'sja, perepugat'sja</i> ('get frightened')	19
<i>volnovat'sja</i> ('be uneasy', 'be alarmed'), <i>vzvolnovat'sja</i> (('become uneasy', 'become alarmed')	8
<i>zabotit'sja</i> ('be anxious')	4
<i>ždat'</i> ('wait')	4
<i>strašit'sja</i> ('fear', 'dread')	3
<i>pereživat'</i> ('be concerned')	2
<i>trjastis'</i> ('shake', 'tremble')	2
<i>perekonfuzit'sja</i> ('get flustered')	1
<i>trepetat'</i> ('tremble', 'thrill')	1
<i>vstrevožit'sja</i> ('become anxious')	1
<i>govorit'</i> ('say')	1
<i>mučit'sja</i> ('be plagued with', 'worry')	1
<i>pobzdexivat'</i> (colloquial 'fear')	1
<i>spoxvatit'sja</i> ('remember suddenly')	1
<i>somnevat'sja</i> ('doubt')	1

Apart from *dumat'* and a few other exceptions, the remaining verbs in Table 2 belong to the semantic field of fear and worry and function in similar ways as *bojat'sja*. Among the more frequent verbs (19 and 20 tokens, respectively) are *ispugat'sja* 'get frightened' and *bespokoit'sja* 'worry', 'be anxious'. See (63), below, for an example of the latter:

- (63) *Ukrašenija — kol'ca, ser'gi, braslety, cepočki —*
 jewelry rings ear-rings bracelets chains
lučše snjat', oni moguť pomešat' vam
 better take.off-INF.PFV they can prevent-INF.PFV you
zanimat'sja, esli vy budete bespokoit'sja
 work.out-INF.IPFV if you be-AUX.FUT.2SG worry-INF.IPFV
o tom, kak by ix ne poterjat'.
 PREP PRN PTCL SUBJ them NEG lose-INF.PFV
 'It is better to take off your jewelry (rings, ear-rings, bracelets, and chains), they can distract you from your work-out if you start worrying about losing them.'

In RNC: Ljudmila Kadulina. *Akva-aerobika - sojuz vody i dviženij* (2004).
Homes & Gardens, 2004.12.01

The verbs *trjastis'* ('shake', 'tremble') and *trepetat'* ('tremble', 'thrill') denote physical states that can accompany fear. While their presence in the data is not surprising given the straightforward metonymic transfer from the emotional domain to the physical domain, it is worth highlighting that both these verbs are intransitive, i.e. they are not supposed to take either nominal or sentential objects. Nevertheless, in (64) the apprehensive construction finds its place next to *trjastis'*:

- (64) *Tak i trjaset'sja, kak by kto ne*
 PTCL PTCL tremble-PRS.3SG PTCL SUBJ someone NEG
uznal, čto on v cerkov' xodit.
 learn-PST.PFV.SG.M COMP he PREP church go-PRS.3SG
 'So (he) trembles (in fear) that someone might find out that he goes to church.'

In RNC: Protoierej Dimitrij Smirnov. *Propovedi* (1984–1989)

There are other intransitive verbs in the table, including *vstrevožit'sja* 'become uneasy/anxious', *perekonfusit'sja* 'get flustered' and *mučat'sja* 'worry about', 'be plagued with'. Taking into account the loose grammatical integration between the intransitive verbs and the apprehensive construction, it seems reasonable to classify the link between them as parataxis. In any case, despite being marginal in terms of frequency, the intransitive verbs in the CTP slot lend support to the idea of addressing the syntactic status of the *kak by ne* construction with flexibility.

Clear outliers in the list of verbs are the highly frequent *dumat'* 'think', which is subsequently discussed in connection with speech and thought representation, and *ždat'* 'wait'. A couple of examples with the latter verb are examined below.

In (65), the component of apprehension following *ždat'* is neutralized, and the *kak by ne* construction only retains the semantics of desirability with an added speculative flavor (see Section 3.2 in which this aspect was discussed). This contrasts with (66), where the apprehensional meaning is intact:

- (65) [post in a forum about men searching for a partner]
Znaete, tak byvaet, kogda mužčinu
 know-PRS.2PL so happen-PRS.3SG when man
vrode by vse i ustraivaet, a vrode...
 seemingly SUBJ everying PTCL suit-PRS.3SG CONJ seemingly
ždet kak by čego
 wait-PRS.3SG PTCL SUBJ something
lučše ne podvernulos'?
 better NEG turn.up-PST.PFV.3SG.N
 'It sometimes happens that a man seems to be satisfied with everything, but he waits for something better to turn up/in case something better turns up.'

In RNC: Ženshhina + mužchina: Psixologija ljubvi (forum) (2004)

- (66) *Pivo on dopil vjalo, byl v*
 beer he drink.up-PST.PFV.SG.M inertly be-PST.SG.M PREP
naprjaženii, vse ždal kak by Danilov
 tension still wait-PST.IPFV.SG.M PTCL SUBJ Danilov
ne ogorošil ego nečajannym vospominaniem.
 NEG take.aback-PST.PFV.SG.M him unexpected recollection
 'He finished the beer inertly, waiting tensely (in fear) that Danilov may catch him off guard with an unexpected recollection.'

In RNC: Vladimir Orlov. Al'tist Danilov (1980)

Nouns occur much less frequently than verbs. In fact, there are only two nouns, *strax* 'fear' and *opasenie* 'apprehension', that reach double-digit figures, appearing in the corpus 13 and 17 times, respectively. The nouns predominantly denote feelings and emotions related to fear, while the clauses with the apprehensive construction that follow them describe what exactly this fear consists in. Cf.:

- (67) *Vsegda ego budet uderživat' strax,*
 always him be-AUX.FUT.3SG hold.back-INF.IPFV fear
kak by ne pogibnut', kak by ne postradat',
 PTCL SUBJ NEG die-INF.PFV PTCL SUBJ NEG get.hurt-INF.PFV
kak by ne risknut' bol'se, čem on gotov...
 PTCL SUBJ NEG risk-INF.PFV more than he ready

‘He is going to be always held back by the fear that he may die, get hurt or take more risks than he is ready to take.’

In RNC: Mitropolit Antonij (Blum). *Radost' pokajanja* (1983)

Also worthy of note is an ambiguous example with the noun *vopros* ‘matter’, ‘question’. In (68), *kak* can be interpreted either as ‘how’ introducing a clause of manner or as a particle in a construction expressing desirability with a speculative element. This is a fine illustration of the functional and structural link between the apprehensive construction and clauses of manner that was explored in Section 3.2.

- (68) [KPFV and NPSR were political parties]
Zakon eš'e ne byl podpisan
 bill yet NEG be-AUX.PST.3SG.M signed-PTCP.PST.PFV.M
prezidentom, a čast' Centrizbirkoma uže vovsju
 president CONJ part central.election.committee already in.full.swing
prorabatyvala vopros o tom, kak by
 thrash.out-PST.IPFV.SG.F matter PREP PRN PTCL SUBJ
ne dopustit' formal'no-juridicheskij blok KPFV-NPSR
 NEG let-INF.PFV formal-legal block [name]
k vyboram.
 PREP elections

‘Although the president had not yet signed the bill, some in the central elections committee were already busy working on the question of how to not let the formal- legal KPFV-NPSR bloc take part in the elections.’

In RNC: KPFV — partija socializma i patriotizma (2001). *Zavtra*, 2001.03.15

5.1.3 *Adjunct?*

Referring back to Table 1 on page 39, which summarizes the three main types of syntactic environments of the apprehensive construction, the third major group must be considered. This group unites cases in which the apprehensive construction performs the precautionary function identified by Lichtenberk (1995), and its syntactic status in many cases would be defined as that of an adjunct purpose clause following the constituent analysis. Examples from this group, which account for around 6% of the total number of hits (76/1,226), are not homogenous. First, in a minority of the cases the apprehensive construction is not linked to any verb, as seen in examples (69) and (70) below, which are quite close to what a standard purpose clause would look like.

- (69) *Nu čego ty kak v lesu:*
 INTJ why you like in forest
boiš'sja poševalit'sja, kak by ptičku
 fear-PRS.2SG move-INF.PFV PTCL SUBJ bird
ne spugnut'.
 NEG frighten.off-INF.PFV
 'Why are you behaving as if you were in a forest — afraid to move lest you frighten off a bird.'

In RNC: Tat'jana Nabatnikova. *Den' roždenija koški* (2001)

- (70) *V den' slušanja podobnyx del milicija tš'atel'no*
 PREP day hearings such cases police thoroughly
proverjala vhodjaš'ix v zal zasedanij,
 check-PST.IPFV.SG.F enter-PTCP.PRS.PL PREP courtroom
kak by ne pronesli oružija
 PTCL SUBJ NEG bring-PST.PFV.PL weapon
 'On days when the hearings of such cases took place, the police checked those entering the courtroom thoroughly so that nobody could bring a weapon inside.'

