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**Překladové ekvivalenty anglických významově záporných, ale formálně kladných výrazů
(*hardly, seldom*)**

**Czech translation counterparts of English semantically negative but formally positive
expressions (*hardly, seldom*)**

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podpis

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Abstract

Tato bakalářská práce se zabývá výrazy *hardly* a *seldom*, vyjadřující negaci, a jejími českými ekvivalenty. První část zahrnuje obecný přehled typů negace v angličtině a formálních znaků specifických pro tyto jednotlivé typy. Analytická část je zaměřena na 100 příkladů obsahující zmíněná adverbia a popisuje je na základě informací v teoretické části. 50 příkladů obsahuje výraz *seldom* a 50 příkladů obsahuje výraz *hardly*. Všechny příklady včetně českých ekvivalentů byly získány pomocí programu *InterCorp*, který poskytuje vícejazyčný korpus.

This work examines the negators *hardly* and *seldom*, as devices of negation and their Czech correlates. The first part presents a general overview of negation types in English and formal features related to the specific types. The empirical part then focuses on 100 examples containing the two adverbs and analyzes them in terms of the theoretical background. 50 findings are those of the adverb *seldom* and 50 of the adverb *hardly*. All examples, including the Czech counterparts, were extracted from the corpus *InterCorp*, which presents multilingual parallel corpora.

Abbreviations

*	incorrect form
NP	noun phrase
PP	prepositional phrase
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
V	verb
CGEL	Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language
CamGEL	Cambridge Grammar of the English Language
AmE	American English
BrE	British English
MC	Mluvnice češtiny
GCE	A Grammar of Contemporary English
LGSWE	Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English
TFG	The Theory of Functional Grammar
SEL	Studies in the English Language
NEOL	Negation in English and Other Languages

Tables

<i>Table 1:</i> Common nonassertive items and the corresponding assertive and negative elements (Quirk et al. 1985: 782).....	21
<i>Table 2:</i> General occurrence frequency of HARDLY and SELDOM	34
<i>Table 3:</i> Overall occurrence of HARDLY in the primary sources.....	35
<i>Table 4:</i> Overall frequency of the adverb SELDOM in the primary sources.....	35
<i>Table 5:</i> Frequency of Czech equivalents of the adverb HARDLY.....	38
<i>Table 6:</i> Frequency of Czech equivalents of the adverb SELDOM.....	45
<i>Table 7:</i> HARDLY vs SELDOM as modifiers of various elements	55

Contents

Abstract	i
Abbreviations	ii
Tables	iii
1 INTRODUCTION	9
2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND	10
2.1 CLAUSE/CLAUSAL NEGATION.....	11
2.1.1 Clause negation through verb negation.....	11
2.1.1.1 Contracted forms.....	12
2.1.2 Clause negation other than through verb negation.....	12
2.1.2.1 Words negative in form and meaning – negative quantifiers.....	12
2.1.2.1.1 No/not negation	13
2.1.2.1.2 Forms with any/ever.....	14
2.1.2.2 Words negative in meaning but not in form	15
2.1.2.2.1 Determinatives	16
2.1.2.2.2 Adverbs	16
2.1.3 Scope of negation.....	17
2.1.3.1 Scope of negation: adjuncts	17
2.1.3.2 Scope of negation: quantifiers	18
2.1.3.2.1 Ambiguities	18
2.1.4 Focus of negation	19
2.1.5 Negative sentences with Quantifiers	20
2.1.6 Intensification.....	22
2.2 LOCAL NEGATION.....	24
2.2.1 Devices of local negation.....	24
2.2.1.1 Placement of not before the negated element.....	24
2.2.1.2 Negative affixes	25
2.2.1.3 Other devices.....	26
2.2.2 Syntactic differences between clause and local negation	26
2.2.3 Other devices of negation	27
2.3 PREDICATION NEGATION	28
2.4 DOUBLE NEGATION.....	29

2.5	CZECH VS ENGLISH SYSTEM OF NEGATION.....	32
3	METHODOLOGY	33
4	ANALYSIS	34
4.1	HARDLY vs SELDOM – general occurrence frequency	34
4.1.1	HARDLY vs SELDOM – occurrence frequency in respect to the analyzed texts	35
4.2	HARDLY vs SELDOM – General remarks on translation equivalents.....	36
4.3	HARDLY.....	37
4.3.1	Translation equivalents of HARDLY modifying a VERB.....	38
4.3.1.1	Translation equivalents of HARDLY with the intensifiers EVER/ AT ALL	39
4.3.1.2	Translation equivalents in respect to the POSITION of HARDLY within the clause	40
4.3.2	Translations equivalents of HARDLY as a modifier of an ADJECTIVE	41
4.3.3	Translation equivalents of HARDLY as a modifier of a NOUN PHRASE	42
4.3.3.1	Translations equivalents of non-assertive items, occurring within the modified NP	42
4.3.4	Translation equivalents of HARDLY modifying a NUMERAL.....	43
4.4	SELDOM.....	44
4.4.1	Translation equivalents of SELDOM modifying a VERB.....	45
4.4.1.1	SELDOM occurring with non-assertive items	46
4.4.1.2	Translation equivalents of SELDOM expressing a positive meaning.....	46
4.4.1.3	Translation equivalents in respect to the position of SELDOM within the clause	47
4.4.1.4	Translation equivalents of SELDOM within elliptical constructions.....	48
4.4.2	Translation equivalents of SELDOM modifying an ADJECTIVE	49
4.4.3	Translation equivalents of SELDOM as a modifier of a PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE.....	50
5	CONCLUSION	51
6	BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	56
6.1	Secondary Sources:	56
6.2	Primary Sources:	57
7	RESUMÉ.....	58
8	APPENDICES	62
8.1	APPENDIX 1	63
8.2	APPENDIX 2	69

1 INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the English adverbs **HARDLY** and **SELDOM**, which are formally positive, but semantically express negation. It explores the translation equivalents of those items, as well as the features which support the negative nature of the items.

The theoretical part of this work will first portray a general outline of negation types, embracing different means by which negation can be realized. Various syntactic characteristics that support the negative nature of the elements will be described in order to provide a basis for the analysis. The negators **HARDLY** and **SELDOM** will be briefly introduced in reference to the negation type they belong to, in order to establish the link between them and the relevant syntactic features reoccurring in this negation type. The theoretical basis is provided mainly by *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (1994) by Libuše Dušková and *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985) by R. Quirk et al.

The empirical section of the study will then focus on the analysis of 100 findings extracted from the corpus *Intercorp*, i.e. 50 instances of **HARDLY** and 50 instances of **SELDOM**. The examples will be studied according to the formal characteristics described in the theoretical part and simultaneously, their Czech translation correlates will be taken into consideration.

The concluding part will combine the findings relating to both adverbs, and the results will be summarized and assessed with the aim of presenting an overview of the Czech equivalents.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Generally, considering the semantic level of language, various devices of correlation exist among language units, including negation. The function of negation is rather simple; from a logical point of view, it is a process which denies the validity of the relationship between the individual parts of or the entire sentence. For instance, if a sentence with a positive implication expresses a particular state of things, negation creates its negative counterpart, which is thus contradictive in meaning (*Mluvnice češtiny 3* 1987: 260) e.g. *I haven't told him about it*, is a negative counterpart of: *I have told him about it*. (*Mluvnice* 1994: 336). Therefore, by using a positive structure, the speaker expresses his/her positive stance towards the realization of the contents of the sentence (in imperative and optative sentences) or affirms it (in declarative sentences). Using a negative form, the speaker denies the communicated contents or utters his/her negative stand towards its realization (*Mluvnice* 1994: 336).

According to S.C. Dik, negation may thus be defined in terms of *epistemic objective modality*¹. Polarity distinctions (positive and negative) are perceived as two logical extremes of this type of modality, as they show the speaker's certainty about the information carried by the clause (TFG 1997: 242).

The formal realization of negation differs in all languages, underlining the immense variations among the different grammatical systems. Focusing on the English grammatical system, there are various means of expressing negation. The two most frequent negators are *no* and *not*. *No* has a clausal function when it is an answer to a yes/no question e.g. *Have you been waiting long? – No, I've only just arrived*. When it functions as a determiner, in Czech it corresponds to *žádný* (*no person, nothing*). The negator *not* is then used to negate a verb or other clause element e.g. *I dare not ask* (*Mluvnice* 1994: 337). Nevertheless, clauses may also be negated by other negative words, some of which are comprised of a negative component (such as *nobody, unemployment* etc.) and some have a positive form, including the words *seldom* and *hardly*. Negation may hence be a part of a word with lexical meaning i.e. negative affixes. In contrast to grammatical negation, which affects the meaning and form of the entire sentence or its part, negative affixes are only components of the structure of a particular word (*Mluvnice* 1994: 338).

¹ The speaker evaluates the actuality of SoA in terms of his knowledge of SoA in general i.e. certain, probable, possible, impossible etc.

Quirk et al. (1985: 775) introduce three types of negation:

- (i) **Clause negation** – means that the entire clause is syntactically treated as negative e.g. *I have not finished.*
- (ii) **Local negation** – occurs when one element (which does not have to be a clause element) is negated e.g. *They live not far from us.*
- (iii) **Predication negation** – is not a very much discussed type of negation where the predication is negated and it occurs only after certain auxiliaries, e.g. *They may not go swimming.*

2.1 CLAUSE/CLAUSAL NEGATION

As mentioned above, the term *clause negation* implies that the whole clause is negated. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 775-798) there are various means of expressing clause negation, including clause negation through verb negation (see 2.1.1), and clause negation other than through verb negation (see 2.1.2).

2.1.1 Clause negation through verb negation

A sentence is negated by the insertion of the clause negator *not* between the operator² and the predication; the negator thus denies the validity of the contents of the sentence as a whole:

They have not been told (CGEL 1985: 776).

In sentences where an operator is not present, an auxiliary *do* is added to the verb phrase and is followed by the bare infinitive; thus the positive sentence *She works hard* becomes *She does not work hard* (CGEL 1985: 776). *Do* – insertion is not used with *be* (since *be* behaves like an auxiliary):

They are not that little. (LGSWE 1999: 160)

except in negative imperatives:

Don't be silly! (LGSWE 1999: 160)

² The operator is the first auxiliary verb in a complex verb phrase, or *be* or *have* in a simple verb phrase.

2.1.1.1 Contracted forms

According to LGSWE (1999: 166) and CGEL (1985: 776) the negator *not* can appear in its contracted form in informal writing and is attached as an enclitic³ to the preceding operator e.g. *Jane isn't responsible*. Another possibility is that of an auxiliary contraction e.g. *Jane's not responsible* (CGEL 1985: 777). As they are enclitic to the preceding word, contracted forms do not occur initially. Moreover, since they are unstressed, they do not occur in clauses where the operator is the only verb in the verb phrase, and precedes an ellipsis. This is illustrated by the following examples (CGEL 1985: 123):

*Will you be in tonight? *ll you be in tonight?*

*No, but I will be tomorrow. *No, but I ll tomorrow.*

There are several general rules accompanying the occurrence of these contractions (LGSWE 1999: 166):

- ❖ The contraction of operator is frequent with the verb *be* in the present tense form (*it's not, you're not, etc.*)
- ❖ Certain operators are used mostly in their full form (*might not, may not*).
- ❖ Full forms are mostly used in academic prose, while contracted forms appear in conversation, fiction and news.
- ❖ Considering *is* and *are*, *not*-contraction is mostly found in initial position, while operator contraction is most common in clause-final positions.
- ❖ Operator contractions are mostly found with pronouns.
 - Operator contraction is less common when preceded by nouns, than is *not*-contraction.

2.1.2 Clause negation other than through verb negation

2.1.2.1 Words negative in form and meaning – negative quantifiers

Verb negation is not the only way to achieve clausal negation. The negative quantifiers⁴ such as *no one, never, no, nobody, nothing, nowhere, neither, none*, may negate the sentence as a whole and it applies to all occurrences with no exceptions:

That was no accident (CGEL 1985: 778).

³ Monosyllabic word or form that is treated as a suffix of the preceding word. It is thus connected in pronunciation with that word and does not have an independent accent.

⁴ Huddleston and Pullum refer to these expressions as absolute negators.

Since, the negative element may negate other item than the verb, it creates a choice between verb negation and negation of some other element, which is illustrated by the following example:

An honest man would not lie – No honest man would lie. (CGEL 1985: 778)

Nevertheless, there is no corresponding expression if the negated subject is not generic⁵ i.e. it is not possible to use the form in which negation precedes an operator:

None of us were ready. (CGEL 1985: 779)

Non-verbal negators marking clausal negation can appear in any position in a clause; however, as the position gets further away from the beginning, the acceptability of the construction decreases since more of the clause is possible to be misinterpreted as a positive before the negator is revealed towards the end of the clause.

