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A HISTORY OF CONJUNCTIONS INTRODUCING NEGATIVE CLAUSES IN ENGLISH: THE CASE OF *FOR DREAD THAT*

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the issue of the development of FOR DREAD THAT – a negative purpose subordinator in the history of the English language. The theoretical foundation of this work are the mechanisms of grammaticalisation suggested by Heine and Kuteva in many works of theirs. The gathered material shows that the development of this relatively rarely used subordinator constitutes a case of a typical grammaticalisation whose rise might have been the result of analogy with FOR FEAR THAT.

KEY WORDS: subordination, negative purpose, grammaticalisation, analogy, historical linguistics

STRESZCZENIE

Celem artykułu jest analiza powstania oraz zmian zachodzących w spójniku wprowadzającym zdania podrzędne wyrażające negatywny cel FOR DREAD THAT w historii języka angielskiego. Fundamentem teoretycznym badania są mechanizmy gramatykalizacji zaproponowane przez Heinego i Kutevę w wielu ich pracach. Zebrany materiał pokazuje, iż rozwój tego stosunkowo rzadko występującego spójnika jest przypadkiem typowej gramatykalizacji, a jego powstanie mogło być wynikiem analogii do FOR FEAR THAT.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: zdania podrzędnie złożone, negatywny cel, gramatykalizacja, analogia, językoznawstwo historyczne

INTRODUCTION

Although adverbial subordinators expressing negative purpose do not constitute the most common type of interclausal relations among world's languages, quite a few of such avertive morphemes can be found in the English language, e.g. *lest*, *enaunter, for fear (that)* and *weald*. Such conjunctions introduce finite clauses of purpose in which negation is inherently coded, i.e. the content of the subordinate clause is negated by the complementiser which does not contain a negative particle in itself.

The development of the complementiser FOR DREAD THAT expressing negative purpose, which has been generally discounted in historical linguistics, will be investigated with regard to grammaticalisation mechanisms advanced by Heine (2003) [2005] and Heine and Kuteva in various works of theirs. The language material for this study is drawn from the *OED* and the electronic corpora of the English language such as *ARCHER, CMEPV, ICAME, ICAMET* and *PPCME2* corpora.

The translations of mediaeval English illustrations are given in a typical way found in historical linguistics literature, i.e. the Old English examples are provided with their word-for-word glosses and sentence translations in Present-Day English while the examples from Middle English are followed by a Present-Day English paraphrase. All the translations of the presented material are the author's.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework adopted in this study is that of grammaticalisation. We will draw on the four interrelated mechanisms of grammaticalisation, following Heine and Kuteva (2002: 2), Heine (2003 [2005]: 579), Heine and Kuteva (2005: 15), Heine and Kuteva (2006: 43f.), Heine and Kuteva (2007: 34):

Mechanisms of grammaticalisation:
a. desemanticisation (or "semantic bleaching," semantic reduction), i.e. loss (or generalisation) in meaning content;
b. extension (or context generalization), i.e. the rise of novel grammatical meanings when linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts (context-induced reinterpretation);
c. decategorialization, i.e. loss in morphosyntactic properties characteristic of the lexical or other less grammaticalised forms, including the loss of independent word status (cliticisation, affixation);
d. erosion (or "phonetic reduction"), that is loss in phonetic substance.

Although many other mechanisms and parameters of grammaticalisation have been propounded in the literature thus far, we have decided to apply the ones above because they relate to all main components of grammar which are affected in the process of grammaticalisation, i.e. semantics, pragmatics, morphosyntax and phonetics and they can help identify and describe instances of grammaticalisation.

GRAMMATICALISATION OF *FOR DREAD THAT*

The word DREAD 'fear' comes from ME *drēd(e*, which in turn is a shortening of OE *adrǣdan*, contraction of earlier *ondrǣdan* 'counsel or advise against', also 'to dread, fear, be afraid', from *ond-*, *and-* 'against' (the same first element in *answer*,

from PIE root *ant-) + *rēdan* 'to advise' (from PIE root *re- 'to reason, count')
(OEtymD: *s.v. dread* (v.)). Cognate of Old Saxon *antdrādan*, Old High German
intrātan 'fear, dread'. In Old English DREAD appears only as part of a verb, as in (1).

(1) et uolens eum occidere timuit populum quia sicut profetam eum habebant
   & wolde hine ofslean ondreord him þæt folc forþon swa swa witgu hine hæfdun.
   and wished him kill   feared   him that people because so so   prophet him had
   KJV: 'And when (though) he would have put him to death, he feared the multitude, because
   they counted him as a prophet.'

