

This paper studies the properties of interaction between manner adverbs and sentential negation (S-Neg) in Russian.

1. S-NEG TEST AND CLASSIFICATION OF MANNER ADVERBS.

Manner adverbs in Russian can be divided into two classes. The adverbs from the first class are always in the scope of S-Neg (CLASS I) (ex. (1a, b)); the adverbs from the second class do not fall in the scope of S-Neg in one of their interpretations (CLASS II) (ex. (2a), the adverb falls in the scope of negation in (2b)).

(1) a) *"Net, tak bystro ne kipit, - vrazumljala Katja.* [Valentin Rasputin. Nezhdannno-negadanno].¹
 no so quickly NEG boils convince K.
 "No, it does not boil so quickly", convinced Katja.

b) *...mne srazu zaxotelos'otvetit': a ee nikak pisat' ne nado, potomu chto sejchas my eexoroshho ne napishem: net materiala.* [M. L. Gasparov. Kak pisat' istoriju literatury].
 I immediately wanted answer PART it in.no.way write NEG should because
 now we it well NEG shall.write no material
 I wanted to answer: we should not write it in any way, because we shall not write it well now; we have no material.

(2) a) *Pochemu "prokuror", imeni kotorogo Erenburg ostorozhno ne nazyvaet, ne vstal, uslyshav eto zajavlenie Meierholda v 1939godu?* [Annenkov Jury. Dnevnik moix vstrech].
 why prosecutor name which E. carefully NEG identify NEG stood.up
 when.heard this claim M. in year
 Why "the prosecutor", whom Ehrenburg carefully does not identify, did not stand up, when he heard this claim of Meierhold in 1939?

b) *Sigarety tak ostorozhno ne predlagajut.* [Gennady Prashkevich, Alexandr Bogdan. Chelovek "Ch"].
 cigarettes so carefully NEG offer
 One does not offer cigarettes so carefully.

It does not depend on the surface syntactic position, whether an adverb is in the scope of negation or not. For example, in (1 a, b) the adverb is in the scope of negation, though it precedes the negation linearly; in (3) the adverb is out of the scope of negation, though it follows the negation.

(3) *[A: Po-moemu, eto bylo ochen legkomyslenno s ego storonyne otvechat' na etot vopros.]*
 in.my.opinion it was very careless of.him NEG answer PREP this
 question

[B: Net, naoborot.] On ne otvil BLAGORAZUMNO(\)^2, [a ne legkomyslenno. Otvechat' v tot moment bylo ochen' opasno.]
 no on.the.contrary he NEG answered prudently PART NEG careless
 answer in that moment was very dangerous

[A: In my opinion, it was very careless of him not to answer this question.

B: No, quite the contrary.] It was prudent of him, not to answer, not careless. [It was very dangerous to answer at that moment.]

The S-Neg test can be used for distinguishing between two interpretations of adverbs from CLASS II. For example, the adverb *ostorozhno* 'carefully' falls into the scope of negation if the adverb has manner interpretation and it is out of the scope of negation if it has agent-oriented interpretation (ex. (2)).

As opposed to the use of periphrasis, suggested in [Filipenko]³ the S-Neg test distinguish between two interpretations more explicitly; it can be applied to some corpus of texts.

2. SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF NEGATIVE SENTENCES WITH ADVERBS.

2.1. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE.

It is expected that sentences (4) and (5) have different syntactic structure.

(4) *Deshevye blestki bystro ne vpityajutsja.*
 cheap spangles quickly NEG soak
 Cheap spangles do not soak quickly.

(5) *On blagorazumno ne otvil.*

¹ The examples (1a, b), (2 a, b) are from the Russian National Corpus.

² The adverb is narrowly focused.

³ A sentence, where the adverb has manner interpretation, has the paraphrase with conjunction *kak*: *On otvil blagorazumno* = 'to, kak on otvil, bylo blagorazumnym' ≈ *He answered prudently* = 'the way he answered was prudent'; a sentence where the adverb has agent-oriented interpretation has the paraphrase with *chto*: *On blagorazumno promolchal* = 'to, chto on promolchal, bylo blagorazumnym' ≈ *He prudently said nothing* = 'it was prudent of him to say nothing'

he prudently NEG answered

He prudently did not answer.