In RNC: Vasilij Žuravskij. *Ljutye skaly. Vokrug sveta*, 1992

Much more typical is a situation when the apprehensive construction follows verbs of supervision and warning such as *smotret'* 'watch', 'look out' (31 hits), *sledit'* 'keep an eye on' (15 hits) and *gljadet'* 'watch', 'look out' (10 hits). Among these, *smotret'* deserves special attention — not only because it is used more frequently than the other verbs in the group, but also because of its functional peculiarities. This verb appears mostly in the imperative mood (28 out of 31 tokens) and in such cases functions as an illocutionary marker, urging the addressee to attend to a potential undesirable situation that may arise and possibly take measures to prevent it. Compare (71), where *smotret'* clearly acts as an illocutionary marker, and (72) where the literal, physical sense is active:

- (71) *Gde opjat' ostavil ženu?*
 where again leave-PST.PFV.SG.M wife
Smotri, kak by ne uveli.
 watch.out-IMP.SG PTCL SUBJ NEG take.away-PST.PFV.PL
 'Where have you left your wife again? Watch out, someone may take her away.'
 ('Don't let them take her away.')

In RNC: Vladimir Ličutin. *Ljubostaj* (1987)

- (72) *Ja smotrel, kak by kto*
 I watch-PST.IPFV.SG.M PTCL SUBJ somebody
ne podbralsja k nam szadi
 NEG sneak.up-PST.PFV.SG.M PREP us from.behind
 ‘I was on the lookout so that no one would sneak up from behind.’

In RNC: Andrej Lazarčuk, Mixail Uspenskij. *Posmotri v glaza čudoviš'* (1996)

The imperative form of *smotret'* also constitutes part of the preventive construction in Russian, which includes a content verb in the imperative form, e.g. *Smotri ne upadi* — ‘Watch out, you may fall’/ ‘Watch out, don’t you fall.’ Dobrushina (2006) suggests treating *smotri* as a preventive marker.

As demonstrated by our corpus data, the colloquial verb *gljadet'* can function in a similar way when it precedes the apprehensive construction:

- (73) *Gljadi, kak by samomu tebe ne sest' za veslo.*
 watch-IMP.SG PTCL SUBJ REFL you NEG sit-INF.PFV PREP oar
 ‘Careful! You might have to do the rowing yourself.’

In RNC: V. Krašeninnikov. *Mal'tijskij krest. Vokrug sveta*, 1994.

Cases such as (71) and (73), where the accompanying verbs function as illocutionary markers, should apparently be reclassified and added to the independent-clause group. This further strengthens the quantitative argument in favor of treating the apprehensive construction as a primarily independent-clause rather than a subordinate construction. In the next section, a number of special cases are examined, some of which further corroborate this view.

5.1.4 *Special cases*

The data contain a few examples in which the apprehensive construction is preceded by the conjunction *a to* ‘in case’. The ‘in case’ function was identified by Lichtenberk (1995) as a subtype of the precautionary function. It is significant that in Russian, *a to* can be followed only by *kak by* and not *čtoby*, which strengthens the view that the apprehensive construction with *kak by* is polyfunctional and goes far beyond the confines of a subordinate construction dependent on matrices with predicates of fear. Below, an illustration of the ‘in case’ function is provided:

- (74) *Nado čainiček po novoi zakiptit',*
 necessary kettle again boil-INF.PFV

a to kak by malo ne okazalos':).

in.case PTCL SUBJ little NEG turn.out-PST.PFV.SG.N

‘(The water in) the kettle needs to be boiled again in case there is not enough.’

In RNC: Krasota, zdorovje, otdyx: Medicina i zdorovje (forum) (2005)

Another special case presents a strong argument against treating *kak* as a conjunction and can simultaneously be viewed as additional evidence demonstrating how syntactically flexible the apprehensive construction is. In (75), *kak by* immediately follows the conjunction *čto* ‘that’ and thus cannot be classified as a conjunction itself. Again, *čtoby* would not be felicitous here. Even more compelling is example (76), where *kak by* is immediately preceded by *čtoby*.

- (75) [context: doctor talking about a patient]
S drugoj storony, sostojanie takoe tjaželo
 on.the.other.hand condition so grave
čto kak by ne ostalas' ona
 CONJ PTCL SUBJ NEG remain-PST.PFV.SG.F she
u nas na stole.
 PREP us PREP table

‘On the other hand, the condition is so grave that (I’m afraid) she might remain here on the table.’

In RNC: Vlada Valeeva. *Skoraja pomosš'* (2002)

- (76) *A inače nado byt' ostorožnym, kak by ne*
 CONJ otherwise necessary be-INF careful PTCL SUBJ NEG
upotrebljat' očen' svjatye slova v vide samozaš'ity,
 use-INF.IPFV very sacred words as self-defense
čtoby samomu kak by ne popast' vprosak.
 COMP REFL PTCL SUBJ NEG make.a.blunder

‘Otherwise, one should be careful not to use very sacred words as self-defense so as not to make a blunder.’

In RNC: Mitropolit Antonij (Blum). *Otvely na voprosy o molitve* (1975–1985)

The following set of examples prove to be somewhat problematic for traditional syntactic analysis. They all have a common source, *The Man in a Case*, a short story written by Anton Chekhov. The story was first published in 1898 and has remained hugely popular with a large Russian readership ever since. It introduced the set expression *kak by čego ne vyšlo* into wide popular use, which can be

loosely translated as ‘something (bad) might happen’ or ‘(X) hopes nothing bad will happen’. This phrase occurs in the story six times as a sort of typifying expression that characterizes the protagonist Belikov, a teacher of Greek who lives in constant fear that something bad might happen to him.

In the data collected for the study the phrase *kak by čego ne vyšlo* occurs 49 times, making up approximately 4% of the total number of hits. What is striking is that this phrase can occupy practically any syntactic position — starting with what is referred to as a complement clause and ending with a nominal phrase. A few of the 49 examples are listed below with limited glosses as an illustration of this syntactic pliability.

- (77) *Vot i dumajut kremlevskie strategii, kak by čego ne vyšlo.*
 ‘So the Kremlin strategists contemplate in fear that something (bad) might happen.’
 In RNC: Petr Grinev. *Referendum po Čečne. Čto dal'se?* (2003). POLITKOM.RU, 2003.04.19
- (78) *Voobš'e, u nas prinjato detej vospityvat', osobenno čužix, delat' im zamečanija, bojat'sja za nix i okružajuš'ie predmety: kak by čego ne vyšlo.*
 ‘In general, it is common practice with us to teach children good manners, to tell them off, to worry about them and the things around them — all in the event that something bad might happen.’
 In RNC: Ol'ga Cybul'skaja. *Začem nužny deti. Russkij reporter*, № 18 (18), 4–11 October 2007
- (79) *V prošlyj izbiratel'nyj cikl ostorožnyj kommunist Anatolij Luk'janov sdelať vse vozmožnoe, čtoby kak by čego ne vyšlo...*
 in.order.to PTCL SUBJ something NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N
 ‘In the previous election cycle, the careful communist Anatolij Luk’janov did everything he could so that nothing (bad) would happen.’
 In RNC: Lev Moskovkin. *P'janyj narod ne dopolzjot do izbiratel'nyh urn* (2003). *Lebed* (Boston), 2003.05.26
- (80) *So mnoj že vse vremja provodjat rabotu pod devizom "kak by čego ne vyšlo"...*
 with me PTCL all time hold-PRS.3PL work
 PREP motto PTCL SUBJ something NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N

‘Those who work with me always have the motto ‘Oh, something bad might happen.’

In RNC: Georgij Polonskij. *Ključ bez prava predači* (1975)

- (81) ...*čto kasaetsja, čto Belikovy vseгда naxodjatsja s ix “kak by čego ne vyšlo”, —*
 with their PTCL SUBJ something NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N
tak ved' eto javlenie, tak skazat', nacional'nogo xaraktera,
i vo mne Belikov tože sidit.
 ‘As concerns the Belikovs with their “Oh, something bad might happen’, this phenomenon is, so to speak, of a national character; even I have a bit of Belikov in me.

In RNC: Viktor Astaf'ev. *Zrjačij posox* (1978–1982)

Examples (77) and (78) fit with what was discussed above and do not require any further commentary here. In (79), *kak by* is preceded by the standard purpose conjunction *čtoby*, so the apprehensive construction is fully incorporated into a clause of purpose without losing *kak* as in example (76) discussed above. In (80), *kak by čego ne vyšlo* seems to function as a modifier of the noun *deviz* ‘motto’, while in (81), where it follows the possessive pronoun *ix* ‘their’, it is even nominalized.

The last two examples are reminiscent of what Pascual (2014) refers to as fictive interaction. This recent research investigates a broad range of cases in which non-genuine conversational turns occur in discourse at different levels of grammar, including at the intra-sentential level, e.g. “a Will you marry me? ring” or “the Why bother? attitude.” Example (81) in particular appears to match the concept, given that a fictive speaker can be easily identified. It is the individuals that the author calls Belikovs and the referent of the possessive personal pronoun *ix*. This observation brings to light another important topic — speech and thought representation, which is elaborated on below.

