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*The Affixes of Negation in French, English, and*

*Czech*

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# **The Affixes of Negation in English, French, and Czech**

**(Diplomová práce)**

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## **Poděkování**

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## **Abstract**

This diploma thesis is conceived as a further study of the units affected by the affixal negation in English and Czech, which are now to be compared with French.

The first parts of the thesis serve as a brief summary of the findings obtained from the previous research<sup>1</sup> and the re-introduction of the classification criteria, as well as the observed tendencies in the domain, which are subsequently applied on the French language to determine a degree of similarity with English and Czech. The main part of the study is devoted to the French negation-yielding affixes, which are examined with respect to the established criteria (the frequency of occurrence on nouns, adjectives and verbs, the origin of the affix and its base, the semantic properties of the affix and the base and their translation), and then compared to the other two languages, where the mutual translations of the negative units are to be considered. It will be noticed that some forging elements figure in all the studied inventories. In such cases, the same procedure will be applied as in the previous research, and the analysis will be extended by the cross-inventory observations, where the translations play an important role. In addition, pejorative signification has been recognized as a special nuance of negation, and the analysis of the derogatory affixal means common in all the three languages are thus to be included as well.

The main objectives of the thesis are the formation of the inventory of the negative and pejorative affixes in French, the description of the properties of its individual affixes with respect to the given criteria, and their comparison with the negative affixes of English and Czech, which is to elucidate the tendencies proper for the French system of negation. Furthermore, since the analysis is to be focused on the pejorative affixes, English and Czech inventories are to be expanded, too. To be able to fulfill all the objectives, the corpus elaborated on the basis of the data provided in the selected dictionaries is to be used.

## **Key words**

lexical negation, contrary/contradictory/reversative/privative negation, derogatory/pejorative affixes, corpus analysis

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<sup>1</sup> Dragounová (2010)

## **Anotace**

Tato diplomová práce je koncipována jako pokračování studie oblasti lexikální negace v angličtině a češtině, jež bude nyní porovnávána s francouzštinou.

V prvních částech práce jsou krátce shrnuty poznatky získané z minulé analýzy, stejně tak jako se zde znovu seznámíme s kritérii pro klasifikaci domény a tendencemi pozorovanými v jednotlivých jazycích. Ty budou klíčové při analýze francouzského jazyka a jeho porovnávání s angličtinou a češtinou. Hlavní část studie je věnována negativním afixům ve francouzštině, především jejich popisu podle stanovených kritérií (četnost výskytu na podstatných a přídavných jménech a slovesech, jejich původ a původ jejich báze, semantické vlastnosti afixu a báze). Jak uvidíme, některé afixy figurují ve všech inventářích. V takových případech zaujmeme stejný postup jako v minulé práci, kde byla analýza obohacena o srovnání chování afixů v jednotlivých inventářích a jejich vzájemný způsob překladu. Poněvadž může být hanlivost svých charakterem vnímána jako druh negace, stává se analýza pejorativních afixů dalším bodem práce. Studie se nicméně omezuje jen na ty afixy, jež jsou společné ve všech sledovaných jazycích.

Hlavními cíli, jež si tato práce stanovuje, je vytvoření inventáře negativních a pejorativních afixů ve francouzštině, popis vlastností jednotlivých jejich afixů podle stanovených kritérií, stejně tak jako jejich porovnání s negativními afixy v angličtině a češtině, což má za účel osvětlit tendence platné v její lexikální negaci. Jak již bylo řečeno, mezi další cíle patří analýza pejorativních afixů, protože se rovněž rozšíří i anglický a český inventář. Za účelem splnění všech stanovených cílů vytvářím a následně využívám korpus z vybraných, níže uvedených, slovníků.

## **Klíčová slova**

lexikální negace, kontrární/kontradiktorický/reverzativní/privativní zápor, hanlivé/pejorativní afixy, korpusová analýza

## Abbreviations used in the thesis

A	adjective	přídavné jméno
atd.	a tak dále	etcetera
CLat	Classical Latin	klasická latina
CZE	Czech	čeština
e.g.	for example	například
E, EN	English	angličtina
etc.	etcetera	a tak dále
FR	French	francouzština
CHSlav	Church Slavonic	církevní slovanština
i. e.	id est	to jest
N	noun	podstatné jméno
OldE	Old English	stará angličtina
PG	Proto-Germanic	pragermánština
PIE	Proto-Indo-European	praíndoevropština
PSlav	Proto-Slavic	praslovanština
Slav.	Slavonic	slovanština
tzn.	to znamená	that means
tj.	to jest	id est
V	verb	sloveso
VP	Verbal Phrase	slovesné syntagma
vs.	versus	proti, kontra

## Symbols used in the thesis

- \* ungrammatical; reconstructed form
- given affix tends to express this type of meaning
- % given type of meaning is possible but with lower frequency of occurrence

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## 1 Introduction

Lexical negation is categorized among the subclausal types of negation, and represents the first stage of grammaticalization of negation.<sup>2</sup> It is the word-based negation, which is formed by means of adding negative affixes to the base of the word.

Having been the subject of my previous research,<sup>3</sup> I identified the means of its formation in English and Czech, and its tendencies in the two languages. The main emphasis was thus placed on the negative lexical units forged by the affixes *a(n)-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* and *-free* in English, and by the affixes *a(n)-*, *anti-*, *bez(e)-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *ne-*, *non-* *od-*, *roz-* and *-prostý*, in Czech.

On the basis of the corpus elaborated from Fronek's *Velký anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* (2007), the inventories of the negative affixes were subsequently examined with respect to their frequency of occurrence on the individual syntactic categories (nouns, adjectives, verbs), their origin and the origin of their base, and the semantic classification of the negative meaning they obtain, identified by Lotko (1973)<sup>4</sup> as contradictory, contrary, and also privative and reversative, which was added later by Štekauer and Lieber (2005).<sup>5</sup>

The description of the properties of the individual affixes with respect to the mentioned criteria, their comparison as well as cross-language observations, i.e. comparison of the behavior of the affixes existing in both inventories and ways of translating negative lexical units,<sup>6</sup> proved essential for

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<sup>2</sup> Ludmila Veselovská, *A Course in English Syntax: Syllabi for Lectures, Examples and Exercises* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009), 54.

<sup>3</sup> See Kristína Dragounová, "Expressing Lexical Negation in English (in Comparison with Czech)," Bc. thesis (Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2010). The subject of the thesis was to evaluate the tendencies of the lexical negation in English and Czech, together with the synchronic description of the affixes in the two languages according to the criteria as defined in the following paragraphs. The work was successfully defended, receiving positive reactions. For the present research, the criteria and the conclusions made about the individual affixes in the two languages, together with the general subcategorization of negation, have been made use of, as far as they were relevant for the comparison with the French language.

<sup>4</sup> Lotko, Edvard. 1973. *Lexikální negace v současné češtině*. Praha: SPN.

<sup>5</sup> Rochelle Lieber, "Negative Prefixes (un-, in-, non- de-, dis-)." In *Handbook of Word-formation*, edited by Pavol Štekauer and Rochelle Lieber (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005), 391-393.

<sup>6</sup> The conclusions made about the translations were made on the basis of the lexicological entries provided in

determining tendencies in the lexical negation of the given languages.

The present thesis is conceived as a further study of the domain of negative words in English and Czech, which is now to be extended with their comparison with French language. Its aim is then to incorporate French inventory of negative modifiers, which are recognized by Grévisse (1993)<sup>7</sup> and Šabršula (1983)<sup>8</sup>, describe it according to the criteria established in the previous thesis, and pinpoint the main differences and correspondences among the languages.

In addition to the synchronic description of the studied elements, the observations of their historical development is to be included (see French inventory analysis section), which proved essential especially for a better comprehension of the behavior of the English and French forging elements, since the vast majority of the inventory of the former came from the latter in one stage or another, before it gained in productivity. This fact helped to elucidate in several instances why the specific means of translation are used from one language, as well as it enabled to determine the status the individual forging elements cherish in the systems and the orthographic differences (see individual affixes). The research in diachrony was important for the French language as well, which oscillates between the statuses of affix and *confix*<sup>9</sup> in certain cases.

Diachronic perspective proved very useful with respect to English and Czech too, providing the further argumentation to several contentious ideas shed in the previous thesis (see the section dedicated to the prefix *in-*). Furthermore, its significance could not be disputed when the differentiation of the formally identical pejorative prefixes existing in all the three languages were in question.

As has been already mentioned, the focus will be also placed on the pejorative affixes, as they might be seen to express a special tint of negative meaning. The scope of the present study is to be

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Fronek's dictionary (2007)

<sup>7</sup> Maurice Grévisse, *Le bon usage: Grammaire française* (Paris: Duculot, 1993).

<sup>8</sup> Jan Šabršula, *Základy francouzské lexikologie* (Praha: SPN, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> For further explanation of the terms, see the section 3.1

limited only to those common in all the three languages, though. For that purpose, Czech and English inventories are expanded with the prefixes *dys-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, *pseudo-* and *-ard*. Moreover, the prefixes *contr-/counter-*, *kontra-/kontr-* are also incorporated to the inventories, as their reversative character has been recognized.

The thesis is divided into four main sections. The first part serves as a brief summary of the means of negating in French, as well as of the conclusions made about the affixal negation of English and Czech from the previous research.

Next section is dedicated to the creation of French inventory of negative modifiers, comprising affixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *contre-*, *dé-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *mé-*, *non-* and *sans-*. Those are to be described according to the same criteria as the former two languages, and subsequently compared to them. The analysis of the negative forging elements being the primary aim of the study, the French way of dealing with the negation-yielding affixes appearing exclusively in Czech or English inventory is included in the final part of the section.

The third section is to be subsequently dedicated to the affixes conveying the deprecatory signification, whose analysis is preceded with a few preliminary mentions on the score of the nature and classification of expressivity in the language.

Several observations issued from the analysis of the previous corpus data. Firstly, as Lotko (1973) points out, adjectives bear similarities with the negatives in their function, which makes them by far the most negated part of speech. There is considerable preference for prefixes in both Czech and English, though the languages contrast in the use of foreign negative modifiers, where the general tendency to employ expressions from domestic stock was recognized.

Furthermore, the languages differ as it comes to the driving tendency that exerts its influence over their lexical negation (*diversification vs. integrative tendency*). Finally, English and Czech are divergent with respect to the negation of verbs, which stands on the brim of

lexical/grammatical negation in Czech. To estimate if these tendencies operate also on the French language, the determination of the language-specific characteristics, as well as the language compliance with the predictions made about its lexical negation, is another objective of the study and will be treated in the fourth part of the thesis.

### **1.1 English and Czech Lexical negation- the findings and the predictions about French**

Let us now restate some facts which might be found useful for the prediction and further analysis of the tendencies in French lexical negation.

The previous study in English and Czech showed that the probability of negation on an adjective is higher than on any other part of speech.<sup>10</sup> The prefixal means are preferred to the suffixal ones in both languages, and in Czech, furthermore, they were observed to be the only way of lexical negating in terms of productivity.<sup>11</sup> Generally, domestic negative affixes have privileged position over the foreign ones. Nevertheless, English seems to dispose with more loaned negative modifiers (especially of Old French origin) with unmarked attachability on both foreign and domestic bases. In Czech, borrowed negative prefixes are to be found exclusively with the words of foreign origin and consequently generate stylistically marked units.

In those respects, French might be expected to follow the stated general tendencies. In the question of loaned negative affixes, delimiting the French native word stock and its consequent analyzing will be instrumental for the determination of the degree the language resembles to English or Czech. Nonetheless, since French served for the chief source of negative elements to English, it might be assumed that the language will be self-reliant in this respect, i. e. employing the native means, and thus resembling more to Czech.

Considered phonologically, Czech negative affixes accentually affect the stress pattern

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<sup>10</sup> Dragounová, 21.

<sup>11</sup> Dragounová, 40.

of the word they attach to, while in English, they are subordinate to their base.<sup>12</sup> It was also observed that the languages differ with respect to the morphological status of their negating means. While English may employ several derivational morphemes (affixes *de-*, *-less* and *-free*), Czech inventory comprises only inflectional ones that are used productively.

Regarding the phonological influence of the affixes on the base words, French is very likely to behave in the similar way to English, since, as Grévisse (1993) states, the main stress is usually placed on the last syllable in this language.<sup>13</sup> The modification by negative prefixes thus should not lead to any significant accentual changes. The morphological status of French negative affixes is to be clarified from the data analysis.

As it comes to the negation of verbs, Czech means of negating were observed to stand on the border of lexical and grammatical negation, as the prefixation of verbs with *ne-* leads to the denial of a part of or the whole proposition.<sup>14</sup> The frequency of the verbal negative items (with contrary/contradictory meaning) is thus much higher in the Czech corpus than in the English one. In consequence, the number of the negative adjectives and nouns is lowered with the mentioned prefix.<sup>15</sup> The status of French in this respect should be possible to estimate after the former probing into the language negation in general.

It was also noted that English lexical negation is under a considerable influence of the diversification tendency, since the choice of the affix may contribute to the evaluative interpretation of the lexical unit, as in the case of the prefixes *un-*, *in-* and *non-*, and also suffixes *-less* and *-free*.

Czech is not the same in this respect, and is thus said to be more prone to the integrative tendency. French lexical negation cannot be easily classified to either category for which a detailed analysis of the corpus data is necessary.

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<sup>12</sup> Dragounová, 41.

<sup>13</sup> See Grévisse, 43.

<sup>14</sup> See Dragounová, 37-38.

<sup>15</sup> Dragounová, 42.

## 1.2 The corpora

Before the space will be given to the proper analysis of the negative modifiers, several mentions should be made about the present corpora.

The comparison between Czech and English inventories constituted an integral part for the previous research and it also serves as the fundamentals for the present study. For their creation, Fronek's *Velký anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* (2007) was used as a base, as it was found the most concise and up-to-date. Being the principal parts of speech affected by the lexical negation, the scope of the corpus was limited to nouns, verbs and adjectives in both English and Czech, and the attention was given to the means of their mutual translation, based exclusively on the entries provided in the dictionary. Taking the total numbers of the affixal use in the dictionary into account, the limit per affix was set up to 520 units.

The same principles have been in operation when constituting other inventories. Therefore, the data needed for the comparison of French and English have been retrieved from *Concise Oxford-Hachette French dictionary* (2004), and for those essential for the analysis of French and Czech, *Francouzsko-český, česko-francouzský velký slovník* (2007) has been chosen. Since the two dictionaries have a wider range than Fronek's dictionary, the limit per affix was set to 620 per unit there.

The creation of the database has encountered several difficulties. Firstly, the polysemic character of the affixes had to be borne in mind, as some of the modifiers may obtain also another, positive significations, for instance *anti-* meaning 'before' as in French *antidater*, *a-* and *contre-* conveying the sense of 'approximation' or 'reciprocity' (*amener*-to bring, to take; *contresigner*), *im-/in-* in the sense of 'inside' as in *import*; or *od-* in *odměřit*, and *roz-* meaning 'commence' as in *rozdráždit*.

Moreover, a special attention had to be given to the word structure of the dictionary entries, for numerous items only appeared to comprise a negative modifier, as in the case of *information*.

Finally, the appurtenance of the units into the inventories was disputable in certain cases (as in

*debility* for instance), and it could have been affirmed only after their etymology was examined. For that purpose, *Larousse Dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français* (1994), together with CNRTL (2012)<sup>16</sup> have been consulted for French, and Harper's *Online Etymology Dictionary* (2001-2012)<sup>17</sup> for English.

## 2 French negation in general

The subcategorization of negation in French proves essential for a better orientation in the domain of its negating means, and for the prediction of the tendencies in its lexical negation. Let us then dedicate the following part of the thesis to the division of the French negation according to the main criteria proposed in the previous study<sup>18</sup>, where its peculiarities are to be compared with those of the other two languages.

### 2.1 Negation according to the degree of the grammatical embedding<sup>19</sup>

Two categories could be distinguished according to the mentioned criterion: the lexical and the grammatical negation, which further subcategorize to the inherent, morphological, and phrasal and clausal negation:

- A. **Lexical negation** (slovní) (i) Inherent negation  
(ii) Morphological/lexical negation
  
- B. **Grammatical negation** (mluvnický) (i) Phrasal negation (členský)  
(ii) Clausal negation (větný)

As in the case of the previous study, the inherent negation, i.e. negating by the use of the opposites, is to be left out of consideration. In this respect, therefore, the description of the

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<sup>16</sup> Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales (2006- 2012), distributed by CNRS and Atilf and Nancy University. <<http://www.cnrtl.fr/portail/>>.

<sup>17</sup> Douglas Harper, "Online Etymology Dictionary," 2001-2012, <<http://www.etymonline.com/>>.

<sup>18</sup> See Dragounová, 8-16.

<sup>19</sup> The present division is primarily based on Veselovská, *English Syntax*, 54.

French language is superfluous and will be omitted from the analysis.

On the contrary, morphological negation, i. e. word-based type of negation, forged by means of negative affixes,<sup>20</sup> constitutes the main concern of the present thesis. On the basis of the previous research, several types of negative meaning conveyed by the affixes have been identified- the contrary, contradictory, and privative and reversative meaning.<sup>21</sup> To this list, pejorative/derogatory meaning is to be added, though being rather marginal, and thus not having been recognized in the previous study.

### **phrasal negation**

As has been already mentioned, the scope of the phrasal negation spreads over the whole phrase, i. e. a particular sentence member, not the whole clause, which in consequence preserves the positive meaning.

1.

Paul, <i>non/pas</i> [ <sub>SN</sub> son père], me conduira à l'aéroport.	Paul, <i>not</i> his father, will drive me to the airport.
Il le fera maintenant, <i>non/pas</i> [ <sub>SP</sub> après le dîner].	He will do it now, <i>not</i> after dinner.
Ses yeux sont verts, <i>non/pas</i> [ <sub>SAdj</sub> sombres gris].	Her eyes are green, <i>not</i> dark grey.
Il l'a fait, mais <i>nullement</i> par conviction.	He did it, but by no means by conviction.

As illustrated in the examples 1, French language operates with the negative adverb *non* and *pas*, or *nullement*, which are placed before the negated term. As Hendrich, Radina and Tláškal (2001) state, *non* is to be generally considered as a more traditional means of the non-verbal negation, being used both for clausal 2(i) and phrasal negation 2(ii):<sup>22</sup>

2.

i) Tu vas au cinéma? - <i>Non</i> , je vais au stade.	Are you going to the cinema? - <i>No</i> , I am going to the stadium.
ii) Paul a passé son examen <i>non</i> sans difficultés.	Paul passed his exam <i>not</i> without problems.

<sup>20</sup> Lotko, 7.

<sup>21</sup> See Dragounová, 24- 27.

<sup>22</sup> Josef Hendrich, O. Radina, J. Tláškal, *Francouzská mluvnice* (Plzeň : Fraus, 2001), 468.

If used for the propositional negation, *non* is placed at the beginning of answers:

3. Vous voulez voyager par le train? *Non*, nous voulons aller en bus.

In the phrasal negation, *non* has its place in the middle of the phrase, and may be used for the intensification of meaning 4(i), or for the reinforcement of negation in the exclamatives, as in 4(ii):

4. i. *Non*, jamais ! (No, never!)  
ii. *Non*, je ne le ferai jamais. (No, I will never do it)

With respect to the phrasal negation, it might be seen that *non* alternates with *pas* in the colloquial style.<sup>23</sup> *Pas* may occur with a higher frequency in the written language too, nevertheless, especially when negating the short parts of proposition, like adverbials, or the adjectives in coordination with another, positive adjectives.<sup>24</sup>

There are however numerous cases where both expressions are possible. In such situations, *pas* precedes the negated term, while *non* is placed in the post-position, as shown on the examples in 5.

5. *pas* ce soir – ce soir *non*  
*pas* maintenant - maintenant *non*

Several conclusions might be made from the analysis of the phrasal negation in French compared to the other two languages. Firstly, French differs from English in the number of the negative markers used for this type of negation. While English employs only the negative particle *not*, French allows primarily two negative adverbs, *non* and *pas*, used in dependence on the functional style. In less formal situations, *pas* is generally preferred to *non*, but also another negative adverbs, like *nullement*, *aucunement*, *jamais*, *guère*, or *plus* appear.

Such multiple possibility might be observed also in the Czech language, which makes

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<sup>23</sup> Grévisse, 1446.

<sup>24</sup> In this environment, the adverbs *nullement*, *aucunement*, *jamais*, *guère*, or *plus* might occur, too (see Grévisse, 1447)

use of the expressions *ne* and *nikoli(v)*, where the latter is confined to the more literary and archaic environments.<sup>25</sup>

In English, moreover, the phrasal negation could be sometimes mistaken for the clausal negation, especially when negating VP. In such cases, the clausal negation is signaled by negating the sentence modality, which is done by posing the negative marker *not*, or its contracted form *-n't* after the first modal auxiliary.

French does not seem to be problematic in this respect, as it operates with different negative markers *ne...pas* for the verbal negation, which is always clausal in French.<sup>27</sup> In addition, the clausal negation can be used for the partial negation too.

6. Je *n'* ai *pas* perdu mon stylo mais mon livre. (I didn't lose /haven't lost my pen, but my book)  
 Il *ne* les a *pas* vus. (He didn't see them)

**clausal negation**

As could be observed from the following examples in 7, the whole clause is negated mainly with the negating construction of the particles *ne...pas*, where *ne* is placed before the verb in the simple tenses 7(i), or is attached to the position before the modal auxiliary 7(ii) (or before objective pronoun 7(iii), or pronominal adverb 7(iv)) when it co-occurs with the compound verb forms. *Pas* follows the lexical verb in the simple tenses, and the first modal auxiliary in the compound ones.<sup>28</sup>

7.

a. FRENCH	b. ENGLISH
i) Ce <i>n'est pas</i> bon.	It <u>isn't</u> good.
ii) Simon <i>n'a pas</i> encore <u>fini</u> .	Simon <u>didn't finish/haven't finished</u> yet.
iii) Elles <i>ne le lui</i> diront <i>pas</i> .	They (fem, pl.) won't tell <u>it</u> to <u>him</u> .
iv) Elle <i>n' y</i> va <i>pas</i> .	She won't go <u>there</u> .

<sup>25</sup> Jaroslav Bauer, M. Grepl, *Skladba spisovné češtiny* (Praha: SPN, 1970), 46.

<sup>26</sup> *Ne* is elided to *n'* if the vowel or mute h follows

<sup>27</sup> see Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 555.

<sup>28</sup> Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 470.

*Pas* could be however substituted with another negative particles, giving thus rise to the various negative polarity items, as demonstrated on the examples in 8:

8.

a. FRENCH	b. ENGLISH
Ce danger <i>n'</i> aurait <i>jamais</i> surgi.	i. This danger would have <i>never</i> arisen.
<i>Personne ne</i> l' aurait fait mieux.	ii. <i>No one</i> would have done it better.
Je <i>n'</i> ai vu <i>rien</i> dans le jardin.	iii. I saw <i>nothing</i> in the garden.
Tu <i>ne</i> trouveras une telle fille <i>nulle part</i> dans le monde.	iv. You won't find such a girl anywhere else in the world./ You will find such a girl <i>nowhere</i> else in the world.
Il <i>n'a guère</i> de courage.	v. He does not have much courage.
Je <i>ne</i> t'aime <i>plus</i> .	vi. I don't love you any more/I love you <i>no more</i> .

As illustrated on the examples in 9, the simple infinitive is denied by *ne pas* preceding a pronoun in the objective case or a pronominal adverb (if there is any). In the complex infinitive forms, the particles may be also separated, but it is not very frequent.<sup>29</sup>

9. a. *Ne pas* tirer la poignée avant l'arrêt de train. (Don't pull the handle before the train has stopped.)  
 b. Il vaut mieux *ne pas* les réveiller. (It's better not to wake them up.)  
 c. Il avoue *ne pas* les avoir vus./ Il avoue *ne* les avoir *pas* vus. (He admits *not* having seen them)

It might be observed that the two languages bear several similarities. As we already know, the English clausal negation is accomplished by the means of the negative particle *not* following the first modal auxiliary, or a negative polarity item, such as *nothing*, *never*, *nowhere*, *nobody*, *no one*, *neither* and *none*, spreading its scope over the Predicate. That is possible from several positions- those of an adverbial (8i), the subject (8ii) or an object (8iii).

