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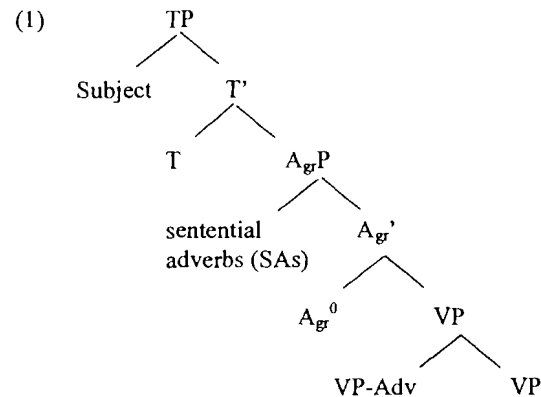
Peter Kosta

Negation and Adverbs in Czech

0. Introduction

This paper recalls some basic facts on syntax of adverbs and negation in Czech. It has been proposed recently to analyze adverb phrases (AdvP) as the unique specifiers of distinct maximal projections, rather than as adjuncts (CINQUE 1999). Cinque argues for the existence of a fixed universal hierarchy of clausal functional projections. Furthermore, he rejects the assumption that languages vary in the number and type of functional projections and their distribution. Instead, he tries to construct a plausibility argument against these assumptions, suggesting that no such variation is allowed by UG and that the same number, type and order (hierarchy) of functional projections holds across languages and clause types, despite apparent counterevidence. Specifically, he argues that in addition to the order of free functional morphemes ("particles" and auxiliaries) and of bound functional morphemes (affixes), there is a third type of different classes of functional projections of AdvP.

Similarly to the recent proposal that has been made by UWE JUNGHANNS (in press¹), I do not adopt the specific approach to the grammar of adverbials that are associated with specific functional projections (cf. also ALEXIADOU 1997 for Greek). Instead, and as opposed to Uwe Junghanns, I make the claim that sentential adverbs are base-generated as adjuncts to an agreement phrase as opposed to VP-Adverbs that adjoin to VP in the base, as shown under (1):



In contrast to my position, Junghanns claims that the three proposed types of sentential adverbs (SA), namely Epistemic SAs (*pravděpodobně* 'probably', *snad* 'possibly', 'presumably', *jistě* 'certainly'), Factive SAs (*bohužel* 'unfortunately', *ovšem* 'naturally',

¹ UWE JUNGHANNS (in press) Scope Conflicts Involving Sentential Negation in Czech. In: BROWN, S. & A. PRZEPIÓRKOWSKI (eds.) *Negation in Slavic*. Bloomington: Indiana: Slavica publishers.

pochopitelně ‘understandably’) and Verificational SAs (*opravdu* ‘in fact, really’ *samozřejmě* ‘of course’, *skutečně* ‘apparently’) “is base generated very low in the structure of the clause, viz. as an adjunct to VP just like any other free (i.e., non-subcategorized) adverbial”. My arguments for at least two different syntactic positions of sentence vs. VP-adverbials is based on the following observation. Whereas SAs usually and mostly do not affect the reading of the negated proposition despite their apparent scope conflicts sharply described and explained in the mentioned article by UWE JUNGHANNS (in press), manner adverbs such as *pěkně* ‘nicely’, *vládně* ‘moderately’, *nahlas* ‘loudly’, *dobře* ‘good’, etc. strictly combine with partial negation with different scope properties than the sentence negation has.

The following paper is organized as follows: in the reminder of part one I shall present some evidence for the position of the sentential negation in Czech. In the second part I shall show how sentential negation and sentential adverbs interact and how scope conflicts can be resolved under an analysis of covert movement. In the third part of my paper, some evidence of the distribution of manner adverbs and negation will be presented. The conclusion of this paper will be an analysis of covert movement of the finite verb out of the scope domain of the constituent negation (focus negation) leaving the manner adverb in situ under c-command.

1. Sentential Negation, constituent negation and adverbs in Czech

It has been claimed in many recent publications that the freedom of word order of languages like Czech is not as free as it seems. There are restrictions on word order that result either from requirements of Syntax, Phonology or Semantics. My analysis is based on the assumption that the syntactic position of the surface word order of arguments and adjuncts reflects (also in its relation to sentence prosody) the categorial representation of the cognitive meaning of the sentence. Following HAJIČOVÁ (1995a,b), it seems necessary to distinguish between the focus of a rhematizer, the focus position of the adjuncts (adverbials) and the focus of the arguments. In addition to it, it seems that focus position and scope properties of sentential negation vs. constituent negation are closely connected with the focus position and scope properties of sentential vs. VP-Adverbs as scope taking items. Consider the following example (2):

- (2) [_{AGRSP} *Určitě* [_{AGRSP} AgrS^o] jsem [_{TP} [_{NEGP} <*neřekla*_i> [_{AGROP} *nic* [_{FOCV} VP t_i [_{VP} Surely aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK} *Nahlas*]]]]]]]]].
loudly
“It is sure that I haven’t said anything loudly.”

