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 Raspulin. Nezhdanno-negadanno].
   “No, it does not boil so quickly”, convinced Katja.

   b) ...mne srazu zasvetel's otvetit’: a ee nikak pisat’ ne nado, potomu chto
   I immediately wanted answer PART it in.no.way write NEG should because
   sejchas my ee xorosho ne napishem: net materiala. [M. L. Gasparov. Kak pisat’ istoriju literatury].
   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 Ehrenburg ostorozhno ne nazyvaet, ne vstal,
   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.
   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 (1a, 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 storony ne otvechat’ na etot
   in.my.opinion it was very careless of.him NEG answer PREP this
   vopros.] question

   [B: Net, naoborot.] On ne otvetil blagorazumnuy().
   no on.the.contrary he NEG answered prudently PART NEG careless

   Otvechat’ v tot moment bylo ochen’ opasno.
   answer in that moment 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 andSemantic Structure of Negative Sentences with Adverbs.

2.1. Syntactic Structure.

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

4) Deshevye bleskii bystro ne v pityajutsja.
   cheap spangles quickly NEG soak
   Cheap spangles do not soak quickly.

5) On blagorazumnuy ne otvetil.

1 The examples (1a, b), (2a, 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 otvetil blagorazumnuy = ‘to, kak on otvetil, 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 blagorazumnuy promolchal = ‘to, chto on promolchal, bylo blagorazumnym’ ≈ He prudently said nothing = ‘it was prudent of him to say nothing’
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:

\[(4') \text{ Deshevye blestki bystro, ne t, vpityajutsja.}\]

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).

\[(6) \text{ On rezko zatormozil.}\]

\[\text{He abruptly braked}\]

In (6') the adverb occurs in the scope of negation. In the base structure the AdvP is placed below the NegP:

\[(6') \text{ On rezko ne zatormozil.}\]

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 \(\neg(P \& Q(P)) = '\text{either } P, \text{ but not } Q(P), \text{ or even not } P'.\) In case of (6'):

\[\text{On rezko ne zatormozil = 'Either he has not braked at all, or he braked, but not abruptly'.}\]

However the interpretation (i) \((A, \text{ but not } B)\) is clearly more preferable, that is one equivalent to (7) (the construction with C-Neg).

\[(7) \text{ On zatormozil ne rezko.}\]

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

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'jsja peniem.]
\[\text{Your sister has given up singing}\]

\[B: Da net, ona prosto GROMKO(\neg) ne poet, [a tixo – kazhdyden’ treniruetsja].\]

\[\text{No, she simply does not sing loudly, but she trains every day quietly.}\]

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: Kakyty dumaesh, pochemu na etoj vechrinke srazu ponjali, chto on]
\[\text{how you think why at this party immediately they understood that he}\]

\[pereodetjyshpion?\]

\[\text{disguised spy}\]

\[\text{Why do you think they immediately understood at this party that he was a disguised spy?}\]

\[a) B: On legkomyeslenno ne ODELSJA, [i eto-to ego i pogubilo.]
\[\text{he carelessly NEG dressed and this him PART ruin}\]

\[\text{He carelessly did not dress, and this ruined him.}\]

\[\text{He did not dress carelessly, and this ruined him}\]

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.
REFERENCES: