Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Filozofická fakulta

Ústav anglického jazyka a didaktiky

Bakalářská práce

Denisa Šebestová

English translation counterparts of Czech sentences containing *copak* and *jestlipak*

Anglické překladové protějšky českých vět s výrazy *copak* a *jestlipak*

Praha, 2015                                        vedoucí práce: doc. PhDr. Markéta Malá, Ph. D.

Prohlašuji, že jsem bakalářskou práci vypracovala samostatně, že jsem řádně citovala všechny použité prameny a literaturu a že práce nebyla využita v rámci jiného vysokoškolského studia či k získání jiného nebo stejného titulu.

V Praze dne 28. května 2015

..........................................

Souhlasím se zapůjčením bakalářské práce ke studijním účelům.

**Abstrakt**

Bakalářská práce se zabývá anglickými překladovými protějšky českých částic *copak* a *jestlipak*, obsahujících postfix *–pak*. Tento postfix je původně enklitická částice, která se připojuje k zájmenům, příslovcům či částicím. Má expresivní a intenzifikační charakter. Práce ho analyzuje z perspektivy třetího syntaktického plánu (Poldauf, 1964). Na základě Poldaufových poznatků o ekvivalentních prostředcích třetího syntaktického plánu v angličtině popisuje, jaké anglické ekvivalenty přicházejí pro české částice *copak* a *jestlipak* v úvahu.

Na základě vzorku překladových dvojic čerpaných z beletristických textů z paralelního korpusu *InterCorp* pak práce zkoumá, jaké ekvivalenty se v praxi skutečně vyskytují. Anglické prostředky práce užívá jako ukazatele funkcí vět obsahujících *copak* a *jestlipak* a jejich překladových ekvivalentů. Vedle funkcí emocionálních (např. výčitky) mají zkoumané částice např. funkce deliberativní, intenzifikační nebo vytýkací.

**klíčová slova**: překladové protějšky, třetí syntaktický plán, částice

**Abstract**

This BA thesis examines the English translation counterparts of the Czech particles *copak* and *jestlipak.* The postfix *–pak* evolved from the eclitic particle *pak,* which is added to pronouns, adverbs or particles. The postfix is by its nature expressive and has an intensifying function. The present thesis analyses the particles with *–pak* from the perspective of the third syntactical plan (Poldauf, 1964). Based on Poldauf´s findings about the English equivalents of the Czech third syntactical plan elements, the thesis presents possible English counterparts of the two particles.

Subsequently, English counterparts of Czech sentences with *copak/jestlipak* excerpted from the parallel corpus *InterCorp* are analysed to find out what types of equivalents occur in English translations of Czech fiction. The English counterparts then serve as markers of the functions of the Czech sentences containing *copak* and *jestlipak.* Apart from emotionally evaluative functions, such as reproach, the particles are shown to have deliberative, intensifying or focusing functions.

**keywords**: translation counterparts, the third syntactical plan, particles

**Table of Contents**

**List of Abbreviations**

*ČJA 5*        Balhar, Jan et al. (2005) *Český jazykový atlas 5*. Praha: Academia.

*MČ 1*        Dokulil, M. a kol. (1986) *Mluvnice češtiny. 1, Fonetika, fonologie, morfonologie a morfemika, tvoření slov.* Praha: Academia.

*MČ 2*        Komárek, M. a kol. (1986) *Mluvnice češtiny. 2, Tvarosloví.* Praha: Academia.

*OED*        *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2015. Available online from <www.*OED*.com> (accessed 19 May 2015).

*OALD*        *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* (2005) S. Wehmeier, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

*PMČ*        Karlík, P., M. Nekula, Z. Rusínová, eds. (2000) *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

*SSČ*        Filipec, J., L. Kroupová a kol. (2005) *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost.* Praha: Academia.

*SSJČ I*        Havránek, B. et al. (1960) *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého I; A – M.* Praha: ČSAV.

\* ungrammatical form

**List of Tables**

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Objectives of the thesis

According to Poldauf ('The Third Syntactical Plan', 1964: 254), the repertory of the elements of the third syntactical plan in English is limited. The third syntactical plan of a language consists of "components which place the content of the sentence in relation to the individual and his special ability to perceive, judge and assess" (ibid.: 242). As Poldauf´s conclusions suggest, English employs different elements than Czech in the corresponding functions. This thesis concentrates on examining the English counterparts of particular Czech elements of the third syntactical plan.

In contrast to English, Czech has a fully developed third syntactical plan (ibid.: 254). In Czech, those lexical elements of the third syntactical plan which express emotional evaluation include numerous particles (ibid.: 246). In our thesis, we will examine a specific group of Czech particles, namely those ending in the postfix –*pak*, focusing on the respective particles *copak* and *jestlipak,* which are classified as emotional (Trávníček, 1951: 795, 933). Our objective will be to look for English equivalents of these two lexemes.

Based on Poldauf´s research, we expect to encounter sentences introduced by *I wonder* among the translation counterparts of *jestlipak* (Poldauf, 1964: 253). Our hypothesis is supported by Dušková (2012: 313), who mentions sentences introduced by *I wonder* as equivalents of Czech polar questions introduced by *jestlipak*. These Czech questions are deliberative, i. e. the speaker is considering whether or not the content of the question is true (Dušková, 2012: 313).[1]

The counterparts of Czech sentences with the particle *copak* may include English rhetorical questions, i. e. clauses which are formally identical with questions but require no reply. Rhetorical questions are emotionally expressive, they have the illocutionary force of an emphatic assertion of the reversed polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316). Czech sentences with *copak* (or its variant *cožpak*) correspond to English rhetorical questions with the form of a polar question (ibid.). According to Dušková,

---

[1] „Na rozdíl od čistých otázek zjišťovacích mají otázky se *zdalipak, jestlipak* deliberativní charakter, tj. mluvčí sám uvažuje nad možností platnosti jejich obsahu" (Dušková, 2012: 313; my paraphrase).

these rhetorical questions are similar in their function to indicative clauses with a question tag of the opposite polarity (ibid.). Poldauf (1964: 254), too, mentions question tags as elements of the English third syntactical plan – therefore, question tags are expected to occur among the counterparts of *copak* as well.

Words with the postfix *–pak* are generally classified as expressive (*Mluvnice češtiny 2*, 1986: 393; henceforth *MČ 2*). Postfixes which evolved from enclitic particles, such as *–pak*, are frequently used in spoken language (*ČJA 5*, 2011: 570). *Jestlipak* is characterized as colloquial (*SSČ*, 2005: 121; Trávníček, 1951: 657) as well as an element of "common Czech"[2] (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 786), i. e. the variety of the Czech language which is most frequently used in spontaneous everyday spoken discourse (*Encyklopedický slovník češtiny*, 2002: 81).

With the abovementioned characteristics in mind, we will excerpt the material for our analysis from the core database of the parallel corpus *InterCorp*, which contains texts from literary fiction. We expect the particles to occur more frequently in fiction than in other types of texts available from different accessible corpora. According to Johansson (2007: 1), multilingual corpora can help demonstrate differences as well as affinities between languages. Though the specificities of translation may sometimes distort the picture of a language that a parallel corpus-based research offers, this risk can be mitigated using a corpus containing "a variety of texts and a range of translators represented" (ibid.: 4 –5).

---

[2] Obecná čeština (my translation).

## 2. Theoretical background

The first section of the theoretical part of this thesis will briefly delineate the concept of the third syntactical plan, describing its general characteristics and specific features of the third syntactical plan in Czech as opposed to English. We will proceed to classify and describe the Czech postfix –*pak,* analyse it from the point of view of semantics and list the individual word classes in which the postfix can occur, paying special attention to particles with –*pak* and their use, with which the thesis is primarily concerned.

### 2.1 The third syntactical plan – introduction, types of evaluation

According to Poldauf´s research (ibid.: 247), Czech particles occur as means of what he refers to as the third syntactical plan, i.e. syntactical elements which relate the semantic content of a sentence to an individual (be it the speaker or another person) who feels somehow concerned either with its content or with the way in which part of the communication is formulated. These elements may also express the individual's evaluative attitude either to the content or to the form of the given sentence. This evaluation may have either an emotional or an intellectual basis (Poldauf, 1964: 242 – 245).

Elements of emotional evaluation introduce into the communication the speaker's evaluative stance to the matter communicated, the evaluation being based on an emotion he perceives – cf. ex. (1) (Poldauf, 1964: 245). As Poldauf notes, one cannot directly express the emotions of others; all evaluative elements related to a person other than the speaker are therefore to be classified as instances of intellectual evaluation (ibid.: 246).

Intellectual evaluation, on the other hand, pertains to instances of a sentence being related to the speaker´s "ability to perceive, judge and assess" (ibid.: 242), excluding emotional assessment – cf. ex. (2). It also pertains to the speaker referring to his "mental property", i. e. mental impressions perceived by the speaker (ibid.: 243) – cf. ex. (3). The category of intellectual evaluation is very closely related to modality (ibid.: 244) – cf. ex. (4).

(1) *Jen když už jsi doma.; Kolik peněz to stálo!* – emotional (ibid.: 246)
(2) *Ztratila chudák kabelku.* – intellectual – judgment (ibid.: 245)

(3) *Čas mu utíkal pomalu.* (ibid.: 243)

(4) *Je to myslím přesně tak.* – intellectual, modal (ibid.: 244)

Elements representing the third syntactical plan vary in different languages, depending among other factors on the typological classification of the given language. In the following paragraphs, we will briefly summarise Poldauf's conclusions regarding the third syntactical plan and its elements in Czech and English.

### 2.1.1 Intellectual evaluation in Czech

Among the third syntactical plan elements frequently used in Czech there are adverbs (e. g. *prý, možná, určitě*) and inserted fragments of clauses (e. g. *škoda že, samozřejmě že*) (Poldauf, 1964: 244), both types expressing intellectual evaluation (ibid.: 245).

The dative case is employed in the Czech third syntactical plan in the following functions:

(5) *Pěkně si leží* – reflexive dative; reference to the speaker's direct emotional/sensual concern, relating the sentence to the perceiver (Poldauf, 1964: 243)

(6) *Tak vám byl jednou jeden chudý chalupník* – unattached dative; suggesting a person who has or may have an emotional concern in the content (ibid.)

(7) *Natrhal jí na louce květiny* – relationship of possession in a broad sense; cf. the English *Find me a seat* (ibid.: 242)

(8) *Čas mu utíkal pomalu* – relationship of a person to their "mental property"; the dative signifies a relation to the entire sentence (ibid.: 243).

### 2.1.2 Emotional evaluation in Czech

As means of emotional evaluation, the Czech third syntactical plan employs primarily particles, most frequently occurring in sentence-initial position – cf. ex. (9), (10) (Poldauf, 1964: 246); these signals of emotional evaluation often border on modal evaluation, as in ex. (10) (ibid.: 247).

(9) *Když ono pořád prší.* (ibid.)

(10) *Aby tak venku pršelo.* (ibid.)

Other frequent means of emotional evaluation in Czech include epenthetic formulas like *viďte, že, co,* or corresponding introductory signals, such as *že* (ibid: 247). In questions, Czech employs the enclitic particle *pak* (added to the sentence-initial word, as in ex. 11); in yes/no questions, *jestlipak* or its synonym *zdalipak* are used. Poldauf also notes the frequent occurrence of the particle *copak* as an introductory signal of emotional evaluation – cf. ex. (13).

(11) *Kampak jsem to dal?* (ibid.: 247)

(12) *Jestlipak to víš?* (ibid.)

(13) *Copak potřebuje skútr?* (ibid.)

### 2.1.3 Elements of the third syntactical plan in English

As opposed to the situation in Czech, the third syntactical plan is not fully developed in English, partly due to the analytical character of the English language and, consequently, its fixed word order (Poldauf, 1964: 248). However, the corresponding functions of the third syntactical plan are fulfilled by different means. Generally, English tends to prefer means of intellectual evaluation over emotional ones (ibid.: 254) and independent word signals of evaluation instead of morphological ones (ibid.: 248).

In general, the prevalent evaluative elements in the English third syntactical plan are introductory signals. Here English employs different constructions which allow for a definite personal subject (ibid.: 250):

a) the *find* construction expressing personal impression – ex. (14)

b) constructions with *have* carrying the broad meaning of possession – ex. (15)

c) constructions similar to b) with verbs of sensory perception – ex. (16)

d) passive constructions – ex. (17).