The first adverbial on the leftmost edge of the sentence is a SA of the verificational or epistemic class, the last adverbial on the right periphery of the sentence is a manner adverb in a lower adverb position.² Now, consider the differences in the focus and scope

domains of the two classes of adverbs. The SA c-commands the negation, the NegP and the NegV complex c-command the rest of the sentence (i.e. the direct object argument *nic* ‘nothing’ and the manner adverb *nahlas* ‘loudly’), the resulting reading is ambiguous (2a) vs. (2b):

- (2a) “it is sure that anything that has been said did not happen in a loudly manner”
(2b) “it is sure that nothing has been said loudly”

The first interpretation allows a presupposition on the existence of the assertive meaning of the proposition (finite verb) of “saying, but not anything loudly” whereas the interpretation (2b) excludes the speech act of saying anything at all, i.e. the verb and all its subcategorized elements (direct object argument, including the manner adverb) are negated. This ambiguity does not emerge with the SA due to its higher position above the sentential negation. LANG (1979, 1983) makes the point that SAs semantically outscope sentential negation, i.e. they are not interpreted within the scope of another functor. This property of sentential adverbs, however, does not hold for manner adverbs of the lower class (presumably complements in a VP shell in the sense of LARSON (1988)) as seen in (2) and (3a-d):

- (3) a. že jsem při tom <nevypadala> zdaleka tak *pěkně* jako Rhonda
that aux_{1sg} thereby Neglooked far as nicely as Rhonda
“that I haven’t by far looked so nicely like Rhonda”
b. Tyhle končiny <nepůsobily> zrovna *vládně*.
these surroundings Negimpress specifically comfortably/moderately
“These surroundings did not impress by being very comfortable”
c. <Nereagovala> příliš *dobře*.
Neg react too good
“She did not react very good”
d. Příležitostní kuřáci totiž <neinhalují> tak *lačně*.
Occasional smokers namely Neg inhale that avidly
“Occasional smokers do not inhale that much”

The meaning of (3a) includes the presupposition of “looking nicely but by far not that nice as R.” where Neg takes a contrast focus reading over the manner adverb and does not attract the negation of the verb (i.e., it outscores the finite verb), resulting in the interpretation of constituent negation of the manner adverb. The meaning of the manner adverb in (3b) is also negative bearing contrast focus as opposed to some more nice parts of the country that are not mentioned in the text. The interpretation of (3c) is that she reacted but not in a very good manner. The interpretation of (3d) is of course not that occasional smokers do not inhale at all but that they do not do it that avidly. The above mentioned examples with manner adverbs seem to allow a first descriptive

answering. Manner adverbs of the lower class are usually subcategorized for verbs that take adverb complements excluding the higher (=2a) position, cf. Joan behaved rudely // *Joan rudely behaved. In Czech, however, the contrast of the two positions of manner adverbs results in the contrast between focussed reading vs. unmarked (unfocussed) reading; cf. *Petr se choval neukázněně/sprostě* // *Petr se neukázněně/sprostě* CHOVAL. We will keep these contrasts in mind for the sake of the main claim of our study (cf. Section 3).

² Benjamin Shaer (2000) shows that some manner adverbs such as *rudely* exhibit different readings depending on their syntactic position. In a sentence (2a) Louisa rudely answered Patricia the reading can be construed as saying that Louisa’s rudeness consisted in her having answered Patricia whereas in (2b) Louisa answered Patricia rudely locates the flaw in the manner of

generalization, namely (4):

- (4) First decriptive generalization on manner adverbs and negation:
Manner adverbs take scope of negation as if it were the constituent negation

Let us reconsider some examples with SAs confirming that the descriptive generalization (4) does not include anything else than this class of adverbs:

- (5) [Tenkrát se [člověk [vlastně [nikde jinde]
At that time_C TIME ADVERB REFL. man_{NOM} actually V-SA nowhere else LOCAL ADVERB
ani [usadit [<nemohl>]]]]].
even_{NEGPART} settle down NEG could
“At that time none actually could have settled down at any other place”

The example (5) shows the designated syntactic positions of different classes of adverbs having the preference order time adverb (tenkrát) – SA (V-SA) – location adverb outscoping the time adverb and the Verificational SA out of the sentential negation but including the negation of the local adverb in front of the modal (matrix) verb. The unmarked word order of sentential and manner adverbs³ in Czech sentence can be confirmed by some examples with negated and affirmative Wh-phrases; cf. (6):