As could be seen from the grid, French corresponds with English in that. The proposition is negated from the same positions and by the similar negative polarity items, which are formed in French by means of the substitution of *pas* from the negating construction for the elements like the pronominal forms *personne* (nobody), *rien* (nothing, not

<sup>29</sup> Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 470-471.

anything), *aucun(e)* (none, no one), *nul(le)* (no one), and the adverbial forms *guère* (not many), *jamais* (never), *plus* (not longer, not any more), *point* (no, not at all).

It should be noted nevertheless, that, in contrast with English, these expressions preserve their positive meaning in the other contexts<sup>30</sup> and become negative exclusively in the connection with the pair negative particle *ne*.

As Hendrich, Radina and Tláskal (2001) point out, nonetheless, this difference from English is smoothed out in the spoken French, where *ne* is often omitted, and *pas* (or its substitutes) is thus the only marker of negation.<sup>31</sup>

This tendency is strongly reminiscent of the historical development of English, which, as Vachek (1962) states, used to employ the negative particle *ne* itself. That was reinforced during the centuries, and subsequently completely replaced with the adverb *not*.<sup>32</sup> In this respect, the distinction between French and English might be seen as a mere step in the developmental stage.

Among the other differences counts the French possibility of the combination of the pair negative markers *ne...pas* with other negative expressions, such as *ne...pas non plus* ; *ne...pas rien* ; *ne...pas que*, which consequently gives rise to the multiple negation. That is not allowed in English, but obligatory in Czech, though, which seeks for the negative concord. At this point, French seems to occupy an intermediate position among the languages.

10. Je *ne* vous dirai *plus jamais rien* ! (I shall *never* tell you anything/Už vám *nikdy nic* neřeknu)

## 2.2 Negation according to the interpretation of negation

- (A) clausal negation/propositional (celkový)
- (B) subclausal negation/partial negation (částečný)

<sup>30</sup> *personne* (person), *rien* (something), *jamais*(ever), *plus* ( more, more than), *point* (so, point), *aucun* (any), *nul* (no, no one). --see Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 479.

<sup>31</sup> Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 475.

<sup>32</sup> See Josef Vachek, *Historický pohled na dnešní angličtinu* ( Praha: SPN, 1962), 115.

As in the other two languages, the negation of the whole proposition is realized in French by the clausal negation (example 11(i)). In answers, the negative marker *non* is frequently used, sometimes also followed by a negative sentence (example 11(ii)).<sup>33</sup>

11.

- i. Benjamin *ne* veut *pas* venir. Benjamin *doesn't* want to come.
- ii. *Non*, elles *ne* le savent *pas*. *No*, they (fem.) *don't* know it.

In the case of the subclausal type, i. e. of negating only a part of the proposition, French makes use of both the clausal (12(i)) and the phrasal negation (12(ii)), as the following examples in 12 illustrate:

12.

- i. Nous *ne* le voyons *pas* souvent. We *don't* see him often.
- ii. C'est une chose *pas* très agréable. It's not a very pleasant thing.

That differentiates it from English, which has only the phrasal negation at disposal, but makes it closer to Czech on the other hand, which disposes with the same alternative.

13.

- i. Není ho vidět právě často. (clausal negation)
- ii. Štěstí měl, ale ne dost. (phrasal negation)

### **2.3 Negation according to the element which carries negation**

- (A) verbal negation
- (B) non-verbal negation

As it has been already stated, the negation associated with the verb is expressed in French via the use of the negative markers *ne* and *pas* (or one of its substitutes), placed in the appropriate positions in the sentence (examples in 14).<sup>34</sup> It has been noted as well, that the verbal negation is always clausal in French.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 556.

<sup>34</sup> See the clausal negation section

<sup>35</sup> Hendrich, Radina, Tláskal, 555.

14.

- i. Je *n'* écoute *pas*. I don't listen/I am not listening.
- ii. Pierre *ne* la connaît *pas*. Pierre doesn't know her.

For the non-verbal type of negation, French operates with the negative markers *non* and *pas*, inducing phrasal negation (example 15(i), (ii)). Unlike English, which counts separate negative quantifiers among its non-verbal means (together with *not* modifying a constituent other than a verb), the use of the negative quantifiers in French comes under the domain of the verbal negation, as their negative polarity is bound to the co-occurrence with the particle *ne*, though there is a tendency to omit it in the colloquial language.

15.

- i. Elle a semblé *non* entièrement satisfaite. She seemed not entirely satisfied.
- ii. Je sais *pas*. I don't know. (colloquial)

Conversely to English and French, Czech is not equipped with any non-verbal means of negation, for it seeks for the negative concord.

In conclusion, French might be expected to show the similar behavior to English as far as the negation of verbs is concerned, for it was observed to use the analytical means. That distinguishes it from Czech, and the frequency of the contrary/contradictory adjectives and nouns is thus unlikely to be lowered in the language.

### **3 French negative affixes**

#### **3.1 The delimitation of the affix and the domestic fond**

Before we settle down to the examination of the French inventory, several preliminary consideration should be given to the French conception of affix and the nature of the language units that are to be considered to belong to the native stock, since the origin of both affixes and the bases rank among the principal criteria.

Regarding the first point of discussion, the focus of the thesis is to be placed on the derivatives, which issued, as Veselovská (2009) states, from the way of “creating a new word

by combination of base(s) and affix(es).”<sup>36</sup> However, certain hesitations may arise what is to be taken for the proper affix and which formations are in reality the result of compounding.

English and Czech does not seem to be so problematic with respect to the recognition of the negative modifiers, while the status of the French ones is not always definite. Taking Šabršula's (1983) findings into account, where English already speaks about compounding, French distinguishes an intermediary state of so-called prefixoids/suffixoids (or confixes<sup>37</sup>), which are to be understood as the derivational elements that have their correlates in the full lexical words, usually having passed from Latin or Greek.<sup>38</sup>

As such, the units forged with the use of these elements sometimes rank among the compositions. However, observed from the synchronic viewpoint on the target language, it is not usually possible to separate the individual constituents of the formation.<sup>39</sup>

The transgression between the status of the proper affixes and so-called confixes thus becomes frequently very vague. As Šabršula (1983) notes, nonetheless, their differentiation proves pointless if the functional point of view is considered. Taking his standpoint into account, negative prefixoids and suffixoids are to be treated among the other negation-yielding affixes of the present study.

As far as the delimitation of the domestic fond is concerned, Perret (2003) states, that from the languages brought to the territory of the contemporary France, the major and the most significant influence was exercised by Latin, mostly by the vulgar variant (having an effect on the system from 3<sup>rd</sup> till the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>40</sup>) though the influence of the classical one cannot be either disputed. Vulgar Latin further evolved, affected by the Gallic substrate and

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<sup>36</sup> Ludmila Veselovská, "Derivation," *A Course in English Morpho-Syntax; Syllabi for the Lectures, Examples and Exercises* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009), 30.

<sup>37</sup> The synoptic term proposed by A. Martinet, see Šabršula, *Lexikologie*, 92.

<sup>38</sup> See Šabršula, *Lexikologie*, 92.

<sup>39</sup> See Šabršula, *Lexikologie*, 92.

<sup>40</sup> See Jan Šabršula, *Vývoj francouzského jazyka* (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita v Ostravě, 2007), 13- 19.

the Germanic superstrate,<sup>41</sup> the era of the major influence of the latter dating back to the period between 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>42</sup> The elements that entered into French system from these two sources are thus to be identified as the proper building blocks of the French language.

The languages of pre-Gallic peoples, such as Ligures, Iberes, but also Greeks, did not have any remarkable linguistic effect on the Gallo-Roman Latin, and thus not on French either.<sup>43</sup> Among the contemporary borrowings from Greek rank mostly the place names, the majority of the loanwords (including affixes) thus have come much later, entering rather the scientific vocabulary layer.<sup>44</sup>

As it is to be observed, nevertheless, the categorization of certain affixes among the non-native elements of the language is not so straightforward (the case of *a-* for instance), for they entered to the language by several ways. In those cases, the status of the forging elements becomes disputable and the criterion is consequently left out of consideration.

As it became evident from the previous study, English, Czech and French share considerable amount of negative modifiers. In those cases, the aim of the analysis is to assess the differences and similarities among the inventories.

### **3.2 The inventory analysis**

#### **A(n)-**

It has been pointed out, that the prefix emerged from Latin, though it is more appropriate to track its origin to its cognate, Greek *a-*<sup>45</sup>, short form of *apo-* (as in *apocalypse*)<sup>46</sup>; bearing mainly the privative signification (*achromatic*, *asymétrique*, *asexuální*).<sup>47</sup> With the adjectives derived from the nominal bases, moreover, the prefix may be used to create contradictories, as in the case of *asynchronous*, *agrammatical*, *abnormální*, or

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<sup>41</sup> See Michèle Perret, *Introduction à l'histoire de la langue française* (Armand Colin, 2003), 32.

<sup>42</sup> See Šabršula, *Vývoj*, 30- 31.

<sup>43</sup> See Perret, 32.

<sup>44</sup> See Perret, 24.

<sup>45</sup> The form *an-* occurs before vowels (see Larousse, 1)

<sup>46</sup> See Harper, "a-<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>47</sup> Grévisse, 223.

contrary units, which tend to be more frequent for English.<sup>48</sup> That does not seem to be fully approved by the corpus for French, which operates with more contradictories, and furthermore by CNRTL (2012) which emphasizes the sole privative role of the prefix.<sup>49</sup>

When privative, French *a(n)-* is common with the derivatives of Greek origin which came to the language via the intermediary of Latin, as in *acéphale*, or were adopted from Greek directly more recently (*abiotique*<sup>50</sup>). The productivity of the prefix was also attested with the French creations, as in *acyclique*, *amoral*, or even *alogique*.<sup>51</sup> The appurtenance of the prefix to the domestic fond is thus difficult to estimate.

With the most of the words, the negative element can be easily distinguished from the base. Nevertheless, it is a common trait of the scientific vocabulary that the word particles might be recognized only after a more detailed analysis, as illustrated on the examples of *anémie* or *anesthésie*.

The prefix is realized with two complementary forms- *a-* and *an-*, used in dependence on the phonic character of the base it attaches to. If in the vocalic surrounding, the *an-* form is employed to inhibit the duplication in pronunciation (*anaérobie*), while the simple *a-* appears before consonants (*anomal*). This characteristic is shared in all the three languages.

Belonging rather to the written and scientific registers,<sup>52</sup> *a(n)-* ranks among less productive negative elements in each of the studied languages. CNRTL (2012) has shown, nonetheless, that the frequency of the prefix is quite high in French in the mentioned styles, which might be supported with the early 20<sup>th</sup> century coinages of *akinésie* and *agrammatisme*.<sup>53</sup>

French *a(n)-* is claimed to prefer the adjectival bases, its adherence to nouns is seen as

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<sup>48</sup> Ingo Plag, *Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics: Word-formation in English* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 99.

<sup>49</sup> See CNRTL, "a-2."

<sup>50</sup> Example attested by CNRTL(2012)

<sup>51</sup> For further reference see CNRTL, "a-2."

<sup>52</sup> Gabriela Mazzon, *A History of English Negation* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004), 111.

<sup>53</sup> See CNRTL, "a-2."

more rare,<sup>54</sup> which is however not in accordance with the results provided by the present corpus. When the French inventory is compared to the other two languages there, the numbers of adjectives and nouns comprising the prefix are almost equal.

Quite paradoxically, the conclusions made by CNRTL (2012) seem to be more appropriate for the description of the prefix behavior in English and Czech, where the difference between the parts of speech is more significant. As far as verbs are concerned, all the languages agree on their marginal position with the use of *a(n)-*.

### **Anti-**

The prefix bears several similarities with *a(n)-*. Both of them are Greek loans, which came to English via the intermediary of Old French, or directly from Latin<sup>55</sup> and are restricted to the scientific vocabulary. *Anti-*, as well as *a(n)-*, yields privative meaning to the bases (*anticancéreux- anti-cancer*), especially to the adjectives derived from nominal, adjectival and verbal bases, as was exemplified by *anti-Semitic movement, an anti-freeze liquid*.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Plag (2003) pointed at the reversative interpretation the prefix might obtain with nouns, as in *anti-particle* or *anti-hero*, which are sometimes felt to have the pejorative connotations, being understood as 'not having the proper characteristics of an X'.<sup>57</sup>

On the contrary to *a(n)-*, nevertheless, there is no evidence of *anti-* attaching to verbs in the corpus, regardless its occurrence on the verbal derivatives, observed in the previous study, where it was exemplified with the words *antivirovat* and *anti-ageing*.<sup>58</sup>

*Anti-* does not provide the contrary/contradictory reading of the derivative and is more frequent of the two prefixes in English, where it can be found on the domestic bases, too (*anti-wrinkle*).

All the facts mentioned count for French too, though the status of the prefixes could

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<sup>54</sup> See CNRTL, "a-<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>55</sup> Harper, "anti-"

<sup>56</sup> Plag, 99.

<sup>57</sup> See Plag, 99.

<sup>58</sup> See Dragounová, 30.

not be easily defined there. While the appurtenance of the prefixes among the borrowed items is indisputable in English, their position in French cannot be estimated, since the elements got to the system in the units directly from Greek (*ant Climax*, *abiotique*), which prompts their foreign nature; or by the intermediary of the vulgar Latin (*antidote*, *acolyte*), the argument speaking for their establishment in the domestic fond.

It should be pointed out, nonetheless, that *anti-* appeared quite frequently as a part of the French word stock already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while *a(n)-* was brought into the language two centuries later, and has not penetrated into the common vocabulary layer till the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>59</sup> That might also account for its lower frequency in comparison to *anti-*.

Concerning the position of the elements in the French system, it should be furthermore noted, that *anti-* would apply for the status of a prefixoid, fulfilling the criterion of the full lexical word correlate.

Besides the usual *anti-* form, moreover, *ant-* variant may be also encountered in several derivatives, as in the words *antonym*, or *antarctique*. The absence of *i* in those cases is to be accounted to the French morphological rule to omit it when another vowel follows (*anti-* + *onomase*), occurring in the formations where the second element is not autonomous.<sup>60</sup> The occurrence of the prefix under the form *anté-* is very exceptional in the privative signification, the only attested item being *antéchrist*<sup>61</sup>, a loan from Latin.

It might have been noticed, that several items in the corpus take hyphen when prefixed with *anti-*, as in *anti-VIH*. It should be pointed there, that, in spite of this possibility, the vast majority of the *anti-* units are perceived as mono-semantic, and the non-hyphenated forms are thus favored.<sup>62</sup>

Prefixes *a(n)-* and *anti-* are present in all the three inventories, so the words used for

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<sup>59</sup> Jean Dubois, Henri Mitterand and Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français*, (Paris: Larousse, 1994), 1.

<sup>60</sup> See CNRTL "anti-2".

<sup>61</sup> The form of *antichrist* is attested by CNRTL (2012) as well, though

<sup>62</sup> See CNRTL "anti-2".

translations often correspond with one another in form, keeping the negative modifier of the original (*achromatique-achromatic-achromatický; antibiotique-antibiotic-antibiotický*). However, as in the case of English and Czech, several non-matching instances appear if Czech is further compared to French, such as *antiseptický- aseptique*, or *contraceptive-anticonceptionnel*.<sup>63</sup> It will be also observed, that several bases allow more than one synonymous negative modifier. In those situations, the meaning of the units becomes nuanced.

Both *a(n)-* and *anti-* may be attached to the base *social* in all the three languages (*sociální* in Czech), though the French *a(n)-* variant tends to be rather translated by the *anti-* item to English.<sup>64</sup> Czech *asociální* and *antisociální* seem to be often confused, both translated by *protispolečenský, protisociální*, but also as *nespolečenský, nedružný, samotářský*, the latter being more appropriate to *a(n)-* item.

French *asymétrie* and *dissymétrie* serve as another example. In this instance, both variants keep the privative meaning, the main difference might be seen in a slightly distinct lexical field they belong to, though, *dissymétrie* being used exclusively when speaking about chemical compounds.

Moreover, French *a(n)-* is also commutable with the prefix *in-*, as may be illustrated on the examples of *alogique*<sup>65</sup>- *illogique* and *amoral- immoral*. In those cases, *in-* is to be considered as expressing the notion of 'against, going against,' i. e. as having more a reversative signification (*illogique* 'which goes against the logic,' *immoral* 'which goes against the moral'), while *a(n)-* conveys rather the purely negative meaning (*alogique* 'not being compatible with the logic,' *amoral* 'not caring about the moral aspect'). *A(n)-* may be interpreted reversatively in certain neologies too, approaching *anti-* in its semantics, as in

<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, both languages agree on the nominal form *contraception*; *anticonception* was not attested in the corpus.

<sup>64</sup> Having a similar form, the items slightly differ in meaning, though. *Asocial* keeps the contrary interpretation, while *antisocial* is felt as depreciatory, 'going against'

<sup>65</sup> Example attested by CNRTL (2012).

*abiotique* 'contrary to life.'<sup>66</sup>

The use of the prefixes *a(n)-* and *in-* also seems to be dependent on the attitude taken towards the negated notion. It has been observed, that *in-* serves for the negation manifesting an active reaction against the concept of the base word, whereas the negation with *a(n)-* expresses certain passivity towards the fact negated (see the given examples).<sup>67</sup>

Furthermore, as has been exemplified on the pair words *contraception* and *anticonception*, there is a rapport between *anti-* and *contre-*, the semantics of the units being nuanced again, as it is illustrated on the examples of *antirévolution*, meaning 'the contrary to the revolution,' while *contre-révolution* conveys the signification of 'a movement trying to fight the revolution.'<sup>68</sup>

The difference between the two prefixes is also given by their formative properties and the syntactic origin of the derivatives they attached to. While *contre-* forms nouns from the verbals or deverbal nominals (*contre-attaquer*, *contre-expertise*), *anti-* is used to create adjectives from the adjectival or nominal bases. The formations like *\*contre-cancéreux*, or *\*antiattaquer* are consequently very unlikely to appear.<sup>69</sup>

As has been already stated for English units, the privative/reversative and the purely negative meanings of French *a(n)-* and *anti-* words are also translated to Czech by means of the free or bound morphemes *bez(e)(-)* (*anodonte- bezzubý*), *proti(-)* (*antiscientifique- protivědecký*) and *ne-* (*asymetrie- nesouměrnost*).

As it comes to *a(n)-*, English also employs the privative *-less* for translation, as in *aphone- voiceless*. In the majority of examples, nevertheless, the words formally correspond with the French counterparts.

On the contrary, *anti-* items are often transferred into English with the use of wide

<sup>66</sup> Example attested by CNRTL (2012).

<sup>67</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

<sup>68</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-révolution."

<sup>69</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-."

range of affixes, such as *-proof* (*antibruit- soundproof*), *non-* (*anticonformisme-nonconformism*), or *un-* (*antiéconomique- uneconomical*). It might be also observed that English translates the words with *anti-*<sup>70</sup> using the positive only, as it is often the case with the words designating medications (*médicament*) *antisida- AIDS*.

### **Dé-**

The prefix has its origin in Latin *dis-*, from which it developed via *des-* form in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>71</sup> and transferred to French by its use in vulgar Latin, which ensured its place in the domestic fond of the language. *Dé-* has several variants for different environments- *dés-* when preceding a vowel or silent *h* (as in *déshabiller, désaccord*), and *des-* when *s* + vowel follow (*dessaler*).<sup>72</sup> Contrary to English, those *de-* forms were preserved when entering into the Czech system, undertaking subtle changes in the written form (*des-* preceding a vowel changes into *dez-*, as in *deziluze* or *dezorientovaný*, while no units comprising *de-* preceding *s* + vowel are attested).

The prefix ranks among the most frequently used negative modifiers transmitting primarily privative and reversative meaning,<sup>73</sup> being widespread with verbs, adjectives and nouns. Grévisse (1993) also points at the deprecatory nuance of meaning the prefix may convey in certain dialects, and especially in the argotic language, as in *déparler* 'speak badly, have difficulties to express oneself (especially in Québec)<sup>74</sup> or *déguenillé* ('ragged').<sup>75</sup> That draws it closer to the prefixes *mal-* and *mé-*, with which it sometimes alternates (*déshonnête-malhonnête*).<sup>76</sup> This semantic element of the prefix has been preserved also in English and Czech, shown on the examples of *defamation* and *despekt*, where the prefix is suggestive of

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<sup>70</sup> Concerning mainly the medical vocabulary

<sup>71</sup> CNRTL, "dé-."

<sup>72</sup> See Grévisse, 223.

<sup>73</sup> Units with purely negative signification are also attested (*désagréable*)

<sup>74</sup> See Grévisse, 224.

<sup>75</sup> Attested in CNRTL (2012)

<sup>76</sup> CNRTL, "dé-."

ruination.<sup>77</sup>

There are also numerous cases of quasi-synonymous, verbal doublets in French, with *dé-* appearing alone or joint to the base with another prefix. These are the most often the prefixes *en-*, as in the pair of *débrayer- désembrayer*; *in-* (*injecter- déjecter*), *a-* (*dégrafer- désagrafer*), or, the prefix *é-* (*dépingler- désépingler*), which is however less common.<sup>78</sup>

In certain cases, nonetheless, the constructions with single *dé-* incite a different reading from those containing also another prefixes like *désa-*, *désen-*, *désin-*: *détoxication* ≠ *désintoxicacion* ('elimination of the toxic substances' vs. 'removal of the dependence on a drug/alcohol'); *débarquer* ≠ *désembarquer* ('to leave a vessel' vs. 'to leave a vessel prematurely, before its departure or arrival')<sup>79</sup>; *démarrer* ≠ *désamarrer* ('set off/ start the engine of the vessel' vs. 'detach the mooring rope').<sup>80</sup>

Ranking among highly productive prefixes in French, the abundant frequency of occurrence of *de-* does not fully count for English, nevertheless, where it was brought under the Old French form *des-* in the Middle English period.<sup>81</sup> In this respect, Czech shows a similar behavior to English, being by far the language with the lowest frequency of use of *de-* of the three.

The difference in frequency might be credited to a different status the prefix is given in French and the other two languages, i. e. domestic versus loaned element, and to the approach each language takes towards the integration of borrowed elements into its system.

As might be observed, French and English inventories contain *de-* affixed to both the domestic and foreign bases, as in the case of English *declutch* and *decapitate*, and French *décentraliser* and *décaféiner*. It could be stated then, that the integrative tendency is in operation in both English and French, though much higher in the former. It is slightly less felt

<sup>77</sup> See Harper, "defamation."

<sup>78</sup> See CNRTL, "dé-."

<sup>79</sup> See CNRTL, "débarquer," "désembarquer."

<sup>80</sup> See CNRTL, "démarrer," "désamarrer."

<sup>81</sup> See Plag, 99.

in French, since the majority of its native word stock is already Latin-based. It might be concluded as well, that the tendency does not exert any particular influence on Czech, for the prefix attaches exclusively to the bases of a foreign origin there.<sup>82</sup>

In both French and English inventories, the most affected word categories are verbs, (both action and state verbs) and nouns, respectively. This order is reversed in favor of nouns in Czech, although the difference between the parts of speech is only slight. It has been stated, that the prefix in English often attaches to the verbs (mostly to those ending on *-ize*, *-ate*, and *-ify*)<sup>83</sup> which does not have positive counterpart for foundation, as could be also seen in *decoke* or *debag* (the verbal forms of *\*coke* and *\*bag* have not been attested).

That may be approved for French too, as the examples of *débâcler* and *débarquer* illustrate. Moreover, the lack of the positive base is also observed with the deverbal nouns ending on *-age*, *-ment* or *-ation* in French, as shown on the examples of *démusclage* or *démansardage*, for which the verb in positive exists, but is not always attested.<sup>84</sup>

The languages bear also another similarity. Grévisse (1993) notices that the use of *de-* is pleonastic, i. e. redundant, with some words, choosing *décesser* and *dégoutter* for examples.<sup>85</sup> English does not seem to be an exception to this phenomenon, for it comprises words like *debar* or *devoid*, which has the identical signification with *bar* and *void*. No such units were found in Czech.

French *de-* could be translated into Czech and English in various ways. As has been shown in English, a very frequent translation of *de-* into Czech is by a corresponding *de-* unit, since the negative modifier figures in both inventories. The same procedure might be observed as far as the transfer from English to French is concerned, where the correspondence between the units is almost one hundred percent (*défaut- defect*).

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<sup>82</sup> Mostly of French or English origin

<sup>83</sup> Dragounová, 31.

<sup>84</sup> See CNRTL, "dé-."

<sup>85</sup> Grévisse, 224.

