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*Expressing Lexical Negation in English (in  
Comparison with Czech)*

**Bakalářská práce**

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## **Poděkování**

Děkuji velmi panu doc. PhDr. Václavu Řeřichovi, CSc. za odborné vedení mé práce, za trpělivost, rady a čas, který mi během jejího vypracovávání věnoval.

## Anotace

Tato bakalářská práce je věnována problematice záporných slov v angličtině a češtině, obzvláště pak tendencím v lexikální negaci a prostředkům jejího vyjadřování v těchto jazycích.

Pro lepší orientaci v oblasti zmiňuji na prvním místě různá hlediska dělení negace s jejich následnou aplikací na oba jazyky, dále se pokouším popsat obecná pravidla uplatňující se při lexikální negaci společně s hlavními vnitřními i vnějšími faktory ovlivňujícími její realizaci. V hlavní části práce se dává speciální důraz na anglické a české zezáporňující prostředky, tj. afíxy, zkoumané z hlediska frekvence výskytu na jednotlivých slovních druzích (substantiva, adjektiva a slovesa), jejich původu i původu fundujících slov, a sémantické klasifikace záporného významu, jenž získávají (kontradiktorický, kontrární, privativní a reverzativní). Hlavními úkoly, které si kladu v této studii, je sestavení inventáře negativních afíxů v obou jazycích, popis jejich vlastností s ohledem na výše zmíněná kritéria a jejich vzájemné porovnání v rámci daného jazyka. Jak uvidíme, některé záporné modifikátory se vyskytují jak v anglickém, tak českém systému. V takovýchto případech bude analýza rozšířena o porovnání chování daných afíxů mezi inventáři. Dalším bodem práce je popis prostředků, kterými jazyky navzájem překládají své zezáporňující jednotky, a porovnání inventářů s cílem určit směřování lexikální negace v daných jazycích. Za účelem splnění všech částí sestavuji korpus založený na příkladech uvedených ve Fronkově *Velkém anglicko-českém, česko-anglickém slovníku* (2007).

## Synopsis

This bachelor thesis is devoted to the domain of negative lexical units in English and Czech, especially to the tendencies in lexical negation and to the means of its formation in these languages.

The first parts of the thesis serve for a better orientation in negation, for which several classification criteria with their subsequent application on the two languages are introduced. In addition, I try to describe general rules of lexical negation as well as the principal linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that have influence on its realization. In the main part, a special emphasis is given to Czech and English negation means (i.e. affixes), which are examined with respect to the 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 (contradictory, contrary, privative and reversative). The main objectives of the thesis are the formation of the inventory of negative affixes in each language, description of the properties of the individual affixes with respect to the criteria mentioned above and their comparison to the other negative affixes of the language. It will be observed that some negative modifiers figure in both English and Czech system. In such cases, the analysis will be extended by the cross-inventory observation of the affixal behavior. The other point is the description of the means used by the languages for the translation of each other's negative modifiers, together with the comparison of inventories aimed to determine the tendencies in lexical negation in the given languages. To be able to fulfill all the objectives, I have created the corpus based on the data taken from Fronek's *Velký anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* (2007).

## Abbreviations used in the thesis

A	adjective	přídavné jméno
atd.	a tak dále	etcetera
e.g.	for example	například
etc.	etcetera	a tak dále
FS	frekvenční slovník	dictionary of word frequencies
i. e.	id est	to jest
iN-	different allomorphs of <i>in</i> -prefix	různé alomorfy prefixu <i>in</i> -
N	noun	podstatné jméno
tzn.	to znamená	that means
V	verb	sloveso
VP	Verbal Phrase	slovesné syntagma
vs.	versus	proti, kontra

## Symbols used in the thesis

- \* ungrammatical
- given affix tends to express this type of meaning
- ? the most closely related type of negative meaning
- % given type of meaning is possible but with lower frequency of occurrence

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## Preface

My thesis is focused on the tendencies in lexical negation in English and Czech and on the means of its formation. The main emphasis is therefore given on the negative lexical units forged by affixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* and *-free* in English, and by affixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti*, *bez(e)-*, *de-*, *dez-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *ne-*, *non- od-*, *roz-* and *-prostý*, in Czech.

To be able to determine the lexical negation trends in the two languages, my attention was directed by several ways. I first probe into the general rules of lexical negation and principal linguistic and extra-linguistic factors influencing its realization. Second, I describe the properties of the individual affixes, which are studied via frequency of occurrence on the particular parts of speech (nouns, adjectives, verbs), etymology and the etymology of the base words, and the semantic classification of the negative signification they obtain. For that purpose I create the database of negative affixes in English and Czech.<sup>1</sup> These descriptions subsequently lead to the comparisons of affixal behavior which enable further considerations. The final step for the objective fulfillment is the description of the means used by the languages for the translation of each other's negative modifiers, together with the comparison of inventories.

The thesis is divided into three main sections. The first two are theoretical and contain rather general information about negation itself (the first part) and the lexical type of negation (the second part). The third one comprises the descriptions of Czech and English inventories and their further comparisons. The examples in that section are based mainly on the corpus from the database.

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<sup>1</sup> based on Fronek's *Velký anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* (Voznice: Leda, 2007.) containing nouns, verbs and adjectives affected by the English negative affixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* and *-free* and Czech *a(n)/ab-*, *anti*, *bez(e)-*, *de-*, *dez-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *ne-*, *non- od-*, *roz-*, *-prostý*. The limit for each affix is set from 1 to 510 units.

## 1 Negation in general

In the following section, I am going to sum up some general facts about negation in English and Czech. First of all, let us state some basic differences between the positive and negative. Consider the following sentences:

1. *i a. I wanted to buy a new jacket.      b. Chtěl jsem si koupit nový kabát.*  
*ii a. I didn't want to buy a new jacket.      b. Nechtěl jsem si koupit nový kabát.*

The sentences are said to differ in polarity. The sentences (1i) serve for an example of the positive polarity, while the second ones (1ii) demonstrate the negative polarity. The further distinction could be also found in the semantics of the sentences, since the positive communicates a claim, order, wish or a positive approach to a certain fact; whereas the negative denies something or takes a negative attitude to a certain fact.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to affirmation, the negative tends to be regarded as the marked counterpart, in the sense that the expression of negation involves special grammatical means, whereas the expression of affirmation does not<sup>3</sup>. That results in a greater morphological and syntactic complexity of negative sentences and consequently counts for the positive constructions representing the default polarity. To a very large extent, then, the description of polarity is a matter of describing the special properties of negatives<sup>4</sup>.

### 1.1 Negation types

There are several possible ways of classifying negation, depending on the criterion we are focusing on.

#### 1.1.1 Negation according to the degree of grammatical embedding<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>See Rodney Huddleston, Geoffrey K. Pullum, et al., *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 786.

<sup>3</sup> See Henriëtte de Swart, *Expression and Interpretation of Negation: An OT Typology*, (The Netherlands: Springer, 2010) 75. Google Book Search, Retrieved on April 2, 2010.

<<http://books.google.cz/books?id=lzUPvZmB01QC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Expression+and+Interpretation+of+Negation:+An+OT+Typology&cd=1#v=onepage&q&f=false>>.

<sup>4</sup> Huddleston, 786.

<sup>5</sup> Proposed by Ludmila Veselovská, *A Course in English Syntax: Syllabi for Lectures, Examples and Exercises*, (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009) 54.



As the term suggests, this categorization branches negation according to the degree to which lexical items grammaticalized in the language structure.

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

#### 1.1.1.1 Inherent Negation

Being the least grammaticalized type, inherent negation is based on the use of opposites (antonyms), i.e. the words which are distinct in at least one (semantic) feature<sup>6</sup>. Being an indispensable part of every natural language, and thus ranking among the language universals, they seem to mirror the common tendency to think in contrasts. Thence, the word *black* automatically links with the idea of *white* in our minds<sup>7</sup>. The opposites could be further classified as<sup>8</sup>:

Gradable (contrary) opposites: *good vs. bad*      *dobro vs. zlo*  
*big vs. small*      *malý vs. velký*  
*strong vs. weak*      *silný vs. slabý*

Complementary (contradictory) opposites: *give vs. get*      *muž vs. žena*  
*absent vs. present*      *přítomen vs. nepřítomen*  
*right vs. wrong*      *pravda vs. lež*

#### 1.1.1.2 Morphological Negation

Morphological negation represents the first stage of grammaticalisation of negation. It is the word-based negation, which is formed by means of negative affixes.<sup>9</sup> Because it is only a part of the lexical meaning of individual words, the clauses containing such expressions are considered to be positive and that ranks them within the domain of subclausal negation.

<sup>6</sup> Sometimes, this type is also called semantic negation-see Veselovská, 54.

<sup>7</sup> The used examples also illustrate the fact that such antonymous associations are often of conventional or psychological nature rather than real opposites. This phenomenon is known as improper antonymy- see Otto Ducháček, *Précis de sémantique française*, (Brno: Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1967) 52.

<sup>8</sup> Jaroslav Peprník, *English Lexicology*, (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2006) 37.

<sup>9</sup> Edvard Lotko, *Lexikální negace v současné češtině*, (Praha: SPN, 1973) 7.

It should be noted that the term employed for the designation of this negation type differs in academic literature. We employed the term proposed by Givón<sup>10</sup> for the clarity of the initial classification; nevertheless, since the majority of studied authors label this type of negation as being itself "lexical", we will exclude inherent negation from our considerations and limit our scope to this type only. Being the main concern of this thesis, this way of expressing negation in English and Czech will be then discussed further in more detail.

A transition between morphological/lexical and grammatical negation forms a group of semi-negative words like *seldom*, *hardly*, *barely*, *scarcely*, *rarely*, *little*, *few* and *only* that are formally positive, but negative in meaning. In consequence, they effect clausal negation—they are followed by nonassertive forms and they are connected with a positive predicate, as is shown on the following examples:

2. *ia. She eats hardly anything.*

*iaa. They had barely time to pack their suitcase.*

Corresponding expressions to these are the words *málem*, *skoro*, *téměř*, *taktak*, *užuž*, *sotva*, *pomalů* in Czech. It should be noted however that their behavior in sentences is slightly different. Unlike their English equivalents which always cause clausal negation, these expressions can draw the meaning of the sentence closer either to the positive or to the negative, which is mostly determined by the lexical content of the clause (*Skoro jsem spadl* is rather positive while *Skoro se to nepovedlo* is closer to the negative interpretation)<sup>11</sup>. This means in consequence that they may be inserted in both negative and positive clauses, frequently with the same lexical environment (*Málem jsem to stihl. X Málem jsem to nestihl*).<sup>12</sup> It is thus possible to translate the English examples cited above by several sentences in Czech:

*ib. Skoro nic nejl./ Sotva něco jl.*

*iib. Sotva mli čas zabalit si kufr./Skoro nemli čas zabalit si kufr.*

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<sup>10</sup> Talmy Givón, *Syntax: An Introduction, Volume I*, (Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co., 2001) 395. Google Book Search. Retrieved on March 23, 2010.

<<http://books.google.cz/books?id=gKf5d5pVensC&printsec=frontcover&dq=Talmy+Givon&cd=1#v=onepage&q=negation&f=false>>.

<sup>11</sup> based on my native-speaker knowledge

<sup>12</sup> See Miroslav Grepl, et al., *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*, Ed. Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, Zdenka Rusínová, (Praha: NLN, 2003) 552.

A special position among these words has the expression *div(že)* whose occurrence is limited to the negative sentences usually containing a Predicate expressing an unfavourable condition, such as in *Div(že) se nerozplakala*.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, since we are concerned in this thesis with the negatives formed by means of negative affixes and thus having scope only over the word, this group of words will be left out of our consideration.

(B)

### 1.1.1.3 Phrasal Negation

In phrasal negation, the scope of negation is confined to the whole phrase which follows the negative marker. What we negate is thus only a particular sentence member, not the whole clause. That stays in consequence positive.

3.

a. English	b. Czech <sup>14</sup>
<i>John not [NP her father] will drive me to the airport.</i>	<i>Řeknu to Janovi, ne/nikoli [NP jeho matce].</i>
<i>He will do it now, not [PP after dinner].</i>	<i>Půjdu tam raději teď, ne/nikoli [PP až zítra].</i>
<i>Her eyes are green, not [AdjP dark grey].</i>	<i>Jeho auto je modré, ne/nikoliv [AdjP tmavě zelené].</i>
<i>I want to watch TV, not [VP to talk].</i>	<i>Chci jít do kina, ne/nikoli [VP se učit matematiku].</i>

English has the negative marker *not* at disposal while Czech makes use of *ne*. Both languages employ their negative marker for both types of grammatical negation<sup>15</sup>. In Czech moreover, there is a possibility to use the synonymous expression *nikoli(v)*, which is however perceived to be more literary and archaic.<sup>16</sup>

In English, the cases where VP is negated may sometimes lead to confusion of phrasal and clausal negation. It should be clear nonetheless that the whole clause may be negated only if its modality, i.e. the Predicate, is negated.<sup>17</sup> That is signaled by the position of the negative marker after the first modal auxiliary. Moreover, contracted form of *not* (*-n't*) is possible only in clausal negation. Consider the following examples:

<sup>13</sup> Grepl, 552.

<sup>14</sup> These and subsequent Czech examples were produced on the basis of the native-speaker knowledge

<sup>15</sup> If used for phrasal negation, the negative marker *ne* is not attached to the negated member in orthography

<sup>16</sup> Jaroslav Bauer, M. Grepl, *Skladba spisovné češtiny*, (Praha: SPN, 1970) 46.

<sup>17</sup> Veselovská, 54.

4. a. *He must be [VP not sleeping].*      b. *He must not/mustn't [VP be sleeping].*

The sentence (4a) serves as the illustration of phrasal negation, since the negative marker extends its scope only over the VP and not over the first modal auxiliary as in (4b).

Czech does not seem to be problematic in this respect, since *ne* in front of any other sentence member than Predicate expresses phrasal negation.<sup>18</sup>

#### 1.1.1.4 Clausal Negation

Clausal negation negates the whole clause, i.e. the whole proposition.<sup>19</sup>

5.

a. English	b. Czech
<i>i. That will not save your reputation.</i>	<i>Tohle tvou pověst nezachrání.</i>
<i>ii. This danger would have never arisen.</i>	<i>Tohle riziko by nikdy nevzniklo.</i>
<i>iii. No one would have done it better.</i>	<i>Nikdo by to neudělal lépe.</i>
<i>iv. I saw nothing in the garden.</i>	<i>Nic jsem v zahradě neviděl.</i>

In English, it is done by means of the negative particle *not* following the first modal auxiliary, as exemplified in (5i), or a negative polarity item, such as *no*, *nothing*, *never*, *nowhere*, *nobody*, *no one*, *neither* and *none*, spreading its scope over the Predicate. That may be accomplished from the position of an adverbial (5ii), subject (5iii) or object (5iv).