(14) *He found time pass too slowly.* (Poldauf, 1964: 249)

(15) *He had his horse shot under him.* (ibid.: 250)

(16) *He felt his heart beating with joy.* (ibid.)

(17) *He jumped up as if he had been stung.* (ibid.)

Poldauf further suggests an example of a phenomenon in Czech similar to the *have* construction in ex. (15): the construction with the verb *mít* + infinitive of a lexical verb, used in descriptions of states, such as *Měl čepici viset na věšáku* (Poldauf, 1964: 250).

### 2.1.4 Intellectual evaluation in English

In the field of intellectual evaluation, English makes frequent use of phrases such as *I imagine, I dare say, it may be*. These may occur as introductory, epenthetic, or inserted signals (ibid.: 251). Adverbial expressions in sentence-initial position occur in English as well as in Czech, however the English repertory is smaller; moreover, English tends to prefer verbal expressions to adverbial ones, which is especially true of intellectual evaluation carrying (or bordering on) modal meaning (ibid.: 250 – 251): Poldauf lists several examples of English verbs equivalent in this function to Czech adverbs, such as *seem, appear,* as opposed to *jakoby; be likely* as an equivalent of *asi, pravděpodobně*, etc. (Poldauf, 1964: 251).

In expressing the speaker´s concern with the form of the sentence, English frequently employs adverbs, similarly to Czech (ibid.). However, English expressions referring to an individual´s concern with the form are more freqently related directly to the verb (or to the subject complement, as seen in ex. 18) than their counterparts in Czech. In such cases, Czech prefers inserted expressions - cf. ex. (19) (ibid.).

(18) *It´s simple nonsense* as opposed to *\*To je prostý nesmysl.* (Poldauf, 1964: 251)

(19) *To je prostě nesmysl.* (*It´s simply nonsense.*) (ibid.)

### 2.1.5 Emotional evaluation in English

Introductory signals of emotional evaluation are predominant in English; however, unlike Czech, English never employs particles in this role. Instead, we encounter the intensifiers *how* or *what (a),* introducing the exclamative sentence type (Dušková, 2012: 333), or interjections (Poldauf, 1964: 251 - 252), whose relatively frequent use possibly compensates for the lack of expressivity in English as opposed to Czech (ibid: 254).

Other elements of emotional evaluation include tags – cf. ex. (20), inverted word order (notably in American English – cf. ex. (21)), introductory or epenthetic signals (e. g. *I mean*), the emphatic *do*, rhetorical questions – cf. ex. (22) (ibid.: 252), expletives (e. g. *Bother money* as an equivalent of the Czech *Copak peníze*) (ibid.). Poldauf points out the introductory signal *I wonder* and its specific function of establishing contact, which renders it equivalent to the Czech particle *pak* (ibid.: 253) – cf. ex. (23).

(20) *You´ve seen him, then?* (Poldauf, 1964: 252)

(21) *Aren´t you the fortunate man!* (ibid.)

(22) *Why not give it up?* (ibid.)

(23) *I wonder if you know it. – Jestlipak to víte?* (ibid.: 253)

Unlike the Czech words with *–pak*, *I wonder* can occur in sentences expressing another person´s "concern" as the verb can be conjugated – cf. ex. (24).

(24) *"I wonder where you are going." -> She wondered where I was going.* (Poldauf, 1964: 253)

### 2.1.6 Function of *–pak* in the perspective of the third syntactical plan

The Czech particles *copak* and *jestlipak* carry the meaning of emotional evaluation, as mentioned by Poldauf (cf. also Trávníček, 1951: 795, 933):

(25) *Copak potřebuje skútr?* (Poldauf, 1964: 252)

(26) *Jestlipak to víte?* (ibid.: 253).

*Jestlipak* also serves the function of establishing contact between the speaker and the recipient (Poldauf, 1964: 253).

### 2.2 The postfix *–pak* in Czech

### 2.2.1 Occurrence of *–pak* in different word classes

Czech words derived by the postfix *–pak* occur in different word classes, namely interrogative pronouns, interrogative deictic adverbs, particles and interjections. Some of the words with *–pak* belong to several different word classes, *copak* being a

remarkably versatile example which can occur either as a pronoun (cf. ex. (27)), a particle (28), or an interjection (29).

(27) *Copak jste tam koupila?* (*Příruční mluvnice češtiny*, 2000: 694; henceforth *PMČ*) – pronoun

(28) *Copak jsi jiná než ostatní ženy?* (Štícha, 2013: 773) – particle

(29) *Copak, oni to dnes nehrají?* (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222) – interjection

### 2.2.2 Classification of –*pak*; its role in word formation. Inflection.

Interrogative pronouns and adverbs ending in –*pak* are formed by derivation, consisting of the neutral, basic form of the given interrogative pronoun/adverb and the affix –*pak*, as in *co* + –*pak* constituting *copak* (*Mluvnice češtiny 1*, 1986: 435; henceforth *MČ 1*). Notably, this type of interrogative pronouns is transparent in terms of word formation, which is a rare characteristic among Czech interrogatives (ibid.: 513). The formant –*pak* is classified as a postfix (*MČ 1*, 1986: 435) (i. e. a type of affix which follows an inflectional suffix, *PMČ*, 2000: 109) or as an enclitic particle (*PMČ*, 2000: 679), as etymologically it evolved from the particle *pak* (*MČ 1*, 1986: 435). As regards word formation, the postfix is not considered productive in contemporary Czech (Čermák, 2012: 199, 245 – 246).

In the case of interrogative pronouns, the postfix –*pak* is sometimes combined with the affix –*ž* which precedes it, constituting variant forms such as *kdožpak* (Čermák, 2012: 187). Like –*pak,* the affix –*ž* is classified as a postfix/enclitic particle (*MČ 1*: 513).

The declension of words with –*pak* derived from pronouns is of a type which is comparatively rare in Czech grammar. The base retains the paradigm of the original basic pronoun whereas the postfix is not inflected, resulting in word forms such as *copak, čemupak, čímpak* etc. (*MČ 2*, 1986: 393).[3]

---

[3] Cvrček et al. (2010: 222) mention other pronouns inflected in a similar way, namely *tento, tenhle* and the type ending in the suffix –*koli* (as in *kterýkoli*).