I am not satisfied with the proposal you have put to me in any way.

I am satisfied with the proposal you have put to me in no way. (CamGEL 2002: 814)

The mentioned items belong to the clausal negation, causing subject-operator inversion⁶ and indicating the occurrence of the following (CGEL 1985: 779):

- Positive question tag e.g. *No dogs are permitted here, are they?*
- Use of nonassertives e.g. *Neither of us has ever had a university education.*
- The negative item can be placed in the initial position e.g. *Not a moment did she waste.*

2.1.2.1.1 No/not negation

If the clause contains an expression with *no*, the verb must have a positive form. Although the English grammatical system allows only one negation in a sentence, it provides two ways of interpreting this type of a negative clause. (Mlunice 1994: 340)

- ❖ First, there is a form with a positive verb and a negative quantifier:

I see no clouds (CGEL 1985: 779).

- ❖ Second, there is a form with a negative verb, after which a positive nonassertive quantifier is expressed by the form *any* (*ever*, *either*):

I don't see any clouds (CGEL 1985: 779).

No and *not* are the two major forms of negation in English. Considering the occurrence of *not* and *no* negation, it may be said that a *no*-negated form may be replaced by a *not*-negated

⁵ An item referring to a whole class rather than to individual members of a class.

⁶ If an initial negative adverbial does not cause subject-operator inversion, the negation is local.

form. However, the opposite is not very common (LGSWE 1999: 168-169). *Not*-negation usually must have another form attached to it (i.e. *any/ever*), which can incorporate the negative element:

- i) *They did not have any sympathy for him.*
- ii) *They had no sympathy for him.* (LGSWE 1999: 168)

Additionally, negation with *no* may have different implications than verb negation with *not*. For example, *He is not a teacher* means that teaching is not his occupation, while *He is no teacher* indicates that he does not have the skills for teaching.⁷ (LGSWE 1999: 169)

2.1.2.1.2 Forms with any/ever

There are several tendencies that apply to the occurrence of the form with *any/ever*:

- ❖ Unstressed expressions with the form *any* may not be positioned before clause negation⁸, thus, clauses with a negative quantifier (which functions as a subject) may only have the form with *no*

Nothing exciting ever happens here – Anything exciting doesn't ever happen here.
(Mlunice 1999: 340)

However, if the subject is not positioned initially, and negation can be placed before it, the clause may have both forms:

Did none of his arguments/ Didn't any of his arguments convince you? (Mlunice 1999: 340)

- ❖ Tendency to place the negator early in the clause to clearly mark negative nature of the clause⁹. Compare the following examples:

He could prevent the accident under no circumstances.

He couldn't prevent the accident under any circumstances. (Mlunice 1999: 341)

- ❖ The form with *no* is preferred in those cases, where the negator and *any* would be in juxtaposition:

⁷ The determiner *no* converts the nongradable noun *teacher* into a gradable noun that characterizes the person.

⁸ *Any* may appear before clause negation if it is outside the scope of negation and functions as a universal quantifier e.g. *Any other medicine is no good.*

⁹ This tendency becomes obligatory in clauses with more universal quantifiers, where the negative quantifier stands in the initial position *Nobody promised me anything.* (Mlunice 1999: 341) It also supports the preference of forms with a negative verb and *any*, since negation is expressed earlier than in clauses with post-verbal negator: *They employ no women – They don't employ any women.* (Mlunice 1999: 341)

There's no need to alter anything. (Mlunice 1999: 341)

The form with *any* is used only if the verb is stressed:

There aren't any vacancies. I haven't ever been there. (Mlunice 1999: 341)

- ❖ Stylistically, forms with *any* are regularly used in spoken language, whereas forms with *no* are common in formal language.
- ❖ If there is a negator with universal meaning in the sentence, the verb must have a positive form:

I have never thought about it. (Mlunice 1994: 337)

- ❖ If the negator is beside the verb, the item with universal meaning must have a form with *any*:

He does not go to any restaurant. ((Mlunice 1994: 128)

- ❖ The negator *not* may not stand beside a lexical verb, but must be added to auxiliaries and modals, with which it becomes one word in its reduced form e.g. *isn't, can't, wouldn't* etc.
- ❖ If the sentence contains more than one general quantifier and the verb is negative, all quantifiers have a form with *any* e.g. *We didn't get anything for anyone anywhere.* If the verb is positive, only the first quantifier is negated i.e. *any* cannot precede the clause negator e.g. *I have never read anything anywhere about it* (Mlunice 1994: 340) (on quantifiers, see also 2.1.5).

2.1.2.2 *Words negative in meaning but not in form*

The English negation system presents a group of words that have a positive form yet have a negative connotation. Huddleston and Pullum contrast these items (which are referred to as the **approximate negators**) with absolute negators (see 2.1.2.1) or verbal negation in order to clarify their meaning. While absolute negators indicate absolute zero (a), the approximate negators (b) express an imprecise quantification which gives them an ambivalent status with respect to the positive versus negative contrast.

a) *None of them will survive. Ed never leaves the house.*

b) *Few of them will survive. Ed rarely leaves the house.* (CamGEL 2002: 816)

According to CamGEL (2002: 820), several syntactic features apply to approximate negators which show that they can mark clause negation i.e. positive tag question, inversion, a negative connective (see 2.1.2.1).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 815) state that this group comprises of:

- ❖ **Determinatives** e.g. *few, little*
- ❖ **Adverbs** e.g. *rarely, seldom, barely, hardly, scarcely*

2.1.2.2.1 *Determinatives*

Considering determinatives¹⁰, syntactically, *few* and *little* function as determiners of a noun phrase (a), or a fused determiner head (b).

- a) *Few people liked it.*
- b) *Few of them liked it.* (CamGEL 2002: 816)

Few is used with countable nouns, while *little* with uncountable nouns. Moreover, *little* functions as a degree adjunct, modifying verbs:

He little understood the implications of what he had done. (CamGEL 2002: 816)

or comparatives:

He felt little better. (CamGEL 2002: 816)

It is important to note, that the comparative and superlative forms of the words *few* and *little* i.e. *fewer, fewest, lesser, least*) do not syntactically behave as negators.

2.1.2.2.2 *Adverbs*

Adverbs can be defined as “a grammatically distinct category of words whose members are characteristically used to modify verbs (also adverbs or adjectives) but not nouns” (CamGEL 2002: 582). The practical part of this paper will focus on adverbs of degree¹¹ and adverbs of frequency¹² as these groups are relevant to the particular examples of negative words used to exemplify formally positive but semantically negative items.

Specifically, *rarely* and *seldom* are adverbs of frequency, while *barely* and *hardly* are adverbs of degree. They usually modify the following:

- verbs e.g. *She hardly moved.*
- adjectives e.g. *He was barely intelligible.*
- a restricted range of determinatives e.g. *There was scarcely any food left.* (CamGEL 2002: 816)

¹⁰ Determinative (or determiner) is an expression which specifies how the reference of the NP is to be understood.

¹¹ They are concerned with the assessment of gradable constituents in relation to an imaginary scale (CGEL 1999: 485).

¹² They are elicited by “how often”? (CGEL 1999: 482).

Czech equivalents of the approximate negators may appear in either positive or negative clauses:

I hardly noticed it. Skoro jsem si toho nevšiml – Sotva jsem si toho všiml. (Mluvnick 1994: 347)

He seldom forgets anything. Zřídka něco zapomene. (Mluvnick 1994: 347)

Dušková mentions only one option for the translation of *seldom*. This implies the possible prevailing pattern of translation.

2.1.3 Scope of negation

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 787), the scope of negation is defined as the stretch of language over which the negative item has a semantic influence. The scope usually extends from the negative item itself to the end of the clause.¹³

2.1.3.1 Scope of negation: adjuncts

There are various instances of variation considering the scope of negation and adjuncts. What plays a role is the position of the adverbial which may cause ambiguities in determining local or clause negation. Let us consider the following cases:

- ❖ In clauses containing the negator *not* or a negative word (e.g. *hardly*, *never*) standing after the operator, adverbials occurring before the negative usually lie outside the scope.

Compare:

She definitely didn't speak to him.

She didn't definitely speak to him (CGEL 1985: 788).

- ❖ When an adjunct stands in the final position, it may or may not lie outside the scope:

I wasn't listening all the time.

I wasn't listening all the time. (CGEL 1985: 788)

The scope in the above examples is marked by intonation, thus expressing the difference in meaning. While the first example means: *For the whole time, I wasn't listening*; while the second example means: *It is not true that I was listening all the time*.

- ❖ If an assertive form is used in the adjunct, the adjunct must lie outside the scope. Thus, the following examples parallel the above examples:

I didn't listen to some of the speakers.

¹³ It does not necessarily include the adverbial placed in the end.

I didn't listen to any of the speakers. (CGEL 1985: 788)

- ❖ Disjuncts and conjuncts always lie outside the scope of clause negation, no matter what their position is:

She doesn't know him, unfortunately. (CGEL 1985: 788)

- ❖ The scope can sometimes extend into a subordinate clause:

I wouldn't like you to disturb anyone. (CGEL 1985: 788)

2.1.3.2 Scope of negation: quantifiers

Considering the scope of negation and quantifiers, if a quantifier is present in the negative clause, the meaning of the sentence depends on the relation between the quantifier and the negation i.e. whether the quantifier is present within the scope of negation or not (Mluvnic 1994: 342). In negative clauses of universal truth, the verb and quantifiers stand in the scope of negation. Negation is applied as a whole and thus the positive clause with a quantifier *every, all* corresponds to a negative clause with quantifier *no/not any* e.g. *He told me all - He told me nothing.*

2.1.3.2.1 Ambiguities

Ambiguities may arise while trying to determine clause or local negation. Let us consider the following instances where ambiguities may appear:

- ❖ The quantifiers *many, much* may be located outside the scope of negation; therefore, the meaning does not change. This is most common in cases where the quantifier stands in the NP i.e. before the verb:

Many boys didn't obey the order. (Mluvnic 1994: 344)

Nonetheless, if the quantifier stands behind the verb, it may also be an instance of local negation:

The order was obeyed by few (not many) boys. (Mluvnic 1994: 344)

- ❖ The universal quantifiers *every* and *all* rise ambiguity in the determining the negation type. Let us exemplify this on the following example:

All boys didn't obey the order. (Mluvnic 1994: 343)

The meanings are: *Some boys did obey to the order, but some didn't* or *Not one of the boys obeyed the order*. Again, we can see that the ambiguity arises only in written style, since speech determines the meaning by intonation.

- ❖ Local negation is usually expressed by quantifiers *every, all* etc. Negation thus ranges only over the quantifier while the verb lies outside the scope of negation:

I haven't told you all. (Mlunice 1994: 343)

Nonetheless, on rare occasions, these quantifiers are parts of clausal negation i.e. the verb is in the scope of negation and the clause has the same meaning as if it would contain quantifiers of the *no* sequence.¹⁴

- ❖ *Always* stands before the negator in the clause expressing universal truth:

He always doesn't speak to the point. (Mlunice 1994: 343)

The clause with “*always*” may in this position express also local negation, if the stress is on the verb. In contrast, *always* in the position after the verb expresses clause negation:

He doesn't always speak to the point. (Mlunice 1994: 343)

- ❖ Quantifiers of the *some* sequence appear in clauses in which the scope is limited to the verb i.e. the quantifier is outside the scope of negation (otherwise there would be a form with *any*).

Some of the invitations were not delivered in time. (Mlunice 1994: 343)

- ❖ If the quantifier is positioned after the negator, the negation is local i.e. negation applies only to the quantifier: *not much, not many*.

2.1.4 Focus of negation

Considering the scope of negation, it is important to discuss the **focus of negation**. It is stated in CGEL that “a special or contrastive nuclear stress falling on a particular part of the clause indicates that the contrast of meaning implicit in the negation is located at that spot, and also that the rest of the clause can be understood in a positive sense.”¹⁵ The scope must thus include the focus whose position then signals the extent of the scope. The different placement of the focus distinguishes different interpretations of the sentence. The parts that are not within the scope are understood positively (CGEL 1985: 789):

I didn't take Joan to swim in the POOL today. – I forgot to do so

¹⁴ Quantifiers often create ambiguities in establishing clause and local negation (see).

¹⁵ CGEL 1985: 789.

I didn't take JOAN to swim in the pool today. – It was Mary.

I didn't take Joan to SWIM in the pool today. – just to see it.