English negation is asserted by means of the only negative marker (examples (5a)), but there is a double possibility of its expressing. That does not exist in Czech which requires the negative concord, i.e. the negative form is obligatory not only with the verb, but also with the polarity items.<sup>20</sup>

Clausal negation may be also combined with lexical negation, which consequently leads to the negation annulment. So-constructed sentences thus have positive, though stylistically tinged, meaning.

6. *It's not impolite.*      *Není to nezdvořilé.*  
*She isn't ugly.*      *Není ošklivá.*

<sup>18</sup> See Libuše Dušková, a kol., *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*, (Praha: ACADEMIA, 2006) 337-9.

<sup>19</sup> Veselovská, 55.

<sup>20</sup> Automatically inducing propositional negation, polarity items in English and Czech occupy a marginal position between lexical and grammatical negation. We therefore content ourselves only with a simple mention about them in this section.

The use of double negation is there motivated by the speaker's unwillingness to assume responsibility for the validity of the positive assertion that he/she made.<sup>21</sup>

### 1.1.2 Negation according to the number of functions the negators perform

This classification is based on the number of functions expressions marking negation fulfil in the sentence.<sup>22</sup>

- (A) analytic negation
- (B) synthetic negation

#### 1.1.2.1. Analytic Negation

Analytic negation is based on the elements that have marking negation as their exclusive syntactic function. In English, these expressions are *not* and *no*, when used to contrast with *yes* as in answering a question<sup>23</sup>. In Czech, *ne* appears in this function. Czech uses *ne* both in the function of the sentence, as the answer to the *yes-no* questions, as well as for the grammatical negation within a sentence; while English distinguishes the markers *no* and *not* for the respective environment.

#### 1.1.2.2. Synthetic Negation

We speak about synthetic negation when the negative elements fulfill some other syntactic function as well. In English, synthetic verbal<sup>24</sup> negation is marked inflectionally by negative verb-forms (*can't*, *won't*, *wouldn't*, *etc.*). When non-verbal, it is characterized by the negators of three kinds<sup>25</sup>:

- (i) absolute negators: *no*, *nobody*, *no one*, *nothing*, *none*, *neither*, *nor*, *never*
- (ii) approximate negators: *few*, *little*; *barely*, *hardly*, *scarcely*; *rarely*, *seldom*
- (iii) affixal negators: *un-*, *in-*, *non-*, *dis-*, *-less* etc.

*No* has then special position among the negators, since it could be employed for both analytic and synthetic negation. Consider the following two sentences:

---

<sup>21</sup> Grepl, 550.

<sup>22</sup> Huddleston, 788-9.

<sup>23</sup> Huddleston, 788.

<sup>24</sup> More about verbal and non-verbal negation will be discussed in the later parts of the work

<sup>25</sup> Huddleston, 788.

7. a. No, *there were not any objections made.* b. *There were made no objections to that.*

In the sentence (7a), *no* functions only as a negator, while in the (7b) it also it both serves as a determiner and negator.

### 1.1.3 Negation according to the interpretation of negation<sup>26</sup>

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

#### 1.1.3.1. Clausal Negation

Clausal negation concerns the proposition in its entirety and applies to all cases without exception. As its scope is spread over the whole clause, the whole proposition is perceived as being negated. The sentence thus behaves as negative, and can be followed by a positive question tag or other typical elements in English.

8. a. *She never liked me, did she?*

In Czech, the negation of the whole proposition is always conveyed by the clausal negation. The words of the negative character, marking a being or a thing which the predicate refers to, take the negative form with *ni-*. The pronominal adjective *žádný* is negative in its signification.<sup>27</sup>

9. *Nikdy ho neměla ráda, že ne?*  
*Nikdo/Žádný tu není, že ne?*  
*Nikdy jsem o tom nic nečetl.*

#### 1.1.3.2 Subclausal Negation

Subclausal negation does not fully deny the validity of the proposition; it only determines its limit to certain cases and range. The sentence containing subclausal negation therefore behaves as a positive sentence, i.e. requires the negative question tag

<sup>26</sup> The terms *clausal* and *subclausal negation* are introduced by Huddleston (2002). The other terms employed by Bauer and Grepl (1970) are mentioned to avoid confusion about the type of branching in further discussion.

<sup>27</sup> Bauer and Grepl, 46.

in English<sup>28</sup>. As has been already mentioned, affixal negation belongs to the subclausal type.

10. a. *It is so useless, isn't it?* (lexical negation)  
b. *He seems not so patient as yesterday, doesn't he?* (phrasal negation)

When expressing this type of negation, modern Czech alternates between clausal and phrasal negation. That leads consequently to the ambiguousness in interpretation as is illustrated on the following sentence:<sup>29</sup>

11. *Nestalo se to mou vinou.*

We could think of the sentence in (11) as of the example of clausal/propositional negation, which would mean that 'the action did not happen and I am not responsible for its realization', or, as the case of subclausal negation, signifying that 'the action happened but I do not bear any responsibility for its realization'. In the latter case, the sentence could be transformed into the rivaling form of phrasal negation: *Stalo se to ne mou vinou*. That is however felt to become appropriate to a more literary style and is rather preferred with the subclausal/partial negation of the universal pronouns *všichni, všechno, každý, vždy, všude*.<sup>30</sup>

12. *Všechno se nepodařilo urovnat.*  
*Každý to nemusí vědět.*

#### 1.1.4 Negation according to the element which carries negation<sup>31</sup>

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

This categorization branches negation according to the grammatical association of the marker of negation. That is linked either to a verb— which constitutes the head of clause— in verbal negation, or to a dependent of the verb in non-verbal negation<sup>32</sup>:

- 13.

VERBAL

NON-VERBAL

<sup>28</sup> Huddleston, 789.

<sup>29</sup> Bauer and Grepl, 47.

<sup>30</sup> Bauer and Grepl, 47.

<sup>31</sup> Huddleston, 787.

<sup>32</sup> Huddleston, 788.

i a. *He doesn't eat vegetables.*

b. *He never eats vegetables.*

ii a. *He did not know anything at all.*

b. *He knew nothing at all.*

b. *He seemed not entirely honest.*

This type of branching is recognized in English mainly, as it operates with a single expression of negation in the sentence, which may be combined with the members of the sentence stated above. It could not be so easily applied to Czech, which requires negative concord. That makes non-verbal negation impossible and sets considerable limits to the verbal negation.

#### 1.1.4.1 Verbal Negation

In English, verbal negation is marked either by negative inflection on the verb, or by the modification of the verb by *not* (*n't*). If that is the case, the insertion of the semantically empty auxiliary *do* is required in this type, as the sentences in (13i a) and (13ii a) exemplify.

In Czech, the negative prefix *ne-* is attached to the verb and functions as the subclausal negation with the universal quantifiers *všichni*, *všechno*, *každý*, *všude*, etc.

14. *Všichni to neuměli.* {-not everyone knew it}

*Vždycky to nedopadne dobře.* {-it will not always take happy ending}

This type of sentences may appear also in the function of clausal negation, when the intonation is shifted on the quantifier.

#### 1.1.4.2 Non-verbal Negation

In English, non-verbal negation is marked either analytically, by *not* modifying a constituent other than verb (13iiib), or it could be expressed by means of negative quantifiers, which stay for adjuncts, objects or another sentence member (13ib), (13iib).

## 2 Lexical Negation in English and Czech

In the following section, I am going to deal with the lexical type of negation in more detail. Let us first distinguish the internal diversification of the domain.



## 2.1 *Classification of negative words regarding the word-formation relation between the positive and negative*

According to this criterion, we distinguish direct and indirect type of lexical negation.

### 2.1.1 Direct lexical negation

Being the more productive type of the two, this group comprises the negative words which are joined to their positive counterparts by the relation of foundation, i.e. they arose by derivation process from them. The positive word represents both phonetically and lexically the base of the negative expression, and can be thus easily re-obtained from the negatives by removing the particle of negative meaning.<sup>33</sup>

15.

*certain vs. uncertain*

*jistý vs. nejistý*

*polite vs. impolite*

*komunista vs. antikomunista*

*appear vs. disappear*

*bolestný vs. bezbolestný*

*clouded vs. cloudless*

*normální vs. abnormální*

*smoker vs. non-smoker*

*mobilní vs. imobilní*

*courage vs. lack of courage* *verbální vs. nonverbální*

*full of conflict vs. free of conflict*

Czech makes use of the prefix *ne-* that occurs in the majority of cases, but also operates with the prefixes such as *bez(e)-*, *in-*, *im-*, *a/an-*, *non-*, *etc.*. These are however much less frequent and creates stylistically marked units.<sup>34</sup>

English also employs prefixes, such as *un-*, *dis-*, *non-*, *iN-*, *etc.* Furthermore, negation may be expressed by the suffix *-less* and semi-suffix *-free*, or by means of the free morphemes *lack* and *free*.<sup>35</sup>

### 2.1.2 Indirect lexical negation

The negative expressions ranked in this group are not considered to be joined with the positive by the relation of foundation directly, for the positive counterpart is either

<sup>33</sup> See Lotko, 8.

<sup>34</sup> Lotko, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Peprník, 37.

purely formal, as is demonstrated on the examples (16i) and (16ii), or does not exist at all (16iii-16v).

16.

i. <i>unprincipled ('corrupt')—principled ('conscientious')</i>	<i>nebývalý ('unusual, exceptional') — bývalý ('former')</i>
ii. <i>unknown ('anonymous')—known ('acknowledged')</i>	<i>nemístnost ('impertinence') — místnost ('room')</i>
iii. <i>nameless</i>	<i>nelítostný</i>
iv. <i>ruthless</i>	<i>nenechavec</i>
v. <i>dreamless</i>	<i>bezesný</i>

It should be noted however that a mere determination of foundation relation between positive and negative would be insufficient for the general classification of lexical negation since their relations are often more complex<sup>36</sup>. The two types of lexical negation then differ in further aspect.

In addition to foundation, direct lexical negation is linked to the positive also by more complex word-formation relations.

17. relation of foundation: *neštěstí ← štěstí, nešťastný ← šťastný,*  
*nešťastně ← šťastně, nešťastnost ← šťastnost*

*unpardonable ← pardonable, unpardonably ← pardonably*  
*unpardon ← pardon*

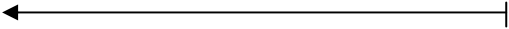
complex word-formation relations: *štěstí → šťastný → nešťastný → nešťastnost*  
*→ nešťastně*

*pardon → pardonable → unpardonable → unpardonability*  
*→ unpardonably*

Nevertheless, the words considered to belong under the domain of indirect lexical negation are linked to the positive counterpart exclusively by the complex word-formation relations.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> That could be observed on the word-formation lines and bonds-see Lotko, 8.

<sup>37</sup> Lotko, 8-9.

18.   
*nepořádník ← nepořádný ← takový, kt. není pořádný*  
*nepořádně ←*

*namelessly ← nameless ← not having a name*  
*namelessness ←*

## 2.2 *Classification of negative words according to their position in the language system*

In this division, we take the frequency of negative lexical units in consideration.

### 2.2.1 Central lexical negation

This category comprises the most frequently used negative words. Generally, these are the expressions formed by the most productive word-formation processes in a given language. In spite of the typological differences between English and Czech (analytic vs. synthetic), derivation ranks among highly generative processes in both languages. The center is therefore occupied by the expressions ranked to direct lexical negation.<sup>38</sup>

### 2.2.2 Peripheral lexical negation

Periphery consists of the units that, under the influence of different factors, gradually fall out of language use. Indirect lexical negation is generally classified into this group. The units could not be considered equal in status— there is certain gradience, as the distance from the center is not the same for all cases. Moving away from the center brings about weakening or complete neutralization of the negative meaning in these words.<sup>39</sup> Some of the expressions, such as *nemoc* or *nameless*, could be yet classified to the category only on the basis of their overall negative meaning (*nemoc* means 'no health'; *nameless* signifies 'without name').

## 2.3 *Negatibility*

It is a common trait of every natural language that not all the potential of expression (*langue*) is realized, i. e. supported with evidence in language use. This

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<sup>38</sup> Lotko, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Lotko, 9.

disproportion between the actual and the possible is especially remarkable in the domain of lexical negation and could be counted among its characteristic features.

Therefore, the following section will be devoted to the definition of the general tendencies as well as to the principal factors having their impact on this type of negation. Lotko's study on lexical negation in Czech (1973) proved really helpful in this respect, and it will be used as the major core for this part as long as the findings may be applied on both Czech and English. The applicability on the latter is to be consequently examined and supplied with evidence.

Some missing members of the negative word-formation lines could be easily established on the basis of our individual linguistic knowledge. However, this possibility does not occur with all the words in language. In the study of negation then, some contemplation needs to be made about the rules governing the distribution of the negative affixes with other units of the language. This cannot be done without regard to the positive counterparts. Moreover, other influential factors have to be taken in consideration.

### 2.3.1 Linguistic factors

The word-formation process tendency of creating complete paradigms ranks among the principal language-internal pressures. As an example, I give the word *nepočetnost*. This word does not occur in the FS but was realized in the sentence *Nehleď na svou nepočetnost, společnost byla rozmanitá* which occurred in a study on Byelorussia anarchic movement published on a web page<sup>40</sup>. As an English example, we use the word *uncomfort*, realized in the poem of the same name by Tasha C. Miller<sup>41</sup>. This situation could have arisen because all the structural prerequisites, i. e. the existence of the affiliated positive and negative derivatives, to its realization were fulfilled.

19.

*početnost- nepočetnost*

*comfort- uncomfort*

*početný- nepočetný*

*comfortable-uncomfortable*

<sup>40</sup> Paůluk Kanavalčyk, "Studie: Anarchistické hnutí v Bělorusku," *Svobodné Bělorusko*. 2007. <<http://www.svobodnebelorusko.cz/doporucujeme-k-precteni/anarchisticke-hnuti-v-belorusku>>.

<sup>41</sup> Tasha C. Miller, "Uncomfort," *Assout: Incoherent Thoughts and Poems of an Unemployed Black Girl*, (Lincoln: Writer Club Press, 2002), 20. Google Book Search. Retrieved on April 2, 2010. <<http://books.google.cz/books?id=FjGvioF1sbYC&pg=PA20&dq=uncomfort&cd=6#v=onepage&q=uncomfort&f=false>>.