- (6) promlouval, ale nikdo nikdy <nevěděl> kdy, kde a jak dlouho.
(He) spoke but noone never Negknew when where and how long
“He was speaking but none ever knew when where and how long it would be”
Subject > Time > Neg > V Time > Location > Manner

Notice that the scope contrasts between negation, manner adverbs and SA also account for the difference between the semantic class of subject-oriented adverbs which behave syntactically like real SA on one hand and manner adverbs on the other; cf.:

- (7) Elenino tělo <nevystavili> záměrně.
E.s body_{AKK} Neg exhibited on purpose
“They did it on purpose (it was their purpose) NOT to give the body of E. to the exhibition”

Even though the subject-oriented adverb *záměrně* “on purpose” lands in a surface position that corresponds to the designated position of manner adverbs (cf. 2, 3a-d), it shows different syntactic behavior as to the scope properties of the negation, excluding the reading of constituent negation of manner adverbs. Now, reconsider some problems close connected with the observation made by Uwe Junghanns that even SAs in Czech may enter a syntactic domain where negation precedes a sentential adverb so that, on the surface, the relative scope of the two items is as shown in (8)-(10) [Junghanns in press:2, examples (1)-(2)]:

- (8) Já [ne]_β jsem [samozřejmě]_α v situaci, že bych si mohl
I_{NOM} [Neg]_β am_{IP/SG} [of course]_α in situation that aux_{IP/SG} refl_{DAT} could
vybírat [...]
choose_{INF}
“Of course, I don’t have a choice”
- (9) Tento ideologický pseudoprobém nebyl bohužel
This ideological pseudo-problem_{NOM} [Neg]_β-was_{3P/SG} [unfortunately]_α
jediným následkem povedené oslavy školníkůvých padesátin.
only consequence_{INSTR} held celebration_{GEN} of the pupils’ fiftieth-anniversary
- (10) [Neg [SA [... (JUNGHANNS, in press:2)

This is an apparent counterevidence to the semantic intuition according to which SAs should take scope over Neg as illustrated in (11) and as demonstrated under (2, 5, 7):

- (11) [SA [Neg [...]]]

Junghanns correctly points at the fact that the surface configuration does not reflect the correct scope relation, thus, proposing non-overt-movement that creates a configuration in which the item that semantically outscopes the other one c-commands it. That means, that semantic scope is determined by syntactic hierarchy, but the surface does not necessarily reflect it. Scope conflicts are overcome after Spell-Out, at an abstract, post-surface, level of representation (LF). The offending item moves to a position outside the scope of sentential negation.

This approach is reminiscent of May’s (1985) Quantifier Raising (QR) at LF. But whereas MAY (1985) introduces QR to account for scope ambiguities, Junghanns deals with cases in Czech where there is no ambiguity at all. For the Czech examples (8)-(9) Junghanns proposes a non-overt movement analysis out of the scope of the sentential negation.

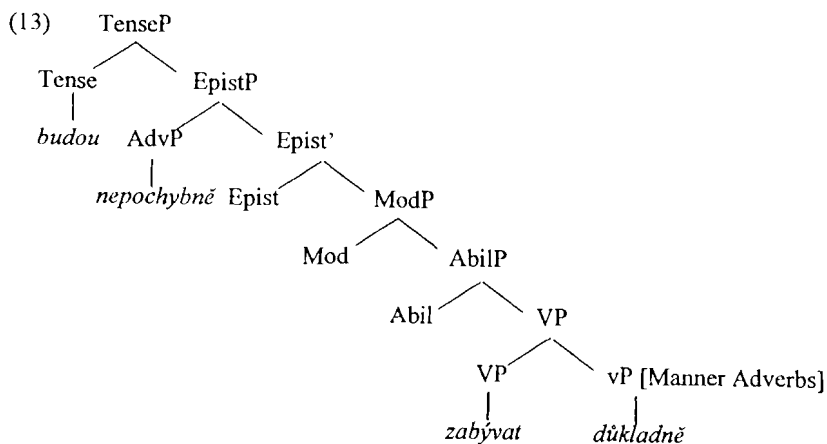
2. Sentential Negation and sentential adverbs