Nevertheless, this does not count when the direction of the transfer is reversed, i. e. French units translated to English. In such situation, the use of another negative modifiers, such as *un-* (*décorder- unrope*), is also quite widespread, as well as the periphrases *remove + noun* (*déchausser- remove sb's shoes, take shoes off*), *removal/lack/loss of + noun* (*déconcentration- loss of concentration; déresponsabilisation- lack of any sense of responsibility*).

Czech behaves in a similar way to English in this respect, employing *de-* exclusively with borrowings, which makes it more preferred in the specialized vocabulary. For the translation of the other, more common French and English words, the privative/reversative *od-* and *roz-* (sometimes also *vy-*) are introduced (*débureaucratiser- odbyrokratizovat; décacheter- rozpečetit; decomposition- rozklad, debug- zbavit počítačový program nedokonalostí*), chosen for the bases of both sources of origin. The use of different periphrases (*décaféiné- bez kofeinu; décroissonner- odstranit/zbavit se bariéry; deflower- zbavit panenství*) is also frequent.

Unlike in Czech, it is very often *dis-* which figures in translations of French *de-* units into English, as the words *dépossession- dispossession* and *déboursement- disbursement* exemplify.

The nature of this alternation might be clarified by the historical development of the two negative modifiers. It has been found out, that in Classical Latin, the two prefixes paralleled, having almost identical meaning. However, the Late Latin became to favor *dis-*, which subsequently passed into Old French as *des-*, and then to English. Being used for new compound words formed in Old French, it increasingly gained a privative signification. Then, the alterations started in both English and French, English going back to *dis-*, while French to *de-* forms.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Harper, "dis-," de-."

Moreover, there have been changes in the usage of the prefixes for certain nuances of signification. As Nevalainen (1999) points out, "in post Early Modern English, *dis-* is somehow recessive in reversative derivations, partly because of the adoption of another prefix of Latinate origin, *de-*, towards the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century" attested on the example of *deobstruct*. Though the privative meaning of *de-* generalized as well, it did never happened to such extent as with the reversative sense."<sup>87</sup>

### **Dis-**

As has already been pointed out, the prefix is closely related to *de-* in its semantics and origin. It yields the negative (mostly contradictory), privative and reversative meaning to all the verbal, nominal and adjectival stems (*disqualifier*, *disjonction*, *dissoluble*), but the derogatory nuance of *dis-* in English seems to be also attested, when the words like *dissatisfaction* 'fail to satisfy', or *dishonest* 'deceiving, fraudulent' are considered. The pejorative connotations of the prefix are also approved by the French translations of those units, where an effort is paid to keep the signification of the originals (*dissatisfaction-mécontentement*, *dishonest-malhonête*). The other proof that this meaning is preserved in French as well might be seen in the word *difforme*, which is defined as 'whose forms are irregular or present a disagreeable aspect.'

Similarly to *de-*, *dis-* has its source in the Latin prefix *dis-*, but unlike *de-*, it entered the French system as a loan.<sup>88</sup> As such, it was preferred mostly before /k/, /p/, /s/, /t/, with the borrowings or the vocabulary reconstructed from Latin (*dissonance*), Italian (*disgrâce*), or English (*disqualifier*).<sup>89</sup>

Appearing in the works of science first and then passing to the general usage, *dis-* used to have two forms of pronunciation when co-occurring with the bases beginning on *s-* with

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<sup>87</sup> See Terttu Nevalainen, "Negative and reversative prefixes." In *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III: 1476-1776*, edited by Richard M. Hogg and Roger Lass (Cambridge: CUP, 1999), 382-383.

<sup>88</sup> Grévisse, 223.

<sup>89</sup> See CNRTL, "dis-."

the scientific words, the double [ss] could have been heard (with the exception of *dissiper* and its derivatives), while with more common units, such as *dissimuler*, or *dissimilation*, the simple [s] is pronounced.<sup>90</sup> Moreover, the prefix assimilates to its base in writing, too, changing to *dif-* before *-f-* (*différent*), and to *di-* when preceding the most of voiced consonants (*digression*, *diluer*, *division*).<sup>91</sup>

Several such items might be found in the English inventory too (*difference*, *digression*, *divergent*), but the operation of the rule there is not so easy to assess. Since the majority of those words are loans, it seems that they entered into the English stock as the ready-made units, for whose creation the rules of their source language (which is Latin and French ultimately in the majority of cases) applied. This assimilation thus does not seem to be proper for English. As far as Czech is concerned, the prefix keeps the form under which the particular units were borrowed, with the exception of the non-existence of *-ss-*, written when *dis-* precedes *s* (*disonance*, *disociabilita*).

As in English and Czech, the most affected parts of speech are nouns and adjectives. Lieber's (2004) study attesting the highest productivity with verbs<sup>92</sup> is thus not approved by the present corpus either.

The most abundant use of the prefix is attested in the Middle French, where the calques from English also appear quite frequently, as the example of *discompte* illustrates. In that case, the word entered into the French system via the English form *discount*, which itself originated in the Old French loan of *descompte*.<sup>93</sup> Among another English loans, *disrespectueux* may be cited.

Contrary to Czech, which employs the prefix only with the foreign bases, French and English dispose with the possibility to form the negative units from the particles of both

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<sup>90</sup> See CNRTL, "dis-."

<sup>91</sup> There are numerous exceptions to the rule, though; see Harper, "dis-."

<sup>92</sup> Rochelle Lieber, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 104: Morphology and Lexical Semantics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 116.

<sup>93</sup> See CNRTL, "dis-."

sources of origin (*disqualifier, discernable; disappoint, discourage*).

In the case of English, *dis-* has figured as a common prefix providing privative and reversative meaning since 15<sup>th</sup> century, first appearing mostly with loans, and then (a century later) attaching productively also with the native word stock, though the first English coinages date back to 15<sup>th</sup> century as well (*disentangle, dislimb*).<sup>94</sup>

When contrary or contradictory, *dis-* is almost completely limited to Romance bases and competes with the other negative modifiers for adjectives and nouns. On the other hand, it is unrivaled with verbs.<sup>95</sup> With this part of speech, moreover, the negation by *dis-* might be seen as affecting the verbal base with the similar result to that of the clausal negation.<sup>96</sup>

This finding seems to be also applicable on the French language as the word *discorder* 'not in accord with' exemplifies. That brings the languages closer to Czech in this respect, which usually employs the prefixation by *ne-* on a verb for the negation of the whole clause.

As far as the adjectives and nouns are concerned, Lieber (2004) stated that the prefix prefers the situational/dynamic abstracts, arisen via the derivation from verbs, which brings it closer to *non-* and *in-*.<sup>97</sup> That the same counts for French might be shown on the dynamic abstracts of *diminution*, or *discontinuation*.

It has been also noticed in English, that *dis-* is related in its semantics not only with *de-*, but also with the prefix *un-*.<sup>98</sup> Using the findings of Lieber (2004), it was ascertained that both prefixes forge the negative meaning when attached to the stative verbs, and occur relatively freely on the causative and causative/inchoative verbal groups.<sup>99</sup> The use of the prefixes is not possible with the verbs denoting a change. Moreover, *dis-* seems to be the only

<sup>94</sup> Nevalainen, 381.

<sup>95</sup> See Nevalainen, 381.

<sup>96</sup> Plag, 100.

<sup>97</sup> See Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 124.

<sup>98</sup> Dragounová, 32.

<sup>99</sup> *un-* favors especially those which implies impermanent or unfixed result. (see Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 116).

negative modifier compatible with the majority of the simple activity verbs.<sup>100</sup> As far as the semantics of the verbal groups to which *dis-* attaches is concerned, French seems to be in accordance with English, as the examples like *dissoner* (stative), or *disconvenir* 'deny' (simple activity verb) are to illustrate.

Like *de-* in French, *dis-* also has numerous synonymous doublets, which are nevertheless more widespread in English than in French or Czech. Those usually convey the meanings of privation or removal, and are thus frequently created with the use of the prefixes *de-* and *un-*. Bauer's research (2009)<sup>101</sup> proved very helpful, as the historical perspective was considered there for the description of the phenomenon, and provided essential findings on the score of productivity of the mentioned elements.

As he made clear with his Table 8.5,<sup>102</sup> there are bases which allow more than one negative modifier (number of them attested even with all the three prefixes), and still keep approximately same signification. For a better understanding of the situation, the history of the units is taken into consideration and the dates when they were first attested are cited.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> See Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 116-117.

<sup>101</sup> Laurie Bauer, "Competition in English Word Formation: 8.6.1 Behead-class words," In *The Handbook of the History of English*, edited by Ans van Kemenade and Bettelou Los (Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2009).

<sup>102</sup> Bauer, 192.

<sup>103</sup> Bauer used Oxford English Dictionary as a corpus for his study

**Table 8.5** Examples of synonymous doublets in *behead*-class

debark 1742	disbark 1578	unbark 1557
debowel 1375	disbowel 1440	unbowel 1552
decrown 1609	discrown 1586	uncrown 1300
dehair 1902	unhair 1382	
deleave 1591	unleaf 1598	unleave 1589
disfrock 1837	unfrock 1644	
dethrone 1609	disthron 1591	unthron 1611
dismast 1747	unmast 1611	
dispeople 1490	unpeople 1533	

By using this perspective in the analysis of the whole word stock, it became possible to identify the numbers of the coinages in which the individual prefixes were used in the individual centuries (Table 8.6).<sup>104</sup> That further enabled to delimit the tendencies in the productivity of the individual prefixes, as shown in the Figure 8.1,<sup>105</sup> where the proportions each prefix had in the formation of the new words in each century are outlined.

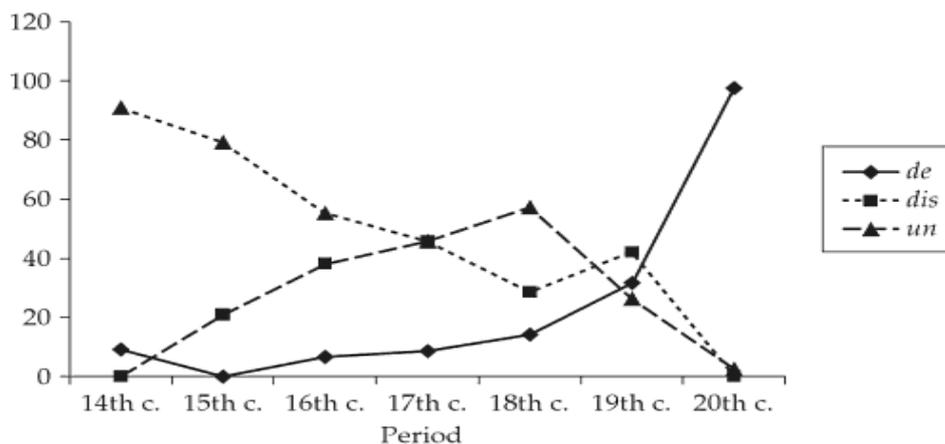
**Table 8.6** Numbers of *behead*-class words coined in each century

	14th cent.	15th cent.	16th cent.	17th cent.	18th cent.	19th cent.	20th cent.
<i>de</i> -	1	0	5	9	2	12	40
<i>dis</i> -	0	5	29	48	4	16	0
<i>un</i> -	10	19	42	48	8	10	1

Source: OED.

<sup>104</sup> Bauer, 192.

<sup>105</sup> Bauer, 192.



**Figure 8.1** Percentage of *behead*-class words from each century using each prefix

As might be observed from the figure, the highest productivity of *un*- dates back to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Its use in coinages was falling steadily throughout the centuries, but was suddenly refrequented in the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, to finally reach its lowest point in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The frequency in the 20<sup>th</sup> century decreased dramatically also in the case of *dis*-. Contrary to *un*-, its occurrence in the coinages is not attested at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. However, the prefix starts to appear in the coinages from the half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The use of the two prefixes reached the same level in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but *un*- was subsequently more favored, so the frequency of *dis*- dropped in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The use of *dis*- gained in productivity in the following century, nevertheless.

Quite interestingly, *de*- had not been frequent in the coinages until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when its numbers sharply improved. Its productivity was rising slightly over the centuries, never reaching the same levels as *un*- or *dis*-, though. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, nevertheless, it became competitive, leveling off with the frequencies of the other two prefixes, and even outnumbering the coinages comprising *un*-. It could be observed then, that all the prefixes were used productively at the period for the formation of the new words. Furthermore, *de*- seems to be the only productive element conveying

privative/reversative meaning which made it to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

It should be borne in mind, nevertheless, that the trends outlined in the figure are to serve more as a generalization, where numerous exceptions occur.<sup>106</sup> While it is fully valid for the examples of *debark*, *unbark* and *disbark*, the application of the findings encounters difficulties in the other sets of doublets, as in *debowel*, *disbowel* and *unbowel* for instance.<sup>107</sup>

In spite of the limitations of the figure, the development in the frequencies of the individual prefixes proved essential for the full understanding of the possibility of prefixing the same bases with different negative modifiers without any significant change in meaning, or the occurrence of so-created units in the complementary distribution.

As could have been seen, while some units enter the word stock and gradually gain the native status, the others become outdated and slowly leave the system. During the intervals where the elements co-occur, the variants usually have a tendency to differentiate, or to be affected by the blocking principle. The reason why this tendency was not in operation in these instances is not easy to account for. Bauer (2009) provides a possible explanation nevertheless, pointing at the very rare occurrence of the units, which made the differentiation unnecessary.<sup>108</sup>

Several mentions should be also made concerning the position of *un-*. Despite being no more creative in its privative/reversative meaning, its productivity in word-formation in the 20<sup>th</sup> and the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries cannot be disputed. As Lieber (2005) points out, the use of the prefix has become popular with concrete nouns and proper names, forging the units with derogatory nuance of meaning, as he exemplifies in his study on the word *unhotel*, 'hotel but not a good example of the category.'<sup>109</sup>

The conclusions made about the English doublets shed light on the existence of the

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<sup>106</sup> Bauer (2009) points at this fact in his study himself

<sup>107</sup> For further information about the development of the particular doublets, see Bauer, 193.

<sup>108</sup> See Bauer, 193.

<sup>109</sup> See Lieber, "Negative Prefixes," 393.

same phenomenon in the French language. It should be noticed, moreover, that while the occurrence of the synonymous doublets containing *de-* and *dis-* is quite common in English, the same phenomenon is not to be encountered in French, which served as a source for both negative modifiers.

The fact might be partly clarified when the developmental stages of English lexis are reconsidered. It will become clear that French has not served as a source language only in one of the developmental stages of the English lexicon, but exerted its influence repeatedly. The origin of several doublets (like *debark-* *disbark* for instance) might be thus accounted to the re-borrowing of an item in different period.

These doublets are not much widespread in Czech, but the pair *deformita-* *diformita* can be attested. These units are not to be considered as proper doublets though, *diformita* being the more outdated variant, and its usage is nowadays restricted to the legal style.<sup>110</sup>

French *dis-*units transfer into English and Czech in a number of ways. The first, straightforward solution the languages have at disposal is the use of the corresponding *dis-*word. There are however numerous cases, when another, borrowed affix is employed. This mainly counts for English, where the alternation between prefixes *de-* and *dis-* is quite widespread (*difforme*→*deformed*).<sup>111</sup> In several instances, the French items are translated with the use of the prefixes *ex-* (*disculper*→*exculpate*), or *in-* (*distrain*→*inattentive*). With several items, a periphrasis is used.

The same prefixes are adopted when the English items are translated to French. Moreover, as has been already pointed out, the derogatory signification of the prefix might be also conveyed with the use of the prefix *mé-*. Interestingly enough, the translation by the corresponding *dis-* unit is not the most common alternative, as it is in the case of the opposite direction of the transfer, i. e. from French to English. It almost seems as a rule that where *dis-*

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<sup>110</sup> Google Books. 2012. "diformita," Accessed February 5.

<sup>111</sup> For the possible explanation of the phenomenon, see the section where *de-* is treated

appears on the bases in English, *de-* attaches to the corresponding base in French.

As in the previous cases, Czech employs *dis-* exclusively with the loaned vocabulary. With those items, the match between the languages is identical. For the translation of both French and English common vocabulary items, the domestic modifiers *roz-*, *od-* and *ne-* are preferred in dependence on the nuance of meaning (reversative, privative, or purely negative) which is required. The words where a different, foreign prefix is employed are nonetheless also present in the Czech inventory, as might be illustrated on *dissymétrique*→*asymetrický*. As well as in English, the alternation of *dis-* and *de-* in the transfer also occurs (*diminutif*→*deminutivní*), though not in such a measure.

### **Non-**

As well as the previous prefixes, the origin of *non-* might be tracked to Latin, being the result of the evolution of Old Latin *noenum* "not one."<sup>112</sup> The units were characteristic for the legal style, from which they entered into Old French, implying that the prefix is to be taken for a borrowing. It subsequently passed to English in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>113</sup> The primal origin of the prefix seems to be possible to track even farther, though, having its roots in PIE *\*ne oinon* ("not one").<sup>114</sup>

As has been already mentioned, *non-* contributes to the contrary/contradictory reading of the base it attaches to, giving preference to nouns and adjectives respectively.<sup>115</sup> 'Sham' or 'a lack of the characteristics designated by the base' are however also the parts of the lexical meaning of the forging element, as in the cases of *non-sens*, *non-entity*, or *nonšalantní*.

It was observed that *dis-*, *non-* and *in-* pick similar semantic sets of nouns (situational/dynamic abstracts). *Non-* differs from the other two negative modifiers though, offering the possibility to be attached to the concrete nouns designating people and

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<sup>112</sup> See Jiří Rejzek, "non-," *Český etymologický slovník*, (Voznice: LEDA, 2001) 414.

<sup>113</sup> See Harper, "non-."

<sup>114</sup> See J. Holub, F. Kopečný, "ne," in *Etymologický slovník jazyka českého*. (Praha: SPN, 1952) 241.

<sup>115</sup> See Dragounová, 33-34.

instruments as well.<sup>116</sup> With adjectives, the prefix seeks for the neutral bases, which results in its mostly contradictory reading.<sup>117</sup>

Being recognized in English, these findings seem to be valid for French too, as might be exemplified on *non-buveur* (non-drinker), a concrete noun denoting person, or *non-inscrit* (independent), an adjective having a neutral base for foundation. Moreover, the abstract designating a process are not rare with the prefix in the two languages as *non-connaissance* ('innocence, ignorance'), or *nonintervention* illustrate. In Czech, the prefix occupies the marginal position among the other negative modifiers, being limited only to a set of borrowings from French and English.

It might be noticed as well, that French *non-* units have common characteristics not only with *in-*, but also with *a-*. As far as adjectives are concerned, the difference among the modifiers dwells in the impossibility of the majority of the *non-*-prefixed items to appear in the attributive function.<sup>118</sup> There are however certain instances where the competition among the prefixes takes place (*non animé- inanimé*). Concerning the nominal derivatives, the formations comprising *non-* are felt to be natural, while the use of *in-* seems to be more artificial, as is to be illustrated on *\*irréciprocité* and *\*infranchise*.<sup>119</sup>

Paradoxically enough, the productivity of the prefix seems to be much higher in English than in French. In the former, the earliest native coinages date back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*non-appearance, non-ability*), and all belong to the legal terminology.<sup>120</sup>

Despite the prefix picks mostly for the Latinate bases, an interesting hypothesis was expressed that *non-* in several units owes its rise to Middle English *non* ("not"), the form which developed from Old English *nan*. Unfortunately, no examples supporting the claim are

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<sup>116</sup> See Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 124.

<sup>117</sup> See Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 122.

<sup>118</sup> See CNRTL, "non-."

<sup>119</sup> See CNRTL, "non-," "irréciprocité."

<sup>120</sup> Nevalainen, 380.

provided by the source.<sup>121</sup> The hypothesis is not approved by Nevalainen (1999) either, who states that the first occurrences with the domestic stems may be attested towards the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*non-knowledge, non-truth*), i. e. to the Early Modern English era, and continues to spread in the centuries onwards.<sup>122</sup> That goes against Harper's proposition, having considered that the units forged by means of the Middle English *non* would have necessarily arisen at the same period.

All the early formations being nouns, the range of the vocabulary containing the prefix broadened in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Firstly, when the participles and adjectives began to be also affected, and furthermore, as the use of the negative modifier became common in the other fields of specialized word stock, especially in the religious and philosophical vocabulary.<sup>123</sup>

Moreover, English is the only language of the three, where the prefix is attested on verbs (though on very few examples, like *non-act, non-concur* and *nonsuit*). With this part of speech, *non-* gives rise to the contradictory interpretation.

According to the corpus, the negative element operates mostly with the legal terms in French. The difference in productivity between the two languages might have its roots in the special position *non-* has in the French language, for it exists there also as an adverb used for negating a phrase or a whole clause, which logically competes with the word-based negation.

The conclusions made on the basis of the present corpus analysis are however not in accordance with the results provided by CNRTL (2012), which claims a very high occurrence of the prefix in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, pointing that the derivation with the use of *non-* was quite widespread even in the previous two centuries, mainly because of the great influence English had on the development of the language.<sup>124</sup>

On the other hand, both CNRTL (2012) and the present corpus agree on the lexical

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<sup>121</sup> See Harper, "non-."

<sup>122</sup> See Nevalainen, 380.

<sup>123</sup> See Nevalainen, 380.

<sup>124</sup> See CNRTL, "non-."

fields so-forged units usually enter, i. e. specialized vocabulary of law (*non-assistance*), linguistics (*non-figuratif*), literature, and philosophy (*non-conformiste*).

French is special also with respect to the non-systematic orthography. With nouns, the hyphen is usually used when the prefixation with *non-* is intended. The exceptions are however present, as CNRTL (2012) informs, taking the results of TLF literary corpus, which attested 1-2% non-hyphenated variants.<sup>125</sup> The same hesitations may also arise with adjectives, which are usually non-hyphenated.

The confusion in these cases might have its cause in the signification the hyphen obtains, mainly in the philosophical discourse, where it functions to mark the conceptual link between the word of the base and the prefix.<sup>126</sup> Moreover, the way of operating with the prefix in Old French certainly contributed to the phenomenon as well, since *non-* used to be frequently attached to the bases as any other negative modifier (*nonchalance, nonpareil*).<sup>127</sup>

The same confusion might be observed in English, too. Contrary to French, though, non-hyphenated nouns and adjectives are favored there. As far as Czech is concerned, the hyphen does not occur in any of the units attested by the corpus.

Czech does not go against its tendency of operating with borrowings, and thus even this modifier is strictly limited to the specialized vocabulary, and translated via the domestic affixes. It can be thus only restated, that the units conveying the contrary/contradictory meaning are predominantly transferred to the language with the use of *ne-* (*nonaligned-neangažovaný, non-tissé-netkaný*), the privative signification is maintained with the prefixes *bez-* (*nonparty-bezpartijní, non-stop- bez přestání*) or periphrases *bez* ('without') or *zbavený* ('deprived of'). The derogatory nuance the prefix conveys in certain cases is not transmitted via use of any pejorative affixes, different ways of expressivity are preferred, as in *nonentity-nicka*; or *non-valeur-nehodnotný člověk*.

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<sup>125</sup> See CNRTL, "non-."

<sup>126</sup> See CNRTL, "non-."

<sup>127</sup> See CNRTL, "non-."

When it comes to the French units and their transfer to English, the majority of them keeps the original prefix. As with the other negative modifiers, nevertheless, several instances occur, where a different affix is employed to forge the sought interpretation, as the words *non-dit- unsaid*, or *non-lieu- dismissal* (contradictory meaning in both cases) exemplify. The privative and pejorative nuance is usually maintained employing the periphrases *absence/lack of*, or *failure of/ to do (non-conciliation-absence of conciliation; non-assistance- failure to render assistance)* respectively.

That the prefixes *non-*, *a-* and *in-* competes with one another is well shown also when English items are translated to French, as *nonallergenic- anallergique* and *nonexistence- inexistence* prove. While no such item like *inexistence* seems to be attested in English, French inventory comprises both possibilities slightly differing in meaning. *Nonexistence* may be comprehended to have more a purely negative signification ('the fact of not existing'), while *inexistence* seems to be more privative, being interpreted as 'absence of importance.'<sup>128</sup> The same explanation might be given when the words *nonpolitical* and *apolitical* are considered.

On the other hand, both *nonallergenic* and *anallergic* exist in medical English, differing by the meaning of 'not causing an allergic reaction' of the former and 'not being allergic' of the latter.