*početně- nepočetně*

*comfortably-uncomfortably*

*comfortableness- uncomfortableness*

As Lotko (1973) points out, the study of correlations between the negative words is then essential for a better comprehension of lexical negation, since it reveals the space in word-stock for new possible negative words and at the same time enable the insight into the categories which are the most frequently affected by it.<sup>42</sup>

In his study, Lotko (1973) finds out that these are the three-member correlations in Czech, consisting of an adjective, adverb and a noun, with adjectives being the most productive with respect to lexical negation since they are present in almost every studied correlation. These are followed by the nouns ending on *-ost*, *-ství* or *-ctví*, i.e. the nouns designating 'characteristics'<sup>43</sup>, and adverbs.<sup>44</sup>

The probability of incidence of a negative adjective, adverb or 'characteristics' noun is thus greater than that of nouns designating the names of things. Lotko (1973) further suggests that this is due to the similar function of negation and adjectives and adverbs, i. e. that of contributing to greater differentiating capacities of language. The tendency of adjective preference in lexical negation is even reinforced by other means as in the adjectives on *-(i)telný* which correspond by their modal character to the modality of the negatives and are thus more frequent in negative form.<sup>45</sup>

Although we have not probed into the characteristic type of correlations in English, it is clear that these conclusions are applicable for this language as well. Nouns designating 'characteristics', ending mostly on *-ost* in Czech<sup>46</sup> and having often the suffixes *-ness*, *-(i)ty*, *-ance/y*, *-ence/y* and *-(s/t)ion* in English<sup>47</sup>, really are more frequent in lexical negation than other types of nouns as was proved by the corpus.

The data also prove the highest affectability on adjectives, followed by nouns and verbs<sup>48</sup>. Czech *-(i)telný* adjectives have their English equivalents with the suffixes *-able* and *-ible* showing the same behavior as their Czech counterparts<sup>49</sup>:

20.

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<sup>42</sup> Lotko, 12.

<sup>43</sup> Abstracts seem generally more prone to lexical negation than concrete nouns

<sup>44</sup> Lotko, 12-22.

<sup>45</sup> Lotko, 12.

<sup>46</sup> Lotko, 12.

<sup>47</sup> Based on the data from Fronek's *Velký anglicko-český, česko-anglický slovník* (Voznice: Leda, 2007.)

<sup>48</sup> The affectability by negative prefixes on verbs will be also included in this study. Being on the margin between lexical and grammatical negation, negative prefixes on Czech verbs cause very often clausal or subclausal negation. This fact was taken into consideration when constructing the Czech database.

<sup>49</sup> The information about the frequency of units was obtained via Google Books browser

*resistible* 29 600 — 3 370 000 *irresistible*  
*thinkable* 182 000 — 1 650 000 *unthinkable*  
*bearable* 703 000— 2 160 000 *unbearable*  
*breakable* 131 000—353 000 *unbreakable*

The other linguistic factor is the frequency of occurrence of the positive counterpart. Generally, it could be stated that the positive is in overwhelming majority much more frequent than the negative, as is illustrated on the following examples<sup>50</sup>:

21.

<i>obyčejný</i> 2173 – <i>neobyčejný</i> 416	<i>ordinary</i> 294 515 – <i>unordinary</i> 784
<i>obyčejně</i> 474 – <i>neobyčejně</i> 739	<i>ordinarily</i> 103 600 – <i>unordinarily</i> 105
<i>obyčejnost</i> 32 – <i>neobyčejnost</i> 0	<i>ordinariness</i> 2770 – <i>unordinariness</i> 87
<i>pěkný</i> 2700– <i>nepěkný</i> 106	<i>clear</i> 788 585– <i>unclear</i> 49 300
<i>pěkně</i> 1602– <i>nepěkně</i> 27	<i>clearly</i> 476 600 – <i>unclearly</i> 1 034
<i>pěknost</i> 0– <i>nepěknost</i> 0	<i>clearness</i> 45 200– <i>unclearness</i> 749
	<i>clarity</i> 58 000– <i>unclarity</i> 1 139

The probability of formation of the negative seems to be greater with the words highly frequent in the positive (as they are often polysemic), while with low-frequency positive words, the negative is often not realized.<sup>51</sup>

Besides the frequency, the semantics and thus the negatibility are to a large extent influenced by the differences in the distribution of the positive and negative in various contexts.

Lotko's comparison of negative words with their positive counterparts shows that the polysemy is greater in the highly semantically-developed positive derivatives which have also higher frequency of occurrence, while monosemy or lesser degree of polysemy is characteristic for lesser developed negative derivatives, which have consequently lower frequency of occurrence.<sup>52</sup>

### 2.3.2 Extra-linguistic factors

<sup>50</sup> The Czech examples are based on the data obtained from the frequency dictionary (FS); the English ones are obtained via Google Books browser

<sup>51</sup> That counts especially for the category of adjectives and the adverbs and characteristics-designating nouns which are derived from them. The realization of other words is not so bound to the frequency of the positive-see Lotko, 12-14.

<sup>52</sup> See Lotko 13-14.

Besides the linguistic influences, the formation of the negative lexical units is further affected by the language-external pressures.

The study of lexical negation has shown that these factors are not all of the same power. The most influential of the extra-linguistic determinants is undoubtedly communicative need. Supporting the formation of the negative lexical units, it does not only enrich and widen the vocabulary of the language, but intellectualize it as well.<sup>53</sup>

This may be illustrated on the tendency of the technical language in both languages to designate collective terms including all the members that lack the characteristic of the base term.

22.

<i>filolog-nofilolog</i>	<i>philologist- non-philologist</i>
<i>chirurg-nechirurg</i>	<i>professional-non-professional</i>
<i>lingvista- nelingvista</i>	<i>cola-uncola</i>

These derivatives are not deeply rooted in the language terminology. In the majority of cases, it depends on the speaker-if he/she wants to emphasize the dissimilarity from a category.<sup>54</sup>

Another principal factor influencing the realization of the lexical negation may be defined as the active approach of the speaker to the language. Being highly productive, the process of the negative derivation gives rise to potentially never-ending lines of lexical units. Naturally, their status in the system differs with individual speakers, as some expressions are perceived to be stable while others created at the spur of the moment and thus stylistically marked (compare the status of Czech nouns *nenasyta* and *nedopita*)

The marked units respond to various communication needs and their formation is often motivated by the language economy and/or by the endeavor for emphasis. The example (23) shows that some negative units might serve as potential one-word equivalent to a more complicated term (being 'more economical an expression'):

23.

unit	Multi-word equivalent	sentence
<i>non-war</i>	The period of peace/ the period when is not war	It is a rallying cry for those who are willing to become practitioners of the art of <i>non-war</i> and thereby bring an invaluable contribution to real peace

<sup>53</sup> Lotko, 14.

<sup>54</sup> Lotko, 14.

<i>non-student</i>	A person who is not studying	All faculty, staff, alumni or other <i>non-students</i> must have an active DAPER membership
<i>non-sentence</i>	What is not a sentence	I said that those words constituted a <i>non-sentence</i>

The other fact which may have impact on the realization of the potentially existing negative words or counterparts is the search for the exactness of expression. That leads to the use of the positive and negative as two mutually complementing terms, for their putting side-by-side gives the speaker the possibility to express an idea with a greater precision and efficiency, elucidating more aspects of their message.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, the search for the precise expression might result in the amplification of the synonymic words and in the consequent use of such negative units that are firmly connected to the other positive words on the negative-positive-edged axis. This is characteristic especially for the technical style as well as for the journalistic one.<sup>56</sup>

24.

*Nevyčítám mu to, chce prosadit svůj projekt a dělá kroky možné i nemožné. ...*

*Nepatří ale pod exotické průvodce, neboť je velmi jednoduchý a nekomplikovaný. Muž v Býku má silnou orální potřebu. (an excerpt taken from a horoscope)*

*Skymagenta is all about being creative and crafty where thinkable and unthinkable things are made! (an excerpt taken from a web page for creative people)*

*Looking at the Police Chief Appointment: German Connection, Powerful and Mighty Backer and Secret Signals (a title of a newspaper article)*

### 2.3.3 Semantic differentiation of the negative lexical units

As has been already pointed out, semantics play the crucial role in the realization of the negative lexical units. For that reason we are going to concentrate on this phenomenon more closely in the following section, where it will be studied with respect to the positive counterparts, which should shed light on the measure of influence negation has on the meaning of the negated words. Our concern will be centered mainly on the direct lexical negation where the positive is linked to the negative by the relation of foundation.

The meaning of the negative unit is generally considered to be the result of the semantic modification of the base word by the negative affix. However, since the

<sup>55</sup> See Lotko, 15.

<sup>56</sup> Lotko, 16.



designation of the negative affix itself depends on the semantics of the base, it should be stated that the total meaning of the negative word is constituted by both these elements.<sup>57</sup> Moreover, the context in which the word occurs cannot be left out of consideration.

The polysemic character of negative affixes is widely known and recognized, the contemporary grammarians do not agree on the classification of their significations nevertheless<sup>58</sup>. Probing deeper into this area, let us first consider the notion of negativity, which itself is not a unitary concept, and consequently find out how it is influenced by the properties of founding lexical unit.

#### 2.3.3.1 Contradictory negation

The meaning of contradiction is very frequent (if not the most frequent) reading of negative words. Contradictories express a mere denial of their positive counterpart. As Lieber<sup>59</sup> points out, it results in two terms which cannot both be true at the same time and admit no middle ground. In terms of logic, they obey the *Law of the Excluded Middle*.

25.

*regularity-irregularity*

*voják-nevoják*

*assertive- nonassertive*

*členský-nečlenský*

*legal- illegal*

*zákonně-nezákonně*

#### 2.3.3.2 Contrary negation

Contrary negation also implies that the two terms cannot be true at the same time but permits the possibility that both terms are false. These negative units can be then in certain sense positive.<sup>60</sup>

26.

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<sup>57</sup> see Lotko, 22.

<sup>58</sup> For more information about the problematic see Pavol Štekauer, Rochelle Lieber, "Negative Prefixes (un-, in-, non-, de-, dis-)," *Handbook of Word-formation*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005) 391-393. Google Book Search.

Retrieved on April 2, 2010.

<<http://books.google.cz/books?id=uAkB96vFnLYC&pg=PA393&dq=Zimmer+negative+prefixes&cd=2#v=onepage&q=%20negative%20prefixes&f=false>>.

<sup>59</sup> Rochelle Lieber, *Cambridge Studies in Linguistics;104: Morphology and Lexical Semantics.*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 112. Google Book Search. Retrieved on April 2, 2010.

<<http://books.google.cz/books?id=4FTALwOKADgC&pg=PA113&dq=lexical+negation+in+English&lr=&cd=47#v=onepage&q=lexical%20negation%20in%20English&f=false>>.

<sup>60</sup> See Lotko, 23.

<i>violent-nonviolent</i>	<i>bezpečí-nebezpečí</i>
<i>substantial-nonsubstantial</i>	<i>přítel-nepřítel</i>
<i>sane-nonsane</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>lidský-nelidský</i>

An important role in determining the kind of negative meaning plays the level of concretization, i. e. definition in a particular situation.<sup>62</sup> Generally, it may be stated that the more are the positive and negative semantically distant, the more easily they may be made concrete and their contrariness is more evident. Concretization then consequently leads to transgressing from the contradictory status to the contrary one, under the strong influence of context.<sup>63</sup>

27.

<i>generous- non-generous-greedy</i>	<i>široký-neširoký-úzký</i>
<i>small- non-small-big</i>	<i>pěkný-nepěkný-ošklivý</i>

As it is illustrated on the above examples, that counts for the situations when several units may be assembled into a scale expressing intermediate levels between the contrary and contradictory meaning.

It might be seen then that, in addition to their function in negation, negative words to a certain extent specify the measure of a characteristic expressed by the positive unit, and occupy thus the middle between the two members of antonymic relation.<sup>64</sup>

The polysemy of negative unit is also influential. Despite their highly semantically-developed positives, the contradictories are usually monosemic, which is consequently reflected in their restrained occurrence in comparison with the frequency of their positive counterparts. The contraries are different in this aspect, as the concretization and thus the distance from the positive of these units is on high level.<sup>65</sup>

As Lieber (2004) points out, which interpretation arises also depends to a large extent on whether the base adjective is gradable or scalar.<sup>66</sup> Regardless which prefix is used, if the base allows gradable reading, as *bezpečný* does for example, the resulting negative-prefixed form will have a contrary meaning; if the base adjective is non-gradable or scalar, as is the case of

<sup>61</sup> Given English examples were attested by Lieber (2004).

<sup>62</sup> See Lotko, 24-5.

<sup>63</sup> see Lotko, 24.

<sup>64</sup> Lotko, 25.

<sup>65</sup> see Lotko, 32.

<sup>66</sup> Lieber, 122-4.

*pregnant*, the negative-prefixed form will be interpreted as contradictory.<sup>67</sup> Lieber's study reveals another interesting fact. It shows that the gradability itself is semantically influenced by the interpretation of the base-the more evaluatively neutral it is, the less gradable its interpretation.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the speakers themselves differ on which adjectives they feel gradable.

Unlike the contradictory units, contrary negatives can be also often substituted by the synonymous positives. The preference of ones or others largely depends on a speaker or register.

28.

<i>single- non-single//married</i>	<i>svobodný-nesvobodný// ženatý</i>
<i>sober- non-sober // drunk</i>	<i>pěkný-nepěkný// ošklivý</i>
<i>complicated- uncomplicated //easy, simple</i>	<i>potřebný- nepotřebný// zbytečný</i>

It might have been noted that beside the purely negative (contrary/contradictory) meaning, quite a few units (especially verbs) allows privative and reversative reading.

The classification of these interpretations under negation has been long at issue in the literature. In their study, Štekauer and Lieber (2005) mention the opinions of Marchand (1969), who treats these different nuances of meaning separately, and Dowty (1979), who is convinced too about their inconsistency and argues that negative and reversative *un-* are separate homophonous prefixes.<sup>69</sup>

Štekauer and Lieber (2005) nonetheless show that these readings are in fact connected, arguing the privative meaning of *debug* ('deprive of bugs') may be paraphrased as 'cause not to have bugs' and reversative *unbutton* ('opposite of button') as 'cause not to be buttoned'; they therefore consider the reversatives and privatives for negative causatives.<sup>70</sup> This approach is adopted in this study as well.

### 3 Negative affixes

Being the principal components carrying and modifying the negative meaning, negative affixes deserve to be studied in more detail. As it was already mentioned, they act as

<sup>67</sup> The contrary or contradictory reading of negative units in connection with the individual prefixes will be discussed in more detail in the following section

<sup>68</sup> Lieber, 122.

