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Diplomová práce

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**Components of the third syntactical plan in Czech and in English: Czech expressions
with the postfix *-pak* and their English translation counterparts**

Prostředky třetí syntaktické roviny v češtině a v angličtině: české výrazy s postfixem *-pak* a
jejich anglické překladové protějšky

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V Praze, dne

.....

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Abstract

The present diploma thesis examines the English translation equivalents of Czech expressions containing the postfix *-pak*. This postfix occurs in pronouns, pronominal adverbs, particles and interjections. It is employed as an element of the ‘third syntactical plan’ (Poldauf, 1963), i.e. the repertory of linguistic means which relate an utterance to the individual, expressing his concern with the content of an utterance, his stance towards its content or form. The thesis identifies and describes the English means equivalent to the postfix and uses them as markers of individual discourse functions fulfilled by the *-pak* expressions, thereby specifying the description of these Czech expressions. Attention is also given to the conversion of *-pak* expressions as well as their occurrence in idiomatic constructions. The major functions include expressing epistemic modality, voicing appeal, establishing/maintaining contact, and emotional expressivity.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce zkoumá anglické překladové ekvivalenty českých výrazů s postfixem *-pak*. Tento postfix se vyskytuje u zájmen, zájmných příslovcí, částic a citoslovcí. Uplatňuje se jako prostředek ‘třetí syntaktické roviny’ (Poldauf, 1963), tj. repertoáru jazykových prostředků, které vztahují promluvu k jedinci a vyjadřují jeho zainteresovanost na obsahu promluvy, jeho postoj k jejímu obsahu či formě. Práce identifikuje a popisuje anglické prostředky ekvivalentní k postfixu, využívá jich jako ukazatelů jednotlivých diskursních funkcí, jež výrazy s postfixem *-pak* plní, a zpřesňuje tak popis českých výrazů. Pozornost je věnována rovněž konverzi výrazů s postfixem *-pak* a jejich výskytu v idiomatických konstrukcích. Práce ukázala, že základní diskursní funkce výrazů s postfixem *-pak* zahrnují vyjadřování jistotní modality, funkci apelovou, kontakto­vou a emocionálně expresivní.

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Abbreviations

IF – illocutionary force

OALD – *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*

PČP - *Pravidla českého pravopisu*

SČFI 2 – *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 2: Výrazy nevětné*

SČFI 4 – *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky 4: Výrazy větné*

SSJČ - *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*

SSČ – *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*

TSP - the third syntactical plan

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1 Introduction

The present diploma thesis aims to compare English and Czech from the perspective of the third syntactical plan, drawing on Poldauf's (1964) terminology and theoretical framework. The third syntactical plan (henceforth TSP) comprises the linguistic means which relate the content or form of the given communication to an individual and his "special ability to perceive, judge and assess" (Poldauf, 1964: 242).

Our aim is thus to compare English and Czech in terms of their TSP repertoires. As shown by Poldauf (1964), English and Czech differ considerably in the range of TSP linguistic means, the differences being grounded to a large extent in their respective typological characteristics. Based on Poldauf's findings, the English TSP repertory is expected to be less varied and developed than the Czech one. As mentioned in Czech grammars of English (Dušková et al., 2012) as well as supported by our previous findings (Šebestová, 2015), English manifests a general tendency to prefer grammatical means of the TSP, such as specific grammatical structures (e.g. certain types of interrogative sentences), whereas Czech tends to make use of lexical items (e.g. particles).

With these general characteristics in mind, we have decided to limit the material of our contrastive study to a specific group of Czech lexical items, namely expressions (falling within several different word classes) which contain the postfix *-pak*, and their corresponding English translation equivalents. The postfix *-pak* is approached as a discourse function marker. Firstly, this thesis aims to present a description of the different possible English translation equivalents of the Czech *-pak* expressions, and their structural as well as stylistic and pragmatic characteristics. Secondly, the English counterparts will help us compile a complex overview of the communicative functions and pragmatic features of the Czech postfix *-pak*, some of which we expect to be more readily observable once we take into account the English translations. This contrastive analysis allows us to compare meanings which stem from the same notions and serve the same communicative functions but are conveyed by different means in the respective languages, bearing in mind that "linguistic structure is language-specific while the cognitive and functional-communicative substance which constrains it is potentially universal" (Boye, 2012: 7).

The thesis draws on previous research, as presented in Šebestová and Malá (2016). The pilot study limited itself to the occurrence of *-pak* in two particles, *copak* and *jestlipak*, and their variants. The results have pointed towards several tendencies which will be examined in further detail and using the full repertory of Czech expressions containing the postfix *-pak*. The major uses of *-pak* which were prevalent in our pilot study material were that of a marker of epistemic modality, and a communicative function marker of appeal and establishing/maintaining contact.

The larger scale of the present study, both in terms of the types of *-pak* expressions studied and in terms of the size of the sample analysed (i.e. the number of tokens), will make it possible to explore the features of expression with *-pak* which were merely suggested in the pilot study, but could not be described systematically. These features include the role of *-pak* as a politeness marker and as a means of textual coherence. The present study is hoped to reveal the functions signalled generally by the postfix *-pak* as well as those which pertain merely to some of the expressions with the postfix, or to specific constructions comprising such expressions.

2 Theoretical background

2.1 The third syntactical plan

2.1.1 TSP - basic notions and terminology

The third syntactical plan of a language is defined as the repertory of linguistic means that reflect the human individual (who may or may not be identical with the speaker) and his “special ability to perceive, judge and assess”, which manifests itself in the individual’s “concern” with the communication (Poldauf, 1964: 242). This broad definition encompasses several different aspects of communication. The individual may be concerned with the content of the communication (the communication or part thereof may be perceived as the individual’s “mental property”) or with the manner in which it is formulated, and may relate to either the content or the manner in terms of a perceived emotional or intellectual relation (ibid.).

2.1.2 TSP differences between Czech and English as observed by Poldauf

2.1.2.1 TSP in Czech

The individual’s concern may be based on a possessive relationship in a broad sense, including the meaning of enjoyment or benefit from the possession. In that case, it is expressed by a noun/pronoun in the dative case (ibid.).

(1) Zazpívala nám.

“She-sang US_{DAT}.” (ibid.: 255) (She sang a song for us.)¹

The dative can also express “mental property”, i.e. a person’s relation to what is in his mind. It relates the individual to the communication in its entirety (ibid.: 243). In ex. (2), the content of the utterance “time passed slowly” is valid only in relation to the perceiver. In this respect, the dative case functions in a way similar to Czech particles (both are attached to the utterance as it were from the outside, modifying it as a whole), which are a significant means of the Czech third syntactical plan (ibid.: 247).

(2) Čas mu utíkal pomalu.

¹ Henceforth, all translations will be by Šebestová - unless stated otherwise, with the resource given in parentheses.

“Time him_{DAT} passed slowly.” (Ibid.: 255) (He found time pass too slowly.
Ibid.: 249)

The dative may express emotional (or even sensual) concern – then it is termed reflexive dativus affectivus, unattached dative (ibid.):

(3) Pěkně si leží.

„Nicely himself he-lies.” (He is taking pleasure in lying down. Ibid.: 255)

The referent of the dative pronoun may be a person who is (or is expected to be) concerned with the content, illustrated by the respective examples:

(4) To je mi chytrák.

„That is me_{DAT} a clever-one.” (Isn't he clever? Ibid.)

(5) To je vám chytrák.

That is you_{DAT} a clever-one. (That's a clever one, I must tell you. Ibid.: 255)

Intellectual evaluation is another type of the individual's concern. Here, Czech frequently employs adverbs (*prý, určitě - allegedly, certainly*), or “degenerated” embedded or appended clauses (*škoda že, dobře že - lit. “a pity that”, “good that”,* ibid.: 244-245).

For emotional evaluation, Czech employs various means, usually occurring as close as possible to sentence-initial position, functioning as a “key signature to the whole communication”; Poldauf also mentions the importance of intonation (ibid.: 246). The most important means here are particles (sometimes combined: *když ono*), and various formulas (*že*), some of which are, however, epenthetic (*že, vid'te, ne, co*). Notably, these formulas function as a means of establishing (or maintaining, let us add) contact and trying to convince the listener (ibid.: 247) – in other words they also have the function of appeal.

Poldauf terms these expressions formulas, possibly due to the difficulty of their classification. In epenthetic positions, the given examples can be classified as contact

interjections, specifically the question interjections² subtype according to Komárek et al. (1986: 245-247), as in *Dnes je dusno, že?* (Poldauf, 1964: 247): *že* is loosely attached to the preceding sentence, not syntactically integrated into it and constituting a separate utterance, which corresponds to the definition of an interjection. However, Poldauf notes that the same expressions may also occur sentence-initially, without any change in the meaning or function of the utterance, as in *Že je dnes dusno?* (Poldauf, 1964: 247). Apparently, such instances are not interjections anymore because they become integrated into the sentence and cannot be separated from the rest of it without a significant change in meaning (**Že, je dnes dusno?*);³ they would probably have to be classified as particles.

In questions, Czech uses the particle *jen* and particles containing the postfix *-pak* (*copak*); in yes/no questions, we may encounter the particles *jestlipak* or its synonym *zdalipak* (ibid.).

Both types of evaluation are very close to modality, they often border on modal evaluation (ibid.: 244, 247). Poldauf's examples suggest that it is primarily epistemic modality. In ex. (6), the speaker is expressing the degree of his commitment to the truth value of a preceding utterance. In ex. (7), the epistemic modal meaning is deliberative, as the speaker is wondering whether or not it may be raining outside, attaching an emotional value to the fact of raining (he / she is probably worried or irritated because of the possible rain).

(6) Je to myslím přesně tak. (intellectual, ibid.: 244)

lit. It is I-think exactly so. (ibid.: 253)

(7) Aby tak venku přšelo. (emotional, ibid.: 247)

2.1.2.2 TSP in English

Being a predominantly analytical language, English has fewer direct counterparts of the prevalent Czech means at its disposal. Due to the fact that the

² „citoslovce otázková“ (Komárek et al., 1986: 246)

³ This utterance might make sense in a specific context if *že* functioned as a reaction to a previous turn, expressing agreement; otherwise it is probably ungrammatical.

English word order requires a subject (preferably personal) opening the sentence, the English third syntactical plan is represented mainly by introductory signals, often realised by certain syntactic patterns or constructions which allow for a particular element to occur in sentence-initial position (ibid. 250). Examples include the *have* construction expressing possession in a broad sense (*he had his horse shot under him*, ibid.), the *find* construction expressing “mental property” (see above, *he found time pass too slowly*, ibid.: 249), or the introductory *I wonder* (ibid.: 253),⁴ which will prove to be one of the major translation counterparts of some *-pak* expressions.

English also uses independent lexical signals of the modification or relationships of lexical units rather than morphological signals, due to its analytical character (ibid.: 248).

While Czech favours inserted signals of relation to the individual (*už to tuším víte* – ibid., *I suppose you already know*, lit. “*already it I-suppose you know*”), English tends to associate the evaluative meaning directly with the verb, especially in the case of modal evaluation. However, English does use various introductory, epenthetic, or inserted signals as well (albeit not as frequently as Czech), such as *I imagine*, *I suppose*, *it may be*.

As regards emotional evaluation in English, there are no direct counterparts of Czech particles. English uses introductory signals such as *what*, *how* introducing exclamative sentences, or interjections (possibly due to the lack of expressivity in English in comparison with Czech (Poldauf, 1964: 254). Other means of emotional evaluation are tags, word order inversion, rhetorical questions, and the emphatic *do*. Poldauf mentions the introductory signal *I wonder* used for establishing contact, corresponding to the Czech *-pak*:

(8) I wonder if you know it.

Jestlipak to víte? (ibid.: 253)

⁴ *I wonder* can be integrated into another clause, unlike the corresponding Czech equivalents: cf. *Kampak jdete?* and *She wondered where I was going* (Poldauf, 1964: 253).

However, English tends to favour intellectual evaluation over emotional to the extent that expressions of intellectual evaluation frequently take up the function of emotional evaluation, as in *I wish you were here. He's ill, they say. I'm afraid we aren't on the phone* (ibid.: 253).⁵

2.2 Related approaches and terminology

Since our analysis draws on several scholars' theoretical approaches, let us now briefly delineate some notions and terms which will be relevant to the analysis of our material.

2.2.1 Approaches to discourse markers/items⁶

Swan (2005: 8) defines a discourse marker as “a word or expression which shows the connection between what is being said and the wider context”. Discourse markers mark relationships within the discourse or the speaker's stance to the communication.

Aijmer (2002: 1) uses the term discourse particles, which she defines as linguistic means which “[give] important clues to how discourse is segmented and processed”. Discourse particles in general are characterised by “pragmatic functions involving the speaker's relationship to the hearer, to the utterance or to the whole text” (ibid.: 2). Aijmer's definition corresponds to the concept of the third syntactical plan (cf. “the individual's specific ability to perceive, judge and assess”, Poldauf, 1964: 242).

According to Aijmer and Altenberg (2002: 19-20), contrastive studies of discourse items (i.e. expressions which are “peculiar to, or frequent in spoken discourse” - the latter characteristic pertains to Czech expressions with the postfix *-pak*) are useful because these expressions are usually language-specific and tend not to have direct translation correspondences. However, they also point out that many translators

⁵ In this context, we consider *I'm afraid* to be a politeness marker. Remarkably, Poldauf claims that there is no exactly corresponding Czech counterpart to this use of *I'm afraid*, whose meaning is close to that of *I'm sorry* (1964:253). In the material available in InterCorp, it is usually translated as *obávám se*.

⁶ Discourse markers are also referred to as discourse items, discourse particles, interactional signals, and others (Povolná, 2010: 28-29).

tend to omit such expressions altogether, precisely because of the difficulties which the translation presents (ibid.). This is an important point which will be taken into account during our analysis.

Erman (2001) speaks of “pragmatic markers” – expressions which carry very little meaning on their own, and whose meaning is strongly context-dependent (cf. Czech particles). Erman distinguishes between three different domains of use, based on the function of the pragmatic markers. Firstly, pragmatic markers operate in the discourse domain, where they function as textual monitors – means of structuring the text and creating coherence. Secondly, they are involved in the social domain as social monitors – means of maintaining contact, involving the addressee and eliciting responses, e.g. confirmations (in which case the means used include tag questions, Erman, 2001: 1340). Thirdly, pragmatic markers are used in the metalinguistic domain as metalinguistic monitors – they inform the addressee about the degree of the speaker’s commitment to the truth value of the proposition, or his/her judgment about the importance of the communicated content (discussed in detail by Povolná, 2010: 61-62).

2.2.2 Evaluative prosody

Some features of the postfix *-pak* suggested by our earlier research prove difficult to examine based solely on the *-pak* expressions. This regards mainly the possible role of *-pak* as a cohesive element or a means of structuring the text, and as a politeness/tentativeness marker. To learn more about these roles, we have to refer to other signals of a given evaluative polarity occurring in the cotext. In this analysis, we will rely on the notion of evaluative prosody to test our hypotheses about the functions of *-pak*. For example, in (9), the friendly term of address, *chlapečku/little boy*, signals the speaker’s positive stance towards the addressee. This would support the hypothesis that *-pak* may function as a marker of positive stance (which is confirmed by Čermák, 2012: 181).

Partington defines evaluative prosody as a) the sharing of evaluative polarity between a node and its collocates (2015: 281) as well as b) the potential of an item “to participate in evaluative interaction with other items of similar polarity”. Such interaction results in the evaluative prosody spreading over a discourse to create “evaluative harmony”. Thus, evaluative prosody contributes to textual cohesion (ibid.: 283 - 4).

(9) Čí**pak** jsi, **chlapečku**? (Trávníček, 1951: 656)

lit. Whose-*pak* are-you, **little-boy**?

Partington discusses the inconsistent character of evaluative prosody: some lexical items have different prosodies in different uses, depending on the syntactic environment, discourse type, and literal/figurative use (ibid.: 299-300). He also points out that evaluative prosody may change over time, resulting in different uses of one lexeme being primed with different evaluative prosodies (ibid.: 296 - 299) - in this case, speakers usually distinguish between the different prosodies without any difficulty.

Some examples from our material suggest that this “inconsistency” of evaluative prosody may be the case of the postfix *-pak*. In the analytical chapter of the present thesis, we shall see to what extent its different evaluative prosodies may serve as additional indicators of different uses of the given lexeme.

2.3 The postfix *-pak*: Characteristics

2.3.1 Note on the classification of *-pak*

In the present thesis, we adopt the classification of *-pak* as a postfix (i.e. an affix occurring after inflectional suffixes, Karlík et al., 2000: 109), in accordance with Dokulil et al. (1986: 435). Other sources treat *-pak* as an enclitic particle (Karlík et al., 2000: 679). The latter view puts greater emphasis on etymology; as noted by Dokulil et al. (1986: 435), *-pak* originated from the particle *pak*. However, our research is centred around *-pak* as a formant and semantic/pragmatic marker, making the former classification more convenient.

We also choose to term *-pak* as a postfix rather than an enclitic particle in order to avoid possible terminological ambiguity, as we shall be dealing with the occurrence of the formant *-pak* in expressions which fall under the traditional Czech word class of particles, e.g. *copak* or *jestlipak*.

2.3.2 Etymology of the postfix *-pak*

The postfix *-pak* originated from the particle *pak*.⁷ The particle was enclitic, i.e. unstressed and placed immediately after a stressed word, with which it constituted one tact, as in ‘*co pak*. The enclitic character of the particle allowed for it to gradually blend with the preceding word. For some time, forms such as *copak* and *co pak* coexisted (Šmilauer, 1969: 28). However, present-day Czech only uses the one-word variants.⁸

In general, postfixes which originated from enclitic particles, such as *-pak*, are frequent in spoken language (Balhar et al., 2011: 570). The postfix *-pak* is classified as expressive (Komárek et al., 1986: 393; cf. also SSJČ) and marked in terms of style (Komárek et al., 1986: 100).

2.3.3 Word formation of expressions with *-pak*

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs with *-pak* are formed by derivation, the postfix being added to the basic form of the pronoun or adverb (Dokulil et al., 1986: 435). This transparent word formation process is rare among Czech interrogatives (ibid.: 513). During declension, only the base is inflected while the postfix remains unchanged (cf. the paradigm of *copak* – *čehopak*, *čemupak*, *copak*, *čempak*, *čemupak*, Komárek et al., 1986: 393). This type of inflection is relatively uncommon among Czech pronouns; other examples include pronouns ending in the postfixes *-to* (*tento*), *-hle* (*tenhle*), and *-koli* (*cokoli*) (Cvrček et al., 2010: 222). The postfix *-pak* may be preceded by the postfix *-ž*, as in *cožpak*, *kdežpak* etc. (Čermák, 2012: 187, cf. subsection 3.1.2.3 below).

The resulting pronouns and/or adverbs may be used as secondary particles or interjections (Komárek et al., 1986: 88; Čermák, 2012: 189 - 190). It appears that historically, the *-pak* pronouns / adverbs entered the process of conversion, giving rise to *-pak* particles and interjections which are fully lexicalised in present day Czech.

⁷ In turn, the particle *pak* originated from an adverb – Čermák refers to it as a ‚konverzní adverbium‘ (2012: 189), i.e. ‘converted adverb’.

⁸ The two-word variants do not occur in the corpora of present-day Czech, nor are they listed in SSJČ I (1960) or *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (2010).

2.3.4 Occurrence of *-pak* in different word classes

Czech words containing the postfix *-pak* occur in several word classes, namely interrogative pronouns, interrogative adverbs, particles and interjections. Some of the words containing *-pak* occur in multiple word classes, e.g. *copak*, may occur as a pronoun, adverb, particle, or interjection (cf. SSJČ, 1960: 222). Not every *-pak* expression may fall under all four word classes – several different combinations are possible, and some expressions only occur in one class, e.g. the interrogative particles *jestlipak* and *zdalipak*.

2.3.4.1 Pronouns

All pronouns containing the postfix *-pak* are interrogative (ex. 14). Unlike other interrogatives, the *-pak* pronouns cannot function as relatives (ex. (10)).

(10) Kdopak to asi k nám zabloudil? (SSJČ I, 1960: 860)

(11) všiml si toho každý, kdo šel kolem (SSJČ I, 1960: 860)

everyone who went past noticed it

* všiml si toho každý, kdopak šel kolem

everyone who-*pak* went past noticed it

Trávníček (1951: 656) classifies the *-pak* pronouns semantically: they may express the speaker's curiosity; kindness, willingness and intimacy towards the addressee; surprise; or apprehension, annoyance and indignation.⁹ He also notes that some interrogative sentences containing a *-pak* pronoun have the illocutionary force of appeal, cf. ex. (12).

(12) Copak ti to napadá! (Trávníček, 1951: 656)

lit. What-*pak* to-you particle occurs!, semantically equivalent to Don't you dream of that!¹⁰

⁹„zvědavost“, „důvěrnost, ochota, laskavost“, „překvapení“, „obava, nevole, rozhořčení“ (Trávníček, 1951: 656).

¹⁰„Druhotný oznamovací smysl: to ti nesmí ani napadnout, na to nepomýšlej.“ (Trávníček, 1951: 656)

Czech pronouns and pronominal adverbs tend to be short, often mono- or disyllabic. In view of this, the prosodic factor may support the use of postfixes such as *-pak* in informal spoken interaction as they provide added emphasis (Komárek et al., 1986: 100).¹¹

2.3.4.2 Adverbs

The adverbs containing *-pak* are classified as indefinite pronominal interrogative adverbs¹² (Komárek et al., 1986: 95). Similarly to *-pak* pronouns, *-pak* adverbs cannot function as relatives in indirect interrogative clauses, cf. ex. (13) (ibid.). In comparison with their neutral counterparts, pronominal adverbs without the postfix *-pak* (such as *kde, kam, jak, proč...*), they express a higher extent of the given meaning; as a by-product, the postfix makes them emotionally expressive and therefore stylistically marked (Dokulil et al., 1986: 434-435).¹³ Čermák (2012: 181) classifies them as emphatic and expressing curiosity, stating that they are used in private interaction, usually implying a “superior and lenient”¹⁴ attitude on the speaker’s part. Adverbs containing the postfix *-pak* are common in spoken discourse (ibid.).

(13) *Kampak jsi to dal?* (SSJČ, 1960) – *Where-pak* did you put it?

**Chci vědět, kampak jsi to dal.* - *I want to know *where-pak* you put it.

2.3.4.3 Particles

In this thesis, we use the term *particle* in a sense which is rooted in the Czech linguistic tradition. Let us point out that this traditional Czech notion of particles is different from the use of the term *particle* in English grammars. In Czech, *particles* (*částice*) are traditionally considered a separate word class and defined mainly on the basis of the following criteria: they are not integrated into the syntactic structure of a clause; they express the speaker’s relationship towards the content or form of the communication, to the addressee, etc. (Komárek et al., 1968: 228) Czech particles tend

¹¹„Za významný motiv je tu možno považovat právě snahu po větší výraznosti, důrazu, názornosti apod.” (Komárek et al., 1986: 100).

¹²„Deiktická slova neurčitá, interogativní příslovce”.

¹³„Hranice mezi intensifikačními a tázacími je plynulá”; cf. also Cvrček et al. (2010: 221), Šmilauer (1969: 28).

¹⁴„Důraz a zvědavost (vždy v otázce v důvěrném kontaktu, obv. v mírně nadřazené, shovívavé roli.”

to be expressive. Many of them are homophonous with representatives of other word classes. This pertains to *-pak* particles, which are homonyms of interrogative pronouns/adverbs, e.g. *copak*, *kdepak* respectively (ibid.).

Particles ending in the postfix *-pak* fall within the classes of interrogative contact particles¹⁵ and emotional particles (ibid.: 231, 236). There are few purely emotional particles in Czech (e.g.e.g. *naštěstí* - *fortunately*, *bohužel* - *unfortunately*); most emotional particles have added semantic features, among others surprise, apprehension, or indifference (ibid.: 236).¹⁶ Emotional particles containing *-pak* can further express a) surprise,¹⁷ appeal and evaluation, or b) apprehension¹⁸ and appeal (ibid.).

SSJČ I (1960: 222) lists several more semantic features expressed by the particle *copak/cožpak*: “1. admiration, evaluation, recognition, or modest rejection, understatement, disdain; 2. a slight wonder or surprise, curiosity, reproach, or indignation.”¹⁹

(14) Copak ten, ten umí spravit všecko! (SSJČ, 1960: 222)

lit. “Copak that-one, that-one can repair anything!”

(15) Copak je to vůbec možné?

lit. “Copak is it at-all possible?”

2.3.4.4 Interjections

Interjections with the postfix *-pak* are formed through conversion (Čermák, 2012: 190).

(16) Copak, oni to dnes nehrají? (SSJČ I, 1960: 222)

What-*pak*, they aren't playing it today?

¹⁵„Apelativní (výzvnové, kontaktné) tázací částice”.

¹⁶„překvapení, obavy, lhostejnost“.

¹⁷„Podiv“.

¹⁸„Sémantický rys obavy”.

¹⁹„1. obdiv, hodnocení, uznání n. skromné odmítání, podceňování, pohrdání; 2. mírný podiv, překvapení, zvědavost, výčitku n. rozhořčení”.

Sometimes, the distinction between *-pak* interjections and particles proves unclear and individual grammars take up different approaches to it. Vondráček (1998: 36 - 37) suggests that the main distinctive feature of interjections is their ability to form an utterance on their own.

Particles may be added to a sentence as “regressive modifiers” (Vondráček, 1998: 36), or occur isolated. To identify them as particles, we may apply the test of integrating them back into the sentence (cf. ex. 17), as opposed to interjections, which always form an independent utterance (ex. 18).

(17) Bude pršet, asi. / Bude pršet. Asi. -> Asi bude pršet. (particle, *ibid.*: 36)

It’s going to rain, probably. / It’s going to rain. Probably. -> It’s probably going to rain.

(18) Půjdeme? Asi, bude pršet. (interjection, *ibid.*)

Shall we go? - Probably, it’s going to rain.

If we apply this test to our initial example (16), this particular instance of *copak* proves to be an interjection, forming an independent utterance (ex. 19). (The utterance could be paraphrased along the lines of *Copak se děje?* / *What’s going on?*)

(19) Copak? Oni to dnes nehrají?

What’s up? They’re not playing it today?

However, if we integrate *copak* into the sentence, it becomes a particle (ex. 20). The sentence is still grammatical, but its meaning is slightly changed and most importantly, it only forms a single utterance.

(20) Copak oni to dnes nehrají?

Aren’t they playing it today?

2.3.4.5 Interjections vs. particles: classification issues

Interjections are defined by their ability to form a “rudimentary” (Komárek et al., 1986: 239) separate utterance, as they denote the given situation as a whole; this characteristic is proven by their ability to constitute a predication instead of a verb (Adam, 2015: 58). As a result, they are usually detached from the rest of the communication by means of intonation or punctuation. They tend to be marked in terms

of phonological structure and are therefore expressive (Komárek et al., 1986: 239-240). Unlike particles, interjections are fully informative on their own; however, this is often overshadowed by the fact that individual interjections are semantically rather vague, requiring context to be interpreted (Vondráček, 1998: 35), which makes the part-of-speech classification problematic. Therefore, interjections are frequently complemented by sentences containing an explicit interpretation of the interjection – such utterance pairs are in a relationship close to apposition (38) or determination (39) (Čechová et al., 1996: 262).

(21) Brr, je mi zima. (ibid.)

„ Brr, I’m cold.”

(22) Pst, někdo jde. (‘Bud’ ticho, protože někdo jde.’) (ibid.)

„ Shh, someone’s coming. (‘Be quiet because someone’s coming.’)”

Interjections may be subdivided into three groups: **emotionally expressive**, **onomatopoeic**, and **contact** interjections (Komárek et al., 1986: 241-242).²⁰ Contact interjections include means of expressing a request, support, responding, drawing the addressee’s attention to the speaker’s intention, and contact interjections in the narrow sense: greetings or terms of address used in interaction with children or animals (ibid.: 245-246).²¹

Another possible classification of interjections, suggested by Adam (2015: 59), is likewise trichotomic. **Actional** interjections (which tend to be onomatopoeic) denote movement, usually through emulating its sound; typically, they are used in interaction with children. **Stance** interjections (usually emotional) denote feelings. **Interactional** interjections are used when establishing contact with the addressee, giving instructions or reacting to the addressee’s actions.²²

²⁰ This classification is tentative as sometimes the features of the individual subtypes combine (Komárek et al., 1986: 249 – 250).

²¹ citoslovce kontaktová: povzbuzovací, žádací, odpověďová (*ba jo, no jéje*), upozorňovací (upozornění adresáta na záměr mluvčího, 246), kontaktová v užším smyslu (pozdravová *dobrý den*; oslovovací – k dětem *houpity, šupajdy*, ke zvířatům *čiči, hyjé*) (Komárek et al., 1986: 245-246)

²² „citoslovce dějová, stavová, interakční“ (Adam, 2015: 59)

There is some controversy regarding the part-of-speech classification of some Czech expressions, particularly the lexemes *ano*, *ne* (*yes*, *no*) and their functional equivalents, i.e. response expressions,²³ referred to as “větná příslovce” („clausal adverbs”) in the past. These have sometimes been considered particles (Komárek et al., 1986), while other sources preferred to treat them as interjections (Adam, 2015: 59 regards them as interactional interjections). This lack of a clear-cut division may be the consequence of the fact that response expressions may be part of an utterance, or they may form an utterance on their own, being separated from their context through intonation (Komárek et al., 1986: 229). Another possible reason is that the definition of particles as a word class is not consensual to this day, and there are different possible approaches to the classification of particles (Adam, 2015: 58). The classification of particles and interjections is problematic also due to their occurring primarily in spoken discourse (Vondráček, 1998: 29).

Komárek et al. claim that contemporary linguists tend to view response expressions as particles (1986: 194), referring to SSČ for authoritative confirmation. This view is supported by Komárek et al.’s argument that while some response expressions constitute an individual utterance (a feature typical of interjections), others constitute part of an utterance (a constitutive feature of particles) (Komárek et al., 1986: 229). (Furthermore, some response particles belong to both these groups, e.g. *bohužel* – *unfortunately*, *samozřejmě* – *naturally*, *zjistě* – *certainly* and others, cf. *ibid.*: 233-234.) These two groups of response expressions can be distinguished based on the position of clitics. An integrated particle always occurs with an enclitic element: *Bohužel jsem to nevěděl*. By contrast, this is never true of a particle constituting an individual utterance on its own: *Ne, nechtěl bych*. **Ne, bych nechtěl*. Notably, the enclitic position is likewise impossible with interjections. Yet still, Komárek et al. (1986) prefer to classify response expressions as a specific subclass of particles. However, Vondráček notes that other expressions which are semantically as well as functionally equivalent to *ano*, *ne* are classified by Komárek et al. (1986: 246) as interjections: *Ba jo, není to jenom tak lehká věc*. *No, jéje, dědo* (Vondráček, 1998: 29).

²³ Examples of the equivalents of *ne* (*no*) include *kdepak* (Komárek et al., 1986: 233-4).

2.3.5 Transitions between parts of speech: conversion

Primarily, *-pak* combines with interrogative pronouns (*co – copak, kdo – kdopak*) and pronominal adverbs (*kde – kdepak, kam – kampak, jak – jakpak, proč – pročpak, etc.*). These pronouns and adverbs may undergo conversion and give rise to other parts of speech: particles and interjections. Rhetorical questions containing the *-pak* pronouns and/or adverbs seem to play a significant role in the process of conversion resulting in particles. The process of conversion may be divided into several stages, of which our material provides examples. By contrast, the stages of conversion resulting in interjections are not as clearly identifiable from the material available.

2.3.5.1 Conversion: a terminological note

The notions of conversion in Czech and English linguistic traditions differ and so may the use of terminology. To avoid ambiguity, let us briefly explain our understanding and use of the term conversion in this thesis.

Conversion may be defined as “a derivational process linking lexemes of the same form but belonging to different word-classes” (Bauer and Valera, 2005: 8); or “the ability to occur in the function of different word-classes without a change of form” (Dušková et al., 2012: 24). In Czech, conversion is defined as a type of word-formation realised through a mere change of paradigm – this definition presupposes at least one of the expressions involved to be inflected (Filipec, 1972: 124-125; Dokulil, 1968: 224, 228, 235, 239).

Admittedly, there is much discussion about the characteristics of conversion and most of its many definitions have been questioned at some point. Its very character has not been clearly delineated; it may be approached either as a word-formation process or as a relationship between words (Bauer and Valera, 2005: 8-9, 14-15).

Filipec (1972: 127) mentions the following sequence of conversion in Czech: pronoun – adverb – particle – interjection, as illustrated by *což*. This sequence should pertain to *cožpak* as well, as it is a variant of *což*, and possibly also to *copak*. However, the processes of conversion going on between other *-pak* expressions prove to be diverse – we expect the situation to be too complex to be encompassed merely into this single pattern of conversion. In the analytical part of this thesis, we shall examine and

describe the possible processes of conversion between *-pak* expressions of different word classes in an attempt to shed more light on their characteristics.

Notably, sometimes the boundary between individual parts of speech may be fuzzy; then, any classification is to a certain extent arbitrary and based in a particular interpretation. As Filipec (1972: 123) points out, there are overlaps and dynamic transitions between parts of speech; and even within a single part of speech, its elements are not completely homogeneous (cf. also Grebe et al. 1959: 80, 386). This becomes especially clear from contrastive research (Filipec, 1972: 122-123).

Whenever we encounter such a fuzzy boundary between parts of speech, we shall prefer the classification arising from a functional viewpoint.