In the following section I try to reject the proposal by UWE JUNGHANNS (in press) stating that sentential adverbs are base-generated very low in the structure of the clause, viz. as an adjunct to VP just like any other free (i.e., non-subcategorized) adverbial. Instead, I make the claim that at least some aspects of adverb distribution can be predicted from their semantics and that the mapping between syntax and semantics ought to be as direct as possible (cf. ERNST 2000:81). Junghanns gives three arguments in favor of a base-generated position adjoined to VP. The first piece of evidence comes from the periphrastic future. Under the assumption that the future auxiliary is generated in the functional head T(ense), in example (12) the SA follows aux. The conclusion that SA must be lower in the structure than T is not as straightforward as one might suggest. Let us first reconsider the structure proposed by Junghanns:

³ It is obvious that the adverbs of both groups divide into different semantic subclasses. THOMAS ERNST (2000:80) proposes two groups of adverbs, namely functional adverbs and predicational adverbs, first being a close class, latter being an open class. For the purpose of our study, however, the distinction between SA and manner adverbs suffices because we do not concentrate on other types of adverbials.

- (12) [DP Takovými a podobnými náměty] se [TP [T budou] [AGROP t_{REFL}] [VP
these_{INSTR} and similar_{INSTR} topics_{INSTR} refl aux_{3P/PL}
[nepochybně]_α [VP [VP t_{NOM} zabývat t_{INSTR}] [DP navrhovatelé našich
[no-doubt]_α deal_{INF} person-who-submit_{NOM/PL} our
nových ústav]]]]]]
new constitutions
“No doubt, those who will submit the drafts of our new constitutions will be
concerned with these and similar topics” (JUNGHANNS, in press:11, = ex. 17ab)

Under the assumption that the future aux has not moved out of its base-generated position in T⁰ Junghanns is correct. On Cinque's approach, however, each adverb is licensed in a one-to-one relation with a specific functional head having a related meaning, and these heads are ordered by UG in a rigid clausal hierarchy. Thus for (12) the relevant portion of the clause would look something like (13) (the actual node labels are not important at this point):



In the Cinque-style adverbial syntax (13) the epistemic adverb *nepochybně* stands above a modal node but underneath a tense node under which the future aux is base generated. The structure (12) can be derived. But there is a clear counterevidence in Czech that SAs of the epistemic class must remain in situ in SpecEpistP (of the base-generated EpistP). Recall the facts in (2), where an epistemic SAs can be adjoined to any maximal projection in Czech, including AGRSP in (2), here repeated as (2'):

- (2') [AGRSP *Určitě* [AGRSP_{PRO} AgrS⁰] jsem [TP [NEGP <*neřekla*> [AGROP *nic* [VP t [VP
Surely aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK}
nahlas]]]]]]]]
loudly
“It is sure that I haven't said anything loudly”

Example (2) and the structure (2') demonstrate the Null-Subject version of this sentence, having a topicalized version with lexical subject (2''). My proposal for the latter structure is that the lexical subject has moved to SpecCP for independent reasons

(here to support the clitic auxiliary *jsem*), aux moves to the head of C⁰ and the SA remains in its base-generated position, namely left adjoined to AGRSP; cf.:

- (2'') [CP Já C⁰ jsem_i [AGRSP *určitě* [AGRSP AgrS⁰ t_i] [TP [NEGP <*neřekla*> [AGROP *nic* [VP t
Surely aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK}
[VP *Nahlas*]]]]]]].
loudly
“It is sure that it was ME who hasn't said anything loudly”

The designated position for SA of the epistemic class in Czech is confirmed by data from Russian with pied piping of the adverbial adjunct together with the participial adjunct into a position either leftadjoined to or above AGRSP, presumably into SpecCP as demonstrated under (14) (cf. KOSTA 1998:148, ex. 7):

- (14) [CP [CP [AP *verojatno* upavši]_k [VP t_i [VP zakričal [DP_i REBENOK_i t_k]]]]].
Presumably having fallenPart started to cry a child/boy
“A boy presumably having fallen started to cry”

In the Czech translation of this sentence from *Anna Karenina* the SA *verojatno* remains in situ in a position before the main verb in a restrictive relative clause, by which the proposition by the speaker is judged as true based on how the real world situation, or source of knowledge, affects the likelihood that the corresponding event occurred. It is not clear, however, which functional projection the SA adjoins to:

- (15) ... se ... ozval křik děcka, [CP které [XP patně [XP upadlo]]] (KOSTA 1998:145)
was to be heard the voice of a child that presumably fallen has

As already stated in the beginning of my paper, I do not share the opinion that specific functional projections are designated for specific SAs, but I do recall my assumption that in structures like (12) the position of the future aux is not clear. In other words, it is not clear whether the future aux has moved or not. Under the assumption that the reflexive particle *se* must have moved to a position designated for clitics in Czech (the position must be the Wackemagel, i.e. 2nd position) and assuming that the DP [DP Takovými a podobnými náměty] has been topicalized in (12), we can still claim that the structure (12) is something like (12'), where the epistemic SA is right adjoined to AGRSP, cf. (12'):