<sup>69</sup> Štekauer and Lieber, 393.

<sup>70</sup> Štekauer and Lieber, 393.

modifiers, the vast majority of them not changing the part of speech of their base words (with exception of the prefix *de-*, suffix *-less* and semi-suffix *-free*). Furthermore, it can be observed that they generally attach to more than one kind of syntactic category (adjective, noun, verb).

In the following paragraphs therefore, we will try to describe these modifiers in both English and Czech regarding their origin<sup>71</sup>, productivity, character of base words to which they attach (origin, syntactic category), as well as the negative significations they may obtain, and subsequently use our findings for further comparison of the two languages, in which the way of their translating from one to the other language will be of particular interest.

Both languages operate several borrowed and domestic affixes. Since the former are mostly the same in both languages, we will deal with them in the English part of our study only and content ourselves with a mere mentioning of the Czech particularities with respect to them. Consequently, we will pay greater attention to the prefixes *ne-*, *bez(e)-*, *od-* and *roz-* in the Czech part. The conclusions made about English affixes will be mostly based on the studies in word-formation of Plag<sup>72</sup> and Štekauer and Lieber (2005), while the assumptions about Czech will be based on the research of Fronek-based corpus.

Let us restate some general fact in this place before we turn to the more detailed analysis. It should be mentioned first that there is a strong preference for negating positives. That counts for the fact why there are no items as *\*unsad* or *\*unugly*, which are already negative.<sup>73</sup> Both languages are influenced by the general tendency to express the negative first, as defined by Jespersen.<sup>74</sup> Czech employs exclusively prefixes for the lexical negation<sup>75</sup>, such as *ne-*, *bez(e)-*, *iN-*, *a/an-*, *dis-* or *non-*, etc. English is different in this aspect, as it, besides the

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<sup>71</sup> All the information about etymology is based on Walter W. Skeat's *Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*, (New York: Cosimo, 2005). Google Book Search. Retrieved on June 28, 2010. <[http://books.google.cz/books?id=ls\\_XijT33IUC&pg=PA627&dq=etymology+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=pvw0TlriD8nqOLvg4KYI&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.cz/books?id=ls_XijT33IUC&pg=PA627&dq=etymology+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=pvw0TlriD8nqOLvg4KYI&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CC4Q6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false)>.)

<sup>72</sup> Ingo Plag, *Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics: Word-formation in English*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Google Book Search. Retrieved on April 2, 2010. <[http://books.google.cz/books?id=pkqWjrp5oMOC&printsec=frontcover&dq=lexical+negation+in+English&hl=&source=gsb\\_similarbooks\\_s&cad=1#v=onepage&q=lexical%20negation%20in%20English&f=false](http://books.google.cz/books?id=pkqWjrp5oMOC&printsec=frontcover&dq=lexical+negation+in+English&hl=&source=gsb_similarbooks_s&cad=1#v=onepage&q=lexical%20negation%20in%20English&f=false)>.

<sup>73</sup> It should be borne in mind that this is only a tendency. Numerous exceptions are attested (*nonviolent*, *flawless*, *incorrupt*)-see Štekauer, 393.

<sup>74</sup> see Ivan Poldauf, "Some Points on Negation in Colloquial English," *LI. Příspěvky k dějinám řeči a literatury anglické (Prague Studies in English)*, Ed. J.Kopal, J. Král, J. Rypka, K. Stloukal, (Praha: Nakladatelství filosofické fakulty University Karlovy, 1947) 77.

<sup>75</sup> The exception to the rule is the suffix *-prostý*, which is however archaic and occurs only in a very limited number of items

significant number of prefixes, disposes also by the negative suffix *-less* and semi-suffix *-free*.

The other point of branching between the languages is employing of the loan negative prefixes. Since the strength of tendency to employ borrowed lexical items is greater in English than in Czech<sup>76</sup>, loaned negative prefixes are employed exclusively with the words of foreign origin in Czech (*disharmonie, antipatie*) and creates stylistically marked units<sup>77</sup>, while they became naturalized in English system and attach also to the "native" base words (*distrustful, anti-war*).

The languages further differ in the measure of impact this type of modifiers have on the stress pattern of their bases. As Plag<sup>78</sup> points out, that rests unaffected by the negative prefixes in English, which seems to be in accordance with the general linguistic tendency to make negation accentually subordinate. Czech goes against this tendency. Poldauf (1947) proved that negation in this language is accentually superordinate to the word to which it is attached (*impassable-nesjízdný*), which is not valid only in the cases where exceptional stress is given on the negated idea (*ne hezký, ale oduševnělý – not handsome, but spirited*).<sup>79</sup>

### 3.1. English negative affixes

#### 3.1.1 A(n)/ab-

The prefix *a(n)/ab-* occurs in adjectives of Latin or Latinate origin, such as *asynchronous* or *aseptic*. Being calqued on a similar Greek prefix, in English is found mainly in learned vocabulary.<sup>80</sup> With denominal adjectives, the meaning can either be privative, i.e. interpreted as 'lack of what is referred to by the nominal base', such as *asexual* ('lack of sex'), or it may be a mere denial of the base word (i.e. contradictory), as is *asymmetrical* ('not symmetrical'). However, opposites formed by *a(n)/ab-* are mostly contraries.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Vilém Mathesius, *Obsahový rozbor současné angličtiny na základě obecně lingvistickém*, (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1961) 194.

<sup>77</sup> see Lotko, 7.

<sup>78</sup> Plag, 99.

<sup>79</sup> Poldauf, 78.

<sup>80</sup> Gabriela Mazzon, *A History of English Negation*, (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004) 111. Google Book Search. Retrieved on June 28, 2010.

<[http://books.google.cz/books?id=13Vp0WZR6ckC&pg=PA112&dq=origin+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=8\\_Y0TJqXONOhOOP5ra4l&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.cz/books?id=13Vp0WZR6ckC&pg=PA112&dq=origin+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=8_Y0TJqXONOhOOP5ra4l&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=2&ved=0CDAQ6AEwAQ#v=onepage&q&f=false)>.

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

### 3.1.2 Anti-

As well as prefix *a(n)/ab-*, this prefix ranks among Greek loans and has polysemous character. It is susceptible to two different interpretations. First, as in words *anti-war*, *anti-Semitic*, *anti-aircraft*, and *anti-freeze*, it can be interpreted as 'against, opposing' with denominal, de-adjectival and deverbal derivatives behaving like adjectives (*anti-Semitic movement*, *an anti-freeze liquid*).<sup>82</sup> Another typical denotation conveyed by *anti-* is reversativeness, especially with nouns, which could be in some cases further nuanced as 'not having the proper characteristics of an X, as in *anti-hero*, *anti-particle*'.<sup>83</sup>

Both prefixes have a very low frequency of occurrence in both languages which ranks them among the least productive affixes, *anti-* being slightly more productive of the two.<sup>84</sup> Their productivity is limited to the adjectival or nominal bases, *a(n)/ab-* restricted to the Latinate ones while *anti-* appears with the bases of the native stock too (*anti-war*). Moreover, *anti-* can be found also on the verbal derivatives (*antivirovat*<sup>85</sup>, *anti-ageing*<sup>86</sup>). All these facts probably stand behind its greater frequency.

Although these prefixes are present in both inventories, it should be noted that the languages frequently differ with respect to the bases to which they are attached. There are of course plenty of examples such as *amorfní* and *amorphous*, however, the words where different prefixes are used on the same bases are numerous-*anorganic* as in Czech *anorganický* is very rare, *inorganic* being used instead. Similar case is *anti-* in the word *antikoncepce*, which is in English substituted with the prefix *contra-* (*contraception*), and even *asociální* translated into English as *antisocial*. The privative/reversative and purely negative meanings of some *a-* and *anti-* words in English are also translated by means of free or bound morphemes *bez(e)(-)* (*asexual-bezpohlavní*), *proti(-)* (*anti-wrinkle-proti vráskám*) and *ne-* (*abnormal-nenormální*).

### 3.1.3 Mis-

Being of Old French/Scandinavian origin, *mis-* modifies verbs and nouns (no matter what is their origin) conveying depreciatory meaning<sup>87</sup> ('inaccurate(ly), wrong(ly)': *mischance*,

<sup>82</sup> Plag, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Plag, 99.

<sup>84</sup> Fronek mentions only 24 *a(n)/ab-* negative items and 33 *anti-* items in English and 21 and 29 ones respectively in Czech

<sup>85</sup> Given example found by aid of Google Search browser and attested by native speaker knowledge.

<sup>86</sup> Plag, 99.

<sup>87</sup> Plag, 100.

*mispronounce, miscalculation*.<sup>88</sup> The prefix is stress-neutral, being usually unstressed or receiving secondary stress, Plag (2003) nevertheless points at the exceptions with primary stress on the prefix in the case of lexicalizations, such as *mischief*, or nouns segmentally homophonous with verbs: *miscount* vs. *miscount*, *mismatch* vs. *mismatch*.<sup>89</sup>

Czech does not have this prefix in its inventory and translate *mis*-items with aid of periphrasis *špatné/nesprávné/mylné* ('wrongly/incorrect') + *noun*, or *špatně/nesprávně/mylně* ('wrongly/incorrectly') + *verb* in the majority of cases.

29.

*miscount-špatně spočítat*

*misconstruction- špatná/nesprávná interpretace*

*misbehave-nevhodně se chovat*

The placement of *mis*- (sometimes also of *anti*-) to the category of negative affixes is sometimes disputed, as the main notions ('wrongly, badly') expressed by the prefix cannot be easily ranked under any of the types of negative meaning. That is also remarkable with the prefixes *mal*- (meaning 'wrongly, badly') and *contra*- ('against, opposing to') which figure in the Czech system as well<sup>90</sup>. Nevertheless, since they are not ranked among the negative affixes by Plag (2003), they will not be considered in this thesis.

### 3.1.4 De-

*De*- has developed from Old French *des*- and, unlike the rest of the negative prefixes, changes the syntactic category of their base. Ranking among productive negative prefixes, it combines with verbal (most frequently on *-ize*, *-ate*, and *-ify*) and nominal bases to forge reversative or privative verbs such as *devalue*, *decriminalize* or *detoxicate*. Such verbs often do not have any positive word for foundation. A good example of this phenomenon is *decaffeinate*, for which no *\*caffeinate* is attested.<sup>91</sup>

*De*- could be translated into Czech by several means. Since the prefix figures in this language as negative modifier as well (productive exclusively with borrowings and thus restricted rather to scientific vocabulary), the most frequent are formally corresponding items, such as *decriminalization-dekriminalizace*. As well as in the case of *a(n)/ab*- and *anti*-, this correspondence does not exist among all *de*-words in the two languages, the use of divergent

<sup>88</sup>The database also provides for the examples of adjectives, however, these are not very numerous (out of 58 items, only 6 are adjectives) and could be considered for verbal derivatives.

<sup>89</sup> Plag, 100.

<sup>90</sup> Under the form of *kontr(a)*- in Czech

<sup>91</sup> see Plag, 99.

loan prefixes is not rare in Czech and English (*demontovat-dismantle*), and there are even such cases where Czech *de*-item coincide with English word affected by native prefix (*demaskovat-unmask*).

Numerous units are also translated by using the prefixes *od-* and *roz-* (*vy-* is also employed to a certain extent), which combine with the bases of both sources of origin to form reversative and privative meanings (*odmrazit, odmytologizovat*). So-affected words are employed often in everyday use, for these prefixes belong to the native stock<sup>92</sup>. The other common solution is the periphrasis *odstranit/zbavit(se) čeho* ('remove/deprive of') and its alternatives for other word categories, which is followed by the positive base word: *desegregation-odstranění rasové segregace*.

Translation by the prefix *ne-* is not so common in this case, which might have its roots in the lesser ability of *ne-* to incite privative/reversative interpretation.

### 3.1.5 Dis-

Closely semantically related to *un-* and *de-*<sup>93</sup>, this prefix of Latin/Old French origin attaches to bases of all three syntactic categories. The use of *dis-* was originally restricted to borrowings and its productivity with native bases dates back to the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>94</sup> When attached to verbs, *dis-* induces principally reversative (*disassemble, disflinch, disqualify, disconnect*) and privative meanings (*disburden, displace*). It should be also noted that the prefix uniquely offers the possibility to negate the base verb in the similar way as the clausal negation does (according to Plag (2003) at least), as in *disregard* 'not regard', or *disobey* 'not obey'.<sup>95</sup>

Regarding the semantics of their base, Lieber's study (2004) reveals several interesting facts. *Dis-* is one of the two prefixes (together with *un-*) yielding negative meaning to stative verbs. Moreover, it is for the most part the only negative affix suitable for simple activity verbs. As well as *un-*, it does not attach to the verbs implying a change (*\*dischange*). Further, both prefixes attach relatively freely to causative or causative/inchoative verbs, though favouring slightly different semantic sets.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Attested by FS on the pair example *znehodnocení -devalvace*

<sup>93</sup> Plag, 100.

<sup>94</sup> See Richard M. Hogg, Norman Francis Blake, Roger Lass, *The Cambridge History of the English Language: 1476-1776*, Ed. Roger Lass, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) 380. Google Book Search. Retrieved on July 5, 2010.

<[http://books.google.cz/books?id=CCvMbntWth8C&pg=PA381&dq=origin+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=8\\_Y0TJqXONOhOOP5ra4I&sa=X&oi=book\\_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.cz/books?id=CCvMbntWth8C&pg=PA381&dq=origin+of+negative+prefix+mis-&hl=cs&ei=8_Y0TJqXONOhOOP5ra4I&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=4&ved=0CDkQ6AEwAw#v=onepage&q&f=false)>.

<sup>95</sup> See Plag, 100.

<sup>96</sup> Lieber, 116.



*Dis-* can be also found on nouns and nominalizations. There is however uncertainty whether *dis-* is prefixed to the nominalization (*dis-location*) or to the verbal base which is subsequently nominalized (*disloc-ation*).<sup>97</sup> The prefixation of *dis-* to nominal bases seems possible nevertheless as illustrated on the examples provided by Plag (2003): *disanalogy*, *disfluency*, *disinformation*. These convey the meaning of 'absence of X or faculty of X'.<sup>98</sup>

*Dis-* occurs on lexicalized adjectives as well, inducing the meaning of 'not X': *dissonant*, *dispassionate*, *disproportionate*.