2.3.6 Major functions of *-pak* as described in Czech grammars

The postfix *-pak* is characterised as emotionally expressive (SSJČ II, 1964: 485-6; cf. also the characterisation of *-pak* particles and adverbs, Komárek et al., 1986: 393) and having a grading (SSJČ II, 1964: 485-6) or intensifying function (Šmilauer, 1969: 28). Postfixes which evolved from enclitic particles, such as *-pak*, are frequent in spoken discourse (ČJA 5, 2011: 570).

Expressions containing the postfix are characterized as colloquial (*jestlipak* SSČ, 2005: 121; Trávníček, 1951: 657; *-pak* idioms in SČFI, 2009) and occurring in common Czech (*jestlipak*, SSJČ I, 1960: 786), i.e. the non-standard variety of present-day Czech most widely used in spontaneous everyday spoken discourse (Encyklopedický slovník češtiny, 2002: 81).

2.3.6.1 Functions of *-pak* in interrogative sentences

Štícha et al. (2013: 763-765) provide the following classification of interrogative sentences containing the particles *jestlipak* and *copak*, based on their illocutionary force.

- ***Jestlipak*: dubitative polar questions** (i.e. questions expressing the speaker's doubt). The particle *jestlipak* carries deliberative meaning, i.e. the speaker poses the question to himself (Dušková et al., 2012: 313), or simultaneously to himself and another addressee (Zouharová, 2008).

(23) Na první pohled na něm nebylo nic, co by naznačovalo, že je šílenec. Jak moc je cvok, přemýšlela jsem. Jestlipak už je totálně mimo? (Štícha et al., 2013: 764)

At first sight, nothing about him seemed to suggest he was a madman. To what extent is he bonkers, I thought. I wonder has he lost his mind completely? (lit. “Jestlipak already he-is totally out-of-his-mind?”)

- ***Copak*: illocutionary force: objection and voicing appeal**

(24) Copak si myslíte, že tam na vás čekali? (Ibid.)

Do you think that they were waiting there for you? (lit. “Copak you-think that there for you they-waited?”)

- ***Copak*: illocutionary force: reproach**

(25) Copak opravdu nic necítíš? Copak jsi jiná než ostatní ženy? (Ibid.: 773)

Don't you feel anything? Are you different from other women?

(lit. “Copak really nothing you-feel? Copak you-are different from other women?”)

2.3.6.2 Functions of *-pak* in idiomatic structures

As noted in 2.3.5.3, expressions with the postfix *-pak* occur in various idiomatic structures. This points towards the colloquial and expressive character of the postfix. Let us now characterise the previously mentioned idioms in terms of their semantics and illocutionary forces.

Jakýpak ale! (SČFI 4, 2009: 338): The idiom expresses emphatic appeal to the addressee to agree with the speaker. Sometimes it also carries epistemic modal meaning (something is presented as necessary).

(Ale / Tak) jakýpak copak! (ibid.) The illocutionary force here is an emphatic appeal to stop worrying / thinking about something irrelevant or unimportant. The utterance also functions as an emphatic assertion (presenting something as less important than the addressee thinks).

Apart from those mentioned above, SČFI (2009) mentions the following examples, all classified as colloquial:

Copak ten / ta / to (S / A / V / Adv)! Ale (S / A / V / Adv)! (SČFI 4, 2009: 139) The use of this idiomatic structure implies that the speaker is better informed than the addressee about a given subject's outstanding quality, ability etc. in comparison with another subject. It has an evaluative character (ibid.).²⁴

Copak vo to, to / von / ten.... (ale...)! / Copak vo to / ten! (ibid.) The speaker presents an evaluative reaction to the addressee's preceding utterance („comment, offer, etc."), not disagreeing but rather offering a "stronger or more pronounced alternative" (ibid.).²⁵ Possible English equivalents are *That's all very well (but...)*, *That's all well and good (but...)* (ibid.).

Což / copak vo to... (ibid.) The speaker admits that the addressee's previous suggestion is possible, but at the same time points out its limitations or shortcomings (ibid.). We may sum up that the idiom expresses agreement, the acknowledgment of a possibility, but merely to a limited extent and together with a specific objection.

Natož(pak) aby ²⁶ (SČFI 2, 2009: 537) This is an idiomatic, emphatic linking device (coordinative with an added grading function). It colligates with preceding negation (ibid.). In this particular idiom, the postfix *-pak* is optional, possibly contributing to further emphasis (cf. Balhar et al., 2011: 570).

(26) Ani nepoděkoval, natož(pak) aby nabídl pomoc. (SČFI 2, 2009: 537)

He didn't even say thanks, let alone offer his help.

The abovelisted idiomatic expressions point towards certain general features of the postfix, which have been observed in its other uses as well: its colloquial and emphatic character, the function of appeal and epistemic modal meaning. Other features seem to be limited only to particular expressions containing *-pak*: these include an evaluative character, colligation with negation, and the ability to establish a relation of contrast (possibly with an added grading function) between two elements.

²⁴ „jeden je takový, ale druhý je ještě výraznější, tj. lepší, nebo horší“ (SČFI 4, 2012: 139) –“the one is like that, but the other is even more so, i.e. the other is better or worse“

²⁵ „člověk vůči druhému v hodnotící reakci na jeho komentář, návrh ap. a uvádějící svou silnější, důraznější alternativu, obv. ne protikladnou“ (SČFI 4, 2012: 139)

²⁶ The most frequent English translation counterpart suggested by InterCorp 9 data is *let alone*.

2.3.6.3 English translation counterparts

Polar rhetorical questions frequently occur as the translation equivalent of Czech questions introduced by the particle *copak* (Dušková et al., 2012: 316). By the term rhetorical questions, we shall refer to the type of interrogative clauses whose illocutionary force is an emphatic assertion of the reversed polarity (Dušková et al., 2012: 316). Štícha et al. term these as “otázky asertivní” (2013: 764) - assertive questions.

(27) Copak chceš být vyloučen ze školy?

Do you want to be expelled from school? (Ibid.)

Negative polar questions in English suggest a change in the speaker's previous assumptions or views; they tend to express the speaker's unpleasant surprise (Dušková et al., 2012: 314). Like rhetorical questions, they often correspond to Czech sentences introduced by particle *copak*. By contrast, Czech negative polar questions are not so strongly marked, they may often be used interchangeably with their positive counterparts (though not entirely, as noted by Štícha et al., 2013: 763).

(28) Can't he come?

Copak nemůže přijít? / Jakto že nemůže? (Peprník, 1984: 30)

2.4 Previous research - summary of findings

The particles *copak* and *jestlipak* were examined. In Šebestová, Malá (forthcoming), the particle *kdepak* is included in the analysis as well. Our preliminary research (Šebestová, Malá, 2016) has shown a general tendency in English to rely on grammatical means of expression rather than specific lexical items. The English counterparts were used as markers of communicative functions of the Czech sentences (cf. Malá, 2013). Let us now summarise which characteristics of the individual particles and their counterparts have been observed so far and what the findings show about the general characteristics of the postfix *-pak*.

2.4.1 *Jestlipak*

As mentioned by Poldauf (1964), Czech sentences introduced by *jestlipak* often correspond to English sentences introduced by the introductory marker (ibid.) *I wonder*. Our preliminary study has shown that *jestlipak* as well as *I wonder* have two distinct

and systematic uses. The first use is deliberative: *jestlipak / I wonder* introduces questions which the speaker poses to himself (Dušková et al., 2012: 313), or to himself and another addressee (Zouharová, 2008), expressing doubt about the truth value of a given utterance - they fall under dubitative questions (Štícha et al., 2013: 763). Secondly, *jestlipak / I wonder* are used in order to establish or maintain contact with the addressee (cf. a brief note in Karlík et al., 2000: 694).

Another type of questions introduced by *jestlipak* is mentioned by Grepl and Karlík (1998: 461) – their function is that of checking whether the addressee has completed a task, fulfilled his duty etc., cf. ex. (29).

(29) *Jestlipak sis vyčistil zuby?* (ibid.)

lit. *Jestlipak you-have cleaned your teeth?*

This type was not represented in our corpus. However, at the time of our preliminary analysis, the corpus contained merely 17 instances of *jestlipak*, therefore we expect that such questions may occur in the current material.

2.4.2 *Copak*

The most frequent counterparts of the particle *copak* were various types of interrogative sentences, mainly negative polar²⁷ questions and positive questions (polar as well as variable), and negative as well as positive rhetorical questions. Positive questions often contained means of expressing epistemic modality which signalled the speaker's doubt regarding the truth value of the utterance. These means included modifiers (mainly *really*), modal verbs (*can / could*), question tags, or different types of the inferential construction (Delahunty, 1995), cf. ex. 30. These translation counterparts suggest that *copak* expresses various types of epistemic modal meaning: it may signal doubt, impossibility and emphatic assertions of the reversed polarity (in rhetorical questions), or the speaker's inference. Some of the English counterparts also indicate

²⁷ We adopt Huddleston and Pullum's terminology, i.e. **polar questions** (allowing as its answers a pair of polar opposites, Huddleston and Pullum 2012: 868) as opposed to **variable questions** (containing "a propositional content consisting of an open proposition, i.e. a proposition containing a variable [...] The answers express closed propositions derived by substituting a particular value for the variable" (ibid.: 872)).

the ability of the particle *copak* to make a question more tentative or polite (Šebestová, 2015: 62), e.g. discourse particles such as *or something* (ibid.: 51).

(30) Ty vopice jedna, copak myslíš, že se budu jen s tebou bavit?

You singular monkey, is it that you think I'd be prattling with you? (InterCorp 9)

2.4.3 *Kdepak*

The English translation counterparts of the Czech particle *kdepak* point towards a tendency in English towards explicitness in expressing negative meaning (specifically, the negative epistemic modal meaning of impossibility). By contrast, in Czech the meaning is merely indicated by the particle but there is no explicitly negative expression present.

However, even though the English counterparts of the particle *kdepak* differed from the Czech originals in terms of explicitness, many of them were similar to *kdepak* in that they acted as introductory signals of a given illocutionary force (in case of *kdepak*, it is usually emphatic disagreement). The equivalent English means of *kdepak* indeed function as a “key signature” (Poldauf, 1964) or as indicators of illocutionary force (Grepl, Karlík, 1998).

introductory signals:

- negative expressions (equivalent to *no*): *no, oh no, not at all, of course not, nothing, no way, uh-uh*
- negated sentence element: *Not me, I was glad to be there*
- idioms: e.g.. *not a hope, some hope!*²⁸

other:

- negative declarative sentence with emphatic negation, or double negation (*he paid no attention; it ain't no joke*)
- rhetorical question (*what's the use of...?, how could there be any?*)
- the phrases *forget about that; are you kidding!*

²⁸ „not a hope, some hope –“little confidence that expectations will be fulfilled”. *Collins English Dictionary – Complete and Unabridged, 12th Edition 2014*. (1991, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009, 2011, 2014). Retrieved May 8 2017 from <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/some+hope>

The illocutionary force of sentences containing (mostly introduced by)²⁹ the particle *kdepak* is to deny a previous statement, expressed by the addressee or the speaker, as in ex. (31). This previous statement may be merely implied: the speaker expects the addressee to hold such an opinion, cf. ex. (32). Thus, a change in the speaker's pragmatic presupposition (cf. Hirschová, 2006: 84–92) is implied.

(31) „A to byli Němci?” – “Ty vojáci? Kdepak Němci, ustašovci...”

„Were they Germans?” – „The soldiers? Germans? No, they were Ustashi...
(InterCorp 9)

(32) myslím, že nám to řekl, abychom snad nenabyli mylného dojmu, že patřil k nějakým těm tankistům, co tu stříleli do lidí, či snad dokonce ke kágébákům, kdepak!

I think he told us that so we wouldn't think he'd driven one of those tanks that shot people here in '68, or even worse, that he was KGB.. Are you kidding?
(InterCorp 9)

The particle *kdepak* shares the basic characteristics of *copak*: It serves as an illocutionary force marker, introducing utterances which express emphatic denial of the addressee's previous statement/opinion. Like *copak*, it tends to occur in colloquial, informal contexts. Lastly, it carries the meaning of epistemic modality (asserting the opposite truth value). It also has a variant with the inserted postfix *-ž*, *kdežpak* (cf. *cožpak*).

2.4.4 Summary

The postfix *-pak* is shown to be a polyfunctional indicator of communicative function (cf. Grepl, Karlík, 1998): the *-pak* particles have content/speaker-related functions (markers of emotional evaluation and deliberative meaning) as well as communication/addressee-oriented functions (cf. Kranich, Gast, 2015). The latter comprise the functions of appeal (Štícha, 2013), establishing contact (Karlík, Nekula, Rusínová, 2000) and triggering certain pragmatic presuppositions (Hirschová, 2013; Levinson, 1983). The “contact function” of the postfix is rooted in its ability to make questions more tentative, as reflected in some English counterparts (discourse particles).

²⁹ Cf. Poldauf's note on the preference of sentence-initial position (1964: 246).

The data further suggest that where the Czech particles indicate epistemic modality or the communicative functions of objection, reproach, disagreement or expressing surprise (cf. Grepl, Karlík, 1998), in English the negative meaning tends to be expressed explicitly (e.g. by negative declarative clauses or introductory negative expressions such as *not at all*).

3. Material and method

In this chapter, we introduce the corpora from which our material was drawn, provide an overview of the methodology used and explain why we opted for it in this particular research project. One section is devoted to a survey of possible variants (regional, colloquial) of the *-pak* expressions.

3.1 Material

3.1.1 Corpora

The material was extracted from the Czech-English sub-corpus of the parallel corpus InterCorp, version 9, accessed through the Kontext interface of the Czech National Corpus. A subcorpus of Czech original fiction texts was created based on metalinguistic criteria: the data was drawn from the core of the corpus, source language was limited to Czech.³⁰ We are thus working with one direction of translation only, from Czech into English.

3.1.2 Variants of *-pak* expressions

Czech expressions containing the postfix *-pak* are numerous and comprise a number of variant forms. At the first stage of our analysis, we need an overview of different variants, their characteristics and regional and register distribution in order to decide which of them to include in the examined material.

3.1.2.1 Dialectal variants

Dialectal variants are mentioned in the literature for the expressions *copak*, *kdepak*, *jakpak*.³¹ We have chosen *copak* as an illustrative example, since it is by far the most frequent *-pak* expression in our material. Balhar et al. (2005: 482) mention four dialectal variants of *copak*, as summed up in Table 1.

³⁰ Size of the subcorpus: 2 708 811 tokens.

³¹ The complete list presented by Balhar et al. (2011: 466, 468): *což* (*coš pak*, *coš potom*, *coš teprve*, *což eště*, *což abych*) *copa(k)*, *copa(k) potom*; *ja(k)pa(k)*, *j. teprve*, *j. eště* (*jak* 126, 151) *ker(a)pa(k)* 303, 321, 337, 405 (*kerakš* 421, 457) (*g*)*depa(k)*, *g. teprve* (*gdež* 256). We may add the contracted dialectal variants *cák* (= *copak*, Balhar et. al, 2011: 482; cf. also SSJČ I, 1960: 222) and *kdák* (= *kdepak*, Hodura, 1921: 362) – both occur in the dialects of East Bohemia, in the region around Litomyšl and Náchod.

form	region of occurrence
<i>copak</i>	generally prevalent, neutral form
<i>cožpak</i>	South-West Bohemia
<i>copa</i>	West Bohemia
<i>cák</i>	North Bohemia

Table 1. Dialectal variants of *copak* according to Balhar et al. (2005: 482)

3.1.2.2 Other variants

Other types of variation are represented by forms such as *eslipak*. They result from various degrees of elision, which may be represented using the following scale: *jestlipak - jeslipak - jeslipa - eslipak - eslipa*. Apparently, the word-final *k* can be elided in all instances of *-pak*, as suggested by the colloquial forms *copa*, *depa*, which occur in the spoken corpus of contemporary Czech, ORAL 2013.

3.1.2.3 *Copak* versus *cožpak*

In interrogative pronouns, the postfix *-pak* may be preceded by another postfix,³² namely *-ž* (Čermák, 2012: 187), resulting in forms like *kdožpak*, *cožpak*, *kdežpak* etc.

Interestingly, Balhar et al. seem to be the first to mention *cožpak* as a dialectal variant. Under *copak*, SSJČ I (1960: 222) lists the variants *cožpak* and *cák*, only classifying the latter as dialectal. At any rate, a significant difference between *copak* and *cožpak* seems to be one of frequency in different word classes, as illustrated in Table 2. In case of *copak*, particles seem to constitute a relatively small proportion of the total instances, suggesting that *copak* is more frequently used as a pronoun. In case of *cožpak*, particles make up roughly 40 % of the total instances.

³² Like *-pak*, the affix *-ž* may also be classified as an enclitic particle (Dokulil et al., 1986: 513).

corpus	lexeme	no. of hits: lemma, POS particle	total no. of hits: lemma, POS not specified	<i>particles</i> to <i>total</i> ratio
SYN2015	<i>copak</i>	178	5549	3.2 %
	<i>cožpak</i>	189	472	40 %
InterCorp9_cs	<i>copak</i>	563	26 140	2.15 %
	<i>cožpak</i>	1016	2479	41 %

Table 2. Occurrence of the variants *copak* and *cožpak* in corpora of Czech³³

Let us now consider the occurrence of *copak* and *cožpak* in ORAL2013, the current corpus of spoken Czech. ORAL2013 is not tagged for parts of speech; hence it does not allow us to compare the frequencies in different word classes as in Table 2. However, the spoken data suggest a clear prevalence of *copak* over *cožpak* in contemporary spoken Czech, suggesting that *copak* is currently preferred in colloquial contexts.³⁴

lexeme	total no. of hits; POS not specified
<i>copak</i>	149
<i>cožpak</i>	1

Table 3. Frequency of *copak* and *cožpak* in ORAL2013

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Methodology and theoretical background

Our material consists of sentence pairs: Czech originals containing expressions with the postfix *-pak* and their English translation counterparts. The first step of our

³³ At this point, we rely on the part-of-speech tagging incorporated in the corpora, bearing in mind that it may not be completely reliable, thus allowing for minor discrepancies – however, for the purpose of a general tendency overview, the limits of the tagging are tolerable.

³⁴ The single example of *cožpak* co-occurred in an informal colloquial context, together with nonstandard elements of common Czech (cf. the prothetic *v-*, *abysme*):

tam s tím nedělal nic určitě já si. t* já si taky myslim vůbec nic že ne tam nedělal cožpak vo to ale a von. todle --- ale teď abysme to dali dohromady že jo nějakým způsobem aby to [...]

analysis is a detailed structural and functional description of the English counterparts. As regards the structural description, each sentence will be classified in terms of its sentence type and polarity. In each translation counterpart, the equivalent of the Czech *-pak* expression will be identified. In the functional characterisation, we will focus on functions which have proved significant in our pilot study (Šebestová, 2015), adding other relevant functions or features, should they come up during the analysis. The material will then be sorted into groups based on functional criteria. Within these groups, we will list and compare different structural means of fulfilling the given communicative function.

In each of these English structural means, we shall look for markers of discourse functions, as well as any specific semantic features which were not identifiable solely on the basis of the Czech originals. Previous research has shown that translation counterparts can reveal some features of the examined phenomenon which were not entirely pronounced in the original language, as suggested by Johansson (2007: 1).

We have opted for the methodology of contrastive analysis because it enables us to compare meanings stemming from the same notions and serving the same communicative functions which are conveyed by different means in the respective languages. Bearing in mind that “linguistic structure is language-specific while the cognitive and functional-communicative substance which constrains it is potentially universal” (Boye, 2012: 7; cf. also Haspelmath, 2010), we believe this approach may help us gain a new perspective of the Czech third syntactical plan as represented by the postfix *-pak*, while allowing us to contribute to the contrastive a functional description of present-day English.

3.2.2 Method

The query was formulated in CQL: [word=".+pak"]. In order to accommodate for non-standard variants of the expressions containing the postfix *-pak* (as discussed above in 3.1.2), it was complemented by further queries: [word=".+pa"], and the specific dialectal variants [word="cák"] and [word="kdák"], the latter of which was not present in the corpus.

We extracted a lemma list through Frequency -> Lemmas, chose the relevant lemmas and downloaded the concordance set for each of them separately. As the lemmatisation of the corpus had some shortcomings (above all, it did not take into account the dialectal and other non-standard variants), it was complemented by manual sorting, so that variants of one word were subsumed into one set, e.g. *jakpak*, *japak*, *japa*. The resulting groupings and numbers of instances are summarised in table 4. The material which will be subject to analysis contains a total of 576 concordances.

	-pak expression	no. of instances	%
1	<i>copak, cožpak, sopak, čimpak, cák</i>	312	54,2%
2	<i>kdepak, depak, kdepák, depák</i>	98	17,0%
3	<i>jakýpak, jakejpak</i>	37	6,4%
4	<i>jestlipak</i>	32	5,6%
5	<i>kdopak</i>	23	4,0%
6	<i>jakpak, japak, japa</i>	23	4,0%
7	<i>pročpak</i>	17	3,0%
8	<i>kampak</i>	11	1,9%
9	<i>kdypak</i>	9	1,6%
10	<i>zdalipak</i>	4	0,7%
11	<i>natožpak</i>	2	0,5%
12	<i>kolikpak, kolipak</i>	3	0,3%
13	<i>odkdypak</i>	2	0,3%
14	<i>čipak</i>	1	0,3%
15	<i>kterýpak, kerejpak</i>	2	0,2%
	total	576	100%

Table 4. Occurrence of all relevant -pak lemmata in InterCorp 9.³⁵

The concordances were then analysed and classified as follows. First, the Czech concordances were sorted by part of speech where needed (e.g. the total instances of *copak* were divided into pronouns, particles, and interjections). Each English translation counterpart was described structurally in terms of its intentional modality/sentence type (declarative / interrogative / exclamative / imperative) and polarity (positive/negative).

³⁵ The individual lemmatised instances of -pak pronouns include forms differing in the values of case, number and/or gender, e.g. the lemma *jakýpak/jakejpak* included the forms *jaképak, jakápak, jakoupak*, etc.

This basic classification was complemented by a more detailed structural description (e.g. polar question / variable question / question tag etc.). In the case of interrogative sentences, we differentiated between rhetorical and non-rhetorical questions, with regard to the situational context and linguistic context of the given concordance, as the role of context in determining whether or not a given question is rhetorical is decisive (Dušková et al., 2012: 326).

3.2.2.1 Rhetorical vs. non-rhetorical questions: criteria of classification

A rhetorical question is defined as a sentence which is formally interrogative but in terms of illocutionary force, it is an emphatic assertion, often emotionally expressive. Rhetorical questions require no actual reply from an addressee – the implied reply is evident from the situation (Dušková et al., 2012: 316). Polar rhetorical questions function as statements of the opposite polarity (ex. 33). Variable (wh-) rhetorical questions usually function as statements containing a universal quantifier of the reversed polarity (exx. 34, 35; *ibid.*: 326).

(33) Have I ever let you down? (= I have never let you down.) (*ibid.*: 316)

(34) When don't I need money? (= I always need money.) (*ibid.*: 326)

(35) Who could have known it? (= Nobody could have known it.) (*ibid.*)

As there were some ambiguous cases, we established a set of criteria for the classification of a question as rhetorical. Only questions clearly functioning as emphatic statements were considered purely rhetorical. Questions regarding the addressee (*can't you see, don't you know*) or a third person (*doesn't he understand* etc.) were excluded from our rhetorical category, as the speaker cannot assert something which concerns the thoughts, knowledge, feelings etc. of another person with certainty (cf. Poldauf, 1964: 246). Such questions were viewed as means of expressing a change in the speaker's assumption, cf. ex. (37) below. Formally, they usually contain a second-person or third-person subject. There was an exception to this criterion: some questions do contain a third-person subject, yet they are rhetorical; in such cases, the referent functions as a focaliser in the narrative, cf. ex. (36) – such examples prove that a question is not rhetorical *per se*, but only in a particular context (Dušková et al., 2012: 326).

(36) Copak snad ona vymyslila ženská rodidla?

Did she invent women's genitals?

On the other hand, even some questions with a first-person subject are not rhetorical – see ex. (37), in which the question expresses a change in the female character's previous assumption about the narrator – it is an example of transformed direct speech, as perceived by the narrator (i.e. the addressee; cf. his reaction), who interprets the utterance based on a nonverbal signal.

(37) Mlčky zvedla obočí – copak jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času? [...] Má pravdu, musím se dostat rychle k věci.

She raised her eyebrows silently - what, had I forgotten how little time I had? [...] She's right. I had to get down to business fast.

Let us point out at this stage that our classification only pertains to the English translation counterparts. Interestingly, some rhetorical Czech originals corresponded to non-rhetorical English translations, cf. ex. (38).

(38) Copak všechno, co není bláznivý běh za konečným rozuzlením, je nuda?

Do you think that everything that is not a mad chase after a final resolution is a bore?

The resulting classification of interrogative sentences contains four categories.

a. Neutral, non-conducive, with the illocutionary force of a question.

(39) „Tak copak mi vzkazuje Vaculík? “

„ And what does Mr. Vaculik have on his mind??” I ask.

b. Conducive to a positive answer, yet still preserving the illocutionary force of a question.

(40) Copak vy jste četli všechny mé dopisy Markétě?

You mean you've read all my letters to Marketa?

c. Interrogative sentence expressing a change in the speaker's assumption, together with an appeal to the addressee to provide a clarification. Illocutionary force is that of a

question; the utterance is usually emotionally expressive (it contains the semantic feature of surprise).

(41) Copak je pro tebe znásilnění jak houska na krámě?

„ Oh, come on, is getting raped just like a trip to the store for you?? “

d. Rhetorical question with the illocutionary force of an emphatic assertion of the reversed polarity, expressing epistemic modality (certainty).

(42) Copak nechápu, nevidím to snad?

Didn't I understand, couldn't I see?

3.2.2.2 Functional classification

The English translation counterparts were further evaluated in terms of five functional categories: epistemic modality, the function of appeal, emotional expressivity, expressing contrast or emphasis, and expressing a change in the speaker's assumption. If applicable, they were marked for co-occurrence with cohesive means (preceding conjunctions and other linking devices, e.g. *a copak...*), with politeness markers, and with terms of address.

The five categories were determined based on the analysis of our data, with reference to relevant literature, and partly also to our pilot study. The additional descriptive categories were added based on our expectations resulting from the pilot study (cf. section 1 of the present thesis), as well as ad hoc according to the observed types of co-occurring expressions in our material (e.g. terms of address).

The functional categories which we have set up based on our data correspond to Erman's (2001) categorisation of pragmatic markers (cf. section 2.2.1). Erman's "textual monitors" in the discourse domain comprise the textual functions which we label as contrast/emphasis, and textual coherence. The category of "social monitors" corresponds to our functions of appeal and establishing/maintaining contact – they "ensure that the channel is open between the interlocutors" (ibid.: 1339). Finally, Erman's "metalinguistic monitors" are "basically modal" – they would correspond to our functions of expressing epistemic modality, emotional expressivity, and a change in the speaker's assumption.

3.2.2.3 Part-of-speech classification

The POS-tagging of our corpus was not entirely reliable, therefore the part-of-speech classification of the *-pak* expressions was performed manually, following the standard definitions of Czech word classes, relying primarily on the criteria outlined by Komárek et al. (1986).

The classification of **interrogative pronouns** and **interrogative pronominal adverbials** was straightforward as they imply an information gap (ibid.: 96). Some difficult cases have been mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis – encountering *copak* in contexts in which it is semantically and functionally equivalent to *pročpak*, we classify it as an interrogative adverb in accordance with SSJČ (cf. ex. 43).

(43) Copak se pořád smějete? (SSJČ I, 1960: 222)

What-*pak* are you laughing all the time?

Particles are integrated into a clause, with which they form one single utterance (i.e. the particle forms a part of the utterance). This integration is semantic, rather than syntactic, as particles do not constitute a clause element (Komárek et al., 1986: 229). Their function is to modify the semantic content of a single element (a verb, noun, adjective, adverb, or numeral) or the whole utterance (ibid.), to “colour the utterance with the speaker’s stance of some sort” (Adam, 2015: 58).³⁶ Particles express the speaker’s relationship towards the subject of communication, to the addressee, or to the content or structure of the text (ibid.: 228). A particle does carry a certain amount of information; however, its meaning is fully realised only within its context – on its own, it is not fully informative (Vondráček, 1998: 34-35).

According to Komárek et al., approximately 25% of all Czech particles are homonymous with representatives of other parts of speech, mostly conjunctions, adverbs, but also with some inflected word forms. Therefore, the classification of a given lexeme as a particle requires careful consideration of the context (ibid.).

As discussed in section 2.3.4.5, in the present thesis, we shall adhere to the main criterion of interjections’ ability to form separate utterances. Where a *-pak* expression

³⁶ „výpověď zabarvují nějakým typem postoje mluvčího“ (Adam, 2015: 58)

constitutes a fully informative individual utterance, it will be considered an interjection (ex. 44). Where it modifies another element, it will be regarded as a particle (ex. 45).

(44) Kdepak, tady umírají především mladí lidé.

By no means. The highest death rates here are among young people.

(45) Kdepak tyfus, slečno.

That's no typhus, miss.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, we present a survey of our corpus material. The analysis is grounded primarily functionally, i.e. the chapter is divided into subchapters corresponding to the discourse functions which have been identified in the material: expressing epistemic modality, voicing appeal, and expressing a change in the speaker's assumption. The guiding criterion for the identification of these discourse functions of *-pak* were the structural and functional characteristics of the English translation counterparts.

The following subchapters are dedicated to functions of *-pak* which were identified with regard to co-occurring elements in the context. These include the function of *-pak* as a means of establishing/maintaining contact, as a politeness or tentativeness marker (these two functions seem closely connected), and as a means of textual cohesion (text-structuring). They were identified on the basis of their systematic co-occurrence with other means of establishing/maintaining contact (terms of address), expressing politeness/tentativeness (e.g. honorifics) and with means of textual cohesion (linking devices; 'echo' elements),³⁷ respectively. We also examine the emotional expressivity of *-pak* expressions with regard to their evaluative prosody.

A part of this chapter maps the occurrence of *-pak* in idiomatic and semi-idiomatic constructions. The final section is devoted to the processes of conversion found to be operating among *-pak* expressions.

Notably, the individual functions of *-pak* rarely occur isolated – they tend to combine in various ways (cf. Šebestová and Malá, forthcoming). In each section, we will report on the identified combinations of functions. We will also mention which *-pak* expressions corresponded to the given English counterparts.

³⁷ We have established the term *echo element*, referring to a recurrence of any expression which has occurred in the preceding context. The recurrence is not necessarily verbatim – the echo element may be e.g. an anaphoric pronoun.

4.1 The postfix *-pak* expressing epistemic modal meanings

Epistemic modality in the broad sense, i.e. intentional modality as represented by sentence types, is present in any finite verbal predication, being an obligatory element of the category of verbal mood (Dušková et al., 2012: 185). Thus, even if that sentence contains a *-pak* expression, the intentional modality can suggest only little about the character of the postfix. Therefore, classification based on sentence type is merely the first step of our research. In our analysis, we shall concentrate on additional, optional layers of epistemic modal meaning, which will be sorted on the basis of the discourse function of the given utterance in its communicative context.

4.1.1 Epistemic modality – definitions

In very broad terms, epistemic modality “has to do with knowledge” (Portner, 2009: 2). It may be defined as “[the] speaker’s attitude to the factuality of past or present time situations”, and “qualifications concerning the speaker’s knowledge” (Huddleston and Pullum, 2012: 178). Biber et al. (1999: 485) use the synonymous term extrinsic modality and define it as “[referring] to the logical status of events or states, usually relating to assessments of likelihood: possibility, necessity, or prediction.” They note that extrinsic / epistemic modal verbs tend to co-occur with “non-human subjects and/or with main verbs having stative meanings” (ibid.). Langacker (2006: 21-22) provides a detailed description of the proceedings behind an epistemic modal utterance:

[The] profiled relationship has not been incorporated into the speaker’s reality conception. It is however a candidate for acceptance. It is under consideration, and the speaker inclines towards accepting it with varying degrees of force, reflected in the different modal choices.....[This] requires mental effort and engenders a force dynamic experience.

As most definitions suggest, epistemic modal meaning may be subdivided into several types. Dušková et al. (2012: 477-478) mention the meanings of “probability, certainty,

doubt based on observation, validity based on other people's beliefs, and limiting the truth value of an utterance".³⁸

We will adhere to Biber et al.'s general classification of epistemic modal meanings (possibility, necessity, prediction), understanding it as a rough guideline and allowing for a more detailed subcategorization or for adding more categories based on the findings from our material, if needed.

4.1.2 English counterparts expressing epistemic modality

We base our classification on the presence of expressions viewed as epistemic modality markers in the English translation counterparts. The following list was compiled empirically after examining the corpus material and searching for any expressions which overtly express epistemic modal meaning, bearing in mind that possible means of expressing modality, other than modal verbs, include lexical verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and nouns (Huddleston and Pullum, 2012: 52; 173-5) as well as certain lexico-grammatical patterns. (Cf. also Daneš, Hlavsa, Grepl et al., 1987: 355).

- epistemic modal verb
- modal adverb (*really*)
- question tag
- *wonder* (marker of deliberative meaning, cf. Poldauf, 1964: 253)
- emphatic negation: *Is there no virtue...?*
- explicit statement carrying epistemic modal meaning: *I don't know if you know...*
- mental verbs³⁹

The classification of negative interrogative sentences is complex (cf. Dušková et al., 2012: 314-317). In the present thesis, if there is a clear epistemic modality marker, or it is clear from the context that the illocutionary force is an emphatic reversed-polarity

³⁸ „pravděpodobnost, jistota, pochybnost vzniklá z pozorování, platnost odvozená z mínění jiných, omezení platnosti obsahu sdělení na určitý aspekt“ (Dušková et al., 2012: 477 – 478)

³⁹ Biber et al. (1999: 491) state that mental verbs tend to co-occur with modals, expressing “emotions, attitudes, cognitive states”; Poldauf (1964: 244) notes that intellectual evaluation is closely related to modality: *Je to myslím přesně tak.* (ibid.), lit. *It is I-think exactly so.*

statement, we consider a negative question to be rhetorical. Otherwise, if it is polar, we view it as merely indicative of a change in the speaker's previous assumption (Dušková et al. 2012: 314).