## 2.2.3 Etymology. Conversion of words ending in –*pak*

Apparently, the original adverb *pak* was converted to a particle which, due to its enclitic character, was gradually transformed into a postfix.[4] The hypothesis that the affix –*pak* is originally a particle is supported by Šmilauer (1969: 28), who classifies particles with –*pak* (such as *copak*) as intensifiers (intensifying particles) and notes their two-word variants in which the postfix is graphically detached from the pronoun or adverb: kdo*pak*/kdo *pak*, co*pak*/co *pak*. Although the two-word variants are not in use in present-day Czech,[5] they may serve to testify that the present-day postfix has indeed evolved from the particle *pak*.

The etymology of *jestlipak* is more complex. It can be traced back to the verb form *jest* combined with the conjunction –*li* (Trávníček, 1951: 1442). This conjunction carries conditional meaning (*MČ 2*, 1986: 226) and invariably assumes its position after the verb.[6] The verb form *jest* gradually blended with the conjunction, subsequently losing its verbal characteristics and converting to a particle. The particle was then blended with the postfix –*pak* (Trávníček, 1951: 1440-1).

Interestingly, while the postfix –*pak* (itself evolved from a particle) is employed at the formation of pronouns or adverbs, some of these derivations (such as *copak, kdepak*) then function secondarily as particles (*MČ 2*, 1986: 88)[7] or can be converted to interjections (Čermák, 2012: 190), as has been illustrated earlier in the respective examples (28) and (29).

---

[4] Čermák (2012: 189) stresses the adverbial origin of the particle *pak* by referring to it as 'konverzní adverbium' (converted adverb – my translation).

[5] *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (2010) does not state the two-word variants, neither does *SSJČ* (1960).

[6] „Spojka –*li* […] se připojuje zpravidla ke slovesu stojícímu na začátku věty (*víš-li, říkám-li, mohl-li*)." (*Internetová jazyková příručka Ústavu pro jazyk český*). Available online from < http://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/?id=164> - "The conjunction –*li* […] is normally added to verbs in sentence-initial position (*víš-li, říkám-li, mohl-li*)" (my translation).

[7] Also mentioned by Čermák (2012: 189).

### 2.2.4 Semantics

Particles ending in *–pak* are classified in terms of their function as either interrogative contact particles , as in ex. (30) (*MČ 2*, 1986: 231),[8] or emotional particles (ibid.: 236).

(30) *Jestlipak sis to už přečetl?* (*MČ 2*: 231)

The emotional type shows additional semantic features of surprise[9] (with an added function of appeal and evaluation) or apprehension (with an added function of appeal) (ibid.: 236).[10] Apart from these meanings, according to *SSJČ I* (1960: 222), the introductory particle *copak* can also signify recognition, admiration – cf. ex. (31); modesty, understatement, disdain – cf. ex. (32); curiosity – ex. (33); reproach – ex. (34); or indignation – ex. (35).[11]

(31) *Copak ten, ten umí spravit všecko.*

(32) *Copak tady, ale u nás, na horách!*

(33) *Copak že nejde?*

(34) *Copak jste nám o tom něco řekli?*

(35) *Copak je to vůbec možné? Copak ten!*

In terms of semantics, the emotional type of *–pak* particles is closely related to the *–pak* interrogative pronouns, which serve corresponding functions, as exemplified by the respective sentences. In example (36), according to Trávníček´s classification (1951: 656),[12] the meaning of surprise is combined with that of displeasure, both of which can be classified as emotionally evaluative. Example (37) implies the illocutionary force of appeal and is roughly equivalent to "don't you even dream of that" (ibid.).[13] Example

---

[8] „Apelativní (výzvové, kontaktové) tázací částice" (my translation).

[9] „Podiv" (my translation).

[10] „Sémantický rys obavy" (my translation).

[11] „Uvozuje výraz n. větu vyjadřující 1. obdiv, hodnocení, uznání n. skromné odmítání, podceňování, pohrdání; 2. mírný podiv, překvapení, zvědavost, výčitku n. rozhořčení" (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222; my translation).

[12] „Otázky s odstínem nevole" (my translation).

[13] „Druhotný oznamovací smysl: to ti nesmí ani napadnout, na to nepomýšlej." (Trávníček, 1951: 656; my translation).

(38) shows semantic features of apprehension and could be rephrased as "this would lead to a misfortune" (ibid.).[14]

> (36) *Kdopak to zas přišel?* (Trávníček, 1951: 656)
>
> (37) *Copak ti to napadá!* (ibid.)
>
> (38) *Kam(pak) by to vedlo!* (ibid.)[15]

Pronouns and adverbs ending in *–pak* are considered expressive (*MČ 2*, 1986: 393), some of the adverbs also functioning as intensifiers (*MČ 1*, 1986: 435).[16] Adverbs with *–pak* are modifications of neutral, mostly deictic adverbs (Čermák, 2012: 181), with the postfix introducing an added semantic feature of intensification as well as an expression of degree (ibid.).[17] These adverbs are normally used in questions; due to their expressive character (*MČ 1*, 1986: 434) they occur most frequently in spoken language (Čermák, 2012: 181). The postfix *–pak* in this function may be expressive of the speaker's interest, curiosity as well as of a "lenient, superior attitude" (Čermák, 2012: 181).[18] Analogous semantic features can be observed in the corresponding pronouns with the postfix *–pak*, as classified by Trávníček:[19]

> (39) *Kdopak si to na mne vzpomněl?* – implying "curiosity" (Trávníček, 1951: 656)
>
> (40) *Čípak jsi, chlapečku?* – implying "kindness, intimacy" (ibid.)[20]

---

[14] „To by vedlo daleko, ke špatným koncům" (my loose translation).

[15] Due to the lack of suitable examples of these particular instances of interrogative and emotional particles, we provide examples of pronouns with *–pak* in their stead. Both the particles and the pronouns acquire the abovementioned semantic features through the postfix (Čermák, 2012: 181; Trávníček, 1951: 656, respectively), therefore we believe these examples are illustrative of the semantics of the postfix *–pak* with equal relevance.

[16] „Hranice mezi tázacími a intenzifikačními je plynulá" (*MČ 1*, 1986: 435); see also Cvrček et al. (2010: 221); also Šmilauer (1969: 28).

[17] See also *MČ 1* (1986: 434); Čermák (1988: 494).