Based on the data obtained from Fronek corpus, the prefix seems to be the most productive with adjectives and nouns. That is however not in accordance with the findings of Lieber (2004) who shows the highest productiveness with verbs, nouns and adjectives being less developed word categories in this respect.<sup>99</sup>

Quite interestingly, Czech disposes by two almost identical equivalents to this prefix too, the loan prefixes *dis-* and *dez-*, differing in the productiveness on verbal bases (*dez-* is frequently attached to verbs while with *dis-*, no examples were attested), but their occurrence is quite sporadic. *Dis-* is then translated to Czech rather by the use of domestic prefixes, the most often by *ne-* to express the contradictory meaning of the English *dis-* units (*dishonest*, *disloyal*, *disagreeable*) or by the prefixes *od-* and *vy-* inciting privative or reversative reading (*dislocate-vykloubit*, *disarm-odzbroit*). *Dez-* evolved from the same prefix as *de-* and the prefixes share some characteristics (attachability to verbs, deverbal nouns). There are nonetheless no *de-* equivalents in the corpus.

### 3.1.6 Non-

*Non-* ranks among the prefixes of Latin origin and attaches exclusively to nominal and adjectival bases of both source of origin (*nonstop*, *nonattendance*). Nouns prefixed with *non-* can either mean 'absence of X' or 'not having the character of X': *nonconformist*, *nonperson*, *nonswimmer*. The latter meaning has been extended to 'being X, but not having the proper characteristics of X',<sup>100</sup> such as in *non-event*, *non-answer*. Although *non-* (as well as *dis-* and *in-*) generally favors the situational/dynamic (often deverbal) abstract bases, it could be often found on concrete nouns too, especially those designating people and instruments, which is quite uncommon with other prefixes mentioned.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>97</sup> Plag, 100.

<sup>98</sup> Plag, 100.

<sup>99</sup> Lieber, 116.

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

<sup>101</sup> Lieber, 124.

If it comes to adjectives, *non-* attaches to both gradable and ungradable bases favoring usually (but not exclusively) contradictory interpretation: *non-combatant*, *nonaligned*, *nonproductive*. That is closely related to the preference of the prefix for semantically neutral adjectival bases.<sup>102</sup>

In connection with *non-*, certain hesitations may arise concerning the status of *no* in the constructions *no-smoking carriage* or *no-go area*, since the particle and *non-*modifier appear to be alike there. In spite of their superficial similarity, however, it cannot be itself considered to be prefix for the turns such as *non-smoker* are lexical terms, while *no-smoking carriage* is the result of syntactic compounding of *no smoking*.<sup>103</sup>

The prefix is present in Czech inventory but it is not productive at all (except very few examples of nouns and adjectives). Being prone to contradictory interpretation, the overwhelming majority of units are thus translated by means of prefix *ne-* into Czech.

### 3.1.7 Un-

*Un-* is the English-native prefix and as such it is frequent with all the bases of both domestic and foreign origin. Regarded semantically, it can be either negative as in *unvarying*, or it is interpreted as reversative/privative, like in the words *unbind*, *undo*, *unbutton*. As has been already mentioned, *un-* shows a special preference for causative/inchoative verbs, especially those which implies impermanent or unfixed result.<sup>104</sup>

The highest frequency of the prefix was attested on both derived and simple adjectives, where it usually expresses contraries: *unwanted*, *unstable*, *unhappy*.

The same interpretation arises when it is attached to nouns. The data from the corpus show that the prefix is not much productive with this syntactic category and favors rather abstracts that arose formally from analogy or backformation (*conscious-unconscious-consciousness-unconsciousness*). That is also proved in Lieber (2004), who however points at the results of Horn (2002) proving quite extensive productiveness of the prefix on concrete nouns and on proper names in his corpus.<sup>105</sup> With these, special semantic nuances may arise.

Štekauer and Lieber (2005) illustrate that on the example of *uncola* and *unhotel* which they describe as 'referring either to an element just outside the given category with whose members they share the salient function (*uncola*) or to a peripheral member of the given

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<sup>102</sup> Lieber, 122.

<sup>103</sup> This explanation also counts for the cases such as *forget-me-not* or *good-for-nothing* where the suffixal character of *not* and *nothing* are in question-see Mathesius, 195.

<sup>104</sup> Lieber, 116.

<sup>105</sup> See Lieber, 124.

category' (an *unhotel* is a 'hotel but not a good example of the category'). With these characteristics, *un*-nouns of both types are becoming popular in present-day English.<sup>106</sup>

When translating *un*-words, Czech expresses the negative meaning by the prefix *ne*-. Privative reading is conserved principally by the use of the prefix *bez(e)*- or by the preposition *bez*, and by the periphrasis *zbavit* + noun ('deprive of sth'). The reversative interpretation is expressed by the prefixes *roz*-, *od*- and *vy*-.

### 3.1.8 IN-

Being itself of Latin origin, this negative prefix is found exclusively with Latinate lexical units, assimilating to the first sound of the base<sup>107</sup> (*intact*, *irreverence*, *immobilize*, *illiterate*). Generally, *iN*- yields contradictory meaning: *illegal*, *imperfect*, *impotent*. The prefix is the second most frequent negative modifier in English, attaching principally to the nominal and adjectival bases.

*IN*- and *un*- seem to be closely related, as suggest the cases where the prefixes *un*- and *in*- alternate in different derivatives of the same lexical base: *unjust-injustice*, *unable-inability*. That is reflected even by the differences in English and Czech inventories, since Czech *iN*-items tend to be translated (beside the major tendency to apply *iN*-varieties) also by the use of *un*-, as in *indisponibilita-unavailability*.

The phenomenon might be considered as a kind of intermediate state of the prefix evolution into *un*-, as the co-existence of *irreality* and *unreality* illustrates. The claim seems to be supported also by the tendency in present day English to favor *un*- before the prefixes *in*- and *dis*-.<sup>108</sup>

Comparing English and Czech prefixes *iN*-, several facts should be noted. The Czech prefix too assimilates to fit the first sound of its base (*impotentní*, *inkoherece*), there is however no reduplication of the initial consonant of the base in the written form (*irealita*, *ilegál*). The languages also differ with respect to the occurrence of the prefix on verbs, which is attested with English prefix though in a very limited number while there are no examples in Czech.

Concerning *un*-, *in*- and *non*-, the data collected from Fronek together with Štekauer and Lieber's corpus (2005) show that some adjectival bases may be modified by more than one of these prefixes, with possible slight change in meaning. In such cases, *non*- generally conveys

<sup>106</sup> See Štekauer and Lieber, 393.

<sup>107</sup> Assimilation of the place of articulation

<sup>108</sup> Mazzon, 111.

a non-emotive or non-evaluative nuance<sup>109</sup>, while *un-* and *in-* adopt the emotive meaning of their stem.<sup>110</sup> Štekauer and Lieber (2005) give a good example, the pair *non-professional* and *unprofessional*.<sup>111</sup> The signification of *non-professional* could be defined as 'not being professional because of lack of specialization in a particular field' whereas when claiming that somebody is *unprofessional*, the meaning may be resumed as 'not being professional because of the conduct inappropriate for the specialist in a particular field'. The phenomenon proves the working of the general diversification tendency in the language, which stands after semantic nuancing in vocabulary and cutting off the morphological links.<sup>112</sup>

### 3.1.9 -Less and -Free

The last part of the English study will be devoted to the negative suffix *-less* and semi-suffix *-free*. Their origin is quite unclear, nevertheless, the clues suggesting their Germanic origin are the German words *nutzlos* 'useless' and *staubfrei* 'dust-free' with semantically and formally similar negative suffixes *-loss* and *-frei*.

Ranking among derivational affixes, both suffixes form adjectives from nominal bases of both sources of origin, *-less* occasionally also from verbs (*quenchless*). Both *-less* and *-free* convey purely privative meaning, as in *hopeless* or *trouble-free*.

The two suffixes compared, several distinctions may be observed. First, it is the productivity which is much higher in *-less*, *-free* being quite infrequent according to the corpus.

Moreover, *-less* permits further suffixal derivation of nouns by *-ness* which is not attested in the corpus with *-free*.<sup>113</sup> The other difference dwells in semantics. In this respect, the suffixes seem to stand on the opposite sides of emotive spectrum, *-less* carrying rather negative content whereas *-free* is purely positive. The latter finding serves as an argument to Lieber (2004) for speculations about a probable positive emotive content of the free morpheme *free*.<sup>114</sup>

Since Czech almost never employs suffixes for lexical negation, the words containing *-less* and *-free* are most often translated by means of prefix *bez(e)-* or free morpheme *bez-* conserving privative meaning of the English counterparts. Prefixal negation is not the only means of negating in Czech nevertheless.

<sup>109</sup> To a certain extent, this is also the case with *un-*

<sup>110</sup> see Lieber, 121-2.

<sup>111</sup> Štekauer and Lieber, 392.

<sup>112</sup> Peprník, 21.

<sup>113</sup> The examples such as *trouble(-)freeness* or *scale freeness* are however attested by Google search browser.

<sup>114</sup> Lieber, 109.

As has been mentioned in the earlier parts of this study, the language operates also by the negative suffix *-prostý* as in *lihuprostý*. Being the only category-changing negative affix in Czech, *-prostý* yields privative meaning to the nominal bases to which it is attached, and thus is the best Czech equivalent for translation of these suffixes.<sup>115</sup> This way is however no more productive in present-day Czech.

### 3.2. Czech negative prefixes

#### 3.2.1 Ne-

*Ne-* is the most productive of the Czech negative prefixes. It may be found with each syntactic category (*nenásilí, nelehký, nedbat*). Belonging to the native word stock, the prefix attaches to both domestic and foreign bases (*nekompetentní, nemravný*).

The highest frequency is attested on adjectives, slightly lower is with nominal bases. *Ne-* is also very productive on verbs, in which cases neutralizes the distinction between lexical and grammatical negation, as the prefixation of a verb by *ne-* automatically negates the whole or a part of proposition.

As the only prefix expressing a purely negative meaning, *ne-* forms quite freely and frequently contraries and contradictories (*nelibost, nepěkný*), but it permits privative reading as well, as in *neodvolatelnost* or *neodbornost*. That seems nevertheless enfeebled in favor of *bez(e)-* as the lexical units differing only by the presence of one or the other of these prefixes (*bezvýrazný-nevýrazný*). The uniqueness of the prefix with respect to the negative meaning is a probable reason why Czech has no need to distinguish emotive and non-emotive nuances of meaning as English does. Therefore, there is only one word in Czech (*neamerický*) for two English ones *un-American* and *non-American*. The opposite, i.e. integrating tendency thus seems to be in work in this language.

There are several ways of translating *ne-* into English, depending largely on the syntactic category of the base. Verbal *ne-* is generally expressed by the means used in grammatical negation, i.e. by *not* immediately following the first modal auxiliary or dummy *do* (or *-n't* attached to them-*cannot, can't*). The periphrasis with the verbs *fail, refrain from* are not uncommon (*nedodat-fail to deliver*) as well as the prefixation by *dis-* (*nevěřit-distrust*).

*Ne-* on adjectival and nominal bases tends to be translated affixally by *non-* (*nekuřák-nonsmoker*), *un-* (*nevydaný-unreleased*), *iN-* (*nedobytnost-impregnability*), *mis-* (*nedorozumění-misunderstanding*), *dis-* (*nedůvěra-distrust*), *under-* (*nedoceněný-*

<sup>115</sup> Based on my personal linguistic instinct, the suffix seems to be evaluatively closer to *-free*.

*underestimated*), *out-* (*nemoderní-outmoded*), *ill-* (*neblahý-ill-conceived*) and *-less* (*nebojácný-fearless*). The greater variety of affixes used to communicate meaning of Czech *ne-* is the other proof of differentiation tendency working in English, and at the same time shows the greater motivation of such units.

Employment of periphrases, as *hard to understand* for *nesrozumitelný*, or *beyond belief* for *neuvěřitelný*, is common as well.

Quite interesting too is how English deals with the locutions such as *chtě nechtě* (*whether willing or not/ willy-nilly*) or *bít koho hlava nehlava* (*right and centre at sb/ lash out wildly at sb/ jet ride for a fall*), and with negative items designating agents/experiencers (*nedočkavec*, *nenechavec*, *necuda*) which are typical for Czech language, and for which English usually does not have one-word equivalents (*nedočkavec* is *an impatient person*, *nenechavec* is translated as *a pilferer*, *necuda* as *a shameless person*).

### 3.2.2 Bez(e)-

As well *ne-*, *bez(e)-* is a native prefix to Czech and attaches productively to adjectives and nouns. The difference between the prefixes dwells in the productivity of the former also on verbal bases, which is not attested for the latter. Moreover, *bez(e)-* selects exclusively domestic words and yields purely privative meaning (*bezzubý-toothless*, *bezbožný-godless*).

English most often expresses the meaning of *bez(e)-*units by the affixes *un-* (*bezpodmínečný-unconditional*), *in-* (*bezesporu-incontestably*), *-less* (*bezmezdný-limitless*) or bound or free form of morpheme *(-)*free (*bezcelní-duty-free*, *bezbolestný-free from pain*). The periphrasis *lack of sth* (*bezobsažnost-lack of content*) is occasionally employed with some nouns.

As in the case of *ne-*, the indifference in Czech to emphasize the evaluative content by differentiating morphology of lexical units is apparent-there is no formal distinction between *bezpracný* and *bezproblémový* which is expressed by the English equivalents *effortless* and *trouble-free*.

Privative meaning of *bez(e)-* is expressed in English affixally by *un-*, *-less* and *-free*. The periphrases such as *lack of sth* or *without sth* are common too. The nouns designating agents/experiencers (*bezdomovec*, *bezbožník*) are translated into English in the same way as a-like *ne-*units (*homeless person*, *ungodly person*).

### 3.2.3 Od- and Roz-

Unlike *ne-* or *bez(e)-*, negative prefixes *od-* and *roz-* are also able to convey a great variety of non-negative meanings (*rozpršet se-start raining*, *odjinud-from somewhere else*). When negative, *roz-* is usually reversative (*rozvázat*) while *od-* permits quite frequently both privative and reversative readings (*odtučnit*, *odpoutat*). *Roz-* could not be found with borrowed lexical units.

Regarding their occurrence with different syntactic categories, the prefixes may be considered as the complete opposites of *bez(e)-*. Both of them attach productively to verbs and nominal bases. The prefixation on adjectives is quite uncommon and limited to deverbal derivatives.

English disposes with several means when translating *od-* and *roz-*. The most frequent alternative is the use of prefixes *dis-*, *un-* and *de-*, whose frequency differ for the individual prefixes. *De-* and *un-* are employed extensively for translating *od-*, while *roz-* is mostly expressed by *dis-*.