English counterpart	no. of instances	%	example
interrogative positive non-rhetorical clause	63	25%	Copak si šlo Doufala splíst? How could you take Doufal for somebody else?
interrogative positive rhetorical clause	53	21%	Copak vím, kdo k panu asistentovi chodí? How do I know who comes to see the lecturer?
verbless clause	39	15.5%	" Ale kdepak , to je poctivý člověk." But of course not , he is an honest man.
interrogative negative rhetorical clause	29	11.5%	Cožpak jsem vám to nefekl hned, když jsem vás uviděl? Did n't I tell you the moment I set eyes on you?
declarative negative clause	28	11%	Copak se máte tak zle? You 're not that badly off.
declarative positive clause	26	10%	Zdalipak já budu s to ještě někdy dobýt dívku I wonder if I 'll ever conquer a girl...
interrogative negative non-rhetorical clause	9	3.5%	Ale copak se to nedalo vymyslit nějak jinak? But was there no other way to arrange things?
exclamative clause	3	1%	Jakápak záchytka! No centre for him!
Imperative clause	2	0.8%	Depák, to byste se hoší krutě přepočítali! Do n't kid cherselfs now, boyos, cause that 'd be brutally miscalculatin!
TOTAL	256	100%	

Table 5. English counterparts expressing epistemic modal meaning

With 158 instances, **interrogatives** make up the majority of English counterparts expressing epistemic modal meanings (119 were positive interrogatives). 80 interrogative sentences were identified as rhetorical, out of which 68 were polar and 42 positive polar questions. Many interrogatives contained **intensifiers** (*really, actually*, ex. 46) – emphasis signals; or verbs of **thinking** (47) – epistemic modality signals.

(46) Jana Rybářová se rychle probírala k vědomí, čeká nás důležitý den, ale copak nějaký den není důležitý?

Jana Rybářová quickly roused herself from sleep, an important day awaits, but are there actually unimportant ones?

- (47) Ty pitomče, copak tě sežeru.⁴⁰
You numskull, do you think I will devour you?

There were a total of 6 **modal** verbs, 4 of which had no modal verb as counterparts in the Czech originals. We have encountered *could*, *can*, *might* (epistemic modals), *should* and *be supposed to* (ex. 48) – the latter two are not epistemic modals themselves; however, they occur in rhetorical questions functioning as reversed polarity statements.

- (48) A jestlipak by i to, co Blběnka s Lídou asi dělávaly, než se Blběnka vydala za oceán, probudilo v páně Zawynatchovi jeho masochistický princip slasti.
And could Dotty and Lida's probable profession have awakened the masochistic pleasure principle in Mr. Zawynatch?

Interestingly, in one of the two Czech sentences which did contain a modal verb, the modal did not correspond to its English translation: *mám* (*should*, *be supposed to*) as opposed to *can*. In (49), the English translation is more precise: this rhetorical question is not about the literal deontic modal meaning of *mít* (*should*), i.e. the speaker is not asking about the desirable way in which she is supposed to become cross. Instead, the modal meaning is clearly epistemic, its illocutionary force is an emphatic statement along the lines of “I cannot possibly be cross with the boy.”

- (49) Jakpak se **mám** na hochu zlobit, když byl v právu?”
How **can** we be cross with the boy, when he was in the right?”

The frequent structures expressing epistemic modal meaning included **verbless clauses**, all of which were equivalents of the Czech interjection (ex. 52) or particle (51, 53) *kdepak* (discussed in 2.4.3). All of them could be rephrased as an “emphatic no” – they express the speaker’s strong disagreement with or denial of a previous statement. Usually, these verbless clauses contained an emphatic element (emphatic negation, an element fronted through negation (ex. 51), idiomatic phrases such as *no way*, *some*

⁴⁰ Interestingly, here we can see a variation in Czech punctuation, similar to the variation between a full stop as opposed to a question mark following deliberative utterances introduced by *I wonder*. In our material, such variation in punctuation marks seems much less common in Czech than in English. Most of the Czech cases are examples of variation between? and! in emotionally expressive rhetorical questions which are formally interrogative but functionally closer to the exclamative type.

hope). Notably, some English expressions occur as the equivalent of both *kdepak*-particle and *kdepak*-interjection, cf. *no way* in ex. (53).

Some English counterparts prove that the particular occurrence of *kdepak* is an interjection: in ex. (51), the equivalent *by no means* is completely detached from the sentence. The particle *kdepak* normally occurs with an ‘echo’ element, as illustrated in (52), where the addressee echoes a different word due to a misunderstanding.

(50) o věcech Boga jsem se ani nezmínil, kdepak, já byl rád, že tu můžu ležet...

I didn't even mention that stuff about Bog, not me, I was glad to be there...

(51) Kdepak, tady umírají především mladí lidé.

By no means. The highest death rates here are among young people.

(52) a když se ho potom zeptali: 'Vy jste tedy v civilu pomocnej dělník,' tak jim odpověděl: 'Kdepak ponocnej, ten je Franta Hybšů.'

and when they asked him then: 'So you are POMOCNEJ DĚLNÍK, a helping hand in civilian life,' he answered them: 'No way PONOCNEJ, night-crier, him is Franta Hybšů.'

Similarly, **negative declarative sentences** (17 instances) express the epistemic modal meaning (to use Huddleston and Pullum's (2012: 178) definition, "[the] speaker's attitude to the factuality of past or present time situations" explicitly. In ex. (53), the English counterpart proves that the Czech original interrogative clause is in fact a rhetorical question.

(53) Jakápak je to vlastně zásluha, udělali jsme jen kus obvyklé práce.

We didn't deserve to be thanked. We'd only done our regular job.

Negative declaratives contained some additional signals of emphasis: *nowhere near it*, *no way* + inverted word order (54), expletive (*for Heaven's sake*), *hardly* (55), or double negation reflecting the nonstandard Czech original (56).

(54) Kdepak v takové situaci chtít 'Feuer einstellen'.

But no way can you want a 'FEUER EINSTELLEN, cease fire' in a situation like that.

(55) „Životní štěstí-“, řekl jsem posléze bezradně, – “copak to jde vyučovat?”
“Happiness-“ I eventually said nonplussed, “- that’s hardly something you can teach.”

(56) cožpak žvýkám náký tabák, cápci?
ain’t packin no chew, fellers

Among **positive declaratives**, constructions containing the verb *wonder* were frequent, expressing deliberative meaning, followed by an *if-* or *wh-* nominal content clause. Out of the total 18 examples, 16 contained the most typical introductory signal *I wonder*. However, the verb *wonder* may occur in a different person or tense, as in ex. (57) (expressing a third person’s concern,⁴¹ cf. Poldauf, 1964: 253).

(57) Jakpak asi skončí tamta partie, pohlédla ke schodišti.
Bridge, is it? the blonde thought, and wondered how the other game would turn out.

Our material contained 3 **inferential** questions of the type *is it that / could it be that* (Delahunty, 1995). In inferential constructions (Delahunty, 1995) a “tensed subordinate clause is embedded as the complement of a form of *be* whose subject is expletive *it*” (ibid.: 342). Apparently, it may occur in any language which employs empty *it* subjects or zero subjects, copular verbs, and subordinate tensed clauses (ibid.: 343). The copular *be* may be subordinated to a modal verb, as in *could it be that*; thus, the inferential construction allows for the clause to be under the scope of a modal, negation, or an adverb (ibid.: 344). Questions containing the inferential construction may express the speaker’s “interpretation, reflection, or conjecture” of reality (Delahunty, 1995: 348), i.e. epistemic modal meanings. However, the construction does not carry the meaning of possibility in itself; rather, it is a structure allowing for contrasting two viewpoints, and it can contain an item carrying the epistemic modal meaning (e.g. a modal verb) (ibid.: 347).

⁴¹ Strictly speaking, this is not a typical example illustrating the use of *wonder* to express “another person’s concern” (Poldauf, 1964: 253). Rather, the third person is the focaliser in the story. Such deliberative third person utterances may help the reader identify with the character, cf. Štícha et al.’s note (2013: 763) about the frequent use of deliberative questions in internal monologues in fiction.

To sum up, the epistemic modal meanings represented in our material were certainty (in rhetorical questions functioning as emphatic reversed-polarity assertions), and uncertainty/possibility: dubitative (*I wonder*) and inferential meaning (inferential constructions, verbs of thinking in the second person).

Epistemic modal meaning: co-occurring functions, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

There were 39 concordances in which we identified the function of appeal together with epistemic modal meaning. The meaning of uncertainty combines with the function of appeal in the type of deliberative questions which the speaker poses to himself as well to a second-person addressee, cf. ex. (58). The meaning of certainty combines with appeal in emphatic assertions which also require a particular reaction from the addressee: typically, the desired reaction is expressing agreement with the speaker's assertion, admitting that the speaker is right, or providing a confirmation, cf. ex. (59).

(58) „Jestlipak máte ještě tu tlustou knihu?“

"I wonder if you still have that thick book?"

(59) Já o tom prostě nevěděl – copak jsem mohl vniknout do vašeho stolu?

I simply didn't know about it-I couldn't have broken into your desk, now, could I?

Emphatic assertions of reversed polarity co-occurred with signals of emotional expressivity, mainly expressing the speaker's surprise, e.g. the explicit *what* in ex. (60); and with additional means of emphasis, such as the intensifier *really*, or syntactic means (it-cleft, inferential, emphatic negation⁴² – ex. 61).

(60) Copak sem vrah, zamumlal Doktor.

What, do I look like a murderer, the Doctor mumbled.

(61) Copak neexistuje jiná ctnost než ta, jež pramení ze zdravého strachu před šibenicí?

⁴² „Although it is hard to pin down differences in communicative effect between the two negation types, it seems that no-negation may be more emphatic. It is probably significant that no-words normally receive some stress, while not is characteristically reduced and appended to the preceding auxiliary.“ (Biber et al., 1999: 169)

Is there no virtue... save what springs from a wholesome fear of the gallows? “

Finally, epistemic modal meaning co-related with the function of structuring the text, namely in idiomatic constructions containing an ‘echo’ element: the type *jakpak by ne* (stressing the factuality of something, ex. 62), or *jakýpak* + echo (similar in its function to rhetorical questions, expressing strong disagreement, ex. 63) – both are discussed below in more detail.

(62) „Tak znáte v Protivíně na náměstí řezníka Pejchara? „„Jakpak bych ho neznal.”

"So, you must know the butcher, Pejchar, in the square in Protivín? “„, How could I not know him. “

(63) To všechno jsou ovšem jednotlivosti; ale stačí je osvětlit vašim dnešním, přítomným **deliktem**, aby se náhle spojily v celek výmluvně svědčící o vašem charakteru a vašem postoji. “„, **Ale jakýpak delikt**, “křičel jsem. “Vyložím přede všemi věci tak, jak se odehrály: jsou - li lidé lidmi, musí se tomu přece smát. “

All these, of course, are isolated facts; but just look at them in the light of your present **offense**, and they suddenly unite into a totality of significant testimony about your character and attitude. “„**But what sort of offense!** I’ll explain publicly what happened. If people are human they’ll have to laugh. ”

The English counterparts expressing epistemic modal meanings corresponded to Czech expressions of all possible parts of speech, as well as some idiomatic constructions (cf. above). There were pronouns (*copak, jakýpak*), pronominal adverbs (*jakpak, kdepak, kdypak, kolikpak, pročpak*), particles (*copak, cožpak, jestlipak, zdalipak, kdepak*), as well as interjections (*kdepak* and one instance of *copak*). Therefore, epistemic modal meaning seems to be an intrinsic part of the postfix *-pak*, being realised in all parts of speech.

4.2 The function of appeal

4.2.1 Appeal: definition and categorisation

We understand appeal as prompting the addressee to react and to become actively involved in the interaction – to “do” something verbally, i.e. to produce a particular speech act. Such activity may take up different forms, in other words, we may appeal for different types of speech acts: providing information appears to be the central one (cf. Dušková et al., 2012: 311). A speaker may also appeal to the addressee to provide an explanation, opinion, or merely a display of agreement or confirmation (cf. question tags, Dušková et al., 2012: 319). Thus, the definition of appeal is rather broad. In fact, the interrogative sentence type automatically entails a certain basic amount of appeal expressed by the utterance; any question presents an appeal to the addressee to provide the missing information (Dušková et al., 2012: 131). Had we included all interrogative sentences into the appeal category, it wouldn't tell us much about the characteristics of *-pak*, apart from its frequent occurrence in interrogative sentences. Therefore, the interrogative sentence type on its own was not regarded as a sufficient criterion for a sentence to classify as expressing appeal. We are interested in additional markers of the appeal function in the English material.

The presence or absence of an addressee is a crucial factor in non-rhetorical questions. If the question is posed to an addressee, its function is indeed that of appeal. However, if there is no second person present, the speaker poses the question to himself, i.e. the question is deliberative/dubitative and expresses epistemic modality. Therefore, we looked for second-person signals in the English counterparts.

Considering also the communicative contexts, we have arrived at a set of markers which, in our opinion, indicate that the sentence performs the function of appeal, i.e. it elicits a reaction from the addressee. These were: vocatives (ex. 73), second-person finite verb forms (the function of appeal is most salient in the imperative mood, cf. ex. 64)⁴³; the second person pronoun in the object position with the semantic role of the affected participant (65); the second person possessive pronoun (66); inclusive plural

⁴³ Unless the 2nd person is a general human agent and the question is thus rhetorical: Copak dnes najdeš někoho, kdo by měl trochu odvahy? How often nowadays do you find someone with some courage? Copak dnes najdeš někoho, kdo by měl trochu odvahy?

(67); question tags⁴⁴ (68); verbs referring to the ongoing communication (*tell me, I ask you, ex. 69*).

(64) Depák, to byste se hoši krutě přepočítali!

Don't kid cherselfs now, **boyos**, cause that'd be brutally miscalculatin!

(65) „Copak ti udělali ti hoši? “

„What have these boys done to **you**?“

(66) Copak tvuj táta nebyl vlk?

Wasn't **your** dad a wolf, then?

(67) Copak musíme být jak pekař s pekařkou na peci?

Do **we** have to be like the baker and his wife on the stove?

(68) Počítač je nám, jako ve většině případů, na nic, ale copak neznáme tradiční metody, jak pracovat s fotografií?

As in most such cases, computers are a fat lot of good. But there are still the good old-fashioned processing methods, **aren't there**?

(69) „Kdopak ti udělal monokl? “obrátíl se k paní Venuši.

Tell me, who gave you that monocle?’ he turned to Mrs Venus.

In ex. (70), the finite verb is in the third person singular – however, it is the consequence of a particular narrative strategy. The whole sentence is a transposed direct speech, quoted by the speaker. Therefore, we still classify it as expressing appeal.

(70) I told her, not without irony, that it had simply occurred to me as a possibility and, of course, I could be mistaken. Perhaps like myself **she** was merely a temporary guest.

Řekl jsem, nikoli bez ironie, že to je opravdu pouze můj dojem a že se můžu mýlit, a jestlipak je tu tedy jen dočasným hostem jako já.

⁴⁴ We subsume these instances under declarative sentences, noting their combination with a question tag as a specific additional feature, even though the whole structure may be considered a specific subtype of the interrogative sentence type (cf. Dušková et al., 2012: 318).

In the case of interjections, we took into account their functional classification, which requires an examination of the context (cf. interjections' tendency to be accompanied by sentences expressing their meaning explicitly, Čechová et al., 1996: 262). Where the context supported the classification of an interjection as interactional (Adam, 2015), we consider the interjection to voice appeal, cf. ex. (71).

- (71) „Jakpak? Chutnalo vám? “
„ So, how was it? Did you enjoy the taste?”

There was also a complementary marker in the Czech originals: an explicit second-person pronoun in the subject position (ex. 72). In Czech, the subject position in a clause pattern is always a potential element, and the use of explicit personal pronouns in the first and second person is always marked (Daneš, Hlavsa, 1981: 63-64). We take these Czech pronouns into account because they are only marked in the Czech originals and cannot be reflected in the English counterparts.

- (72) Copak ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku?
I thought you were post-invasion yourself, Frank.

We are aware of a problematic group of interrogative sentences of the type *What's the matter? X What's the matter with you?* In terms of their function, such questions are virtually identical – presumably, even the version *What's the matter?* pertains to the addressee, cf. ex. (73). However, as such examples were relatively infrequent, we decided to disregard this discrepancy and follow our criteria, in favour of a consistent analysis. Therefore, the sentence is classified as voicing appeal only if it contains the affected second person object (*with you*).

- (73) Whatever is the matter, Renka?
Copak to je, Renko?

4.2.2 English counterparts voicing appeal

English counterpart	no. of instances	%	example
interrogative non-rhetorical positive clause	89	53.9%	Copak byl domov ještě domovem? Do you think that home was still home?
interrogative non-rhetorical negative clause	38	23.0%	Copak nevíš, jak tě mám rád? Do n't you know I love you?
declarative positive clause	13	7.9%	Jestlipak vůbec víš, že tvůj děda původně pocházel z vesnice, která se menuje Vlčeves I wonder if you know that your grandfather originally came from a village called Vlčeves
interrogative rhetorical positive clause (all polar)	8	4.8%	Copak se mi chtělo? Do you think I wanted to leave?
interrogative rhetorical negative clause (all polar)	6	3.7%	Ale copak vy sám většinou nemluvíte, jenom abyste mluvil? Don't you yourself talk mostly just for the sake of talking?
imperative – positive clause	6	3.6%	tělo neměl zhrublý a ztěžklý svejma bitvama a už vůbec ne chlastem, kdepak, sportoval his body was n't all coarse an hard from battle, <u>an forget about booze</u> , this boy was an athlete
declarative – negative clause	3	1.8%	copak máš pas? you do n't even have a passport!
imperative – negative clause	2	1.2%	Cák já. But do n't take no account of me.
TOTAL	165	100%	

Table 6. English counterparts voicing appeal

4.2.2.1 Interrogative sentences

Interrogative sentences represent the vast majority of the English translation counterparts containing a signal of appeal. Among them, non-rhetorical questions seem largely prevalent, comprising 127 (90%) of the total 142 instances.

Non-rhetorical questions

Positive non-rhetorical interrogative sentences make up more than a half of the whole group of English counterparts voicing appeal. Variable (*wh-*) questions (55 occ.) were more frequent than polar ones (34 instances).

Additional features which repeatedly occurred in non-rhetorical positive questions include verbs of thinking with a second-person subject, including the introductory *(do) you mean* (ex. 74).

(74) Copak von to neví?

"You mean, like, he doesn't know? "

We have identified additional means of emphasis: *wh-ever*, *why on earth*, the intensifier *really*. Syntactic means of emphasis included 2 it-clefts (ex. 75) and 3 inferential constructions (2 containing the modal *could*, ex. 76).

(75) Pročpak jste napadl na (*sic*) toho plešatého pána?

Why is it that you attacked the bald gentleman?

(76) Jestlipak znáte časopis Svět zvířat?

Could it be that you know the magazine The Animal World?

Apart from modals in the inferentials, one more modal verb was identified which has no direct counterpart in the Czech original – *may* in ex. (77). Possibly, it is added to soften the appeal and make it more polite, together with the term of address.

(77) „Kdepak ses tu vzala, slečinko? “

„And where may you have come from, young lady?“

There were examples of the referent-final tags (Aijmer, 2002: 223) *or what*, *or something*, which are vagueness markers (Biber et al., 2007: 115) typical of informal spoken interaction (ibid.: 208).⁴⁵ Referent-final tags are generally used to make an utterance more tentative (Aijmer, 2002: 248) in a way similar to the softening modal *may* in ex. (78).

(78) „Copak seš pitomá, baby? “

„Are you stupid or what, babe?“

Verbs with meta-communicative reference (exx. 69, 79) voice the appeal explicitly.

(79) Copak je to možné?

⁴⁵ These expressions may signal that the utterance “is not to be taken as precise or exhaustive” (Biber et al., 2007: 116).

I ask you, is it possible?

Some of the non-rhetorical interrogatives are conducive to a particular answer – here the appeal is for a confirmation of what is implied by the speaker (i.e. in ex. (80), the implication is that the addressee probably wouldn't like it).

(80) Jakpak by se vám líbilo tohle?

How would you like that?

Rhetorical questions

All the rhetorical questions expressing appeal were polar; 8 out of 14 were positive. To classify as a rhetorical question, the interrogative sentence needed to have the function of an emphatic reversed-polarity statement (Dušková et al., 2012: 316).

As well as in other subtypes of interrogative sentences, verbs of thinking were frequently employed.

(81) Copak sem nějak Honza z bezu?

Do you think I don't know my way around here?

We encountered two examples of emphatic elements: an *it*-cleft (ex. 82) and the intensifier *really*; on the other hand, there was the referent final tag *or something*, an example of the opposite 'softening' tendency.

(82) Copak jsi mi tuto větu ve svém automobilu z ledu sám nevytetoval na stehno?

Wasn't it you who tattooed that sentence on my thigh in your automobile of ice?

4.2.2.2 Declarative sentences

Positive declarative sentences (11) prevailed over negative (2). It seems that in declarative sentences, the function of appeal tends to combine with epistemic modality signals: five examples contained the introductory *I wonder* (ex. 83), which expresses deliberative meaning (cf. Šebestová and Malá, 2016). Other additional means included verbs of thinking and *perhaps*.

- (83) „Aha, a jestlipak víš, že největší herec všech dob byl Charles Laughton?“
ptá se otec.
„ Oh, right, but **I wonder** if you know that the greatest actor of all time was Charles Laughton? ” Father asked.

As in ex. (83), sentences introduced by *I wonder* may sometimes contain a question mark. In our material, we identified a total of 19 instances of *wonder* introductory signals, 9 of which end with a question mark. Nevertheless, we classify all of them as declarative sentences, according to their formal characteristics. However, the question mark may reflect their illocutionary force, which is normally that of a question.

Similarly, ex. (84) was classified as a declarative sentence, as it does not correspond to the definition of either echo questions or questions with the form of a declarative sentence (Dušková et al., 2012: 317). Here, the question mark (apart from reflecting the illocutionary force) may point towards a specific prosodic contour, which cannot be identified in the written medium.

- (84) „Když tak vyznáváš .technologii... copak nevíš, co je to například nacking (*sic*)?“
„If you profess your love for technology so much... you must know what necking is, for example?“

4.2.2.3 Imperative sentences

Our material contained positive as well as negative imperative sentences. 4 out of 8 imperatives contained verbs of thinking (*forget, imagine* – ex. 85). There was also an ‘echo’ element (ex. 86).

- (85) Copak, naši lidi v tom uměj chodit, řekl egyptolog.
"But don't forget, our people know how to get along in a situation like that,"
said the Egyptologist.
- (86) „Poslušně hlásím, pane lajtnant,“ zakoktal desátník, „že my tentononc...“
„Jakýpak tentononc,“ zabručel doktor Mráz, „vyjádřete se přímo.“

"I dutifully report, OBRLAJTNANT, Sir," stuttered the sergeant, "that we whatchumacallit..." "Don't whatchumacallit me," growled doctor Mráz, "express yourself directly."

To sum up, the function of appeal shows a tendency to combine with *verba cogitandi*, which were present in 28 examples (including 5 instances of *I wonder*).

Appeal: co-occurring functions and features, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

The function of appeal may co-occur with the function of expressing a change in the speaker's previous assumption, usually related to the speaker – but possibly also to a third person. It also combines with epistemic modal meanings, as discussed above (4.1.3).

Co-occurring elements in the context included 30 terms of address (showing that the function of appeal is connected to establishing/maintaining contact). 40 concordances contained an emotionally expressive element. 27 contained an element of emphasis/contrast, 27 contained a cohesive (or echo) element.

Among the Czech originals which were identified (based on markers in the English counterparts) as fulfilling the function of appeal, virtually all *-pak* expressions were represented, including variants (*cožpak*, *cák*) as well as the particle *jakýpak X!*, followed by an 'echo' element. Apparently, the appeal function is not limited to a particular group of *-pak* expressions – it seems to be a universal feature of the postfix *-pak*.

4.3 Expressing a change in the speaker's assumption

This function is connected with emotional expressivity (expressing the speaker's surprise). The speaker had a previous assumption or presupposition regarding the addressee, his stance, knowledge etc., or regarding a given state of affairs in general. This assumption, however, appears to be false, as indicated by the addressee's reaction to the preceding communication or to something in the situational context.

Out of the 88 English counterparts, 84 were of the interrogative sentence type. The majority (61 instances) were polar questions. There were only 2 rhetorical

questions and 3 inferential constructions. There were 4 declarative sentences, expressing the previous assumption explicitly (ex. 87); three of them were declarative with a reversed-polarity question tag (88).

(87) Copak ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku?

I thought you were post-invasion yourself, Frank.

(88) Copak ty tam chceš jít?

You're not going, are you?

4.3.1 English counterparts expressing a change in assumption

English counterpart	no. of occ.	%	example EN
interrogative positive non-rhetorical clause	44	51.2%	Copak von to neví? You mean, like, he does n't know?
interrogative negative non-rhetorical clause	38	44.2%	My cousin has a great appeal for the ladies. They think he 's rich. ' ' And is n't he? ' On má bratránek pro dámy veliké kouzlo. Dámy ho mají za boháče. " " Copak není bohatý?"
declarative clause	4	4.7%	Copak, snad se nebojíte? You 're not scared, are you?
TOTAL	88	100%	

Table 7. English counterparts expressing a change in the speaker's assumption

A change in the speaker's assumption tends to be expressed by sentences of the interrogative type, as shown by our data. Among the 38 negative interrogative sentences, none was rhetorical and only 1 was a variable question. As for positive polar non-rhetorical questions, 23 of them were polar, 20 variable, and 1 was an echo question (ex. 89). As for co-occurring elements, verbs of thinking were found, as in *You mean, like, he doesn't know?*. There were also some emphatic means identified in interrogatives, such as *wherever*, *where on earth*, the intensifier *really*, or the inferential construction.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ There was one question introduced by *since when*: „Mluvili sme německy.“ - „Copak ty umíš německy?“ - “We spoke German.” - “Since when can you speak German?” This use of *since when* seems to be a specific idiomatic introductory signal in English. In the whole material, it was found three times, only once corresponding to the actual Czech semantic equivalent *odkypak*; the other two occurred as translations of *copak*.

(89) Namítal jsem, že Fučík patří všem a že snad i my si o něm smíme zazpívat po našem. Copak o něm zpíváte po našem? Zpíváte podle receptu agitpropu a ne po našem!

I objected that Fucik belonged to us all and that we had just as much right to sing about him in our own way. - In our own way? You don't sing in our way, you sing the agitprop way!

The **declarative** sentence type was represented by 4 instances, 3 of them containing opposite polarity question tags (ex. 90).

(90) Copak, snad se nebojíte?
You're not scared, are you?

Change in assumption: co-occurring functions and features, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

In ex. (91), the inferential construction signals a change in the speaker's earlier assumption regarding the addressee's views or attitudes. The speaker is interpreting the addressee's behaviour and guessing at his attitude: expressing a change in assumption combines with the epistemic modal meaning of uncertainty, cf. above.

(91) „Ty vopice jedna, copak myslíš, že se budu jen s tebou bavit?“
„You singular monkey, **is it that you think** that I'd be prattling with you?“

Three concordances contained an 'echo' element, representing the previous assumption. Its second occurrence was always after the particle *jakýpak* (discussed in 4.9.2.3).

4.4 Establishing/maintaining contact

The two functions of the Czech particles *copak* and *jestlipak*, voicing appeal and establishing / maintaining contact, were not clearly distinguished in our pilot study. The literature mentions these functions of *-pak* expressions (Poldauf, 1964; Komárek et al., 1986: 231; 237); however, a precise definition of the function of appeal or that of establishing contact is not provided. The two functions cannot be viewed as identical – even though they are closely interrelated, possibly because both are addressee-oriented.

4.4.1 Contact function – definition, questions

We are using the label **contact function** in a relatively wide sense, parallel to some sources' use of the term **phatic function** – however, we prefer the term contact function in order to avoid ambiguity, as our understanding of the function is somewhat wider than Jakobson's definition of the phatic function of language.

Jakobson defines the phatic function as devoted to establishing, maintaining, and interrupting contact between the participants of the communication, and “making sure that the channel [of communication] is working normally [...], gaining or maintaining the partner's attention” (Jakobson, 1995: 80).⁴⁷ As noted by Hoffmannová (1996: 191), Jakobson's notion of the phatic function is centred around the “technical” aspect of communication, i.e. ways of building the communication channel and the “physical set-up” of the communication.

However, other views of the contact/phatic function of language are somewhat broader. Stubbs (1983: 101) contrasts discourse “which has practical ends “(i.e. transmitting information) with “social discourse” (with reference to Berry, 1981). Social discourse is defined as casual spoken interaction “between social equals”, whose primary function is “phatic and social rather than to transmit information” (Stubbs, 1983: 146). Hoffmannová (1996: 191) points out that this view is very different from Jakobson's: while Jakobson stresses the practical aspect of the phatic function, Stubbs views its practical features as rather marginal – and other approaches may rule it out completely. However, as pointed out by Warren (2006: 101), “conversations are often examples of both transactional and interactional language use”. With these observations in mind, in the present thesis we will associate the function of “establishing contact” with all types of speech acts aimed at opening a conversation and maintaining it, as well as at involving the addressee in the interaction. We have decided to examine the possible contact function of *-pak* based on co-occurring signals of establishing/maintaining contact: vocatives, terms of address, greetings, or, if applicable, contact/interactional interjections (e.g. *hey*).

⁴⁷ „slouží v první řadě k navázání, pokračování a přerušování komunikace, k ujištění, že kanál normálně pracuje (*Haló, slyšíte mě?*), k připoutání nebo udržení partnerovy pozornosti (*Jste tam ještě? ...*)“ (Jakobson, 1995: 80)

Because appeal functions and contact functions are often combined, the establishing of contact may go hand in hand with the beginning of turn-taking: we establish contact with the addressee while simultaneously requiring him/her to react.

Further, establishing contact is closely linked to **expressing politeness and the speaker's stance** (normally friendly and accommodating) – cf. Stubbs (1983: 146). This is difficult to examine otherwise than based on the presence of markers of these types of stance. In our analysis, we will depart from Partington's notion of evaluative harmony (2015), which suggests that elements sharing the same evaluative polarity (i.e. positive or negative evaluation) tend to occur together. The evaluative potential of an expression may not be inherently grounded in its semantics, nor is it usually obvious from its sole form (Partington, 2015: 283) – we assume that this may be true of the *-pak* expressions. Hence, we will look for other signals of the speaker's stance in the immediate textual context. Provided these signals are consistent in terms of positive/negative evaluative prosody, it should have implications for the evaluative prosody of the given *-pak* expression.

4.4.2 English equivalents establishing/maintaining contact

Contact signals in English counterparts included terms of address (*sir, miss*), honorifics (*your eminence*), vocatives (*Gabriela*); contact interjections (*come on, hey, look here*), greetings (*good afternoon*). Some terms of address are evaluative and express the speaker's stance towards the addressee (ex. 92).

(92) Pročpak, vy jeden siamskej slone, nemyslíte?

How come, **you Siamese elephant you**, that you don't think?

In ex. (93), the term *comrade* is a social identity marker.

(93) A copak ti píše **soudruh** Jahn?

And what did **Comrade** Jahn write about?

In ex. (94), the contact signal is realised by a rhetorical question.

(94) „Kdopak to k nám přišel?“ kňoural mazlivě.

“Who's this come to see us, then?” he cooed.

The response phrase *no sir*, normally used by a person addressing his superordinate (e.g. in the army), may occur in interaction among social equals, functioning as a means of emphasis (emphatic disagreement/denial corresponding to the Czech particle *kdepak*) rather than a politeness signal, cf. ex. (95).

(95) Depák!

No sir!

Similarly, the address *boss* has been observed to function in communication between social equals (a customer speaking to a tailor), apparently signalling the speaker's friendly stance, cf. ex. (95).

(96) Postýskl si: „Horko, pfff! **No - jakpak, šéfe?** “Všichni mlčeli skloněni nad dílem, začal tedy bez rozpaků a kloudného úvodu sám.

He complained a bit: „Phew, what a heat! **Well, what about it, boss?** ”

They were all silent as they bent over their work, and so he began himself, without embarrassment and without any sensible beginning.

Contact signals tend to combine, e.g. a greeting and a term of address in ex. (96). In ex. (97), the vocative is used merely to establish contact, whereas the evaluative term of address allows the speaker to express his stance.

(97) " **Good afternoon soldier boy**, where are you heading for? “

„**Dobrý poledne, vojáčku**, kampak máte namířeno?”

(98) " **Borek**, where are you going now, **you antsy pants?** “blared Alex.

„**Borku**, ale kampak zase, **ty neposedo**, “hlaholil Alex.

An additional contact signal was identified in the Czech originals, namely an example of a free dative, classified as a concern dative (sometimes viewed as a subtype of sharing dative), cf. Hajič et al. (2006).⁴⁸ These datives fulfil the function of establishing/maintaining contact through inclusive first-person plural means. In ex.

⁴⁸ Concern dative –“dativ zainteresovanosti“, sharing dative –“dativ sdílení“ (Hajič et al., 2006) – transl. Šebestová.

