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A Corpus-based Study of Constituent Negation in Czech

It has been widely accepted that there are two basic types of syntactic negation in Czech – the so-called sentential negation and constituent negation. The main criterion for distinguishing the two has been the fact that in the case of sentential negation the negative element ne is a prefix on the verb (1), whereas in the constituent negation, the particle ne immediately precedes the negated constituent (2a). However, according to the analysis of the Czech National Corpus SYN2005 [2], traditional approach to the negative sentences [1] usually neglects to mention that constituent negation involves another crucial distinctive feature – the contrastive character of the whole structure. In Czech, the contrastiveness is formally signalled by the adversative conjunction ale and the ale-clause is obligatory, as shown in (2b).

(1) Petr včera ne-přišel.

Peter NOM yesterday NEG came.

'Yesterday, Peter didn't come.'

(2)a. Petr přišel ne včera, ale v neděli.

Peter NOM came NEG yesterday but on Sunday.

'Peter came not yesterday, but on Sunday.'

b. \*Petr přišel ne včera.

Peter NOM came NEG yesterday.

In this talk I have two goals. (i) I will address a special type of constituent negation that has not been described in existing treatments of Czech negation, which I will call 'contrastive negation' (3). (ii) I will explore and formalize an analysis for common constituent negation and contrastive negation in Czech within a framework of dependency corpus, Prague Dependency Treebank 2.0 [4].

(3) Petr ne-přišel včera, ale v neděli.

Peter NOM NEG came yesterday but on Sunday.

'Peter didn't come yesterday, but [he came] on Sunday.'

Contrastive negation bears formal features of both sentential negation (prefix *ne*- on verb) and constituent negation (adversative paratactic structure). Semantically, however, the negative prefix does not negate the whole proposition (unlike in normal sentential negation – see [5]) and instead, it has scope only over one of the constituents. I will propose a dependency analysis and representation of this special type and relate it to the analysis of the standard negation structures. A crucial part of the analysis is an integration of information-structure constraints with the formal, morphosyntactic requirements of the patterns, using a tectogrammatical level of the Prague Dependency Treebank.

The analysis also leads to pointing out some commonalities and differences of constituent negation structures in Czech and English [3], e.g. the position of negative element *ne/not* in certain structures and the shape of the contrastive element (the adversative clause).

## References

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