In addition, the privative meaning of *od-*verbs is also frequently expressed by the use of periphrasis *remove sth* as in *odplombovat-remove seal from*. The reversative interpretation of both prefixes is implied also by verbal phrases containing *out*, *off* or *away* (*odnést-take away*, *odmontovat-take off*, *rozvinout-roll out*).

### 3.3. Conclusion

Let us note the most important findings about the negative modifiers that ensued from this analysis.

The English inventory comprises negative affixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *mis-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* and *-free*, which differ in the productivity on the individual syntactic categories<sup>116</sup>, origin as well as in the origin of the bases to which they may attach.

Apart from *un-*, *-less* and *-free*, all the affixes are of foreign origin. The prefixes *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-* are loaned from Greek, *mis-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-* and *non-* are the borrowings from Latin or Old French. *A(n)/ab-* and *iN-* attaches exclusively to the Latinate words, the other prefixes appear with the bases of the native stock too.

Regarding the productivity, *a(n)/ab-* and *anti-* rank among the least productive negative modifiers attaching in the majority of cases to adjectives and nouns. *Anti-* permits to a certain degree the attachment to the verbal bases. The highest frequencies of occurrence with this

<sup>116</sup> see annexes

syntactic category are attested with the prefixes *de-*, *un-* and *mis-*. The productivity of *un-* and *dis-* on such bases are restricted to the stative and causative/inchoative verbs, in the case of *dis-*, also to simple activity verbs. *De-* selects verbs on *-ize*, *-ate*, and *-ify*. It is a category-changing negative prefix, forming verbal derivatives from nouns. In addition, it occurs also frequently on the nominal bases, as *dis-*, *non-* and *mis-* do. *Non-* could be also attached to adjectives. Besides *non-*, those are most often affected by the affixes *dis-*, *un-*, *iN-*, *-less* and *-free*. *-Less* and *-free* ranks among derivational morphemes, forming adjectives from nouns. Moreover, the latter appears exclusively in adjectives while the former may be found also in nouns. There is also a difference in evaluative power of the suffixes, *-free* having positive connotations whereas *-less* negative. As in the case of the suffixes, *un-*, *in-* and *non-* may modify the same adjectival bases, with a slight difference in meaning. When this occurs, *non-* generally conveys a non-emotive or non-evaluative nuance, while *un-* and *in-* adopt the emotive meaning of their stem.

With respect to semantics, we may distinguish purely privative/reversative from the ones permitting several interpretations. *A(n)/ab-* incites both privative and purely negative (contrary/contradictory) meaning. *Anti-* tends to be interpreted as 'against, opposing' with all types of bases or 'not having the proper characteristics of an X', while *mis-* expresses 'discrediting X'. *De-* forms privative and reversative units. *Un-*, *in-* and *non-* convey negative meaning when on adjectives and nouns, *dis-* is negative or privative/reversative when on verbs. The reading of *un-* on verbal bases may be described as reversative. When attached to nouns, *non-* (as well as *dis-* and *in-*) generally favors the situational/dynamic (often deverbal) abstract bases, but it could be often found on concrete nouns as well, especially those designating people and instruments. If it comes to adjectives, *non-* usually yields the contradictory interpretation, since the prefix seeks for semantically neutral bases. *Un-* usually expresses contrariness with these two categories. With respect to nouns, the prefix is in vogue in present-day English, especially when on concrete nouns and proper names. *IN-* generally incites negative contradictory meaning. There are several clues pointing at a possible relation of the two prefixes (the pairs such as *unjust-injustice* and the loosing in occurrence of *in-* in favor of *un-*).

*A(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-* and *non-* are present in Czech inventory as well, the languages nevertheless differ in their productivity and very often also in the lexical units to which these modifiers are attached. In some cases, we can even speak about *faux amis* (*antikoncepce-contraception*). Regarding the prefix *dis-*, Czech recognizes two forms *dis-* and *dez-*, differing in the productiveness on verbal bases. *Dez-* seems to be close to *de-* as well, as



the two are etymologically related and share some characteristics (attachability to verbs, deverbal nouns); no examples of equivalence were attested nevertheless.

The negative meaning of the affixes is translated into Czech mostly by the prefix *ne-*, which is the only purely negative affix of this language. Rich variety of means is used for expression of the other types of negative meanings- domestic free and bound morphemes like *bez(e)(-), proti(-), od-, vy-, roz-*, loan prefixes in the case of borrowed words, and diverse periphrases, such as *zbavit se čeho* and *odstranit co*. The use of privative derivational morpheme *-prostý* is possible but very uncommon.

In addition to the foreign prefixes already mentioned above, Czech operates with the prefixes *ne-*, *bez(e)-*, *od-* and *roz-* for the lexical negation. The suffix *-prostý*, semantically and formally close to *-free*, is ranked there as well, but it is no more productive.

*Ne-* is far more frequent than the other negative modifiers, attaching productively to every type of base (regarded syntactically and etymologically). When prefixed on verb, *ne-* causes clausal or subclausal negation which places such units on the border of lexical negation domain. Being the only purely negative affix in Czech, it conveys freely both contrary and contradictory meaning, depending on the semantico-grammatical properties of the stem. The ability to incite the privative meaning of the prefix is enfeebled in favor of *bez(e)-* (*bezbarvý, nebarevný*). *Bez(e)-* is exclusively privative, attaching most often to adjectives. With verbs, no occurrence is attested. That is compensated by the prefixes *roz-* and *od-*, both of them being productive on verbs and nouns. The former induces exclusively reversative reading while the latter permits both privative and reversative interpretation. As well as *bez(e)-*, *roz-* attaches only to domestic bases, *od-* is possible also with foreign words.

The significations expressed by *ne-* are conserved in English by great variety of means. Generally, the use of one or another largely depends on the category of a particular *ne-* unit. Verbal *ne-* is transformed by the means used in grammatical negation, periphrases with the verbs *fail, refrain from* or the prefixation by *dis-*. *Ne-* on adjectival and nominal bases is most often translated by the typical negative modifiers as well as with the other types of affixes, applied to further nuance the meaning of the units. The other way is the use of periphrases (*hard to understand, beyond belief, homeless person*). Different phrases are employed to fit the signification of the typical Czech turns.

Privative meaning of *bez(e)-* is expressed by *un-*, *-less* and *-free*. The periphrases (*lack of sth, without sth, A+ person*) are common too. The most frequent alternatives for *od-* and *roz-* translation are the prefixes *dis-*, *un-* and *de-*. *De-* and *un-* are employed extensively for translating *od-*, *roz-* is mostly expressed by *dis-*. Verbal privative meaning of *od-* is

communicated via periphrasis *remove sth* as well. The reversative interpretation of both prefixes is implied also by verbal phrases containing *out*, *off* or *away*.

The comparison of the inventories leads to several conclusions about the tendencies of lexical negation in the two languages. The strong tendency not to negate already negative words should be noted on the first place. In both languages, the probability of negation on adjective is higher than on any other part of speech, which is related to the similar function of adjectives and negatives. The abundance of prefixes (in comparison with the suffixal means) in both inventories proves the general tendency to place the negative first. Moreover, their employing seems to be the only productive Czech way of lexical negation expression. The use of foreign negative modifiers is less frequent than that of the domestic ones, and is connected with stylistically marked units. Beside the negative prefixes, English operates with the suffix *-less* and semi-suffix *-free*. The majority of the prefixal means are borrowings with unmarked attachability on both foreign and domestic bases. The principal negative prefixes in English (*dis-*, *in-*, *non-*, *un-*) are able to convey wide range of negative meanings (contrary, contradictory, reversative and privative). Czech disposes only by one prefix able to express contrary/contradictory meaning, the others are privative, reversative or the combination of the two. Regarded from the phonological perspective, English negative modifiers do not affect the stress pattern of their base, being accentually subordinate. Czech is different as its negating means are superordinate to the word to which it is attached. Further comparison has also shown a contrast with respect to the morphological status of these means in the languages. While Czech ones are almost exclusively inflectional (the only category-changing affix is no more frequent), English disposes also by several derivational morphemes (affixes *de-*, *-less* and *-free*). The most productive prefixes are Czech *ne-* and *un-* in English (both of native origin) suggest the preference for the domestic word stock in the domain. As was proved on the problematic use of *un-*, *in-* and *non-*, English lexical negation is driven by a strong diversification tendency which is not felt in Czech. Moreover, *un-* tends to replace *dis-* and *iN-*, which seems to be connected with it, and is becoming frequent also with nouns. The two languages also differ with respect to the negation of verbs. While attachment of the negative (contrary or contradictory) prefix to the verbal base has scope only over the word, Czech negation of verbs causes denial of the whole or the part of proposition. That automatically lowers the frequency of the negative adjectives and nouns.

## 4 Shrnutí

### 4.1 Úvod

Ve své bakalářské práci jsem se zabývala problematikou záporných slov v angličtině a češtině, obzvláště pak tendencím v lexikální negaci a prostředkům jejího vyjadřování. Hlavně jsem se proto soustředila na takové záporné lexikální jednotky, které byly vytvořeny za pomoci anglických záporných afixů *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* a *-free*, a českých afixů *a(n)/ab-*, *anti*, *bez(e)-*, *de-*, *dez-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *ne-*, *non-* *od-*, *roz-* a *-prostý*.

Abych mohla určit směřování lexikální negace v těchto jazycích, bylo třeba ubírat pozornost více směry. Jako první jsem zkoumala obecná pravidla platná v lexikální negaci a hlavní vnitřní i vnější faktory ovlivňující její realizaci. Dalším předmětem zájmu byly vlastnosti jednotlivých afixů, jež jsem studovala z hlediska četnosti výskytu na jednotlivých slovních druzích (podstatná jména, adjektiva, slovesa), jejich etymologie, etymologie fundujících slov a sémantické klasifikace záporného významu, jež získávají. Za tímto účelem jsem sestavila databázi záporných afixů jak v angličtině, tak v češtině. Popis vlastností jednotlivých afixů byl pak následně využit k jejich vzájemnému porovnání, což poskytlo další úhel pohledu na problematiku. Ta byla ostatně zkoumána i pomocí analýz způsobů, jimiž jednotlivé jazyky překládají své zezáporňující prostředky, a jejich inventářů.

Práce je rozdělena do 3 hlavních sekcí. První dvě části jsou spíše obecného charakteru. První kapitola slouží pro lepší orientaci v oblasti negace. Zmiňuji zde všeobecná pravidla vytváření záporu a různá hlediska jeho dělení s následnou aplikací na oba jazyky. V druhé části jsem se pokusila o bližší popis lexikálního typu záporu a pravidel uplatňujících se při jeho realizaci, včetně nejvlivnějších vnitřních i vnějších činitelů. Třetí část pak obsahuje popisy anglického a českého systému negativních afixů a jejich další porovnání. Příklady uvedené v této části byly získány převážně ze sestavené databáze. Pro lepší ilustraci výsledků zařazuji do své studie přílohy.

### 4.1 Dělení negace

O různých kritériích pro dělení negace pojednává kapitola *Negation types*, v níž rozdělují negaci podle různých kritérií. Prvním z nich je hledisko gramatikalizace (podkapitola *Negation according to the degree of grammatical embedding*), kterým nahlížíme

na negaci podle stupně „systémovosti“ použitého prostředku negace.<sup>117</sup> Tak získáme dva základní typy záporu-slovní a mluvnický, které se pak dále větví.

Do podtypů slovního záporu se řadí téměř negramatikalizovaná inherentní negace (též lze najít v odborné literatuře pod pojmem sémantická negace<sup>118</sup>). Je vyjadřována antonymy, tedy slovy lišícími se alespoň v jedné podstatné složce jejich významu. Členové těchto protikladných vztahů, které mají často konvenční a psychologické povahu, nemohou být od sebe navzájem odvozeni žádnými gramatickými prostředky.

Druhým podtypem je morfologická, (též často označována termínem lexikální), negace představující první stádium gramatikalizace záporu. Tvoří se pomocí záporných afixů a její dosah se omezuje pouze na dané slovo. Na tomto typu se zakládá má studie a v dalších částech práce se k němu odvolávám jako k lexikální negaci z důvodu preference tohoto termínu v použité literatuře.

Prvním typem mluvnickému záporu je zápor členský. Jeho dosah je omezen na určitý větný člen či syntagma, nikoliv celou větu. Ta v důsledku zůstává kladná. V angličtině se vyjadřuje pomocí zápornky *not* a v češtině pomocí *ne* nebo *nikoliv*. Větný zápor zezáporňuje celou větu. V angličtině k němu dochází, jestliže zápornka *not* následuje první pomocné modální sloveso nebo pomocí výrazů *no*, *nothing*, *never*, *nowhere*, *nobody*, *no one*, *neither* či *none*, které svým vlivem dosahují přes predikaci. V češtině dochází k záporové shodě. Větný a lexikální zápor se mohou kombinovat, což má za následek vyrušení negace. Takovéto věty jsou tedy v důsledku kladné, nicméně s jistým stylistickým rozdílem oproti jejich ryze kladným protějškům.

Dále negaci dělíme podle počtu větných funkcí, jež negující výrazy zastávají (podkapitola *Negation according to the number of functions the negators perform*). Podle něj se negace dále dělí na negaci syntetickou, kde výrazy zastávají i jiné větné funkce, a analytickou, v níž je negace jedinou úlohou výrazu.

Podle interpretace záporu rozlišujeme zápor celkový a částečný (podkapitola *Negation according to the interpretation of negation*). Celkový zápor popírá celou propozici, zahrnujíc všechny případy bez výjimky. Částečný zápor naproti tomu propozici plně nepopírá, ale omezuje její platnost na určitý rozsah nebo počet případů. Věta je v důsledku toho vnímána jako kladná.

Posledním kritériem pro rozčlenění negace je element, ke kterému gramaticky náleží zezáporňující výraz (podkapitola *Negation according to the element which carries negation*).

<sup>117</sup> Veselovská, 54.

<sup>118</sup> viz Veselovská, 54.

Pokud je spojován se slovesem, mluvíme o záporu slovesném, jestliže je připojen ke členu na slovesu závislém, jde o zápor neslovesný.

#### 4.2 Lexikální negace v angličtině a češtině

V této části se již soustředím na lexikální typ negace. Ta může být dále dělena z hlediska slovotvorných vztahů mezi kladem a záporem na přímou a nepřímou lexikální negaci, z hlediska pozice v jazykovém systému pak na centrální a periferní lexikální negaci.

Mezi jednotkami přímé lexikální negace existuje vztah fundace, tzn. že zápor se utváří z kladu procesem derivace. Klad je tedy považován za základ záporného výrazu jak z fonetického, tak lexikálního hlediska. Mezi slovy řazenými pod nepřímou lexikální negaci naproti tomu existují jen složitější slovotvorné vztahy, protože výchozí kladné slovo buď neexistuje, nebo je čistě formální.