(98), in the English translation this is reflected in the first person plural imperative as well as the adverbial *for us*.

(99) Copak **nám** tu mistr dneska vystavil?

‘Let’s see what **our** artist has put on show **for us** today.’

4.4.3 Contact: co-occurring functions, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

The corresponding Czech originals contained *-pak* expressions from all parts of speech – there seems to be no limitation, though pronominal words (pronouns + pronominal adverbs) were the most frequent representatives (21 out of 40 instances).

The abovementioned textual signals suggest that *-pak* is involved in establishing or maintaining contact with the addressee. The contact function is closely linked with the function of appeal (establishing contact and prompting the addressee to react), as well as with emotional expressivity (expressing the speaker’s stance).

4.5 Co-occurrence with politeness/tentativeness signals

The use of *-pak* as a colloquial politeness marker is briefly mentioned by Karlík, Nekula, Rusínová (2000: 694) and also suggested by previous research (Šebestová, Malá, 2016). We looked for politeness signals co-occurring with *-pak* which could support these suggestions, as well as tell us more about other functions of *-pak* which may combine with that of a politeness marker.

Politeness signals in our material included honorifics, which were to a large extent also employed as contact signals. Honorifics tend to express a polite stance and reflect a convention in a particular environment, e.g. in the military (*Rechnungsfeldwebel*, ex. 99), in a hospital (*doctor*), or in interaction with academics (*professor*).

(100) Čímpak vy jste v civilu, pane rechnerungsfeldvébl?

What are you in civilian life RECHNUNGSFELDWEBEL, Sir?

There were also general honorifics such as *Mr., Mrs., Miss, gentlemen*. In ex. (100), the term of address *missus/paninko* is marked: it is informal and currently becoming old-fashioned (OALD).⁴⁹

(101) Kterápak, paninko milá, by pořád chtěla snášet takovou mizérii a terpentýnový smrad podstřešního pelechu, do něhož fučí vítr všemi skulinami?

that's all very well, missus, but how would you like to put up with that miserable life in the smell of turpentine and the draught blowing in through all the cracks in a tumbledown attic?

Another politeness strategy co-occurring with the use of expressions with the *-pak* postfix involves a transposition of the categories of person and number: referring to a second-person addressee using the third-person (,onikání', Adam, 2015: 31). The example (102), however, does not come from our data-set. In this example, we may also observe the tentative tag *if I may ask/smím-li se ptát*.

(102) Kampak má **pan**⁵⁰ asistent namířeno, smím-li se ptát?

Where is the assistant heading for, if I may ask? (InterCorp 8, Subtitles)

Other politeness signals were identified as well: in ex. (103), the English modal verb *may* has no corresponding syntactic counterpart in Czech. Neither has the past tense in ex. (104) – its function is to make the question more tentative and thereby more polite (Dušková et al., 2012: 223). Another tentativeness marker which was not exactly mirrored in the Czech original was the disjunct *by any chance* in ex. (105). These syntactic means point directly to the function of *-pak* as a politeness marker.

(103) Kdepak ses tu vzala, slečinko?

And where **may** you have come from, young lady?

⁴⁹ *missus* 3. (also *missis*) (slang, becoming old-fashioned) used by some people as a form of address to a woman whose name they do not know. OALD Online, 2017. Available at <http://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/missus?q=missus>

⁵⁰ *Pan* is a Czech honorific expression equivalent to *Sir*.

(104) řekla jsem Ludvíkovi, jestlipak víte, že jedu za tři dny na Slovácko dělat reportáž o Jízdě králů.

I said to Ludvik, **did** you know I was going to Moravia for three days to do a feature on the Ride of the Kings?

(105) Do you recall, **by any chance**, the formula for calculating the area of a sector?

Jestlipak znáte ještě vzoreček pro výpočet plochy kruhové výseče?

Politeness/tentativeness: co-occurring functions, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

As mentioned above, politeness signals co-occurred (and largely were identical with) contact signals. Interjections were prevalent among the Czech counterparts (9 out of the 20 concordances containing politeness signals). *Copak* (pronoun), *kdepak* (interjection, adverb, particle), *jestlipak*, *jakpak* and *kterápak* were found.

4.6 Co-occurrence with means of text-structuring

This subchapter is divided into two sections: firstly, we examined the co-occurrence of *-pak* expressions with linking devices – in such contexts, *-pak* may be involved in building up textual coherence. Secondly, we looked at the role of *-pak* in providing emphasis or contrasting two elements. Lastly, we observe the two functions combined in the co-instances of a *-pak* expression with an ‘echo’ element.

4.6.1 Linking *-pak*: co-occurrence with linking devices

Firstly, we looked for co-occurring conjunctions. *And* was the most frequent linking device (8 instances). In all but one instance (ex. 106), *and* occurs as the equivalent of Czech *a*. The Czech coordinator *a* only preceded pronouns (*copak*, *kdepak*, *kdopak*, *kolikpak*).

(106) „Kdepak bydlíte, slečno?“ otázala se máti.

“And where do you live?“ asked Mother.

There was one example of *but*, again corresponding to its Czech equivalent *ale*; ex. (107) confirms the illocutionary force (strong disagreement, denial) of the previous utterance realised by the idiomatic construction *jakýpak X*.

(107) Ale jakýpak delikt!

But what sort of offense!

Secondly, we examined other co-occurring expressions which have a discourse-organizing function. We have found several examples of discourse markers in the English translations which have no direct counterparts in the Czech originals – *then*, *so*, *well*, and *now* (exx. 108-111). We assume that these discourse markers reflect the discourse-organizing functions of the postfix *-pak*. In these particular contexts, they seem to function as conversation openers or means of introducing a new topic. E.g. *then* follows after a set of instructions and opens a new communicative situation, an interview (ex. 108).

(108) „a mluvte, až když se vás budu na něco ptát! Rozumíte?“ „Jak bych nerozuměl,“ řekl Švejk, „poslušně hlásím, že rozumím a že se ve všem, co ráčejí říct, dovedu orientýrovat.“ „S kýmpak se stýkáte?“

And speak only when I ask you something! Understand?“ „How could I not understand?“ responded Švejk. “I dutifully report, sir, that I understand and that I am able to grasp all that you desire to say.” „Then, whom do you have contacts with?“

(109) „Kdypak vy jste měli fáro?“ „zajímal se parták.

‘So when did you have your own wheels?’ the foreman asked curiously.

(110) „Kdepak máme pana Palivce, je už také doma?“

“Now, where is our Mister Palivec? Is he home already, too?“

(111) Copak se stalo? zeptal se Gellen přísně.

“Well, what happened?“ asked Dr. Gellen severely.

4.6.2 Contrasting and emphatic *-pak*

Out of 161 instances containing emphasis or contrast, *copak* and its variants made up the majority, with 79 instances. 67 were particles (*copak*, *cák*, *cožpak*); there were also particle idioms (*copak X*, *copak (o) to*, cf. SČFI 4, 2009: 139). The *copak*-particle concordances did not contain ‘echo’ elements as frequently as those of *kdepak*. Both *copak*-particles and *copak*-interjections were primarily involved as emphasisers rather than means of contrast.

Copak may work as a summative expression referring back to a stretch of preceding discourse, as suggested by the English equivalent in ex. (112) – in such contexts, there is no need for an ‘echo’ element. In ex. (113), the use of *copak* reflects the speaker’s intention to correct and specify his previous statement. The coordinator *but* is often involved in linking the two contrasted propositions, cf. ex. (113).

(112) Copak, já jednou - to jsem byl ovšem podstatně mladší - vykládal při podobný příležitosti o dinosaurech.

"That’s nothing. I was in a situation like that once-of course, I was a lot younger at the time-and what I talked about was dinosaurs."

(113) Že soudruzi, jako seš ty - no copak, ty nejsi ve Straně a jenoms zakolísal - ale někerý komunisti.

"About how comrades like you-well, not exactly like you, you’re not in the Party and you only wobbled a bit there - but I’m talking about some Communists.

68 concordances contained *kdepak* or its variants. 49 were interjections, i.e. means of expressing strong disagreement (emphatic *no*, cf. 2.4.3). *Kdepak*-interjection typically occurs as an initial signal (ex. 114); however, it can also occur sentence-medially or even sentence-finally (115). Unlike *copak*-particle, the particle *kdepak* strongly tends to be followed by an ‘echo’ element (ex. 116); the function of contrasting two propositions seems more frequent here than with *copak*.

(114) **Depák**, to byste se hoší krutě přepočítali!

Don't kid cherselves now, boyos, cause that'd be brutally miscalculatin!

(115) myslím, že nám to řekl, abychom snad nenabyli mylného dojmu, že patřil k nějakým těm tankistům, co tu stříleli do lidí, či snad dokonce ke kágébákům, **kdepak!**

I think he told us that so we would n't think he 'd driven one of those tanks that shot people here in ' 68, or even worse, that he was KGB. Are you kidding?

(116) **Strejček** chrápal, až se vohejbaly divizny, ale voni měli dojem, že se pán dusí a že má nákej hroznej záchvat, a snažili se ho křísit, jenže **kdepak strejček**, ten chrápal a chrčel a slintal a vodfukoval...

The **uncle** was snoring so hard it was making the mullein plants bend over, but they thought the man was choking and having some terrible fit, and they tried to revive him, but the **uncle** just kept snoring, his throat rattling and he was drooling and exhaling loudly

The material also contained **inferentials** (of the type *it's not that X, it's that Y; or is it that*, which allow for contrasting two elements) and **idioms** containing an 'echo' element which point towards the emphatic/contrasting function of *-pak*, e.g. *jakýpak X, copak X, ale Y, copak (o) to*; idioms are discussed in more detail in 2.3.6.2 and 4.9.2.

We have encountered the linking device **let alone**, which “allows the speaker to simultaneously address a previously posed proposition, and to redirect the addressee to a new proposition which will be more informative” (Fillmore et al., 1988: 513); the previous proposition may be merely implied pragmatically (ibid.). *Let alone* is used to compare two negative propositions, the latter of which is “weaker”, i.e. less probable than the former (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 594) – it expresses epistemic modal meaning.

(117) We can't even afford to go to the movies, let alone the theatre.
(Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 594)

The corresponding Czech expressions were *natožpak* and *jakpak by ne* (cf. 4.8).

(118) Slepý nevidí ani masku, natožpak tvář bez ní.

A blind man can't even see the mask, let alone the face beneath.

(119) I jindy by to máma poznala, jakpak by to nepoznala dnes, kdy se žije z chudého přidělu, s nímž lze vystačit jen jakýmsi zázrakem hospodárnosti...
Mother would have noticed it at any time, let alone now, when there was only the miserable little ration of food that only miraculous economy could make last out...

Such structures are mentioned in Balhar et al. (2005):⁵¹ they establish a grading relationship, consisting of the sequence of two negative declarative clauses: the former denotes the impossibility of something easy, while the latter denotes the impossibility of something more difficult (Balhar et al., 2005: 468). The latter clause may be introduced by the particle *copak*, *kdepak*, *jak* or *kterak*. The structure often contains an intensifying adverb, standing after the particle, such as *potom*, *pak*, *tam*, *teprve*, *ještě*. Mainly in West-Bohemian dialects, the particle is often preceded by the conjunction *a* (*and*) (ibid.).⁵²

(120) Samotná ženská je taky na takovýhle hádě slabá, já nechápu, že si to dítě vůbec nechala. Jakýpak má mít potom vychování?

A snake like that is too much for a woman on her own. I don't even see why she bothered to keep her. What kind of upbringing is a child like that supposed to get?

To sum up, the function of such structures is twofold: they help structure the text, while functioning as means of epistemic modal evaluation (the speaker presents one thing as less plausible than another).

4.6.3 'Echo' elements

As mentioned earlier, we use the term '*echo*' element for any expression which occurs together with a *-pak* expression after having occurred in the previous discourse. The speaker reacts to a previously mentioned referent, repeating it in a new structure (in combination with a *-pak* expression), thereby presenting his own stance towards it. The first mention of the element is usually on the addressee's part. The illocutionary force of the structure involving the 'echo' element may be a specification, correction (122, 123), or voicing disagreement, possibly combined with the expression of disbelief and unpleasant surprise (ex. 121).

⁵¹ Cf. also the classification of the particle idiom *natož(pak) aby* as a linking device with a grading function (SČFI 2, 2009: 537).

⁵² Balhar et al. (2005: 468) note that these structures have not been completely mapped, therefore they are not included in their dialectological maps.

An echo question is one example of an ‘echo’ element (ex. 121) – however, it was not frequent in our material (only 1 occurrence).

(121) Namítal jsem, že Fučík patří všem a že snad i my si o něm smíme zazpívat po našem. Copak o něm zpíváte po našem? Zpíváte podle receptu agitpropu a ne po našem!

I objected that Fucik belonged to us all and that we had just as much right to sing about him in our own way. - In our own way? You don’t sing in our way, you sing the agitprop way!

A certain degree of variation within the ‘echo’ element is possible, cf. the adjective *embarrassing* corresponding to the noun *embarrassment* in ex. (122). In ex. (123), the ‘echo’ element is altered and specified in relation to the previous mention – the speaker is in fact correcting the addressee’s train of thought.

(122) „Představ si, jak by to bylo trapné, kdybychom nepřišli,“ řekl jsem. „Copak trapné, ale přišli bychom o Dvořákův violoncellový koncert!“

“Just imagine how embarrassing it would be if you hadn’t remembered and we didn’t turn up, ” I said. “Never mind the embarrassment, think of the Dvořák’s cello concerto we’d be missing!”

(123) „Nevím, co by na nich mělo být divného. Mně připadají jako ideální dvojice, myslím do filmu. Vám ne?“ [...] – „Copak to,“ pravila pomalu. „Ideální milovnická dvojice možná. Jenomže v tomhle filmu měli hrát sourozence.“

I don’t know what’s odd about them. I think they seem like **an ideal couple**, I mean for a movie. Don’t you?” [...] - “**An ideal pair of lovers**, maybe,” she said slowly. „But in this film they were supposed to play brother and sister.”

Instead of an echo, there may also be a deictic pronoun referring back towards a previous element.

(124) Copak to, pravila.

"Worse than that!" she wailed.

Text-structuring: co-occurring functions, corresponding Czech *-pak* expressions

In general, *-pak* expressions seem to help establish relationships within the discourse. Some *-pak* expressions had English discourse markers as their counterparts, suggesting the function of conversation openers or “topic switches”. A *-pak* expression may link an element to its previous mention, at the same time presenting it in a new light: the illocutionary force may be that of a correction, specification, but also disagreement or denial. Some *-pak* expressions are involved in contrasting two elements (inferentials, some idiomatic constructions, e.g. *copak X, ale Y*), sometimes simultaneously presenting their epistemic modal evaluation (the correspondences of *let alone*). 27 out of 75 concordances containing some means of text-structuring also contained a means of emphasis or contrast – these two functions of the postfix *-pak* are often related.

Czech particles (*copak, kdepak, japa*) were most often involved in structuring the text (29 out of 75 concordances), followed by idioms involving the particles *copak, jakýpak, jakpak* (22 concordances). Pronouns and pronominal adverbs were represented by 18 concordances.

4.7 Emotional expressivity of *-pak* viewed through evaluative prosody

Expressions containing the postfix *-pak* are generally classified as emotionally expressive – they are associated with many different emotional meanings, cf. e.g. Komárek et al.’s classification of *-pak* particles (1986: 231). In our research, we will concentrate on one particular emotional meaning, namely that of surprise, which shows a strong correlation with the structural group of negative polar questions. These interrogative sentences have the illocutionary force of questions, while simultaneously expressing a change in the speaker’s previous assumption, often together with an appeal to the addressee to clarify the arisen unclarity. They also illustrate that the different semantic and functional features of the postfix *-pak* are not isolated – on the contrary, in actual usage, its various meanings and functions tend to combine.

Positive evaluative prosody is realised by terms of address expressing the speaker’s positive stance (as mentioned in 4.4). In ex. (125), an affectionate term of

address (*my dear*) is combined with direct positive evaluation of the addressee. In ex. (126), we may observe the same combination within one phrase (*beautiful little lady*) – however, the context suggests that here, the strategy behind these lexical choices is flattering, as the speaker is offering her services with the view of profit.

(125) "Vlasta, **my dear!** Why didn't you let us know **you were so good at chess?**"

Vlastičko, pročpak ses nepochlubila, že tak dobře umíš hrát šachy?

(126) Which **beautiful** little lady like to hear her fortune?

Kterápak krásná slečinka si chce dát hádat osud?

In ex. (127), the utterance is apparently accompanied by a gesture providing non-verbal deixis (e.g. pointing to the addressee's head). Together with the gesture, the utterance functions as a form of address.

(127) An so what 'd this noggin right here come up with?

A na copak přišla tajdlencta hlavinka?

In (128), the term of address *sonny* marks the speaker's positive stance towards the addressee; at the same time, it functions as a softener, because the rest of the utterance expresses the speaker's unpleasant surprise, signalled by the expletive *good gracious*, the intensifier *on earth*, and a syntactic signal – rhetorical question introduced by *why*. Therefore, it may be viewed as a politeness strategy. Cf. also ex. (129), in which the affectionate address (positive stance signal) and the referent-final tag *or something* (tentativeness signal) soften the potentially offensive question.

(128) I co to povídáš, mládenečku, kampak bych se vrtla.

Good gracious, what do you mean, sonny, why on earth would I want to move?

(129) Copak seš pitomá, baby?

Are you stupid or what, babe?

Negative evaluative prosody is likewise represented by terms of address, expressing a negative stance towards the addressee, which tend to be offensive or even vulgar. The term of address may be aimed towards a third person, as in ex. (132).

(130) Pročpak, vy jeden siamskej slone, nemyslíte?

How come, you Siamese elephant you, that you do n't think? "

(131) Jestlipak jste, vy syčáci, ještě nezapomněli otčenáš?

"Could it be, you bums, that you have forgotten your 'Our Father '?

(132) Jestlipak ten řecký hajzlík připoslouchával?

What if that little Greek prick was listening in?

In most cases, the level of expressivity is preserved in translation. There are exceptions though, as in ex. (133), in which the translator opted for a milder wording of the invective, avoiding vulgarity. The same strategy has been observed elsewhere, cf. (134).

(133) „Mílo, dyť skončíme na fašírku, copak **máš rozum v prdeli?**”

“Mila, d’you want us to end up as mincemeat? Have you **lost your marbles?**”

(134) „Bude **průser!**“ – „I japa **průser!**“

" There 's going to be **trouble.** " " **Trouble?**

As discussed earlier, the particle *kdepak* expresses emphatic disagreement. The emphasis is further enhanced by the term of address and a non-verbal gesture in ex. (135), and by intensification through repetition in (136).

(135) „Kdepak, **vole,**“ **vrtí hlavou** Denny.

“No way, dude,” Denny says. (lit. **shakes his-head** Denny)

(136) Ne, ne, ne, kdepak!

None at all, no way!

Examining our material for evaluative harmony signals does not allow us to draw a decisive line between individual *-pak* expressions being primed with either a clearly positive or clearly negative evaluative potential. Perhaps an extensive research of a larger amount of material would shed more light on this question. However, based on our observations, we are inclined to assume that all *-pak* expressions have a tendency towards being primed with different evaluative prosodies in their different uses (cf. Partington, 2015: 296 - 299). Speakers identify the given evaluative polarity

based on co-occurring signals in the cotext, which create evaluative harmony (ibid.). Cf. negative evaluative harmony signals in ex. (137) as opposed to negative in (138). The general ability of the postfix *-pak* to express evaluation (whether positive or negative) is probably grounded in its inherently expressive and emphatic character.

(137) proč třeba stejně stará Yveta Trojanová, dcera toho **sviňáka**, nemusí makat jako já, proč ona může mít, na co jen ukáže prstem - na tom prstě safír v platině za pět **papírů** - vozit si prdel v auťáku a každoročně letadlem k moři, **copak** ona má díru do zadku jinde než já?

why doesn't Yveta Trojanová, the daughter of that **pig** (*offensive*), who 's the same age as me, why does n't she have to work like I do, why does she get whatever she points her finger at, a finger with a platinum ring with a sapphire that cost five **grand** (*slang, expressive*) -she drives her **ass** (*vulgar*) around in a car and flies every year to the sea, is the hole in her **butt** (*informal*) any different from mine? –

(138) Áá, **pan** Beneš! **cvrlikala** kavárnice (nebo spíš čajárnice?), spěchajíc k němu ze skryté přípravníčky, - **copak si poručí?** (*politeness*)⁵³

"**Mr.** (*honorific*) Beneš!" **chirped** (*expressive*) the coffeehouse (or rather teahouse?) owner, **scurrying** (*expressive*) over to him from the hidden kitchenette, "**what 'll it be today?**" (*polite offer*)

Cases of conflicting evaluative prosodies are interesting and point towards the ability of *-pak* to make an utterance more tentative, cf. exx. (128, 129).

4.8 Occurrence of *-pak* in idiomatic and semi-idiomatic constructions

The *-pak* expressions participate in various types of syntactic constructions which function as rhetorical questions and which are more or less idiomatic. Some of them have developed into fixed idiomatic phrases, listed by SČFI, e.g. *jakýpak copak* – these have been discussed in some detail in section 2.3.6.2.

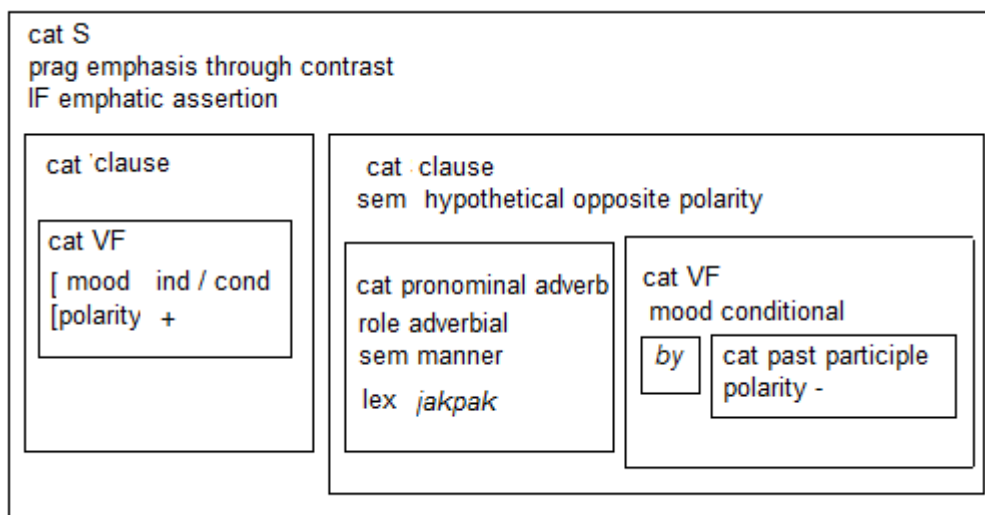
⁵³ An example of *onikání* (using 3rd person plural to refer to a 2nd person singular addressee) – an archaic politeness strategy (Adam, 2015: 31).

However, our material has shown that *-pak* expressions also occur in other idiomatic structures. These are more lexically and/or structurally flexible than the fully stabilised idioms and there are fewer formal limitations imposed on them. They can be termed *constructions* in the construction grammar sense (cf. ex. 139). Let us present a tentative overview of the constructions identified in our material, using a mode of description based in construction grammar. They may shed more light on the conversion processes going on between *-pak* expressions – and possibly also semantic changes or alterations of different kinds. However, further examination of a larger body of material is needed to specify the characteristics of these constructions.⁵⁴

***Jakpak by ne* // extended variant *jakpak* + negative conditional:**

(139) „Lezu, miláčku, lezu – jakpak bych nelez,“ breptal polní kurát.

“I’m crawling, darling, crawling, how could I not crawl??” babbled the Field Chaplain.



***Jakpak* + modal verb: *mít* (should)/*moci* (can)**

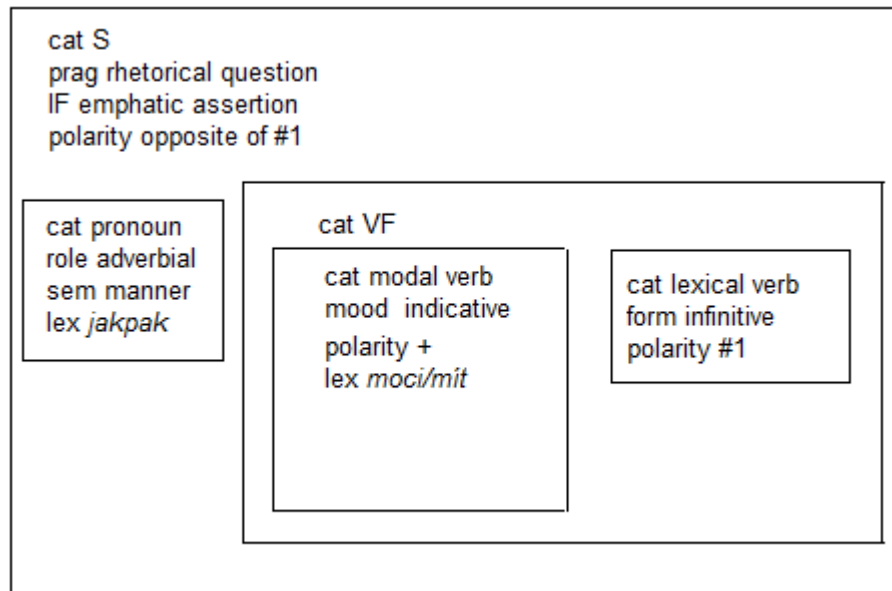
The verbal mood varies between indicative and conditional (the latter probably for further emphasis). Interestingly, the English modal verbs tend not to correspond to their

⁵⁴ For example, we expect variability in the position of clitics, which cannot be sufficiently attested in our material., cf. ex. (144)

Czech counterparts: cf. *mám* (*should*) X *can* (140), *moh by* (*could*) X *would* (141). Note also the lack of correspondence in the category of number in (140).

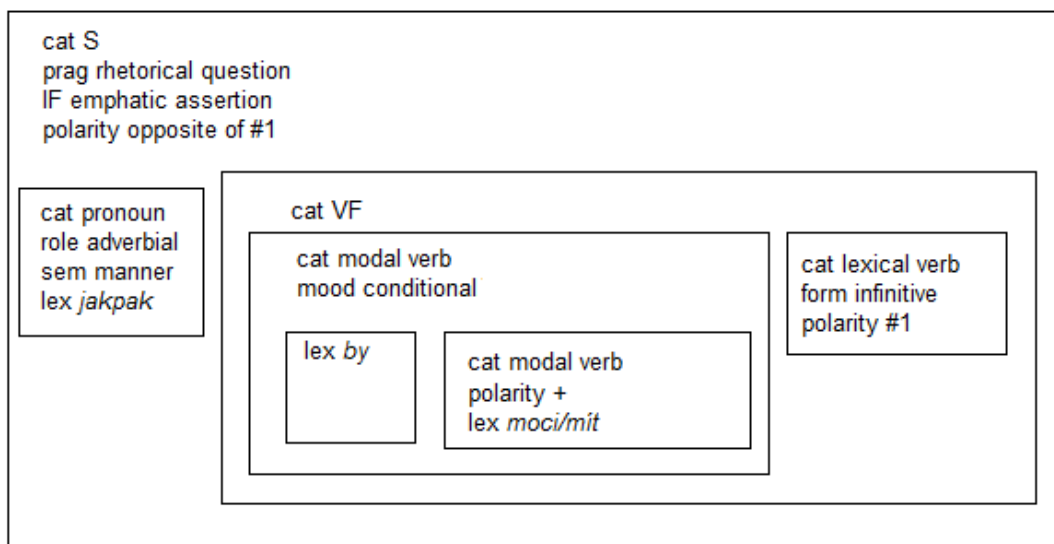
(140) Jakpak se **mám** na hoča zlobit, když byl v právu?

How **can** we be cross with the boy, when he was in the right?



(141) Možná, že s tím měly něco společného jeho dlouhý večerní tripy k obzoru, ale jakpak **by** to **moh** někdo vědět.

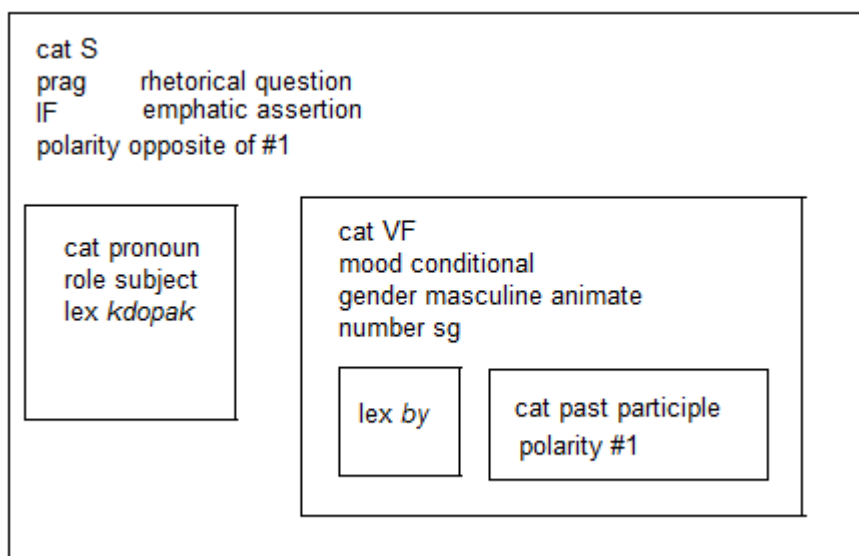
Maybe that had something to do with his long trips into the horizon every evening, but how in the world **would** anyone know?



***Kdopak* + conditional:**

(142) *Kdopak* by takový cigarety kouřil.

Who would smoke cigarettes like that?



In ex. (143), the English translation does not correspond to the original – instead of the conditional mood, the verb is in the indicative. However, this may be because the Czech *Kdopak by se Kafky bál* is the title of one of the published Czech translations of Edward Albee’s play *Who’s afraid of Virginia Woolf?*.⁵⁵ The English *Who’s afraid of Franz Kafka* is therefore the translation of a translation. The Czech translation *Kdopak by se Kafky bál* may reflect the existence of this Czech construction, which contains the conditional.⁵⁶

(143) „*Kdopak* by se Kafky bál! “

"Who’s afraid of Franz Kafka!"

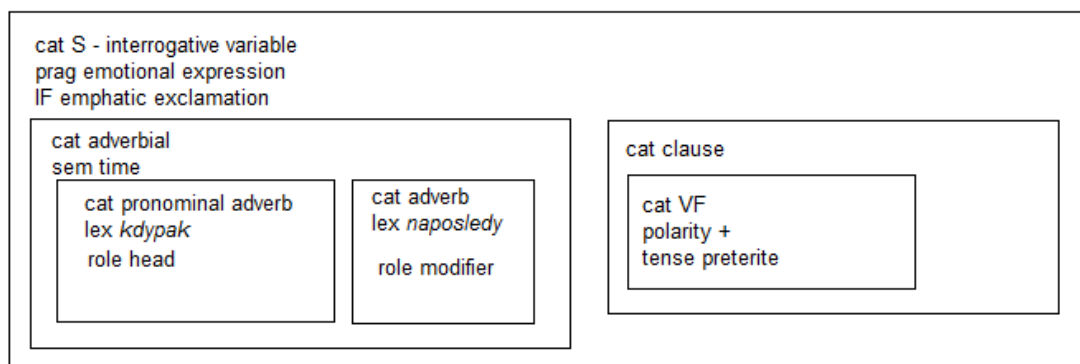
***Kdypak naposledy* + past tense:**

⁵⁵ Cf. E. Albee (1964) *Hry*. Transl. by Zámecká, W. et al.

⁵⁶ Interestingly, the other published Czech translation has the verb in the indicative: *Kdo se bojí Virginie Woolfové*. (ibid.)

(144) Hovor s Janou mě tak zdržel - kdypak naposledy jsem se tak pobavil? - že jsem přišel o půlhodinu později na naše místo v Jateční ulici..

The conversation with Jana delayed me - when was the last time I enjoyed myself like that? - and I arrived a half hour late for our rendezvous on Slaughterhouse Street.



Interestingly, all 3 instances of *kdypak naposledy* come from the same source, Páral's *Milenci a vrazi (Lovers and Murderers)*. It may be the manifestation of the author's idiolect, or possibly the idiolect of a character in the novel.

Variability in the position of clitics is suggested by ex. (145) – however, it may be conditioned by the presence of the marked subject pronoun (*já*), or by the absence of the auxiliary *be (jsem)*, or both. As there are no more examples, we cannot generalise.

(145) kdypak **já** naposledy jel tramvají!
when 's the last time I took a streetcar!

4.9 Conversion of *-pak* expressions

As outlined in the theoretical chapter, in our analysis we shall try to shed more light on different possible patterns of conversion, using evidence from our corpus material. The expressions containing *-pak* are a convenient study material for this purpose, as they rank among several different word classes: pronouns, pronominal adverbs, particles, and interjections.

4.9.1 Conversion pronoun – adverb: the case of *copak*

As mentioned above, the postfix *-pak* combines with pronouns and pronominal adverbs. However, some expressions containing *-pak* may also be considered secondary adverbs. Let us illustrate this using the example of *copak*.

SSJČ I (1960: 222) suggests the following classification of *copak*.⁵⁷ Apart from the unambiguous interrogative pronoun, they view *copak* as an interrogative pronominal adverb, marked as an element of common Czech. This view is based syntactically: introducing interrogative clauses such as *copak se pořád smějete?* (ibid.), *copak* indeed functions similarly to *pročpak*, asking after the cause of an action – syntactically it constitutes an adverbial of reason. Cf. also ex. (146): in her reaction the speaker presents the reason for her emotional state.