The vast majority of English *non*-units are nevertheless translated with the use of the same prefix in French, obeying the rules of orthography as stated above. In other instances, where the privative reading is to be conveyed, the periphrasis with *sans* is used, as in *nonpareil- sans égal*. When keeping of deprecatory nuance is intended, French makes use of either the periphrasis *mauvais* ('bad, wrong'), as in *nonconductor- mauvais conducteur*, or of the semi-derogatory suffix *-oïde (nonmetal-metalloïde)* conveying the meaning of 'resemblance to the state designated by the base,' and *-ot*, as in *nonperson- falot*.

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<sup>128</sup> See CNRTL, "inexistence, " "nonexistence."

**In-**

As has been already pointed out, this negative prefix came to French and subsequently to Middle English from Latin *in-* ('not'). This prefix was noted to have a historical relation to Greek *an-*, and even with Old English *un-*, for all the three prefixes evolved from the same ancestor, \**n-*, a variant of PIE root \**ne-* ('not').<sup>129</sup> Having already been highly frequent in Latin, the prefix has kept its productive status till the 20<sup>th</sup> century, too, both in English and French, where it gained the domestic status. Despite that, the tendency to employ it is stronger in the latter language.

Both languages furthermore agree on a highly developed productivity of the negative modifier on adjectival and nominal derivatives respectively. With verbs, its occurrence is limited to few units only. In French, it might be noticed that the most affected are the adjectives ending on *-able* and *-é/-ée*, a great amount of which was borrowed directly from Latin.<sup>130</sup> In majority of the cases, the negative *in-* items arose from the application of the prefix on the positive, mostly adjectival, stems, but in several instances (*incessant*, *increvable*), the positive counterpart for foundation is extinct or not used.

The formation of such adjectives is thus to be traced to the verbal stems (*in-* + *cesser*), sometimes to the nominal ones (*indémaillable*). With nouns, the *in-* negatives formed from the corresponding positive nouns are not frequent, and are considered as almost abnormal when the stems are not of the verbal origin.<sup>131</sup>

Concerning the orthography and pronunciation of the *in-* units, French does not differ much from English and Czech. It can be just restated, that the prefix is employed in its *in-* form when preceding a vowel or silent *h* (*inanimé*, *inhabituel*). When in the consonantal surrounding, *in-* may also adapt to the first consonant. It changes into *il-* when *l* follows (*illisible*), *im-* before bilabials (*m*, *b*, or *p*), as in *immaculé*, *imberbe*, *impossible*; or *ir-* with *r*

<sup>129</sup> See Harper, "in-."

<sup>130</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

<sup>131</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

(*irresponsable*). This assimilation is marked by the duplication of the consonants in the orthography, and takes place in the formations arisen from both Latin and French (*imberbe*, *immangeable*).

There are however few exceptions to the rules stated, as in the case of *inlassable*, which was accepted instead of *\*illasable* at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, or *inracontable*.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, the units like *ignorant* or *ignominieux* should be noted, where the assimilation of the prefix to its base took place already in Classical Latin (*in-* + *gnoscerere*).<sup>133</sup>

The further research in CNRTL (2012) reveals, that the attachment of the prefix to the stem is with several items marked with the hyphen (as in *in-aimable*). In these instances, nevertheless, the hyphenation is used to increase the intensity of negation, and thus ranks more among the means of expressivity in the language.<sup>134</sup>

The duplication of the consonants in writing has its justification in the historical development of the French pronunciation, as the both consonants in the assimilated *in-* units used to be maintained, especially in the scientific discourse. The fact that the pronunciation has not been kept till these days is due to the penetration of these units into the more common vocabulary layers.<sup>135</sup> While proper to both French and English, the reduplication of the consonants does not take place in Czech, neither in speech, nor in the orthography.

As it comes to the semantics, *in-* yields the contradictory meaning to its base. Nevertheless, the units, where it can be interpreted as reversative/privative, are also widespread in the corpus (as in *inélegant*). Furthermore, the prefix may convey a deprecatory nuance in certain cases, as in *infortune* ('misfortune'), or *infamant* ('defamatory').

As far as the bases are concerned, *in-* favors abstract, and emotively charged stems,

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<sup>132</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

<sup>133</sup> See Harper, "ignorant."

<sup>134</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

<sup>135</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

whose signification it helps to develop.<sup>136</sup> This characteristic draws it closer to the prefix *un-* in English, but differentiates the two prefixes from *non-*, which was stated to yield non-evaluative interpretation.<sup>137</sup> The same behavior of the prefix might be reconfirmed in French.

As the pairs *irrespect- non-respect*, and *irresponsabilité- non-responsabilité* demonstrate, the words comprising *non-* are felt to be more neutral, and are thus used in the legal\_vocabulary layer. That the exceptions appear is however approved by the alternation of the two prefixes in the technical fields, as the examples of *inconsommable/non consommable*, *irrecevable/non recevable*, or *inacceptation/non acceptation*. In such cases, *non-* is said to be preferred with nouns (*non-existence, non-traitement*).<sup>138</sup>

Beside the significations mentioned above, the findings affirmed by CNRTL (2012) document the ability of the prefix to create the units with intensified, almost superlative value (*incroyable, indescriptible, inespéré*), and its occurrence with the bases to convey the idea of refusal of principles/rules, as in *incorrect, impoli, or intolérant*.<sup>139</sup>

With the nuances of meaning it may convey, *in-* becomes close to another negative modifiers, with which it often concurs. As the examples of the phenomenon may serve the pairs like *insensibiliser-désensibiliser, amoral-immoral, inconnu-méconnu, inharmonieux-disharmonieux*, or even *impesanteur/apesanteur/non-pesanteur*. The mentioned units cannot be taken for doublets, for their signification is not wholly identical.

For instance, in the first pair, *dé-* unit belongs to a more specialized, medical vocabulary, concerning the mere fact of sensibility suppression, while *in-* unit appears in a wider contexts and relates to the suppression of pain in particular. As it comes to *amoral-immoral*, the former unit is to be interpreted as more neutral ('naturally indifferent to the moral'), while the latter suggests the meaning of 'refusal of the moral.'

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<sup>136</sup> see Lieber, *Morphology and Lexical Semantics*, 121-2.

<sup>137</sup> see Lieber, "Negative Prefixes," 392.

<sup>138</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

<sup>139</sup> See CNRTL, "in-."

While attaching exclusively to the domestic stems in French, *in-* can combine with the bases of both sources of origin in English, though its occurrence is still attested mostly with the Latinate words, since its rise was influenced by both French and Latin borrowings. It began to rank among the productive negative modifiers at the beginning of the Early Modern English era, where it began to compete with *un-*, as the two prefixes are broadly synonymous by its meaning and form.<sup>140</sup>

As Nevalainen (1999) further states, the competition was significant mainly in the case of the adjectival derivatives, for *in-* could attach to any adjective of Latin or French origin, and it was also common with past participles at the period, as he illustrates on the examples of *unexpected*, *inconnected*.<sup>141</sup> Such creations often co-occurred with the parallel *un-*formations, which were consequently given preference. *In-* constructions were however preserved in the case of nouns. That counts for the adjective- noun pairs like *unjust-injustice*, or *unbalanced-imbalance*, where the prefixes alternate.

In consequence, the claims about the two prefixes outlined in the previous study<sup>142</sup> cannot be supported by the conclusions made on the basis of the Harper's Online Etymology Dictionary (2001-2012) and by Nevalainen (1999) but partly.

The close relation between *in-* and *un-* is approved, both prefixes having arisen from the same PIE form, but the hypothesis regarding "*in-* as an intermediate state of evolution into *un-*"<sup>143</sup> is to be redefined, nevertheless. As the research realized by Nevalainen (1999) manifested, the evolution of *in-* into *un-* cannot be understood in terms of the form of the prefixes. Firstly, *in-* entered into the English system later than *un-*, which ranks among the basic building blocks of the native morphology. Furthermore, *in-* is very far from dying out of the language, which would be another main prerequisite supporting the claim.

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<sup>140</sup> See Nevalainen, 381.

<sup>141</sup> Nevalainen, 381.

<sup>142</sup> See Dragounová, 35- 36.

<sup>143</sup> Dragounová, 35.

The assertion might be however justified in terms of the preference for modifiers. It has been made clear that, in one stage of the development of English word stock, the native element (*un-*) gained over the borrowed one (*in-*) for a whole word class.

Taking Mazzon's (2004) findings into consideration,<sup>144</sup> this tendency may be expected to continue spreading its scope over another word groups, so that *un-* is to be anticipated to gain in productivity over *in-* in nominal derivatives, too. The examples chosen for illustration in the previous study (*irreality* and *unreality*) then show nothing but the fact that the process has already started.

The languages slightly differ with respect to the means used for the translation of the *in*-units from the other inventories. Czech behaves in accordance with the general tendency and primarily goes for the elements of the native stock, transferring the words with the help of *ne-*, or *bez-* (*immaculé- neposkvrněný; impeccable- bezvadný*). The use of the foreign affixes is attested as well, though not so frequent (*immatériel- imateriální, illiterate- analfabetický*). With the loaned, learned vocabulary, *in*-alternatives are preserved (*intolerance, inkompatibilita*).

French seems to obey this tendency too. Since *in-* cherishes the status of the domestic morpheme in the language, it is widespread with the stems of the both sources of origin. It is by far the most employed means when translating the native negative modifiers of English and Czech<sup>145</sup> to the French inventory.

When transferring the Czech *in*-units, the corresponding *in*-form is used in almost one to one proportion. That however does not count when the English formations are concerned, though the ratio is also very high.

The use of the prefixes like *anti-*, or *dés-* are to keep the privative/reversative signification of the several original units (*immobiliser- antidérément; imbalance-*

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<sup>144</sup> Mazzon (2004, 111) notes the preference in the present day English for *un-* before *in-* and *dis-*

<sup>145</sup> The modifiers mentioned are the prefixes *ne-* and *un-*

*déséquilibre*), but the periphrases like *sans* or *manque de + noun* are also common. The pejoratives are sustained with the use of the prefix *mal-* or the periphrasis *mauvais/mal* 'bad' (*improper- malséant; insecure- mal assuré*). For the purely negative nuance, *in-* is kept, or *non(-)* appears (*indigestible- indigeste; inconvertible- non convertible*).

That the correspondence between the inventories is not one hundred percent becomes evident also when analyzing the transfers from French to English. When the negative interpretation is to be conveyed, besides *in-*, the prefix *un-* comes as a first-hand solution (*illimité-unlimited*), though the prefix *non-* may appear as well (*inaccomplissement-nonobservance*). Concerning the privative or reversative meanings, a number of means is quite abundant, with the suffixes *-proof* or *-less* (*imperméable- waterproof; impitoyable-merciless*), or the periphrases as *lack of + noun* (*impotence- lack of mobility*). *Mal-* is sustained even here to incite the negative connotations to the stem (*inadapté- maladjusted*).

### Sans-

*Sans-* cherishes a double status in the French system, as it functions as both a forging element and a preposition in the language. It arose from the Latin *sene*, and came in a wider use at the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century under the form *sens*, to be changed into *sanx* in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>146</sup> Both as a preposition and morpheme, *sans(-)* yields the meaning of privation, exclusion or absence to its base.

When given the function of a preposition, *sans* usually precedes nouns and pronouns to modify their meaning. It also sticks to the nominal derivatives when appearing as a bound morpheme, to which it is believed to be limited according to CNRTL (2012). The results provided by the analysis of the present corpus shows the occurrence of *sans-* on adjectives as well, nevertheless, but they are not so numerous.

The position of *sans-* among the other forming elements is not so easy to estimate,

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<sup>146</sup> See CNRTL, "sans-."

since an objection might be made that the units which it attaches to are mere locutions arisen through the syntactic compounding, as it was the case with *no* in the constructions like *no-go area*, or *no-smoking carriage* in English.

For the validity of the claim speaks the use of the hyphen in the majority of *sans*-items, the existence of the corresponding prepositional phrase (*sans-abri- un homme sansabri*) as well as the invariable character with respect to the declension so-created items obtain (*un sans-emploi- des sans-emploi*).

That the element is eligible for the analysis among the other negative affixes in the present thesis could be justified by the fact, that *sans*- is used productively and creates lexicalized units, which are attested by both CNRTL (2012) and the corpus. Furthermore, the words, where the modifier appears without hyphen, and are thus to be considered as mono-semantic, have already begun to appear (*sanspatrie* 1894, *sansréponse* 1981).<sup>147</sup>

What is more, nonetheless, the evolution of the element itself points at its status of prefixoid, as recognized by Šabršula (1983).<sup>148</sup> It might be expected then, that the semi-prefixal *sans*-, whose transitional status is signaled by the use of hyphen in the present French system, is to move towards the characteristics of a proper prefix. The invariability of *sans*-units is also an object to change, as CNRTL (2012) asserts on the examples of the words like *sans-grade* ('nobody'), or *sans-travail* ('an unemployed person'), where the hesitation still appears in the plural.

Conveying exclusively privative signification, *sans*- items are translated to the other languages keeping the preference for the native forging elements, choosing itself the bases of the native word stock. Czech thus usually employs the prefix *bez*- (*sans-abri- bezdomovec*), and *ne*-, though the privative character of several units is diminished with its use (*sans-coeur-necita*). In English, the suffix *-less* (*sans-faute- faultless*) ranks among the most favorite

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<sup>147</sup> Examples provided by CNRTL (2012).

<sup>148</sup> See Šabršula, *Lexikologie*, 92- 102.

means used for the transfer of such items, but *un-* may also appear (*sans-travail* – *unemployed*).

### Contre-

As the other argument for the turn of *sans-* towards the status of the proper prefix serves the similar development in the case of *contre-*.<sup>149</sup> The forging element arose from the Latin adverb and preposition *contra*, which became employed as a prefix already in the Late Latin period.<sup>150</sup> From there, it subsequently passed to French to become *contre-*, and then to the late Middle English.<sup>151</sup>

As far as Czech is concerned, the form *kontr-* has been adopted directly from French.<sup>152</sup> The divergent form of the prefix in English and French is given by the role of Anglo-French as a transmitter, which delivered the prefix under the form of *countre-* into the target language.<sup>153</sup>

Once there, the prefix underwent further development into *counter-*, several items with the form *contra-* appear too (*contraindication*, *contradict*) though, which is to be accounted to the rivalry of the two forms in derivatives in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>154</sup> In majority of the cases, nonetheless, it was *counter-* which became generalized.<sup>155</sup>

*Contre-* in its language-specific forms figures in all the three inventories as a transmitter of the reversative signification, or as a mark of opposition (*contre-société*, *counter-argument*, *kontrapozice*). As such, it is capable of conveying a slightly derogatory interpretation to the word it attaches to. That takes place mainly in the figurative sense, as in

<sup>149</sup> Despite the prefixation with *contre-* is marked with hyphen, its establishment in the system of affixes becomes evident from the declension variability of the units it is attached to (*une contre-mesure* → *des contre-mesures*). Moreover, the status of the element among the prefixes is approved by Šabršula, *Lexikologie*, 96.

<sup>150</sup> See Harper, "contra-."

<sup>151</sup> Nevalainen, 386.

<sup>152</sup> See J. Holub, S. Lyer, "kontra," *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého se zvl. zřetelem k slovům kulturním a cizím* (Praha: SPN, 1968), 258.

<sup>153</sup> See Harper, "counter-."

<sup>154</sup> Not all the *contra-* items entered English vocabulary at the period, nevertheless, as

<sup>155</sup> See Nevalainen, 386.

*contretype* or *counterfeit*, where the words designate reproductions, however with the notions of negative moral judgment towards the signification of the base.<sup>156</sup>

As it comes to French, the frequency of the prefix use in the word formations became first remarkable in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and their numbers have kept rising from that period onwards. Despite the actual numbers speaking in profit of nouns while the verbs are pushed aside, the picture of the system used to be the very opposite in the Old French and Middle French periods, when it was mainly the verbal or deverbal derivatives that predominated in the use of *contre-*.<sup>157</sup>

The tendency to form nouns is however strong as well at the period. In fact, it did not diminish in intensity till the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and subsequently gained the dominance in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which thus became a marker of the beginnings of the current system of the *contre-* use. From that century onwards, the coinages including the prefix belong exclusively to the nominal word group.

A mention should be also given to the occurrence of the prefix on the adjectival derivatives. Those are mostly of the verbal origin and rank as the second most affected word category. The lesser frequency of the adjectives seems to be, at least according to the researchers of CNRTL (2012), due to the concurrence of *contre-* with *anti-*, which has co-occurred with the prefix from its establishment in the system in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>158 159</sup>

The 16<sup>th</sup> century (namely its second half) is also the period of the expansion of *counter-* in the English system.<sup>160</sup> As Nevalainen (1999) noted, the prefix appeared already in the late Middle English era, firstly attested on the coinages belonging to more learned registers. Then the formations began to spread, derivatives being mostly of deverbal or

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<sup>156</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-."

<sup>157</sup> See CNRTL "contre-."

<sup>158</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-."

<sup>159</sup> For the further differentiation of the units allowing both *contre-* and *anti-*, see the section dedicated to *anti-*

<sup>160</sup> See Nevalainen, 386.

denominal character.<sup>161</sup>

It should be pointed out, nevertheless, that the boom concerned mostly the units with *counter-* in its non-negative interpretation ('reciprocity, in return' in this case); reversativeness ranks among the marginal semantics of the prefix at the period, though several such units also emerge.<sup>162</sup>

As well as in French, *counter-* shows preference for nouns in English, followed by adjectives (of nominal origin in the majority of cases) and verbs. Those are quite interestingly more numerous in English than in French according to the present corpus. That also shows that the preference for the particular word groups is universal, as all the three languages agree on the highest productiveness on nouns, while the verbs are the least affected.

As far as the orthography is concerned, English and French agree on the occurrence of hyphen with the vast majority of the units, though the rules for its use are not always coherent.

In the case of French, the confusion is to be accounted to the two opposing typographical traditions, the original one insisting on the straightforward attachment of the prefix to the base, or its mere free placement before it; and the second, imposing the use of hyphen in all coinages, which has been in operation from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards.<sup>163</sup> In consequence, the units acceptable under both forms (like *contre-pante/contrepante*) appear.

It has been also noticed by CNRTL (2012), that the hyphen in some less frequent *contre-* formations is even reinforced by the authorities, and is used to mark that the lexical unit has not obtained the widely socially-recognized status. In such cases, it might be seen as an indication of expressivity.<sup>164</sup>

As far as English is concerned, the conflict of norms seems to be brought to the

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<sup>161</sup> Nevalainen, 386.

<sup>162</sup> See Nevalainen, 386.

<sup>163</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-."

<sup>164</sup> See CNRTL, "contre-."

language with the items, for the non-hyphenated units, like *counterfeit*, or *counteract*, emerged in the language before the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Czech does not seem to be problematic in this respect, disposing exclusively with the non-hyphenated units in its inventory.

As with the other negative modifiers, *contre-* does not go against the general tendency to preserve the affix when figuring in both the source and the target language. The status dichotomy (domestic vs. foreign element) plays an important role there too, nevertheless.

Consequently, the most widespread translation of French items into English, and vice versa, is the use of *contre-* in its specific forms (*counter-argument- contre-argument; contrevénir- contravene*) for the prefix gained the same productive status in both languages. That cannot be said about the existence of the prefix in Czech, where it still counts among the foreign elements in the language system.

The most common way of transferring the semantics of the prefix from the other two languages is then the use of the domestic prefixes *od-*, *roz-* and *proti-* (*contravis- odvolání; contre-courant- protiproud; contradict- odporovat*). Though the units created with *kontr-* appear as well (*counter-revolution- kontrarevoluce*), they are not much widespread, and are to be limited to the more specialized vocabulary layers.

Quite interestingly nonetheless, with those specialized *contre-* formations coming to the language from both French and English, the use of *anti-* is often felt more appropriate, as in *contraception- antikoncepce*, or *contre-alizé- antipasát*. Moreover, the derogatory coloring of the prefix is preserved with the prefixes *pseudo-* (*contre-culture- pseudokultura*), or *pa-* (*counterfeit- padělek*).

The use of *anti-* in translation instead of *contre-* is to be detected also in French, as in *counter-inflationary- anti-inflationniste*, or *kontrapozice- antithèse*; but the languages sometimes go for other negative modifiers as well, as it is the case of *contre-verité*,

transferred as *untruth* to English.

## Mé-

*Mé-* is accounted to owe its origin to two possible sources. It either believed to go back to the Frankish particle *missi*, or to the Latin *minus*, which is however found less plausible by CNRTL (2012). Regardless the form it is tracked to, *mé-* is counted among the domestic forging elements in French. The prefix appears under the two complementary variants, *mé-* and *més-*, used in dependence on the phonic character of the base- *mé-* is to be encountered in front of consonants (*méprise, méconnu*), while *més-* is used when vowels follow (*mésaventure, mésuser*). An exceptional form *mes-* may appear as well, when the forging element precedes bases beginning on *s*, as in *messeoir*.

The occurrence of *mé-* has been attested with the bases of all the observed parts of speech, mostly of the native origin. According to the present corpus, nouns are to be considered the most affected, followed by verbs and adjectives respectively, but this order is claimed to be reversed in favor of verbs, when the research of CNRTL (2012) is to be taken into consideration.

The prefix has lost its frequency in the present day French, where the periphrases *ne pas* or *mal + verb*, and *mauvais + noun* are mostly preferred,<sup>165</sup> but when productive, it used to create the derivations with the pejorative (*mésuser*), but also with the negative signification (*méfier*), the latter ability being the reason explaining the prefix appurtenance among the forging elements in the present section of the thesis.

Not being so frequent in the present language system, *mé-* is often taken over by the synonymous, more productive prefixes, in most cases by *mal-* (*malfaire-méfaire*)<sup>171</sup> and *dé-* (*méplaire-déplaire*)<sup>166</sup>. The meaning of such formations is very often identical, which ranks the units to the category of doublets.

<sup>165</sup> It should be noted nevertheless, that several neologies are still attested, mostly of derogatory meaning, in 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (*méforme, méemploi*)- see CNRTL (2012)

<sup>166</sup> The examples attested by CNRTL (2012)

It should be noted, nevertheless, that this semantic correspondence does not concern all the items where the alternation of the mentioned prefixes may occur, as the pair *malcontent- mécontent* is to serve for an example. While *mécontent* ranks among frequently employed units in the language, *malcontent* is to be considered more archaic and literary. Another point of branching between the items might be seen in the higher specialization of the former, whose rise is related to the 16<sup>th</sup> century political events.

*Mé-* figures exclusively in the French inventory, and the units affected by it are thus transferred into the other two languages with the use of different means. English copes with the lack of the forging element in its system by employing another prefixes. *Mis-* is observed to be the most common solution, as in the case of *mésuser- misuse*, which might be accounted to the historical relation the two prefixes have.<sup>167</sup> As might have been expected, *mal-* also appears in several instances, as in *méchant- malicious*, to preserve the derogatory interpretation. For that purpose, *dis-* is sometimes used too, as might be exemplified on *mésentente- disagreement*. The prior negative signification of the prefix is maintained by the prefixes *un-* (*méconnaissable- unrecognizable*) or *in-*, as in *méprisable- insignificant*.

Czech makes use of the domestic means for the translation, with the only exception of *mésalliance- mezaliance*. In the other cases, the prefix *zlo-* (*méchanceté- zlovůle*) or the periphrases *špatný/zlý + noun* or *špatně/zle + verb* (*méfait- zlý čin; mésuser- špatně používat*) appear to preserve the pejorative nuance, and *ne-* when the negation is to be conveyed, as in *mécontent- nespokojený*.

### **3.3 French means of translating the domestic negative affixes of English and Czech**

Before proceeding to another principal part of the study, let us complete our survey with a brief mention about the way French copes with the transfer of the negative units forged with the negative affixes not appearing in its inventory.

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<sup>167</sup> See the section dedicated to *Mis-*

As the first step, Czech inventory is to be examined, and English negating means are to be considered subsequently. In several instances, the comparison of French translation means with the measures taken by the other two languages when transferring the problematic items of each other (i. e. translation of Czech into English, and vice versa) brings interesting insights on the language behavior, and is thus to be included in the present analysis.

### Ne-

Being the unique affix yielding purely negative meaning in Czech, the prefix is the straightforward choice when translating contraries and contradictories from the other languages. When the direction of the transfer is reversed, nevertheless, the situation becomes more complicated, as both English and French dispose with several options how to convey the sought meaning.

Adjectives and nouns tend to be translated to French and English by similar means. Both languages make use of the prefixes *non-* (*nelineární- non-linéaire*), *in-* (*nemyslitelný- impensable*), or *dis-* (*nepoměr- disproportion*) and *de-* (*nemilost- defaveur*) to preserve the contrary/contradictory reading of the source item. English furthermore employs the native prefix *un-* (*nedokonáný- unfinished*).