[18] „Důraz a zvědavost (vždy v otázce v důvěrném kontaktu, obv. v mírně nadřazené, shovívavé roli)" (my translation).

[19] Cf. footnote 15 – the same applies to adverbs with *–pak*.

[20] „Zvědavost"; „laskavost, důvěrnost" (Trávníček, 1951: 656; my translation).

The frequent occurrence of words ending in –*pak* in spoken Czech is also motivated by the fact that most Czech pronouns and deictic adverbs are relatively short, the postfix allowing for added stress and intensification (*MČ 2*, 1986: 100). Particles with –*pak* may also constitute verbless clauses, such as „Kdepak!" (Čechová et al., 2002*:* 326).

### 2.2.5 Functions of –*pak* in questions

Particles with the postfix –*pak* occur in different types of questions. Štícha (2013*:* 763 – 765) distinguishes three uses. Firstly, these particles occur in yes/no questions, specifically in their dubitative subtype (questions expressing doubt), to which the particle adds a deliberative meaning (i. e. the speaker poses the question to himself) (Štícha, 2013: 763; Dušková, 2012: 313). *Jestlipak* is a typical representative of this type:

(41) *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, 2013: 764)

Secondly, the particles are used in questions with the function of appeal and the illocutionary force of an objection:

(42) *Copak si myslíte, že tam na vás čekali?* (Štícha, 2013: 764)

Thirdly, they are found in questions with the illocutionary force of reproach.

(43) *Copak opravdu nic necítíš? Copak jsi jiná než ostatní ženy?* (Štícha, 2013: 773)

The two latter groups are both represented by the particle *copak* (Štícha, 2013: 773). In the case of the idiom *natož(pak) aby*, the postfix (which is an optional element of this particular idiom) can be considered to have a grading function (Čermák, 1988: 502), as in:

(44) *Ani nepoděkoval, natož(pak) aby nabídl pomoc.* (Čermák, 1988: 502)[21]

---

[21] „Připojení něčeho jako ještě nereálnějšího než sám o sobě nerealizovaný n. nerealizovatelný předchozí fakt, který druhý mylně předpokládá." (Čermák, 1988: 502) – "Referring to an additional element,

Words ending in *–pak* may also serve as instruments of text cohesion, introducing a new topic (usually in colloquial spoken language) or linking the following sentence to a previous utterance (*PMČ*, 2000: 694), as occurring respectively in the following examples:

(45) *A pročpak jste se (vlastně) rozhodl studovat jadernou fyziku?* (*PMČ*, 2000: 694)

(46) *Jakpak se (vlastně) jmenujete?* (ibid.)

In ex. (45, 46), the postfix *–pak* is a marker of politeness and a friendly attitude (ibid.). Furthermore, the enclitic particle *–pak* is a means of establishing contact, used particularly in spoken Czech in opening a conversation or changing its topic. In ex. (47), *copak* signifies the speaker´s sympathy (*PMČ*, 2000: 679).

(47) *Copak se ti stalo?*

The objective of this thesis is to examine *jestlipak* and *copak* functioning as elements of the third syntactical plan. From this point onwards, we will therefore concentrate solely on the instances of *copak* as a particle, as exemplified by the following:

(48) *Copak něco říkám?* (modifying particle, semantically equivalent to "snad") (*PMČ*, 2000: 694)

(49) *Copak si myslíte, že tam na vás čekali?* (Štícha, 2013: 764)

Variants of the *–pak* particles dealt with in this thesis will include *copak, cožpak, cák* (dialectal) (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222) and *jestlipak*.

### 2.2.6 Possible English counterparts of –pak

The present thesis will examine the counterparts of the Czech particles *copak* and *jestlipak* in English, using translated texts excerpted from the parallel corpus *InterCorp*. In this section we will consider which particular elements equivalent to the Czech particles can be expected in the English translation counterparts.

---

presented as even less probable than a previously mentioned fact which another person mistakenly holds to be true, and which is either not valid or cannot be realised" (my translation).

The following hypotheses are based on the previous list of evaluative elements in the third syntactical plan in English (Poldauf, 1964), as well as equivalents of *copak* and *jestlipak* mentioned in grammars, notably in *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková, 2012), whose comparative approach to English grammar proved convenient for the purposes of our thesis.

Equivalents suggested by Poldauf´s study include the following. (The possible equivalents were discussed in more detail in chapter 2.1.)

*copak*
- rhetorical questions (*What use is a scooter for him?*) (Poldauf, 1964: 252)
- expletives (*Bother money*) (ibid. 252)

*jestlipak*
- introductory signals of evaluation, mainly *I wonder* (*I wonder if you know it.*) (ibid.: 253)

### 2.2.7 *Co(ž)pak* as the counterpart of negative polar questions

In Czech grammars of English, the particles *cožpak* and *copak* are often referred to as an introductory signal equivalent to English negative polar questions (Dušková, 2012: 314; Peprník, 1984: 30). [22]

> (50) *I wonder if Jane is coming. – Hasn´t she phoned?*
>
> *Jestlipak přijde Jana? – Cožpak netelefonovala?* (Dušková, 2012: 314)
>
> (51) *Can´t he come?*
>
> *Copak nemůže přijít?/Jakto že nemůže?* (Peprník, 1984: 30)

In English, negative polar questions imply a change in the speaker's evaluation of the truth value of his previous assumption; in addition, the question may be expressive of the speaker's (often unpleasant) surprise (Dušková, 2012: 314).

---

[22] Henceforth we will be using Huddleston and Pullum´s terminology, i. e. **polar questions** (allowing as its answers a pair of polar opposites, Huddleston and Pullum, 2012: 868) and **variable questions** (those including "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).

In Czech, positive and negative polar questions can often (but not universally, cf. Štícha, 2013: 763) be used interchangeably. There are several specific uses of negative polar questions, explained in detail by Štícha (2013: 762 – 764); we will only focus on those instances relevant for our research. These include contexts in which the negative polar question carries deliberative meaning. Equivalent English constructions are *happen* + infinitive as in ex (52) or *I wonder* – cf. ex. (53) (Dušková, 2012: 314).

(52) *Do you happen to have a stamp? – Nemáš známku?* (ibid.: 314)

(53) *I wonder if Charles has rung up. – Netelefonoval Karel?* (ibid.)