I didn't take Joan to swim in the POOL today. – I took her to the seaside.

I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool toDAY. – It was last week that I did so.

I didn't take Joan to swim in the pool today. – It was my brother who took her.

The positive implications can be made explicit by alternative negation (CGEL 1985: 789):

I don't like COFfee, but I do like TEA.

I don't mind the NOISE, but I do mind the HEAT.

Or by focused negation:

It's not COFfee that I like (but tea).

It's not the NOISE that I mind (but the heat).

We can thus indicate the scope of negation by where we place the information focus. The difference of scope is marked by intonation in the following examples. In the first example, each clause has a separate tone unit and thus the *because*-clause is outside the scope of the negative, whereas the second example extends a single tone unit over both and places a contrastive fall+rise on *father*. The negative focus is thus placed on the *because*-clause, so that the main clause is seen as positive:

I didn't leave HOME because I was afraid of my FATHER.

I didn't leave home because I was afraid of my FATHER. (CGEL 1985: 789-790)

2.1.5 Negative sentences with Quantifiers

Negative clauses which contain a quantifier (expressed by pronoun, adverbial or adjective) are to be treated separately, since it is possible to distinguish between local and clausal negation through them, although they may sometimes create ambiguous interpretations. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 782) clause negation is frequently followed by one or more nonassertive¹⁶ items. The *Table 1* shows common nonassertives, which in combination with *not* can be replaced by the corresponding negative word in the right-hand column.

The following examples show the two equivalents of each positive sentence (Quirk et al. 1985: 783)

¹⁶ Nonassertive item is one lacking positive, affirmative meaning. (GEG 2006: 69)

We've had some lunch. We haven't had any lunch.

We've had no lunch.

He saw one man or the other. He didn't see either man.

He saw neither man.

We've had some. We haven't had any.

We've had none.

He saw one or other of the men. He didn't see either of the men.

He saw neither of the men.

Table 1: Common nonassertive items and the corresponding assertive and negative elements (Quirk et al. 1985: 782)

SYNTACTIC CLASS	ASSERTIVE	NONASSERTIVE	NEGATIVE
Determiner	Some	Any	No
	Either one, the other	either	Neither
Pronoun	Some	Any	None
	One, the other	either	neither
	Something	anything	nothing
	Somebody	anybody	nobody
	Someone	anyone	No one
Process adverb	Somehow	In any way	In no way
Place adverb	Somewhere	anywhere	nowhere
	Someplace	anyplace	No place
Time adverb	Sometime(s)	ever	never
	Always	anytime	
	Already	Yet	
	Still	Any more/any longer	No more, no longer
Degree adverbial	(to some extent)	At all	
	Somewhat	Any (the)	No
Additive adverbial	As well, too	either	

In all cases (except *never*), the combination of not (*-n't*) and the nonassertive word is more colloquial and idiomatic than the negative variant. Examples illustrate that there is only one negative version due to the absence of a negative word for *yet*, *at all* and *either*. Quantifiers like *some* correspond to *any/no* e.g. *He forgot something – He didn't forget anything/ He forgot nothing*. The major difference between *some* and *any* is that *some* is more specific and suggests that the number is known, while *any* is not specific. This difference tends to associate with the difference between positive and negative contexts:

I have some money on me

I don't have any money on me. (CGEL 1985: 784)

Negative clauses are hence followed by nonassertive items such as *any*, *either*, *ever* etc.; assertive items (i.e. *some*) may follow a negative when they are outside the negative scope (see 2.1.3).

According to CGEL (1985: 83), nonassertive pronouns do not claim the truth of the corresponding positive statement (as in a, b), whereas assertive items affirm the truth of some proposition (c):

(a) *Have you found any mistakes yet?*

(b) *No, I haven't found any yet.*

(c) *Yes, I have found some already.*

2.1.6 Intensification

Intensification of negation in English is mostly the result of emotive implication. There are various means through which intensification may be realized. It can be expressed by:

- ***at all, by no means, in any way, in the least, in the slightest, a bit*** (informal)
It was no trouble at all (Mlunice 1994: 348, CGEL 1985: 785)
- ***whatever, whatsoever***; it intensifies negative pronouns and determiners
He has no initiative whatever (Mlunice 1994: 348).
- ***not one, not a (single)*** also bear an emphatic function and serve as an alternative of *no* as a countable determiner; compare:
Not a muscle moved in his face – No muscle moved in his face (Mlunice 1994: 348).
- In literary style, negative subject or adverbial may be also intensified by **placing it initially**, causing inversion:

Not a single word did he say in his defence (Mlunice 1994: 348).

- ***no way, rather, far, pretty, quite***

They drive rather/pretty/quite fast. (CGEL 1985: 786)

- Jespersen (1917: 17) mentions ***never*** as an important device of strengthening negation.

As an intensifying item, *never* loses its temporal signification and comes to mean “*not*”:

I never knew it was so chilly i.e. *I didn't know it was so chilly* (NEOL 1917: 17).

In this use, *never* is frequent before *the* with a comparative (e.g. *nevertheless*), and in the combination *never a* (i.e. *no* e.g. *never a word*). It is also used in surprised exclamations:

Why, it's never No. (NEOL 1917: 18)

- **Phraseologically bound intensifiers** – some expressions are formed in combination with specific verbs:

He won't lift a finger to help you. I didn't sleep a wink. He didn't move a muscle. We didn't see a soul. (CGEL 1985: 786)

Not only can negatives be strengthened, they may also be weakened (NEOL 1917: 98). Several combinations almost vanish the negative implication of the word. For instance, the expression *not at all* in the notion:

I'm sorry to give you so much trouble. Not at all. Not refers to trouble. (NEOL 1917: 97-98)

Moreover, *not* is often used in exclamations, though it loses its negative meaning:

What have we not suffered? (NEOL 1917: 98)

A weakened negative may also be found in a rather colloquial expression *no time*:

The news will filter through the town in no time (i.e. a very short time) (Jespersen 1917: 102).

2.2 LOCAL NEGATION

In contrast to clause negation, local negation negates only one item and thus the whole clause is not negative. Local negation may be explained as “a negation of a clause condensed into a phrase.” (GCE 1972: 382) This may be explained on the following example (CGEL 1985: 791):

She's not unattractive woman, $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{in some ways.} \\ \textit{in any respect.} \end{array} \right\}$

The negator *not* negates only the word *unattractive* without having any effect on the entire clause. We may see this on the example using nonassertive *any*, which is unacceptable to use in this case (i.e. nonassertive forms are frequently ascribed to clause negation, see 2.1.5). The contrast with clausal negation may be seen in the example: *She's not an attractive woman in any respect, is she?* i.e. positive tag question can be added after clause negation. Moreover, this example illustrates that local negation often appears in phrases with double negation, becoming a device of understatement.

Nonetheless, when the negator is positioned beside a clause element other than the predicate, negation does not necessarily apply only to that element¹⁷: *No stars could be seen.*

2.2.1 Devices of local negation

2.2.1.1 Placement of not before the negated element

There are various instances of this type of local negation, since “*not*” may modify:

- ❖ A degree adverb, which modifies a positive gradable adjective or adverb
They own two not very fierce dogs. (CGEL 1985: 791)
- ❖ Some content disjuncts (that have a negative prefix or convey unexpectedness) may also be negated
Not surprisingly, they missed the train. Not unnaturally, they missed the train. (CGEL 1985: 791)
- ❖ An adverbial expression of distance or time e.g. *They live not far from us* (CGEL 1985: 792).

¹⁷ In contrast to Czech, where the negator beside other element than the predicate always expresses local negation.

- ❖ The quantifiers *a few* and *a little* negated by *not* and the quantifier *little* by *no*¹⁸:
They have not a few eccentrics in their family; They displayed no little interest in her progress (CGEL 1985: 792).
- ❖ Noun phrases expressing a compressed predication:
No news is good news (CGEL 1985: 792).
- ❖ Prepositional phrases negated by a word within the complement:
I will give it to you for nothing (CGEL 1985: 792).

2.2.1.2 Negative affixes

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1540) negation may form a lexical unit with a word i.e. negative affix is added to a word with lexical meaning, creating its opposite. This applies to negative affixes including:

- ❖ *un-* “the converse of” combines with adjectives and participles e.g. *unemployed*
- ❖ *in-* “the converse of” combines with adjectives of Latin and French origin (variants *il-* before /l/, *im-* before labials, *ir-* before /r/) e.g. *injustice, irresolute, improbable, illegal*
- ❖ *dis-* “the converse of” combines with open-class items including verbs e.g. *disobey, disagree*
- ❖ *non-* combines with nouns, adjectives and open class adverbs e.g. *non-smoker, non-trivially*
- ❖ *a-* “lack of” combines with adjectives and some nouns e.g. *amoral, anarchy*
- ❖ *-less* “without” is the only negative suffix e.g. *fruitless, hopeless*

Some words with negative affixes have corresponding synonyms with positive meaning, which highlight the lexical nature of these words e.g. *fruitless – futile, unpretentious – modest*. We may compare this expression of negation to the clausal type which affects the form and meaning of the whole sentence or its part. Negative affixes do not have a scope over more elements than just the one that they are part of. Nonetheless, clauses with clausal negation and clauses with local negation can be sometimes interpreted with the same meaning; although the word with local negation is usually more specific than the corresponding positive word in clause negation e.g. *This name is not common - This name is uncommon*. Though the meaning is the

¹⁸ Also *more, less* and *fewer* negated by *not* or *no*.

same in this case, it changes when an intensifier is added: *This name is not very common – This name is very uncommon.* (Mlunice 1994: 338)

2.2.1.3 Other devices

Local negation may be even expressed by a negative predicate¹⁹: *I don't cook every day. I didn't come to be insulted.* (Mlunice 1994: 339). It may even appear in noun phrases that express a compressed predication: *Something is better than nothing.* (*Having something is better than having nothing*). (CGEL 1985: 792)

2.2.2 Syntactic differences between clause and local negation

Considering syntactic difference between clause (b) and local negation (a), it may be said that in local negation, the negative adverbial that is placed initially does not bring about subject-verb inversion. This may be seen on the following examples (CGEL 1985: 793):

- (a) *In no time we cleared the table.*
- (b) *At no time was war as imminent as now.*

Semantically, it is visible that example (a) is positive (*We cleared the table within a short time*) and thus takes a negative tag question, while example (b) is negative (*War was not as imminent as now at any previous time*) and hence takes a positive tag question (CGEL 1985: 793).

According to Dušková (1994: 339) there is a weak borderline between local and clause negation. The ambiguity can be seen on the following examples (or see 2.3):

- (a) *He doesn't lack courage.* (clause negation)
- (b) *He doesn't lack courage but physical fitness.* (local negation) (Mlunice 1994: 339)

As a way to identify clause negation, we can insert *no* or *neither* into the clause, which extends the validity of the contents onto other subject:

She isn't satisfied, and neither am I. (Mlunice 1994: 339)

¹⁹ According to CGEL (1985: 791) and *Mlunice češtiny 3* (1987: 263) based on syntactic criteria, local negation is limited to occurrences where a negative particle is placed immediately before an element other than the verb.

2.2.3 Other devices of negation

Jespersen (1917: 22-38) introduces several instances of negation not necessarily expressed by negators i.e. indirect negation. The following are the major types:

- ❖ Negation may be expressed by questions which imply negative meaning
 - (a) Nexal²⁰ questions e.g. *Am I the guardian of my brother?* = *am I not* (rhetorical question); inversely a negative question which implies a positive assertion: *Isn't he stupid* = *he is stupid*.
 - (b) Special question (i.e. Wh-question) e.g. *Who knows?*
- ❖ Expressing negation by placing a word like *much* at the beginning of the sentence, thus implying irony e.g. *Much I care*.
- ❖ Hypothetical clauses which express through tense and mood that something is not real. E.g. *If I were rich*.
- ❖ Negation is also implied in expressions with *too* e.g. *She is too poor to give us anything*; and in all second members of comparison after a comparative e.g. *She is richer than you think*.
- ❖ Negative notion may be expressed by *much less* (or *not to speak of*) e.g. *Why did he ever write, much less publish, his memoirs* i.e. *he should not have*.

²⁰ Jespersen links nexal negation with the verb, thus referring to the combination of two ideas i.e. what is known as clause negation.

2.3 PREDICATION NEGATION

Predication negation is a minor type of negation which is “grammatically restricted to a single phrase, but semantically applies to the whole clause.” (GCE 1972: 382) In reference to CGEL (1985: 797-798) it occurs very rarely, usually in the context of denials and permission. In this type of negation, a modal auxiliary is used with a different scope of negation than is normal for that auxiliary. For instance, the following example may be said with a special emphatic pause before “*not*”:

You can (simply) not obey the order (CGEL 1985: 798).