It has been pointed out that the attachment of *ne-* to verbs leads automatically to the propositional negation in Czech, which also accounts for the lower frequency of the prefix occurrence on this word group in the corpus,<sup>168</sup> but also routes the way to the translation of such negatives in the other two languages.

French is much alike to English in this respect. Not having the lexical verbal negation at disposal, the meaning of the verbal units in those languages is expressed via the propositional negation, i. e. by use of the negative particles *ne pas* in appropriate positions in French, and by *not* following the first (modal) auxiliary in English. Moreover, diverse periphrases may be also encountered (*nepochodit- subir un échec*) in both languages, and

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<sup>168</sup> See Dragounová, 36.

several units take the prefix *dé-* (*neschvalovat- désapprouver*).

The occurrence of *dé-* is not surprising here. As has been stated in the earlier parts of this work, *dé-* is frequently used in French where *dis-* would appear in English. It almost seems to be a rule that where *dis-* appears on the bases in English, *dé-* attaches to the corresponding base in French. The use of *dé-* in French thus only pinpoints another similarity between the languages.

It has been observed that the ability of *ne-* to convey another negative significations, i. e. privation and a pejorative nuance, is weakened (though still present) in Czech, which consequently leads to the non-distinction between the non-emotive and emotively charged units.<sup>169</sup> The difference is however felt in the other two languages, which cope with the situation by providing several entries to a single Czech unit, as might be exemplified on *nečistý- impur, malpropre*, or *neodůvodněný- unjustified, ill-founded*, where the former members of the pair keep the purely negative signification of the source item, while the latter incite its derogatory interpretation.

In the other cases, the appropriate affixes or periphrases are used; English *mis-* (*nedorozumění- misunderstanding*), *mal-* (*neblahý-malignant*), *ill-* (*nedomyšlený- ill-considered*) or *fail to + verb* (*nedostavit se- fail to come*) to convey the pejorative nuance, and *un-* (*nehudební- unmusical*) *dis-* (*nekázeň- disorderliness*), *-less* (*neposedný- restless*), *lack/absence of + noun* (*nechutenství- lack of appetite*) are used to preserve the meaning of privation.

In French, *ne-* derogatories are sustained by the use of the prefixes *mal-* (*neblahý-malheureux*), *mé-* (*nedocenit- mésestimer*), *dis-* (*neforemný- difforme*) and the periphrasis *mauvais + noun* (*nečas- mauvais temps*), while the privation is expressed with *a-* (*nenormální- anormal*), *dé-* (*nechut'- dégoût*), *dis-* (*nepoměr- disparité*), or the periphrases

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<sup>169</sup> See Dragounová, 37.

*sans* + *noun* (*nealkoholický- sans alcool*), and *manque/absence de* + *noun* (*nedůstojnost-manque de dignité*).

A special interest of the previous thesis was placed on the way English deals with the idioms like *chtě nechtě*, or *volky nevolky*, as well as with the agents of *nedočkavec* type, which do not have one-word counterparts in English.<sup>170</sup>

As it comes to French in this respect, the sense of the idioms is kept in the language with different idioms or locutions like *sans le vouloir* (standing for *chtě nechtě*), and when the words like *necuda* or *neposeda* are concerned, French differs from English by offering a possibility to express those units in the one-word alternatives, like *neposeda- un vif-argent*, or *nemehlo- un maladroit*, which usually arise via the nominalization of adjectives or adjectival locutions.

### **Bez(e)-**

The privative reading of the prefix is maintained in French with the use of *in-* (*bezbarvý- incolore*), the prefixoid or prepositional phrase *sans(-)* (*bezdomovec- sans-logis; bezperspektivní- sans perspective*). The prefixes *dé-* (*beznaděj- désespoir*) and *a-* (*bezpohlavní- asexué*) are also common, as well as the periphrases *manque/absence de* + *noun* (*bezkoncepčnost- manque d'organization*).

*Bez(e)-* and *ne-* share the indifference with respect to the evaluative content of the units they affect, as has been already portrayed on in the previous study on the English examples of *effortless* and *trouble-free* that are both unanimously translated with *bez-* (*bezpracný* and *bezproblémový*) to Czech, though the emotive load of the two English suffixes slightly differs.<sup>171</sup>

In spite of the accordance of the two languages in the case of *ne-*, French does not seem to comply with English on this score. On the contrary, it approaches more to Czech, not

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<sup>170</sup> See Dragounová, 37.

<sup>171</sup> For the further explanation, see Dragounová, 38.

further distinguishing the emotive coloring of the words by attaching any special elements to them. The only exception might be seen in the units where *de-* occurs, which implies a disapproving attitude taken towards the signification of *de-* prefixed word, as in *désordre* ('the absence of order, a state of being badly organized').

As well as with the previous prefix, the special items designating agents occur also with *bez(e)-*, as might be well illustrated on *bezvěrec* and *bezzemek*. French does not diverge from Czech here, and provides the corresponding one-word alternatives (*un incroyant, un sans-terre*).

### Od- and Roz-

When transmitting the reversative interpretation of the two prefixes, English and French generally agree on the means they have at disposal- the prefixes *de-* and *dis-* are the most frequent alternatives in English, which also operates with the prefix *un-*; while they seem to be the only possibilities how to reach the coveted result in French.

It should be noted, moreover, that while there are numerous alternations between *dis-* and *de-* in English, depending also on the Czech prefix which is to be translated,<sup>172</sup> French shows the preference for *de-* when both *roz-* and *od-* are concerned, while *dis-* appears only as a marginal solution (*rozpojit- disjoindre, odlakovač- dissolvant*).

The mentioned prefixes are in use also when the privative meaning of *od-* is in question. This non-distinction between the reversative and privative signification implicates the synonymous character of the two interpretations, and furthermore reveals the operation of the integrative tendency, which took place in the case of French, and to a certain extent in English, too. In addition, the latter marks the privativeness of the units by the application of *un-* (*odzátkovat- uncork*).

The necessity to distinguish the two interpretations is however still strongly felt in

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<sup>172</sup> When *roz-* is to be translated, *dis-* conquers *de-* in the frequency of units (see Dragounová, 38).

Czech, as might be illustrated on the following pair examples, where the *roz-* items are accepted as reversatives while the reading of *od-* items is privative: *rozmrazit* and *odmrazit* ('defrost'), *rozepnout* and *odepnout* ('unfasten'), or *rozlepit* and *odlepit* ('unstick').

### **Un-**

*Un-* occupies a unique position among the other negative modifiers in this study, as it is the sole affix able to yield every branch of the negative interpretation to its base (a reversative *unbutton*, a privative *uncover*, an almost derogatory *un-American*, and a purely negative *unjust*). In this respect, it bears some similarities with French *non-*, but more importantly, it is strongly reminiscent of the Czech *ne-*.

Unlike *ne-*, nevertheless, the distinction between the individual nuances of the negative meaning does not seem to be so blurred in the benefit of the purely negative meaning of the prefix as in Czech, since the privative and reversative reading most frequently issues from the analysis of the verbal units, while adjectives and nouns usually adopt contrary or contradictory signification. That is accompanied with the evaluative coloring *un-* necessarily conveys, which is to be identified as the other point of branching between the two languages.<sup>173</sup>

That the division of the significations among the particular syntactic categories is far from clear-cut becomes evident when the adjectives like *unaddressed* or *unafraid* are analyzed, nevertheless, whose meaning is more privative than contradictory, as their French translation with *sans* (*sans adresse*, *sans peur*) imply. Moreover, several units are marked by a hesitation about the meaning which was intended by the speaker, which might be well illustrated on the translation of *unannounced*, where French provides both the privative (*sans prévenir*) and the contradictory (*non annoncé*) alternatives.

Such hardly distinguishable units, together with the decreasing tendency to employ *un-*

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<sup>173</sup> See Dragounová, 34.

in the privative context suggest that the prefixes *ne-* and *un-* are not that estranged as it might have seemed at the first sight. The trend to favor one meaning of the affix over the others can be then accounted to be in force in the present-day English too, though not widespread in such a big measure as in Czech yet.

When the privative/reversative interpretation of *un-* units is to be preserved, French employs *de-* in the majority of the verbal cases (*unbalance- déséquilibrer*, *unblock- déboucher*). The prefix may occur also when adjectives or nouns (often deverbal) are to be transferred (*undressed- déshabillé*), though another means, like *sans(-)* (*unending- sans fin*), or the periphrases with *manque* ('absence'), as in *unprofessional- qui manque la professionnalité*, are more frequent.

The purely negative nuances proper to *un-* attached to nominal and adjectival bases are conveyed in French in several ways. The most frequent option seems to be the prefix *in-*, as in (*unpractised- inexercé*), but the use of *non-* is also widespread (*unpolluted- non pollué*). Even *dis-* might be encountered in several cases, as in *unlike- dissemblable*.

*Un-* not figuring in its inventory, French copes with the emotive charge the prefix conveys by employing the prefixes like *anti-*, which keep the best the derogatory coloring of the words like *un-American*, or *undemocratic* (*anti-américain*, *antidémocratique*); *mal-*, as in *malheureux* standing for *unfortunate*, or *malsain* for *unhealthy*; or *mé-* employed for *unhappiness* (*mécontentement*). Moreover, the periphrases with *manque* also come frequently into formations, as the example of *unimaginativeness- manque d'imagination* is to illustrate.

### **-less and -free**

Since French is not equipped with any suffixal means to transmit the privative signification, such English units are then translated with the use of the prefixes able to convey the sought reading. Among the privative modifiers the language has at disposal rank primarily *sans(-)*. Furthermore, being the sole alternative appearing in the French inventory for its

interpretation, *sans(-)* and *-free* share the status of confix.

As far as *-less* is concerned, other numerous methods may be made use of, as the prefixes like *in-* (*graceless- inélégant*), *a-* (*sexless- asexué*), or *dé-* (*selfless- désintéressé*) are at disposal. Moreover, the periphrases like *dépourvu de + noun* ('deprived of'), as in *tuneless- dépourvu de mélodie*; or *absence de + noun*, often applied when the nouns are to be transferred (*shapelessness- absence de forme*).

It has been stated in the previous study that, as in the case of *un-*, *-less* and *-free* differ with respect to the evaluative content they convey, *-free* being conceived as a more positive variant of the two.<sup>174</sup> It should be mentioned in this instance, that neither Czech, nor French seem to differentiate the emotive load in the privative meaning as English does.

When trying to keep the full signification of the English units, French implies the derogatory nuance by so-oriented prefix *mal-* (*joyless- malheureux*). Like in Czech, nonetheless, more frequent are the periphrases *mal/mauvais + noun* ('bad, wrong') (*formless- mal formé*), and *manque de + noun*, as in *tasteless- mauvais goût, manque de saveur*.

## 4 Derogatory affixes

### 4.1 Introduction to expressivity

Not having been recognized in the scholarly literature, derogatory affixes were left out of consideration in the previous study. Despite this fact, pejoratives might be still believed to belong to the group of the negation-yielding affixes, since negation composes the inherent constituent of their otherwise evaluative signification. Regarding these special negatives from this perspective, the derogatory affixes are to become an integral part of the present thesis.

Being perceived as an emotive and evaluative charge of a discourse,<sup>175</sup> expressivity is an underlying concept of the derogatory group of forging elements. In the following paragraphs, therefore, several general mentions are to be paid to the phenomenon, before we

<sup>174</sup> See Dragounová, 36.

<sup>175</sup> See Zima, 6.

proceed to the proper analysis of the inventories. Zima's lexicological study (1961)<sup>176</sup> proved essential for the theoretical part, as it had provided a wholesome picture of the problematic area valid not only for the Czech language, which it was in its main focus.

In his work, Zima (1961) ponders several conceptions of expressivity elaborated by different authors studying the phenomenon, to finally introduce his own findings and subcategorization. In his research of the domain, a special attention is given to the findings of Frei (1929),<sup>177</sup> and those are thus to be considered in the following paragraphs as well.

## **4.2 Subcategorization of the expressivity in the lexis**

Employing the research results of the two authorities, the "outstanding units" in language might be further subdivided, firstly, according to the way they stand out from the neutral word stock (proposed by Frei (1929)), and secondly, according to the degree of context involvement (proposed by Zima (1961)). Let us then ponder the proposed categorization in more detail.

### **Expressivity according to the way of divergence from the norm**

Taking this criterion into account, the domain is further branched into the semantic and the formal expressivity.

#### **4.2.1.1 Formal expressivity**<sup>178</sup>

As the term itself suggests, as formally expressive are to be considered the units of language that are outstanding by their formal properties. This characteristic is certainly proper to various linguistic deformations, like the substitution of non-emotive suffix by the expressive one (*écriv-ain*→*écriv-ailleur*), or the means of the syntactic expressivity, like reductions and ellipses (*C'est comme d'habitude avec lui, tu le sais- Tomas et ses problèmes...*

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<sup>176</sup> See Jaroslav Zima, "Expresivita slova v současné češtině: studie lexikologická a stylistická," *Rozpravy Československé akademie věd*, roč. 71, seš. 16 (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1961), 5-108.

<sup>177</sup> Henri Frei, *La grammaire des fautes* (Paris: Slatkine, 1929), 235- 290.

<sup>178</sup> Not being of the main interest of the thesis, the branches of expressivity are to be given only a general attention. For further differentiation of the domain, see J. Peprník, *English Lexicology* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2006), 107- 114.

'It's as always with him, you know him-Thomas and his problems ...'), fronted constructions (*This book I admire*), etc.<sup>179</sup>

The pejorative reading being their property, the derogatory affixes are to be found in this branch of expressivity, which is consequently to be taken into consideration in the further analysis.

#### 4.2.1.2 Semantic expressivity

This type of expressivity is to be seen as consisting more in the play with the semantics of the units than being given by their formal characteristics. As these kinds of word play might be regarded the diminutive or derogatory use of the names of animals or plants for people (French *mon chouchou*, or English *bitch*), but also the use of a syntactic category in the function of another one, as in the case of the use of nouns in the place of adjectives in French, as in *Elles sont sport* instead of *Elles sont sportives* ('They-fem. are sporty').<sup>180</sup>

### **Expressivity according to the involvement of the context**

Taken from this perspective, three types of expressivity are to be recognized-inherent, adherent, and contextual.

#### 4.2.1.3 Inherent expressivity

It might be said that the necessity of context is the lowest with the inherent type of expressivity, which comprises the items having the emotive and/or evaluative load as an integral part of their lexical meaning. This fact is frequently connected with the phonetics (Czech *kňučet, frkat*)<sup>181</sup>, and the word structure of the units (*maliličko*).<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> See Zima, 7.

<sup>180</sup> See Zima, 7.

<sup>181</sup> For further explanation with respect to the expressive combinations of phones, see Peprník, 107.

<sup>182</sup> See Zima, 10.

#### 4.2.1.4 Adherent expressivity

Unlike the previous type, adherently expressive units are very numerous in the language, and do not have the element of expressivity in their primal signification. In comparison with the inherent group, then, these expressions keep the neutral meaning and depict their concepts as the reflections of reality.<sup>183</sup>

Nevertheless, they may obtain the expressive nuance under the influence of the context they are used in,<sup>184</sup> which can lexicalize in the further stages of the word development. In such cases, branching of meaning, where the word preserves its unmarked meaning and gains the possibility to be used expressively in different contexts, usually takes place. As an example of this phenomenon may be provided the words like *brute*, or *prase*, which obtain the negative connotations when designating persons.

#### 4.2.1.5 Contextual expressivity

Similarly to the adherently expressive words, neither conceptual expressives are the words with the primal emotive and/or evaluative load. What constitutes the main difference between the two types is firstly the role of context, which is far more significant in the latter one, and secondly the establishment of the expressive nuance in the signification of the units. That has already taken place in the adherent expressives, but does not happen in the latter case.<sup>185</sup>

The expressivity of the third type of units is thus dependent exclusively on the given context, usually arising from the interference of different stylistic layers. As an illustration may serve the use of *thence*, the word typical for written, formal registers, in the colloquial speech. Unlike inherent and adherent branches then, its study is then more proper to the stylistics than to the lexicology.

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<sup>183</sup> See Zima, 10.

<sup>184</sup> Usually when used metaphorically- see Peprník, 105.

<sup>185</sup> See Zima, 11.

As has been already clarified in the previous subcategorization, the pejorative value of the units studied in the present thesis is possible to deduce even without any probing into the context. The derogatory interpretation being the effect of an affix application to the base, their expressivity is easy to read from their word-structure. As such, those units are to be subsequently considered as both formally and inherently expressive.

### **4.3 Pejorative affixes common in all inventories**

Let us dedicate the following paragraphs to the forging elements yielding derogatory interpretation all the three languages have in common. It has been noticed, that this ability may accompany a wide range of affixes, like *un-*, *dis-*, *anti-* or *non-*, that primarily bear another negative significations.

While the negative expressivity is only an additional feature to the meaning of those modifiers, the languages also dispose with the group of affixes having conveying this shade of meaning as their principal, if not the sole, function. Let us then ponder at this point the modifiers, which the languages have in common, i. e. the prefixes and prefixoids *dys-*, *pseudo-*, *mal-*, *mis-*, and the suffix *-ard*.

#### **Dys-**

Besides *dis-*, there is also another, homonymous negative element at disposal in all the three languages. Unlike *dis-* which came from Latin, the prefix *dys-* entered into the inventories from Greek, where it was frequently attested on the proper nouns, too, as in *dysparis* ("unhappy Paris"). The very origin of the prefix dates back to the PIE root *\*dus-*, and is thus relative to the Old English prefix *to-*.<sup>186</sup>

Attaching exclusively to nouns and adjectives, *dys-* generally conveys the meaning of 'bad, ill, abnormal', or even 'evil', and has its place among the pejorative forging elements. Nevertheless, it is sometimes confused with *dis-*, for the formal proximity of the two prefixes,

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<sup>186</sup> See Harper, "dys-."

from which it even cannot be easily recognized in some cases (*dissymétrie*).

As might have been noticed, *dys-* appears the most frequently in the medical terminology, where it used to be extremely productive even in its source language. So-attached items came into French via Greek directly (*dysphorie*), or via the intermediary of the medical Latin (*dyscole*).<sup>187</sup> These ways were taken also when diffusing into the other two languages took place, but the role of French as a principal transmitter cannot be disputed there.

Thoughtless of the way the items entered the target languages, the prefix requires exclusively the scientific bases of the Greek origin. The words issued by the domestic formation<sup>188</sup> are thus very rare, but attested (French *dyslogie*, *dyscalculie*, *dysmnésie*, or English *dystopia*). Such neologies often arose through the analogy with already existing units-*dyslogie* or *dyscalculie* from the analogical *dyslexie*, or *dysmnésie* inspired by the model of *amnésie*.<sup>189</sup>

Despite its restrictions on the bases and the vocabulary layer it enters, it would be wrong to underestimate the productivity of the prefix, though, only few examples appear in the present corpus. Using the findings of CNRTL (2012), *dys-* seems to cherish the revival in French, as its use increased in neologies in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as the examples *dyscalculie*, *dysorthographie* prove. Moreover, the prefix was employed at a high frequency already in the centuries before. The earliest word attested by CNRTL (2012), *dyscrasie*, arose in the first decade of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>190</sup>

As has already been mentioned, the prefix may be confused with *dis-* in certain instances. The good example of the phenomenon is the almost homophonous pair *disharmonie- dysharmonie*; and *dissymétrie*, where the prefixes are often confused, as the

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<sup>187</sup> See CNRTL, "dys-."

<sup>188</sup> Under the domestic formation here is to be understood the late combinations of the Greek bases with the prefix realized in the target languages

<sup>189</sup> See CNRTL, "dys-."

<sup>190</sup> See CNRTL, "dys-."

orthography with *dis-* was given favor over the *dys-* form.<sup>191</sup> That the two different prefixes are concerned becomes clear after a more detailed analysis of the units.

In the pair *disharmonie- dysharmonie*,<sup>192</sup> the nature of the difference dwells in both the semantics and pronunciation. Besides the derogatory nuance it may convey, *dis-* has been noted to obtain also another significations, like privation, reversativeness, or contradictoriness.

On the other hand, *dys-* appears exclusively as a pejorative. Consequently, the prefix *dis-* is to be taken as providing the privative sense to its base here, i. e. *disharmonie* is to be interpreted as 'absence of harmony,' while *dysharmonie* is explained as 'schizophrenic dissociation.'<sup>193</sup>

The differentiation of the units is reasserted by their distinct phonology in French, too, for the pronunciation of [diza□m□ni] may be heard in the case of *dis-*form, as the prefix already adapted to the Latin form that was influenced by the rules of intervocalic consonantal sonorization. *Dys-* underwent a different development, and thus keeps its [disa□m□ni] pronunciation.<sup>194</sup>

It might be also observed, that the prefix has a close relation to the prefix *a-*, with which it shares a shade of signification and the origin, and consequently the bases it seeks for, as well as the vocabulary fields its items enter. The fact is projected in the words like *asymétrie- dissymétrie* in French, and by the translation of the mentioned *dis-* term by the corresponding *a-* term in English.<sup>195</sup> As in the previous examples, though, those words differ in meaning, as might be exemplified on *asymétrie*, which is conceived as 'lacking symmetry,' while *dissymétrie* as 'faulty symmetry.'<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> *Dyssymétrie* is attested as well, though

<sup>192</sup> Interestingly, the difference in this unit is not recognized in English

<sup>193</sup> See CNRTL, "dys-"

<sup>194</sup> See CNRTL, "dys-"

<sup>195</sup> *Dissymmetry* is however attested in English too, though not by the present corpus

<sup>196</sup> See CNRTL, "dissymétrie," *asymétrie*."

Having the status of a foreign element in the three languages, the majority of *dys-* items exist in the corresponding form in all the inventories, though slight changes might be observed in the written form and pronunciation of the units to comply with the phonological and orthographical rules of the individual languages (*dysenterie- dyzenterie- dysentery*, pronounced respectively like [dizãtɛ̃i], [dizɛntɛrɛ̃jɛ], and [dizɛntərɛ̃]). In addition, English shows the possibility to employ another pejorative prefix of the foreign origin for the translation, namely *mal-*, as in *dysfonctionnement- malfunctioning*.

### **Pseudo-**

Going back to the Greek *pseudos*,<sup>197</sup> *pseudo-* passes the notion of 'falsehood' on the nominal or adjectival bases it attaches to. The element may be encountered under two variants, *pseudo-* and *pseud-*, the latter not being productive but in few medical words beginning on a vowel (*pseudarthrose*).

The origin of the forging element, together with its prior morphological status, ranks *pseudo-* to the class of prefixoids, as far as French is concerned. Regarding its productivity in the language, the frequency of *pseudo-* is not high according to the corpus, which is not in accordance with the results of CNRTL (2012) pointing at the comparable status to *anti-*.<sup>198</sup>

It should be mentioned on this score, that *pseudo-* appears widely in the scientific registers of chemistry, or pathology, but is gaining on popularity in the spoken language too, where it is employed with the bases designating abstracts, actions or persons.<sup>199</sup>

As it comes to the other two languages, Nevalainen (1999) points that the element became common in English formations already around 1600, its use being restricted to personal nouns, like *pseudo-Catholic*, or *pseudo-politician*. At the period, *pseudo* allowed two ways of interpretation, either being taken for a full lexical word (*pseud* and *pseudo* dating to that period), or as a part of compounds, which was also specific for the early years of our

<sup>197</sup> See Harper, "pseudo-."

<sup>198</sup> See CNRTL, "pseudo-."

<sup>199</sup> See CNRTL, "pseudo-."

era.<sup>200</sup> The status of the forging element is further claimed to change around 1800, when “it may be called a living prefix.”<sup>201</sup>

Czech *pseudo-* seems to be on the way of becoming a frequent means of expressivity, and is thus more similar to French in this respect. The element currently has a low frequency of use in derivatives, which are mostly the foreign loans. Nevertheless, for the approval of its integration to the system speaks the units where the prefixoid appears mixed with the native bases prompting the frequency of the forging element in the language, as might be exemplified on the words like *pseudověda* and *pseudopodnik*. Moreover, the orthography (no use of hyphen) of those units seems to indicate the status of the proper prefix.

Regarding the translation of *pseudo-* units, the languages mostly agree on the forms keeping the forging element, though Czech gives favor to the native *pa-* in several cases (*pseudarthrose- pakloub*; *pseudo-science- pseudověda, pavěda*).