- (12') [CP [CP [DP Takovými a podobnými náměty] [C⁰ se_i] [AGRSP AGR⁰ budou_j [AGRSP
nepochybně] [TP t_j [[AGROP t_i [VP zabývat [VP [DP t_{NOM} t_{INSTR}] [DP navrhovatelé
našich nových ústav]]]]]]]]

My proposal for the sentence structure including SA of the epistemic class is also confirmed by the following empirical facts:

- The unmarked word order shows up with SAs preceding the NegP including second position pronominal clitics (here the pronoun *ho* “him” CL_{AKK}) that follow the epistemic adverb. The manner adverb (here the negated manner adverb *nijak* ‘in no way’) is included into the scope of negation. The scope of Negation in such sentences is narrow, i.e. the negation overtly outscopes the SAs, cf. (16).

- Preposed (scrambled) or topicalized argument DPs usually precede SAs and still are in the scope of sentential negation, whereas the SA is outscoped. The negated finite verb is mostly adjacent to the SA and to the direct object DP (cf. 17-19). In sentences with double objects the prepositional phrase precedes and the direct object DP follows the verb (cf. 18).
- In structures with negated existential SC the SA has scope over an event of the matrix clause (here marked with the demonstrativ tohle "this") but is outscoped by the Negation of the SC (cf. 20):

- (16) *Rozhodně ho nijak <nelákala> představa, že by se musel,*
absolutely him_{AKKCL} noway Neg attracted imagination, that he had to,
vydechla Joanna
sihted Joanna
"Absolutely, the vision did not attract him, that he had to, said (sighed) Joanna"
- (17) *žádným toxickým látkám určitě <neholdovala>*
no_{DAT/PL} toxic_{DAT/PL} substances_{DAT/PL} surely (she) Neg preferred
"Surely, she did not prefer any toxic substances."
- (18) *Na Joannu očividně zvláštní dojem <neudělala>*
To Joanna_{AKK} obviously a special impression_{AKK} Neg made
"Obviously, on Joanna she did not make any special impression"
- (19) *Ve sklepě určitě <nehořelo>*
In the cellar_{LOC/SG} surely Neg burned
"Surely, it did not burn in the cellar"
- (20) *Tohle určitě <není> doktorka Blalocková*
This surely Neg is_{3P/SG} doctor Blalocková_{NOM/SG}
"Surely, this is not doctor Blalocková"

All above mentioned sentences can be derived by the same mechanism. The purpose of my proposal was to show that there is a fixed base-generated position of epistemic SAs in Czech (presumably left- or right-adjoined to AGRSP) and that the word order variation can be derived either by scrambling of argument phrases or by topicalization both being unbound processes that feed the information structure of the sentence. It seems to me that a derivational theory on movement has to respect the fact that rightward movement is banned (cf. LCA in KAYNE 1995) and the overt movement of the finite verb has to follow principals of economy.

Our proposal on sentence structure of SAs vs. manner adverbs and the generalization (4) should predict that (a) SAs should be banned from a right periphery (let us call it the focus, = FOC) position, and (b) if they appear there they should persist scope conflict effects by covert movement on LF. Let us first reconsider some facts on the distribution of SAs of the epistemic, factive and verificational classes on one hand and the manner adverbs on the other hand: recall the following examples:

- (2) [*Určitě* [_{AGRSP} AgrS⁰ jsem [_{TP} [_{NEGP} <neřekla> [_{AGROP} nic [_{VP} t [_{FOC} VP *Nahlas*]]]]]]]]]]
Surely aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK} loudly
"It is sure that I haven't said anything loudly"

If we replace the epistemic SA *určitě* and put it to the right periphery position for which the manner adverbs are subcategorized we get a quirky interpretation that the way of saying something happened NOT in a "determined, resolute" tone; cf.:

- (2'') [*Nahlas* [_{AGRSP} AgrS⁰ jsem [_{TP} [_{NEGP} <neřekla> [_{AGROP} nic [_{VP} t [_{FOC} VP *URčitě*]]]]]]]]]
Loudly aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK}
"Loudly I haven't said anything in a determined way/resolutely"
(without comma intonation)

This is to say, that the syntactic reordering of the different classes of adverbs leads to a semantic effect which seems to support our view that the mapping between syntax and semantics ought to be as direct as possible. Additionally, the changed status of the adverbs is confirmed by the fact that the negation does not outscope the manner adverb *určitě* "in a determined way, resolutely".