(146) A na rohu zrovna vrazíme do Jarmilky. Hned se jí ptám: Copak jste taková rozzlobená? A Jarmilka se rozhorluje: Nechtějí mi dát kožíšek, ale ať si ho strčejí do prdele! Já už stejně půjdu co nevidět domů. (SYN 2015)

And on the corner we run into Jarmilka again... I ask her right away: *Copak* are-you so angry? And Jarmilka gets indignant: They won't give me the fur coat, but let them shove it up their ass! I'm going home soon anyway.

There are similar, semantically equivalent structures containing the combination *copak že*, such as ex. (147). Here, *copak* is neither an interjection (it is syntactically integrated and does not form a separate utterance) nor a particle: formally, it constitutes a superordinate clause, because the conjunction *že* introduces subordinate clauses (Komárek et al., 1986: 216),⁵⁸ therefore *že jsi dneska takový bledý* is a subordinate nominal content clause. *Copak* is clearly interrogative and pronominal, but its semantic role is most probably that of reason – in ex. (147), it is accordingly followed by an explanation stating the reason, in ex. (148) the English equivalent is *why*. Therefore, it makes sense to classify such instances of *copak* as interrogative adverbs.

⁵⁷ This classification of *copak* is parallel to that of *co* (cf. SSJČ I, 1960: 221).

⁵⁸ „spojka *že* [...] [vyjadřuje] dominovanost vedlejší věty“ (Komárek et al. 1986: 216) –“the conjunction *že* expresses domination over the subordinate clause”

(147) „Copak že jsi dneska takový bledý?“ zeptala se ho jeho manželka Marja Denisovna. „Ale - je mi nějak těžko a úzko...“ (SYN 2015)

„How come that you are so pale today?“ asked his wife Maria Denisovna. “Oh – I’m feeling sort of heavy and uneasy...”⁵⁹

(148) Copak že jste se vystrojila a la potapěč?

Why are you dressed like a deep-sea diver?

Bearing in mind that SSJČ’s classification is well grounded functionally, we decide to adopt it, still paying attention to the form of *copak*, as we wish to learn more about the etymology and the process of conversion which led to the present state.

4.9.2 Conversion towards particles: the case of *jakýpak*

The instances of *jakýpak* may be classified in terms of a scale, represented by several stages which are defined both formally and in terms of function.

4.9.2.1 Idioms: *jakýpak ale*, *jakýpak copak*

SČFI (2009) lists the following idiomatic structures containing *jakýpak*.

Jakýpak ale! (SČFI 4, 2009: 338): “Authoritative, categorical reaction to the addressee’s objections to an order, talking back, disagreement, or another suggestion, usually introduced by the conjunction *ale* (*but*).”⁶⁰ The suggested English translation is *No buts!* (*ibid.*)

(149) *Jakýpak ale!* Půjdeš teď domů a už se o tom nebudeme bavit. (*ibid.*)

No buts! You go home now and we’ll talk about it no further.

⁵⁹ Transl. Šebestová.

⁶⁰ „autoritativně, kategoricky k druhému v reakci na jeho námitky proti příkazu. odmouvání, nesouhlasné vyjádření, jiný návrh, obvykle uvozený spojkou *ale*”

(*Ale / Tak*) *jakýpak copak!* (ibid.) “Energetic, disapproving reaction to another person’s objections, apprehension, or his hesitant regard for other circumstances etc., mainly because of their unimportance.”⁶¹ Suggested English equivalent: *Stop fussing!* (ibid.).

(150) *Ale jakýpak copak! Na hory s náma pojeděš, ať si učitelka říká, co chce!*
(ibid.)

Stop fussing! You will come skiing with us, let the teacher say what she will!

This idiom is attested in our data, cf. ex. (151).

(151) *Ať holka ví, že její jméno je kradený, jakýpak copak, velká byla dost.*

The girl should know her name is stolen, she’s old enough, why all the fuss?

SSJČ’s classification of the idiom *jakýpak copak* deserves to be mentioned – they interpret it as an instance of *copak* as a nominalised interrogative pronominal adverb (cf. above in 2.3.5.2), semantically equivalent to “asking, doubting, talking back, refusing” (SSJČ I, 1960: 222),⁶² i.e. a synecdochic expression which represents the given speech act behind asking a question.

4.9.2.2 Idiom with a certain degree of variability: *jakýpak fraky, cavyky, okolky...*

These expressions represent a stage between the completely fixed idiom (discussed in 4.9.2.1) and a particle (4.9.2.3). The position following *jakýpak* contains an expression which provides an evaluative summary of a previous and/or following utterance. This variable type of idiom is virtually identical with the fixed idiom in terms of semantics as well as function. However, there are fewer formal limitations to the variable idioms. From the lexical point of view, *jakýpak* here may combine with one item from a limited set of expressions which we term evaluative-summative. In structural terms, the construction may be extended by means of premodifying the evaluative expression, the premodifier possessing the semantic role of affected object (*jakýpak s nimi cavyky*). This possibility of extension differentiates variable idioms from the fixed ones.

⁶¹ „v různé, odmítavé reakci na námitky, obavy, popř. váhavé ohledy druhého na další okolnosti ap., zvl. pro jejich nepodstatnost”

⁶² „vyptávání, pochybování, odmouvání, odmítání“

(152) *Jakýpak s nimi cavyky.*

No use beating about the bush.

The evaluative-summative expressions are represented in our material by *fraky*, *cavyky*, and *okolky*.⁶³ ;To sum up, the evaluative-summative expressions are colloquial, expressive, and they tend to colligate with negative expressions, such as negative finite verb forms (*nedělal* – *he didn't make*), negators (*žádné* – *no*), or the preposition *bez* (*without*).

4.9.2.3 Particle

Here, *jakýpak* may combine with any lexical unit, phrase or clause, which is usually an ‘echo’ element, i.e. has been mentioned in the preceding communication by either of the participants. Interestingly, the ‘echo’ element may be any part of speech, differentiating the particle *jakýpak* from the adjectival pronoun, which only combines with nominal phrases. In ex. (153), *domů* is an adverb of place-direction; in ex. (154), *zabil* is a finite verb form. In ex. (155), *tentononc* is a particle, used instead of an expression which the speaker does not know, cannot remember, or chooses to omit, typically out of politeness because it is perceived as inappropriate. It may occur as a filler, implying the speaker’s embarrassment or hesitation (SSJČ III, 1966: 794 (under *tento*)).

(153) Až pozdě k ránu se Broňa vlekla pěšky domů, ale **jakýpak je tohle domů** ten dvakrát cizí pokoj: erární a Traklovic...

Not till early morning did Broňa drag herself home, **but what kind of home is this** doubly someone else’s room: the administration’s and the Trakls’...

(154) Zabils ho? – **Jakýpak zabil**. Naopak!, povídá Neústupný

Did you kill him? – **Kill?** Just the opposite!

⁶³ SSJČ I (198) classifies *cavyky* as a common-Czech expression and lists *okolky*, *průtahy*, *drahoty* as its synonyms. SČFI 2 (2009: 45) classifies *cavyky* as colloquial and expressive and defines the word as “possible considerations, delay, hesitation, indecision“, suggesting the English equivalents *ado*, *beating about the bush*. SČFI (ibid.) mentions *cavyky* as part of the idiom *bez dlouhých cavyků*, SSJČ lists the examples *bez dlouhých c-ů; jaképak c-y!*; *nedělal (s tím) (žádné) c-y; nadělá mnoho c-ů*.

(155) *Jakýpak* tentononc, “zabručel doktor Mráz, “vyjádřete se přímo.

“Don’t whatchumacallit me,” growled doctor Mráz, “express yourself directly.

The whole construction is a rhetorical question, its illocutionary force is that of an emphatic assertion of the opposite polarity (Dušková et al. 2012: 316), as illustrated by the English translation in (156).

(156) *Jakápak* záchytká?

No centre for him!

The particle *jakýpak* may be substituted by another particle of similar meaning (emphatic negation), such as *kdepak*, which likewise favours combinations with ‘echo’ elements. However, this substitution requires the clause to be rephrased, as *kdepak*, unlike *jakýpak*, may not introduce interrogative clauses.

Jakýpak zabil? -> *Kdepak* zabil!

4.9.2.4 Pronoun

In terms of part-of-speech classification, *jakýpak* is an adjectival interrogative pronoun. Syntactically, it constitutes a premodifier.

(157) *Jakápak* komora?

What ventricle?

Questions introduced by the pronoun *jakýpak* may be rhetorical, having the illocutionary force of an emphatic statement of the reversed polarity, as testified by the English counterpart in (158). These instances of *jakýpak* represent a transition from the pronoun towards the particle, cf. above.

(158) *Jakápak* je to práce pro chlapy, pro dobře placené, vypasené mordýře?

It’s no job for fellows like that, well-paid great hulking brutes.

However, example (159) illustrates that the boundary between *jakýpak*-pronoun and *jakýpak*-particle is fuzzy. Here, *jakýpak* is followed by a nominal phrase, *jiný vysvětlení* (another explanation). *Jakýpak* may be viewed either as a pronoun introducing an elliptical rhetorical question (*jakýpak jiný vysvětlení existuje? what other explanation is*

there?), or as a particle. In that case, *jiný vysvětlení* is not an ‘echo’ element but it is implied by the preceding deliberative context, as the speaker was indeed trying to find an explanation.

(159) Mámu dávno roztahali (*sic*) divý zvířata a po slzách nebylo v Dzajinejch očích ani památky. Nespráskla ani ruce. Erlicové se za svý mámy styděj. Aspoň trochu musí každej. Jakýpak jiný vysvětlení?

Mama had been torn apart by wild animals ages ago, and there wasn't even a trace of tears in Zaya's eyes. She didn't even wring her hands. Erliizes are ashamed of their mothers. They must be, at least a little. How else could you explain it?

With some particles, the individual stages of conversion are not clearly identifiable and our material does not contain examples which would positively point to the original stage – in such cases, we can merely hypothesise based on analogies with the clear-cut examples such as *jakýpak*.

4.9.3 Conversion towards interjections

Like *-pak* particles, *-pak* interjections are converted from pronouns. However, unlike the particles, they do not arise through the use in rhetorical questions. The utterances realized by *-pak* interjections have the illocutionary force of questions.

Interjections are defined – and differentiated from particles – based on their functioning as an “individual, rudimentary, non-clausal utterance” (Komárek et al. 1986: 239). They are expressive and often marked in terms of their phonological structure (*ibid.*).

In the process of conversion, interjections undergo a shift in lexical semantics (Komárek et al., 1986: 240), growing semantically apart from the original lexeme (pronouns in our case). This seems true to a different extent about different interjections. For instance, with *copak*, the semantic distance between the interjection and the interrogative pronoun is illustrated by the part-of-speech and syntactic characteristics of the corresponding expression in a reply to the given question (**information gap**). While the interrogative *copak* implies as its equivalent a nominal element (noun phrase, nominal content clause – ex. 160), a reply to the interjection

copak is most likely to be a whole clause, which further proves that the *copak*-interjection indeed forms an individual utterance.

(160) **Copak** to napsal Bill Pokušitel Svaté Aničky do záhlaví tohoto příkladu?

[...] **This is the Solution, graphically expressed, Ann!**

„**What** is it that William the Serpent wrote to Saint Ann about this problem?“ [...] **Graphically, Ann, the Solution expresses it all.**

However, in questions like *copak se stalo?* (*what has happened?*); *copak jsi udělal?* (*what have you done?*) etc., the information gap comprises the whole action, and the implied reply is therefore usually clausal, cf. ex. (161). Such instances of *copak* represent a transition towards an interjection – they contain a vague verb, prototypically *do*, and the information gap does not correspond solely to *copak*; it comprises the whole verbal action. Cf. SSJČ (1960: 221): *a co (dělat) teď?* (*and what (to do) now?*).

(161) „A *copak* tam budete dělat?“- „Mám tam schůzku.“

"And what are you going to do there?" - "I have a date there."

The final step of the conversion of *copak* into an interjection would be the ellipsis of the whole predicate, where it is deducible from the situational context or linguistic context (cf. ex. 162).⁶⁴

(162) „Copak, je tam nějaká chyba?“ zeptala se, když jsem civěl na účet.

"I didn't make a mistake, did I?" she asked, as I gazed at the check.

A similar process probably occurs with other *-pak* expressions, e.g. *jakpak* (*se vám daří*), *kampak* (*jdete*). However, it is not always possible to reconstruct the ellided predicate. For instance, it seems unambiguous in case of *kampak*, which is semantically comprehensive enough in itself – it always asks about the direction of a movement, usually the movement performed by the addressee, and the rest of the predication is therefore obvious from the situational context.

⁶⁴ Cf. SSJČ I's example: *copak, oni to dnes nehrají?* (1960: 222).

(163) Četník šel přímo k Švejkovi a neřekl nic víc než: „Kampak?“ – „Do Budějovic k svému regimentu.“

The State policeman went directly to Švejk and didn't say any more than: "Where to?" – "To Budějovice, to my regiment."

With most other *-pak* expressions, the situation is quite different – the expression in itself does not imply the rest of the predication, the possibilities of interpretation thus seem almost endless. Therefore, to allow for the ellipsis of the predication whilst preserving intelligibility, the content of the elided predication must be semantically relatively vague and in terms of usage, conventionalised to a large degree. Thus, utterances such as ex. (164) may be used in a variety of situations and prove largely versatile. Their function (appeal to the addressee to introduce more information about the given subject) corresponds to that of the English counterpart *what about*.

(164) A copak Angela Davis?

And what about Angela Davis?

However, if the elided predication is not quite conventionalised, it remains semantically very vague and its meaning in a particular situation has to be derived from the context. This is the case of *jakpak*. In ex. (166), the meaning of *No – jakpak, šéfe?* is extremely vague; the question might refer to the state of the speaker's (customer's) order, or it may be a general conversation opener – in that case, its meaning would probably be paraphrasable as *jakpak se vám daří – how is it going?*

In ex. (167), the rudimentary interjectional utterance is complemented by another utterance which makes the meaning explicit (*chutnalo vám?*) – this is a frequent strategy, cf. Čechová et al. (1996: 262).

(165) Toho dne vstoupil opět po dvojím zaklepání do krejčovny zákazník Rejsek. Přišel na sjednanou zkoušku a překvapeně zamrkal očima, když spatřil svou látku dosud nerozstříhanou ve štůčku na stole. Dřepł si schváčen vedrem na židličku pro zákazníky, otíral šátkem zátylek, funěl, roztékaje se ve vlastním znoji. Postýskl si: „Horko, pfff! **No - jakpak, šéfe?** “Všichni mlčeli skloněni nad dílem, začal tedy bez rozpaků a kloudného úvodu sám.

That day the new customer, Rejsek, came into the workshop again, knocking twice. He had come for the promised fitting, and blinked with surprise to see his roll of cloth still lying on the table uncut. Overcome by the heat he straddled the chair provided for customers, wiping the back of his neck with a handkerchief and snorted, melting in his own heat. He complained a bit: „Phew, what a heat! **Well, what about it, boss?** ” They were all silent as they bent over their work, and so he began himself, without embarrassment and without any sensible beginning.

(166) „Jakpak? Chutnalo vám?“

“So, how was it? Did you enjoy the taste?”

As mentioned earlier, during conversion, interjections undergo “resemantization”, i.e. a “restructuralization” of the original meaning (Vondráček, 1998: 37), or a shift in lexical semantics (Komárek et al., 1986: 240). Therefore, conversion towards an interjection must result in an expression whose meaning has changed in comparison with the starting-point part-of-speech, and that change allows it to constitute a fully informative, independent utterance, encompassing a particular situation globally. If we follow this criterion, we have to draw a line between the different cases of ellipses discussed above. On the one hand, there are *-pak* expressions which remain fully informative even after the ellipsis, and allow for the elided predication to be reconstructed (more or less specifically) – this type is represented in our material by *kampak*. On the other hand, there are cases when the ellipsis of the predicate causes the expression to undergo resemantization: the elided predication cannot be reconstructed, the meaning of the resulting isolated *-pak* expression is vague and can only be interpreted based on the context, and the use of the given expression is strongly conventionalised. We believe that only the latter type (represented by *copak*) can be considered an interjection. This corresponds to the classification in SSJČ, which only mentions *copak* as an interjection, but not *kampak* or *jakpak*.

Of the three expressions discussed, *kampak* preserves the most explicit lexical meaning of the original part of speech, not undergoing any significant semantic shift. Therefore, we may probably still classify it as a pronominal adverb, and structures such as *Kampak?* can be classified as elliptical questions about the direction of a movement.

If we visualise *copak*-interjection and *kdepak*-adverb as extreme points on a scale, *jakpak* seems to be located between them and to represent a transitional stage. In utterances such as *Jakpak, šéfe?*, the elided predication cannot be satisfactorily reconstructed. The meaning of *jakpak* is very vague. It may be interpreted with the help of context – but presumably, there would be several interpretations applicable, as its usage is not entirely conventionalised. It seems to be heading towards the interjection stage, because similarly to *copak?*, the function of *jakpak* as a conversation opener seems more or less stabilised. However, further analysis of other instances of *jakpak*, preferably in contemporary and authentic language material, is needed to make any definite conclusions about its process of conversion.

5. Conclusion

The present diploma thesis has examined the English translation equivalents of Czech expressions containing the postfix *-pak*. This postfix occurs in pronouns, pronominal adverbs, particles and interjections. It is employed as a discourse function marker and an element of the ‘third syntactical plan’ (Poldauf, 1963), i.e. the repertory of linguistic means which relate an utterance to the individual, expressing his concern with the content of an utterance, his stance towards its content or form. The thesis identifies and describes the English means which prove to be equivalent to the postfix *-pak* in the examined corpus material. The English equivalents are then used as markers of individual discourse functions fulfilled by the *-pak* expressions, thereby specifying the description of these Czech expressions. Attention is also given to the conversion of *-pak* expressions as well as their occurrence in idiomatic constructions.

Three major functions of the postfix *-pak* were identified on the basis of the English translation counterparts: indicating epistemic modality, appeal, and expressing a change in the speaker’s assumption. Additional functions, whose identification relies also on markers present in the Czech sentences, comprise establishing or maintaining contact, signalling politeness or tentativeness, building textual coherence, establishing emphasis or contrast.

Among the English counterparts expressing epistemic modality, interrogative sentences prevailed, comprising over 60% of the counterparts. Many of them contained epistemic modality signals: modal verbs or intensifiers (*really*). Another group of counterparts is represented by verbless clauses, all of which were equivalents of the Czech interjection or particle *kdepak*, functioning as an emphatic response expression. Their illocutionary force is disagreement or denial and most of them contained a means of emphasis (*no* negation, idiomatic expressions). English negative declarative sentences prove that the Czech original interrogative sentences introduced by an interrogative pronoun/adverb are rhetorical questions, functioning as statements of the opposite polarity. Occasionally, there were additional emphasisers such as expletives or double negation. Epistemic modality was also expressed by positive declarative sentences, many of which contained the verb *wonder* (mostly in the form of the initial signal *I wonder*), expressing deliberative meaning.

Epistemic modal meaning combines with the function of appeal: deliberative questions posed to oneself and another addressee express appeal and uncertainty. Emphatic assertions express certainty and appeal to the addressee to acknowledge that the speaker is right. In idiomatic constructions containing an ‘echo’ element, epistemic modal meaning combines with the function of structuring the text: *jakpak by ne*, or *jakýpak* + echo. Epistemic modal meaning seems to be an intrinsic feature of the postfix *-pak*, as it was identified in all parts of speech.

The function of appeal was realised primarily by interrogative sentences, the majority being non-rhetorical questions, more frequently variable (*wh-*) than polar, and more often positive than negative. They may contain verba cogitandi in the second person, e.g. the introductory signal *do you mean*, or means of emphasis: *wh-ever*, *why on earth*, the intensifier *really*, there were also examples of *it*-clefts or inferential constructions (*could it be that...*). The appeal may be voiced explicitly using verbs with meta-communicative reference (e.g. *I ask you*). Appeal may also be voiced by a rhetorical question - in that case, it tends to be polar. In declarative sentences, appeal co-occurs with deliberative epistemic modal meaning (*I wonder*, *perhaps*, verba cogitandi). Verba cogitandi were also frequent in imperative sentences, which voice appeal explicitly. Also, appeal may co-occur with the function of expressing a change in the speaker’s previous assumption. This assumption usually concerns the addressee (in such instances, the utterance usually contains a term of address or a vocative).

The third main discourse function of *-pak* expressions was expressing a change in the speaker’s assumption, which is closely linked to emotional expressivity (the speaker’s surprise). Here, virtually all of the English counterparts were interrogative sentences, the vast majority of them were polar questions.

The contact function of the postfix *-pak* was signalled by the following markers in the English cotext: terms of address (*sir*, *miss*), honorifics (*your eminence*), vocatives (*Gabriela*); contact interjections (*come on*, *hey*, *look here*), greetings (*good afternoon*) - these markers may occur in various combinations. Some terms of address had an evaluative character, expressing the speaker’s stance to the addressee. The contact function has links to the function of appeal and to emotional expressivity (expressing stance).

As regards the use of *-pak* as a politeness or tentativeness marker, it was suggested by the co-occurrence with honorifics, which are usually also used to establish/maintain contact. We identified syntactic and morphological politeness signals in English (past tense, the epistemic modal *may*), as well as morphological ones in Czech (rare examples of *onikáni*). Unlike the other functions, which were fulfilled by Czech *-pak* expressions from all parts of speech, manifesting no salient tendency or limitation in this respect, the function of politeness signal is much more common in interjections than any other part of speech.

Signals pointing towards the role of the postfix *-pak* in structuring the text and establishing relationships within the discourse include linking devices (mostly represented by the coordinator *and*). We have also identified several instances of discourse markers in the English translations which had no direct counterparts in the Czech originals – *then, so, well, and now*. These suggest the discourse-organizing functions of the postfix *-pak*. In our material, they seem to open a conversation or a new topic. Another function subsumed under structuring the text is creating emphasis or contrast, in which the particle *copak* and its variants (including idioms containing *copak*) is involved the most frequently. The second most frequent expression creating emphasis and contrast was *kdepak* (mostly the interjection), which tends to be followed by an ‘echo’ element.

As regards the emotional expressivity of *-pak* expressions, it was indeed manifested in our material. Apparently, *-pak* expressions are involved in creating evaluative harmony, thereby contributing to textual coherence.

In the material, we have identified semi-idiomatic structures containing the postfix *-pak* which were formally limited and fixed to a lesser extent than fully stabilised *-pak* idioms mentioned in the literature. We have viewed them as constructions in the construction grammar sense and presented their tentative description. These semi-idioms have contributed to our analysis of the conversion of *-pak* expressions.

We have described two possible conversion processes which *-pak* expressions may undergo, using the examples of *copak* and *jakýpak*. The description of the conversion of these expressions is problematic due to limited material and the expressions being

typical of spoken discourse – it is difficult to determine the order of the individual stages of conversion with certainty.

We have provided a detailed overview and description of the English equivalents of *-pak*. They have helped us define and characterise the discourse functions of the postfix *-pak* in more detail, as well as examine different combinations of these functions. The analysis has mostly supported our hypotheses, including the expected functions which were examined based on co-occurring elements in the context (i.e. the role of *-pak* in textual coherence, establishing/maintaining contact and politeness), though further analysis of additional material would be needed to make our conclusions about these functions of *-pak* more detailed and precise.

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7. Résumé

Tato diplomová práce porovnává češtinu a angličtinu z hlediska třetí syntaktické roviny (Poldauf, 1964), tj. prostředků vztahujících obsah promluvy k jednotlivci, jeho schopnosti vnímání, úsudku a hodnocení (ibid.: 242). Z Poldaufova výzkumu plyne, že angličtina a čeština se v tomto ohledu výrazně liší, což je dáno značnými typologickými rozdíly mezi oběma jazyky. Anglická třetí syntaktická rovina je celkem vzato méně rozvinutá než česká. Angličtina vykazuje obecnou tendenci preferovat gramatické prostředky třetí syntaktické roviny, jako např. specifické syntaktické struktury (určité typy tázacích vět), kdežto čeština hojně uplatňuje prostředky lexikální (mj. částice).

Práce porovnává češtinu a angličtinu s využitím zvoleného konkrétního prostředku české třetí syntaktické roviny: postfixu *-pak*. Tento morfém se objevuje u tázacích zájmen, zájmných příslovcí, částic a citoslovcí. V literatuře je klasifikován též jako enklitická partikule (Karlík et al., 2000: 679) – tento termín je opodstatněn etymologicky, neboť afix *-pak* se vyvinul ze samostatně stojící partikule *pak* (Dokulil a kol., 1986: 435). V souladu s Dokulilem a kol. (1986: 435) ho však pokládáme za postfix, tedy afix stojící za flektivními sufixy (Karlík et al., 2000: 109). Naše studie nahlíží *-pak* především jako ukazatel diskursních či pragmatických funkcí.

Prvním krokem naší analýzy je identifikace a popis anglických překladových protějšků českých výrazů s postfixem *-pak* a jejich kategorizace. Jsou popsány jejich strukturní i významové rysy. Jednotlivé typy anglických protějšků jsou poté využity jako ukazatele diskursních a pragmatických funkcí českého postfixu. Výstupem práce je tedy přehled anglických překladových ekvivalentů a komplexní charakterizace postfixu *-pak*. Vycházíme z předpokladu, že překladově protějšky mohou upozornit na komunikační funkce a pragmatické rysy postfixu, které bychom na základě českých originálů nemohli identifikovat (srov. Johansson, 2007: 1). Kontrastivní analýza nám umožňuje porovnat ekvivalentní významy a komunikační funkce, které jsou v jednotlivých jazycích realizovány odlišnými prostředky, ale sdílejí odpovídající kognitivní a funkčně-komunikativní pozadí (srov. Boye, 2012: 7).

Diplomová práce navazuje na pilotní studii představenou v Šebestová and Malá (2016), omezenou na částice *copak* a *jestlipak* a jejich překladové protějšky. Výsledky poukázaly na několik obecných tendencí, které diplomová práce prověřuje

na obsáhlejší materiálu s cílem popsat všechny výskyty postfixu *-pak* v různých slovních druzích; soustřeďuje se na funkce naznačené předchozím výzkumem, tj. vyjadřování jistotní modality, funkci kontaktovou a apelovou. Zkoumá též další funkce naznačené v předchozí studii, které nebylo možno uspokojivě popsat kvůli omezenému materiálu: jde o roli postfixu jako prostředku zdvořilosti a strukturace textu.

Materiál byl získán z české a anglické verze paralelního korpusu InterCorp 9. Byl vytvořen subkorpus zahrnující pouze originální české texty z beletristického jádra a jejich anglické překlady. Dotaz pro vyhledávání v subkorpusu byl formulován v CQL: [word=”.+pak”]. Doplnily ho následující dotazy, s jejichž pomocí byly do materiálu zahrnuty i nestandardní varianty výrazů: [word=”.+pa”], [word=”.cák”] a [word=”.kdák”] (poslední varianta v korpusu nebyla nalezena). Z výsledků jsme vygenerovali seznam lemmat, z něhož byla ručně vybrána jen relevantní lemmata. Protože lemmatizace korpusu nebyla zcela spolehlivá, bylo nutno ručně seskupit různé slovní tvary (*kdopak, kohopak, komupak...*) a různé varianty jednoho výrazu (*jakpak, japak, japa*). Výsledné penzum materiálu pro analýzu zahrnuje 576 konkordančních řádků.

České výrazy byly slovnědruhově klasifikovány, vesměs v souladu s definičními kritérii slovních druhů podle Komárek a kol. (1986). Výjimkou byla klasifikace odpověďových výrazů (*kdepak*), při níž přihlížíme zejména k Vondráčkovým poznatkům (1998). Tvoří-li výraz s *-pak* samostatnou výpověď, pokládáme ho za citoslovce. Pokud rozvíjí jiný výraz a není sám o sobě zcela sdělný, považujeme ho za částici.

Každý anglický protějšek byl popsán co do větného typu, polarity, a byl v něm identifikován protějšek českého výrazu s *-pak*. V protějšcích hledáme ukazatele diskursních funkcí identifikovaných v předchozím výzkumu, jakož i funkcí rozpoznávaných v současném materiálu: vyjadřování jistotní modality, apelová funkce, emoční expresivita, vyjadřování kontrastu či důrazu, a vyjadřování změny v předpokladu mluvčího. Zaznamenáváme též veškeré prostředky, které nemají v češtině přímý protějšek - právě ty mohou ukazovat na funkce a vlastnosti postfixu *-pak*.

V kontextu sledujeme také signály funkcí, které očekáváme na základě pilotní studie, ale nelze je bezpečně rozpoznat ze samotného výrazu s *-pak*: prostředky koheze, zdvořilostní ukazatele, oslovení a expresivní prostředky.

Funkční kategorie stanovené na základě našich dat odpovídají kategorizaci pragmatických ukazatelů u Ermanové (2001): „textual monitors” v sobě zahrnují textové funkce, které označujeme jako strukturaci textu a vytváření kontrastu či důrazu. „Social monitors” odpovídají naší funkci apelové a kontaktové. „Metalinguistic monitors” odpovídají funkci vyjadřování jistotní modality, expresivity a změny v předpokladu mluvčího.

Analytická kapitola práce je strukturována podle diskursních funkcí identifikovaných v korpusovém materiálu: vyjadřování jistotní modality, apel a vyjadřování změny předpokladu mluvčího. Tyto tři hlavní funkce výrazů s postfixem *-pak* byly identifikovány na základě strukturních a funkčních vlastností anglických překladových protějšků. V každé podkapitole uvádíme přehled jednotlivých typů anglických protějšků a jejich strukturní popis. Následují podkapitoly věnované dalším funkcím a vlastnostem postfixu *-pak*: jde o funkci kontaktovou (navázání či udržování kontaktu), funkci ukazatele zdvořilosti či tentativnosti, a funkcí spojených se strukturací textu (koheze). Tyto funkce jsme u postfixu identifikovali na základě souvýskytu s dalšími prostředky, kterých užíváme jako ukazatelů dané funkce: přímá oslovení (kontakt), zdvořilostní prostředky a spojovací prostředky – spojky, textové konektory, ozvěnové prvky (strukturace textu). Důležitým poznatkem plynoucím ze studie je, že jednotlivé funkce postfixu se zřídka uplatňují osamoceně – obvykle se různě kombinují, postfix *-pak* tedy pokládáme za polyfunkční ukazatel diskursních funkcí (srov. Šebestová a Malá, v tisku). V každé podkapitole o dané funkci jsou proto stručně uvedeny i funkce jiné, které se v materiálu uplatňovaly společně s ní.

Věnujeme pozornost také emoční expresivitě výrazů s postfixem *-pak* s ohledem na jejich evaluativní prozodii a způsoby, jakými se podílejí na vytváření evaluativní harmonie (Partington, 2015). Část analytické kapitoly je věnována také výrazům s *-pak*, které jsou součástí idiomatických či poloidiomatických struktur. Konečně zkoumáme průběh konverzních procesů u různých výrazů s *-pak*.

Analýza potvrdila tendence naznačené v pilotní studii – diplomová práce identifikovala tytéž funkce, které se díky většímu penzu zkoumaného materiálu podařilo přesněji vymezit a popsat. Rozlišili jsme např. funkci apelovou a kontaktní, které v předchozím výzkumu nebyly vymezeny zcela zřetelně. Potvrdila se polyfunkčnost postfixu coby ukazatele diskursních funkcí, které se v praxi mezi sebou kombinují. Tři funkce, k nimž zřetelně ukázaly samotné překladové protějšky daných výrazů s *-pak*, lze pokládat za primární (vyjadřování jistotní modality, apel, projev změny předpokladu). Další funkce postfixu, identifikované na základě jiných signálů v textovém okolí, jsou zřejmě u postfixu sekundární: z analýzy vycházejí jako méně frekventované, fakultativní, v některých případech též kontextově omezené (zdvořilost).

Jistotní modalita je v anglických protějšcích vyjadřována převážně tázacími větami. Určitá míra jistotní modality je obsažena v každé větě tázací; intenční modalita větná však o povaze postfixu mnoho nevyovídá – v naší analýze jsme proto věnovali pozornost pouze přídatným vrstvám jistotní modality, které identifikujeme na základě diskursní funkce dané věty, popř. signálů jistotní modality (vyskytla se např. modální slovesa, intenzifikátor *really*, signál deliberativního významu *I wonder*). Jistotní modalitu v anglických protějšcích vyjadřovaly také neslovesné věty, které odpovídaly českému citoslovcí či částici *kdepak* vyjadřující důrazný nesouhlas. Zpravidla obsahovaly emfatické prvky (idiomatické výrazy, důrazný zápor s *no*). Třetí skupinou protějšků byly oznamovací věty záporné, které poukazují na řečnickou povahu odpovídajících českých vět tázacích. Oznamovací věty kladné často obsahovaly deliberativní signál *I wonder*.

Jistotní modalita se v materiálu kombinovala s apelovou funkcí: deliberativní otázky, které mluvčí klade sám sobě a současně jinému adresátovi, vyjadřují modální význam nejistoty a zároveň apel k adresátovi. Důrazná tvrzení opačné polarity vyjadřují jistotu a apelují na adresáta, aby uznal jejich faktivnost. Jistotní modalita byla identifikována u výraz s *-pak* ve všech slovních druzích, což naznačuje, že jde o jeden z hlavních rysů postfixu.