   MtGl (Ru) 14.5

   DREAD used as a noun appears from c. 1200 with the meaning of '[e]xtreme
fear; deep awe or reverence; apprehension or anxiety as to future events. Rarely in
plural' OED (s.v. *dread*, n.1.), cf. examples in (2).

(2) a. *Forgetelnesse, nutelnesse, recheles, shamfastnesse, drede.*
      'Forgetfulness, ignorance, recklessness, modesty, fear.'

      c1200 Trin. Coll. Hom. 71

   b. *I þon castle wes muchel dred.*
      in the castle was much dread
      'There was a lot of terror in the castle.'

      c1275(?a1200) Lay.Brut (Clg A.9)1682

   c. *He quakede for drede and for pine.*
      'He trembled because of fear and pain.'

      c1300 SLeg.Jas.(LdMisc 108)90

   In late Middle English the meaning of *dread* underwent **desemanticisation**, i.e.
it was generalised to cover such senses as 'doubt', 'uncertainty' (OED s.v. *dread*,
def. †3), (MED s.v. *dread*, def. 4). The reason behind this development is the fact
that normally we are afraid of things that are uncertain and this meaning shift is
quite a natural development, e.g.:

(3) a. *I woot as wel as ye, it is no dred!*
      'I know as well as you, it is no doubt.'

      (c1395) Chaucer CT.WB.(Manly-Rickert) D.63

   b. *Þe tyme is nere withowten drede.*
      'The time is near without doubt.'

      c1440 Lay Folks Mass Bk. (MS. C.) 102

   c. *Of that ye wold rowne, No drede.*
      'You would speak about that, no doubt.'

      a1500 (a1460) Towneley Plays (1994) I. xiii. 137

The process that goes hand in hand with desematicisation when novel grammatical structures arise is **extension**, i.e. linguistic expressions are extended to new contexts. In the case of DREAD, extension is evidenced when DREAD is used as an indicator of the state of affairs that is perceived of as undesirable expressed in the following clause, while the content of the matrix clause describes the action that is performed as a precaution. Consider examples in (4):

(4) a. *Who koude telle yow the forme of daunces,*
    So unkouthe and so fresshe contenaunces,
    Swich subtil lookyng and dissymulynges,
    For drede of ialous mennes aperceyuynges.
    'Who could tell you the types of dances so odd and the blithe countenances, such subtle glances and dissimulation for fear of jealous men's observation.'

                    (c1395) Chaucer CT.Sq.(Manly-Rickert)F.283

  b. *Kutte..not to depe.for drede of þe braun & of senewis & of veynes & arterijs.*
    'Cut not too deep for fear of the muscle and the ligaments and the veins and the arteries.'

                    a1400 Lanfranc (Ashm 1396) 223/16

  c. *Þerfore whanne þou wolt kutte þis enpostym, þou schalt but kutte abouteforþ in þe skyn,*
    & not to depe bi no maner wei for drede of þe braun, & of senewis, & of veynes & arterijs,
    & whanne þe place is opened, þan leie þerto mundificatiuis.
    'Therefore, when you wish to cut this swelling, you shall but cut all around in the skin and not too deep by no means for fear of the muscle and the ligaments and the veins and the arteries and whenever the place is opened then apply to it a clensing medicament.'

                    a1500(?c1450) Merlin (Cmb Ff.3.11)171

In the second half of the fourteenth century DREAD becomes grammaticalised to the status of a complementiser introducing final clauses expressing negative intended result. MED (s.v. *drēd(e* n. def. 2(b)) "for ~, for ~ of, for ~ that, to avoid (sth.), lest (sth. happen), for fear of (doing sth.)", cf. (5).

(5) a. *If þo freris do þo reverse, þei are Anticrist clerkes; and for drede þat hor*
    ypocrisye schulde be knowen to þe puple,—and ypocrisie is noght but if hit be hid,—þei are
    wode when þei are reproved oght of hor vices;
    'If the friars do the opposite they are Anticrist's clerics – and lest their hypocrisy should be known to the people – and hypocrisy is not but if it be hidden – they are insane when they are accused of their sins.'

                    c1400(?c1382) Wycl.Lincoln.(Bod 647)231

  b. *Kniues to bed þai sal non bere, For dred þat þai myght do þam dere.*
    'They shall not bring knives to bed for fear that they might do themselves harm.'

                    a1450 Ben.Rule(2) (Vsp A.25)1214

  c. *'forth, forthe, nobel barons haue thys daye rememberaunce of your wyues & chyldren that*
    ye haue lefte at home |r16 in care & myserye! for dred that they haue to lese you take ayen
    wythin yourself a good and vygoryus corage in shewynge of your force and vertue ayenste
    your enmyes.'