I should stress that prosody is a very important point of further research, because the same structure changes the meaning with respect to different prosodical status of the structure. With comma intonation or after a break the adverb *určitě* obtains the semantics of an epistemic SA again:

- (2''') [*Nahlas* [_{AGRSP} AgrS⁰ jsem [_{TP} [_{NEGP} <neřekla> [_{AGROP} nic [_{VP} t # [_{VP} *URčitě*]]]]]]]]]
Loudly aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK}
"Loudly I haven't said anything, that's for sure"
(# is a prosodical break after a comma intonation)

The possibility of reconstruction manner adverbs into SA is confirmed by the fact that the SA persists scope conflict effects with the sentential negation by covert movement on LF to a higher c-commanding position above the NegP.

Needless to say, that the manner adverb reading of *určitě* is only obtainable with certain verbs for which this adverb is subcategorized. In our textcorpus (taken from the Czech National Corpus UČNK) most verbs exclude the manner reading of the SAs, disallowing to place them in the right-adjoined position as complement of a VP. We can demonstrate this on the following examples:

- (5') [*Tenkrát* se [člověk [t [nikde jinde] ani
At that time_{TIME} ADVERB REFL man_{NOM} nowhere else LOCAL ADVERB even_{NEGPART}
[vlastně]o.k. [usadit [vlastně]o.k. [<nemohl>] *[vlastně]]]]].
settle down NEG could actually V-SA
"At that time none could have settled down at any other place *actually"

In (5') the lowest right adjoined position is excluded whereas the position adjacent to the verb complex or intervening between the negated modal and the main verb is possible (with SA- reading).

- (7') *Elenino tělo <nevystavili> záměrně.*
E.s body_{AKK} Neg exhibited on purpose
"They did it on purpose (it was their purpose) NOT to give the body of E. to the exhibition"
*"The way or manner of exhibiting the body was not on purpose"

In (7') the manner reading is excluded because *záměrně* is a subject-oriented SA and the verb "vystavit/vystavovat" does not subcategorize for such an adverb.

- (17') **žádným* *toxickým* *látkám* <neholdovala> *určitě*
n₀DAT/PL TOXIC_{DAT/PL} substances_{DAT/PL} (she) Neg preferred surely
 "She did not prefer any toxic substances in a determined way."
- (18') **Na Joannu* *zvláštní* *dojem* <neudělala> *očividně*
To Joanna_{AKK} a special impression_{AKK} Neg made obviously
 "On Joanna she did not make any special impression in an obvious way"
- (19') **Ve sklepe* <nehořelo> *určitě*
In the cellar_{Loc/SG} Neg burned surely
 "It did not burn in the cellar in a determined way"
- (20') **Tohle* <není> *doktorka* *Blalocková* *určitě*
This Neg be doctor Blalocková surely
 "This is not doctor Blalocková in a determined way"
- (21) *bez něho* *by* *parta* *prostě* <neexistovala> // **prostě*.
Without him aux_{COND} company_{NOM} simply Neg existed // *simply
 "Surely, without him the company would not exist"/"??...would not exist in a simple way"
- (22) <Nemohl> *to* *ovšem* *takhle* *řict* // * *ovšem*, *poněvadž*....
Neg could this however that way say // *however, because...
 "He could not, however, say ist that way"

3. Constituent Negation or sentential negation and VP-Adverbs (manner adverbs)

The analysis suggested for the syntax of adverbs is based on the descriptive generalization under (4), here repeated as (4'):

- (4') Second descriptive generalization on manner adverbs and negation:
 First descriptive generalization + manner adverbs are subcategorized by the verb

The contrast of manner adverbs with respect to structural position and the SA is striking both with respect to lexicon (semantics) and to scope properties of negation. Recall the following examples with manner adverbs:

- (3') a. ... *že* *jsem* *při tom* <nevypadala> *zdaleka* *tak pěkně* *jako* *Rhonda*
that aux_{1SG} thereby Neglooked far as nicely as Rhonda
 "that I haven't by far looked so nicely like Rhonda"
- b. *Tyhle* *končiny* <nepůsobily> *zrovna* *vlídně*
these surroundings Negimpress specifically comfortably/moderately
 "These surroundings did not impress by being very comfortable"
- c. <Nereagovala> *příliš dobře*
Neg react too good
 "She did not react very good"
- d. *Příležitostní* *kuřáci* *totiž* <neinhalují> *tak lačně*
Occasional smokers namely Neg inhale that avidly
 "Occasional smokers do not inhale that avidly"

In all these sentences the negation reaches only the manner adverb and outscopes the verb in contrast to sentences with SA where the negation reaches only the verb and outscopes the SA.