As testified above (compare also ex. 23), the introductory *I wonder* has been frequently suggested as an equivalent of *jestlipak.*

### 2.2.8 *Co(ž)pak* as the counterpart of English rhetorical questions with the form of a polar question

Rhetorical questions are formally interrogative clauses with the illocutionary force of an emphatic assertion of the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316).[23] According to Dušková (ibid.: 316; 326), rhetorical questions in English can take the form of either polar or variable questions. English rhetorical questions with the form of polar questions have Czech counterparts introduced by *co(ž)pak*, as in ex. (54).

(54) *Copak chceš být vyloučen ze školy?*
*Do you want to be expelled from school?*

**Summary of expected counterparts:**

*jestlipak:*

● *I wonder* (introductory/epenthetic signal)

*copak:*

● negative polar questions

● rhetorical questions (negative and/or positive polar)

● question tags of the opposite polarity (cf. chapter 1)

● expletives

---

[23] With regard to the function of these questions, Štícha (2013: 764) even introduces the term *assertive questions* („otázky asertivní" – my translation).

### 3. Material and method

#### 3.1 Material

##### 3.1.1 Variant forms of *copak* and *jestlipak* included in the analysis

The repertory of variant forms of *copak* and *jestlipak* is relatively large and varied. The most frequently mentioned forms of the particles are the standard ones *cožpak, copak, jestlipak* (*MČ 2*, 1986: 231). Čermák (2012: 189) mentions the adverbs *copa, copak, cožpak, jesipak* and *jestlipak*, stating that rare variants are not included in the list. *Český jazykový atlas 5* lists the following variants: *copak*, *copa* (classified as typical of West-Bohemian dialects) and *cák* (western groups of North-Bohemian dialects) (*ČJA 5*, 2011: 482; cf. also *SSJČ I*, 1960: 222). According to these sources, possible variants of the particles *copak* and *jestlipak* therefore include the following.

- *copak, cožpak, copa, cák*
- *jestlipak, jesipak*

A comparison of the abovementioned variants enables us to estimate other possible forms. The postfix *–pak* is often reduced to *–pa*, as in *copa;* the consonants *t* or possibly the cluster *tl* in *jestlipak* tend to be elided, as in *jesipak*. Forms which omit the initial *j* can also be expected. Based on these observations, we expected that the possible variants might include *jes(t)lipa* or *es(t)lipa(k)*. Examples from *InterCorp 6* also testify the marginal colloquial forms *esipak, estlipak*.

Postfixes which evolved from enclitic particles function as means of emphasis, intensification, and expressing emotion – all of these meanings are frequently expressed in spoken language, such postfixes are therefore typical of dialects (*ČJA 5*, 2011: 570). With regard to the colloquial character of particles including these postfixes, we searched for all the expected variants listed above in the spoken corpus of contemporary Czech ORAL 2013. However, the material available from synchronic spoken corpora did not confirm our hypothesis.

*Jestlipak* was not present in the corpus except two instances of its colloquial variant *jesipak*. After searching two older versions of the spoken corpus for variants of *jestlipak* we found six instances of *jesipak* and a single instance of *jeslipa* in ORAL 2008. The standard form *jestlipak* occurred twice in ORAL 2008 and seven times in ORAL 2006. *InterCorp 7* includes 4 instances of *jeslipak,* 2 of *eslipa* and a single

instance of *jesdipak* (*sic*). Based on this research, we can conclude that the variants of *jestlipak* are marginal, at least in the relevant sources. Therefore, we will not include the variants in the analysis.

The number of instances of the variants of *copak* present in ORAL 2013 together with those in *InterCorp 7* are summed up in Table 1. Surprisingly, *InterCorp 7* contained the dialectal variant of the particle *cák*, which was not present in the spoken corpus. All instances of *cák* were from the novels of Josef Škvorecký and appeared in the dialogues of characters stemming from Náchod[24] – the local dialect (North-East Bohemia) indeed includes the variant form *cák* (*ČJA 5*, 2011: 482). The form *copa* did not occur in *InterCorp* and will therefore not be included in our analysis. Variants of *jestlipak* did not occur in the parallel corpus either.

Interestingly, outside of our subcorpus (see 5.1.2 for details), there were a total of 2107 instances of *cožpak* in the whole of the Czech section of *InterCorp*. If we compare these results with the number of instances in the spoken corpus with regard to the i. p. m. rate (cf. Table 1), we can conclude that *cožpak* is probably more frequent in fiction (specifically in dialogues or inner monologues, the latter context pointing to a deliberative function of the postfix –*pak*) than in actual spoken Czech. This may have to do with the deliberative character of the postfix – by definition, deliberative utterances are not frequent in spoken language.

**Table 1. Variants of *copak* – occurrences in ORAL 2013 and *InterCorp* 7**
(The subcorpus to which we limited our search within *InterCorp* 7 will be specified below.)

| variant | ORAL 2013 | *InterCorp* 7 (whole corpus) | *InterCorp* 7 (relevant subcorpus) |
|---|---|---|---|
| *cožpak* | 1 (i. p. m. 0,30) | 2107 (i. p. m. 9,93) | 9 |
| *copa* (particle) | 20 | 4 | 0 |
| *cák* (particle) | 0 | 16 | 5 |

[24] According to *Slovník české literatury po r. 1945* (2013)*, the fictitious town Kostelec in the novels is known to be inspired by Náchod. (M. Špirit: "Josef Škvorecký" in *Slovník české literatury po r. 1945* (2013). Available online from <www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz>, accessed 15 May 2015).

### 3.2 Method

The thesis uses as its material sentence pairs excerpted from the parallel corpus *InterCorp 7*, accessed through the *KonText* interface of the Czech National Corpus.[25] A subcorpus was created, whose parameters were set up as follows: the source language of the texts was Czech, the Czech version of the text was the original version, and the texts were only excerpted from the core part of the corpus, which comprises literary fiction. Using this subcorpus with the English corpus aligned, the words *jestlipak, copak, cožpak* and *cák,* respectively, were entered into the query field. The Query Type parameter was left at Basic as neither of the words is inflected, and the case of the initial letter can be neglected.

The concordances were then checked manually and irrelevant instances were excluded. The final results consisted of 17 relevant sentence pairs including *jestlipak*, 106 pairs including *copak,* 9 with *cožpak* and 5 with *cák* (cf. Table 2).