Nositeli apelové funkce mezi anglickými protějšky byly převážně tázací věty, poněkud neřečnické otázky; převažovaly kladné nad zápornými a doplňovací nad zjišťovacími. Objevovala se v nich slovesa myšlení v druhé osobě, např. uvozovací

výraz *do you mean*, a prostředky emfáze, např. *wh-ever*, intenzifikátor *really*, vytýkáci, či inferenční konstrukce. Apel může být vyjádřen explicitně pomocí imperativu, nebo sloves odkazujících ke komunikaci, např. *tell me, I ask you*. Funkce apelová se kombinuje s vyjádřením jistotní modality (deliberativní význam v oznamovacích větách), nebo s vyjádřením změny v předpokladu mluvčího.

Vyjádření změny v předpokladu mluvčího je třetí hlavní diskursní funkce identifikovaná u postfixu *-pak* a je úzce propojena s emoční expresivitou – mluvčí vyjadřuje překvapení, mnohdy provázené rozčarováním. Daný předpoklad se zpravidla týká adresáta. Téměř všechny anglické protějšky s touto diskursní funkcí byly věty tázací, převážně otázky zjišťovací.

Na kontaktovou funkci postfixu *-pak* usuzujeme ze signálů v textovém okolí, které se mohou různě kombinovat: jde o oslovení, vokativy, pozdravy, kontaktové citoslovce. Některá oslovení mají evaluativní povahu, vyjadřují postoj mluvčího k adresátovi, mohou být též prostředky zdvořilosti. Kontaktové funkce souvisí s funkcí apelovou (navazujeme kontakt a současně na adresáta apelujeme) a emoční expresivitou (vyjádření postoje).

K funkci postfixu *-pak* jako signálu zdvořilosti či tentativnosti ukazuje souvšyk zdvořilostních prostředků (oslovení). Objevily se také gramatické prostředky zdvořilosti: syntaktické (anglické préteritum) i morfologické (v angličtině modální sloveso *may*, v češtině transpozice kategorie osoby a čísla – onikání). Zdvořilostní funkci jsme identifikovali převážně u citoslovců.

Na schopnost postfixu *-pak* podílet se na budování textové koherence ukazuje souvšyk s prostředky textové návaznosti – nejčastěji jde o spojku *a*, která předchází výrazu s postfixem. V anglických protějšcích se vyskytlo několik diskursních ukazatelů (*then, so, well, now*), které neměly v českých originálech přímé protějšky – naznačují, že výrazy s postfixem *-pak* se uplatňují jako signály počátku konverzace, popř. přechodu k jinému tématu. Na strukturaci textu se podílejí také výrazy s *-pak* vytvářející kontrast či důraz, zastoupené především částicí *copak* a jejími variantami, včetně částicových idiomů. Objevuje se také *kdepak* (převážně jako citoslovce), které se zpravidla kombinuje s ozvěnovými prvky.

Emoční expresivita výrazů s *-pak* se v materiálu potvrdila; výrazy s postfixem se zřejmě podílejí na budování evaluativní harmonie – jde o další způsob, jímž se podílejí na strukturaci textu.

V materiálu se objevily některé poloidiomatické struktury obsahující výrazy s *-pak* (*jakpak* + záporný kondicionál, *jakpak* + modální sloveso *mít/moci*, *kdopak* + kondicionál, *kdypak naposledy* + minulý čas). Nahlížíme na ně jako konstrukce ve smyslu konstrukční gramatiky: jsou do jisté míry formálně limitované (lexikálně i gramaticky), ale nedosahují stupně fixnosti plně idiomatických struktur obsahujících výraz s *-pak*, které jsou doloženy v literatuře (SČFI). Načrtli jsme popis čtyř takovýchto konstrukcí a využili jich k popisu konverzních procesů, které mezi výrazy s *-pak* probíhají. Práce popsala dva různé postupy konverze na příkladu dvou konkrétních výrazů, *copak* a *jakýpak*. Úplný popis konverzních procesů je ovšem obtížný vzhledem k mluvené povaze výrazů s postfixem *-pak* a k omezenému množství materiálu.

Analýza vesměs potvrdila hypotézy plynoucí z pilotní studie. Práce předkládá podrobný přehled a strukturní i funkční popis anglických překladových protějšků výrazů s postfixem *-pak*. Protějšků se podařilo využít k podrobnějšímu a přesnějšímu popisu diskursních funkcí výrazů s postfixem a jejich možných kombinací. Načrtli jsme i hierarchické uspořádání jednotlivých funkcí – tři nejzřetelnější funkce se jeví jako primární, ostatní spíše jako doplňkové. Tato hierarchizace funkcí je však tentativní – funkce, na něž lze usuzovat z kontextu, jsou poměrně obtížně uchopitelné a jejich popis vyžaduje další analýzu materiálu. Předpokládáme, že důležitým faktorem, který analýzu ztěžuje, je mluvená povaha zkoumaného jevu a s ní související omezená dostupnost autentického materiálu.

8. Appendix

Source	CZ previous cotext	<i>pak</i> expression	CZ following cotext	EN
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	společnost není špatná.	" Well, the company isn ' t all that bad.
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	to vaše není eště tak hrozný, " ozvala se šedooká mladá žena.	" It could be a lot worse, " interjected the grey-eyed young woman.
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Že soudruzi, jako seš ty - - no	copak	, ty nejsi ve Straně a jenom zakolísal - - ale některý komunisti.	" About how comrades like you-well, not exactly like you, you 're not in the Party and you only wobbled a bit there-but I 'm talking about some Communists.
otcenasek-romeo_julie	A	copak	ty?	What do you say to that?
skvorecky-hrichy_pater		Copak	to?	" What is it that William the Serpent wrote to Saint Ann about this problem? "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	" A	copak	Angela Davis? " zeptá se slizce a tak zvaným zvýšeným hlasem.	" And what about Angela Davis? " he asks in a needling voice.
Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko	"	Copak	váš pejsek?	'What 's wrong with the dog?
Topol-Kloktat_dehet		Copak	?	' What 's this then? '
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Copak	? "	" Mmm... What ' s up? "
otcenasek-romeo_julie	"	Copak	? " vychraptěl suchým hrdlem.	" Yes? " he said hoarsely, his throat dry.
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	"	Copak	, Havlíčku?	" What is it, Havel my pet?
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	, naši lidi v tom uměj chodit, řekl egyptolog.	" But do n't forget, our people know how to get along in a situation like that, " said the Egyptologist.
otcenasek-romeo_julie	"	Copak	? "	" What ' s the matter? "
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	?	" What happened?
Urban-Lord_Mord	" Ale	copak	, hrabě je nastuzenej, tak proč neleží v posteli, ve svý? "	' Gracious, the Count has a chill. So why is he not in bed? His own, I mean. '

otcenasek-romeo_julie	" A	copak	!	" What ' s wrong with it?
Urban-Sedmikosteli	Ale	copak	- proč ten nešťastný výraz?	Why are you looking so miserable?
Skvorecky-PríbehIng_1	"	Copak	?	" What is it?
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Ano. Totiž - - už tam není	Copak	? [...] Přeložili ho? zeptala se.	" Yes. That is-he 's not there any more. " " Is that a fact? " [...] " Did they move him
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Copak	- hoří? " řekl ve dveřích ředitel Evžen Gráf.	" What-is there a fire? " said Director Evžen Gráf.
Ajvaz-Druhe_mesto	"	Copak	, snad se nebojíte?	" You 're not scared, are you?
Viewegh-VychovaDivekCR	Všiml jsem si, že Beátin smích není úplně bezpracný. "	Copak	? " zeptal jsem se.	I noticed that Beata 's laughter was not altogether effortless. " What 's up? " I asked.
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Nasadil jsem tón odpovídající dobové, úředně přípuštěné žertovnosti:	Copak	? Sestry neplnily plán?	Adopting a tone of officially admissible jocularity, I asked, " What was the trouble, were n't the sisters fulfilling their quota?"
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	? " ukázal poručík na černé podmalování černé zřítelnice.	" What happened to you? "
Topol-Kloktat_dehet	Ale	copak	, a pak jsem slyšel už jen facky a výkřiky kluků.	And Commander Vyžlata said, ' What 's this then? ' After that all I could hear was him cuffing the boys and them yelling.
Ajvaz-Druhe_mesto	"	Copak	, je tam nějaká chyba? " zeptala se, když jsem civěl na účet.	" I did n't make a mistake, did I? " she asked, as I gazed at the check.
Kohout-Hvezdna_hodina	-	Copak	jste nedostali Beranův vzkaz?	- Did n't you get Beran 's message?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Borek obcházel arciděkanský chrám v úžicích se okruzích, skvěle fungující lovecký mechanismus se náhle hnusí jeho konstruktéru - leč tím je už náš praděd orangutan nebo dávno před ním první kopulace schopný nálevník - tedy jen obsluhujícímu technikovi,	copak	jsem opravdu UŽ JEN obsluhující technik, copak jsme, proboha (ale toho jsme vědecky vyvrátili) opravdu JEŠTĚ PORÁD JEN divoká zvěř?	Borek walked around the church in ever-narrowing circles, the beautifully functioning hunting mechanism suddenly begins to disgust its designer-but this is what our forefather the orangutan was or, long before him, the first copulation-capable protozoan-a mere service technician, am I really MERELY a service technician, what are we, for God 's sake (but that 's already been scientifically refuted) are we really STILL just wild animals?

Kundera- Nesmrtelnost	Ale	copak	se to nedalo vymyslet nějak jinak?	But was there no other way to arrange things?
Urban- Lord_Mord		Copak	jsem blázen? "	What does she take me for? '
kundera-zert		Copak	člověk může změnit celý svůj životní postoj jen proto, že byl uražen?	Can a man abandon everything he 's stood for just because he 's been insulted?
Jirotka- Saturnin		Copak	to někdy někdo slyšel?	Surely everyone must be aware of this.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Madda si obula Alexovy těžké vibramky a zběsile dupala na podlahu,	copak	je už i ta voda jen pro ty hajzly v prvním patře.	Madda tripped over Alex 's heavy boots and angrily stomped on the floor, is the water only for the assholes downstairs-
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Hnusáci,	copak	je to tak příliš chtít bydlet a žít důstojně?!	Loathsome creatures, is it really too much to ask for respectable accommodations?!
kohout- snezim		Copak	to nikdy nebylo, že sem tu vařila pro pět krků denodenně tu samou polívku ze shnilýho zeli?	Did n't I cook that same soup from rotten cabbage day in and day out for five mouths?
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	"	Copak	bych toho byla schopná?	" Would I be capable of that?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Copak	to nebyla lež, když jsi tomu mužíkovi napsal, že na tebe ve Výtvarné myšlence nic nedají?	Was n't it a lie when you told the little man that they do n't think much of you at Visual Arts?
kohout- snezim	- Prosím tě,	copak	je pro tebe znásilnění jak houska na krámě?	" Oh, come on, is getting raped just like a trip to the store for you? "
kundera-zert		Copak	nevíš, jak tě mám rád?	Do n't you know I love you?
klima- laska_a_smeti		Copak	nechápu, nevidím to snad?	Didn ' t I understand, couldn ' t I see?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Copak	vím, kdo k panu asistentovi chodí?	How do I know who comes to see the lecturer?
klima- laska_a_smeti	" Mílo, dyť skončíme na fašírku,	copak	máš rozum v prdeli? "	" Mila, d ' you want us to end up as mincemeat? Have you lost your marbles? "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Copak	hejtman Ságner... "	" Oh well, when it comes to hejtman Ságner... "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	si šlo Doufala splíst?	How could you take Doufal for somebody else?
Skvorecky- Pribehng_1	Hajlování přešlo v nepopsatelný řev -	copak	se nikdo z těch řvounů nebojí války?	The siegheiling disintegrated into indescribable pandemonium. Were n't any of those howlers afraid of war?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Když tak vyznáváš technologii...	copak	nevíš, co je to například nacking? "	If you profess your love for technology so much... you must know what necking is, for example? "

Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Copak	je důležitá jenom původnost formy?	Is originality of form the only important thing (insofar as originality alone is important at all)?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	ale Juldo, tys mě zklamal, když ses proti mně přidal k těm modrým kreténům, o jejich nenávisti k nám vím, ale	copak	ty seš jinej chudej, než jsem chudá já?	But Julda, you disappointed me when you joined those blue cretins against me, I know they hate us, but what about you, are you poor in a different way than me?
kohout- snezim	- Ježíši Kriste (dostala mě zas tak daleko, že jsem brala jméno Boží nadarmo skoro v každé větě),	copak	's to zrovna nezažila?	" Jesus Christ " - I was so far gone that I was taking the Lord 's name in vain in nearly every sentence - " what do you think just happened to you? "
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost	"	Copak	všechno, co není bláznivý běh za konečným rozuzlením, je nuda?	'Do you think that everything that is not a mad chase after a final resolution is a bore?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1		Copak	neni pro tebe dost dobrá, dyž pro mě je?	Do n't you think she 's good enough for you, if she 's good enough for me?
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	můžeme jeden druhého přesvědčit?	Do you think we can change each other 's minds?
skvorecky- hrichy_pater		Copak	se dáma na dámě může dopustit vraždy z vilnosti? "	Can a lady commit a sex crime against another lady? "
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1		Copak	něco ví?	" But there was never anything to be jealous of - we never did anything. "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	je, kromě v blázinci, ještě někde nějaká víra k ztracení? pravil Gellen s málem upřímným údivem.	Where, except maybe in a madhouse, is there any faith left to be lost? " Gellen 's surprise as he said this sounded almost sincere.
kohout- snezim	-	Copak	von to neví?	" You mean, like, he does n't know? "
styblova- skalpel_pros		Copak	mi napadlo, že by to mohl těžce snášet?	Do you think it ever occurred to me that he might take it so seriously?
Topol- Kloktat_dehet	a když jsem v jednom z rozmlácených hnízd odporu zahlíd vpuštěný hračky, napadlo mě, že bych pro dlouhokošiláky mohl nějakýho toho plyšáka sebrat, ale	copak	jsem věděl, kam mrňouse odvezli?	and once, when I spotted some abandoned toys in one of the pockets of resistance that we smashed to smithereens, it crossed my mind that I could pick up the odd soft toy for the longshirts, but I had no idea where the little ones had gone.
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o		Copak	sis jí nevšiml? "	Have n't you noticed? '

Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Copak	je nutné, aby po člověku zůstalo tělo, které se musí zahrabat do země nebo hodit do ohně?	But was there no other way to arrange things? Is it really necessary for a person to leave a body behind, a body that must be buried in the ground or thrown into a fire?
Kundera- Smesne lasky		Copak	ti někdo umřel?	Did someone die on you?
kohout- snezim		Copak	Viktor umřel?	Has Viktor died or something?
Kundera- Smesne lasky	Když se na něho podívají,	copak	uvěří, že by mohl opravdu obtěžovat ženu? "	When they take a look at him, how could they ever believe that he 's capable of trying to seduce a woman? "
kundera-zert	"	Copak	bylo potřeba mne takhle klamat? "	" Was there really any need to deceive me like that? "
Jirotko- Saturnin	"	Copak	náš Milouš! "	" He really is something, our Bertie!
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehko		Copak	může blízkost působit závrať?	Can proximity cause vertigo?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Nic se neboj, Vodičko, " konejšil ho Švejk, " jen klid, žádný rozčilování,	copak	je to něco, bejt před nějakým takovým divizijním soudem.	" Have no fear, Vodička, " Švejk was soothing him, " Just keep calm, no getting upset as if it were something, to be in front of such a Divisional Court.
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	" Zuzáne,	copak	já nebo Jiřina jsme nějaký Holmesove?	" Come on, Zuzka, do Georgie or I look like Sherlock Holmes or something? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	musíme být jak pekař s pekařkou na peci?	Do we have to be like the baker and his wife on the stove?
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	" Nevím, co by na nich mělo být divného. Mně připadají jako ideální dvojice, myslím do filmu. Vám ne? " [...] - "	Copak	to, " pravila pomalu. " Ideální milovnická dvojice možná. Jenomže v tomhle filmu měli hrát sourozence. "	" I don ' t know what ' s odd about them. I think they seem like an ideal couple, I mean for a movie. Don ' t you? " [...] - " An ideal pair of lovers, maybe, " she said slowly. " But in this film they were supposed to play brother and sister. "
Kundera- Smesne lasky		copak	o něm pan redaktor opravdu nikdy neslyšel?	had the editor really never heard of him?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Copak	nevidíte!	Ca n't you see?
Viewegh- VychovaDive kCR		Copak	já jsem psycholog? "	What do you take me for - a psychologist? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vrazi	Já o tom prostě nevěděl -	copak	jsem mohl vniknout do vašeho stolu? "	I simply did n't know about it-I could n't have broken into your desk, now, could I? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	bych to nemohl už dávno udělat? "	Would n't I have done it long ago? "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	mně.	" Who cares what I think?

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	seš pitomá, baby?	Mr. MacMac, gentleman though he was, snapped at her, " Are you stupid or what, babe?
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Copak	to potřebuju? "	I do n't need that kind of trouble. "
Topol-Sestra		Copak	Evka.	What 's the matter now?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Copak	moře, to bych si teď zrovna dal říct.	" What was that about the sea? I would n't mind taking a dip right about now.
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	, já jednou - - to jsem byl ovšem podstatně mladší - - vykládal při podobný příležitosti o dinosaurech.	" That 's nothing. I was in a situation like that once-of course, I was a lot younger at the time- and what I talked about was dinosaurs. "
Skvorecky-PribehIng 1		Copak	ty ses někdy bála, Nad'o?	But were you ever afraid, Nadia?
otcenasek-romeo_julie	Vždyť já také...	copak	to necítíš, že i já... tě mám ráda?	" Heavens, you are... It ' s the same with me... can ' t you see I ' m... just as much in love as you are?
Urban-Sedmikosteli		Copak	ve vás tyto sklony nepodporovali? "	Did n't they encourage these interests? '
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Ty pitomče,	copak	tě sežeru.	" You numskull, do you think I will devour you?
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Copak	se nemůžete škrábat doma a musíte si to právě nechat na služby boží?	Ca n't you scratch yourselves at home?! Do you have to leave it to do during our very divine services?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Ředitelem bude doktor Sekanina - ale	copak	může Kotex řídit zkrachovalý advokát?	Dr. Sekanina will be the new director-but can a bankrupt lawyer really run our firm?
styblova-skalpel_pros		Copak	nechápete, že taková maringotka padesát korun ani stát nemůže? "	Can ' t you understand that a caravan like this just can ' t be bought for fifty crowns? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	se můžeš dívat, jak ze sebe dělá slouhu, jak se plazí a ponižuje, jak si z něho každý dělá onuci... "	Ca n't you see he 's made himself into a flunkey, the way he grovels and demeans himself, the way everyone treats him like just a piece of dirt... "
Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko		Copak	milování není než věčné opakování téhož?	Is n't making love merely an eternal repetition of the same?
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	to, pravila.	" Worse than that! " she wailed

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	" Ale	copak	afekt může vydržet na to, abych naši magistře ukradla hyoskin, nasypala ho do tabletky, kterou bych taky musela ukradnout, a pak abych to smrtácký semínko nosila celej den až do noci s sebou?	But could the throes of emotion last long enough for me to steal the hyoscine, steal an empty capsule, put them together, and then carry that seed of death around with me day and night?
Skvorecky-PríbehIng_2		Copak	nakladatelství, to vydrží.	I 'm not worried about her publishing business - that will hang together.
styblova-skalpel_pros	"	Copak	vím?	" How should I know?
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Copak	jsem pořád malé dítě?	For Heaven ' s sake, I ' m not a child any more!
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Osvěžuji si poznatky ze školy, když jsem byl ještě mladý ale	copak	už nejsem?	I recall a piece of knowledge from my youth-but am I no longer young? twenty-five-that besides nitrogen and other inert rare gases in the air, there is also oxygen.
Topol-Sestra	No jo, ale	copak	maj děti náký občanky?	Yeah, but it 's not like the kids 've got ID.
kohout-snezim	Ani já dlouho nepostřehla, že by mě... že by se mnou rád... (znám, znám, mně musela pomoct mléka lačná Gabrielka, na	copak	' s ho ulovila ty?) rok byl prostě pan profesor, korektní tak, že se mnou hovořil jen anglicky, změnila to až má nemoc.	" Even I did n't catch the fact that he... that he wanted to get to know me. " I know, I know. Starving little Gabriela had to help me; what did you use to catch him? " For a year he was just Professor Král, so proper that he only spoke English with me, but my illness changed that. "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Copak	v tom baráku nemůžeš dohlídnout na trochu pořádku?! - " plísni mě šéf Bogan Tušl, zřejmě čerstvě vyplíněn.	" Ca n't you maintain a little order in this building?! " I am berated by my boss, Bogan Tušl, who himself has obviously just been berated.
Skvorecky-Mírakl		Copak	jsem docela ztratil umění hlásit se k tomu, co bezpečně sedí v sedle nejpřítomnější přítomnosti?	Had I entirely lost the art of declaring my support for whatever form of power happened to be sitting in the saddle, in the moat present of present times?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	příšerná nuda v téhle prdeli, kde se nic neděje, ať se něco děje.	copak	jsme vězni, abychom jen seděli na kavalcích, přihrajte nám něco, ať se něco děje	ghastly boredom in this shithole where nothing 's going on, let something happen, what are we, prisoners sitting around on our cots all day? Throw something our way, let something happen

Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		copak	není vrchol poezie sám žár...	is n't ardor the summit of poetry...
klima- laska_a_smeti	Jak můžeš takhle mlčet,	copak	to je vůbec lidské?	How can you be silent like this, it isn ' t human!
styblova- skalpel_pros	"	Copak	si na nás každý může otevřít pusou?	" How can they say things like that? " she continued.
kundera-zert		Copak	vy jste četli všechny mé dopisy Markétě?	You mean you 've read all my letters to Marketa?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Copak	byl domov ještě vůbec domovem?	Do you think that home was still home?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Ale fix,	copak	ona k těm domovním vratům padá přímo z nebe...	Damn it, what does she do, fall from the sky in front of the gate...
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	se mi chtělo?	Do you think I wanted to leave?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Nechte nás v našem hříchu - ale	copak	láska může být hřích? - když tomu opravdu nerozumíte.	Leave us to our sinning-can love really be a sin?
Urban- Lord_Mord	"	Copak	není bohatý? "	' And is n't he? '
Topol-Sestra	protože jsme čekali na Mesiaha, bylo nám jasné, že se v byznysu nedotknem dětiček...	copak	ten první Jezu, ten když se válel v plenkách v chlévě...	we were waiting for the Messiach, so we were n't gonna lay a hand on any little kids, that was obvious... look at the first Jesu, rolling around the manger in his diapers...
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		Copak	mám místo nervů vysokonapěťový drátý?!	You think I have high-tension wires instead of nerves?!
Jirotko- Saturnin		Copak	ty jsi nějaká výroba obuvi?	What ' s all this about a manufacturer of footwear?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	"	Copak	ty si nepamatuješ jméno ženy, s kterou žiješ? " otázala se žena s ondulací.	" How is it that you do n't remember the name of the woman you live with? " questioned the woman with the permanent.
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Copak	za ně byla odpovědná?	Was she responsible for them?
klima- laska_a_smeti		Copak	nemáš ani trochu slitování?	Have you no pity at all?
Topol-Sestra		Copak	se člověk fízlů v životě nezbaví.	Will we ever get rid of those spooks?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost	"	Copak	nevidíš, že je nemocný! "	'Ca n't you see that he is sick! '
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Copak	tomu nerozumíš? "	Why can ' t you see that? "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	sem nákej Honza z bezu?	" Do you think I do n't know my way around here?
Skvorecky- Pribehng_2		Copak	každý saxofonista -	Is every saxophonist -

Urban-Sedmikosteli	Počítač je nám, jako ve většině případů, na nic, ale	Copak	neznáme tradiční metody, jak pracovat s fotografií?	As in most such cases, computers are a fat lot of good. But there are still the good old-fashioned processing methods, are n't there?
Kundera-Smesne_lasky		Copak	vy sám většinou nemluvíte, jenom abyste mluvil? "	Do n't you yourself talk mostly just for the sake of talking? "
Urban-Sedmikosteli		Copak	to nevidíte?	Do n't you see?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	já v tomto domě nebydlím? "	I live in this building, too, do n't I? "
skvorecky-hrichy_pater		Copak	se takhle držej chlapi?	What men hold onto each other like that?
styblova-skalpel_pros	A vůbec,	Copak	se nebude v sobotu nic slavit? "	Anyway, what about Saturday? There 's got to be a family get-together then, hasn 't there? Or won 't there be a celebration this year? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Ale	Copak	nemáme aspoň povinnost k příštím generacím - stejně jim budeme jen pro smích.	But do n't we at least have an obligation to future generations-even so, in their eyes we 'll just be ridiculous.
Topol-Sestra		Copak	sme mrtvý?	Look at us, we 're not dead.
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	" Přišla by docela vhod nějaká větší mela, " šeptá Bogan, " vyrazili bychom Juldu i s tou děvkou, vy byste šli místo nich -	Copak	oni nebydlí v bývalé mužské svobodárně? a tady se zas obnoví právo a rozhodnutí vedení... "	" A big scuffle would be just the thing right about now, " whispers Bogan. " We could throw out Julda and that slut, you could take their place-are n't they living in a former men 's one-room flat? -and administration could renew its claim to this place.
Kundera-Nesmrtelnost		Copak	je odpovědný za to, že má zelený nos?	Is he responsible for his green nose?
Ajvaz-Druhe_mesto		Copak	jsi mi tuto větu ve svém automobilu z ledu sám nevytetoval na stehno?	Was n't it you who tattooed that sentence on my thigh in your automobile of ice?
Kundera-Nesmrtelnost		Copak	snad ona vymyslila ženská rodidla?	Did she invent women 's genitals?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Copak	není život více nežli pokrm? " řekl Iša.	" Is n't life more than food? " said Iša.
Skvorecky-Príbehing_2	" O dvě stránky dál zdůrazňuje žurnalista, který rovněž přišel za Marlowem vyzvídat, že pan Kurtz měl víru	Copak	to nevidíte? On měl víru.	" Two pages later, a journalist who has come to dig out information on Kurtz claims that Mr. Kurtz had the faith. " Do n't you see - he had the faith.

Kundera-Smesne_lasky		Copak	dnes najdeš někoho, kdo by měl trochu odvahy? "	How often nowadays do you find someone with some courage? "
Kohout-Hvezdna_hodi na		Copak	nevím, že na každé své cestě tam, nevím kam, a odtud, nevím odkud, znova a znova nastavuješ krk?	Do n't you know that with each trip to and from I do n't know where, you put your head on the chopping block?
Urban-Lord_Mord	" Ale	copak	já jsem pro Bayera nějaká konkurence? " povzdychl si doktor Hofman.	' How could I compete with Bayer? ' Dr Hoffmann sighed.
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Copak	jsem stará bába, propána? "	I ' m not an old woman, for Heaven ' s sake! "
kohout-snezim	-	Copak	jste se mi vnutil?	" Who said you were forcing me into anything? "
Urban-Sedmikosteli		Copak	Čas mládne?	Can Time grow younger?
styblova-skalpel_pros		Copak	se to dá takhle formulovat?	Do you really think you can formulate it that way?
Ajvaz-Zlaty_vek		Copak	nevidíte, že můj palác je nejcelistvějším dílem, jaký architektura zná? "	Do you not see that my palace is the best-integrated work of architecture ever known? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" A proč mám jít do svého bytu -	copak	nejsem ve svém bytě? "	" And why would we go to my apartment? – Am I not in my apartment? "
Kundera-Smesne_lasky		Copak	nevíš, jaké bohatství je jeden den v tomto krátkém životě? "	Do n't you realize how precious one day is in this short life of ours? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	snad Zdena bije?	Does he beat Zdena? "
klima-laska_a_smeti	"	Copak	jsem vám to neřek?	' Haven ' t I told you?
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Copak	se nepamatuju nebo co, žeš každé rok dělala repec z matiky, s výjimkou sexty? "	" Is my memory failing me, or do I recall your having to repeat math every year but one? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	jsou lidi třísky? zabědoval Mistr.	" Are people eggs to be broken? " lamented the Master.
Ajvaz-Zlaty_vek		Copak	si nevzpomínáš, jak to bylo nepříjemné, když nás ráno probouzely hlasy holubů, kteří chodili po okenní římse a vykládali o nás hnusné oplzlosti, a pak je opakovali i při obědě před našimi dětmi a nedali se	Do you not recall how unpleasant it was to be woken in the morning by the pigeons walking along the windowsills, speaking of us in disgusting obscenities which, resisting our efforts to shoo them away, they would repeat at lunch in front of our children?

			zahnat.	
Topol-Sestra		Copak	tady není ani podzim!	Do n't they even get fall here,
Kundera-Nesmrtelnost		Copak	je láska myslitelná bez toho, že úzkostně sledujeme náš obraz v mysli milovaného?	Can we possibly imagine love, without anxiously following our image in the mind of the beloved?
Viewegh-VychovaDive kCR	A to jako za co, povídám,	copak	neberou plat?	What for, I say, they get paid, do n't they?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Jsi krásná...	copak	to opravdu může někdo nevidět? "	You 're beautiful... how can anyone not see that? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Ale když už jsme čekali dva tisíce let a dotáhli to až sem - -	copak	umíme dělat zázraky jenom v technologii...	But if we 've waited two thousand years already... We 've managed to come so far; are we capable only of technological miracles?
Skvorecky-PríbehIng 1		Copak	si nedovedete představit, že to někdo se světem může myslet dobře a usilovat o dobro světa na základě nějakých jiných myšlenek, než přesně těch, které máte vy?	Does n't Hawthorne say, " Cannot you conceive that a man may wish well to the world, and struggle for its good, on some other plan than precisely that which you have laid down? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Ale já nemám komnatu za zmizení a už ani postel, přehrávat furt dokola jen začátek kreténské filmové komedie sexretářky si já dovolit už nemůžu, a tak tvrdě na věc, UHNAT chlapa, SKOČIT na něho a pevně ho RAFNOUT, jako když chlap chce znásilnit ženskou...	copak	z nás dvou nejsem chlap spíš já než ten dekadent?...	But I do n't have any chamber to disappear into and not even a bed anymore, I ca n't afford to keep replaying only the beginning of the role of sexretary in an addle-headed film comedy, I have to take things firmly in hand, HUNT A MAN DOWN, POUNCE and SIEZE him firmly, like when a man rapes a woman... are n't I the man in this relationship rather than that decadent?...
Urban-Sedmikosteli	"	Copak	neslyšíte, co vám povídám?	' Have n't you heard a word I 've been saying?
Urban-Lord_Mord		Copak	necítíte ten lokální puch? "	Ca n't you smell the stench of the locality? '

Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Copak	měl snad nejmenší chuť je někomu ukazovat?	Did he have the slightest desire to show them to anyone?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Borek obcházel arciděkanský chrám v úžicích se okruzích, skvěle fungující lovecký mechanismus se náhle hnusí jeho konstruktéru - leč tím je už náš praděd orangutan nebo dávno před ním první kopulace schopný nálevník - tedy jen obsluhujícímu technikovi, copak jsem opravdu UŽ JEN obsluhující technik,	copak	jsme, proboha (ale toho jsme vědecky vyvrátili) opravdu JEŠTĚ POŘÁD JEN divoká zvěř?	Borek walked around the church in ever-narrowing circles, the beautifully functioning hunting mechanism suddenly begins to disgust its designer-but this is what our forefather the orangutan was or, long before him, the first copulation-capable protozoan-a mere service technician, am I really MERELY a service technician, what are we, for God 's sake (but that 's already been scientifically refuted) <u>are we really STILL just wild animals?</u>
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Bože,	copak	jsou všude na světě?	God, were they everywhere?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Jana Rybářová se rychle probírala k vědomí, čeká nás důležitý den, ale	copak	nějaký den není důležitý?	Jana Rybářová quickly roused herself from sleep, an important day awaits, but are there actually unimportant ones?
kundera-zert	Ale	copak	jsem se střetl s takovým mladistvým hercem poprvé?	But was this the first time I encountered adolescent actors?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	"	Copak	se nedá ani chvíli sedět bez alkoholu? "	" Ca n't you sit for even a moment without alcohol? "
Urban- Lord_Mord		Copak	mu to nemůžete zakázat? "	Ca n't you forbid it? '
kundera-zert	"	Copak	ty tam chceš jít? "	" You 're not going, are you? "
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o		Copak	právě v jeho " nevěděl jsem! věřil jsem! " netkví jeho nenapravitelná vina?	Is n't his ' I did n't know! I was a believer! ' at the very root of his irreparable guilt?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	"	Copak	jsi opravdu tak slepá?	" Are you really that blind?
Topol- Kloktat_dehet		Copak	tvuj táta nebyl vlk?	I must have stared at him, because he frowned and asked, ' Was n't your dad a wolf, then? '
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	" Ale Maddo, děvče nešťastné,	copak	opravdu už - "	" But Madda, you unhappy girl, have you really - "
Topol- Kloktat_dehet		Copak	seš nákej Rusáček, praští mě pan Holasa do ramene.	You some sort of little Russky? ' Mr Holasa punched me in the shoulder.
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Copak	je nutné se starat - dnes, kdy se konečně může říkat všechno - komu nahraje pravda?	Do we really have to worry - today, when at last everything can be said - about those whose hands the truth plays into?
styblova- skalpel_pros	Mlčky zvedla obočí -	copak	jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času?	She raised her eyebrows silently - what, had I forgotten how little time I had?