### **Mal-**

As the adverb of the same form, the prefix *mal-* incites the meaning of 'bad, wrong,' both elements emerging from the Latin *male*, 'badly'. As far as the forging element is concerned, the highest occurrence was attested with nouns of adjectival and participial origin, and adjectives (or participles) respectively, but it may be found on verbs too, though the frequency is rather low.

Certain hesitations may arise concerning the status of the prefix, especially in French, since the element appears also as an adverb there, which may hint its possible nature of syntactic compounding. That *mal-* should be taken for a proper prefix, and so-forged units thus for derivations, is however granted both by Šabršula (1983) and CNRTL (2012).

For its position in the morphological system also speaks its integrity with the base, signaled by non-occurrence of the hyphenated forms (with exception of *mal-être* and *mal-*

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<sup>200</sup> See Nevalainen, 388.

<sup>201</sup> Nevalainen, 388.

jugé). When appearing in the consonantal surrounding, the prefix may be encountered under the forms *mal-* (*malformation*) and *mau-* (*maudit*). The latter form is to be considered more archaic and non-productive nevertheless.<sup>202</sup>

As far as the semantics of the prefix is concerned, it should be noted that *mal-* has not always had merely pejorative signification, but used to be used with adjectives to incite the meaning of negation in Old French period.<sup>203</sup> This ability has not survived with the prefix till these days, but is preserved in several units in both French and English, as might be seen on the examples of *malcommode* or *malcontent*.

The prefixal status of *mal-* is not disputed in English, to which the element entered as a loan from French in the Middle English period. Its productivity in the language dates back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, though, being primarily limited to the language of administration and law.<sup>204</sup> Regarding the formations of the Modern English era, the most words with the prefix count among the 19<sup>th</sup> century coinages.<sup>205</sup> That might be taken for an argument for non-native status the prefix seems to cherish in the present English system.

The occurrence of the prefix in the Czech inventory is limited only to few units borrowed from English (*maladjustace*) and French (*maligní*). While thus being prolific way of derivation in the two latter languages,<sup>206</sup> the prefix cannot be considered productive in the Czech system, no attachments to the native bases being attested.

In spite of its productivity in both inventories, the translations keeping the prefix in units are not usually the first-hand solution, neither in English, nor in French. Czech is the exception at this point, the correspondence of *mal-* units being one hundred percent there. This fact is however given by its non-integration of the prefix among the productive

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<sup>202</sup> See CNRTL, "mal adv."

<sup>203</sup> See CNRTL, "mal adv."

<sup>204</sup> See Nevalainen, 387.

<sup>205</sup> See Harper, "mal-."

<sup>206</sup> The productivity of the prefix in the languages is confirmed by both CNRTL (2012) and Nevalainen (1999, 387).

derivational means.

English copes with transferring French units in several ways. Besides keeping *mal-* as in the case of *malnutrition*, the transfer with *mis-* is quite widespread (*maladresse-* *mistake*, *malchance-* *misfortune*), as well as the use of other, primarily negative prefixes- *dis-* (*malhonnête-* *dishonest*, *maladie-* *disease*) or *un-* (*malchanceux-* *unlucky*, *malgracieux-* *unpleasant*).

In a few instances, *ill-* and *bad-* are to be encountered, as in *malavisé-* *ill-advised* or *bad-mannered*, which may rise questions about the potential prefixal status of these elements. It should be noted, nonetheless, that such units are to be considered more for syntactic phrases than derivations. Firstly, both *bad* and *ill* function as full lexical words in English, but more importantly, no uncertainty is left when the complex is restructured (*advise which was ill* 'not well', *his manners were bad*) and no change in meaning takes place in consequence.

When transferring English *mal-* units, French has several means at disposal, too, though not that various as in the case of English. *Mal-* is the most frequent solution for translation, but the prefix *mé-* appears as well, as in *malice-* *méchanceté* or *malcontent-* *mécontent*, which is quite interesting, taking into account the fact that the English units are originally French loans themselves.

When it comes to Czech way of coping with the transfer from the other two languages, more common *mal-* words are mostly translated with the use of the domestic prefixes *zlo-* (*malevolent-* *zlomyslný*), or *ne-*, which enables to keep the prior negative signification of the source prefix as in *malcommode-* *nepraktický*, though weakening its pejorative nuance in others (*malhabile-* *neobratný*). Very frequent are also the periphrases containing *špatný/zlý* or *chybný*, as might be illustrated on *maltreatment-* *zlé zacházení*, or *malfamé-* *se špatnou pověstí*. Finally, the original prefix is kept only in the words to enter the scientific vocabulary layer.

### Mis-

Expressing the meaning of 'wrong, bad,' or 'hate, detest,' the prefix indisputably belongs to the class of pejorative affixes in English, French and Czech. It should be noted nonetheless, that, despite being present in all inventories, *mis-* does not relate to the one and only cognate in the individual languages.

As far as French system is concerned, the prefix was adopted from the Greek *mis(o)-*, meaning 'hate, be hostile to,' and is restricted to the nouns and adjectives of Greek origin exclusively, entering the scientific domains of psychology, philosophy, or psychiatry, as the units like *misandrie* and *misogame* are to illustrate. As such, the units appear to be universal in all the three languages, and the form of *mis-* + *base* is thus preserved both in English and Czech (*misanthropy*; *misanthropie*).

The same is to be restated for the Czech system, but the situation becomes more complicated as it comes to English, as has been already implied in the previous study.<sup>207</sup> Taking the mentions already given to the prefix in English, the following section is thus to supplement and elaborate the results of the previous research.

Besides the correlate with the Greek derogatory forging element, *mis-* entered the system under the meaning of 'wrong, bad' from other two sources- from Old English *mis-*, which itself developed from Proto-Germanic *\*missa-* ('divergent, astray');<sup>208</sup> and Old French *mes-*, arisen from the Frankish particle *missi*.<sup>209</sup>

These facts considered explain fully the possibility of the prefix attachment to the bases of both native and foreign origin, as the words *mischief* and *misunderstand* are to exemplify, and furthermore, the source of the prefix in the particle *missi* may stand behind the possible purely negative interpretation of several units in the English inventory.

Having its source also in the domestic morphological system, the prefix was used as a

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<sup>207</sup> See Dragounová (2010).

<sup>208</sup> Harper, "mis-."

<sup>209</sup> See CNRTL, "mé-."

productive word-formation element already in the Old English period. Harper (2001- 2012) moreover points to its role as an intensifying prefix with the verbs already expressing negative feeling (as in *misdoubt*) in 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>210</sup> The semantics of the prefix gained the nuance of 'unfavorably' in that period, too, and its popularity rises between the years 1550 and 1650, when it mostly combines with verbs and deverbal nouns.<sup>211</sup>

English is quite exceptional with respect to the status of the prefix, being the only language where *mis-* is used productively and composes an integral part of the system. When the translation of so-affected units is in question, it is also the origin of the source words which to a great degree influences the choice of the means employed in the target languages.

Leaving the universal Greek loans like *misogynous* aside, the meaning of *mis-* is preserved in French mostly by the prefix *mé-*, which in certain cases (*misuse- mésuser*, *misadventure- mésadventure*) was the actual cognate of the English counterpart. The use of *mal(-)* is also quite widespread, used for the units arose from both sources of origin, as *miscalculate- mal calculer* and *misread- mal lire* illustrate. In several instances, the periphrases are preferred to the use of prefixal means (*mistranslation- erreur de traduction*; *misuse- mauvais usage*).

As has already been observed, Czech goes for the periphrases *špatné/nesprávné/mylné* ('wrongly/incorrect') + *noun*, or *špatně/nesprávně/mylně* ('wrongly/incorrectly') + *verb* in the majority of cases, though the negative signification of certain units is also kept by the use of *ne-*, as in *misadventure- nehoda*, or *misconception- nepochopení*.

### **-Ard**

Besides the prefixes mentioned above, the suffix *-ard* also appears in all the three inventories. The suffix got to the English and Czech systems via the intermediary of French. It would be thus appropriate to observe the behavior of the suffix in the latter.

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<sup>210</sup> See Harper, "mis-."

<sup>211</sup> See Nevalainen, 387.

-*Ard* came to the French system from the High German suffix of the similar form, -*hart*, which ranks it among the domestic expressivity means in the language. Concerning the bases the forging element attaches to, -*ard* is used to create nouns or adjectives from the nominal bases (*couard*), as well as adjectival (*snobinard*), and verbal ones (*babillard*). Two complementary forms of the suffix are recognized, -*ard* used with the nominal base of masculine genre, and -*arde*, when it is to create feminine nouns.

Derogatoriness being only one of the nuances of its meaning, the forging element was also used to create proper names like *Gérard* in Old French period, where it incited the meaning of 'strength' of the person, or to forge the nouns denoting animals or inanimate objects.<sup>212</sup> In its non-evaluative signification, it was noted to be close to the suffix -*eur*, especially in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>213</sup>

Pejorative connotations mostly appear with the nouns or adjectives related to the common nouns denoting persons (*bâtard*, *salopard*) or ethnics (*haggard*), inciting the meaning of their moral faults. In addition, the base is very often of slangy origin, as in the case of *cabochard* and *bagnard*,<sup>214</sup> which are frequently already pejorative. The combination of the forging element with the neutral bases is also attested, though, as the example of *mangeart* provided by CNRTL (2012) is to illustrate.

The base and the suffix are frequently not easily separable in the units arisen mostly in Old French period, as *bâtard* and *conard* are to attest. When it comes to the units formed from the adjectives, -*ard* might be attached to the base directly, as was the case in *lourdard*, or it may commute with another final suffixes, as could be seen on *chançard* (arisen from *chanceux*).<sup>215</sup>

<sup>212</sup> See CNRTL, "-ard."

<sup>213</sup> See CNRTL, "-ard."

<sup>214</sup> *Cabochard* goes back to the slangy noun *caboché* 'head,' and *bagnard* has its base in *bagne* 'prison' of the same register

<sup>215</sup> CNRTL (2012) points at another commutable suffixes include -*in*→*poupard*; -*iste*→*communard*; -*on*→*mignard*, -*ond*→*furibard*; -*et*: *rondouillard*; -*aud*: *soûlard*

In certain of these cases, there is a felt necessity to enlarge the base by the additional phonemes, mostly with [(ə)n] or [in], as in *snobinard*, [z] when the final grapheme of the base is *-x* or *-s* (*banlieusard*, *maquisard*), or [jø] changing into [əl], as is the case in *vicieux* → *vicelard*.

The commutation may be also observed when the units are to be forged from the nominal bases, as in the case of *motard* or *costard*, going back to *moto* and *costume*, respectively. The mentioned units also testify the productivity of the suffix in the present days.

As far as the position of the element in English is concerned, *-ard* is used there for the exclusive formation of nouns of both sources of origin. As has been already pointed out, the suffix entered the system from French, keeping its derogatoriness when passing to the Middle English lexicon with the borrowings of *bastard*, *blaffard* or *coward*.<sup>216</sup>

From that period on, the suffix became a living element in English, as the native coinages of *dastard* or *drunkard* are to illustrate. It should be noted, nonetheless, that, contrary to French, the productivity of the forging element is far from being high, which might have also its roots in English predominant use of the other than morphological means for conveying expressivity.

Despite the difference in the frequency on the mentioned parts of speech, English and French agree on the general productivity of the suffix in their system. That cannot be said about its position in Czech, where it appears only with in few borrowings from French (*bastard*).

When translating the *-ard* units from one language to another, it becomes clear that French and Czech are very similar with respect to the formal expressivity and the origin of the means used for its expressing. When the translations of French *-ard* units are analyzed. English provides very rarely the formal expressive means for translation, though several

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<sup>216</sup> See Harper, "-ard."

instances of the use of the parallel *-ard* form is detected, most of them are moreover of foreign origin. On the other hand, Czech operates with numerous formal means, like the domestic suffixes *-ák* (*démerdard- chytrák*), *-a* (*flambard- vejtaha*), or *-ec* (*glignard- skuhravec*) having conveying pejorative meaning for their primal function.

The same counts when the English *-ard* units are concerned, as the examples of *-ec drunkard- opilec*, or *braggart-chvastoun, vejtaha*, comprising the suffixes *-ec*, *-oun* and *-a*. French employs the suffix *-ard* for transferring the majority of the English *-ard* units.

## 5 Conclusion

Let us restate in the following paragraphs the most important observations made on the basis of the present analysis.

Taking the findings of Šabršula (1983) and Grévisse (1993) into consideration, the French inventory of the negative forging elements was identified to include *a-*, *anti-*, *contre-*, *dé-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *mé-*, *non-* and *sans-*. Those, as well as the English and Czech affixes, differ with respect to their origin, productivity and the syntactic and semantic character as well as the origin of the bases they attach to. Furthermore, the status of a proper affix (or rather prefix in the case of the study of the present elements) may be disputable with several modifiers, namely with *anti-*, *contre-*, *mal-*, *pseudo-* and *sans-*, since those originated in the full lexical words in Latin or Greek, where they came from. As far as *sans-* and *contre-* are concerned, moreover, they exist in the function of adverbs and prepositions even in the modern French.

With those elements, the term *confix*, proposed by André Martinet (1979),<sup>217</sup> or prefixoid, the term used by Šabršula (1983), is employed to highlight their intermediary position in the system, which however is still not an impediment to their analysis among the other negative modifiers.

English and Czech were not observed to be problematic in this point, the status of the

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<sup>217</sup> See Šabršula, 92.

proper affix being recognized with all the forging elements, though an exception might be seen in the position of English *-less* and *-free*. That the position in the morphological system is a subject to change might have been noticed from the analysis of *pseudo-* in English, where the element was first accepted as a lexical word (*pseud*, *pseudo*).

Apart from *mé-* and *sans-*, which may be found only in French, all the affixes may be found in other inventories too, cherishing a considerable productivity in English, while not being fully incorporated to the Czech system to become frequent, and their use there is limited to the more specialized vocabulary layers.

Regarding the origin of the affixes and their position in the French system, it has been pointed out that as native are to be considered the elements which entered the language from the vulgar Latin, mostly from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the Germanic languages in the period between 5<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The domestic fond was thus identified to comprise the negative prefixes *dé-*, *in-*, *contre-*, *mal-* and *sans-*, obtained via the means of vulgar Latin, and the pejorative suffix *-ard* and pejorative/negative *mé-*, owing its origin to the Germanic (Frankish) influence. The prefixes *dis-*, *non-*, *pseudo-*, *mis-* and *dys-* are to be considered for the loaned elements in French, the former two coming from Latin and the others from Greek. Regarding the prefixes *anti-* and *a-*, the status estimate encountered difficulties, since they entered the language via both ways.

French and English agree with respect to the status of loaned elements and their cognates, with the only exception of *mis-*, whose origin may be tracked to the three different sources in English- Greek *miso-*, Old English *mis-* and French *mé-*. Furthermore, the affixes *contra-/counter-*, *pseudo-*, *mal-*, *dys-* and *-ard* rank among the other loaned forging elements in English.

As far as the origin of the bases is concerned, *a-*, *anti-*, *dé-*, *non-*, and *pseudo-* were noted to attach to the bases of both sources of origin, while *in-*, *contre-*, *sans-*, *mé-* and *-ard* appear

only with the domestic ones. Moreover, the prefixes *dis-*, *dys-* and *mis-* were observed exclusively with the non-native bases, mostly of Greek (the case of the two latter prefixes) and Latin origin.

The selection of the bases stated for the French affixes does not fully correspond with that of their English counterparts, where the capability of the loaned modifiers to appear on the bases of both sources of origin was noted, the only exception being *a-* and *anti-*, whose attachment is restricted to the Latinate bases.<sup>218</sup>

Concerning the affixes-related semantics, the prefixes having their English counterparts (i.e. *a-*, *anti-*, *dé-*, *dis-*, *in-* and *non-*), yield the same significations and chose the similar bases as was stated in the previous research.<sup>219</sup> It should be mentioned only in addition, that a pejorative nuance might be recognized with several, otherwise negative, prefixes, as was the case of *anti-*, *dé-*, *dis-* and *non-*. As in English, French *dis-* and *non-* favor situational/dynamic abstracts, inciting both contrary/contradictory reading. When conveying this nuance of signification, French *dis-* was noted for its influence on verbs, preferably causative/inchoative, similar to that of the clausal negation, too. The prefix is moreover used to convey the meaning of privation/reversativeness. That differentiates it from the latter prefix, which was not attested with this meaning, nor with the attachment to verbs in French, which is however possible in English. The prefixes furthermore differ in the possibility of occurrence on concretes and nouns denoting people and instruments, which is attested with *non-*, but not with *dis-*. This characteristic also distinguishes the prefix from *in-*. The three prefixes were observed to differ in the emotive charge, *non-* being the only one able to incite non-evaluative negation, which proved to be operative in French too. In addition, *non-* was also noted to pick the neutral bases and those designating a process. Conveying the full range of the negative significations, *in-* was moreover observed to have an intensifying effect on its

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<sup>218</sup> See Dragounová, 39.

<sup>219</sup> See Dragounová (2010)

base, delivering the notion of refusal of the principles designating by the base. The nuance of an active reaction against the negated fact also sets the point of branching between *in-* and *a(n)-* and *anti-*, which were marked to express the passive attitude.

It might have been noticed, that some bases could be affected with more than one negative modifier. This possibility may lead to the rise of doublets, as has been the case with French *dis-* and *dé-*, *mal-* and *mé-*, or English *dis-*, *de-* and *un-*; or the meaning of the formations becomes nuanced, as with the commutable *a-*, *in-*, *non-* and *contre-*. When appearing on the same bases, *in-* is more prone to be perceived as reversative, while *a-* is interpreted as contrary/contradictory. When the attention is turned toward *dé-*, it was be noted that the prefix chooses primarily state and action verbs, of *-ify*, *-ize* and *-ate* group.<sup>220</sup> The preference for the states and actions being preserved in French, the prefix was furthermore observed to favor the nouns of *-age*, *-ment* and *-ation* group. It was also found out that it might obtain deprecatory charge, depending on the register it is used in, i. e. certain dialects or the argotic language. Moreover, its use is pleonastic in several cases, which was attested in both French and English (*devoid*, *décesser*), and the prefix possibility to create doublets was also pointed out. This characteristic was observed with *dis-* as well, though it is more frequent in English in the latter case, where the prefixes *dis-* and *de-* in privative/reversative function often alternates with *un-*.

Pondering the semantic aspects of the forging elements not considered in the previous research, it would be noted that *contre-* (English *counter-/contra-*, Czech *kontr-*) resemble in its reversative signification to *a-* and *anti-*, which sometimes select the same bases. What differentiate the modifiers is mainly the syntactic category of the base, as well as that of so-forged formations. The prefix was also noted for its slightly pejorative nuance, which it might obtain in the cases where it marks opposition (*contretype*, *counterfeit*). To express the

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<sup>220</sup> Dragounová, 40.

privative meaning, French disposes also with the prefixoid *sans-*.

As far as the derogatory affixes are concerned, *mal-* and *mé-* transmit the reading of 'bad, wrong,' and used to be employed for the creation of pure negatives. This capability has not been preserved to present days, nevertheless. *Mé-* is often taken over by another prefixes in derogatory function, like *mal-* and *dé-*, with which it frequently creates doublets. The meaning of 'bad, ill, abnormal', or even 'evil' might be also expressed via *dys-*, which picks exclusively the bases of Greek origin, though. *Pseudo-* conveys the idea of falsehood, especially in connection with abstracts or persons, but its occurrence was attested with actions as well. When the moral faults of persons or ethnics are to be incited, the use of suffix *-ard* is felt appropriate in both French and English. The semantics of *mis-* in the languages largely depends on the form they originated from. Relating to the Greek *miso-*, the prefix yields the meaning of hatred or hostility to its bases in French and Czech. This possibility is preserved in English too, but the range of significations the form may convey is broadened with 'wrong, bad,' which relates to the homomorphous *mis-*, adopted from Old English, or adaptation of French *mes-*. It has been also noted that the confusion may arise between homophonous *dys-* and *dis-*, which are realized even by the same form on several bases.

Regarding the productivity of the individual elements, *in-* and *dé-* are to be considered for the most frequent prefixes<sup>221</sup> French language has at disposal to convey contrary/contradictory and privative/reversative meaning respectively, attaching to all the three parts of speech, though the productivity of *in-* is observed more with nouns and adjectives. When the studied derogatory affixes are considered, *mé-* holds the most important position in this respect, able to attach to every syntactic category. The lowest frequency of occurrence is attested with *contre-* and *sans-*, limited to few nouns and adjectives, which might be explained by the existence of the formally-identical full lexical words. The same reasoning might apply for

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<sup>221</sup> Suggested by in the graphic part by their bigger diagrams

understanding the lower frequency of *non-* and *mal-* units. *Contra-/counter-*, *mal-* and *non-* being proper to the English system too, their frequencies are comparable to those in the source language. While being marginal in English in terms of the frequency of occurrence, *a(n)-* and *anti-* cherish a considerable productivity in French. Despite its limitation to a more learned vocabulary layers, the number of coinages with *a(n)-* is quite high in these registers. As was already observed in English, *anti-* seems to be the more productive of the two in French as well, showing the preference for adjectives and nouns. The occurrence with verbs is rather sporadic. The difference in the frequency of use between the prefixes might be explained by the earlier full integration of *anti-* into the French morphological system (the 16<sup>th</sup> century) than was the case with *a(n)-*, which was not employed with a common vocabulary till the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

When it comes to the frequencies with the last mentioned word class, the most productive is to be considered the prefix *dé-* in French as well as in English. *Dis-* may be encountered on verbs too, though to a lesser degree. A considerable frequency of the two prefixes has been also observed with nouns, where the order is reversed in favor of *dis-* in both languages. Despite not being the first option with verbs, *de-* prefixed units are quite numerous in Czech too, their frequency being comparable to those in English. It should be noted, furthermore, that the language rather keeps the nominal and adjectival units affected with the loaned forging elements than verbs. The borrowings entering to the verbal group are however also attested, namely with *a(n)-*, *kontr-*, *de-/dez-*, *dis-* and *in-*.

Regarding the frequency with nouns, the most negative items are created with *non-*, but the primal choice for this syntactic category is noted also with *a(n)-*, *contre-* and *dis-*. English rather corresponds with French there, though the frequency of *a-* and *non-* prevails slightly in favor of adjectives. The languages differ in the occurrence possibilities of *non-*, nonetheless, which is far more used in English and is attested with verbs there. The lowered frequency of

*non-* in the inventory might be explained by its special position in the French system, for it is the means used for the phrasal as well as non-verbal negation, which stands behind the non-occurrence of the French prefix with verbs. As far as the pejorative affixes are concerned, all the forging elements (*mé-*, *mis-*, *pseudo-*, *dys-*, *-ard*) show the preference for the nominal class, with exception of *mal-*, which is the most numerous with adjectives in French. As the most employed is to be considered the suffix *-ard* and the prefix *mé-*, which is also to be accounted to their native status in the language. The productivity of *mis-*, and *dys-* is strictly limited to the bases of Greek origin (though several domestic coinages are attested with *dys-* in both English and French), while *pseudo-* is becoming popular in the spoken language too, and even in Czech. English slightly differs from French there, as all its derogatory affixes seek for the nominal bases. Another point of branching dwells in the productivity of English *mis-*, which is much higher and is attested with verbs as well. This fact is due to the multiple origin the element has there. Finally, both languages agree on the preference of *in-*, *a(n)-* and *anti-* for adjectives, *in-* being the most productive in both inventories. Moreover, the category may be primarily affected with *sans-* in French, too.

All the three languages show the similar behavior as regards the translation. When the element exists in both the source and the target language, the use of the corresponding affix is the first choice in the majority of cases. It should be noted nevertheless, that Czech is distinct in this respect, as the formally corresponding affixes count among the loans. While English and French does not seem problematic in this respect, such units are not fully incorporated to the common word stock in Czech, which goes primarily for the elements of the native word stock. The items where the original affix is preserved are thus to be considered as stylistically marked, and the same also counts when another, foreign affix is employed on the base instead of the original one.

When this situation arises in English and French, the use of another affix on the same base

in the target language is usually due to the fact that a different semantic (or stylistic) aspect is highlighted than that of the source unit. That counts for the units like *counter-inflationary-anti-inflationniste*. Furthermore, the alternation of *de-* and *dis-* units in English and French might have been noticed, which became remarkable mainly in the mutual translations from one to the other language. This phenomenon is to be accounted to the different form the cognate prefix entered the individual systems. The historical development also stands behind the alternation of *in-* and *un-* in English (see the sections **In-, Dis-, Dé-**).