                    (c. 1489) Caxton 1: Blanchardyn and Eglantine

d. *We rede of a riche & noble clerke, the whiche liued moche deliciously and wold [n]ot gladly here the sermons, |r20 for drede that he shold here som thing for the whiche he shold entre in to religion. For he felte him self lightly for to be conuerted.*

<div align="right">1489 Caxton 4: Doctrinal of Sapience, printed by William Caxton,</div>

e. *and he not ther-yn his chambrelayn yn like wise, & suche as were moost a_boute |r20 hym nor wote not where they are for the seruauntes of diuerse of them be come to vs & sey that they haue lost their maistres thus for drede that it shold falle vnto you as it did to the kynge of ffraunce, we be come to enforme you ther-of assone as |r24 we mysse hym for we wote not yif ye knowe where he is or no.*

<div align="right">c. 1500 The Three Kings' Sons</div>

An interesting development of FOR DREAD involves the use of a complementing infinitive. Consider examples in (6).

(6) a. *Þei drow hem to a dern den for drede to be seiȝen.*
    'They dragged them to a secluded cave for fear of being seen.'

<div align="right">a1375 WPal.(KC 13)1792</div>

b. *Schete durst þei nouȝt, for drede þe child to hurte.*
    'They dared not rush lest they should hurt the child.'

<div align="right">a1375 WPal.(KC 13)2399</div>

This variation resembles the possibility of complementing the purpose subordinator *for fear* with the *to*-infinitive, cf. (7) (Łęcki 2019).

(7) a. *I foundede faste there-fro6 for ferde to be wryghede.*
    'I hurried fast to and fro for fear to be found out.'

<div align="right">c1450(?a1400) Parl.3 Ages (Add 31042) 97</div>

b. *It gars me quake for ferde to dee.*
    'It makes me tremble for fear that I might die'

<div align="right">a1500(a1460) Towneley Pl.(Hnt HM 1) 46/202</div>

c. *I was effrayit to mount so heich, for feir to get ane fall.*
    'I was frightened to ascend so high for fear to take a fall.'

<div align="right">1597 A. Montgomerie Cherrie and Slae 346</div>

d. *To depart out of those quarters..for feare to bee murdered.*

<div align="right">1600 P. Holland tr. Livy Rom. Hist. (1609) xlix. Epit. 1238</div>

The change from a prepositional phrase to a prepositional conjunction involves the mechanism of decategorialisation. A conspicuous sign of decategorialisation is the inability of *dread* in the *for dread that* structure to be marked for plurality (**for dreads that*), which proves that the lexeme *dread* has been decategorialised, thus it has lost some morphosyntactic properties which characterise lexical or less grammaticalised items (cf., e.g., Hopper (1991: 22) or Heine (2003 [2005]: 579), consider example (8) where *dread* is used in the plural.

(8) *Crisolitus..helpeþ night frayes and dredes.*
    'Chrysolite helps against nightmares and dreads.'

(a1398) *Trev.Barth.(Add 27944)198a/b

Additionally, decategorialisation, i.e. a loss in morphosyntactic properties of the complementiser *for dread that* is evidenced by a loss of discourse autonomy where the original noun *dread* loses the property of identifying participants in a discourse. In other words, *drede* is used non-referentially when it is a part of the complementiser, in that it cannot be modified by noncompulsory markers of categoriality, e.g. **for this drede (that)*, as it is possible when *dread* is used as a lexical noun, compare:

(9) *Þe drede of god I sall ȝow lere.*
    'The dread of God I shall teach you.'

a1450 Ben.Rule(2) (Vsp A.25)82

Erosion is the last parameter to be involved; however, in the development of the subordinator FOR DREAD THAT, erosion is not a relevant parameter. Any signs of a loss of phonetic substance cannot be observed in this construction because it was a relatively infrequent and short-lived avertive marker in the history of the English language.

ANALOGY

In fact, the subordinator FOR DREAD was used only between 1375 and 1500. Having checked various corpora including CWWS (Shakespeare corpus), Penn Helsinki, CEECS (Corpus of Early English Correspondence Sampler 1418-1680), LAMPETER 1640–1740 and Innsbruck, three more examples of the subordinator FOR DREAD THAT have been revealed apart from the ones listed in the MED (s.v. *drēd(e* n.). That FOR DREAD THAT is only a marginal subordinator is further evidenced by the fact that the OED (s.v. *dread*, n) does not even recognise the FOR DREAD syntagm not to mention the subordinating function of FOR DREAD THAT.