5.1.5 *Speech and thought representation*

The syntactic flexibility makes the Russian apprehensive construction a convenient tool for speech and thought representation (STR). This is directly reflected in the high frequency of the verb *dumat* ‘think’ in the data (51 tokens), which is found only less frequently than *bojat'sja* ‘fear’ and *opasat'sja* ‘be apprehensive’. See (82) for an uncomplicated example with *dumat*:

- (82) *Ja nerešitel'no molčal i dumal,*
 I hesitantly keep.silence-PST.IPFV.SG.M CONJ think-PST.IPFV.SG.M

kak by ne ošibit'sja.

PTCL SUBJ NEG make.a.mistake-INF.PFV

‘I kept silence hesitantly, thinking that I may make a mistake/thinking
‘I don’t want to make a mistake.’

In RNC: Leonid Utesov. *Spasibo, serdce!* (1982)

In addition to straightforward cases like (82), the corpus contains some less conventional examples, for instance, where speech and thought are introduced without reporting or similar verbs. In such cases it is the use of punctuation marks — mostly dashes but also sometimes colons — that helps to signal that a particular part of a sentence represents the thoughts or words of the character rather than the narrator. This is true for fragment (83) where, despite the absence of quotation marks, the segment after the dash is likely to be interpreted by readers as belonging to the character rather than the narrator.

- (83) *Bliz vetxoj arki vorot Iuda Grosman pribavil šagu —*
near dilapidated arch gates [name] add-PST.PFV.SG.M pace
kak by ne ruxnula na golovu,
PTCL SUBJ NEG collapse-PST.PFV.SG.F PREP head
takoe možit slučit'sja.
such can happen-INF.PFV
‘When approaching the dilapidated arch of the gates Iuda Grosman started walking faster — what if it falls on (my) head? Such things happen.’

In RNC: David Markiš. Stat' Ljutovym. Vol'nye fantazii iz žizni pisatelja Isaaka Babelja. *Oktjabr*, 2001

The presence or absence of punctuation marks can be a key factor in determining whether this or that example from the data constitutes an instance of the independent use of the construction or not. Thus, if it were not for the dash in (84), the apprehensive construction would be classified as a complement clause.

- (84) [context: speaker sees the person he refers to on dangerously thin ice]
On kričit mne v otvet i mašet rukami,
he shout-PRS.3SG me in.reply CONJ wave-PRS.3SG hands,
a ja bojus' — kak by on ne
CONJ I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG
stal prygat'.
start-PST.PFV.SG.M jump-INF.IPFV

‘He shouts back at me and waves his hands, and I’m scared — just don’t start jumping’

In RNC: Andrej Gelasimov. *Žanna* (2001)

Examples like (83) and (84), which represent words or thoughts of characters but defy the punctuation conventions for direct speech are quite frequent in the data. Overall, it appears that the apprehensive construction lends itself particularly well to being used in hybrid forms of discourse that combine elements of direct and indirect speech and that are often referred to in the literature as free indirect discourse or FID (see, for example, Leech & Short 2007). This style blends some of the features of the third-person narration and first-person direct speech. While in direct speech the deictic center shifts to the character and in indirect speech it remains with the narrator, in FID it is often “split”. Most typically, at least in languages like English, the deictic center for grammatical elements such as tense and person is the narrator, which makes the representation indirect, while the deictic center for adverbs is the character, which makes the representation “free” (Verhagen 2012: 9). As Leech and Short note, “the characters apparently speak to us more immediately without the narrator as an intermediary” (2007: 258).

Consider fragment (85), which consists of four clauses separated by commas. The first two clauses and the last clause are the narrator’s description of the character’s emotional state. There is a direct reference to the character (Saška), and the verbs are in the past tense. The third clause — *kak by slezu ne pustit’ sejčas pered devčatami* — seems to belong to the character himself. The main clue is the adverb *sejčas* ‘now,’ which has the character rather than the narrator as its deictic center. In addition to this, lexical choices (in this case the use of the informal vivid *devčata* for girls) can also be helpful in identifying authorship.

- (85) *Tut u Saški komok k gorlu, glaza povlažneli,*
 then PREP [name] lump PREP throat eyes get.wet-PST.PFV.PL
kak by slezu ne pustit’ sejčas pered devčatami,
 PTCL SUBJ tear NEG let-INF.PFV now in.front.of girls
ele “spasibo” vydavil.
 barely thank.you force.out-PST.PFV.SG.M
 ‘Then a lump came to Saška’s throat, (his) eyes got wet — no crying in front of the girls (he thought) — he forced a ‘thank you’ with a great effort.’

In RNC: Vjačeslav Kondrat’ev. *Saška* (1979)

In (86), the deictic center remains with the first-person narrator who describes a situation that took place some time in the past. However, there is a shift from the

past tense to the present tense in the second half of the fragment. Grammatically, the portion beginning with *kak by*, which represents the narrator's thoughts at the time of the events, is identical to how it would be phrased in direct speech. The fact that the apprehensive construction is used here efficiently, without any matrix verbs such as *bojat'sja*, is further evidence of its self-sufficiency.

- (86) *Ja radovalas' emu, no kak by on*
 I feel.happy-PST.IPFV.SG.F he-DAT but PTCL SUBJ he
ne podumal, čto ja radujus' iz-za
 NEG think-PST.PFV.SG.M COMP I feel.happy-PRS.1SG because.of
prekrasnyx veš'ej kotorye on každyj raz privozit.
 wonderful things which he every time bring-PRS.3SG
 'I was happy with his (presence), but (I feared) he might /I didn't
 want him to think that I was happy because of the wonderful things he
 brought every time.'

In RNC: Aleksandr Terexov. *Kamennyj most* (1997–2008)

In (87), the combination of a dash and an exclamation mark at the end of the sentence indicates that the phrase *kak by ne opozdat'* belongs to the character rather than the narrator. If we were to replace the dash with a comma and the exclamation mark with a full stop, the segment with the apprehensive construction would simply state the cause of the character's worry.

- (87) *K ego vzbudoražennosti pribavilos' volnenie –*
 to his excitement add-PST.PFV.SG.N worry
kak by ne opozdat'!
 PTCL SUBJ NEG be.late-INF.PFV
 'A worry added to his excitement – he didn't/I don't want to be late!
 (Lit.: 'Not to be late!')

In RNC: D.S. Danin. *Nil's Bor* (1969–1975)

More examples similar to those discussed in this section can be found in the corpus. The ease and flexibility with which the Russian apprehensive construction is used in narrative to introduce characters' thoughts or speech, often without the support of reporting or similar verbs, indicates its autonomous, self-sufficient nature, as any dependent construction is unlikely to function in the same manner.

The results of the corpus analysis presented in this section support the view that the apprehensive construction is, essentially, an independent-clause construction, while its so-called “complement” function is only secondary. First, the frequency figures clearly indicate that the autonomous use prevails. Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapter and demonstrated above with the examples from the corpus, the so-called “main” clauses that accompany the apprehensive construction are often better analyzed as special epistemic or illocutionary markers rather than elements on which the construction depends. Finally, the view adopted in this thesis is indirectly corroborated by the fact that the apprehensive construction is widely used as a tool for speech and thought representation, including in free indirect discourse.

5.2 Verbs: finiteness and aspect

It was specified from the outset that the *kak by ne* construction allows both finite forms of verbs and infinitives. The corpus data confirm this observation, while simultaneously showing that finite forms are two and a half times more frequent than infinitives. In the sample, finite verbs account for 917 out of 1,226 total hits, while infinitives account for only 308. One example in the sample does not contain a verb: in (88), *kak by* is followed by the adverb *nasmert* ‘to death’, ‘mortally’. This verbless instantiation of the construction is not surprising given the ability of the particle *by* to express desirability/undesirability in combination with words other than verbs, including nouns and adverbs. Here, *kak by* can be replaced felicitously with *tol’ko by* or *liš by*, or even *by* alone.

- (88) *No pro komdiva tol’ko i mog skazat’,*
 but about commander.of.division only PTCL could say
čto ego — okružili. Kak by ne nasmert’.
 COMP him surround-PST.PFV.PL PTCL SUBJ NEG to.death
 ‘But the only thing he could say about the commander of the division
 was that he was surrounded, (and it was feared) that he might have
 been killed.’

In RNC: A. I. Solženicyan. *Adlig Švenkitten* (1998)

Returning to finiteness, it should be noted that despite being significantly less frequent than the finite version, the infinitival version of the construction does not appear to be functionally less versatile. In particular, it co-occurs with all types of

predicates identified in the previous chapter, including predicates of fear/apprehension, supervision, and the verb *dumat* ‘think’. When the infinitival apprehensive construction combines with *dumat*, it exhibits a clear link with clauses of manner. In (89) below, the subjunctive particle *by* can be, in principle, omitted which would neutralize the speculative element of the phrase and make the *how*-reading the only possible interpretation. The two versions of translation into English reflect this ambiguity.