Centrum sestává ze záporných slov s nejvyšší frekvencí užití, vytvořených nejproduktivnějšími slovotvornými procesy. Z tohoto důvodu se zde objevují jednotky přímé lexikální negace. Periferie obsahuje výrazy, které přestávají být pod vlivem různých činitelů v jazyce používány. Nepřímá lexikální negace patří do této kategorie.

#### 4.3 Negovatelnost

V této kapitole zmiňuji obecná pravidla ovlivňující realizaci lexikální negace. Ta se zdá být omezována jednak působením vnitřních, jednak vnějších jazykových činitelů. Mezi vnitřní faktory se řadí tendence vytvářet úplná paradigmata. Tak vznikají nové záporné jednotky na základě zezápornění kladného výrazu, který je členem bohatě rozvinutého derivačního svazku, jak dokazuje na př. 19:

<i>početnost- <u>nepočetnost</u></i>	<i>comfort- <u>uncomfort</u></i>
<i>početný- <u>nepočetný</u></i>	<i>comfortable-<u>uncomfortable</u></i>
<i>početně- <u>nepočetně</u></i>	<i>comfortably-<u>uncomfortably</u></i>
	<i><u>comfortableness-uncomfortableness</u></i>

Dalším takovýmto činitelem je četnost výskytu kladného výrazu. Jak ukazují slova v příkladu (20), ten se zpravidla vyskytuje mnohem častěji než odpovídající záporný výraz. Jak jsme mohli tedy zjistit, pravděpodobnost formace negativu je vyšší u slov

vysoce frekventovaných v kladu; s jednotkami s malou frekvencí kladu se zápor často nerealizuje vůbec.<sup>119</sup>

Posledním významným vnitřním vlivem působícím na negovatelnost je míra rozdílnosti distribuce kladu a záporu v různých kontextech. Podle Lotka (1973) se jedná právě o vliv distribuce, který způsobuje rozdíly v polysémii mezi kladem a záporem. Slovtvorně rozvinutějšímu kladu, jenž má i vyšší frekvenci výskytu, často odpovídá bohatá polysémie, zatímco méně častému záporu odpovídá monosémie nebo chudší polysémie.<sup>120</sup>

Mezi vnější faktory se řadí především potřeba sdělení, aktivní přístup mluvčího k jazyku umožňující rozlišení ustálených a nově utvořených výrazů, a v neposlední řadě snaha o pregnantní vyjádření.

Zvláštní pozornost zde byla věnována i sémantickému rozlišení záporných výrazů především z oblasti přímé lexikální negace (podkapitola *Semantic differentiation of the negative lexical units*), které byly zkoumány s ohledem na jejich kladné protějšky. Zjistili jsme, že celkový význam záporného výrazu se skládá z dílčích významů záporného modifikátoru a fundujícího slova, kde právě záporný modifikátor, tj. afix, hraje zásadní roli.<sup>121</sup> Jak se dále ukázalo, hlavní záporné významy, jenž může vyjádřit, je kontradikce a/nebo kontrárnost, neboli opakokladnost.<sup>122</sup> Z nich lze pak odvodit i další záporné významy-význam reverzativní a privativní.<sup>123</sup>

Sémantiku záporných jednotek ovlivňuje významnou měrou proces konkretizace, tj. užití výrazu v konkrétní situaci. Obecně platí, že čím vzdálenější (myšleno sémanticky) jsou si klad a zápor, tím jednodušeji mohou být konkretizovány a jejich kontrární charakter je zřetelnější. Konkretizace tedy často vede k přechodu z kontradiktorického významu na význam kontrární (zásadní roli zde hraje kontext).<sup>124</sup>

Polysémie záporných jednotek je též velmi důležitá. I když mají sémanticky rozvinuté kladné protějšky, kontradiktorické jednotky jsou obvykle monosémní, což se následně promítá v jejich omezeném výskytu. Kontrární negace se v tomto ohledu liší, jelikož její vzdálenost a tím i míra konkretizace je zde na vysoké úrovni.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> viz Lotko, 12-14.

<sup>120</sup> Viz Lotko, 13-14.

<sup>121</sup> viz Lotko, 22.

<sup>122</sup> Lotko, 23.

<sup>123</sup> Viz Štekauer a Lieber, 392-3.

<sup>124</sup> viz Lotko, 24.

<sup>125</sup> viz Lotko, 32.

Interpretace záporného významu závisí též na významu fundujícího slova. Liebrova studie (2004) ukazuje vliv gradability adjektiv na konečný význam záporného výrazu. Ten je kontrární v případě stupňovatelných adjektiv (*bezpečný*), nebo kontradiktorický, pokud se jedná o adjektiva, která stupňování nepřipouštějí (*pregnant*). To platí bez ohledu na záporný afix, který použijeme.<sup>126</sup> Lieber nicméně podotýká, že gradabilita adjektiv je sama o sobě ovlivněna interpretací fundujícího slova, konkrétněji zda má neutrální nebo hodnotící charakter. Neutrální význam fundujícího adjektiva totiž snižuje možnost jeho stupňování.<sup>127</sup>

#### 4.4 *Záporné afixy v angličtině a češtině*

V kapitole *Negative affixes* jsem se plně zabývala popisem vlastností jednotlivých záporných afixů z hlediska četnosti výskytu na jednotlivých slovních druzích, jejich původu a původu fundujících slov a sémantické klasifikace záporného významu. Jako první jsem se věnovala zezáporňujícím prostředkům v angličtině (afixy *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *mis-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* a *-free*, následně pak v češtině (afixy *a(n)/ab-*, *anti*, *bez(e)-*, *de-*, *dez-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *ne-*, *non- od-*, *roz-* a *-prostý*).

Vedle domácích afixů disponují oba jazyky několika afixy přejatými, z nichž se některé nacházejí jak v anglickém, tak českém inventáři (prefixy *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-* and *non-*). Poněvadž je jejich chování velmi podobné, nemá smysl je rozebírat jednotlivě v obou systémech, a proto se jim věnujeme pouze v anglické části studie. Mezi-jazykové porovnání jejich společných a rozdílných vlastností přineslo ovšem zajímavé poznatky (kapitola 3.3). V české části se proto více věnuji prefixům *ne-*, *bez(e)-*, *od-* a *roz-*.

Jednotlivé afixy jsou pak dále srovnávány v rámci daného inventáře, což má sloužit ke zmapování situace v daném jazyce. Následná analýza prostředků, jimiž jednotlivé jazyky své záporné lexikální jednotky překládají, ozřejmuje další tendence v lexikální negaci, které jsou pro jazyky společné nebo rozdílné.

#### 4.5 *Závěr*

Popisem a dalšími rozbory chování záporných afixů dojdeme k následujícím zjištěním:

V anglickém inventáři se objevují afixy *a(n)/ab-*, *anti-*, *mis-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-*, *non-*, *un-*, *-less* a *-free*, jenž se liší v produktivitě na jednotlivých slovních druzích a původu (včetně původu fundujícího slova). Kromě *un-*, *-less* a *-free* jsou všechny afixy cizího původu. Prefixy *a(n)/ab-*,

<sup>126</sup> Lieber, 122-4.

<sup>127</sup> Lieber, 122.

*anti-* jsou výpůjčky z řečtiny, *mis-*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-* a *non-* pocházejí z latiny nebo starofrancouzštiny. *A(n)/ab-* a *iN-* se spojují pouze s latinizovanými slovy, ostatní modifikátory je možné nalézt i s domácími slovy.

*A(n)/ab-* a *anti-* se řadí k nejméně využívaným záporným afixům a jejich výskyt se omezuje na adjektiva a substantiva. *Anti-* se do určité míry slučuje i se slovesnými bázemi. Ty jsou nejčastěji zezáporněny pomocí *de-*, *un-* a *mis-*. Produktivita *un-* a *dis-* je v těchto případech omezena na stavová a kauzativní/inchoativní slovesa, u *dis-* pak také na slovesa označující jednorázovou aktivitu. *De-* si vybírá spíše slovesa derivovaná pomocí *-ize*, *-ate* a *-ify*. Počítá se mezi derivační morfémy a tvoří slovesa. Často se vyskytuje na podstatných jménech, stejně jako *dis-*, *non-* a *mis-*. *Non-* se také hojně spojuje s adjektivy. Kromě tohoto prefixu je daná syntaktická kategorie negována pomocí afixů *dis-*, *un-*, *iN-*, *-less* a *-free*. *-Less* a *-free* tvoří adjektiva z podstatných jmen, čímž se řadí mezi derivační morfémy. *-Free* se objevuje výlučně v adjektivech, zatímco *-less* je možné nalézt i v podstatných jménech. Suffixy se dále liší svým hodnotícím významem- *-free* je pozitivní zatímco *-less* vyvolává negativní konotace. Stejně jako výše zmíněné suffixy, i *un-*, *in-* a *non-* mohou působit na stejných adjektivech, ovšem s nepatrným rozdílem ve významu slova. *Non-* je zpravidla nehodnotící a neemotivní, zatímco *un-* a *in-* si osvojují hodnotící charakter své báze.

Z hlediska sémantiky rozlišujeme ryze privativní/reverzativní afixy a afixy připouštějící více interpretací. *A(n)/ab-* může být jak čistě záporné, tak privativní. Význam *anti-* bývá vykládán jako 'proti' nebo 'Y nemající vlastnosti náležející X', zatímco *mis-* vyjadřuje spíše 'znevážení X'. *De-* vytváří privativní a reverzativní jednotky. *Un-*, *in-* a *non-* lze popsat jako negativní na adjektivech a podstatných jménech, *dis-* jako negativní nebo privativní/reverzativní na slovesech. *Un-* se slovesnými bázemi je zpravidla reverzativní. Pokud je připojeno k podstatnému jménu, *non-* (stejně jako *dis-* a *in-*) obvykle upřednostňuje situační/dynamické abstraktní báze (často neverbálního charakteru), ovšem může se též objevit s konkrétními podstatnými jmény, zvláště s těmi označujícími lidi a nástroje. Co se týče adjektiv je *non-* obvykle kontradiktorické, jelikož si vybírá sémanticky neutrální báze. *Un-* má s těmito slovními druhy většinou kontrární význam. Tento prefix je v současné angličtině velmi populární, hlavně v případě konkrétní a vlastních jmen. *IN-* zpravidla nese kontradiktorický význam. Existuje několik indicií ukazujících na možnou příbuznost či vztah těchto dvou prefixů (např. slova *unjust-injustice* nebo snižování frekvence *in-* ve prospěch *un-*).

Jak již bylo řečeno, *a(n)/ab-*, *anti*, *de-*, *dis-*, *iN-* a *non-* můžeme nalézt i v českém systému, jazyky se nicméně liší v jejich produktivitě a často i ve slovech, ke kterým jsou připojeny.



Některé případy dokonce zasahují do problematiky zrádných slov (*antikoncepce-contraception*). Prefix *dis-* se v češtině objevuje ve dvou formách— *dis-* a *dez-*—lišících se produktivitou na slovesných bázích. *Dez-* má celkem blízko i k *de-* (oba mají stejný původ a vykazují podobné vlastnosti se slovesy), avšak žádné příklady ekvivalence těchto prefixů nebyly zaznamenány.

Ryze záporné významy (kontradikce a kontrárnost) anglických afixů se překládají do češtiny pomocí prefixu *ne-*, jenž je jediným českým negativním afixem schopným vyjádřit tyto typy významu. Pro překlad ostatních významů negace disponuje čeština bohatou škálou prostředků-domácí volné a vázané morfémy *bez(e)(-), proti(-), od-, vy-, roz-*, prefixy cizího původu v případě výpůjček a různých perifrází jako *zbavit se čeho* nebo *odstranit co*. Teoreticky lze použít i derivační morfém *-prostý*, nejedná se však o v tomto jazyce rozšířený způsob.

Kromě cizích afixů, čeština vyjadřuje lexikální negaci pomocí prefixů *ne-, bez(e)-, od-* a *roz-*. Sufix *-prostý* (sémanticky i formálně blízký anglickému *-free*) se též řadí mezi tyto prostředky, ale v současné češtině již není produktivní.

*Ne-* je zdaleka nejužívanějším záporným modifikátorem pojmím se produktivně k jakémukoliv typu báze (jak ze syntaktického, tak etymologického hlediska). Jisté problémy však vznikají při klasifikaci jím zezáporněných slovesných jednotek, poněvadž takový druh prefixace automaticky způsobuje zápor celé propozice nebo její části. Jako jediný ryze záporný český afix vyjadřuje *ne-* jak kontrární, tak kontradiktorický význam pouze v závislosti na sémanticko-gramatických vlastnostech báze. Prefix může také nést privativní význam, tato schopnost je však oslabena ve prospěch prefixu *bez(e)-* (*bezbarvý, nebarevný*). *Bez(e)-* je výlučně privativní a pojí se nejčastěji k adjektivům; se slovesy nejsou registrovány žádné příklady. To se kompenzuje prefixy *roz-* a *od-*, jenž se oba produktivně pojí se slovesy a podstatnými jmény. *Roz-* je reverzativní zatímco *od-* je přístupné jak reverzativní, tak privativní interpretaci. *Roz-* se stejně jako *bez(e)-* vyskytuje pouze se slovy domácího původu, *od-* lze ovšem nalézt i s cizími bázemi.

Pro vyjádření významů nesených prefixem *ne-* angličtina využívá velké množství prostředků. Užití toho nebo onoho obecně závisí na syntaktické kategorii dané jednotky. Význam slovesného *ne-* se zachovává užitím mluvnického záporu, perifrázemi se slovesy *fail, refrain from* nebo prefixací *dis-*. Na adjektivech a podstatných jménech se nejčastěji překládá pomocí typických záporných modifikátorů, ale i pomocí dalších afixů, čímž se přesněji vyhraňuje význam těchto jednotek. Jednou z možností je i užití perifrází jako *hard to*

*understand, beyond belief, A+ person*. Pro překlad typických českých úsloví se užívá různých frází (*bít koho hlava nehlava -right and centre at sb/ lash out wildly at sb/ jet ride for a fall*).

Privativní význam prefixu *bez(e)-* vyjadřují anglické *un-*, *-less* a *-free*, frekventované jsou i perifráze *lack of sth, without sth, A+ person*. Mezi nejčastější alternativy pro překlad *od-* a *roz-* patří prefixy *dis-*, *un-* a *de-*, z nichž se první hojně užívá v překladech *roz-* a druhé dva spíše pro *od-*. Privativní význam *od-* je stejně tak možné vyjádřit perifrází *remove sth* ('odstranit co'), reverzativnost obou prefixů vystihují též slovesné fráze obsahující *out, off* nebo *away*.