In such instances of the main verb negation, the clause is not negated. Thus, a negative tag question may be added:

You can ‘not obey the order, can’t you? (CGEL 1985: 798)

Although it can be misinterpreted with local negation, it differs from local negation in that it can extend over several clause elements beginning with the main verb. Predication negation may also be followed by a nonassertive item:

You could not attend any of the meetings (CGEL 1985: 798).

Since both kinds of negation may occur with the same auxiliary, instances of two negators in the same clause are acceptable:

I can’t not obey her (CGEL 1985: 798).

Nevertheless, there are more natural ways of expressing corresponding negation:

I can’t help obeying her.

I can’t help but obey her (CGEL 1985: 798).

Rarely, two negators may be used with auxiliaries other than modals:

He hasn’t ever not understood a lecture (CGEL 1985: 798).

Predication negation often appears with negative inversion:

Not a finger did I lay on him (GCE 1972: 382).

2.4 DOUBLE NEGATION

Two negatives can be found in the same clause only rarely. According to Mathesius “double negation is an instance of grammatical concord²¹, for it has all the fundamental features of other kinds of grammatical concord.” (SEL 1999: 154) This means that all the adjectives, indefinite pronouns and adverbials that can be negated are considered to be in an agreement with the negative verb. It is a general rule that two negatives make an affirmative, but it should be noted that “the double negative always modifies the idea, for the result of the whole expression is somewhat different from the simple idea expressed positively.”²² Dušková (Mlunice 1994: 345) introduces several occasions on which double negation occurs:

- (a) Grammatical²³ negation may be combined with lexical²⁴ negation, which causes both negations to be cancelled. The clause thus has positive/affirmative meaning, although it is weakened:

Nothing is impossible. (Mlunice 1994: 346)

- (b) Two grammatical negations may appear when they are assigned to different predications:

He doesn't like doing nothing. (Mlunice 1994: 346)

- (c) On rare basis, two grammatical negations may occur in one predication. In this case, one negation is located outside the verb negation and the second negation is usually the subject:

Not a boy in the class didn't tremble before him. (Mlunice 1994: 346)

The second negation may also stand behind the verb negation:

A boat doesn't sink for no reason. (Mlunice 1994: 346)

Since each negative expression has its own value, and the two negations cancel each other, it is possible to paraphrase most instances of double negation by its positive counterpart. This may be exemplified on the following sentences (CGEL 1985: 799):

- (i) *No one has nothing to offer to society;* i.e. Everyone has something to offer to society.
(ii) *Not all imperatives have no subject;* i.e. Some imperatives have a subject.

²¹ Agreement between different grammatical elements; one of the units displays a particular feature that accords with a displayed feature in the other item.

²² Jespersen, 63.

²³ Grammatical negation is connected mostly to the verb with which it forms one word (Mlunice 1994: 336-337).

²⁴ Lexical negation is a word with negative affix (Mlunice 1994: 338).

Furthermore, although they are positive in meaning, clauses with double negation are syntactically negative, thus requiring positive tag question:

Not all imperatives have no subject, do they? (CGEL 1985: 799)

According to CamGEL (1985: 843-844), when a clause contains more negative items, it is necessary to distinguish whether they express separate semantic negations or the same semantic negation. This is exemplified on the following clauses:

I didn't say I didn't want it (two semantic negations).

He consulted neither his wife nor his parents (one semantic negation). (CamGEL 1985: 843)

The negation in the second example has scope over the coordination and is syntactically expressed twice; whereas the negation in the first example has two semantic negations (negation of *want* and *say*).

There are several instances of multiple negation appearing within the same clause:

Constructions in which the first negation has scope over existential quantification (e.g. *None of them had no redeeming features*, this is equivalent to positive clause with universal quantification:

All of them had some redeeming features. (CamGEL 1985: 843)

Only one of the negatives can mark clausal negation, the clauses thus behave as clauses with a single negative.

Other types (CamGEL 1985: 845):

- i) *He didn't say nothing, he said it didn't matter.*
- ii) *Not all of them made no mistakes.*
- iii) *Not many/ Few people found nothing to criticize.*
- iv) *We not only made no progress, we actually moved backwards.*

In i) *nothing* follows the verbal negation and the meaning involves existential quantification; it is used to contradict negative assertion. Example ii) has universal quantifier *all* and is equivalent to positive with existential quantification (e.g. *Some of them made no mistakes*). Example iii) has negation of the quantifier *many* and has no positive semantic equivalent. The last example has *not only* with scope over a negative. We can drop *not only* without affecting the other negative.

In addition to the above instances of double negation, negative forms may occur in cases of repetition or reformulation. We are then dealing with independent forms of negation (LGSWE: 179) which are not integrated within the same clause. They are independent since they cannot be replaced by nonassertive forms.

No, not tomorrow, she said.

Won't eat any veggies you know, none.

There's no one to blame, not really.

Jespersen (1917: 63) elaborates on the idea of repeated negative and introduces several types of this type of multiple negation i.e. multiple negative does not become an affirmative, but a negative:

- ❖ **Double attraction** – consists of a negative verb and an element that can receive negative prefix:

We never thought of nothing wrong. (NEOL 1917: 66)

- ❖ **Resumptive negation** – occurs when a negative form is added after a negative sentence has been completed to increase the negative effect:

He cannot sleep, neither at night nor in the daytime. (NEOL 1917: 73)

- ❖ **Paratactic negation** – happens when a negative is placed in a clause dependent on a verb of negative significance e.g. *deny, forbid, doubt*. The clause is treated as an independent sentence, and the negative is expressed as if there was no such sentence:

It never occurred to me to doubt that your work would not advance our common object in the highest degree. (NEOL 1917: 75)

2.5 CZECH VS ENGLISH SYSTEM OF NEGATION

Although the function of negation is the same in Czech and English, the difference lies in the devices expressing negation. This involves not only the range of negative items but also the structure of the negative clause. English has two negators *no* and *not*, whereas Czech has only the negator *ne*, which may function as an independent clause but also as a grammatical negation, in which the particle becomes a part of the verb (Mluvnice 1994: 337).

Nevertheless, the main difference is in the structure of the sentence. As we have seen, negation in English is expressed only once in the clause. In comparison, a negative clause in Czech involves negative concord i.e. negation is expressed not only through verb but also through expressions of universal meaning (Mluvnice 1994: 337).

The prefix *ne-* is the basic grammatical expression of negation in Czech e.g. *nespí, netřeba, nelze*. *Ni-* is used with pronouns, adverbials and adjectives e.g. *nikdo, nijaký*. Nevertheless, the change in polarity may be created not only by grammatical negation but also through lexically syntactic devices which usually carry other semantic items connected to negation. For example: *Přišli tam bez dětí*. The preposition *bez* is a negative counterpart of *s*; compare: *Přišli s dětmi*. (MC 1987: 261)

It may also express negative condition:

Bez tvé pomoci bych se tam nedostal. (MC 1987: 261)

Negative counterpart can be sometimes deduced from the positive sentence through implication:

Zřídka věřili tomu, co říkal (Často tomu nevěřili). (MC 1987: 261)

Some other epistemic devices imply negation:

Pochybuji, že rektor na večírek přijde. (MC 1987: 261)

Clauses with certain adverbial expressions can be also interpreted as negative:

Marie skoro omdlela. (MC 1987: 261)

3 METHODOLOGY

The empirical part provides a corpus-based analysis of 50 examples of the adverb HARDLY and 50 examples of SELDOM. The data used for the analysis have been extracted from the parallel corpus *InterCorp*. In order to obtain a sufficient number of examples for the study, 12 primary sources were used; namely *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* by J.K Rowling, *Lucky Jim* by Kingsley Amis, *The Crush* by Sandra Brown, *The Street Lawyer* and *The Partner* by John Grisham, *The Final Diagnosis* by Arthur Hailey, *A Widow for a Year* by John Irving, *1984* by George Orwell, *The Dubliners* by James Joyce, and *Mrs Dalloway*, *Between the Acts* and *A Haunted House* by Virginia Woolf. All examples are listed in the appendix and are assigned two letter codes comprising of the initial letters of the text's title. The only exception is the novel *1984* by George Orwell, which is named as GO.

For the data to be extracted from the corpus, first of all, the search was narrowed to English and Czech language i.e. *intercrop_en* and *intercrop_cs*. The available 72 texts were then filtered into 48 English originals. Subsequently, texts were chosen on random and a *lemma* search in *intercrop_en* was performed using a keyword "hardly" and "seldom," until a sufficient number of examples was found. Manual selection had to be made, since in one example, SELDOM functioned as an adjective and this work focuses only on SELDOM functioning as an adverb.

Since more texts were needed to obtain the sufficient number of examples of SELDOM, the empirical part begins with the evaluation of general occurrence of both adverbs in all English originals, in order to obtain the most adequate analysis. The further sections then work only with the selected primary texts. As mentioned above, the data from the primary texts are listed in the appendix and are further divided based on the criteria studied in this work.

The aim of the analysis is to examine the items HARDLY/SELDOM in terms of clause negation, in which they belong. Attention will be also given to their translation correlates. It is expected that both adverbs will appear in translations with positive or negative verb forms and the analysis will examine which form is more likely to occur.

4 ANALYSIS

The empirical part of this study consists of 5 sections in which 50 corpus findings of HARDLY and 50 findings of SELDOM are analyzed. The first section focuses on the occurrence frequency of both adverbs in the corpus findings. Section 4.2 then describes general tendencies in translating the adverbs into Czech. Sections 4.3 and 4.4 then centre on both adverbs individually, analyzing their equivalents in terms of the items they modify. This approach is based on the expected modified items mentioned in CamGEL (2002: 816).

4.1 HARDLY vs SELDOM – general occurrence frequency

In order to obtain a general overview of the occurrence frequency of the adverbs HARDLY and SELDOM, all available English original texts in the corpus were considered i.e. 48 texts. Taking into consideration all 3,710,387 words in the corpus, there are 387 occurrences of HARDLY and 103 occurrences of SELDOM. Thus, the corpus findings show that HARDLY, having a frequency 0.104 per thousand words, is more common than SELDOM, which has a frequency 0.028 per thousand words. The low frequency of SELDOM means, that for the purpose of this work, more texts are needed in order to obtain 50 examples (see 4.1.1)

With respect to the comparison of the differences between British and American English, all available texts were taken into consideration again, since the number of texts needed to obtain the 100 examples for the analysis is not sufficient. It can be said that HARDLY appears more in BrE with the frequency 0.2 per thousand words, in contrast to AmE in which it has a frequency 0.08. Similarly, SELDOM occurs more in BrE with the frequency 0.06; however, the difference with AmE is not as significant, since in AmE it has a frequency of 0.02.

Table 2: General occurrence frequency of HARDLY and SELDOM

	Σ	Frequency per 1000 words	Br	Br (frequency per 1000 words)
			Am	Am
HARDLY	387	0.104	162	0.2
			225	0.08
SELDOM	103	0.028	49	0.06
			54	0.02
Total	490	0.132	211	0.26
			279	0.1

4.1.1 HARDLY vs SELDOM – occurrence frequency in respect to the analyzed texts

The tables bellow demonstrate the overall occurrence of the adverbs in the texts chosen for this work. As has been mentioned, one example had to be manually removed, since SELDOM functioned as an adjective. Another example was then chosen. The low occurrence frequency of SELDOM mentioned in 4.1 proves, that more texts have to be considered in order to find the efficient number of examples. Indeed, 3 texts provide the needed number of examples for HARDLY, while 11 texts are needed for obtaining 50 examples of SELDOM.

Table 3: Overall occurrence of HARDLY in the primary sources

Source	Σ	%	Frequency (per thousand words)
HP	22	44	0.27
GO	24	48	0.23
MD	4	8	0.06
Total	50	100	0.56

Table 4: Overall frequency of the adverb SELDOM in the primary sources

Source	Σ	%	Frequency (per 1000 words)
LJ	1	2	0.001
TC	2	4	0.02
SL	2	4	0.02
PA	7	14	0.06
FD	19	38	0.16
WO	1	2	0.005
GO	11	22	0.105
MD	2	4	0.03
BA	1	2	0.02
HH	3	6	0.07
DU	1	2	0.06
Total	50	100	0.55

4.2 HARDLY vs SELDOM – General remarks on translation equivalents

The assumptions that had been pointed previously state that the Czech equivalents of the adverbs HARDLY and SELDOM may appear with positive or negative verb forms. Generally speaking, the analysis of the examples extracted from the corpus shows, that 27 examples with HARDLY are translated by a negative clause (ex. 1) and 22 by a positive clause (ex. 2); 1 finding does not contain a verb (ex. 3). SELDOM on the other hand is translated by a negative clause in 5 instances (ex. 4), 44 by a positive clause (ex. 5) and 1 does not contain a verb (ex. 6). Nonetheless, those numbers are only general as the matter must be further analysed, for both adverbs appear in various structures and modify different clause elements. It is thus expected that the translation equivalents will alter according to these facts.