- (89) *Predprinimateli ne budut dumat' tol'ko*
 entrepreneurs NEG be-FUT.AUX.3PL think-INF.IPFV only
o tom, kak by ne dat' gosudarstvu sebja
 about PRN PTCL SUBJ NEG give-INF.PFV state oneself
ograbit', a zajmutsja povyšeniem effektivnosti
 rob-INF.PFV CONJ get.down.to-FUT.3PL promotion efficiency
i rasšireniem biznesa.
 CONJ expansion business
 ‘Entrepreneurs won’t be only thinking about how not to let the state rob them/about not letting the state rob them. They will get down to improving efficiency and expanding their businesses.’

In RNC: Čto budet, kogda ne budet nefi? (2003). *Stroitel'stvo*, 2003.01.27

Another feature that was specified in the initial description of the construction is the prevalence of the perfective aspect. As mentioned in Section 3.3, at the core of the perfective/imperfective dichotomy in Russian is the distinction between events that are bounded or unbounded in time. The semantics of perfective thus typically involves a change of situation. In applying this idea to the infinitival construction of the type *Ne zabolet' by*, Fortuin (2000) suggests that the use of perfective reflects a focus on the absence of the change of situation as the consequences of that change are viewed negatively. This explanation can be applied to the *kak by ne* construction, which essentially expresses apprehension regarding a hypothetical undesirable situation that the speaker wishes to avoid. It is also valuable in that it underlines indirectly the significance of negation as the focus is said to be on the absence of the change of situation.

Overall, the corpus data confirm the preference for the perfective aspect: imperfective forms are found in only 21 cases, or 2.4% of the total number of hits. Out of these, 13 cases involve the existential verb *byt* ‘be’, which can describe situations that are both bounded and unbounded in time. In the examples in the corpus *byt* mostly denotes situations that are bounded in time and can be easily replaced with perfective verbs. Thus, in (90), for example, it can be replaced with *slučit'sja* ‘happen’ and in (91) with ‘*okazat'sja*’ ‘turn out’.

- (90) *Kak by ne bylo tak čto po beremennosti*
 PTCL SUBJ NEG be-PST SG.N so that PREP pregnancy
i rodam kto-nibud' uvolilsja, a v otčetax
 CONJ childbirth somebody resign-PST.PFV.SG.M CONJ in reports
napisali, čto za narušenija.
 write-PST.PFV.PL COMP for violations
 'It might happen that someone resigns due to pregnancy and childbirth,
 but in the records it will be written that (it is) due to violations.'

In RNC: Inga Vorob'eva. *Doloz bar'ery* (2009.11.25). *RBC Daily*, 2009

- (91) *A to kak by dejstvitel'no ne bylo pozdno?*
 or.else PTCL SUBJ really NEG be-PST.SG.N late
 'Or else what if it is actually too late?'

In RNC: Boris Višnevskij. *Molodym — kuda i s kem u nas doroga?* (2003). *Sankt-Peterburgskie vedomosti*, 2003.01.27

There are a handful of examples in the data where finite imperfective verbs are used. For instance, the imperfective form *popadat'* in (92) denotes a repetitive activity, i.e. an activity that is not bounded in time, in accordance with the core semantics of the imperfective aspect in Russian. Somewhat less straightforward is (93) where a possibility of change is not encoded directly but can be inferred from the phrase.

- (92) *Kak by nam bol'se ne popadat' v stolovye*
 PTCL SUBJ us-DAT anymore NEG find.oneself.in in canteens
Ješ kak xočeš'.
 eat-IMP.2SG as want-PRS.2SG
 'We don't want to end up in 'Eat as you like' canteens ever again.'

In RNC: Efim Čepovetsky. *Neposeda, Mjakiš i Netak* (1989)

- (93) *Vse-taki on obo mne bespokoilsja —*
 but.still he about me worry-PST.IPFV.SG.M
kak by ne podžidal menja
 PTCL SUBJ NEG wait-PST.IPFV.SG.M me
nepredvidennyj sjurpriz
 unexpected surprise
 'But still he was worried about me, that an unforeseen
 surprise might be awaiting me.'

In RNC: Valentin Berežkov. *Rjadom so Staliny* (1998)

Several examples with the imperfective aspect feature infinitives. Interestingly, in some of these the problem of disambiguating between the apprehensive and manner meanings arises. This is especially evident in (94), where the *what*-clause reinforces this reading. In (95) the imperfective aspect is retained as part of a set expression:

- (94) *A ved' eto očen' interesnaja tema, osobenno dlja tex,*
 CONJ after.all this very interesting topic especially for those
kto postojanno dumaet, kak by ne bolet'
 who constantly think-PRS.3SG PTCL SUBJ NEG be.ill-INF.IPFV
vovse, ili čto by eš'e takogo s soboj sdelat'
 at.all or what SUBJ else such with oneself do-INF.PFV
... dlja puš'ej krasoty.
 for greater beauty
 'After all this is a very interesting topic, especially for those who constantly think about how to never be ill and what else to do with themselves ... to become even more beautiful.'

In RNC: Vera Elgaeva. *Zaščita - delo tonkoe* (2003). *100% zdorov'ja*, 2003.02.14

- (95) *Smotrite, kak by ne taš'it' čužoj voz!*
 look.out-IMP PTCL SUBJ NEG pull-INF.IPFV somebody.else's cart
 'Look out! You may find yourself doing somebody else's work/Don't find yourself doing somebody else's work (lit. — pulling somebody else's cart).'

In RNC: *Astrologičeskij prognoz na mart* (2003). *100% zdorov'ja*, 2003.02.14

Overall, given the negligible share of the examples with imperfective verbs in the data, the apprehensive construction can be said to display an overwhelming preference for the perfective aspect. This seems to reflect the idea of the absence of a change of situation that appears to be central to its semantics.

5.3 Verbs: lexical semantics

It should be noted straightaway that there do not appear to be any lexical restrictions on the types of verbs that can be used in the *kak by ne* construction. Nevertheless, it is necessary to at least briefly discuss some of the most frequent verbs as this should contribute to a better understating of the function of the construction.

Table 3 on page 60v contains 18 verbs from the data with the highest numbers of tokens. Some of these verbs, for example, *opozdat'* 'be late', *poterjat'* 'lose'

or *umeret* ‘die’, describe prototypically undesirable events that evoke negative feelings. Their occurrence in this construction is natural and requires no additional commentary.

Topping the list with 54 tokens is the verb *vyjti* which can be translated into English as ‘come off’, ‘result’, ‘happen’ and conveys the idea of lack of control over a situation. Its synonyms in Russian include *slučit’sja* ‘happen’, *okazat’sja* ‘turn out’ and *stat’* ‘become’, which are also found in the table. The high frequency of *vyjti* in the data is due to the fact that it forms part of the set expression *kak by čego ne vyšlo* (see Section 5.1.4) used to express general apprehension regarding an unspecified adverse event. *Čego* is the colloquial short version of the indefinite pronoun *čto-nibud’* ‘something’ in the genitive case. In addition, *vyjti* also occurs with nouns like *neprijatnosti* ‘troubles’ or *beda* ‘misfortune’, ‘calamity’. Cf.:

- (96) *Poka rabotat’ ne budu, syna*
 for.the.time.being work-INF.IPFV NEG be-AUX.FUT.1SG son
nado vospityvat’, a to kak by bedy
 necessary raise-INF.IPFV or.else PTCL SUBJ trouble-GEN
ne vyšlo
 NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N
 ‘I won’t be working now, I need to raise my son, or else there may be trouble.’

In RNC: Grexi naši tjažkie (2003). *Kriminal'naja xronika*, 2003.06.24

Just like the pronoun *čego*, the noun *beda* in (96), which acts as the subject of the clause, appears in the genitive case. This is an example of the so-called ‘subject genitive of negation’. This term refers to situations where the subject in a sentence with negation appears in the genitive rather than in the nominative case — a pattern shared by some Slavic and Baltic languages. There is no shortage of literature on this topic. Directly relevant to the current discussion is an observation that it is only the subjects of existential sentences that are regularly marked by genitive when negation is present (Babby 1980: 105). Predicates in such sentences with negation normally express non-existence or absence and thus have a non-referential, indefinite subject (Paducheva 2011).

The occurrence of the genitive of negation in the apprehensive construction seems natural in existential contexts with verbs like *vyjti* when it expresses the speaker’s apprehension that an unspecified undesirable event may take place. Such undesirable events are denoted by the aforementioned indefinite pronoun *čego* or by nouns such as *beda* ‘calamity’, *neprijatnosti* ‘troubles’ or *incident* ‘incident’ as in (97) below, this time with the verb *slučit’sja* ‘happen’:

- (97) *On čto-to slyšal o moem šeršavom xaraktere*
 he something hear-PST.PFV.SG.M about mine rough temper
i pobaivalsja, kak by
 and fear.a.little-PST.IPFV.SG.M PTCL SUBJ
ne slučilos' neprijatnogo incidenta
 NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N unpleasant incident
 'He heard something about my short temper and feared that an
 unpleasant situation might arise.'