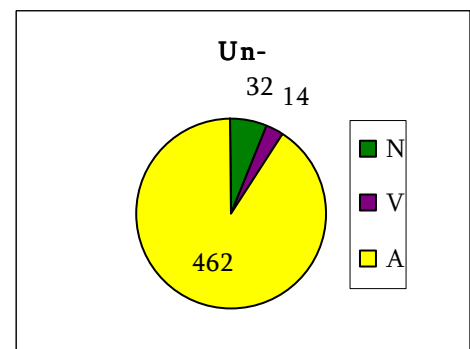
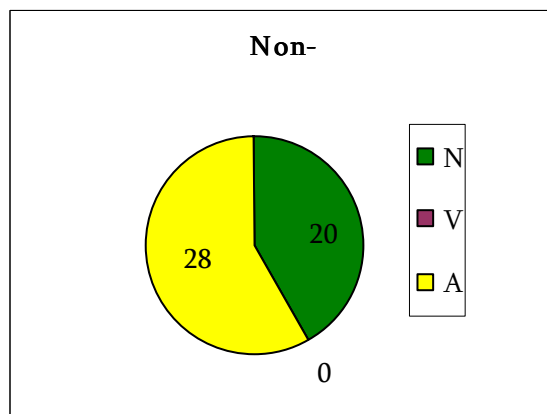
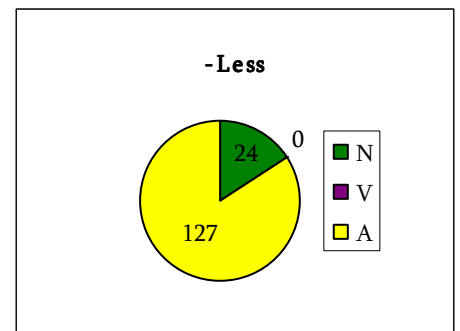
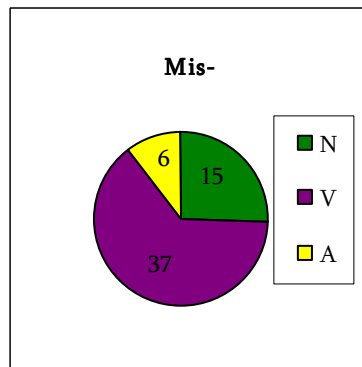
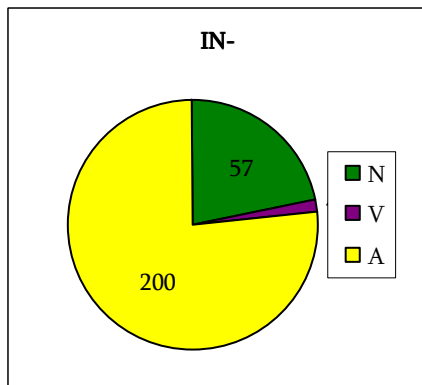
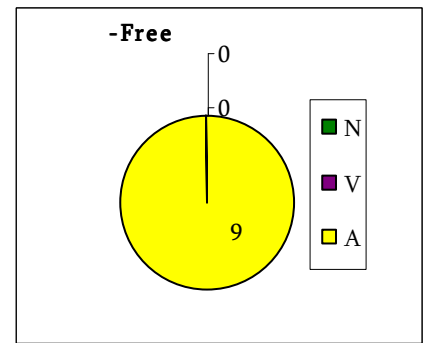
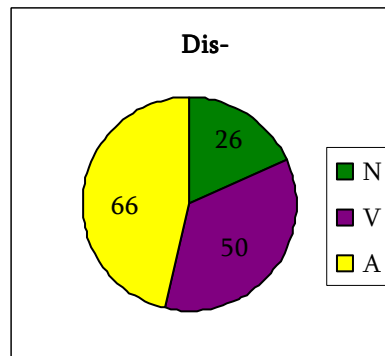
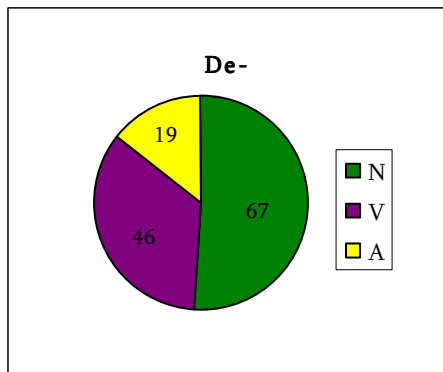
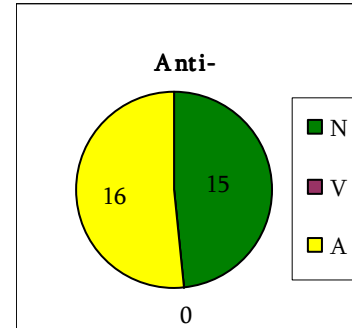
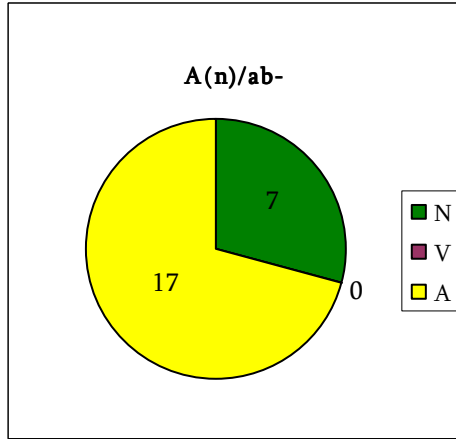
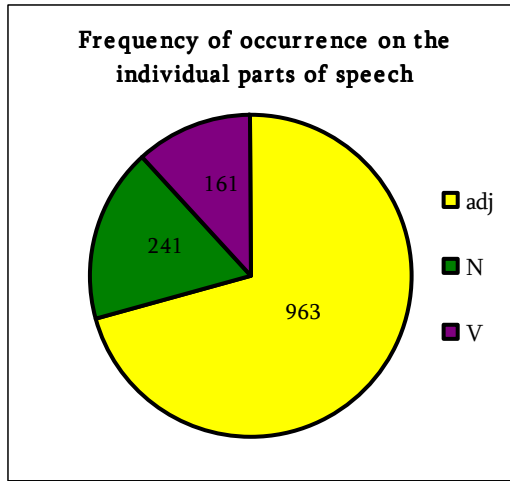
Následným porovnáním inventářů získáme další poznatky o tendencích lexikální negace projevujících se v jednotlivých jazycích. V první řadě je nutno zmínit, že se obvykle nezezaporňují výrazy, které již mají záporné konotace (neexistuje žádné *\*unsad* nebo *\*nesmutný*). Oba jazyky pak vykazují silnou preferenci adjektiv v lexikální negaci, kterou lze podle Lotka<sup>128</sup> vysvětlit podobnou funkcí adjektiv a záporu. Hojnost prefixálních zezaporňujících prostředků (v porovnání se sufixálními) v obou inventářích ukazuje na platnost obecné tendence klást zápor na první místo a je mimo jiné i jediným produktivním způsobem vyjádření lexikální negace v češtině. Využívání cizích záporných modifikátorů je v tomto jazyce méně časté a zpravidla se tak vytvářejí stylisticky zbarvené jednotky. Angličtina disponuje kromě prefixů též produktivními sufixy *-less* a semisufixem *-free*. Většina prefixů jsou výpůjčky, jež se přirozeně pojí jak k cizím, tak domácím bázím. Nejvýznamnější záporné prefixy *dis-*, *in-*, *non-*, *un-* jsou schopny nést značné množství negativních významů (kontrárnost, kontradikce, privativnost nebo reverzativnost). Čeština má k dispozici pouze jeden afix schopný vyjádření kontrárnosti a kontradikce, její další záporné afixy jsou privativní, reverzativní, nebo kombinací těchto dvou interpretací. Pokud se na problematiku podíváme z fonologického hlediska, zjistíme, že anglické záporné modifikátory neovlivňují přízvuk své báze, jíž jsou akcentuálně podřízeny. Čeština je v tomto ohledu odlišná, protože její modifikátory jsou nadřazeny slovu, s kterým se pojí. Z dalšího porovnání vyplyne, že jazyky se liší i morfologickým statutem těchto prostředků. Zatímco se v češtině jedná výlučně o inflekční morfémy (jediný derivační morfém se již nepoužívá), angličtina skýtá možnost využití derivačních morfémů (*de-*, *-less* a *-free*). Na příkladu nejproduktivnějšího českého a anglického záporného afixu (*ne-* a *un-*) můžeme vidět, že oba jazyky mají tendenci upřednostňovat domácí prostředky před přejatými. Jak se dále ukázalo na problematice užití prefixů *un-*, *in-* and *non-*, anglická lexikální negace je pod silným

<sup>128</sup> Lotko, 12.

vlivem diversifikační tendence, kterou čeština v této oblasti nepociťuje. Kromě toho stojí za zmínku i vzrůstající preference *un-* před ostatními negativními afixy (hlavně *dis-* a *iN-*) dokonce i v případě podstatných jmen. V této souvislosti zmiňuji možný vztah *iN-* a *un-* naznačený v podkapitole 3.1.8. Jistý rozdíl mezi angličtinou a češtinou lze zpozorovat při negaci sloves v případech cílené kontrární a kontradiktorické interpretace. Zatímco v angličtině prefixace modifikátoru nesoucího tyto druhy významu působí pouze v rámci daného slova, v češtině dochází k zezápornění celé propozice nebo její části, což následně vede ke snížení frekvence záporných podstatných jmen a adjektiv.

## 5 Annexes

### 5.1. English affixes

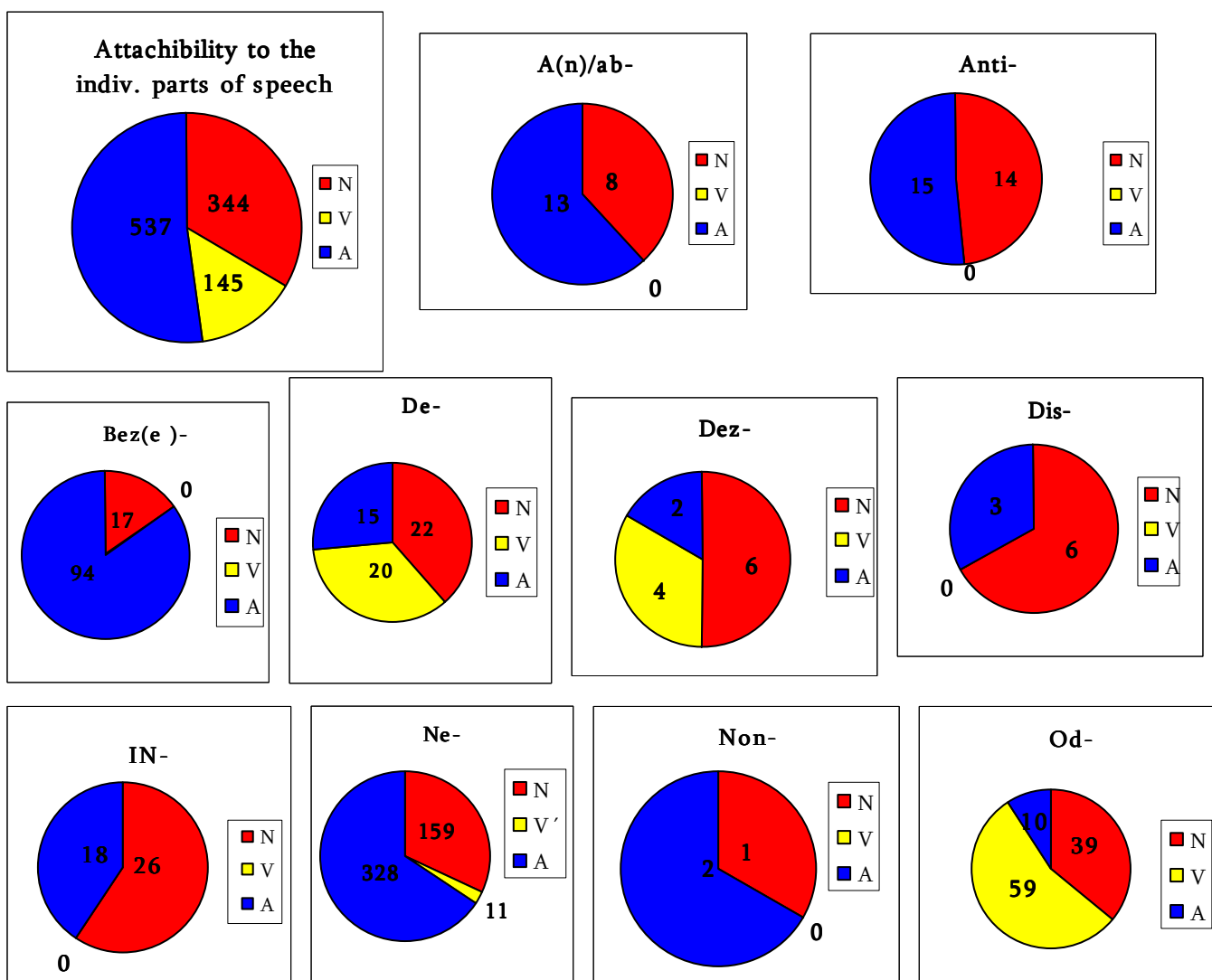


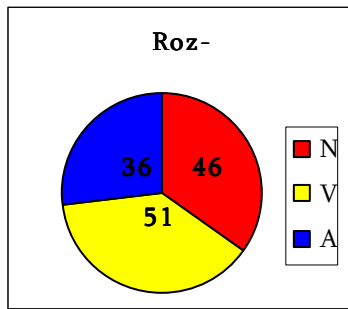
English affixes with respect to their interpretation

	contrary	contradictory	reversative	privative
A(n)/ab-	•	•		•
Anti-		•	•	
Mis-		?		
De-			•	•
Dis-		•	•	•
Non-	%	•		•
Un-	•	%	•	•
iN-		•		
-less				•
-free				•

5.2. Czech affixes

Czech affixes with respect to the frequency on the individual parts of speech





**Czech affixes with respect to their interpretation**

	contrary	contradictory	reversative	privative
A(n)/ab-	•	•		•
Anti-		•	•	
Bez(e)-				•
De-			•	•
Dez/dis-		•	•	•
iN-		•		
Ne-	•	•	?	•
Non-	%	•		•
Od-			•	•
Roz-			•	
(-prostý)				•

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