Even though the development of FOR DREAD THAT can be viewed as a regular case of grammaticalisation, it appears that it should be perceived as driven by analogy. There are several reasons why the emergence of FOR DREAD THAT can be treated as developed by analogy with FOR FEAR THAT: first of all, synonymy between *dread* and *fear* can be seen in the twin-formulae comprising these two nouns. OED (s.v. *fear* n., def. 2a) observes that *dread* and *fear* in 14th c. were sometimes used pleonastically, e.g.:

(10) a. *What for fer of sclaunder and drede of deth, She loste bothe at ones wit and breth.*
        'What for fear of calumny and dread of death she lost bothe at once her wit and breath.'

                                              c1430(c1386) Chaucer LGW (Benson-Robinson) 1814

   b. *He woste nouȝt what was fere and drede.*
      'He did not know what fear and dread was.'

                                                              (a1387) Trev.Higd.(StJ-C H.1)7.369

   c. *Fals hert myght noȝt bere þe grete drede and fere þat þai had.*
      'False heart might not bear the great dread and fear that they had.'

                                                    c1400   *Mandeville's Trav.* (Roxb.) xxxi. 140

   d. *Thou hast lost bothe drede and feere.*
      'You have lost both dread and fear.'

                                                      a1425(?a1400) RRose (Htrn 409)3843

   e. *Al fer and drede was leide asyde.*
      'All fear and dread was laid aside.'

                                                      c1425(a1420) Lydg.TB (Aug A.4)1.3337

   f. *Al þei spoyle withoute drede or fere.*
      'They all pillage without dread or fear.'

                                                      c1425(a1420) Lydg. TB (Aug A.4) 1.4331

   g. *and they the which be infested with this madnesse be euer in feare and drede,*

                                                1547_Boorde_BreuiaryOfHelthe.txt [^f.15r^]

Secondly, the synonymy between *fear* and *dread* must have led to the inter-
changeability thereof in various manuscripts of the same work further leading to
formal similitude between FOR DREAD THAT and FOR FEAR THAT, cf. (11).

(11) a. *But ȝitt bode he seuen dayes in rest For fere [Vsp: doute; Got: drede] lest any damnyng*
        brest.
        'But yet he remained in rest for seven days for fear a curse may break.'

                                                      a1400 Cursor (Trin-C R.3.8) 1908

   b. *C*: for doute if any de*mm*yng brest
      G: For drede if ani damising brest
      T: For fere lest any dam*n*ing brest

                                                              Cursor 1908

Additionally, Mustanoja (1960: 561) notes that "for *of fered* there are variant
readings like *for ferd*, *of fere*, *for fere*, and *for drede*.":

(12) *For fere [Ld: drede] he ful to grounde anon.*
     'With fear he instantly fell down to the ground.'

                                                      c1300 SLeg.Chris.(Hrl 2277) 162

The idea that analogy could be responsible for the rise of the FOR DREAD
THAT complementiser can be problematic in the light of how Meillet (1912) views

the processes of grammaticalisation and analogy. He suggests that grammatical forms emerge through two processes: one the well-studied process of analogy whereby new paradigms come into being, and another which he calls grammaticalisation (1912 [1951: 131]).

Yet in more recent literature this issue is reconciled by, e.g., Hopper and Traugott (2003: 93), who observe that "metonymic and metaphorical inferencing are complementary, not mutually exclusive, processes at the pragmatic level that result from the dual mechanisms of reanalysis linked with the cognitive process of metonymy, and analogy linked with the cognitive process of metaphor." They (2003: 39) also note that grammaticalization takes place through two general mechanisms: reanalysis primarily, and analogy secondarily.

CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the data gathered, it can be concluded that the complementiser FOR DREAD THAT was used in late Middle English from 1392 to 1500. It may be analysed as a regular case of grammaticalisation where the mechanisms of grammaticalisation relating to pragmatics, semantics, and morpho-syntax can be observed (desematicisation, extension, decategorialisation respectively). Furthermore, most probably the development of FOR DERED THAT is a case of grammaticalisation induced by analogy (with FOR FEAR THAT). Finally, it has been shown that it is rather a short-lived but certainly an infrequent avertive marker in the history of the English language.

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