In RNC: Eldar Rjazanov. *Podvedennye itogi*. (2000)

Table 3. Verbs most frequently used
 in the Russian apprehensive construction

Verb	Number of tokens
<i>vyjti</i> 'come off', 'turn out', 'happen', 'ensue'	54
<i>prijtis'</i> 'have to'	30
<i>slučit'sja</i> 'happen'	18
<i>popast'</i> 'fall into', 'find oneself in'	15
<i>byt'</i> 'be'	13
<i>stat'</i> ₁ 'become'	13
<i>opozdat'</i> 'run late'	12
<i>poterjat'</i> 'lose'	10
<i>stat'</i> ₂ 'begin'	9
<i>okazat'sja</i> 'turn out'	7
<i>sdelat'</i> 'make', 'do'	7
<i>ošibit'sja</i> 'make a mistake'	6
<i>prevratit'sja</i> 'turn into'	6
<i>ukrast'</i> 'steal'	6
<i>umeret'</i> 'die'	6
<i>upast'</i> 'fall'	6
<i>zadet'</i> 'brush against', 'hit against'	6
<i>zametit'</i> 'notice'	6

Among other high-frequency verbs, *okazat'sja* 'turn out' and *stat'*₁ 'become' partially overlap with *byt'* 'be'. The verb *stat'*₁ often forms a predicate with *xuže* 'worse' to denote a possible adverse turn of events. The verb *sdelat'* 'do', 'make' occurs in combinations such as *sdelat' huže* 'make worse' or *sdelat' promax* 'make a blunder' and *popast'* in combinations like *popast' v ruki* 'fall into the hands (of)'.

The verb *stat'*₂ is an auxiliary that is used with infinitives and has two closely related meanings: 'begin to do something' or 'be willing to do something'. In the apprehensive construction, the first meaning can be normally distinguished. Thus, in (98) *stat'* can be replaced with the more standard *načat'* 'begin'.

- (98) *Ženš'ina krasivaja, molodaja,*
 woman beautiful young
kak by ne stali *k nej*
 PTCL SUBJ NEG begin-AUX.PST.PFV.PL to her
soldaty xodit'!
 soldiers go-INF.IPFV
 'The woman is young and beautiful. The soldiers may start visiting her!'

In RNC: Aleksej Varlamov. Prišvin ili Genij žizni. *Oktjabr*, 2002

It is not always easy to disambiguate between the meanings of beginning an action and being willing to perform an action. The second meaning is mostly realized in negative sentences, and it is notable that *stat'* is more frequent in the data than the unmarked *načat'* (9 tokens versus 4). This may be due to the apparent attraction of this verb to negative contexts. In addition, it may be the case that an evaluative component also comes into play. For example, in (99) *načat'* would not appear felicitous as the focus is not on the beginning of an activity. Rather, the speaker expresses apprehension that the person he refers to may decide to follow a particular course of action that he sees as undesirable.

- (99) *Kak by ne stala*
 PTCL SUBJ NEG begin-AUX.PST.PFV.SG.F
sudit'sja *s Tanej za kvartiru roditelej,*
 have.legal.proceedings-INF.IPFV with Tanya for flat parents
my v nej živem... žili...
 we in it live-PRS.1PL live-PST.IPFV.PL
 '(I hope she) won't decide to challenge the rights to the flat with Tanja in court. We live there... used to live there.'

In RNC: Dina Rubina. *Okna* (2011)

The last verb to consider, which accounts for 30 tokens, is also an auxiliary. The deontic modal verb *prijtis* ‘have to’ is used with infinitives (both perfective and imperfective) to express obligation to perform a certain action that is imposed on an agent. This verb can be said to directly encode the idea of undesirability, therefore, its high frequency in the data is absolutely natural. Cf.:

- (100) *No kak by nam ne prišlos' skazat':*
 but PTCL SUBJ us-DAT NEG have.to-AUX.PST.PFV say-INF.PFV
o užas, teper' pozdno!
 INTJ horror now late
 ‘But we don’t want to have to say: oh! it’s too late now!’

In RNC: Mitropolit Antonij (Blum). *Čto takoe duxovnaja žizn'* (1978)

Overall, the semantics of the verbs that were found to be frequent in the apprehensive construction seems to fit in well with its general meaning. The verbs either denote specific events that the speaker regards undesirable and wants to avoid, or they refer to a possibility of something bad or unpleasant happening or the general situation taking a turn for the worse.

5.4 Returning to negation

This final section takes us back to where we began — negation. As pointed out in the introduction, a major impediment to solving the problem of negation arises due to the tendency in the literature to view the apprehensive construction as a dependent-clause construction and center analysis around the cases when it is used following predicates of fear in a sequence traditionally analyzed as a complex sentence with a subordinate clause.

In the preceding sections of the present chapter ample evidence has been provided in support of the main claim of this thesis, namely that the Russian *kak by ne* construction is essentially an independent-clause construction. This allows us to tackle the problem of negation without the restrictions that come with the notions of dependency and subordination, and this result is fully capitalized on within the intersubjective approach introduced in Chapter 2. Under this approach, both complementation constructions and negation are treated as operators in the domain of intersubjectivity whose main function consists in cognitive coordination between conceptualizers by means of language. In particular, negation is believed to have “a special function in regulating an addressee’s cognitive coordination with other points of view. The addressee is invited to adopt [...] a particular epistemic stance towards some idea, and to abandon another one that is inconsistent with it”

(Verhagen 2005: 32). This view of negation can be successfully applied to the Russian apprehensive construction as the ensuing discussion shows.

First consider the “prototypical” case on which existing literature focuses. In (101), the apprehensive construction follows the complement-taking predicate *bojat'sja* ‘fear’. It can be replaced with a parallel indicative affirmative construction, seen in (102), without any incongruity or need to restructure the whole sentence. Nevertheless, the two versions cannot be treated as equivalents as they provide different construals of the same situation — the apprehensive construction emphasizes its undesirability for the character, while the indicative affirmative construction only encodes its possibility. Since the English translation cannot capture this aspect of meaning, it may be appropriate, for explanatory purposes, to retain the negation and paraphrase (101) as “The old man didn’t want any changes. He was fearful — ‘May things not get worse’”.

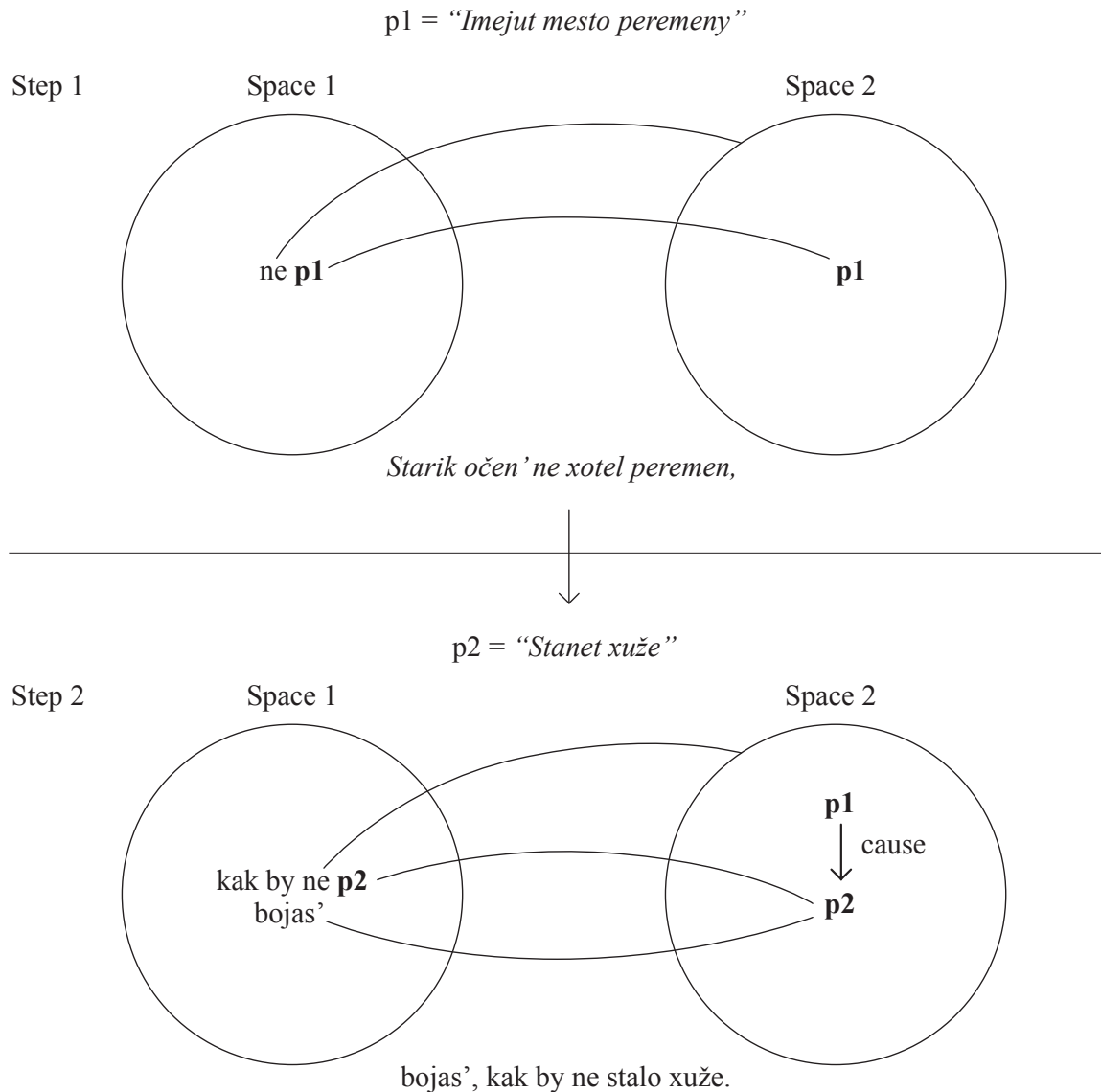
- (101) *Starik očen' ne xotel peremen,*
 old.man very NEG want-PST.IPFV.3SG.M changes
bojas', kak by ne stalo xuže.
 fear-PTCP.PRS.IPFV PTCL SUBJ NEG become- PST.PFV.3SG.N worse
 ‘The old man didn’t want any changes, fearing that they may be for the worse / He was fearful — ‘May things not get worse’.