**Table 2. Instances of the individual particles in *InterCorp***

| particle | number of instances |
|----------|---------------------|
| *jestlipak* | 17 |
| *copak* | 106 |
| *cožpak* | 9 |
| *cák* | 5 |
| **total** | **137** |

Although the thesis was originally intended to deal with 100 sentence pairs, we have decided to include the results in their entirety. Consequently, the total number of sentence pairs will be 137. In each English sentence, the counterpart of the given Czech particle *copak* or *jestlipak* was identified. Subsequently, the sentences were sorted into groups according to the character of the English counterparts.

---

[25] Available online from <www.kontext.korpus.cz/intercorp>.

We will now briefly refer to the irrelevant sentence pairs and the reasons for their exclusion.

### 3.2.1 Irrelevant sentence pairs

The excluded concordances were primarily the occurrences of *copak* as a pronoun (cf. ex. A).

A. *„Copak mi Helena chce, nevíte?" zeptal jsem se.*
   *"You don't happen to know what Helena wants, do you?" I said.*

Three further sentence pairs with *copak* were left out of the analysis. In two cases, the English translation included no identifiable counterpart of the particle as the sentence had been entirely rephrased. In the English translation of ex. (B), the particle *copak* was replaced with a subordinate clause, *as if it were something,* which functions syntactically as the adverbial modifier of the phrase *no getting upset*. On the other hand, the original Czech clause introduced by *copak* was coordinated with the preceding clause, as exemplified by the following excerpts:

B. *„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."*

In ex. (C), the original utterance consisted of several sentences, whereas the English translation it was condensed into one sentence, excluding any counterpart of *copak*:

C. *„Von žárlí i tak." – „Na co? **Copak něco ví?** Nemůže nic vědět. Přece sme spolu nic neměli."*
   *"He´s jealous enough as it is." – "But there was never anything to be jealous of – we never did anything."*

As regards the third excluded sentence pair, the whole passage including the sentence with *copak* had been omitted from the English translation altogether.[26]

---

[26] Cf. *InterCorp 7*, s.id 0:248:7.

## 4. Analysis

In the present chapter, we will examine the individual translation counterparts of *jestlipak* and *copak*, respectively, with the 137 sentence pairs serving as our material. The individual elements or constructions which we have evaluated as corresponding in terms of their function to *copak/jestlipak* will be consulted with relevant literature in order to determine which aspects they share with the Czech particles.

The following tables 3 and 4 summarise the chief types of translation counterparts occurring in our material, sorted by frequency. The counterparts of sentences with *copak* (and its variants *cožpak* and *cák*) are classified according to two criteria: sentence type (interrogative/declarative) and polarity (positive/negative) of the English clause. Instances which cannot be sorted based on these criteria are marked as *other*.

**Table 3. English counterparts of *jestlipak***

| counterpart of *jestlipak* | number of instances | percentage |
|---|---|---|
| *I wonder* | 7 | 41% |
| other | 10 | 59% |
| **total** | **17** | **100%** |

**Example sentences:**

- *I wonder*

  *Jestlipak vůbec ví, že je vlastně král?*

  *I wonder if he knows he's a King?*

- **other**

  o **polar question**

  *Jestlipak znáte ještě vzoreček pro výpočet plochy kruhové výseče?*

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

  o **question with a modal verb; inferential construction**

  *Jestlipak znáte časopis Svět zvířat?*

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

**Table 4. English counterparts of *copak* and its variants**

| counterpart of *copak/cožpak/cák* | number | percentage |
|---|---|---|
| positive question | 55 | 47,54 |
| negative question | 42 | 34,43 |
| other | 15 | 12,3 |
| negative declarative clause | 8 | 5,73 |
| **total** | **120** | **100%** |

**Example sentences:**

- **positive question**

  *Copak za ně byla odpovědna?*

  *Was she responsible for them?*

- **negative question**

  *Copak jste nedostali Beranův vzkaz?*

  *Didn't you get Beran's message?*

- **other**

  - **question tag**

  *Copak člověk žije sám?*

  *People don't live in isolation, do they?*

- **negative declarative clause**

  *Copak to potřebuju?*

  *I don't need that kind of trouble.*

### 4.1 English counterparts of *jestlipak*

Table 5 presents a more detailed survey of the types of counterparts of *jestlipak* which have occurred in our material.

**Table 5. Counterparts of *jestlipak* – detailed summary**

| counterpart of *jestlipak* | number of instances | percentage |
|---|---:|---:|
| *I wonder* | 7 | 41.2 % |
| inferential construction | 2 | 11.8 % |
| positive question | 2 | 11.8 % |
| other (entirely rephrased) | 2 | 11.8 % |
| question + past tense | 1 | 5.9 % |
| *what if…* | 1 | 5.9 % |
| modal verb | 1 | 5.9 % |
| additional lexical items | 1 | 5.9 % |
| *total* | *17* | *100 %* |

### 4.1.1 I wonder

As Poldauf (1964: 253) points out, *I wonder* is "a parallel to the Czech use of *pak* for establishing contact". Out of 17 instances of the particle *jestlipak* in our subcorpus, 7 had sentences with *I wonder* as their English counterparts. Two of these can certainly be classified as having the function of establishing contact; in fact the two instances are from the same passage in which the utterance occurs twice, cf. ex. (1) and (2).

(1) *„Kouřil bys, viď,“ řekl, „**jestlipak**…“*
    *"You'd like to have a smoke, right? **I wonder if**..."*

(2) *Chtěl říct: „**Jestlipak** ti dají také zakouřit, než tě pověsí,“ ale nedokončil větu, vyciťuje, že by to byla beztaktnost.*

*The short one didn't finish his sentence, because he wanted to say: "**I wonder if they will give you a smoke before they hang you.**" But, he felt saying it might be tactless.*

According to Dušková (2012: 313), indirect questions introduced by *I wonder* are frequently used instead of direct questions for reasons of politeness. The enclitic particle –*pak* is likewise mentioned as a colloquial marker of politeness in *PMČ* (2000: 694). Possibly, the use of *I wonder* in examples (1) and (2) therefore enhances the comic effect of the passage, the polite form being in striking contrast with the "tactless" content.