Paral-Milenci	Ale	copak	já jsem prašivý?!	Am I really so mangy?!
skvorecky-hrichy_pater		Copak	by mně afekt vydržel na to, abych někde sháněla lékařskou toxikologii?	Would the throes of emotion last long enough for me to go dig up a book on toxicology?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	nevidíš, že jsi ho omrzela, jakmile tě už jednou měl?	Ca n't you see that after he 's had you once, he 's bored with you?
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	já sem debilní?	" You think I 'm a moron? "
styblova-skalpel_pros	"	Copak	trapné, ale přišli bychom o Dvořákův violoncellový koncert! "	" Never mind the embarrassment, think of the Dvořák ' s cello concerto we ' d be missing! "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	"	Copak	ty umíš německy? "	"We spoke German." - " Since when can you speak German? "
kundera-zert	"	Copak	ty se netěšíš na to, že budeš moje se vším všudy? "	" Are n't you looking forward to being mine and all that goes with it? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	proč třeba stejně stará Yveta Trojanová, dcera toho svináka, nemusí makat jako já, proč ona může mít, na co jen ukáže prstem - na tom prstě safír v platině za pět papírů - vozit si prdel v autáku a každoročně letadlem k moři,	copak	ona má díru do zadku jinde než já?	why does n't Yveta Trojanová, the daughter of that pig, who 's the same age as me, why does n't she have to work like I do, why does she get whatever she points her finger at, a finger with a platinum ring with a sapphire that cost five grand-she drives her ass around in a car and flies every year to the sea, is the hole in her butt any different from mine? -
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	v nebi na to nedaj, jestlis ctil otce svého i matku svou?	Do n't they care in heaven whether you honour your father and your mother? "
Topol-Sestra		Copak	nemáš známý?	Do n't you know anyone?
klima-laska_a_smeti	Jistě zvrhlá doktorka předepisuje nějaké zvrhlé léky, ale	copak	mi nikdy nevykládá o tom odporném, ponižujícím divadle, co musí ti chudáci hrát?	Perhaps a perverted doctor would also prescribe perverted drugs, but had my wife never told me about that revolting, humiliating play-acting those poor wretches had to go in for?
Topol-Sestra		Copak	sem vrah, zamumlal Doktor.	What, do I look like a murderer, the Doctor mumbled.
Skvorecky-Mirakl	A	copak	je Strana Pánbůh, aby měla nad lidma absolutní moc?	" And is the Party God, that it should have absolute power over people 's lives?
styblova-skalpel_pros		Copak	je to možné?	I ask you, is it possible?
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Copak	jste němý? "	For goodness sake say something! Are you dumb, or what? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Copak	seš tady za katedrou?	We 're not in school now!

Topol- Kloktat dehet		Copak	vlk, a co bejk!	' By a lady stork, ' Mr Moravčík chipped in, poking her in the chest, and Mrs Moravčík went, ' Tee-hee, ' and Mrs Kropáček said, ' A wolf? That 's nothing, but how about a randy old goat?
Urban- Lord_Mord	Gita se divila, že ji nechci brát s sebou, a Berenika se urazila -	copak	s ní nechci být celý den?	Gita was surprised that I did not want to take her with me, and Berenice took offence – did n't I want to spend my whole day with her?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Roman, že prej mají cenu sto dolarů,	copak	dolary opravdu vůbec jsou?	Roman says they 're worth a hundred dollars, do dollars really exist?
Urban- Sedmikosteli	"	Copak	ty květy nepoznáváte? "	' Do n't you know what kind of flowers those are? '
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		Copak	to nikdy nepřestane?	Will it never stop?
haki- o_rodicich_a_ dete		Copak	to nevidíte!?	Ca n't you see!?
Kohout- Hvezdna_hodi na	-	Copak	nevidíš?	- Ca n't you see, she practically moaned at him.
kundera-zert	a když jsem přišel, říkala, tak nabij paničku, nabij paničku, dostaneš malovaný vajíčko, a já ji symbolicky pleskal přes sukni a ona říkala,	copak	to je nějaký bití, vyhrň paniče sukni,	0
Skvorecky- Pribehing_1	"	Copak	sem tvoje žena?	" Am I your woman?
Urban- Sedmikosteli	Ale	copak	Čas od těch rajských dob nezestárl o šest století?	But has Time not grown older in the last six centuries since those golden days?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Copak	vás náš život opravdu neinspiruje k ničemu jinému než k pitkám a zneužívání žen?	Does our life really inspire in you nothing but the desire to carouse and abuse women?
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Copak	on!	What did he matter?
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Ale	copak	to není svinstvo, dyž se jen tak dělaj?	But is n't it rotten when they do things without really believing in them? "
kohout- snezim	- Gabrielo (oslovení v nejvyšší nouzi),	copak	máš pas?	" Gabriela " - her full name was pronounced only in the greatest of need - " you do n't even have a passport! "
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o		Copak	jim viděl do duše?	Could he see into their souls?
Urban- Sedmikosteli	Ale	copak	nevidíš pointu?	But are n't you missing the point?

otcenasek-romeo_julie		Copak	by se na to mohl dívat?	But there probably isn't any such God, is there? How could he go on looking at it all if there was?
Urban-Lord_Mord	"	Copak	opravdu vypadám zženštile, když to mám na zápěstí? "	' I do n't really look effeminate when I have it on my wrist, do I? '
Viewegh-VychovaDive_kCR	" Životní štěstí -, " řekl jsem posléze bezradně, " -	copak	to jde vyučovat? "	" Happiness - " I eventually said nonplussed, " - that 's hardly something you can teach. "
Urban-Sedmikosteli	"	Copak	se to nedá napravit?	' Well, that can be put to rights, ca n't it?
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	"	Copak	Lucii nemiluješ? "	" You mean you do n't love Lucie? " said Haryk.
Topol-Sestra		Copak	to nevidíš?	What 're you, blind?
klima-laska_a_smeti	I kdyby duše byla nehmotná, i kdyby byla jen prostorem, jenž je hmotou obepjat, i kdyby byla zcela jiné podstaty,	copak	by mohla snést ten žár?	Even if the soul was non-corpuscular, even if it was only space enveloped by matter, even if it was of an entirely different nature, could it really survive that heat?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Copak	se do telefonu říká - dvě -? "	Does one really say 'nine ' into a telephone? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh_oVvSV	" Ty vopice jedna,	copak	myslíš, že se budu jen s tebou bavit?	" You singular monkey, is it that you think that I ' d be prattling with you?
kundera-zert		Copak	o něm zpíváte po našem?	In our own way?
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1		Copak	neexistuje jiná ctnost než ta, jež pramení ze zdravého strachu před šibenicí?	I shake my head, my eyes fall once more on the Gospel according to Nathaniel, " Is there no virtue... save what springs from a wholesome fear of the gallows? "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1		Copak	ta deodorantem a levandulí vonící švédská holka nevidí, že já ji přeci jakživ děkanovi neprásknu?	Did n't this Swedish girl smelling of deodorant and lavender realize that I could never ever have brought myself to report her to the Dean?
Topol-Sestra	no, tak mi to bylo aspoň sdělený,	copak	já, já sem malej pán a to už sem vám říkal!	wull, least that 's what I was advised, never mind me, I 'm jus a little man, an I told ja before!
Hasek-OsudyDobreh_oVvSV	Nu jen pište dál, Švejku,	copak	sebou tak vrtíte?	Well, just go on writing, Švejk, why are you fidgiting so?
Topol-Kloktat_dehet	Chystám se přelézt plaňky,	copak	Dago, ten je podleze	I was about to clamber over the stakes of the fence – Dago was all right, he could crawl under them
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Ale	copak	nelze dalším smrtím zabránit?	Is n't it possible to prevent another death?

Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Copak	netrpí všechny ženy měsíčním krvácením?	Do n't all women suffer from monthly bleeding?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2	"	Copak	nejsi na pilulce? "	"But are n't you on the pill?"
Ajvaz- Druhe_mesto	Nemá smysl ptát se domorodců na cestu, jistě je to nějaký barbarský a nevzdělaný národ -	copak	bychom jejich slovům mohli věřit víc než větám, jejichž zlatá písmena tisíce let září na černých stránkách našich kodexů, ležících na křišťálovém stole v pokoji, kde jednu stěnu tvoří nádherný chladný vodopád?	There is no point asking the natives for directions; it 's bound to be a barbaric and uneducated people – how could we give greater credence to their words than to the sentences whose golden letters have gleamed for a thousand years on the pages of our codices that lie on a crystal table within a room, one of whose walls is a splendid cool waterfall?
kundera-zert		copak	jsme měli nejmenší tušení o tom, že Stalin dal střílet věrné komunisty?	how were we to know that Stalin had ordered loyal Communists to be shot?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1	"	Copak	ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku? "	" I thought you were post- invasion yourself, Frank. "
kundera-zert		Copak	jenom on bojoval v ilegalitě?	Was he the only one in the underground?
Urban- Sedmikosteli	A k té věrohodnosti -	copak	vás nenapadlo, že mám možnost leccos si ověřit?	As for whether your stories are true or not, what makes you think I have no means of verifying them?
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Copak	může sám sebe redukovat jen na to, co je vědomé a záměrné?	Was n't it actually possible to reduce himself only to the part of him that was conscious and intentional?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1	"	Copak	, madam, nechápete, co je v literatuře funkční? "	" Do n't you understand what it means for something to have a function in literature? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		Copak	nechápeš ani to, že v lásce je nejlepší hra?	Do n't you understand that love is the best game of all?
Urban- Sedmikosteli		Copak	se máte tak zle?	You 're not that badly off.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	plakala jsem pořád víc a nemohla to vůbec zadržet, jaký to mám vlastně život,	copak	se málo snažím dělat všecko tak, jak má být, nikdy nic špatného.	I kept crying more and more and could n't stop, what kind of life do I have, do n't I try hard to do everything the way it 's supposed to be done, I never do anything bad
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	A tak zas stěhování zpátky do bejvalý mužský svobodárny v druhým patře, na kavalec vycpanej senem a místo koupelny zas jen u zdi kohoutek, kerej neteče... stejně nebydlím tady ani tady,	copak	je tohle nějaký bydlení?	And so I moved back to the former men 's one-room flat on the third floor, to the cot stuffed with straw, and instead of a bathroom just a faucet on the wall that does n't work... either way, I live neither here nor there, is this really any way to live?

Skvorecky- PribehIng_2	"	Copak	si myslíš, že oni si myslí, že někdo takhle rýli myslí? "	" Do you really think they think people actually think that way? "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	lidstvo stvořili komunisti?	Did the Communists create mankind? "
Urban- Lord Mord	"	Copak	to působí žensky?	' You think it looks feminine?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		Copak	si může ředitel Kotexu dovolit nemravnosti s vlastní sekretářkou?	Can the director of Cottex be allowed such licentiousness with his own secretary?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Krucihiml,	copak	jseš hluchej?	" KRUCIHIML, is it that you 're deaf?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Copak	vy zase nepatříte ke společenský smetánce, pane profesore?	Do n't you belong to the cream of society again, professor?
Ajvaz- Zlaty_vek	Vždyť se na to jistě pamatuješ -	copak	bys chtěla, aby se naše utrpení těch let znovu vrátilo?	But surely you remember this? Is that what you want, that our sufferings of those years should return?
kohout- snezim		Copak	není pasé?	" Is n't that a bit passé?
Hulova- Pamet_babice	At' holka ví, že její jméno je kradený, jakýpak	copak	, velká byla dost.	The girl should know her name is stolen, she 's old enough, why all the fuss?
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Jakýpak	copak	! pravil ještě tvrději náměstek.	It 's just as I thought, " said Lukac, his voice hardening.
Urban- Sedmikosteli	"	Copak	o to, já na to nezapomínám, ale vysvětlíte mi pak, jak je možné, že se oběti nebránily.	' I know he had a mobile crane, for God 's sake. But how do you account for the fact that none of the victims put up a fight?
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Němci mu ovšem nevěřili, chtěli vidět oddací list.	Copak	to, ten pan Stein měl.	Well, that was n't a problem, Mr. Stein had that all right.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Copak	jste jí udělal? "	What have you done to her? "
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		copak	asi dělá?	What 's she doing now?
kohout- snezim	- Áá, pan Beneš! cvrlikala kavárnice (nebo spíš čajárnice?), spěchajíc k němu ze skryté příprávnicky, -	copak	si poručí?	" Mr. Beneš! " chirped the coffeehouse (or rather teahouse?) owner, scurrying over to him from the hidden kitchenette, " what 'll it be today? "
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1	" Tak	copak	mi vzkazuje Vaculík?	" And what does Mr. Vaculik have on his mind? " I ask.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	"	Copak	neslyšels?	" What did n't you understand?
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Copak	sis to zvykl nosit večeri k sobě do pokoje, Pavlíku?	Since when have you started taking your supper into your own room, Paulie dear?
Skvorecky- Mirakl	A	copak	si na něj vymysleli?	" What sort of charges did they dream up? "

Skvorecky- PribehIng 2	" A vo	čempak	ste si povídali? "	" Whatever were you talking about? "
Skvorecky- PribehIng 1		Copak	dělávala předtím, než emigrovala do Kanady?	What had Dotty really done before she emigrated to Canada?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Čímpak	vy jste v civilu, pane rechnerungsfeldvébl? "	What are you in civilian life RECHNUNGSFELDWEBEL, Sir? "
klima- laska a smeti	"	Copak	nám tu mistr dneska vystavil? "	' Let ' s see what our artist has put on show for us today. '
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Čímpak	ti to voní?	What does it smell of?
otcenasek- romeo_julie	" Nic, nic, Mařenko...	copak	by se mnou mělo být? " opáčil slabým hláskem, vrhaje pohled do polévky.	" Nothing, nothing at all, Mary, my dear... why should anything be the matter with me?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Copak	děláte od té doby, chodíte sem často? "	What have you been doing since then? Do you come here often? "
otcenasek- romeo_julie	"	Copak	je s tebou? " ptala se ho žena.	" What on earth ' s the matter with you? " asked his wife.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Jakpak jsem vlastně k tomuhle přišel,	copak	to, pánové, se mnou děláte?	How have I gotten myself into this? What is this, gentlemen? What are you doing to me?
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	asi dnes dělá Milada Marešová?	I wondered where Milada Maresova was now.
styblova- skalpel pros	" Prosím, " řeknu, "	copak	bys chtěla? "	"Of course. What do you want?"
styblova- skalpel pros	"	Copak	ti udělali ti hoši? "	" What have these boys done to you? "
Kundera- Smesne lasky	" A	copak	tam budete dělat? "	" And what are you going to do there? "
skvorecky- hrichy pater		Copak	to napsal Bill Pokušitel Svaté Aniče do záhlaví tohoto příkladu?	" What is it that William the Serpent wrote to Saint Ann about this problem? "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Copak	se stalo? zeptal se Gellen přísně.	" Well, what happened? " asked Dr. Gellen severely.
Topol-Sestra	Ale, ale, skautíku,	copak	to bylo? zastavil se kostra u Bohlera a hnátem mu přejel po cárech.	There there, scoutie, what ' s a matter? the skeleton stopped at Bohler and ran the bone over his rags.
kohout- snezim	- Za	copak	?	" For what? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Ležet jako zvíře v trávě a mžourat do slunce - ach, o	čempak	jsem to snil ještě docela nedávno?...	To lie like an animal in the grass blinking at the sun-oh, did n't I dream like this not so long ago...
haki- o_rodicich_a_ dete	" No vidíš,	copak	to čteš? " nahnul se otec.	" Oh look, what are you reading? " said Father, bending down.
skvorecky- hrichy pater	Jakej to signál a	copak	ste dělal pak, až do půlnoci?	" What kind of a signal, and what were you doing afterwards, until midnight?

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	Prej u něj našli kazetu, a ta by prej někomu pěkně zavařila, dyby se dostala do nepravejch rukou -	copak	je? " Mladá dáma s bílou koulí na hlavě se zhroutila v křesle	Apparently they found a tape cassette on him, and if it had got into the wrong hands it would really have messed up somebody 's life-what 's the matter? "
kundera-zert	"	Copak	mi Helena chce, nevíte? " zeptal jsem se.	" You do n't happen to know what Helena wants, do you? " I said.
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	Máš pravdu, snitzlefritz,	copak	sem přehlídla? a Raglánek se ani po tom strašnym pet name nedovtípí a praví:	But I say humbly, " You 're probably right. But what have I overlooked? "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	A	copak	mi chce? "	And what does he want of me? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Copak	si dnes dáme k večeři? "	" What should we have for dinner today? "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	"	Copak	to je, Renko? " pravil pán, o němž jsem se dovťípil, že je jejím pánem.	" Whatever is the matter, Renka? " said the gentleman, who I supposed was her husband.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	"	Copak	eště dávaj? "	" D'you mean they 're still handing out pay? "
otcenasek-romeo_julie	Ty žíd'átko nebohé...	copak	s tebou bude... ty moje kuřátko	poor little Jew kid... what 's to become of you... poor little creature...
Kundera-Nesnesit_lehko		Copak	to vůbec znamená ' odvolat '?	What does it mean, anyway, to " retract " what you 've said?
Topol-Sestra	A na	copak	přišla tajdlencta hlavinka?	An so what 'd this noggin right here come up with?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Jako fotřík má přece povinnost svýho juniora vychovávat a tak fotřík místo odpoledního spinkání na mě ospale zírá až půlhodinu v jednom kuse, mlčky, protože	copak	my dva si ještě můžem říct?	After all, as my father he has the responsibility of raising me, so instead of his afternoon nap he 's constantly and sleepily staring at me for up to a half hour without saying a word, because what do we have to say to one another?
kundera-zert	A	copak	ti píše soudruh Jahn?	And what did Comrade Jahn write about?
klima-laska a smeti	"	Copak	hledají? " zeptal jsem se paní Venuše.	' What can they be looking for? ' I asked Mrs Venus.
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Copak	je to za pána? " otázal se někdo z diváků na ulici.	" What kind of a gentleman is that? " asked somebody from among the onlookers on the street.
hako_rodicich_a_dete	"	Copak	to je? " zeptal jsem se.	" What 's that? " I asked.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	"	Cák	Franta, ten se znova vožení.	" Franta 'll be all right, he can marry again.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	" C - c -	cák	se stalo? " zadrkotal zuby zděšený děda.	" Wh-what 's going on? " said the old fellow timidly.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	"	Cák	dyby von jenom kreslil... "	" If only that was all the little bugger was nil to... "

Skvorecky- PřibehIng_2	"	Cák	dybo von jenom kreslil... "	" If only that was all the little bugger was up to... "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Na liturgických obrazech si i sřaté mučednice nesou v podpaží své hlavinky úhledně načesané -	cák	si může baba v tvým věku dovolit přestat chodit k holiči?	Even in the religious paintings the heads beheaded martyrs carry beneath their arms are neatly combed-how can a hag of your age allow herself to stop going to the hairdresser 's?
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_2	"	Cák	se ti z gumy může postavit? "	" How could you get a rubber one up? "
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_1		Cák	já.	But do n't take no account of me.
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Cák	by je tou životě napadlo někohou raždit?	Think either one of ' em would ever in their lives think of murderin ' anyone?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Cožpak	nevěděl, že Bettina chtěla sama vydat knihu vzpomínek na Goethovo dětství?	Did n't he know that Bettina herself hoped to publish a book of recollections dealing with Goethe 's childhood? That she was actually negotiating with a publisher?
Skvorecky- Mirakl	A	cožpak	, soudružko, chytila ji za slovo Ivana, nemohou snad i naše soudružky být atypické?	" In that case, comrade, " retorted Ivana, taking her at her word, " is n't it possible that our students are atypical as well?
Topol-Sestra	Když uviděl černou kočku, nechápal, proč by měl uplivnout,	cožpak	žvýkám nějaký tabák, cápci? divil se.	He did n't see why he should spit whenever he saw a black cat, ai n't packin no chew, fellers, he puzzled.
kundera-zert		Cožpak	příběhy, kromě toho, že se dějí, že jsou, také něco říkají?	Do stories, apart from happening, being, have something to say?
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o		Cožpak	je přece jen něco, o čem si myslí oba totéž?	Did n't they then at last agree on something?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost	"	Cožpak	jsem vám to neřekl hned, když jsem vás uviděl?	'Did n't I tell you the moment I set eyes on you?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost	Ale	cožpak	existuje nějaký přímý styk mezi mým a jejich já bez prostřednictví očí?	But does there exist another kind of direct contract between my self and their selves except through the mediation of the eyes?
Urban- Sedmikosteli		Cožpak	už není na čase? "	Is n't it time you did? '
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Cožpak	jsem prostřednictvím kapavky a lži přivedl pohanskou Lišku k pravému poznání?	Could I, through lies and the clap, have brought the heathen Vixi to true faith?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Který dobytek to zas klepá na dveře,	cožpak	nečte na dveřích ' Nicht klopfen! ' ?	Which cattle swine is again knocking on the door, is it that he hasn ' t read the sign ' NICHT KLOPFEN, Do not knock! ' on the door?

kundera-zert		čořpak	jsem takovřch dřvřch obyřejnostř nepotkřval na ostravskřch ulicřch vřce?	had n't I seen enough ordinary girls in the streets of Ostrava?
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		čořpak	nevidřte, ře je na spise napsřno panem hejtmanem Linhartem ' Streng behřten, beobachten! '?	" Ca n't you see what Captain Linhart wrote on his file? STRENG BEHUTEN, BEOBACHTEN! Watch! Closely guard!
Topol-Sestra	Za pouhř dvř kila, je to sřla,	řimpak	krřjř vaře milř?	For a mere two thou, incredible, wow, tell me what does your sweetheart cut with now?
Topol-Sestra	Hele, micuno, povřdř ten hejsek...	řřpak	seř?	Hey, pussy, the fop says... whose 're you?
Topol-Sestra		Jakpak	se mř? optal jsem se zdvořřle.	How the heck is he? I inquired politely.
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	A	jakpak	?	And just how was it proved?
Hulova-Pamet_babice	Mořnř, ře s třm mřly nřco spoleřnřho jeho dlouhř veřernř tripy k obzoru, ale	jakpak	by to moh nřkdo vřdřt.	Maybe that had something to do with his long trips into the horizon every evening, but how in the world would anyone know?
kundera-zert		Jakpak	musely tyhle Jřzdy břt krřsnř před mnoha desetiletřmi nebo staletřmi!	How beautiful the Rides must have been decades or centuries ago!
Skvorecky-Přibehřng_1		Jakpak	by se vřm lřbilo tohle? "	How would you like that? "
Skvorecky-Přibehřng_1	"	Jakpak	by se vřm lřbilo, kdyby nřkdo napsal:	" And how would you like it if someone wrote, 'I 'd give President Masaryk a boot up the ass? '
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Jakpak	jsem vlastnř k tomuhle přřšel, copak to, přnovř, se mnou dřlřte?	How have I gotten myself into this? What is this, gentlemen? What are you doing to me?
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	" Ale	jakpak	to vřte, ře vřs dnes veřer sejme? "	" But how come you know he 's going to do you in tonight? "
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Jakpak	von se menoval?	" What was his name?
Skvorecky-Přibehřng_2	ten odpadlřk mřlem ře neskonřil jako ten faleřnej prorok z Nazaretu,	japak	von se jmenoval, arabřtř bratrřnci ho ctřj taky.	the backslider almost ended up like that false prophet from Nazareth, what was his name? The Arab cousins honour him as well.
skvorecky-hrichy_pater		Jakpak	asi skonřř tamta partie	Bridge, is it? the blonde thought, and wondered how the other game would turn out

Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Odhazují nedojezené dobytčí maso a odstrkují nedopité víno, co ještě, more thrilling, se nám může nabídnout, vztahují ruku na padlou císařovnu,	jakpak	by asi hořela, chceš být bita?	I throw away the half-eaten beef and push aside the unfinished wine, what else can we have, something even more exciting, I reach my hand out for the fallen empress, I wonder how she 'd burn, you want to be beaten?
styblova- skalpel_pros		Jakpak	se mám na hoča zlobit, když byl v právu? "	How can we be cross with the boy, when he was in the right? "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jakpak	bych ho neznal. "	" So, you must know the butcher , Pejchar, in the square in Protivín? " " How could I not know him. " " He is my brother. "
kohout- snezim	Márová, pamatuješ! [...] -	Jakpak	ne.	" Fína, you remember Mrs. Márová! " [...] " How could I forget? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi		Jakpak	by taky ne!	How could it be otherwise?
otcenasek- romeo_julie	I jindy by to máma poznala,	jakpak	by to nepoznala dnes, kdy se žije z chudého přídělu, s nimž lze vystačit jen jakýmsi zázrakem hospodárnosti a kdy mu s povzdychnutím potahuje každý krajíc chleba jen tenkou vrstvičkou margarínu.	Mother would have noticed it at any time, let alone now, when there was only the miserable little ration of food that only miraculous economy could make last out, and when she sighed every time she spread the thinnest possible layer of marge on his bread.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Lezu, miláčku, lezu -	jakpak	bych nelez, " breptal polní kurát, "	" I 'm crawling, darling, crawling, how could I not crawl? " babbled the Field Chaplain. "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jakpak	by nemoh, " rozčiloval se Vodička, " každé za to může, to je hloupost.	" How so that he can ' t, " Vodička was agitated, " that is silliness, each one is responsible.
Skvorecky- PříbehIng 1	Dědo, moc hamouníte! " zašeptal jsem zlostně. " Bude průser! " " I	japa	průser! Podle týdle normy budu brát vo stouku víc, než dyž sem d'ál na štančách. "	" You 're pushing it too hard, old man! " I whispered angrily. " There 's going to be trouble. " " Trouble? With these quotas I 'll be making a hundred crowns more than when I worked on the die stamper. "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jakpak	? ? Chutnalo vám? "	" So, how was it? Did you enjoy the taste?
otcenasek- romeo_julie	No -	jakpak	, šéfe? "	Well, what about it, boss? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Až pozdě k ránu se Broňa vlekla pěšky domů, ale	jakýpak	je tohle domů ten dvakrát cizí pokoj: erární a Traklovic	Not till early morning did Broňa drag herself home, but what kind of home is this doubly someone else 's room: the administration 's and the Trakls'

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	" A	jakejpak	je, Zuzáne, po tý cestě kolem světa?	" And how is she, after her trip around the world?
Urban-Sedmikosteli	Tak	jaképak	letišťe?	What did I care about airports and Soviets?
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	"	Jaképak	vědecké dílo! " přerušil jsem muže s malou bradou.	" What do you mean by scientific work? " I interrupted the man with the little chin.
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Jakápak	je to práce pro chlapy, pro dobře placené, vypasené mordýře?	It ' s no job for fellows like that, well-paid great hulking brutes.
Hulova-Pamet_babice	Mámu dávno roztahali divý zvířata a po slzách nebylo v Dzajinejch očích ani památky. Nespráskla ani ruce. Erlíkové se za svý mámy styděj. Aspoň trochu musí každěj.	Jakýpak	jiný vysvětlení?	Mama had been torn apart by wild animals ages ago, and there was n't even a trace of tears in Zaya ' s eyes. She did n't even wring her hands. Erliizes are ashamed of their mothers. They must be, at least a little. How else could you explain it?
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jaképak	tentononc, " zabručel doktor Mráz, " vyjádřete se přímo. "	" Do n't whatchumacallit me, " growled doctor Mráz, " express yourself directly. "
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	"	Jakýpak	hezký.	" What ' s nice about it?
kundera-zert	Jakápak výzva,	jaképak	následování v našich prozaických životech?	What does an appeal mean in our prosaic lives?
Kundera-Smesne_lasky		Jaképak	tady zanecháme dílo! " protestoval s trpkým smíchem hostitel.	What kind of work, I ask you? What kind of work do we leave behind? " protested her host with a bitter laugh.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2		Jakýpak	problém?	What ' s the problem?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Jakejpak	ten, ksakru!	" Who, damn it?!
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi		Jakýpak	zabil.	Kill?
Topol-Sestra	Společnost tu byla mezinárodní a iracionální: opodál se cpala parta Číňanů nějakou hnusnou starou rybou, všude se poflakovala alternativní mládež, vzpomněl jsem na Bohlera, když poprvé zaslech tohle slovo, tak jen odfrk, chm,	jakápak	alternativa, žádný alternativy nejsou, věc je jasná.	The crowd here was irrational and international: off to one side a crew of Chinese gorging on some disgusting old fish, alternative youth all over, I remembered the first time Bohler heard that word, he just snorted, hmf, what alternative, no such thing, it ' s obvious.
kohout-snezim	I tak jsem byla nevýslovně šťastná, že se věnoval jen mne (jaképak	výčitky? bavil mě i za ni, když si usmyslela trucovat, ona je to, kdo mě pořád někam tahá!)	Even so, I was indescribably happy that he could devote himself exclusively to me. (Should I feel remorseful? He was amusing me instead of her because she was deliberately sulking. She ' s the one who

				keeps dragging me places!)
kundera-zert		Jakápak	výzva, jaképak následování v našich prozaických životech?	What does an appeal mean in our prosaic lives?
styblova-skalpel_pros	"	Jakápak	záchytka!	" No centre for him!
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Žije u dědečka a ten je maloročník o výměře pět celých dvě desetiny hektaru. A jeden z nejzarytějších odpůrců založení jézedé v Máselné Lhotě, pravila tvrdě Milada Marešová. Tak vida!	Jakýpak	copak! pravil ještě tvrději náměstek. Pochází z reakčního prostředí!	It 's just as I thought, " said Lukac, his voice hardening.
Hulova-Pamet_babice		Jakýpak	má mít potom vchoování?	What kind of upbringing is a child like that supposed to get?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Jakápak	kavárna, cukrárna, plovárna... malé party ve čtyřech: já s Monikou a bratři Serafinové!	What was I thinking, a café or pastry shop or pool? A small party of four: Monika and me and the Serafin brothers!
Hulova-Pamet_babice	Já cejtila, že to tady už dlouho nevydrží, a ať se to vezme z jakýkoli strany, Dolgorma byla její vnučka, tak	jakýpak	okolky.	I could tell she was n't long for this world, and whichever way you looked at it, Dolgorma was her granddaughter, so why not?
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2	Vzadu v rohu seděl mlčící návštěvník, dramatik Kách. Mlčel, a když marxisté dospěli až k teoriím Dr. Stříže, jenž v polepšovně na Dobříši zaváděl systém důvěry, Cách se ozval: " Tak poslouchám, a žasnu, soudruzi! Jakýpak problém?	Jakýpak	systém důvěry?	I 'm astonished at you. Comrades! What 's the problem? What 's all this about a system of trust?
styblova-skalpel_pros		Jakápak	je to vlastně zásluha, udělali jsme jen kus obvyklé práce.	We didn ' t deserve to be thanked. We ' d only done our regular job.
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	žena: vždyť podstatné je přece dílo člověka, to, co tu člověk nechá pro jiné. [...] - muž:	Jaképak	dílo, prosím vás!	" What kind of work, I ask you?
styblova-skalpel_pros		Jakýpak	kult!	So much for the cult!
styblova-skalpel_pros	"	Jakápak	komora?	What ventricle?