In RNC: Marina Bonč-Osmolovskaja. Den' iz žizni starika na Bjorkendejl, 42.
Zvezda, 2002

- (102) *Starik očen ne xotel peremen,*
bojas', što možet stat' xuže.
 fear-PTCP.PRS.IPFV COMP can become-INF.PFV worse
 ‘The old man didn’t want any changes, fearing that they may be for the worse.’

Example (101) with the apprehensive construction can be visually represented using the construal configuration with mental spaces introduced in Chapter 2 (see Figure 3 on page 64). For the present case, it is convenient to break down the configuration into two separate causally linked stages of discourse updating with a parallel structure. The first stage, corresponding to *Starik očen' ne xotel peremen*, is represented in the upper half of the figure. Strictly speaking, the sentential negation here opens an alternative mental space in which the proposition *Starik očen' xotel peremen* (‘The old man wanted changes badly’) holds. Put differently, the negation can be reinterpreted as applying directly to the possibility of some changes taking place, marked as p1 = “*Imejut mesto peremeny*” (‘Changes takes place’) in the figure.

Figure 3. Negation opens a second mental space.



The possibility of changes occurring brings us to the second stage, corresponding to ...*bojas', kak by ne stalo xuže* (see the lower half of the figure). In Space 2, the proposition "*Stanet huže*" ("Things will get worse") holds. It is this thought that causes the fear, as shown by the line from the verb *bojat'sja* to Space 2. Just like *bojat'sja*, the sequence *kak by ne* has scope over Space 2 but not over Space 1. The conceptualizer in the base space (the old man) adopts himself or instructs a hypothetical addressee to adopt the first mental representation (Space 1) in which the prospect of the situation getting worse is negated and to abandon the second mental representation (Space 2) in which it holds.

The two stages of discourse updating explicated above share the same structure and are causally related. The conceptualizer fears possible changes that can

cause his general situation to alter for the worse. Crucially, the fact that these two distinct stages can be structurally depicted in essentially the same way demonstrates that the function of negation in the apprehensive construction is not very different from that of a sentential negation if we adopt the theoretical position that puts the general function of negation in the domain of cognitive coordination.

Similar to example (101) is example (103), which also features the verb *bojat'sja*. The speaker is unwell and fears that she may have contracted typhus. Being unsure about her condition, the speaker basically expresses the hope that her ailment is not typhus. Again, as in example (101), two different epistemic stances towards the same proposition are activated, and one of them is rejected. The speaker signals to the addressee that, based on her symptoms, it may well be typhus but at the same time expresses her desire for this possibility to be rejected. Note that the apprehensive construction is translated into English through an optative construction with 'let,' which makes it possible to retain the negation.

- (103) *Čto-to u menja život krutit,*
 somehow PREP me stomach churn-PRS.3SG
prosti za takie podrobnosti.
 forgive-IMP.SG PREP such details
Bojus', kak by ne zabolet' tifom.
 fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ NEG fall.ill-INF.PFV typhus
I golova raskalyvaetsja.
 CONJ head split-PRS.3SG
 'My stomach is upset, sorry for the details. [I am afraid.] Let it not be typhus. And I have a splitting headache.'

In RNC: Mixail Šiškin. Pis'movnik (2009). *Znamja*, 2010

Somewhat more complex is example (104), where *kak by ne* is followed by a string of verb phrases describing a hypothetical scenario that the referent of *on* 'he' imagines vividly and simultaneously rejects as undesirable. The rich cognitive content is expressed by means of the apprehensive construction with negation. An indicative affirmative paraphrase would only encode the possibility of the apprehension-causing scenario unfolding as it would not invoke an alternative mental representation in which this scenario is rejected. Note that the negation is retained in the English translation through introducing the verb of desire 'pray' in the place of 'be apprehensive'.

- (104) *Ona byla natjanuta, kak struna,*
 she be-PST.SG.F strung.up like string
i on opasalsja, kak by naposledok ona
 CONJ he be.apprehensive-PST.SG.M PTCL SUBJ in.the.end she

ne podkačala — *ne rasplakalas'*,
 NEG let.down-PST.PFV.SG.F NEG start.to.cry-PST.PFV.SG.F
ne zabilas',
 NEG hide-PST.PFV.SG.F
ne sotvorila čto-nibud' takoe, iz-za čego
 NEG do-PST.PFV.SG.F something such because PRN
ves' ego, tak točno vyverennyj plan, rassypletsja
 entire his so precisely thought.through plan unravel-FUT.PFV.3SG
 'She was extremely tense, and he prayed that she wouldn't let him
 down at the last moment — that she wouldn't burst out crying, with-
 draw and do something that would make his thoroughly worked out
 plan unravel.'

In RNC: Dina Rubina. *Belaja golubka Kordovy* (2008–2009)

The next example instantiates independent use of the apprehensive construction and does not allow rephrasing without negation. The speaker's intention is not so much to indicate that it may get cold but to express the idea that she does not want it to get cold since she has already put away her warm clothes. This sentence can be paraphrased felicitously with an optative construction, e.g. *Tol'ko by ne poxolodalo*. Note also the two versions of English translation — one with the verb 'hope' and the other with an optative construction — and preserved negation.

- (105) *Kak by opjat' ne poxolodalo,*
 PTCL SUBJ again NEG get.cold-PST.PFV.3SG.N
a to ja vsjo tjoploe uže sprjatala...
 CONJ PTCL I everything warm already put.away-PST.PFV.SG.F
 'I only hope it won't/Let it please not get cold again because I've put
 away all my warm clothes.'

In RNC: Beremennost': Planirovanie beremennosti (forum) (2005)

The intersubjective function of negation is even more salient in precautionary contexts, especially in warnings and admonitions with the imperative form of the verb *smotret'* 'look out' and other such verbs. In (106), the addressee is warned to be careful or even take measures in order to prevent possible trouble. The possibility of an unpleasant situation arising is the object of conceptualization, and *smotri* instructs the addressee to take a particular stance towards this object of conceptualization, namely to exercise caution. *Smotri* thus operates in the intersubjective dimension of the construal configuration, at level S rather than O. The same can be said about the negation. Consider a parallel affirmative sentence (107) that

essentially conveys the same warning — that something unpleasant might happen to the addressee. However, unlike (106), it does not activate an alternative mental space in which this adverse scenario is construed as non-existent.

- (106) *Smotri, družok, kak by ne vljapat'sja tebe*
 look.out-IMP pal PTCL SUBJ NEG get.into-INF-PFV you-DAT
v neprijatnuju istoriju.
 PREP unpleasant story
 ‘Look out, my little friend, don’t get yourself into trouble.’

In RNC: Petr Galickij. *Opasnaja kolekcija* (2000)

- (107) *Smotri, družok, ty možeš' vljapat'sja*
 look.out-IMP.SG pal you can get.into-INF.PFV
v neprijatnuju istoriju.
 PREP unpleasant story
 ‘Look out, my dear, you may get into trouble.’

A similar idea of preventing a hypothetical adverse situation is expressed in (108) below: the speaker is given the task of being on the lookout in order to prevent something bad from happening. This time, however, the focus is squarely on prevention and not on signaling a potential danger. Unlike in (106) the verb of supervision *gljadet* ‘look out’ operates on O level rather on S level of the construal configuration as its literal, physical meaning is active. Of note is that a structurally similar translation with the negative pronoun ‘nothing’ is readily available in English. Neither the Russian phrase nor its English translation have a felicitous paraphrase without negation.

- (108) *Vmesto togo, čtoby spat', ja teper' dolžen*
 instead PRN CONJ sleep-INF.IPFV I now must
exat' s etim durnem i gljadet'
 go-INF.IPFV PREP DEM fool CONJ watch.out-INF.IPFV
kak by čego ne priključilos'.
 PTCL SUBJ something NEG happen-PST.PFV.3SG.N
 ‘Instead of sleeping, I now have to go with this fool and watch out that nothing happens to him.’

