

Negation Raising in Germanic and Slavic. A Comparative Corpus Study

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Certain verbs allow raising the negation from the embedded clause to the matrix clause (1).

(1) Phil thinks Mary will **not** come. → Phil does **not** think Mary will come.

Such verbs are called negation-raising predicates (NRs) and are attested in many languages (Fillmore 1963, Bartsch 1973, Horn 1978, Modrzejewska 1981, Gajewski 2007). It has been observed that NRs show a strong preference for the 1P.SG.PRES.NON-PROGRESSIVE form (in English), and in this respect they behave similarly to performatives (Lakoff 1969, Prince 1976). The semantic classes of NRs are fairly consistent across languages. However, there are variations that still need to be explored. In this paper, we present distributional profiles of selected NRs in English, German, Polish and Russian, with a special focus on the morphosyntactic form of NRs and the properties of their clausal complements. In particular, the following NRs have been studied on the basis of corpus data (BNC, DeReKo, NKJP, RNC, InterCorp):

English: *think, believe, suppose*

German: *denken* 'think', *glauben* 'believe', *vermuten* 'suppose' and *hoffen* 'hope'

Polish: *sądzić* 'think' and *wierzyć* 'believe'

Russian: *dumat'* 'denken', *ożdat'* 'erwarten', *verit'* 'glauben'

The results show that the English, German and Polish NRs under negation are indeed strongly associated with the 1P.SG.PRES form. This observation also holds for the Russian *dumat'* and *verit'*, while *ożdat'* occurs most often in the 3P.SG.PRES. Moreover, all analyzed German NRs select indicative or (less frequently) subjunctive complement clauses introduced by *dass* 'that'. The negated Polish verbs *sądzić* and *wierzyć* show two selectional patterns: They can select indicative complement clauses introduced by the complementizer *że* 'that' and subjunctive complement clauses introduced by the complementizer *żeby* 'so that'. Unlike sentences with *że*, where affirmative structures are possible, sentences with *żeby* necessarily contain a negation in the matrix clause. Given this, and assuming the performativity hypothesis, one would expect the preference for the 1P.SG.PRES form of *sądzić* and *wierzyć* to be stronger with *żeby* clauses than with *że* clauses. This is indeed supported by the corpus data. However, Russian NRs behave differently. Like their Polish counterparts, they show two selection patterns, selecting indicative complement clauses introduced by *что* 'that' and subjunctive complement clauses introduced by *чтобы* 'so that'. However, indicative *что* clauses are strongly preferred with all investigated NRs.

A closer look at these data will help to better understand the relationship between NR, performativity, mood and assertivity in a cross-linguistic perspective.

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