The effort to keep the semantic aspects is maintained again when the units formed by the elements identified only in one inventory are to be translated. The significations of French *mé-* are thus kept by the prefixes *mis-*, *mal-*, *dis-* and *un-* in English, and *zlo-* in Czech, though the use of periphrases is also quite frequent in both languages (*špatný/zlý + noun*). The privation expressed by *sans-* is maintained via the domestic affixes in the two other languages, the affixes *-less* and *un-* in English, and *bez(e)-* in Czech. Czech contrary/contradictory *ne-* is in French preserved by means of *non-*, *in-*, *dis-* and *dé-* with nouns and adjectives, and *dé-* and particles *ne pas* with verbs. In addition to these, English may also use *un-*. Regarding the idiomatic words like *necuda* and *neposeda*, French is quite similar to Czech by its possibility to transfer them as one-word, idiomatic alternatives, which is not attested in English. The sense of privation of *bez(e)-* and *od-* is transmitted with the prefixes *in-*, *dé-*, and *sans-*, the reversativeness of *roz-* and *od-* by *dis-* and *dé-*. Those are maintained in English also with the prefix *un-*. When the English-proper elements are in question, *dé-*, *sans-*, *dis-*, *anti-* and *non-* appear as the substitutes for *un-*, and *sans-*, *a-* and *dé-* are used to convey the privative meaning of the suffixes *-less* and *-free*.

The pejorative nuance, which composes the primal meaning of some affixes and appears as a secondarily one with others, is transmitted by various means from one language into another. Generally, the elements coming from Greek, i. e. the prefixes *pseudo-*, *dys-* and

*mis(o)-*, are maintained in every target language. In addition, the use of domestic means is sometimes also possible, as is the case with the Czech translation of *pseudo-* by the prefix *pa-*, or English use of *mal-* for *dys-*. The use of the corresponding affixal form is the first-hand solution also in the case of *mal-* and *-ard*, though the occurrence of other pejorative means is also very frequent. While *-ard* is kept with all so-suffixed units coming from English, the same does not count when the direction of the transfer is reversed, as English employs different means to convey negative expressivity. *-Ard* not being productive in its morphology, Czech copes with the French and English units by the use of domestic derogatory suffixes *-oun*, *-ec*, *-a* and *-ák*. As far as *mal-* is concerned, English has *ill-*, *bad-*, *un-* and *dis-* at disposal for its translation from French, while French makes use of *mé-* in certain cases. Czech goes for *zlo-* or diverse periphrases. A diversity of means is also employed when English *mis-* is to be transferred. Besides keeping the prefix in the case of units from Greek, the items arose from the other two sources are translated with the use of *mal-* and *mé-* into French, and with different periphrases in Czech.

Several predictions have been made concerning the tendencies in the French affixal negation on the bases of the findings about English and Czech. It cannot be but approved that French shares with the other two languages the preference for negation of adjectives, as well as the more frequent use of the prefixal means, which, like in Czech, are the only productive way of conveying word-based negation. The languages are also in correspondence when the pejorative signification is to be conveyed, using affixes very productively (favoring suffixes in the majority of the cases), while English employs different means to convey expressivity. As predicted, the two languages are similar also as regards the general tendency to favor domestic elements over the loaned ones, which both of them obey. However, French approaches more to English when it comes to attaching to the bases of both sources of origin, which is stylistically unmarked in the two languages.

Regarding the phonological influence of the forging elements in French, the validity of the prior conclusions, i. e. the prefix being subordinate to the stress pattern of the base, may be reasserted. When the morphological status is in question, French bears similarities with English, as it comprises the derivational prefix *dé-*, too. The languages also agree with respect to the negation of verbs, since both of them employ mostly analytic means for its conveying (English *not*, French *ne pas*). Furthermore, it was observed, that the languages show similar behavior in the development of their grammatical negation (tendency to omit *ne* in the colloquial French). The frequency of the contrary/contradictory verbal items is thus not so high in the mentioned inventories, and the occurrence of contraries and contradictories in the nominal and adjectival word group is consequently not lowered.

Several observations have been made on the score of the operation of the diversification tendency in the word-based negation. That is influential in all the three languages, though with different elements. While operating in English and French, so that the choice of the negative affixes (not the pejoratives) contribute to the evaluative reading of the lexical unit (the case of English *un-*, *in-*, *non*, *-less* and *-free*; French *a(n)-*, *in-*, *non-*, *contre-*), the same has not been observed in Czech, as was exemplified on the prefixes *ne-* and *bez(e)-*. Nevertheless, the need for diversification has been felt there when the privative and reversative significations was in question, as was shown with the prefixes *od-* and *roz-*, which has not been identified in the former two languages.

The integration of the loans to the language system proved to be another essential point to determine the influence of the tendencies. It could be stated then, that the integrative tendency is in operation in both English and French, though to a much higher degree in the former, where the negative, borrowed elements compose the majority of the inventory. The integrative tendency does not exert any particular influence on Czech in this point, for the affixes of foreign origin favor the foreign bases.

## 6 Shrnutí

Ve své diplomové práci jsem se vrátila k problematice lexikální negace a určení jejích tendencí, stejně tak jako prostředků jejího vyjadřování, tentokrát však ve francouzštině, jež byla zkoumána v porovnání s poznatky získanými o angličtině a češtině. Za tímto cílem bylo nutno vypracovat databázi negativních afixů ve francouzštině, při jejichž výběru byly brány v potaz elementy rozpoznané u Šabršuly (1983) a Grévisse (1993). Do středu zájmu se tak dostaly francouzské prefixy *a(n)-*, *anti-*, *contre-*, *dé-*, *dis-*, *in-*, *mé-*, *non-* a *sans-*. Ty byly pak dále zkoumány dle již zavedených kritérií, tj. četnost výskytu na jednotlivých slovních druzích, jejich původ a původ fundujícího slova, význam, jenž afixy přenášejí, ale i sémantika bází, jež si vybírají. Popis vlastností jednotlivých afixů bylo pak následně možné využít k porovnání mezi inventáři, a do jisté míry i pomohl pochopit způsoby, jimiž jednotlivé jazyky překládají své zezáporňující prostředky.<sup>222</sup> K lepšímu pochopení jejich chování (především tedy prefixů, jenž mají angličtina a francouzština společné) přispěla do značné míry i jejich analýza z hlediska historického vývoje. Jako další hlavní bod výzkumu jsem se zabývala hanlivými afixy, jenž můžeme nalézt ve všech třech inventářích. Za tímto účelem bylo nutno rozšířit korpus o afixy *dys-*, *pseudo-*, *mal-*, *mis-* and *-ard*. K dalšímu rozšíření došlo i v českém a anglickém inventáři, kam byl přidán prefix *counter/contra-*, český *kontr-*, u nějž jsme rozpoznali reverzativní charakter.

Práce je rozdělena do 4 hlavních částí. První dvě části jsou spíše obecného a souhrného charakteru. V první části jsou znovu představeny výsledky předchozí studie lexikální negace českého a anglického jazyka, jež jsou následně použity k předvídání tendencí ve francouzštině. Za tímto účelem se bylo nutné v druhé části práce zaměřit na obecný popis a vydělení francouzské negace podle kritérií uplatněných v minulé studii a následně ji porovnat s negací v dalších dvou jazycích. Třetí část se již plně zabývá popisem inventáře francouzských zezáporňujících prostředků, jemuž předchází vymezení domácího fondu a francouzského pojmu afix, jenž se ukázal být problematický. Navazující čtvrtá část je pak krátce uvedena zmínkou o expresivitě v jazyce a následně je věnována pejorativním afixům společným pro všechny tři jazyky. Příklady uvedené v této práci byly získány primárně ze sestavené databáze, v některých případech však bylo využito i jiných zdrojů (např. databáze CNRTL(2012)). Pro lepší ilustraci výsledků sémantické, frekvenční a etymologické analýzy zařazují do diplomové práce přílohy (kapitola 7).

Shrnutím poznatků nabytých analýzou v průběhu všech částí práce dojdeme k

<sup>222</sup> Překlady jednotlivých slov jsou založeny čistě na příkladech uvedených v použitých slovnících

následujícím závěrům:

Pokud vezmeme v úvahu poznatky Šabršuly (1983) a Grévisse (1993), zjistíme, že jako konfixy/prefixoidy<sup>223</sup> mohou být označovány *anti-*, *contre-*, *mal-*, *pseudo-* a *sans-*, jenž mají svůj původ v plnovýznamových slovech svého výchozího jazyka (latina či řečtina). V případě *sans-* a *contre-* nacházíme dokonce homomorfní plnovýznamovou alternativu v moderní francouzštině. Status přechodného elementu, jenž tyto prvky mají, však nebrání jejich analýze mezi ostatními zezáporňujícími prostředky. V češtině ani angličtině nebyly pozorovány problémy s určením statutu plnohodnotného afixu, nicméně je to právě angličtina, která dokazuje, že pozice v morfologickém systému se může s časem měnit, jak můžeme pozorovat na prefixu *pseudo-*, jenž byl dříve přijat jako plnovýznamové *pseud* či *pseudo*. Jako konfixy by rovněž mohly být brány anglické *-less* a *-free*.

Kromě *mé-* a *sans-*, které se vyskytují pouze ve francouzštině, můžeme najít všechny afixy ve všech inventářích. Zatímco většina z nich se v angličtině těší značné vitalitě, v češtině je situace zcela odlišná, jelikož většina těchto afixů je přijata jako výpůjčky, jež nejsou do systému jazyka zařazeny do takové míry, aby se staly produktivními. Jejich výskyt je následně omezen na více specializovanou slovní zásobu.

Co se týče původu afixů a jejich pozici ve francouzském systému, zjistíme, že jako součást domácího fondu se počítají prostředky, jež se dostaly do jazyka z vulgární latiny, tj. v období mezi 3. a 12. stoletím, a z germánských jazyků (především pak franštiny), v období mezi 5. a 9. stoletím. Mezi domácí francouzské afixy se tak řadí negativní prefixy *dé-*, *in-*, *contre-*, *mal-* a *sans-*, jež byly přijaty z vulgární latiny, a pejorativní afixy *-ard* a *mé-*, které do systému vstoupily z germánských jazyků. Za výpůjčky považujeme prefixy *dis-*, *non-*, *pseudo-*, *mis-* a *dys-*, jež byly přežaty z latiny a řečtiny. Pozici *a(n)-* a *anti-* není možné odhadnout, poněvadž zmíněné prefixy vstupovaly do francouzského jazyka oběma způsoby.

Francouzština se shoduje s angličtinou, co se týče výpůjčených elementů a jejich kognátů. Jedinou výjimkou tvoří prefix *mis-*, jehož původ sahá v angličtině ke třem různým zdrojům, řeckému *mis(o)-*, staroanglickému *mis-* a francouzskému *mé-*. Dále nutno pamatovat, že afixy *contra-/counter-*, *mal-* a *-ard*, stejně jako *de-* a *in-* se v angličtině řadí rovněž mezi výpůjčky. Další analýzou zjistíme, že se prefixy *a-*, *anti-*, *dé-*, *non-* a *pseudo-* mohou pojit s bázemi domácího i cizího původu, zatímco *in-*, *contre-*, *sans-*, *mé-* a *-ard* byly pozorovány pouze s domácím fondem. Prefixy *dis-*, *dys-* a *mis-* se pojí pouze s cizími bázemi řeckého či latinského původu.

<sup>223</sup> Termíny navržené André Martinetem (1979) a Šabršulou (1983), viz Šabršula, 92.

Báze upřednostňované francouzskými afixy se zcela neshodují s těmi preferovanými jejich anglickými protějšky, kde je schopnost kombinovat cizí afixy s bázemi obou původu značně vyšší. Jedinou výjimkou je v tomto smyslu *a(n)-* a *anti-*, jejichž výskyt se v angličtině omezuje na latinizovaná slova.

Při posouzení sémantických vlastností afixů a fundujících slov dojdeme k závěru, že francouzské prefixy, jež pronikly do angličtiny (tj. *a(n)-*, *anti-*, *dé-*, *dis-*, *in-* a *non-*) přenášejí stejné významy a vybírají si podobné báze jako jejich anglické protějšky. Nutno však dodat, že některé z nich se mohou stát sekundárně hanlivé, jak tomu je s prefixy *anti-*, *dé-*, *dis-* a *non-*. Stejně jako v angličtině tak si i francouzské *dis-* a *non-* vybírají situační/dynamické abstrakta, na něž přenášejí kontrární/kontradiktorický zápor. Rovněž jsme zjistili, že francouzské *dis-* se v tomto významu pojí přednostně s kauzativními/inchoativními slovesy, na něž má podobný vliv jako slovesný zápor. Svým výskytem na slovesech, společně se schopností přenášet privativní a reverzativní význam se *dis-* od *non-* odlišuje. Dva zmíněné prefixy se pak nadále liší možnostmi výskytu na konkrétních jménech a jménech označujících lidi a nástroje, jež je možný pouze s *non-*. Touto vlastností se *non-* rovněž vzdaluje od *in-*.

Angličtina i francouzština nadále souhlasí co se týče emotivního zabarvení, které *in-* a *dis-* přenášejí, zatímco *non-* se jeví jako jediné schopné neevaluativní negace. Není proto překvapením, že si tento prefix vybírá neutrální báze a báze značící proces. *in-* je schopno přenášet všechny odstíny negace kromě té pejorativní. Rovněž bylo pozorováno, že v některých případech zesiluje význam své báze přenesením představy odmítání principů, jež označuje. Aktivní reakce proti negované představě vyjadřované slovem báze odlišuje *in-* i od dalších synonymických prefixů *a(n)-* a *anti-*, jež v tomto ohledu vyjadřují pasivní přístup.

Jak jsme již mohli pozorovat v minulé studii, některé báze připouštějí více negativních afixů. V takovýchto případech může dojít ke vzniku dublet, jež jsou časté s francouzským *dé-* a *dis-*, *mé-* a *mal-*, nebo alternací anglických *de-*, *dis-* a *un-* forem. Častějším jevem je však rozlišení významu takovýchto slov, jak k tomu došlo v případě *a-*, *in-*, *non-* a *contre-*. Pokud se tyto prefixy objeví na stejných bázích, *in-* bývá vnímáno reverzativně, zatímco *a-* se bere za kontrární/kontradiktorické.

Při analýze anglického *de-* jsme zjistili, že prefix si vybírá hlavně stavová a dějová slovesa končící na *-ify*, *-ize* a *-ate*.<sup>224</sup> Preference těchto sloves je zachována i ve francouzštině, kde se prefix navíc primárně pojí i s jmény zakončenými *-age*, *-ment* či *-ation*. Dále bylo zjištěno, že *dé-* může být chápáno jako hanlivé v závislosti na daném registru, tj. v určitých dialektech a

<sup>224</sup> Dragounová, 40.

argotickém jazyku (*déparler*). Byly atestovány i případy, kdy je užití tohoto prefixu nadbytečné, jako je tomu u anglického *devoid* a francouzského *décesser*. Na dubleta, jež může *dé-*, stejně jako *dis-*, tvořit, jsme již upozornili (viz **Dé-**). Je však nutno podotknout, že tento jev je více častý v anglickém jazyce, kde prefixy v privativní/reverzativní funkci alternují i s *un-* (viz **Dis-**).

Sémantickým rozbořením prostředků, jenž nebyly zahrnuty v předchozí práci se dobereme ke zjištění, že prefix *contre-* (anglické *counter-/contra-*, české *kontr-*) se ve svém reverzativním významu přibližuje prefixům *a(n)-* a *anti-*, které se občas vyskytují na stejných bázích. Co však elementy v důsledku rozliší jsou syntaktické kategorie slova báze a výsledné formace. Prefix může být dále vnímán jako mírně pejorativní, hlavně v případech, kdy označuje opozici (*contretype*, *counterfeit*). K vyjádření privativnosti francouzština disponuje také prefixoidem *sans-*.

Pokud jde o pejorativní afixy, *mal-* a *mé-* vyjadřují význam 'špatný' a bývaly ve francouzštině používány i k formaci negativ. V tomto významu již však nejsou v dnešní době produktivní. Od *mé-* se často upouští ve prospěch jiných prefixů v pejorativní funkci, jako jsou *mal-* a *dé-*. Zmíněné prefixy tak rovněž mohou tvořit dubletní formy. Význam 'špatný, zlý, nenormální' je možno vyjádřit také pomocí *dys-*, které se nicméně vyskytuje výlučně s bázemi řeckého původu. *Pseudo-* vytváří se svými bázemi význam klamu či podvodu, obzvláště pak s abstrakty a osobami, výskyt prefixu je však pozorován i se slovy vyjadřujícími činy. Suffixu *-ard* se využívá jak v angličtině, tak francouzštině, pokud chceme naznačit morální poklesky osob či etnik slova báze. Význam *mis-* v jednotlivých jazycích do velké míry závisí na původu tohoto prefixu. Pokud se vztahuje k řeckému *mis(o)-*, takové lexikální jednotky vyjadřují myšlenku nenávisti či hostility ke slovu báze. Slova obsahující tento prefix se objevují ve všech třech jazycích. Angličtina však navíc disponuje možnostmi, kdy prefix vyjadřuje vlastnosti typu 'špatný, zlý,' které se poutají k homomorfním prefixům *mis-* a *mes-*. V tomto ohledu se zdají být problematické i homofonní prefixy *dis-* a *dys-*, jenž jsou v některých případech (*dissymétrie*) dokonce realizovány stejnou psanou formou.

Pokud se zaměříme na hledisko produktivity jednotlivých afixů, všimneme si, že nejvíce užívanými francouzskými zezáporňujícími prostředky jsou prefixy *in-* pro kontrárnost/kontradiktornost a *dé-* pro vyjádření privativnosti/reverzativnosti. Zmiňované prefixy se mohou vyskytovat na všech slovních druzích, i když *in-* je častější spíše se substantivy a adjektivy. Co se týče afixů nesoucích pejorativní význam, hlavní roli zde hraje *mé-*. Nejméně jednotek se vyskytuje s prefixy *contre-* a *sans-*, převážně v kategorii substantiv a adjektiv, což může mít kořeny v existenci formálně identických plnovýznamových slov.

Stejně vysvětlení se může vztahovat i na prefix *non-* a *mal-*, jejichž frekvence jsou v korpusu také snižené. Podotkněme, že četnost prefixů *contra-/counter-*, *mal-* a *non-* je v angličtině a francouzštině srovnatelná.

To samé se ovšem nedá říct o *a(n)-* a *anti-*, jenž se ve francouzštině těší značné produktivitě, a to i přes jejich limitaci výskytu ve spíše vědeckých registrech. Jazyky se nicméně shodují na vyšší frekvenci *anti-*, jenž upřednostňuje podstatná a přídavná jména. Výskyt prefixu se slovesy je spíše sporadický. Rozdíl v četnosti těchto dvou prefixů se přičítá dřívější plnné integraci *anti-* do francouzského morfologického systému.

Angličtina a francouzština jsou nadále shodné v nejvyšší četnosti se slovesy atestované s prefixy *dé-* a *dis-*. Zatímco je *dé-* bezkonkurenční se zmíněnou syntaktickou kategorií, *dis-* je upřednostněno pokud jde o substantiva. I když není prvotní volbou při zezápornění sloves, těší se *de-* v češtině celkem vysoké frekvenci, jež je dokonce srovnatelná s angličtinou. Je však nutno podotknout, že čeština dává přednost zachování substantiv a adjektiv obsahující cizí elementy. Výskyt se slovesy však není vyloučen, jak dokazují slovesa zezáporněné prefixy *a(n)-*, *kontr-*, *de-*, *dis-* a *in-*.

Nejvíce jednotek v kategorii přídavných jmen je zaznamenáno s prefixem *non-*, i když je tento slovní druh první volbou i pro *a(n)-*, *contre-* a *dis-*. Angličtina v tomto bodě s francouzštinou více méně souhlasí, avšak frekvence *a(n)-* a *non-* zde slabě převažuje ve prospěch adjektiv. Anglické *non-* se dále liší mnohem vyšší frekvencí a možností výskytu se slovesy. Tento jev se dá snadno vysvětlit vyjímečnou pozicí *non-* ve francouzštině, kde slouží i jako prostředek částečného, neslovesného záporu. Neexistence francouzských slovesných jednotek s *non-* je pak pochopitelná, stejně jako snížená frekvence s dalšími slovními druhy.

Pokud jde o hanlivé zezáporňující prostředky, všechny afixy vykazují preferenci pro substantiva, s výjimkou *mal-*, jenž se ve francouzštině hojně vyskytuje i s adjektivy. Angličtina naproti tomu vyžaduje substantiva se všemi těmito afixy. Jako nejužívanější ve francouzštině se jeví domácí afixy *-ard* a *mé-*. Četnost *mis-* a *dys-* je zde limitována na slova řeckého původu, a to i za výskytu několika domácích hanlivých i francouzských neologizmů. Na druhé straně se *pseudo-* stává značně populární v mluveném jazyce, a to dokonce i v češtině. V čem se jazyky značně odlišují je již zmíněná problematika prefixu *mis-*. Jak lze předpokládat, frekvence prefixu není ve francouzštině a češtině příliš vysoká, zatímco v angličtině je počet jednotek značný. Tento fenomén lze opět objasnit analýzou výchozího jazyka formy prefixu *mis-*. V neposlední řadě zmiňme, že jak angličtina, tak francouzština vykazují nejvyšší četnost s adjektivy s prefixem *in-*, následovaným *a(n)-* a *anti-*. Francouzština pak navíc disponuje prefixoidem *sans-*.

Z hlediska překladu vykazují všechny tři jazyky stejné chování. Pokud se záporný element vyskytuje ve výchozím i cílovém inventáři, stává se odpovídající forma afixu ve většině případů jasnou volbou. Nesmíme však zapomínat, že čeština je v tomto směru vyjímečná, jelikož řadí formálně odpovídající záporné afixy mezi výpůjčky, jež jazyk vnímá jako stylisticky zabarvené. To samé platí i v případech, kdy se v překladu použije na stejné bázi jiný cizí afix než afix originálu.

Pokud takováto situace nastane v ostatních dvou jazycích, jedná se často o zdůraznění odlišného aspektu významu v cílovém jazyce, než jak je jednotka chápána v jazyce výchozím (odtud pak *counter-inflationary- anti-inflationniste*). Existují však i jiné důvody takové záměny afixů, jak můžeme ukázat na alternaci prefixů *de-* a *dis-*, a *in-* a *un-* ve vzájemných překladech z angličtiny do francouzštiny. Za vznikem fenoménu v těchto případech stojí historický vývoj jazyků, v prvním je to upřednostnění různých forem jednoho kognátu, v případě druhém vstup a následná konkurence dvou prefixů na určitých bázích (viz **In-**, **Dé-**, **Dis-** ).

Snaha vystihnout sémantický aspekt jednotky je znatelná i při překladu slov vytvořených prostředky vlastními pro jediný inventář. Významy nesené prefixem *mé-* jsou tak zachovány anglickými *mis-*, *mal-*, *dis-* a *un-*, zatímco čeština využívá *zlo-* a četné perifráze typu *špatný/zlý + podst. jm.* Privativní význam prefixoidu *sans-* se kompenzuje užitím domácích prostředků-anglickým *-less* a *un-*, českým *bez(e)-*. Hlavní český prefix vyjadřující kontrární/kontradiktorickou negaci, prefix *ne-*, se do francouzštiny překládá pomocí *non-*, *in-*, *dis-* a *dé-* pokud jde o podstatná a přídavná jména, či pomocí *dé* a částic *ne pas* v případě sloves. V angličtině se k těmto možnostem přidává ještě prefix *un-*. Na rozdíl od angličtiny francouzština disponuje možností vyjádřit jednoslovnými idiomy české výrazy typu *neposeda* (*un vif-argent*). Privativní význam prefixů *bez(e)-* a *od-* je zachován užitím *in-*, *dé-* a *sans-*, zatímco revarezativnost prefixu společně s prefixem *roz-* se vyjadřuje za pomoci *dis-* a *dé-*. V angličtině se k tomu opět přidává i prefix *un-*. Co se týče afixů vlastních anglickému jazyku, *un-* bývá nahrazováno prefixy *dé-*, *sans-*, *dis-*, *anti-* a *non-*, zatímco privativnost sufixů *-less* a *-free* se udržuje pomocí *sans-*, *a(n)-* a *dé-*.