(1) He was so relieved to have been chosen and not put in Slytherin, he **hardly noticed** that he was getting the loudest cheer yet.

Nesmírně se mu ulevilo, že ho vybrali do Nebelvíru a neoctl se ve Zmijozelu, takže si málem ani nevšiml, že mu tleskají ze všech nejhlasitěji. (ha_HP_4/n)

(2) He was so angry he could **hardly speak**.

Byl tak rozčilený, že se zebe sotva vypravil pár slov. (ha_HP_2/p)

(3) “**Hardly scholarly**” he said.

“Vědecky sotva,” řekl. (ha_GO_1/o)

(4) And he **seldom talked** about life on the run.

A téměř nemluvil o svém životě na útěku. (se_PA_1/n)

(5) And we **seldom entertained**.

A málokdy nás to tam bavilo. (se_ST_2/p)

(6) **Very seldom**.

Velmi zřídka. (se_FD_1/o)

4.3 HARDLY

Considering the translation by a negative clause, 19 instances of HARDLY modify a verb (ex. 7), 5 a noun phrase (ex. 8), and 3 an adjective (ex. 9). In translations by positive clauses, in 21 examples it modifies a verb (ex. 10) and in 1 clause HARDLY modifies a numeral (ex. 11). 1 structure does not fit this classification, since the adverb modifies an adjective and there is no verb in the clause (ex. 3). The relations of the adverb to the different elements are to be treated separately in the following sections.

As has been expected, the adverb is translated by a corresponding adverbial equivalent (see *Table 5*). The corpus findings show, that the Czech translations with a negative clause are likely to appear with the adverbial expressions SKORO (8), MÁLEM ANI (2), MÁLEM (1), ANI (7), TĚMĚŘ (3) or are translated otherwise (6). On the other hand, the translations with the positive verb are frequently associated with the expressions SOTVA (15), STĚŽÍ (4) or MÁLO (1), SKORO (1), other (1). The choice of the corresponding adverb in connection with the opposite polarity of the verb would be expected to be based on the semantic difference of the adverbs and the context of the clause in which they appear. The semantic and contextual basis provide the translator with information on whether the adverb is of time relevance or implies difficulty etc. However, the mentioned expressions are very similar on the semantic basis and the difference among them is often diminished. *Table 5* summarizes the occurrence of Czech adverbs in respect to the item HARDLY modifies in the English original.

(7) I had **hardly** thought about it.

Ani jsem o tom nepřemýšlel. (ha_GO_12/n)

(8) And with good reason, for **hardly** a week passed in which the Times did not carry a paragraph (...)

A měli proč, nebylo týdne, aby Timesy nepřinesly článek (...)(ha_GO_2/n)

(9) This scheme, it is **hardly** necessary to say (...)

Není třeba dodávat, že toto schema (...)(ha_GO_9/n)

(10) Then when they got back he could **hardly** walk.

Když se pak vrátili, už sotva šel. (ha_MD_2/p)

(11) "That's **hardly** one swallow."

Je v ní sotva jeden doušek. (ha_HP_13/p)

Table 5: Frequency of Czech equivalents of the adverb HARDLY

		verb	adjective	NP	numeral	total	%
Positive eq.	Sotva	14	0	0	1	15	30
	Stěží	4	0	0	0	4	8
	Málo	1	0	0	0	1	2
	Skoro	1	0	0	0	1	2
	other	1	0	0	0	1	2
Total		21	0	0	1	22	44
%		42	0	0	2	44	
Negative eq.	Skoro	8	0	0	0	8	16
	Málem ani	2	0	0	0	2	4
	Ani	5	2	0	0	7	14
	Málem	0	0	1	0	1	2
	Téměř	1	0	2	0	3	6
	other	3	1	2	0	6	12
	Total		19	3	5	0	27
%		38	6	10	0	54	
Other structures	sotva					1	2

4.3.1 Translation equivalents of HARDLY modifying a VERB

The adverb HARDLY functioning as a modifier of a verb is the most common type of modification (40 instances). Both finite (ex. 12) and non-finite (ex. 13) verb forms appear in the chosen examples; however, this has no evident impact on the translation equivalents. The most frequent translation follows the pattern in which it maintains a corresponding adverbial expression (ex. 12) (see *Table 5*) and the verb. This applies to all expressions with a verb in its active form. For instance, the example (10) “*he could hardly walk*” is translated as “*sotva šel.*”

However, in three corpus findings, the adverb is not translated at all, the verb being translated by its equivalent in a negative form. In two findings, the translation includes the

expression “*tak...že*,” expressing the result of the action. The first example (14) shows, that the adverb is a part of a structure, which follows after a passive form and complements this form “*beaten*” by expressing the extent in which the action was done “*till he could hardly stand.*”

(12) Harry tried but he had **hardly** raised the wand when it, too, was snatched back by Mr. Ollivander.
Harry to zkusil, sotva však stačil hůlku zvednout, už mu ji pan Ollivander vytrhl také. (ha_HP_3/p)

(13) “I’m fine” said Harry, **hardly** knowing what he was saying.
“Naprosto v pořádku,” prohlásil Harry, I když sotva věděl, co říká. (ha_HP_10/p)

(14) Sometimes he was beaten till he could **hardly** stand (...)
Někdy ho zbili tak, že nemohl stát (...)(ha_GO_13/n)

The second case (ex. 15), “*that they would hardly lie on their sides*” is translated as “*že nedokázaly stát rovně.*” The reason for this translation seems to be the occurrence of a mediopassive, since the inanimate subject *dice* is used with a verb in its active form, *lie*. Again, the adverb is part of a structure which complements the verb *ill-cut* expressing a passive. Thus it can be said, that neither example is associated with the active voice.

(15) The board was cracked and the tiny wooden dice were so ill-cut that they would **hardly** lie on their sides.
Deska byla popraskaná a maličké dřevěné figurky byly tak špatně vyřezané, že nedokázaly stát rovně.
(ha_GO_16/n)

4.3.1.1 Translation equivalents of **HARDLY** with the intensifiers **EVER/ AT ALL**

There are three instances, in which **HARDLY** appears in front of the adverb *ever* and one instance in which the intensifier *at all* appears in the clause. In those cases, **HARDLY** modifies the verb, and the adverbs *ever/at all* function as negative intensifiers, serving the purpose of emotive intensification (CGEL 1985: 785). *Ever* is used instead of the intensifier *never*, since negation is already expressed by **HARDLY**. However, *ever* and its intensifying function is not reflected in the Czech translation counterpart.

Focusing on the whole clauses in which the expression *ever* appears, it was noted that if the expression is followed by a verb in its active form, the adverb is translated as “*skoro*” e.g. (16) “*she hardly ever saw him in London – V Londýně se s otcem skoro neviděla.*” Thus the verb refers to the same subject in both translations. However, in (17) the clause “*are hardly ever seen in daylight*” consists of a passive form *seen*, which refers to the “*owls*”. This is then translated into Czech as “*za denního světla je jen zřídka kdo zahlédne.*” The implied subject of the English passive form therefore becomes an active subject in the Czech translation. The adverbial expression *hardly ever* is then translated as “*jen zřídka kdo,*” enclosing the subject. The reason

for this translation thus appears to be the passive form of the English original. In example (18) *at all* is also used as means of expressing emotive intensification of a negative and is translated as “*vůbec*.”

(16) (...) She **hardly** ever saw him in London (...)
V Londýně se s otcem skoro neviděla. (ha_MD_1/n)

(17) Although owls normally hunt at night and are **hardly** ever seen in daylight, there have been hundreds of sightings of these birds flying in every direction since sunrise.
I když sovy normálně loví v noci a za denního světla je jen zřídka kdo zahlédne, od východu slunce byly spatřeny celé stovky těchto ptáků, kteří létali všemi směry. (ha_HP_1/p)

(18) Nearly ten years had passed since the Dursleys had woken up to find their nephew on the front step, but Privet Drive had **hardly** changed at all.
Ode dne, kdy se Dursleyovi probudili a našli na prahu přede dveřmi svého synovce, uplynulo bezmála deset let, Zobí ulice se však skoro vůbec nezměnila. (ha_HP_2/n)

4.3.1.2 Translation equivalents in respect to the POSITION of HARDLY within the clause

Considering the position of HARDLY within the clause, it can be said that it usually occurs before the modified verb (ex. 19), and if the verb is preceded by an auxiliary, the adverb stands between the auxiliary and the verb (ex. 20) (Mlumnice 1994: 453). There is no instance where it would appear after the verb. The translation equivalents contain a corresponding adverb expression and a verb as expected.

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 600), the adverb HARDLY would appear initially only rarely. Indeed, there is one case (ex. 21) in which the adverb appears in the initial position; however, it does not cause subject-operator inversion. That is because it does not appear as an adverbial or a modifier within an adverbial, but as a modifier of the pronoun *anyone*.

(19) Winston **hardly** knew Tillotson, and had no idea what work he was employed on.
Winston Tillotsona skoro neznal a neměl tušení, na čem pracuje. (ha_GO_3/n)

(20) I had **hardly** thought about it.
Ani jsem o tom nepřemýšlel. (ha_GO_12/n)

(21) **Hardly** anyone had seen Harry play because Wood had decided that, as their secret weapon, Harry should be kept, well, secret.
Téměř nikdo ještě Harryho neviděl hrát, poněvadž Wood rozhodl, že pokud jim má posloužit jako tajná zbraň, musí ho prostě držet v tajnosti. (ha_HP_8/n)

4.3.2 Translations equivalents of HARDLY as a modifier of an ADJECTIVE

It can be said, that the adverb HARDLY modifying an adjective is found usually in translations with a negative clause. Generally speaking, the instances of the adverb modifying an adjective are translated by the means of expressions expected and mentioned (see *Table 5*). HARDLY is translated as “*ani*,” except for one case in which it is translated by means of a subjectless verbal sentence. The translation equivalents of the constructions with adjectives must be considered in the context of the structures they appeared in, in order to analyze the possible emerging patterns of their translations.

In those instances in which the adjective follows the adverb and is not further modified, the translation is straight forward and accurate with regards to the original clause. The example (22) shows this pattern of translation. The adverb is preceded by a copular verb *be* and followed by the adjective in the function of subject complement. Thus, “*the demonstration was hardly worth making*” is translated as “*ukázka snad ani nebyla zapotřebí*” i.e. the syntactic structure involving a subject, a verb, an adverb and an adjective is kept.

(22) O'Brien made a small impatient gesture, as though to say that the demonstration was **hardly** worth making. O'Brien udělal netrpělivé gesto, jako by chtěl říci, že ta ukázka snad ani nebyla zapotřebí. (ha_GO_14/n)

There is one instance in which the adverb is a part of a structure with the anticipatory *it* i.e. two subjects are involved, the postponed and the anticipatory subject. As pointed out by Dušková (1994: 543), the predicate is usually verb-nominal (i.e. with a qualifying adjective or noun). The negators therefore function as modifiers of this adjective.

Thus in the example (23) the clause is constructed as “*it is hardly necessary to say*.” The anticipatory *it* anticipates the subject which is postponed after the verb and is realized by an infinitive “*to say*.” HARDLY modifies the adjective *necessary*. The clause is translated into Czech as subjectless verbal sentence, in which the tense of the copular verb and the infinitive is kept. In example (23) “*it is hardly necessary to say*” is translated as “*není třeba dodávat*”

(23) This scheme, it is hardly necessary to say, is a mere daydream, impossible of realization. Není třeba dodávat, že toto schema je pouhá snová fikce. (ha_GO_9/n)

In one instance, HARDLY modifying an adjective appears as part of an ellipsis. In example (24) “*hardly scholarly*” is translated as “*vědecky sotva*,” thus the English version lacks a subject and a finite verb. However, the translation consists of two adverbs. It is necessary to put this example into context, in order to determine, what elements are omitted i.e. “*You take a scholarly*

*interest in Newspeak, I believe?” “Zabýváte se newspeakem vědecky, že ano?” Scholarly thus modifies *interest*, and the positive implication of the question is answered by a negative. The use of the Czech correlate *sotva* implies, the positive nature of the missing verb in the translation, as this adverb appears in connection with positive verbs (see *Table 5*). The whole translation would thus be “Vědecky se newspeakem sotva zabývám.”*

(24) “**Hardly** scholarly,” he said.
“Vědecky sotva,” řekl. (ha_GO_1/o)

4.3.3 Translation equivalents of HARDLY as a modifier of a NOUN PHRASE

There are altogether 5 corpus findings in which the adverb HARDLY functions as a modifier of a NP. In (25) “*for hardly a week passed*” is translated as “*nebylo týdne.*” This structure of a subjectless verbal sentence is possible in Czech, since the subject is temporal and there is no agent causing the action. English on the other hand has no subjectless verbal sentences.