Bearing these facts in mind, there is a close connection with the analysis proposed by Uwe Junghanns and in the remainder of my paper I shall try to explain the different behavior of SA and manner adverbs and negation.

4. On structure of negation, VP-adverbs and covert V-movement

I now turn to the question raised in the beginning of my paper, namely, why do manner adverbs stay in the scope of Neg and why are SAs outscoped by sentential negation? My proposal will be the following: The fact that in most cases SAs do not meet scope conflicts (for the exceptions see JUNGHANNS, in press) can be explained by the fact that sentential negation does not build a scope domain of SA, the latter being situated higher in the sentence structure. Whereas SAs usually and mostly do not affect the reading of the negated proposition – despite their apparent scope conflicts that are then resolved by covered movement after Spell-out out of the scope of sentential negation (cf. JUNGHANNS in press) – manner adverbs such as *pěkně* 'nicely', *vlídně* 'moderately', *nahlas* 'loudly', *dobře* 'good', etc. strictly combine with constituent negation interpretations with different scope properties than the sentence negation has. As I already stated my proposal will be that the negation – besides its main property as operator responsible for binding the trace or variable of negated sentences – constitutes the focus domain of the lowest phrase, viz. VP-shell. The starting point of my analysis is then the assumption that the negation – like other scope taking items (e.g., the particle only, etc.) – can be a candidate for focalizers or focus sensitive particles in the sense of HAJIČOVÁ (1995a,b).

I assume that the focus feature [FOC] can be assigned to syntactic constituents that include SAs and manner adverbs. Because SAs must take scope over the whole proposition (they take the proposition as their argument in complement position) they have to stand higher than the NegP. Scope conflicts between a sentential negation and SAs as discussed in Junghanns are resolved or overcome in the non-overt part of syntax (traditionally called LF). After Spell-out, the SA, the offending item, leaves its base position to adjoin to CP (or in my version to AGRSP) from where it takes scope over the whole clause. In the abstract representation the correct relative scope is determined as follows:

- (23) Scope resolution after Spell-Out: The SA moves to adjoin to CP
[CP [SA] [CP...[NEGP [Neg] ... [VP t_{SA} [VP...]]]]] (Junghanns, in press)

The question that arises as far as to manner adverbs and negation is now: Why do not manner adverbs do the same as SAs and leave their base position by overt or covert movement? We have a solution consisting of two proposals:

- First proposal: the negation in sentences with manner adverbs behaves like a focus particle marking contrast focus as constituent negation. But it is a real sentence negation. This assumption forces us to make a new proposal on the structure of the VP containing manner adverbs.

- Second proposal: adjuncts are islands for movement, alternatively inner negation islands are sensitive for manner adverbs as real adjuncts only.

Let us first start with the second proposal: this solution is conceptually not very attractive because of some contradictions concerning the theoretical status of tests for long Wh-movement out of adjunct clauses and inner islands anyway. Let us repeat some of these problems. As a typical case of violation of the ECP the Wh-extraction out of negated adjunct islands has to be mentioned:

- (24) a. Komu jsi neřekl t pravdu?
Whom_{DAT} aux Negtold truth_{AKK}
"To whom didn't you tell the truth?"
b. *Jak jsi se nechoval t_i?
*How didn't you behave t_i?

It seems to be more a question of semantics or pragmatics whether we can ask such questions.

This can be confirmed by the fact that we can answer questions such as (3'') but in English and Czech the question would be more adequate as positive question and the answer would be consistent if we negated the manner adverb and not the verb:

- (3'') a. Jak jsem při tom <vypadala>? – Zdaleka ne tak pěkně jako Rhonda.
"How did I thereby look?" "By far not as nice as Rhonda"
b. Jak tyto končiny <působily>? – Ne zrovna vřidně.
"How did these surroundings appear?" "Not quite comfortable"
c. Jak <reagovala>? – Ne příliš dobře.
"How did she react?" "Not very good"
d. Jak příležitostní kuřáci totiž <inhalují>? – Ne tak lačně.
"How do occasional smokers inhale?" "Not that avidly"

This kind of evidence supports the first proposal, namely that negation in sentences with manner adverbs is a focus particle marking contrast focus as constituent negation. The homonymy of sentential negation and constituent negation in Czech is resolved after Spell-out as covert movement of the finite verb out of the scope of the focus particle because the constituent negation can have scope just over one constituent in the phrase. This assumption forces us to make a new proposal on the structure of the VP containing manner adverbs.