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	Ale Ruda pak dostal angažmá v Praze - to víte,	jakoupak	budoucnost má filmový režisér v Brně	But naturally, a film director hasn ' t got much of a future out in Brno, and Rudolf got a job in Prague.
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Jakýpak	s nimi cavyky. "	No use beating about the bush. "
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Jakápak	novinka	" No news at all. "
Topol-Kloktat dehet	No,	jakýpak	proč, řekl velitel Baudyš.	' What 's " why " got to do with it? ' asked Commander Baudyš.
Hulova-Pamet_babice	Já potřebovala utěšovat jinak než ona, já chtěla slyšet, že za nic nemůžu, ale	jakýpak	by to bylo ujištění od bordelový holky.	I needed to hear something different, I wanted to hear that it was n't my fault, but what kind of comfort would that be from a girl that worked in a brothel?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Borek Trojan taky mlčí, když je fotřík na cestách a my se potkáme na chodbě našeho bytu,	jakápak	taky komunikace mezi máminým šamstrem a synáčkem	Borek Trojan does n't talk to me either when Papa 's out and we meet in the hallway of our apartment, what kind of conversation am I supposed to have with Mama 's beau-
Hulova-Pamet_babice	At' holka ví, že její jméno je kradený,	jakýpak	copak, velká byla dost.	The girl should know her name is stolen, she 's old enough, why all the fuss?
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	" Ale	jakýpak	delikt, " křičel jsem.	" But what sort of offense!
styblova-skalpel_pros		Jakýpak	by on mohl mít nádor? "	How could he have a tumour? "
Viewegh-VychovaDivekCR	Počítám, že jsme si s učitelama celkem kvit, říkal jsem si, za pár dní to stejně balíme, tak	jakýpak	děkování. "	I reckon we 're about quits with the teachers, I said to myself. Anyway, we 're packing it in in a couple of days ' time, so why bother with thanks? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl	To se jim musí zamáčknot típek doopravdy, a	jakýpak	fraky!	You got to hit them with all you got. "
haki-rodicich_a_dete		Jestlipak	vůbec víš, že tvůj děda původně pocházel z vesnice, která se menuje Vlčeves	I wonder if you know that your grandfather originally came from a village called Vlčeves
Skvorecky-Mirakl	A vůbec:	jestlipak	by kvůli tomu byl takovej randál, dyby byl porazil Petrofím Bukavce, a ne navopak?	Let me ask you this: would there be any hue and cry if Petrofím had beaten Bukavec, and not the other way around? "
klima-laska_a_smeti		Jestlipak	má při vrcholu úsměv, vzpomněl jsem si.	I remembered, and I wondered if it might have a smile at the top.
Urban-Lord_Mord	"	Jestlipak	smí Žid hovězí jazyk? " obrátil jsem se na muže s fajfkou.	' Are Jews allowed ox tongue? ' I asked the man with the pipe.

otcenasek-romeo_julie	" Hm... " mumlá při jídle s plnou pusou, "	jestlipak	jsou také neárijské víly?	" Mmmm... " she mumbled with her mouth full, " I wonder if there are non-Aryan fairies?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Pila je vlažné asi 30 °C jak doma kozí mléko přímo z vemene	jestlipak	je někdy ještě ochutnám...	She drank it warm, at about 30 °C, just like the goat 's milk at home, which came straight from the udder-I wonder if I 'll ever taste it again...
styblova-skalpel_pros	" A	jestlipak	víte, " zeptal jsem se ho, " že takové primitivní trepanace se dosud dají vidět u některých divokých kmenů? "	" I don ' t know if you know, " I said, " but primitive trepanations can still be seen to this day among some savage tribes. "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jestlipak	znáte časopis Svět zvířat? "	" Could it be that you know the magazine The Animal World? "
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1	A	jestlipak	by i to, co Blběnka s Lídou asi dělávaly, než se Blběnka vyvdala za oceán, probudilo v páně Zawynatchovi jeho masochistický princip slasti.	And could Doty and Lida 's probable profession have awakened the masochistic pleasure principle in Mr. Zawynatch?
haki_o_rodicich_a_dete	"	Jestlipak	víš, co to je? " zeptal se otec.	" You know what that is? " Father asked.
haki_o_rodicich_a_dete	" Aha, a	jestlipak	víš, že největší herec všech dob byl Charles Laughton? " ptá se otec.	" Oh, right, but I wonder if you know that the greatest actor of all time was Charles Laughton? " Father asked.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_1		Jestlipak	znáte ještě vzoreček pro výpočet plochy kruhové výseče? "	Do you recall, by any chance, the formula for calculating the area of a sector? "
Skvorecky-Mirakl	A	jestlipak	víte proč?	Do you know why? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Jestlipak	spolu ještě spí... už sotva.	Do they still sleep together... hardly.
haki_o_rodicich_a_dete	Ale	jestlipak	poznáš, co to je za keř? "	But tell me this, do you recognise this bush? "
kundera-zert	řekla jsem Ludvíkovi,	jestlipak	víte, že jedu za tři dny na Slovácko dělat reportáž o Jízdě králů.	said to Ludvik, did you know I was going to Moravia for three days to do a feature on the Ride of the Kings?
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Jestlipak	jste, vy syčáci, ještě nezapomněli otčenáš?	" Could it be, you bums, that you have forgotten your 'Our Father '?"
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	"	Jestlipak	máte ještě tu tlustou knihu? "	" I wonder if you still have that thick book? "
Kundera-Smesne_lasky	"	Jestlipak	jste už obstaral slečně Kláře ten podnájem, co jste jí sliboval? "	" I 'm wondering if you 've got that sublet for Miss Klara yet, you know, the one you promised her? "

kohout-snezim		Jestlipak	ten řecký hajlík připoslouchával?	What if that little Greek prick was listening in?
styblova-skalpel_pros	" Tak	jestlipak	víš, kam teď pojeděš? " zeptal jsem se ho.	" So do you know where you ' re going now? " I asked him.
haki-rodicich_a_dete	"	Jestlipak	aspoň víš, jak se menuje ten strom, na kterým sedíš? "	" I wonder if you at least know the name of the tree you 're sitting in? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Jestlipak	ti dají také zakouřit, než tě pověsí, "	" I wonder if they will give you a smoke before they hang you. "
Urban-Sedmikosteli	Řekl jsem, nikoli bez ironie, že to je opravdu pouze můj dojem a že se můžu mýlit, a	jestlipak	je tu tedy jen dočasným hostem jako já.	I told her, not without irony, that it had simply occurred to me as a possibility and, of course, I could be mistaken. Perhaps like myself she was merely a temporary guest.
haki-rodicich_a_dete		Jestlipak	si tohle říkaj taky ty... jak říkal, že se menujou?	I wonder if that thought ever occurs to those, you know... what did you say they were called?
skvorecky-hrichy_pater		Jestlipak	von ten Jean ví, že mu tady milá hostí celej holčiilec ročníkem, kterej von má asi schovanej pro jiný známostě	I wondered if Jean knew his lady-love was treating a bunch of her girlfriends to a bottle he ' d probably stashed away for somebody really special.
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2		Jestlipak	se Hakim ozve na takový výlev idealismu?	Will Hakim rise to confront such an outpouring of idealism?
Skvorecky-PribehIng_2		Jestlipak	taky seděla toho dne u sochy upáleného světce a přísahala, že nikdy?	I wonder if she too sat that day by the statue of the saint who died at the stake and swore she would never, ever forget?
haki-rodicich_a_dete	" Ty seš hlavně vzteklej,	jestlipak	víš, po kom? "	" You 're irate, that 's for sure, do you know who you take after? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Kouřil bys, vid', " řekl,	jestlipak	... "	" You 'd like to have a smoke, right? I wonder if... "
haki-rodicich_a_dete		Jestlipak	víš, co švédsky znamená tunnan? "	I wonder if you know what tunnan means in Swedish?! "
otcenasek-romeo_julie		Jestlipak	vůbec ví, že je vlastně král?	I wonder if he knows he ' s a King?
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi		Kdepak	, teď se o nás dozvěděl svět.	The world had found out about us.
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi	ale mnozí novináři teď už nepsali tak jako Rolf a jeho přátelé,	kdepak	, něco se stalo, v novinách teď třeba otiskli na první straně fotografii hrdého a vzpřímeného Leba v černém obleku, ovšem obklopeného skupinou našich	But a lot of journalists were n't writing the same thing as Rolf and his friends. Newspapers still ran front-page photos of Lebo, proud and upright in his black suit, but surrounded by a group of girls in flowing dresses and skirts, adorned with blades of

			dívek v rozevlátých jupkách a sukních, ozdobených stvoly naší trávy...	grass.
hakl- o_rodicich_a_ dete	Strejček chrápal, až se vohejbaly divizny, ale voni měli dojem, že se pán dusí a že má nákej hroznej záchvat, a snažili se ho křísit, jenže	kdepak	strejček, ten chrápal a chrčel a slintal a vodfukoval... "	The uncle was snoring so hard it was making the mullein plants bend over, but they thought the man was choking and having some terrible fit, and they tried to revive him, but the uncle just kept snoring, his throat rattling and he was drooling and exhaling loudly... "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	' Puntíku, Puntíku, ' ale	kdepak	milej Puntík.	The lady screamed: 'Spot! Spot! ' But, dear Spot paid no attention.
Topol-Sestra	Ale,	kdepák,	my sme jen parta kamarádů, kerý si pomáhaj.	Aw, come on, we 're just a buncha pals helpin each other out.
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	"	Kdepak	, " řekla.	" I couldn ' t, " she said.
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Kdepak	.	No indeed.
Urban- Sedmikosteli	"	Kdepak	.	' Of course not.
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o	" Ale	kdepak	.	'Not at all, ' said Tereza.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	Kdepak, milá paní doktorko, " pokračoval smutně Havel, "	kdepak	já a Don Juan!	" Not at all, my dear Doctor, " said Havel sadly, " Don Juan and I, not at all!
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	"	Kdepak	.	" Not at all!
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2	A pak toho pána, co žertuje o plzeňském pivu, a že musí být přímo od pípy, jinak to není ono...	kdepak	v láhvích v Mourek Innu.	And then the gentleman who makes jokes about Pilsener beer, that it has to come straight from the tap or it 's just not the same thing - certainly not from bottles in the Benes Inn: from the tap!
Urban- Lord_Mord		Kdepak	, tady umírají především mladí lidé.	By no means. The highest death rates here are among young people.
Topol- Chladnou_ze mi	Tady v Chatyni nevráždili žádný důstojníky, kteří se měli ubránit sami,	kdepak	!	The people who got murdered here in Khatyn were n't officers who could defend themselves. No, sir!
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Ale	kdepak	, to je poctivý člověk. "	" But of course not, he is an honest man. "
Topol-Sestra	Na povrchu betonového kvádru se v mém čase už oběti nekonali,	kdepak	, to se dělo jen dole ve sklepení, tam kde hnus kvasil, kde bylo tolik kriminálnický energie.	The sacrifices in my time were n't performed on some block of concrete, oh no, they were done down in cellars, down where the sickness fermented, where there was so much criminal energy.
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	, pravila ta hezčí redaktorka, Jana Hloubavá.	" Oh no! " said the prettier of the producers, Jana Hloubava.

styblova- skalpel_pros	" Ale	kdepak	, pane profesore, před dvěma měsíci mi bylo pětáosmdesát. "	" Oh, no, professor. I was seventy-five two months ago. "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	.	" No sir.
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_2	"	Kdepak	, z lágru se Bočár vrátil v pořádku.	" Not at all. Bocar came back from the camps in one piece
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Kdepak	!	Good Heavens no!
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	, člověče,	No indeed, "
Topol- Kloktat dehet	Nemá žádný šaty, ani žlutý, ani červený, ani zelený,	kdepak	, to jen ta bouda je strašně zmalovaná, holka leží ve vodě nahá	She was n't wearing any clothes – not yellow, red, green – nothing at all. Only the cabin was a gaudy mess. She lay in the bath naked.
styblova- skalpel_pros		Kdepak	, redaktor ještě není.	Oh no, he wasn't a reporter yet.
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_1	"	Kdepak	.	" Oh no, I could n't possibly have flown all the way to Toronto to see you if I were.
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_1	"	Kdepak	.	" Oh, no!
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Kdepak	, doktorko, já jsem tak nanejvýš postavou komedie, a ani za to snad nevděčím sobě, ale právě Donu Juanovi	Not at all, Doctor, I am at most a figure of comedy, and I do not owe even that to my own efforts, but to Don Juan
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Ale	kdepak	, pane profesore.	" Oh now, Mr. Smiricky, " he said modestly.
styblova- skalpel_pros	"	Kdepak	!	" Oh no!
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Ale	kdepak	, vašnosti.	" Oh no, your eminence.
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	.	" Not at all.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky		Kdepak	, milá paní doktorko, " pokračoval smutně Havel, " kdepak já a Don Juan!	" Not at all, my dear Doctor, " said Havel sadly, " Don Juan and I, not at all!
klima- laska a smeti	"	Kdepak	, to bylo fakt ohromný. "	' Not at all, that was quite fantastic. '
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Depak	!	No sir!
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_2	"	Depak	, hoši, " vzdychl Voženil.	" No, I tell you, boys, " sighed Vozenil, "
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_1	"	Depak	.	" Oh no.
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_1		Depak	!	" Oh no!
Skvorecky- PřibehIng_2	"	Depak	, Dane.	" Oh no, Dan.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	" Ale	kdepák!		" Hell, no!

Topol-Sestra	a dyž takhle sedí před chýší, celej bez sebe radostí, že ho ty nový kucí židovský, ty moderní tam neulověj...	depák	tám kucí, tam sou akorát anakondí a ještěří a papouši a pavoucí jak chalupa, taková havěť všelijaká,	an he 's sittin there in fronna his hut, happy as can be cause those new Jew boyz, those modern ones, wo n't be comin afder im there... no sir, boyz, all there is there 's anacondaz an lizardz an parrots an spiderz big as a cottage, all sortsa kina critters
klima-laska_a smeti	"	Kdepak	, " ozval se parťák, " to vám povím zase já, už jsem to poznal v životě mockrát: od ženských se vděku nedočkáte! "	' What a hope, ' the foreman spoke up, ' Let me tell you, I ' ve learned this more than once in my life: you won ' t get any thanks from a woman! '
klima-laska_a smeti	"	Kdepak	, teď už bych nic neufoukal.	' Not a hope. Couldn ' t blow now.
klima-laska_a smeti		Kdepak	!	' Some hope!
skvorecky-hrichy_pater	" Ale	kdepak	!	" Heaven forbid! "
Topol-Kloktat dehet	I	kdepak	Rusáček, zaskřehotal pan Cimbura.	' Little Russky be damned! ' Mr Cimbura croaked.
Topol-Sestra	ona si sem chodila odpočinout, udělat úkoly,	kdepak	, co vás nemá... já už jsem starý... ona je hodná děvenka... já bych se toho dědouška nedokt	she just came here to relax, do her homework, why I never... I 'm an old man now... she 's a good little girl... I would n't 've laid a hand on the old fart
Urban-Lord_Mord		Kdepak	, na Stránově se žádné zázraky nekonají.	Miracles in Stránov – out of the question!
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi	myslím, že nám to řekl, abychom snad nenabýli mylného dojmu, že patřil k nějakým těm tankistům, co tu stříleli do lidí, či snad dokonce ke kágébákům,	kdepak	!, jistěže ne!... pouhý medik!...	I think he told us that so we would n't think he 'd driven one of those tanks that shot people here in ' 68, or even worse, that he was KGB. Are you kidding? A lowly medic?
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi		Kdepak	Luis, ten by se nese.	Luis! Are you kidding? He would n't mess up.
Topol-Sestra		Kdepak	!	Are you kiddin!
Topol-Sestra	voni byli tady všickní zesláblí...	depak	... to voni neměli tu mou zlatou polivku	turned weak on im, all of um... no kiddin... they did n't have that golden soup...
Topol-Sestra		Depák,	to byste se hoší krutě přepočítali!	Do n't kid cherselfs now, boyos, cause that 'd be brutally miscalculatin!
Urban-Sedmikosteli	Mám vás přivést, žádá si vás, žádné poroučení,	kdepak	on! "	He wants to see you, by the way. And it was a request, not an order. He does n't give orders. '
Topol-Sestra		Kdepak	tyfus, slečno.	That 's no typhus, miss.
Topol-Chladnou_ze mi	Vystrčím hlavu a venku už není změt' vichru a deště, nejedí tam vichr,	kdepak	... po zmrzlé bělostné pláni pod nádherným sálavým sluníčkem si to k nám míří stroje,	I poke my head out and there 's no more wind and rain, no more howling. And underneath a magnificent, radiant sun the machines are heading towards us over the frozen snow-white plain

Topol- Chladnou_ze mi		Kdepak	chemie.	You do n't use candles if there are chemicals.
Topol-Sestra		Kdepak	dobrý baťovky, byl schoulenej do krabičky, kam by se vešly sotva kecky dvou cínovejch vojáčků!	But I gotta come clean, chiefs an bosses, I got a pretty good laugh out of it: never mind Batas, he was curled up inside a box barely big enough for the Keds of two tin soldiers!
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	.	No, your time has passed.
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2	Pro tyhle krásné děti začaly naše časy smrtí Jamese Deana. Ale	kdepak	. Janis Joplinové.	For these beautiful children " our times " began with the death of James Dean, no, Janis Joplin.
haki- o_rodicich_a_ dete	" A to byli Němci? " " Ty vojáci?	Kdepak	Němci, ustašovci...	" Were they Germans? " " The soldiers? Germans? No, they were Ustashi...
Urban- Sedmikosteli	" Ale	kdepak	- jmenoval se Řehoř. "	' No. Rehoř. '
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	. Je to trapný, ale nic mezi náma není	No, I hate to say it but there 's never been anything like that between us.
Urban- Sedmikosteli	"	Kdepak	.	' No.
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Kdepak	, nic se nestane, hoši! prorocky ztišil hlas.	" No, boys, " he said, lowering his voice as if to deliver a prophecy, " nothing will happen. "
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Depak	! Voni žádný bouchačky nemaj!	No, they ai n't got no hardware like this.
klima- laska a smeti	"	Kdepak	mrtvolky, v těch tělech je přeci jed, že projde i gumovýmá rukavicema, jak se dostane do krve, člověk jde k anděličkům. "	' Corpses ain ' t no joke, there ' s poison in them that goes right through your rubber gloves, and once it gets in your blood you ' ve had it. '
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	"	Kdepak	, " pravila trestankyně.	" No way, " said the prisoner.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	'	Kdepak	ponocnej, ten je Franta Hybšů. ' "	' So you are POMOCNEJ DĚLNÍK, a helping hand in civilian life, ' he answered them: ' No way PONOCNEJ, night-crier, him is Franta Hybšů. ' "
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	"	Kdepak	, kvůli mně by ji nepřevobsadil, " vzdychla dívka.	" No way, he didn ' t recast it because of that, " sighed the grey-eyed girl.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Ale	kdepak	v takové situaci chtějí ' Feuer einstellen '.	But no way can you want a ' FEUER EINSTELLEN, cease fire ' in a situation like that.
Topol- Kloktat dehet		Kdepak	!	No way!
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1		Kdepak	.	Not him.
Topol-Sestra	o věcech Boga jsem se ani nezminil,	kdepak	, já byl rád, že tu můžu ležet...	I did n't even mention that stuff about Bog, not me, I was glad to

				be there...
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Kdepak	otčenáš, takhle dvě porce masa a fazulový salát, napráskat se, lehnout si na břicho na kavalec, dloubat se v nose a nemyslit na pánaboha, nemám pravdu? "	No, not the ' Our Father '... Maybe two portions of meat and a bean salad... Stuff yourselves... Lay down on your bunks, pick your noses and never think of the Lord God! Am I not right? "
Topol-Sestra	snaživě jsem sháněl roli, chtěl jsem pro Černou nechat stopu, už ne v poli, nebo písku, už ne ani na jezeře,	kdepak	, už ne ani ohnutým stéblem trávy, ne zářezem, ne kameny, ne... už jsem pochopil, kde musím nechat stopu, aby věděla, že ještě jsem.	earnestly I sought a role, I wanted to leave a trail for Černá, not in a field or the sand anymore, and not on a lake either, uh-uh, not some bent blade of grass, or a notch, or stones, no... now I knew where I had to leave a trail so she 'd know that I still was.
Urban- Sedmikosteli	Myslím Gmünda,	kdepak	Rozetku, i když to byste letěl jako o závod, co?	I mean Gmünd, not Rozeta, though I 'm sure you 'd go running to her at the drop of a garter.
Topol- Chladnou_ze mi	Tady na východě se žádný záznamy nevedly jako u nás,	kdepak	.	Here in the East they did n't keep records like we did, nowhere near it.
Jirotk- Saturnin	Ona ho varovala, ale	kdepak	, je jako malé dítě.	She had warned him[]but what was the use - it was like dealing with a small child.
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Kdepak	ženská, a karty!	What ' s the use of trying to play cards with a woman!
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Doopravdy nejsou, pane obrlajtnant, " křičel do telefonu Vaněk, "	kdepak	by byly, to je jen fantazie seshora od intendantstva.	" There really aren ' t any OBRLAJTNANT, Sir, " Vaněk was screaming into the telephone, " How could there be any, it is only a figment of imagination coming from above, from the army supply service.
styblova- skalpel pros	"	Kdepak	!	" That ' s what you think!
Topol- Chladnou_ze mi		Kdepak	v těchhle ruinách vojenská kutálka, pýcha přehlídek, hrdý vřeskot mosazných trub!	Just imagine a military marching band, the proud blare of brass, in these ruins!
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Ale	kdepak	já, běžel jsem, jako když mně hlavu zapálí, na Berounsko a víckrát jsem se na Kladencku neukázal.	But as for me, forget it. I ran to the Beroun region as if they had set my head on fire and I never showed myself in Kladensko again.
Topol-Sestra	a tělo neměl zhrublý a ztěžklý svejma bitvama a už vůbec ne chlastem,	kdepak	, sportoval, běhal a házel diskem a učil se i o ženách...	an his body was n't all coarse an hard from battle, an forget about booze, this boy was an athlete, ran an threw the discus, an knew his way around women too...

Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Kdepak	je asi toho konec? "	I wonder where he ended up? "
haki- o_rodicich_a_ dete	A	KDEPAK	JSI? chtěla vědět.	WHERE R U? she wanted to know.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Tak	kdepak	jsem to přestal.	" So where did I stop?
skvorecky- hrichy_pater		Kdepak	mám superkabát.	Where did I put my supercoat?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Lezte dál, " řekl voják, "	kdepak	jste se tak zřídili?	" Crawl in further, " said the soldier. " Where did you get so messed up?
Kundera- Nesnesit_lehk o	"	Kdepak	je Karenin? "	'Where 's Karenin?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Kampak	? " otázal se přísně desátníka, který nevěděl si rady v nové situaci.	" Where are you off to? " he sternly asked of the sergeant who was clueless in the new situation.
kundera-zert	"	Kampak	, " zeptal jsem se ho.	" Where are you off to? " I asked.
Viewegh- VychovaDive kCR	"	Kampak	s kamarádkou jdete? " zajímal se.	" Where are you and your friend off to? " he enquired.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	"	Kampak	, " předstírala dívka údiv.	" Where to? " The girl feigned surprise.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	Na jeho "	kampak	" zrudla a odběhla beze slova od auta.	At his " Where to? " she blushed, and she left the car without a word.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	"	Kampak	? " zeptal se mladík schválně, protože chtěl vidět dívčiny rozpaky.	" Where to? " the young man asked on purpose, wanting to see the girl 's embarrassment.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" Dobrý poledne, vojáčku,	kampak	máte namířeno? "	" Good afternoon soldier boy, where are you heading for? "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Kampak	? "	The State policeman went directly to Švejk and didn ' t say any more than: " Where to? "
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1	"	Kdepak	bydlíte, slečno? " otázala se máti.	" And where do you live? " asked Mother.
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Kdepak	je Nadina dušička?	Graveyard, churchyard, garden so green, Nadia 's a little seed, but where is her soul, love?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Kdepak	máme pana Palivce, je už také doma? "	Now, where is our Mister Palivec? Is he home already, too? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	" Borku, ale	kampak	zase, ty neposedo, " hlaholil Alex.	" Borek, where are you going now, you antsy pants? " blared Alex.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Kdepak	je cuksfíra Fuchs? "	Where then is CUKSFÍRA Fuchs? "
otcenasek- romeo_julie	"	Kdepak	ses tu vzala, slečinko? "	" And where may you have come from, young lady? "

styblova- skalpel_pros	"	Kdepak	jsi o tom slyšela? " zděsila se ta paní.	" Where on earth did you hear about that? " the lady had gasped.
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	"	Kdepak	se to asi Jensen nadral, " zeptala se zpěvačka.	" Wherever did Jensen get that drunk? " asked the singer.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	"	Kdepak	jste se naučila tak krásný tanec? " zeptal se primář.	" Wherever did you learn such a beautiful dance? " asked the chief physician.
otcenasek- romeo_julie	" Ale kam?... jeminánku...	kampak	bys... "	" But where do you want to go?... good heavens... wherever do you... "
Topol-Sestra	I co to povídáš, mládenečku,	kampak	bych se vrtla.	Good gracious, what do you mean, sonny, why on earth would I want to move?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	"	Kdopak	by se Kafky bál!	"Who 's afraid of Franz Kafka!"
Topol-Sestra	Hele tady máš Oldu, tohle je Svoboda, tady Varlatář, tady Kulečník, Ducháč a	kohopak	to máme tady?	Look here, you got Olda, this here 's Svoboda, then Nutcracker, Side Pocket, Ducháč, an who have we here?
klima- laska_a_smeti	A	kdopak	takhle zrychtoval vás? "	And who knocked you about like this? '
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	" S	kýmpak	se stýkáte? "	" Then, whom do you have contacts with? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Už se párkrát rozváděli, ale jaksi bydlí spolu pořád dál...	kdopak	by se taky hnul z tohoto zámku	already twice divorced but for some reason still living together... who would budge from such a castle?
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	" A	kdopak	to tedy byl, kdo byl zastrčen ve vozíku? "	Who was the man in white inside the car? "
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	a	kdopak	má dnes nazbyt času na pouhé povídání?	and who 's got time for just talking?
styblova- skalpel_pros	"	Kdopak	to k nám přišel? " kňoural mazlivě.	" Who ' s this come to see us, then? " he cooed, trying to clutch her with his good arm.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Kdopak	by takový cigarety kouřil.	Who would smoke cigarettes like that?
klima- laska_a_smeti	"	Kdopak	ti udělal monokl? " obrátil se k paní Venuši.	' Tell me, who gave you that monocle? ' he turned to Mrs Venus.
Viewegh- VychovaDive kCR		Kohopak	?	Who?
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Kdopak	je tady z vás cuksfíra Fuchs? " otázal se Švejk, když konečně je zastihl.	" Who here among you is CUKSFÍRA Fuchs? " Švejk posed the question, when at last he had caught up with them.
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	" S	kýmpak	? "	" Who with? "
Skvorecky- Mirakl	Ale	kdopak	může říct?	But who can say?
Kundera- Nesmrtelnost		Kdopak	je asi její manžel?	Who could her husband be?

Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	"	Kohopak	to vezete s sebou? " otázal se přísně	" Whom is it that you ' re giving a ride to? " he asked sternly
styblova- skalpel pros		Kdopak	hlásá celý život tuhle zásadu?	Who is it that ' s been spouting that principle all his life?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2		Komupak	to zas nasazují psí hlavu? pomyslím si	Who are they going to tar and feather now? I thought to myself
skvorecky- hrichy_pater		Kdopak	to přece prohrál na Lake Tahoe nedávno tři tácy a předevěřem zrovna tady u toho stolku tři stovky?	Who was it who lost three thousand bucks at Lake Tahoe not long ago, and three hundred more right here at this table the night before last?
klima- laska a smeti	" A	kdopak	by určoval, kdo z nás je normální? "	' And who ' d decide who is normal? '
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	" A	kdopak	vám tu nepěknou věc provede? "	" And who ' s going to do such a nasty thing? "
skvorecky- hrichy_pater	A	kohopak	to detektivky natvrdo vařený zkazily už natolik, že vážně přemejšlí o tom, jak nastavit pokladní revolver tak šikovně, aby se mohla podívat dovnitř do hlavně, jak tam je připravená kulička, jen na ni vyběhnout?	And who was so spoiled by hard-boiled detective mysteries that he seriously thought about doing his banking behind a gun barrel, pointing it at the teller so she could see the bullet all ready to pop out at her?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_2	' Von je šestej vodshora, už sou to tři roky,	kdopak	se má s tím sajrajtem probírat až k předposlednímu dóle.	" He ' s sixth from the top and it ' s been three years and who ' s gonna go rooting around in all that guck?
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	A naše místa...	kdypak	naposledy jsme dostali přidáno?	And our jobs... when ' s the last time either of us received a bonus?
klima- laska a smeti	"	Kdypak	vy jste měli fáro? " zajímal se parťák.	' So when did you have your own wheels? ' the foreman asked curiously.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Otec s matkou však pracovali vždy tak dlouho, že na hraní s holčičkou byli pak už zase unaveni -	kdypak	tedy vlastně po té práci přijde ta zábava?	But her mother and father always work so long they ' re too tired to play with the little girl- when ' s the play going to come after the work?
klima- laska a smeti	" A co kalhoty, " zažertoval, "	kdypak	si už navlíknete nějaký šarivant? "	' And what about your trousers, ' he joked, ' when will you grow into long ones? '
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	Hovor s Janou mě tak zdržel -	kdypak	naposledy jsem se tak pobavil? - že jsem přišel o půl hodinu později na naše místo v Jateční ulici.	The conversation with Jana delayed me-when was the last time I enjoyed myself like that? - and I arrived a half hour late for our rendezvous on Slaughterhouse Street.
Paral- Milenci_a_vra zi	ahoj, holky, to máte blbý, že musíte makat, a tramvají -	kdypak	já naposledy jel tramvají!	hi, girls, too bad you have to work, and he took a streetcar- when ' s the last time I took a streetcar!

otcenasek- romeo_julie	A maličké neobratné dobrodružství. Jmenovalo se Jaroslav, ale všichni mu říkali Jarek. Chodil o třídu výš a dříve si jí ani nepovšiml.	Kdypak	to všechno začalo? U rybníka Troníčku na požaté louce. Poskakovala tam bosá, sama si prozpěvujíc ke svému vystoupení.	And awkward little affairs. His name was Jeremy but everybody called him Jim. He was in the form above her and had never bothered to notice her before. Where had it all begun? She was skipping about barefoot on a newly-mown meadow by Troní? ek pond and singing a tune
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	vzdychat i myslet pro sebe,	kdypak	čert vezme tebe! "	TO BE SIGHING AND THINKING TO ONESELF, WHEN IS THE DEMON GOING TO TAKE YOU! "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	- A	kdypak	ty jsi prch? " obrátil se uplakanýma očima na Švejka.	- And when did you run away? " he turned his cried out eyes to Švejka.
Topol- Kloktat dehet	A	kolikpak	prádla a knih nesla mladička Mária do Betléma?	' And how much underwear and how many books did the sweet young Mary take with her to Bethlehem? '
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Kolikpak	vám za ten brilliant dali?	How much did they give you for the diamond?
Skvorecky- PribehIng_1	Sedlicu,	kolipak	mu mohlo bejt? Dvaadvacet nanejvejš. Taky sedlák. U Samary ho vomráčil granát a pad jim do rukou.	Sedlica - how old could he 've been? Twenty-two at the outside. A farmer, too. A grenade knocked him out at Samara and they took him prisoner.
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV	Peníze na voze a menáž v kočáře,	kerejpac	regiment tohlencto dokáže?	The money on a cart and the mess in a buggy, Now, which regiment can manage this?
otcenasek- romeo_julie		Kterápac	, paninko milá, by pořád chtěla snášet takovou mizérii a terpentýnový smrad podstřešního pelechu, do něhož fučí vítr všemi skulinami?	that ' all very well, missus, but how would you like to put up with that miserable life in the smell of turpentine and the draught blowing in through all the cracks in a tumbledown attic?
Urban- Lord_Mord	ale neměl jsem kdy se s nimi pobavit,	natožpac	zaplést.	but I had never had occasion to amuse myself with them, let alone get involved.
Viewegh- VychovaDive kCR	Slepý nevidí ani masku,	natožpac	tvář bez ní.	A blind man ca n't even see the mask, let alone the face beneath.
Skvorecky- Mirakl		Odkdypak	se vlastně znáš s Jarmilkou?	Instead of responding to his toast, I asked, " How long have you known Jarmilka? "
Kundera- Smesne_lasky	" Ale, ale, " pohoršil se primář něžně, "	odkdypak	chodí naše sestry na striptýz? "	" Now, now, " the chief physician scolded her gently. " Since when do our nurses go to strip joints? "
Hasek- OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Pročpac	jste napadl na toho plešatého pána?	Why is it that you attacked the bald gentleman?

skvorecky-hrichy_pater	A Raglánek přemejšlí a rudne. Nic? opakuju. Ale jeminánku!	Pročpak	asi MacDougall moh už domu? No přece proto, že ten večír už nemusel klihovat, jak tomu ty říkáš,	' ll tell you one more thing, Ragsy. I ' ll tell you what McGrogan said to me just before he left. He said, ' Well, now I can go home. Bye-bye.' Why could he suddenly go home? Obviously because his job was done for the evening, he didn ' t have to tail the person any more
styblova-skalpel_pros		Pročpak	jste mě přivázala? "	Why did you tie me up? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Pročpak	je tohle všechno?	Why?
Skvorecky-Mirakl	Vlastičko,	pročpak	ses nepochlubila, že tak dobře umíš hrát šachy?	" Vlasta, my dear! Why did n't you let us know you were so good at chess? "
styblova-skalpel_pros		Pročpak	s ním nemluvíš? "	Why aren ' t you speaking to him? "
Hasek-OsudyDobreh oVvSV		Pročpak	, vy jeden siamskej slone, nemyslíte? "	How come, you Siamese elephant you, that you do n't think? "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Julda má pravdu, " opakovala Madda trucovitě. " Ano? Tak	pročpak	ho tedy neposloucháš, pročpak tedy neděláš, co on ti káže?	Julda 's right, " Madda stubbornly repeated. " Really? So then why do n't you listen to him, why do n't you practice what he preaches?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	Tak pročpak ho tedy neposloucháš,	pročpak	tedy neděláš, co on ti káže?	So then why do n't you listen to him, why do n't you practice what he preaches?
kohout-snezim	-	Pročpak	ne?	" Why in the world not? "
Topol-Sestra	A	pročpak	?	An why not? asked Bohler, readying his vessel.
styblova-skalpel_pros	A	pročpak	mě taky nezavolali k soudu, já bych jim pověděla, jak to bylo! "	And anyway, why didn ' t they ask me to go to court as well? I ' d have told them! "
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Pročpak	sis, chlapče, tak zohavil hrudníček tou tetovází... kdyby ta tvoje nymfa měla aspoň ňadra stejný.	Why did you mutilate your chest with this tattoo?... If only your little nymph had matching breasts.
Skvorecky-Mirakl		Pročpak	máš takový komunistický řeči, dyž seš katolík?	" Why are you always talking like a Communist when you 're a Catholic? "
Topol-Sestra	A mládenečku,	pročpak	ke mě nezajdeš na čajíček... takový hoch musí zdravé věci. velmi rychle.	Why do n't you come up to my place for a nice cup of tea... a growing boy like you needs healthy things
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi	"	Pročpak	jste vy mladí hned tak naježení?...	" Why is it you young people are so snippy?...
styblova-skalpel_pros	" A	pročpak	? " zeptala se.	" And why not?

Topol-Sestra	A von ten muj obrst Prochaska, kerej se mě jinak často vypytaal na matičku... tu von měl rád... a dycky se usmál a řek...	sopak	Prág!	An instead a askin me bout the little mother like the oberst awways did... he was fond a her... an he 'd smile an say... vot about Praque!
Topol-Sestra	Á prašskej šid a néumí němécký, so to je,	sopak	še to děje?	Eh, a Praque Chew zat duss n't spik Cherman, vot iss diss, vot iss goink on?
Paral-Milenci_a_vrazi		Zdalipak	já budu s to ještě někdy dobýt dívku...	I wonder if I 'll ever conquer a girl...
Topol-Kloktat_dehet		Zdalipak	víte, co se přihodilo synovi palká, k čemu ho donutili...	' Do you know what befell the son of the regiment, what they made him do?...
Kohout-Hvezdna_hodi na		Zdalipak	stojí ještě stěny, v nichž byl tak dlouho šťasten?	Was his old home still standing?
Urban-Sedmikosteli	"	Zdalipak	víte, kdy zemřel pražský chodec? "	' Do you know when the Prague pedestrian died? '