(25) And with good reason, for **hardly** a week passed in which the Times did not carry a paragraph (...)
A měli proč, nebylo týdne, aby Timesy nepřinesly článek (...). (ha_GO_2/n)

4.3.3.1 Translations equivalents of non-assertive items, occurring within the modified NP

In 4 out of the 5 examples a non-assertive item appears within the modified NP. Although it is stated in the theoretical part that the approximate negators modify a determiner, it was found that such determiners belong to NP structures and the adverbs thus modify the whole structure. Let us consider the following example (26) which contains the pronoun *anybody*. The adverb modifies the non-assertive form which functions as a NP. The translation supports the assumption that Czech operates by the rule of negative concord, since the translation includes a negative verb and a negative quantifier i.e. double negation.

(26) (...) miserable place where **hardly** anybody had enough to eat (...)
(...) ubohé místo, kde se téměř nikdo dost nenajedl (...). (ha_GO_5/n)

There are other examples, in which the non-assertive item appears within the NP. As has been pointed out in the theoretical part (see 2.1.5), the word **any** may function either as a determiner, or a pronoun. The examples below demonstrate the different uses of this expression,

which can be supported by paraphrasing the sentence using a negative form. In example (27) *any* functions as a determiner, since it states that “*he was a beefy man with no neck*” i.e. it can be substituted by *no*, which is a determiner and cannot be left out. In example (28) *any* may be syntactically classified as a pronoun, since it can be substituted by a negative form *none*, which may stand alone as a proform: “*Snape liked none of the students.*”

(27) He was a big, beefy man with **hardly any neck**, although he did have a very large moustache.
Byl to vysoký, tělnatý chlapík, který neměl málem žádný krk, zato měl velice dlouhý knír. (ha_HP_1/n)

(28) Harry told Hagrid about Snape’s lesson. Hagrid, like Ron, told Harry not to worry about it, that Snape liked **hardly any of the students**. (ha_HP_5/n)
Harry vypravoval o hodině u Snapea a Hagrid mu stejně jako Ron řekl, aby si s tím nedělal těžkou hlavu, poněvadž Snape nejspíš ze studentů nemá rád vůbec nikoho.

The difference in the syntactic class between those two uses may be also established on the different translation into Czech. In (27), the determiner is translated by the means of an adjective *žádný*, which cannot stand independently from other sentence elements in this clause. In (28) the expression “*any of the students*” is translated as “*vůbec nikoho*,” thus negation is expressed by a negative pronoun. In both examples, the negative nature of the clause is translated into Czech by the means of a negative verb. This proves the assumption, that clauses which contain universal or existential quantifier in English, will have Czech clause counterparts operating by the rule of negative concord i.e. negation is connected not only with the verb but also with the expressions of universal meaning (Mluvnice 1994: 337). Therefore, the clause “*Snape liked hardly any of the students*” is translated as “*Snape nejspíš ze studentů nemá rád vůbec nikoho*” i.e. with a negative verb and a negative quantifier. We may thus conclude, that those clauses will not be translated with a positive verb, which is proven by the corpus findings.

4.3.4 Translation equivalents of HARDLY modifying a NUMERAL

Although unexpected, one finding appeared in which the adverb HARDLY modified a numeral. Example (29) HARDLY modified the numeral *one*, and this expression is translated in the same syntactic and semantic manner as “*sotva jeden*.” Thus the negative nature of the adverb is maintained and the numeral is kept as well.

(29) That’s **hardly one** swallow.
Je v ní sotva jeden doušek. (ha_HP_13/p)

4.4 SELDOM

Taking into consideration the positive translation equivalents of SELDOM, it can be said that 40 findings are those in which the adverb modifies a verb (ex. 30), 3 an adjective (ex. 31), 1 a prepositional phrase (ex. 32). The 5 structures with a negative clause equivalent all modify a verb form (ex. 33). 1 structure does not include a verb form (ex. 34).

Czech equivalents of SELDOM which contain a positive clause occur with the adverbial expressions MÁLOKDY (15), ZŘÍDKAKDY (7), ZŘÍDKA (18), VĚTŠINOU (1), ČASTO (1), SKORO VŽDY (1), other (1). Czech equivalents which contain a negative verb appear with adverbial expressions TĚMĚŘ (1), VĚTŠINOU (1), SKORO NIKDY (1), and other (2). *Table 6* shows the occurrence of the adverbial expression in respect to the item SELDOM modifies. It is important to note the appearance of a positive equivalent of the adverb, which will be further discussed in section (4.4.1.2).

(30) He **seldom** napped and never went to bed early.
Málokdy si zdřímnul a nikdy nešel brzy spát. (se_PA_2/p)

(31) With the tobacco ration at 100 grammes a week it was seldom possible to fill a pipe to the top.
Protože přiděl tabáku byl 100 gramů na týden, měl zřídka možnost nacpat si dýmku až po okraj. (se_GO_3/p)

(32) When he woke, **seldom** before eleven hundred (...)
Když se probudil, což bylo zřídka před jedenáctou (...)(se_GO_9/p)

(33) And he **seldom** talked about life on the run.
A téměř nemluvil o svém životě na útěku. (se_PA_1/n)

(34) Very seldom.
Velmi zřídka. (se_FD_1/o)

Table 6: Frequency of Czech equivalents of the adverb SELDOM

		verb	adjective	PP	total	%
Positive eq.	Zřídka	15	2	1	18	36
	Zřídkakdy	7	0	0	7	14
	Málokdy	14	1	0	15	30
	Většinou	1	0	0	1	2
	Často	1	0	0	1	2
	Skoro vždy	1	0	0	1	2
	other	1	0	0	1	2
Total		40	3	1	44	88
%		80	6	2	88	
Negative eq.	Většinou	1	0	0	1	2
	Téměř	1	0	0	1	2
	Skoro nikdy	1	0	0	1	2
	other	2	0	0	2	4
Total		5	0	0	5	10
%		10	0	0	10	
Other structures	zřídka				1	2

4.4.1 Translation equivalents of SELDOM modifying a VERB

Similarly to HARDLY, the adverb SELDOM in most findings modifies a verb (altogether 45 instances). Again, both finite (ex. 35) and non-finite (ex. 38) forms are included. Although SELDOM may appear with a negative verb, no such instance are identified. The adverb modifying a verb in its active form follows the expected pattern of translation, in which a corresponding adverbial expression and a verb are involved. For instance, example (30) “*he seldom napped*” is translated as “*málokdy si zdřímnul.*” However, example (35) shows that the corresponding adverbial expression is left out, and only the negative verb remains. The negation is thus maintained by the use of a negative verb. Example (36) shows a similar pattern, since the adverbial expression is left out, however the subject in English is changed in Czech and “*he seldom bothered*” becomes “*kdy už na tom nezáleželo.*” This translation seems to be based on the choice of the translator for the purpose of clarity of statement.

(35) The senior technician was referring to a fact which both of them knew but **seldom** spoke of.
Starší laboratorní technik narážel na tichou dohodu, o níž oba věděli, přestože o ní nemluvili. (se_FD_2/n)

(36) Nowadays, though, he **seldom** bothered.
Dnes byl ve věku, kdy už na tom nezáleželo. (se_FD_1/n)

In findings in which the adverb modifies a verb in its passive form, the translation maintains the passive construction, which in Czech is expressed either by a reflexive form (ex. 37) or the suffix *-en* (ex. 38).

(37) (...) **seldom** used even for signatures
Dokonce i k podpisům se ho používalo jen zřídka. (se_GO_2/p)

(38) But china is **seldom** thrown from a great height.
Porcelán však bývá jen zřídka házen z velké výšky. (se_HH_2/p)

4.4.1.1 *SELDOM occurring with non-assertive items*

In contrast to HARDLY, the negative nature of the adverb SELDOM is manifested by the occurrence with a non-assertive item only in one example. The adverb modifies a verb and the pronoun *anyone* follows after the verb. The translation equivalents of HARDLY appearing with non-assertive items were translated by means of double negation. Therefore, this example would be expected to be translated as “*téměř nikoho jsem neviděl*.” However, the object of the clause becomes the subject in the translation. This translation is probably not motivated by any syntactic feature, but rather by the choice of the translator. The speaker stays implied by the use of “*naši*.” Since the translator uses a positive verb, the positive “*někdo*” instead of “*nikdo*” is used.

(39) I have seldom seen anyone come to us so promptly.
Málokdy přejde někdo na naši stranu tak rychle. (se_GO_8/p)

4.4.1.2 *Translation equivalents of SELDOM expressing a positive meaning*

Considering the translation equivalents in which the adverb modifies a verb, it can be said, that in 4 cases, the corresponding adverb is translated by means of an adverb of positive implication i.e. *často, většinou, skoro vždy*.

This can be demonstrated by the example (40) in which “*a cream Cadillac which was seldom seen other than*” becomes “*který skoro vždy zářil.*” This translation is perhaps motivated by the use of a passive form. In fact, the passive form appears in more findings with a positive adverb equivalent.

There is one instance in which the adverb is a part of a mediopassive construction. In example (41) “*the left hand knew*” becomes “*většinou levá ruka netušila.*”

(40) (...) a cream Cadillac which was seldom seen other than in gleaming spotlessness.
(...) krémový Cadillac, který skoro vždy zářil neposkvřněnou čistotou. (se_FD_1/p)

(41) (...) the left hand seldom knew what the right one was doing.
Většinou levá ruka netušila, co dělá pravá. (se_PA_2/n)

4.4.1.3 Translation equivalents in respect to the position of SELDOM within the clause

Similarly to HARDLY, the usual position of the adverb SELDOM within the clause is either between the subject and the verb (ex. 42) or between the auxiliary and the verb (ex. 43) (Dušková 1994: 453). Nonetheless, it does also appear positioned after the verb (ex. 44).

In reference to Quirk et al. (1985: 498), *final position* is a position of an adverbial after all obligatory elements (1985: 582). It was expected that if the adverb appeared at the end, it would be heavily modified. This assumption is affirmed in example (ex. 44) in which SELDOM is modified by *so very*, translated into Czech by an intensifier *tak*; and in (ex. 45) where it is modified by *more and more*, which is a comparative form expressed by a periphrastic comparison. This relationship is translated into Czech by the means of a comparative form *stále řidčeji*. The finite position is kept in example (45), while in (44) it is moved to the front of the subordinate clause.

Moreover, this supports the principle of the *end-focus* and *end-weight*, the first operating on the assumption that new information is naturally placed at the end of the information unit, after the context for the information is provided and the focus is thus placed on that unit. The new information is often stated more fully (with a heavier structure) and thus it seems natural for the end-weight principle to take place. (Quirk et al. 1985: 1361-4)

(42) The other man seldom volunteered information.
Kolega Reubens dával jen zřídka informace dobrovolně. (se_FD_8/p)

(43) She had seldom seen him quite so relaxed as this.
Málokdy ho viděla tak hovorného. (se_FD_12/p)

(44) Then she had a glimpse of silver – the great carp himself, who came to the surface so very seldom.
Pak něco stříbřitě blýsklo – sám velký kapr, tak zřídka vyplouvající na hladinu. (se_BA_1/p)

(45) But now that she was forty, they might come more and more seldom.
Teď už jí je ale čtyřicet, a tak budou přicházet stále řidčeji. (se_HH_1/p)

Speaking of the positioning of SELDOM within the clause, it appears also in the *initial position* (ex. 46). As has been expected, if the negator stands in this position as an adverbial or a modifier within an adverbial, it causes subject-operator inversion. Nevertheless, there is only one example of such case in the extracted clauses. Example 46 shows, that SELDOM is positioned initially, functioning as an adverbial and thus causing subject-operator inversion. Accordingly, as has been mentioned in the theoretical part of this work, placing the negator initially is an instance of emphatic fronting which is common in formal style. The negator is removed from its standard position and placed before all other clause elements. This assumption is true in this case, as the narrator uses the adverb as a form of intensification to exaggerate the remaining contents of the sentence i.e. *this was one of those times*. It is clear also by the use of the subjunct and an emphasizer *obviously*, that the intensification is a result of an emotive connotation. The Czech equivalent of the intensified form and emotional incorporation is visible by the use of *jen*. The initial position of the translated adverb is kept, and the translation of the adverb itself into Czech is “*jen zřídka*.”