In RNC: Mariam Petrosjan. *Dom, v kotorom...* (2009)

Similarly, the focus on prevention is evident in contexts with the verb *dumat* ‘think’ and nouns like *problema* ‘problem’, which partially overlap with clauses of

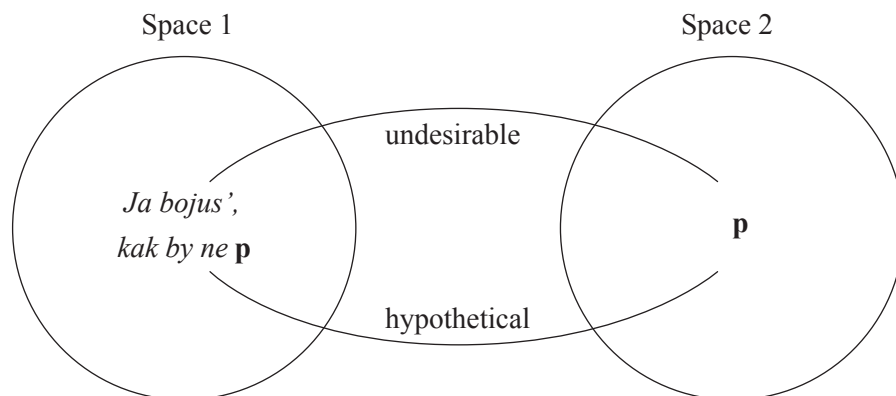
manner. What is important in (109) is not that one may get lost in a big unknown city. Rather, the focus is on preventing this situation from happening.

- (109) *Pered tem, kto popadaet v krupnyi, neznakomyj gorod, voznikaet dovol'no ser'eznaja problema: kak by ne zabludit'sja.*
 PREP PRN who find.oneself-PRS.3SG PREP big unknown
 city appear-PRS.3SG rather serious problem
 PTCL SUBJ NEG get.lost-INF.PFV
 'Somebody who finds himself in a big unknown city faces a pretty serious problem — (how) not to get lost.'

In RNC: Andrej Fatjuš'enko. Zolotoj poceluj, ili glavnoe čudo M'janmy (2004). *Vokrug sveta*, 2004.06.15

Although there are various nuances that should be examined on a case-by-case basis, there also seems to be a common denominator as regards the function of negation in the *kak by ne* construction — the idea of non-existence. Negation appears to add to the undesirability of a hypothetical situation that the construction refers to through construing it as non-existent. The function of cognitive coordination is essentially performed. Negation activates two mental spaces with different epistemic stances towards a proposition, one of which is abandoned.

Figure 4. Mental Space configuration for *Ja bojus'*, *kak by ne P*



Based on the discussion so far the following analysis for our standard constructed example (2), reproduced below, can be provided. In Figure 4 the object of conceptualization *P* is the possibility of the third party falling ill. By uttering *Ja bojus'* ('I fear') the speaker instructs the addressee to adopt a particular stance

towards *P* — apparently to share her concern for the third party. *Ja bojus'* connects two mental spaces, operating over Space 2 in which the undesirable hypothetical situation in question holds. The subsequent negative construction *kak by ne*, also connecting the two mental spaces, takes the same *P* as its object of conceptualization. The speaker instructs the addressee to entertain both mental representations and to adopt the one in which the undesirable hypothetical situation is construed as non-existent, i.e. Space 1. Both *Ja bojus'* and the negative expression have scope over Space 2. Importantly, the negation is not in the scope of *Ja bojus'* as would be the case in an ordinary complex sentence with a complement clause of the kind *Ja bojus', čto on ne pridet* — 'I'm afraid that he won't come'. The link between the two clauses in (2) is that of parataxis rather than subordination.

- (2) *Ja bojus', kak by on ne zablel.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'I'm afraid that he may fall ill.' ('Let him not fall ill.')

This account allows us to separate the function of negation from undesirability, which is viewed here as a component of the constructional meaning rather than a sole contribution of the negation as some of the earlier proposals seem to suggest (e.g. Zorikhina Nilsson 2012). Paradoxically, it also implies that there is in fact nothing special about the negation in the Russian apprehensive construction. It plays approximately the same role of cognitive coordination as standard sentential negation. To be sure, for this conclusion to hold the apprehensive construction has to be recognized as an independent-clause construction. The results of the corpus analysis combined with the synchronic and historical data from the previous chapters have provided evidence to support this view.

Summary

The corpus investigation reported in this chapter yielded ample evidence in support of the claim regarding the independent nature of the *kak by ne* construction in Russian. At the same time, the results of the syntactic analysis facilitated analysis of the function of negation as a device for cognitive coordination undertaken within the intersubjective approach. The next chapter elaborates on the conclusions drawn from the present study.

Conclusions

6.1 Independent construction

The analysis of the Russian apprehensive construction with *kak by* presented in the previous chapters has been essentially conducted from a contrarian perspective. Yet in a sense it has followed the path of least resistance as evidenced by the variety of arguments in support of the central claim made in this thesis.

While the seemingly non-standard negation served as the main catalyst for this study, its primary concern has been the syntax of the apprehensive construction. Based on preliminary observations, it was hypothesized that this is an independent-clause construction, contrary to the dominant approach that views it as a dependent member of a complex complementation construction. The subsequent discussion and corpus analysis produced ample evidence to support this position.

At the theoretical conceptual level, this thesis adopted the intersubjective approach (Verhagen 2005) that places the function of complementation constructions in the dimension of cognitive coordination. Under this approach, elements of the kind *I believe*, *I fear*, or the so-called “main” clauses, are viewed as instructions from a speaker to an addressee to adopt a particular stance towards an object of conceptualization rather than expressions describing the objective world. What is labeled as “main” clauses in the traditional constituent analysis is actually dispensable, as it is “subordinate” complement clauses that represent the core content of a linguistic message. In the case of the Russian apprehensive construction this idea is perhaps best illustrated when it is preceded by the imperative form of the verb *smotret* ‘look out’.

Beyond the conceptual level, this study examined diachronic and synchronic data that point to the syntactic independence of the *kak by ne* construction. The data from the Russian National Corpus, covering the last 40 years of actual language use, demonstrated that in a majority of cases the apprehensive construction is not preceded by any complement-taking predicate, and thus constitutes an autonomous main clause that can also be part of a complex sentence. Furthermore, the construction displays considerable flexibility in terms of the environments in which it can appear. Among the more striking findings, it was demonstrated that it can be preceded by intransitive verbs and follow complementizers. The latter finding lent additional support to the decision to treat *kak* as a particle rather than a complementizer as would be the case under the constituent analysis.

An additional section was dedicated to speech and thought representation. In particular, it was shown that the apprehensive construction is actively used in

so-called free indirect discourse, which was taken as additional evidence corroborating the central claim regarding its independence.

The corpus analysis was preceded and, to a large extent, informed by a detailed discussion of the links the apprehensive construction has within the wider construction as well as a sketch of its historical development. Important links with optative constructions, including the bare infinitival construction, as well as with purpose clauses and clauses of manner were established. The existence in Russian of related constructions for expressing desirability/undesirability, which are also used independently, strengthened the case for treating the *kak by ne* construction as a distinct unit of the construction. Lastly, although limited, the diachronic data, reviewed in the light of what is known about the grammaticalization of the so-called apprehensional epistemics (Lichtenberk 1995), suggested that, unlike its counterparts in other languages, the Russian apprehensive construction with *kak by* is not a product of an ellipsis of the main clause or insubordination.

Overall, the converging evidence generated throughout the discussion and corpus analysis suggests that the standard constructed example (2) as opposed to (1) is better analyzed as two paratactically combined clauses rather than a complementation construction in the traditional sense of the term.

(1) *Ja bojus', čto on zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG COMP he fall.ill-FUT.PFV.3SG
 'I'm afraid that he will fall ill.'

(2) *Ja bojus', kak by on ne zabolet.*
 I fear-PRS.1SG PTCL SUBJ he NEG fall.ill-PST.PFV.SG.M
 'I'm afraid that he may fall ill.' ('Let him not fall ill.')

The sequence *kak by on ne zabolet* thus instantiates a separate autonomous construction of the Russian language¹³ that is distinguished by a high degree of syntactic flexibility and polyfunctionality as the numerous examples surveyed in this study have demonstrated. Putting forward this central claim of the thesis and supporting it eventually also allowed us to address the problem of negation that motivated this study in the first place.

6.2 Negation: not so special after all

Demonstrating that the apprehensive construction with *kak by* is intrinsically an independent-clause construction made it possible to avoid the restrictions

13 A similar conclusion has been recently reached independently by Dobrushina (2016).

imposed by the notion of subordination when analyzing the role of negation. It became instead possible to pursue the line of reasoning first laid out by Jespersen in his paratactic account. This early proposal pointed to a relative independence of complement clauses with non-standard negation — an idea that is readily applicable to the Russian apprehensive construction if its autonomous nature is recognized. While this served as “license” for our analysis, it is within the intersubjective approach that the function of negation was explored.