Jazyky se do značné míry liší s ohledem na zachování záporné expresivity, jež utváří primární význam některých afixů a s jinými se objevuje sekundárně. Obecně platí, že elementy vzešlé z řečtiny, tj. prefixy *pseudo-*, *dys-* a *mis(o)-*, se vyskytují pod stejnou formou ve všech jazycích. K tomu se pak přidává možnost využít domácích prostředků, jak tomu je např. v češtině (*pseudo-science- pavěda*). Volba odpovídající formy afixu se nabízí i v případě překladů jednotek s afixy *mal-* a *-ard*, i když výskyt jiných pejorativních prostředků je zde

rovněž hojný. Zatímco je sufix *-ard* zachován v překladu všech anglických jednotek, nemůže být to samé řečeno v opačném případě. Rozdíl tkví v rozdílných (neafixálních) prostředcích, jimiž angličtina vyjadřuje expresitu. Poněvadž se sufix v češtině neřadí k produktivním morfémům, nahrazuje jej pomocí domácích hanlivých sufixů *-oun*, *-a* a *-ák*. Sdílí tak s francouzštinou formální prostředky vyjadřování expresivity.

V případě prefixu *mal-* využívá angličtina *ill-*, *bad-*, *un-* a *dis-* k překladu z francouzštiny, zatímco francouzština disponuje i prefixem *mé-*. V češtině lze využít prefix *zlo-* či různé perifráze. Různé prostředky se používají i v případě, kdy jde o překlad anglického *mis-*. Vedle možnosti ponechat původní prefix, jak je tomu v případě řeckých výpůjček, se prefix nahrazuje v překladech do francouzštiny prefixy *mal-* a *mé-*, do češtiny pak za pomoci perifrází.

Zmíněné výsledky umožňují vyhodnotit platnost předpovědí tendencí v oblasti francouzské lexikální negace, uskutečněných na základě poznatků o lexikálním záporu angličtině a češtině. Nemůžeme než potvrdit, že francouzština sdílí s ostatními jazyky preferenci pro negaci adjektiv, stejně jako pro její vyjadřování pomocí prefixů, jež jsou, podobně jako v češtině, jejím jediným produktivním způsobem tvoření. Jazyky se rovněž shodují, co se týče afixálního vyjádření negativní expresivity (užitím především domácích sufixů). Jak jsme již předvíдали, čeština s francouzštinou souhlasí i v tendenci upřednostňovat domácím elementům nad těmi výpůjčenými. Je však nutné dodat, že pokud se jedná o výskyt cizích afixů s domácími bázemi, je francouzština blíže angličtině, poněvadž taková spojení zde obvykle netvoří stylisticky zabarvené jednotky.

V případě předpokládaného fonologického vlivu splňují francouzské negativní afixy všechny předpoklady a významně neovlivňují rozložení přízvuku v daných bázích. Co se týče morfologického statutu zezáporňujících prostředků, obsažením derivačního prefixu *dé-* se francouzština podobá angličtině. Jazyky stejně tak zachovávají podobný přístup k negaci sloves, pro niž využívají analytických prostředků (anglické *not*, francouzské *ne pas*). Frekvence kontrárních/kontradiktorických slovesných jednotek zde v důsledku není tak vysoká a stejně tak není snížen výskyt takovýchto jednotek v substantivní a adjektivní kategorii. Můžeme také pozorovat, že se angličtina a francouzština podobají, co se týče i vývoji v jejich gramatikalizované negaci (viz tendence vynechat *ne* v mluvené francouzštině).

Analýzou jednotlivých inventářů vzešlo několik poznatků zpřesňujících dosavadní pochopení působení diverzifikační tendence v lexikální negaci. Její vliv je nepopiratelný ve všech sledovaných jazycích, i když ne na stejných jednotkách. Zatímco v angličtině a francouzštině působí její vliv rozdíly v evaluativním hodnocení jednotlivých negativních

afixů (např. *a(n)-, in-, contre-, non-, un-, -less, -free*), v češtině kvůli ní dochází k ostřejšímu rozlišení privativního a reverzativního významu *od-* a *roz-*.

Začlenění výpůjček do systému jazyka se stalo dalším důležitým hlediskem pro zhodnocení působení jednotlivých tendencí. Jak jsme si mohli povšimnout, angličtina i francouzština jsou v tomto ohledu pod vlivem integrační tendence. Ta je mnohem silnější v angličtině, jak lze soudit z inventáře skládajícího se převážně z výpůjčených zezáporňujících prostředků. V tomto ohledu se čeština zdá být nedotčená, vezmeme-li v potaz, že afixy cizího původu se zde vyskytují výlučně s cizími bázemi.

## 7 Annexes

### 7.1 Affixes with respect to their interpretation

#### English affixes

	contrary	contradictory	reversative	privative	derogatory
A(n)/ab-	•	•		•	•
Anti-		•	•		•
Counter- contra-	+		•		•
De-			•	•	•
Dis-		•	•	•	•
dys-					•
in-		•	•		
mal-					•
Mis-					•
Non-	%	•		•	•
pseudo-					•
Un-	•	%	•	•	•
-less				•	
-free				•	
-ard					•

#### Czech affixes

	contrary	contradictory	reversative	privative	derogatory
A(n)-	•	•		•	•
Anti-		•	•		•
Bez(e)-				•	
De-			•	•	
Dis-		•	•	•	•
dys-					•
in-		•			
kontr-			•		•
mal-					•
mis-					•
Ne-	•	•		•	
Non-	%	•		•	
Od-			•	•	
pseudo-					•
Roz-			•		
(-prostý)				•	
-ard					•

**French affixes**

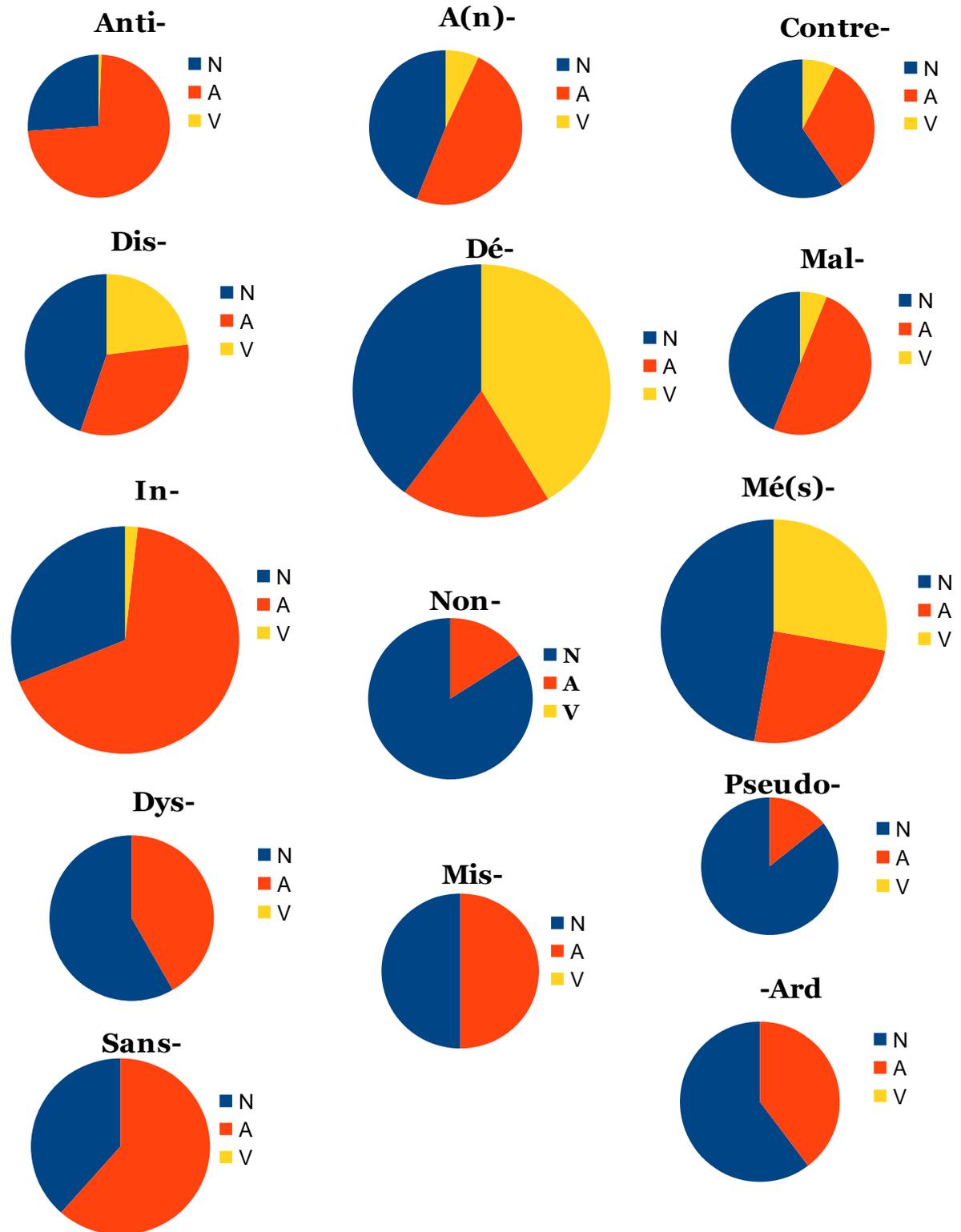
	contrary	contradictory	reversative	privative	derogatory
A(n)/ab-	•	•		•	•
Anti-		•	•		•
Contre-			•		•
Dé-			•	•	•
Dis-		•	•	•	•
dys-					•
in-		•	•	•	
mal-					•
mé-	•				•
mis-					•
Non-	%	•		•	•
pseudo-					•
sans--				•	
-ard					•



**Historical Development of the Privative/Revesative Affixes**

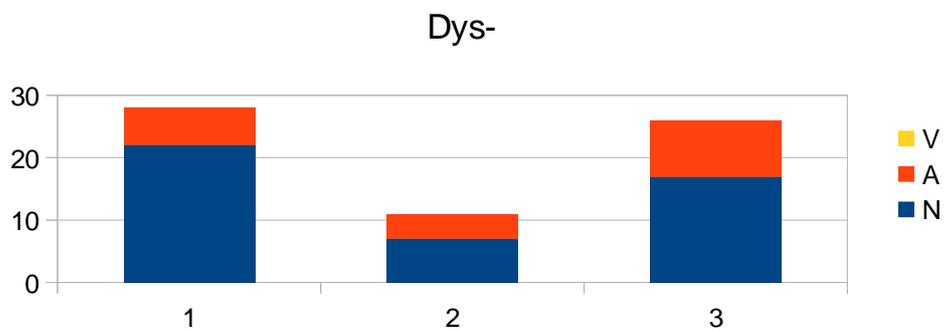
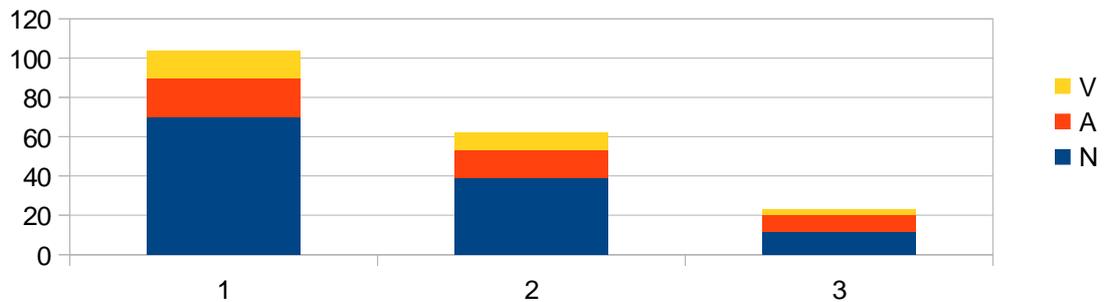
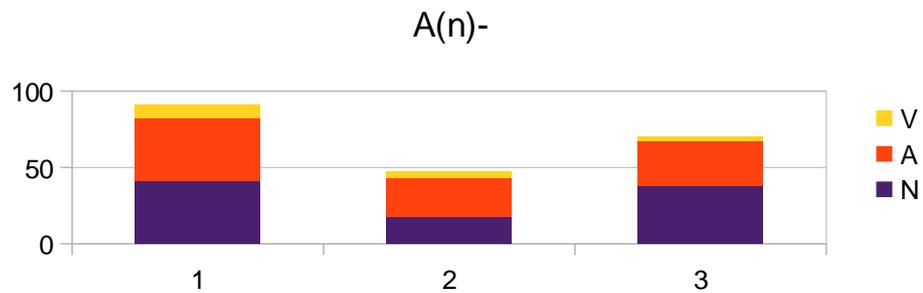
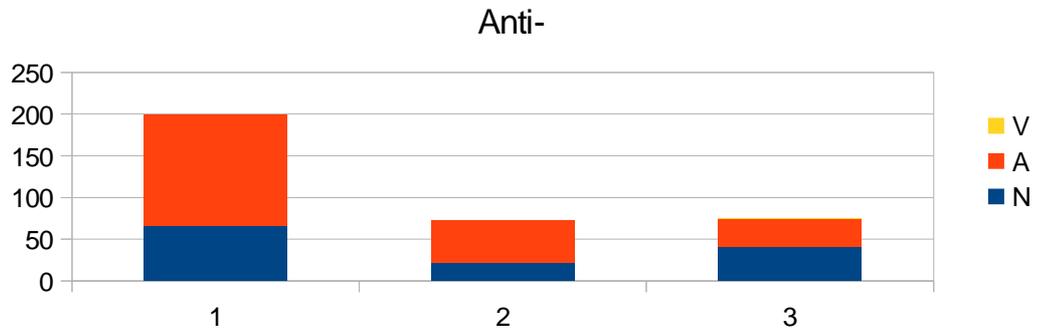
PIE *at-, *et-	ChSlav <i>ot</i> □ ( <i>ot-</i> )	Slav <i>ot-</i>	Slav <i>od-</i> (15 <sup>th</sup> c)	<b>Cze</b> <b><i>od-</i></b>	
PIE *or-dh	PSlav *orz-	ChSlav <i>raz-</i>	Slav <i>raz-/ roz-</i>	<b>Cze</b> <b><i>roz-</i></b>	
PIE *dwis-	CLat <i>dis-</i> CILat <i>de-</i>	Lat <i>dis-</i> ↑ Lat, Old Fr <i>des-</i>	<b>Fr <i>dis-</i></b> (B) <b>Fr <i>dé-</i></b> (V)	<b>E <i>dis-</i></b>	<b>Cze</b> <b><i>dis-</i></b> <b><i>de-</i></b>
				<b>E <i>des-</i></b>	<b>E <i>de-</i></b>
PG *lausaz	Old E <i>leas</i>	Old E <i>-leas</i>	<b>E <i>-less</i></b>		
PIE *prijos	PG *frijaz	Old E <i>freo</i>	E <i>free</i>	<b>E <i>-free</i></b>	

### 7.3 French Affixes with respect to their frequency of occurrence

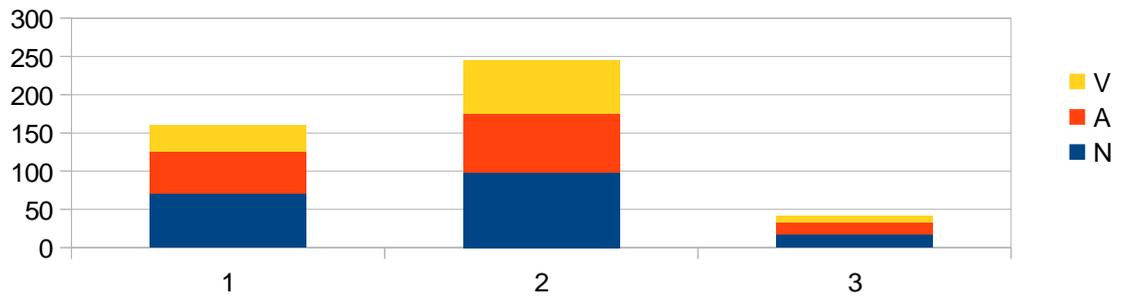


## 7.4 Universal Negative + Pejorative affixes- cross-inventory observations on the frequency of occurrence

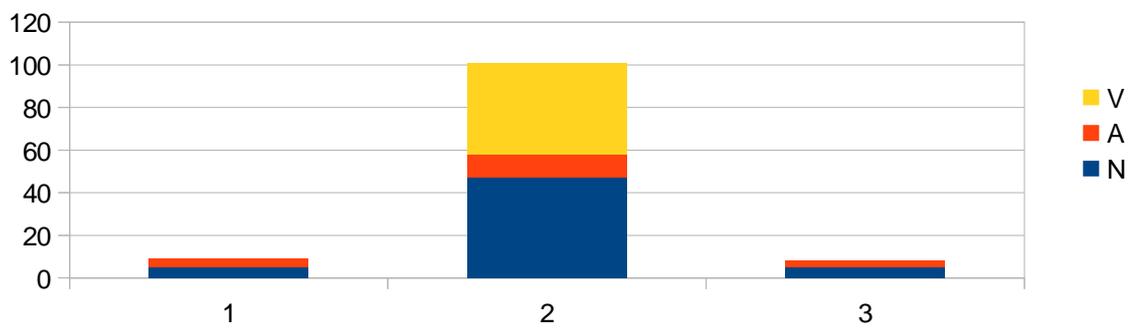
1= FR, 2= EN, 3= CZE



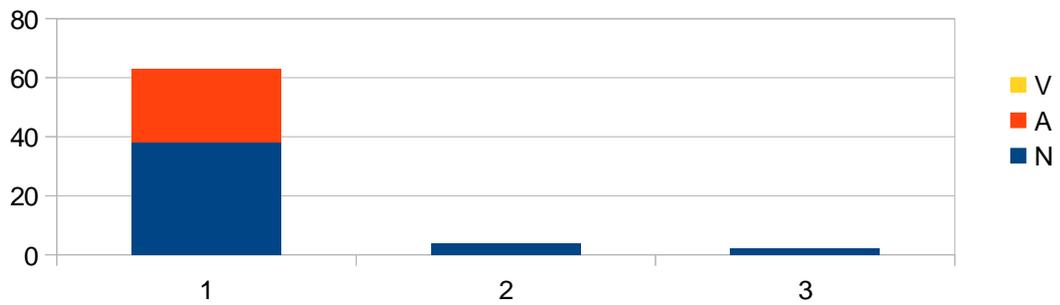
### Dis-



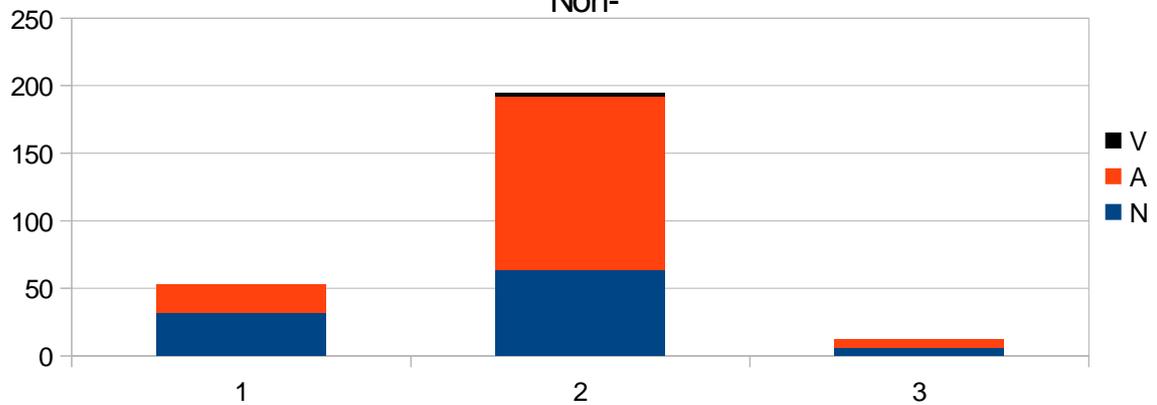
### Mis-



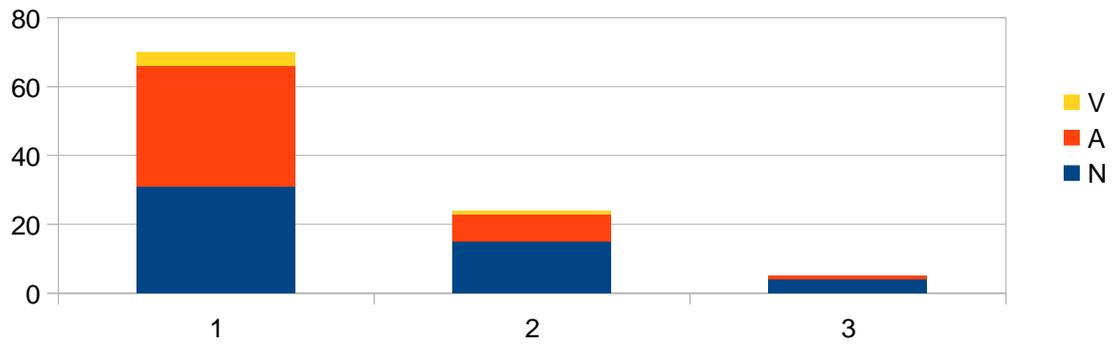
### -Ard



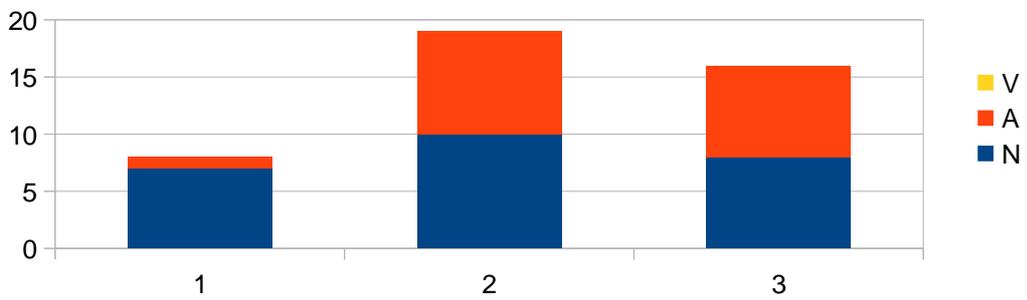
### Non-



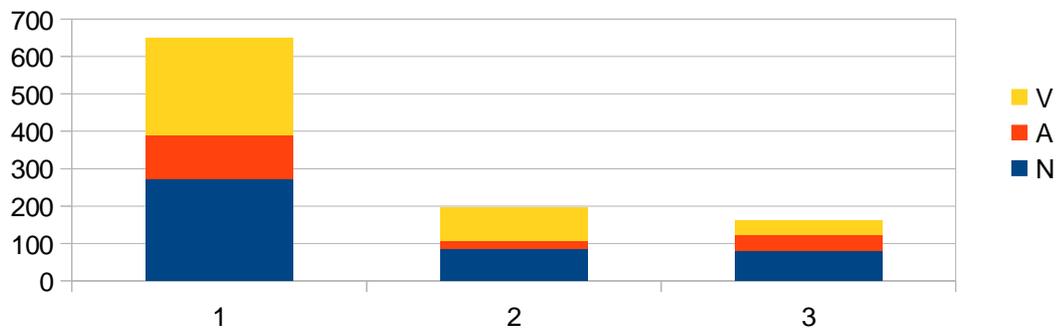
Mal-



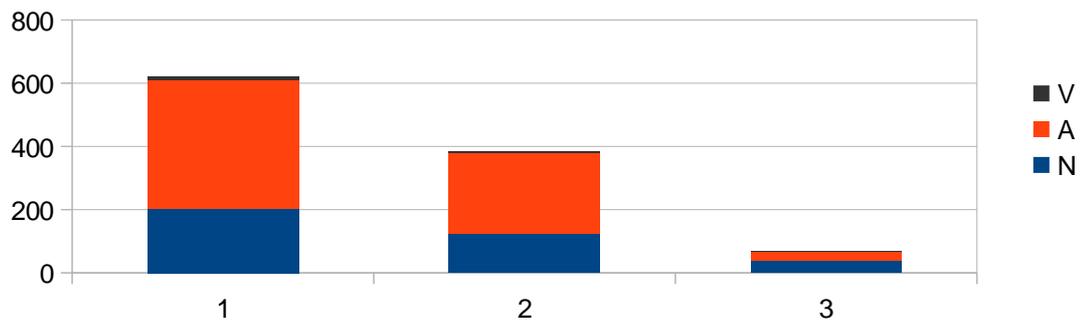
Pseudo-



De-



In-



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