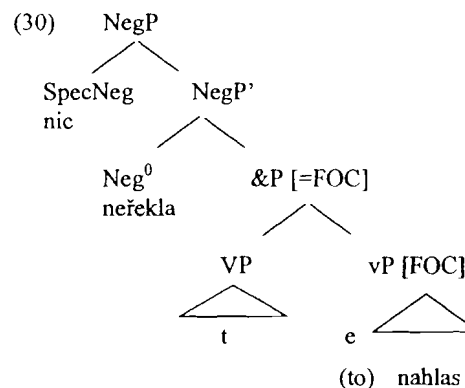
My proposal on the structure of manner adjuncts is based on the work by PROGOVAC (1998) who has shown that certain adverbs can be analyzed as predicates of events, as illustrated in (26) for (25). In English, an overt conjunction can introduce a manner adverb, as in (27). In Serbocroatian, both an overt conjunction and what looks like an event pronoun/demonstrative can surface, as illustrated in (28):

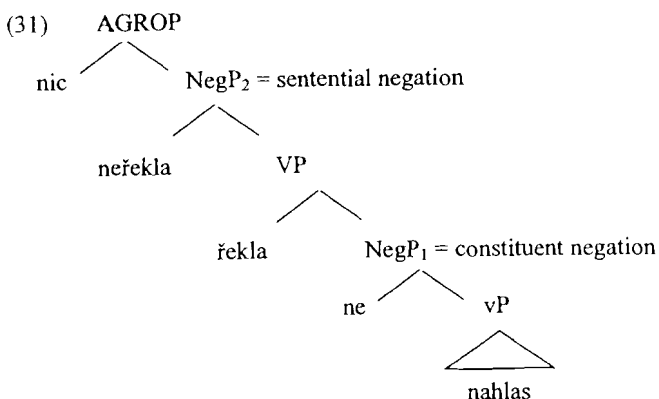
- (25) John read the book *avidly*.
(26) $\exists e (R(j,b,e) \& (A,e))$
(27) John read the book and avidly.
(28) Jovan je pročitao knjigu, i to žedno.
John is read book and that thirstily (PROGOVAC 1998:258)

In SC the overt conjunction with a manner adverb is necessarily accompanied by what seems to be an overt counterpart of the event variable *e*, which is exactly in the right position to serve as an argument of the predicate *avidly*. In the same fashion we can argue that manner adverbs are predicates of a complex VP coordinated with the main verb (and its arguments). Because of the ban on overt conjunctions (formulated for appeal to Economy as a principle of grammar, see Chomsky, as 'Avoid Conjunction' principle) before Spell-out the conjunction has to be deleted (possibly at PF).

If a sentential negation *e*-commands the coordinated complex VP, it must overtly merge via operation ATTRACT with the next available predicate which is the verb of the higher VP. Since the manner predicate inside of the light VP is the right adjoined sister to VP, it stands in a lower (complement) position, and thus cannot be attracted to the head of the Neg⁰ first. This is the overt part of the syntax. But semantically, the both predicates are coordinated with the event variable *e*, so that the scope of negation reaches both parts of the complex predicate. For independent reasons the upper predicate has to raise covertly out of the focus domain of its base position leaving a trace that is still headed by the complex Neg-V. The reasons for this covert movement at LF might be the same as proposed by UWE JUNGHANN (in press), namely becoming a part of background or topic of the sentence and outscoping out of a focus domain in the sense of HALIČOVÁ (1999a,b). The remaining part of the complex VP gets the focussed reading, optionally also a contrast focus reading.

- (29) [*Určitě* [_{AGR,SP} AgrS⁰]sem[_{TP} [_{NEGP} <neřekla_t> [_{AGROP} *nic* [_{FOC}VP t_i [&P to [_{vP} Surely aux_{1sg} Neg told nothing_{AKK} *Nahlas*]]]]]]].
loudly
"It is sure that I haven't said anything (and) loudly"





Another alternative would have to include the cyclical operation phase by phase. With the new version of the Minimalist Program – the Minimalist Inquiries (CHOMSKY 1998) – the distinction between overt and covert movement collapse. Instead, all operations must apply cyclically. In the case of manner adverb this means that it must have its negative feature checked by the constituent negation marker against the little *v* within *vP* since *vP*, being a phase, is subject to the following cyclicity condition: “The head of a phase it ‘inert’ after the phase is completed, triggering no further operations” (p. 20). This in turn predicts that it should be impossible for the verb of the VP to have its negativity feature checked later in the derivation than at the *vP* level. This new mechanism would have the advantage that we can dispense with a covert movement of the verb up to NegP because we get the interpretation of constituent negation of the manner adverb for free without necessarily ascribing the verb *neřekla* negative meaning, cf. (31). This account also explains why constituent negation merges with the verb overtly assigning the manner adverb negative meaning and excluding the negation of the clause.

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