(46) Seldom was she the target of the caller's anger, but obviously this was one of these times, and it was unsettling.
Jen zřídka se stávala terčem něčího hněvu, ale právě teď ta chvíle nastala, a nebylo to nic příjemného.
(se_TC_2/p)

4.4.1.4 Translation equivalents of SELDOM within elliptical constructions

There was one instance found (ex. 47), in which the verb was omitted within the structure and the context had to be additionally added, in order to identify the missing items and also the modified element. The needed information is „*And how often does it happen?*“ „*A jak často se to stane?*“ Therefore, the omitted and modified element is the verb *happen*, since the whole answer to this question would be „*It happens very seldom.*“ The item *very* functions as an intensifier of SELDOM. The expected polarity of the verb in the translation would be positive, since the adverb *zřídka* appears with positive verbs (see *Table 6*), and in the meantime, the verb in the question is positive.

(47) Very seldom.
Velmi zřídka. (se_FD_1/o)

4.4.2 Translation equivalents of SELDOM modifying an ADJECTIVE

The occurrences of SELDOM modifying an adjective are in all instances translated by means of a positive clause. As expected, the adverb SELDOM is translated by the means of the usual and aforementioned expressions (*Table 6*). It is translated as “*zřídka*” or “*málokdy*.”

The adverb modifying an adjective is preceded by a copular verb *be* and followed by the adjective. This can be shown on the example (48) in which SELDOM modifies “*clear-cut*.” The translation follows the same pattern as HARDLY and the translation is faithful to the original clause, maintaining the same syntactic structure. The example (48) shows this pattern of translation, since the expression “*were seldom clear-cut*” is translated as “*je málokdy jednoznačná*.”

Similarly to HARDLY, the adverb SELDOM modifying an adjective appears in structures with the anticipatory *it*. Thus in the example (49) the clause is constructed as “*it was seldom possible to follow*” and is translated as “*bylo zřídka možné rozvíjet*.” The clause is translated into Czech as subjectless verbal sentence, in which the tense of the copular verb and the infinitive is kept. This translation thus follows the same pattern as instances of HARDLY in clauses with the anticipatory *it*.

Nevertheless, the structure “*it was seldom possible to fill a pipe to the top*” (ex. 50) is an illustration of a different possible translation. The anticipatory *it* anticipates the subject which is postponed after the verb and realized by an infinitive “*to fill a pipe to the top*.” This may be confirmed by replacing *it* with the subject i.e. “*to fill a pipe to the top was seldom possible*.” SELDOM modifies the adjective “*possible*.” This example was translated as “*měl zřídka možnost nacpat si*.” The subject therefore becomes known in reference to the text and the infinitive takes a reflexive form. Thus, more thorough research would have to be made in order to establish possible frequently occurring patterns of translation since the findings of such instances for this paper are limited in number and no definite conclusions concerning the translation equivalents can be made.

(48) The lines of authority were **seldom** clear-cut, and a medical department, head, once appointed, was pretty well master in his own domain.

Linie authority je **málokdy** jednoznačná. Primář nemocničního oddělení se od svého jmenování stává víceméně jeho suverénním samovládcem. (se_FD_9/p)

(49) In Newspeak it was **seldom** possible to follow a heretical thought further than the perception that it was heretical.

V newspeaku bylo zřídka možné rozvíjet kacířskou myšlenku dál než ke konstatování, že je kacířská. (se_GO_10/p)

(50) With the tobacco ration at 100 grammes a week it was **seldom** possible to fill a pipe to the top.

Protože přiděl tabáku byl 100 gramů na týden, měl zřídka možnost nacpat si dýmku až po okraj. (se_GO_3/p)

4.4.3 Translation equivalents of SELDOM as a modifier of a PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Although unexpected, there is an instance found in which the adverb modifies a prepositional phrase. The example (51) shows that SELDOM modifies “*before eleven hundred.*” This is a prepositional phrase in the function of an adverbial. The translation contains a verb, which is used for greater clarity of the given information, since the exact equivalent would be “*zřídka před jedenáctou*” and the whole translation would be “*když se probudil, zřídka před jedenáctou.*” The translation is “*což bylo zřídka před jedenáctou*” which shows, that translations in general depend in large extent on the translator and his/her choice of words to present the contents comprehensibly.

(51) When he woke, seldom before eleven hundred, with gummed-up eyelids and fiery mouth and a back that seemed to be broken, it would have been impossible even to rise from the horizontal if it had not been for the bottle and teacup placed beside the bed overnight.

Když se probudil, což bylo zřídka před jedenáctou, se zalepenými víčky, pářilo ho v ústech, záda měl jako přeražená a nedokázal by se ani zvednout z vodorovné polohy, nebýt té láhve a šálku, které měl v noci u postele. (se_GO_9/p)

5 CONCLUSION

This bachelor thesis studies the expressions **HARDLY** and **SELDOM** and their Czech correlates. Several concluding statements about those approximate negators can be made. The analysed items are formally positive, bearing no morphological indication of their negative nature. Nonetheless, they express negation. Based on the theoretical part of this work, it was expected that their negative character would be demonstrated by the occurrence of several expressions and syntactical features, which was indeed proved by the analysed examples.

In order to perform the analysis of the adverbs expressing negation, 100 examples altogether were extracted from the corpus InterCorp, 50 including the adverb **HARDLY** and 50 including the adverb **SELDOM**. Since this work focuses on the items **HARDLY/SELDOM** functioning as adverbs, there was one example in which **SELDOM** functioned as an adjective. Thus, this example had to be manually removed from the analysis.

It must be noted that the occurrence frequency of **SELDOM** (0.028 per thousand words) was much lower than the occurrence of **HARDLY** (0.104 per thousand words). Thus, more texts had to be included to obtain a sufficient number of examples (see 4.1.1). Both adverbs appeared more frequently in BrE than AmE, however, the difference in the occurrence frequency between the two dialects was not as major with **SELDOM** (see 4.1).

It was expected that the expressions would be translated by a corresponding adverbial expression located within a clause with either a positive or negative verb. As has been mentioned in section 4.2, it was expected that the Czech equivalents of the adverbs would appear in structures with a positive or a negative verb. This assumption proved to be true, since 27 examples with **HARDLY** were translated by a negative clause and 22 by a positive clause (1 finding did not contain a verb). **SELDOM** on the other hand was translated by a negative clause in 5 instances, 44 by a positive clause, and 1 did not contain a verb. However, it must be noted, that the translation equivalents varied according to the item the adverbs modified. Taking into consideration the translation correlates of the adverbs alone, a few remarks can be made.

Focusing on the adverb **HARDLY**, it was found that equivalents with a positive clause most frequently occurred with the expression *sotva* 30%. Counterparts with a negative verb in the clause on the other hand appeared with the item *skoro* 16%. Both of these occurrences correspond with the common equivalents mentioned by Dušková in *Mluvnice* (1999: 347). Among other correlates appearing in the negative translations were expressions with *ani* 14%, showing that this item appears only in combination with a negative verb. Other equivalents

include *málem ani* 4%, *málem* 2%, *téměř* 6%, and other 12%. Translation equivalents within a positive clause include *stěží* 8%, *málo* 2%, *skoro* 2%, and other 2%. In one example the adverb was part of an ellipsis, and was translated as *sotva*.

The most frequent translation of the adverb SELDOM was *zřídka* within a clause with a positive verb (36%), which was mentioned as a translation equivalent in *Mluvnice* (1999: 347). Other common equivalents within a positive clause included *málokdy* 30% and *zřídka* 14%, and other 2%. Surprisingly, adverbial expressions implying a positive meaning appeared in the analysed examples e.g. *často* 2%, *většinou* 2% *skoro vždy* 2%. Since those instances appeared in passive and mediopassive constructions, such translations seem to be motivated by their occurrence. Among translation equivalents in the negative clauses, the following items appeared: *většinou* 2%, *téměř* 2%, *skoro nikdy* 2%, and other 4%. In one case, the adverb was a part of an elliptical structure in which the verb was omitted and it was translated as *zřídka*.

It was also not expected that the two adverbs would be translated by the same Czech correlates. Especially the adverb SELDOM was translated as *skoro* in two instances; nonetheless, it was accompanied by another item (*vždy/nikdy*). The necessity to accompany the adverb by another defining item shows, that the adverb SELDOM is more referential toward time relevance than HARDLY.

Since, this paper centres on the approximate negators i.e. the mentioned items functioning as adverbs expressing negation, it was expected that they would modify verbs, adjectives and determiners (see 2.1.2.2.2). *Table 7* summarizes the differences between the two adverbs according to their function as modifiers of various elements. The analysis shows, that the modified elements were not limited only to the three mentioned categories, but among the modified items a NP, a numeral and a PP also appeared.

The table suggests that both adverbs most frequently modified verbs 85%. However, the difference among them lies in the translation equivalents. The adverb HARDLY was more commonly translated by means of a corresponding adverbial element and a negative verb 54%, while SELDOM was more frequently translated by a clause with a positive verb 88%.

Considering the adverbs as modifiers of adjectives, it can be seen that both adverbs modified adjectives in 3 extracted examples. The overall percentage of such instances thus being 6%. It was interesting to find that examples with HARDLY were translated by means of an equivalent encapsulated in a clause with a negative verb, while instances with SELDOM were translated by a correlate within a clause with a positive verb i.e. the translations operated by the more common translation pattern of both adverbs as mentioned above.

As has been pointed out, the adverbs modified also other elements than those expected. There was an instance of HARDLY modifying a numeral and 5 in which it modified a NP. SELDOM on the other hand modified a prepositional phrase in 1 finding. It can be said, that those items, which were expected to be modified, appeared in the prevailing translations of the adverbs i.e. in negative clauses with HARDLY, and positive clauses with SELDOM.

Taking into consideration the syntactical features commonly indicating the negative nature of the clause, several such characteristics were identified in the analysed examples. Inversion was expected to occur if the initial element is negative. Such instance was found only in one occurrence in all 100 examples. The adverb SELDOM appeared in the initial position and caused a subject and operator inversion. Although HARDLY also appeared in the initial position, it did not cause inversion since it did not modify the verb but a NP.

Another characteristic highlighting the negative character of the items expected to occur was intensification. Indeed, both adverbs appeared in combination with intensifiers. HARDLY appeared with *ever* and *at all* (see 4.3.1.1), and SELDOM occurred in combination with *very*, *so* etc. (see 4.4.1.4)

The occurrence of the adverbs with non-assertive items also proved the negative character of the adverbs. Considering the occurrence of the adverbs with such items, it is important to distinguish whether the adverbs modified the non-assertive item directly, or if the adverb modified a verb and the non-assertive item was a part of the clause. HARDLY modified altogether 4 indefinite pronouns which belonged to a NP, and in 5 examples the adverb modified a verb and the non-assertive item in the form of an adverb *ever* (3) or a pronoun the *any*-series (2) appeared within the scope of negation. In contrast, the adverb SELDOM appeared with an indefinite pronoun *anybody* in only one example and it was not directly modified, but occurred within the scope of negation. Translation equivalents of such examples showed, that Czech grammar operates by the rule of negative concord and the clauses were thus translated by means of double negation. Since the negative nature of the clause was visible by the use of the non-assertive item, it did not make any difference in the translation if such item was modified directly or appeared within the scope of negation.

Considering the adverb SELDOM, it can be said that it was translated into Czech by words expressing time span, thus its function as an adverbial expressing time frequency was maintained. The adverb does not imply a definite or given frequency and it could be paraphrased as *not often/ on few occurrences*. The adverb implies the low time frequency of an element expressed in the clause. Since the negative implication is kept by the adverb, it is not necessary to express negation by the verb. In the meantime, if the verb would be translated as negative, the

adverbial expression would attain an opposite meaning i.e. the message of the clause would be positive.

On the other hand, the adverb HARDLY functions as an intensifying adverb of degree, minimizing the degree of the modified element. It thus has a lowering effect and applies a scale to gradable verbs (CGEL 1985: 597). Since HARDLY modifies the element more directly than SELDOM as it alternates its meaning, the negative nature of the expression is needed to be more clearly expressed in the translation²⁵. Negative verb is thus more frequently used than the positive verb. However, it must be noted that the low degree is maintained in both types of translation of HARDLY. The positive verbs usually occur with *sotva/stěží* which imply a low amount and thus have a negative connotation; they can be paraphrased as *almost no/little*. Subsequently, the frequent correlates *skoro/téměř* which imply an increasing degree and can be paraphrased as *almost*, occur with negative verbs. It can be thus said, that both translations operate on the basis of maintaining the original expression of minimizing the degree of the action.