The consensus in existing literature seems to be that the role of negation consists in projecting undesirability of a situation. However, it was suggested in this thesis that undesirability is a key component of the overall meaning of the construction, which left identifying the precise function of negation an open question. By applying the intersubjective approach, which views negation as a device for cognitive coordination, it was possible to demonstrate how sentences like (2) with negation provide a different construal compared to parallel affirmative sentences like (1). By uttering a phrase like (2), the speaker instructs the addressee to entertain simultaneously two mental representations of an apprehension-causing situation and reject one of them, while adopting the other. In the mental representation to be adopted the apprehension-causing situation is construed as non-existent through the use of the negation. Accompanying verbs like *bojat'sja* ‘fear’ and *smotret* ‘look out’ (if present) play the supporting role of instructing the addressee to adopt a particular stance towards the situation (e.g. to exercise caution in the latter case).

A somewhat unexpected but welcome upshot of this analysis is that the supposedly non-standard negation in the apprehensive construction functions essentially in the same way as any standard sentential negation does. This result, however, should appear much less surprising taking into account the central claim of this thesis. Ultimately, an independent, self-sufficient construction deserves a fully functional negation.

6.3 Translation matters

The main conclusion regarding negation, which has been shown to be a fully functional element, has important methodological implications in terms of translation in glosses. The issue in question can be illustrated by two different versions of translation into English of the set phrase *kak by čego ne vyšlo* from Chekhov’s story *The Man in a Case*, examined as part of the corpus analysis. In version (a), provided by Pevear and Volokhonsky, the apprehensive construction is translated as an affirmative clause with the modal verb ‘may’ indicating the possibility of something bad happening. Version (b), from the translation by Garnett, retains the negation and makes use of the verb of desire ‘hope’.

Ono, konečno, tak-to tak, vse eto prekrasno,
 it of.course so.and.so all this wonderful
da kak by čego ne vyšlo.
 CONJ PTCL SUBJ something-GEN NEG happen-PST.PFV.SG.N

- (a) ‘That’s very well, of course, it’s all splendid, but something may come of it.’
 (b) ‘It is all right, of course; it is all very nice, but I hope it won’t lead to anything!’

Due to the absence in English of a similar construction with negation, translating the Russian *kak by ne* construction through an affirmative sentence with ‘may’ or ‘might’, as above in (a), became something of a standard. Among others, Noonan (2007) offers a translation with ‘may’ in his discussion of the vagaries of negation in complement clauses following predicates of fear:

(110) *Ja bojus’, kak by on ne prišel.* [Noonan 2007: 131]
 I fear.1SG COMP SJNCT he NEG come.SJNCT
 ‘I’m afraid that he may come.’

(111) *Ja bojus’, čto on pridet.*
 I fear.1SG COMP he come.FUT:INDIC14
 ‘I’m afraid that he’ll come.’

This is a good illustration of how translation ultimately reflects analysis. Noonan argues that the difference between (110) and (111) lies in the degree of certainty — namely that complement clauses with negation and the subjunctive mood express “simple possibility”, while parallel indicative affirmative clauses refer to events that are “almost certain to occur”. This is a perfectly legitimate way of presenting the material as long as the analysis comes first. However, a reverse situation is also possible when analysis may be influenced by translation. For instance, in the present case one may be misled by the assumed structural similarity between (110) and (111), which can be conveniently preserved in English by adding ‘may’. This happens to produce a semantically plausible translation that can be then supplemented with a corresponding analysis.

This is not to say that translating the *kak by ne* construction into English using ‘may’, ‘might’ etc. is not acceptable in general. The aforementioned Pevear and Volokhonsky are by no means alone in choosing this option. A quick search through the parallel Russian-English subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus shows that, in the

14 SJNCT — subjunctive, INDIC — indicative.

absence of other idiomatic ways of translation, translators often use some sort of an affirmative construction that expresses a less than certain probability that an adverse situation will take place. At issue is whether this kind of translation is acceptable in a description of this construction in the linguistic literature, if, of course, one's analysis acknowledges that negation is a fully functional element rather than an inutile dummy.

A translation with 'may' was provided initially, albeit with a caveat, for the introductory example (2) as well. However, the subsequent analysis showed that it is desirable, if not necessary, to preserve the negation given its central role in the apprehensive construction, and this is something reflected in the updated glossing. The translation in example (2) was supplemented with a paraphrase 'Let him not fall ill'. While not quite idiomatic, this paraphrase does better justice to the semantics of the *kak by ne* construction and the function of negation, in particular. Consider, for instance, example (54), where the speaker essentially expresses a desire that speculation will not arise rather than merely informing the addressee about such a possibility. In other words, that speculation is possible is not the message of this utterance. This is something that is inferred by the addressee on the basis of what she hears. The translation with 'may' thus only covers the implicature, missing the main communicative point of the utterance. Therefore, it is desirable to add a negation-preserving paraphrase.

- (54) *Tema trepentaja. Kak by ne bylo spekulacij.*
 topic sensitive PTCL SUBJ NEG be-PST.SG.N speculation
 'The topic is sensitive. Speculation may arise.' ('Let there be
 no speculation.')

In RNC: Saša Denisova. *Teatral'nyj roman. Russkij reporter*, 2010

One might object by arguing that such unidiomatic paraphrases appear awkward, and are not really necessary, given that a good reader always reads the second line of glosses carefully and there is ample opportunity to provide a detailed explanation elsewhere in the text. However, translation in glosses is, or at least should be, a commitment to a certain analysis. In this respect, it is worth recalling an old piece of advice that says that glosses should be read from bottom to top, i.e. from meaning to form, and, naturally, this is no place for carelessness.

Furthermore, for some of the examples surveyed in this thesis there is an English translation with negation readily available. In fact, in some cases it would not be possible to do without negation. For instance, in example (105) a translation with 'may' that only points to the possibility of the weather getting cold would be grossly inadequate. The speaker expresses her wish that it does not get cold rather than informing the addressee about such a possibility. This message can be conveyed in English with the help of an optative construction with 'let,' or with the verb of desire 'hope' plus negation in the complement clause.

- (105) *Kak by opjat' ne poxolodalo,*
 PTCL SUBJ again NEG get.cold-PST.PFV.3SG.N
a to ja vsjo tjo ploje uže sprjatala...
 CONJ PTCL I everything warm already put.away-PST.PFV.SG.F
 'I only hope it won't/Let it please not get cold again because I've put
 away all my warm clothes.'

In RNC: Beremennost': Planirovanie beremennosti (forum) (2005)

Similarly, in (87), the referent of *ego/on* 'his/he' wants to avoid being late. The focus is on the prevention of this apprehension-causing situation rather than on it being possible in principle. Of note is that in neither of these two cases is it possible to provide a Russian paraphrase without negation.

- (87) *K ego vzbudoražennosti pribavilos' volnenie –*
 to his excitement add-PST.PFV.SG.N worry
kak by ne opozdat'!
 PTCL SUBJ NEG be.late-INF.PFV
 'A worry added to his excitement – he didn't/I don't want to be late!'
 (Lit.: 'Not to be late!')

In RNC: D.S. Danin. *Nil's Bor* (1969–1975)

The importance of negation is also salient in translations of the apprehensive construction in precautionary and preventive contexts. In the former case, a negative imperative appears to be a good option for conveying the fine nuances of meaning. In example (106), studied in the section on negation, the warning that is expressed with an apprehensive construction in Russian is translated into English using a negative imperative construction. This makes it possible to retain the focus on the prevention of the hypothetical adverse situation, whereas a translation with 'may' would only encode that this is possible. In example (72), which is an illustration of a preventive context, the *kak by ne* construction is translated as a negative purpose clause with the personal pronoun 'no one'.

- (106) *Smotri, družok, kak by ne vljapat'sja tebe*
 look.out-IMP pal PTCL SUBJ NEG get.into-INF-PFV you-DAT
v neprijatnuju istoriju.
 PREP unpleasant story
 'Look out, my little friend, don't get yourself into trouble.'

In RNC: Petr Galickij. *Opasnaja kollekcija* (2000)

- (72) *Ja smotrel, kak by kto*
 I watch-PST.IPFV.SG.M PTCL SUBJ somebody
ne podbralsja k nam szadi
 NEG sneak.up-PST.PFV.SG.M PREP us from.behind
 ‘I was on the lookout so that no one would sneak up from behind.’

In RNC: Andrej Lazarčuk, Mixail Uspenskij. *Posmotri v glaza čudoviš'* (1996)

The variety of means than can be used in English to translate the Russian apprehensive construction serves as a reminder of its polyfunctional nature. Importantly, other than the *may*-option, all of these means feature negation in one form or another, which can be viewed as indirect evidence corroborating the analysis presented in this thesis. Negation proves to play so significant a role that it resurfaces in translation in different constructions of English. What brings these together is the idea of non-existence. A negative expression activates two mental spaces. In one, the apprehension-causing situation in question is construed as non-existent, and it is this mental representation that the speaker instructs the addressee to adopt. Negation in the apprehensive construction is thus yet again vindicated.

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