In (4) the adverb occurs in the scope of negation. In the base structure the AdvP is placed below the NegP. Sentence negation must immediately precede the verb in Russian, so the AdvP is obligatory moved to the left of the NegP:

(4') *Deshevye blestki bystro, ne t_i vpityajutsja.*

The adverb is out of the scope of negation in (5); in the base structure the AdvP is higher than the NegP.

2.2. SEMANTIC STRUCTURE.

2.2.1. THE ADVERB IS IN THE SCOPE OF NEGATION.

The semantic structure of (6) can be represented as (P&Q(P)), where P is the predicate and Q is the adverb ([Paducheva] p. 156).

(6) *On rezko zatormozil.*

he abruptly braked

He braked abruptly.

(6') *On rezko ne zatormozil.*

The negation of this sentence has to express the meaning $\neg(P\&Q(P))$, that is one of three possibilities:

(i) A, but not B; (ii) not A, but B; (iii) neither A, nor B. As A and B are connected internally, the possibility (ii) falls away. Thus $\neg(P\&Q(P)) = \text{'either P, but not Q(P), or even not P'}$. In case of (6'): *On rezko ne zatormozil* = 'Either he has not braked at all, or he braked, but not abruptly'. However the interpretation (i) (A, but not B) is clearly more preferable, that is one equivalent to (7) (the construction with C-Neg).

(7) *On zatormozil ne rezko.*

This can be explained pragmatically: when the whole situation is negated (interpretation (iii)), it does not have much sense to negate some modification of it.

The ambiguity of (6') disappears if only the adverb is in the focus. In this case the predicate constitutes the presupposition, and only the focus is negated: (8) is unambiguously interpreted as 'sings, but not loudly'.

(8) [*A: Tvoja sestra perestala zanimat'sja peniem.*]

your sister gave.up do singing

Your sister has given up singing.

B: *Da net, ona prosto GROMKO(\) ne poet, [a tixo – kazhdyjden' treniruetsja].*

no she simply loudly NEG sings but quietly every day trains

No, she simply does not sing loudly, but she trains every day quietly.

2.2.2. THE ADVERB IS OUT OF THE SCOPE OF NEGATION.

The semantic representation of (5) looks out as (P(x)&Q(x)) ([Bonami]). As the adverb must be out of the scope of S-Neg, the negation of this sentence can only express the meaning $(\neg P(x))\&Q(x)$.

3. SYNTACTIC DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERBS.

Adverbs with different interpretations have different syntactic distribution. An adverb with higher interpretation cannot be used as a contrast topic; sentences with a contrastly focused adverb have different semantics depending on the interpretation of the adverb (negation in sentences with an adverb with manner interpretation shifts to the adverb [Paducheva 1974 p. 149], negation in sentences with an adverb with higher interpretation does not shift) (compare (3) and (8)). Adverbs, having except manner interpretation agent-oriented or mental-state interpretation, are less acceptable in broad focus contexts as compared with adverbs, having only manner interpretation (at least in some contexts the higher interpretation of the adverbs is more preferable):

(9) [*A: Kakty dumaesh, pochemu na etoj vechrinke srazu ponjali, chto on pereodetyjshpion?*]

disguised spy

Why do you think they immediately understood at this party that he was a disguised spy?

a) B: *On legkomyslenno ne ODELSJA, [i eto-to ego i pogubilo.]*

he carelessly NEG dressed and this him PART ruin

b) B: *On ne odelsja legkomyslenno, [i eto-to ego I pogubilo.]*

He carelessly did not dress, and this ruined him.

He did not dress carelessly, and this ruined him

The sentences (9 a, b) were evaluated acceptable only in contexts, when the spy was not dressed at all, that is when the adverb has agent-oriented interpretation.

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