In conclusion, the adverbs HARDLY and SELDOM proved to express clausal negation, since several syntactical features distinctive for this type of negation appeared within the relevant clause. The translation equivalents then maintain their negative implication, except for a few instances, in which the translation by means of a positive correlate seems to be motivated by the passive form in the English original. As expected, both adverbs occurred only in combination with a positive verb in the English original. Although SELDOM may occur in combination with a negative verb on rare occasions, no such cases were identified. Considering the translation equivalent, even though both adverbs are formally positive but semantically negative, they are translated into Czech by different means, since SELDOM is an adverb of time frequency, while HARDLY is an adverb of degree.

²⁵ SELDOM refers to the time, not the validity of the action. The action did happen, but not often, while HARDLY, alters the quantity and extent of the action.

Table 7: HARDLY vs SELDOM as modifiers of various elements

HARDLY	verb	adjective	NP	PP	numeral	Other structures	Total (+1)	%
Positive	21	0	0	0	1	1	22	44
Negative	19	3	5	0	0		27	54
Total	40	3	5	0	1	1	50	100
%	80	6	10	0	2	2	100	100
SELDOM								
Positive	40	3	0	1	0	1	44	88
negative	5	0	0	0	0		5	10
Total	45	3	0	1	0	1	100	100
%	90	6	0	2	0	2	100	100
TOTAL %	85	6	5	1	1	2	100	100

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Grisham, John: <i>The Partner</i>	PA
Hailey, Arthur: <i>The Final Diagnosis</i>	FD
Irving, John: <i>A Widow for a Year</i>	WO
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Joyce, James: <i>The Dubliners</i>	DU
Woolf, Virginia <i>Mrs Dalloway</i>	MD
Woolf, Virginia <i>Between the Acts</i>	BA
Woolf, Virginia: <i>A Haunted House</i>	HH

7 RESUMÉ

Tato práce zkoumá formálně kladné, ale významově záporné výrazy *HARDLY* a *SELDOM* a jejich české překladové ekvivalenty. Cílem této práce je analyzovat tyto výrazy na základě větného záporu do kterého náleží, a popsat jejich české koreláty. Závěrečná část se zabývá komparací těchto termínů s ohledem na syntaktické rysy charakteristickými pro větnou negaci.

Pro uvedení těchto výrazů v rámci náležitého typu negace jsou v teoretické části nejprve popsány primární typy negace s ohledem na prostředky, kterými lze negaci v angličtině vyjádřit. Jedná se o zápor větný (2.1), členský (2.2) a predikační (2.3). Zároveň je popsána dvojí negace (2.4) a je stručně nastíněn negační systém v češtině (2.5).

Prvotním typem negace pro práci s výrazy *HARDLY* a *SELDOM* je větná negace. Tento podtyp má vliv na všechny členy přítomné ve větě, čímž stanovuje negativní polaritu věty. Jedná se zejména o slovesnou negaci, při které se sloveso pojí s výrazem *not* a neguje tedy celou větu. Vedle tohoto typu větné negace stojí výrazy, které nejsou prostředky slovesné negace. Jedná se o výrazy negativní formou i významem (2.1.2.1) a výrazy, které nejsou morfologicky jasně rozlišitelné od výrazů kladných (2.1.2.2).

Pod první podtyp spadají negativní kvantifikátory např. *none*, *nobody*, *never*, *neither* atd. Tato slova negují větu jako celek bez výjimky. Druhý podtyp uvádí výrazy formálně kladné, avšak významově záporné. Tato negace může být vyjádřena determinátory *little*, *few*, či adverbii např. *hardly*, *seldom*.

Záporný charakter výrazů zastupujících větný zápor může být podpořen výskytem určitých syntaktických znaků. Stojí-li například negativní výraz na počátku věty, způsobuje inverzi podmětu a přísudku. Pokud inverzi nezpůsobuje, jedná se o negaci členskou. Tento znak se ve vybraných příkladech objevil pouze jednou.

Dalším rysem poukazujícím na větný zápor je výskyt výrazů řady *any-*, tedy univerzálních kvantifikátorů. Tyto výrazy se pojí s prostředky vyjadřující negaci. Sloveso tedy musí mít formu záporu, či musí být zápor vyjádřený jiným zmiňovaným prostředkem. Pokud má slovesu formu kladnou, zápor může být vyjádřen pomocí výrazu *no*.

Dalším typickým znakem záporného charakteru věty je možnost připojení pozitivního tázacího dovětku. Negativní tázací dovětek se připojuje k větě s kladnou polaritou. Tento znak se však v analyzovaných příkladech neobjevil.

Vzhledem k tomu, že se tato práce zabývá výrazy formálně kladnými, ale významově zápornými, teoretická část zmiňuje, že tyto výrazy ve větě plní funkci adverbia modifikujícího

jiné větné členy (2.1.2.2). Zejména sloveso, adjektivum či determinátory. Tato skutečnost byla poté užita pro analýzu příkladů obsahující výrazy *HARDLY* a *SELDOM*.

Další část (2.2) se zabývá negací členskou, kterou lze zaznamenat v případech, kdy stojí zápor u jiného větného členu než přísudku. Negace se tedy vztahuje pouze na tento člen. Členská negace může být vyjádřena slovem *not* postaveným před modifikovaný element např. *not surprisingly*. Avšak hlavním prostředkem pro vyjádření této negace je užití afixů např. *un-*, *in-*, *dis-*, *non-*.

Posledním typem negace je zápor predikační (2.3), který je omezený na jedno slovní spojení či frázi, avšak sémanticky se vztahuje na celou větu. Vyskytuje se pouze zřídka, primárně ve větách vyjadřujících svolení a popření.

Kapitola (2.4) se zabývá dvojitým záporem, který se v angličtině vyskytuje v několika případech. Zápor větný se může objevit ve větě se záporem členským, čímž se oba záporu ruší a věta má podobný význam jako věta kladná. Dva záporu se také mohou vyskytnout, když náleží k různým predikacím. V jiných případech se objeví dva větné záporu v jedné predikaci, avšak druhý zápor stojí mimo dosah slovesné negace.

Poslední část (2.5) pojednává o systému negace v českém jazyce. Oproti anglickým záporným výrazům *no* a *not* stojí v češtině pouze jeden - *ne*. Avšak hlavní rozdíl leží ve struktuře záporné věty. Čeština se řídí záporovou shodou a oproti angličtině umožňuje výskyt dvojího záporu ve větě. Zápor se tedy vyjadřuje nejen u slovesa ale i u kvantifikátorů.

V kapitole metodologie (3) jsou popsány zdroje užité pro získání příkladů k analýze. Primárními zdroji se staly texty nalezené v paralelním korpusu InterCorp. Bylo použito 12-ti textů, mezi nimiž byly následující: *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* od J.K Rowlingové, *Lucky Jim* od Kingsleyho Amise, *The Crush* od Sandry Brownové, *The Street Lawyer* a *The Partner* od Johna Grishama, *The Final Diagnosis* od Arthura Haileya, *A Widow for a Year* od John Irvinga, *1984* od George Orwella, *Mrs Dalloway*, *Between the Acts* a *A Haunted House* od Virginie Woolfové a *The Dubliners* od Jamese Joyce.

K získání dat byl použit paralelní korpus InterCorp poskytovaný Karlovou Univerzitou, ve kterém byly nejprve zvoleny paralelní korpusy češtiny a angličtiny. Poté byly zvoleny texty v anglickém originále a následně bylo použito vyhledávání lemma a navolen výraz "*seldom*" a "*hardly*." Texty pro analýzu byly vybírány náhodně do chvíle, kdy bylo získáno 50 příkladů ke každému výrazu. Následně byla provedena manuální selekce, a byl odebrán výraz *SELDOM* který plnil funkci adjektiva.

Empirická část (4) se zaměřuje na 100 vybraných výrazů a analyzuje je na základě poznatků obsažených v teoretické části. Nejprve byla zhodnocena celková frekvence výskytu výrazů, která

určila výskyt adverbia SELDOM na 0.028 a HARDLY na 0.104 na tisíc slov (4.1). Tento poznatek napověděl, že pro získání příkladů k výrazu SELDOM je potřeba více textů.

Dále byly zhodnoceny překladové ekvivalenty adverbíí s ohledem na kladný či záporný charakter přeložené věty. Obecně řečeno, HARDLY má tendenci se v překladech vyskytovat spíše ve větách záporných 54% než kladných 44%, zatímco SELDOM se vyskytuje více ve větách záporných 88% než kladných 10%. 2% příkladů u každého adverbia byly eliptické konstrukce a neobsahovaly sloveso (*Table 7*).

Rovněž bylo zjištěno, že výraz HARDLY byl v kladných větách překládán skrze výrazy *sotva* 30%, *stěží* 8%, *málo* 2%, *skoro* 2%, nebo byl vyjádřen jinak 2%. V záporných větách byl pak přeložen výrazy *skoro* 16%, *málem ani* 4%, *ani* 14%, *málem* 2%, *téměř* 6%. Ve 12% příkladů byl adverbialní výraz zcela vynechán či vyjádřen jinak (*Table 5*).

Adverbialní výraz SELDOM byl v kladných větách přeložen výrazy *zřídka* 36%, *málokdy* 30% a *zřídka* 14%. Překvapivě, v některých příkladech se vyskytly české koreláty implikující kladný význam: *často* 2%, *většinou* 2% *skoro vždy* 2%. Tyto překlady se zdají být založeny na výskytu tohoto adverbia v pasivních konstrukcích. SELDOM v záporných větách bylo přeloženo koreláty: *většinou* 2%, *téměř* 2%, *skoro nikdy* 2%. V 6% příkladů byl výraz zcela vynechán či vyjádřen jiným způsobem (*Table 6*).

Na základě informací zmíněných v teoretické části se předpokládalo, že výrazy HARDLY a SELDOM budou ve větě modifikovat sloveso, adjektivum či determinátor. Během analýzy příkladů se však ukázalo, že adverbia modifikují nejen tyto, avšak i jiné větné členy.

Výraz HARDLY modifikovalo sloveso v 80% příkladů, zatímco výraz SELDOM v 90% příkladů. Dále pak HARDLY modifikovalo číslovku 2%, adjektivum 6%, a v 10% nominální frázi. SELDOM modifikovalo adjektivum 6% a předložkovou větu 2%.

Závěrečná část (5) sjednocuje výsledky analýzy obou výrazů a porovnává je v rámci větného záporu s ohledem na jejich české koreláty. Je patrné, že oba výrazy se vyskytují spolu se znaky charakteristickými pro zápor větný. Tedy například s univerzálními kvantifikátory řady *any-*. Dále je hodnocena i pozice výrazů ve větě s důrazem na počáteční a koncový výskyt. Předpoklady, že při počátečním výskytu adverbia dochází k inverzi, zatímco adverbia v koncové pozici jsou značně modifikována, se potvrdily.

Předpoklad, že SELDOM se v překladu bude vyskytovat spíše s kladným slovesem, zatímco HARDLY se záporným slovesem se potvrdil. Lze konstatovat, že adverbium SELDOM si v překladu ponechalo funkci určující časovou frekvenci modifikovaného elementu. Vzhledem k tomu, že zápor je implikován v adverbialním výrazu, není třeba jej vyjadřovat pomocí slovesa.

Pokud by byl zápor vyjádřen i slovesem, polarita věty by byla opačná a adverbální výraz by pozbyl pravého významu.

Co se týče překladu výrazu **HARDLY**, lze říci, že převládající překlady *sotva/stěží* se vyskytují s kladným slovesem, zatímco *skoro/téměř* se slovesem negativním. První dvojice vyjadřuje malou míru či záporný charakter, což je kompenzováno slovesem kladným. Druhá dvojice adverbii vyjadřuje možné dovršení či kladný charakter což je doplněno slovesem negativním. Záporný charakter anglického originálu je tedy vždy zachován. Vzhledem k tomu, že **HARDLY** modifikuje přímo význam a kvalitu modifikovaného elementu, je tento výraz překládán většinou negativním slovesem, pro zachování záporného charakteru.

Zmiňované tendence tedy potvrzují předpoklad, že výrazy **HARDLY** a **SELDOM** jsou začleněny do větného záporu a výše uvedené znaky tedy zdůrazňují jejich záporný charakter.