However, other instances of *jestlipak* in our results do not fall into this category. Our research shows that *I wonder* can correspond to the deliberative function of *jestlipak* (as occurring in questions expressing doubt, cf. chapter 3.5) (Štícha, 2013: 763; Dušková, 2012: 313). In ex. (3), the speaker poses the question to himself.

(3) *Jestlipak vůbec ví, že je vlastně král?*
    *I wonder if he knows he's a King?*

The introductory signal *I wonder* can "easily be embedded in another type of sentence," (Poldauf, 1964: 253) as manifested in ex. (4) (cf. also Dušková, 2012: 313). The particle *jestlipak* marks the question as a deliberative one.

(4) *Jestlipak má při vrcholu úsměv, vzpomněl jsem si.*
    *[...] I remembered, and **I wondered if** it might have a smile at the top.*

As Poldauf notes, *I wonder* can occur epenthetically, as in ex. (5) (Poldauf, 1964: 253). According to *OED Online*, "*I wonder* is often placed after a question which expresses the object of curiosity or doubt".[27] The context of the passage proves the question (5) to be dubitative (expressing doubt – cf. chapter 3.5) and deliberative (the speaker is thinking aloud). In this particular instance, the deliberative function of *I wonder* is emphasised by its formal autonomy within the utterance. Perhaps the

---

[27] "wonder, v." Def. 2. *OED Online,* Oxford University Press, March 2015. Available online from <www.*OED*.com> (accessed 10 May 2015).

extraposition of *I wonder* also reflects a certain degree of discontinuity which is present in the original Czech sentence.

    (5) *Jestlipak to ještě dovedu, bejt mlsná.*
       *Do I still have a sweet tooth?* ***I wonder.***

We can conclude that *I wonder* corresponds to the two uses of *jestlipak*: as a means of establishing contact (possibly with the added function of a politeness marker) and in deliberative questions. These two functions of *jestlipak* correspond to two different meanings of the English verb *wonder* as defined in the following entries excerpted from the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (2005: 1693; henceforth *OALD*).

    a) **wonder (about something)** "to think about something and try to decide what is true, what will happen, what you should do, etc."

    b) **wonder [wh-]** "used as a polite way of asking a question or asking somebody to do something."

The *OED Online* contains, among others, the following definitions of the verb *wonder*.

    c) Def. 2 – "To ask oneself in wonderment; **to feel some doubt or curiosity (how, whether, why, etc.);** to be desirous to know or learn."[28]

Definition a) as well as "to feel some doubt or curiosity" in c) both correspond to the function of *jestlipak* in deliberative questions (Štícha, 2013: 763). Definition b) corresponds to *jestlipak* as used for establishing contact and/or expressing appeal (*MČ 2*, 1986: 231).[29]

### 4.1.2 Polar question

    The question in ex. (6) is posed to an addressee, the function of *jestlipak* in this context is therefore that of establishing contact (Poldauf, 1964: 253) rather than a deliberative one. *Jestlipak* may also contribute to the linking function of the introductory particle *tak*. Structuring particles of this introductory type ("introducing the

---

[28] "wonder, v." Def. 2. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2015. Available online from <www.*OED*.com> (accessed 10 May 2015).

[29] „Apelové (výzvové nebo také kontaktové) částice" (*MČ 2*, 1986: 231; my loose translation).

beginning of a text or of its part")[30] often have the added function of appeal (*MČ 2*, 1986: 237).

> (6) *„Tak jestlipak víš, kam teď pojedeš?" zeptal jsem se ho. – „Jo," řekl mi. „Pojedu domů k dědečkovi." – „Ba ne, Vítku," začal jsem mu vysvětlovat. „Napřed pojedeš do jiné nemocnice. Tam už budou děti jako ty."*
> *"So do you know where you're going now?" I asked him. – "Yes," he said. "I'm going home to Granddad." – "Oh, no," I began explaining to him again. "First, Vítek, you're going to another hospital, where there'll be more children."*

The English sentence includes *so* as a corresponding linking device. The interrogative sentence (6) has the illocutionary force of appeal rather than a question. Even though it is formally a polar question, rather than implying a simple "yes" or "no" answer it makes the addressee voice his belief, which the speaker subsequently rejects. The speaker´s intention is therefore not to receive an answer but to present his own knowledge and to prove the addressee wrong. The function of establishing contact, fulfilled by *jestlipak*, could thus be attributed to the whole of the Czech sentence. This "contact" aspect was not quite preserved in the English sentence due to the lack of a precise equivalent of *jestlipak* in English. This mismatch may support Poldauf´s claim that the English syntactical plan is less developed than the Czech one (Poldauf, 1964: 248).

Whereas the question in ex. (6) is addressed to a specific person, ex. (7) is deliberative. As Štícha (2013: 763) points out, deliberative questions are common in literary fiction, specifically in internal monologues, which is indeed the case in ex. (7).[31] The Czech deliberative question introduced by *jestlipak* has no exact functional parallel in English; its two possible equivalents are polar questions and indirect questions with *I wonder*, which have been discussed in 4.1.1 (Dušková, 2012: 313).

> (7) *Jestlipak se Hakim ozve na takový výlev idealismu?*

---

[30] „Částice signalizující začátek textu nebo jeho části mají zároveň často funkci apelovou" (*MČ 2*, 1986: 237; my translation).

[31] „Je to mj. i běžný postup literární stylizace vnitřní řeči postav." – "[Questions introduced by *jestlipak*] are also commonly used in fiction in the stylisation of characters´ internal monologues." (Štícha, 2013: 763; my translation).

*Will Hakim rise to confront such an outpouring of idealism?*

Example (8) contains past tense in the English translation, apparently functioning as a marker of politeness. According to Dušková (2012: 223), past tense can imply the speaker´s tentative stance, whereby it renders the question more polite; in such instances, the preterite acquires a modal function.[32] Past tense implying politeness corresponds to the "contact function" of *jestlipak* (Poldauf, 1964: 253) and has a function analogous to that of *I wonder* (cf. section 4.1.1). Similarly to the examples with *I wonder* (cf. ex. (1) and (2) above), past tense occurring as a counterpart of *jestlipak* suggests that *jestlipak* in the function of establishing contact (Poldauf, 1964: 253) can be a marker of politeness or tentativeness. This corresponds to the mention of *–pak* as a colloquial enclitic particle expressing politeness or friendliness in *PMČ* (2000: 694).

(8) *[…] 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?*

In ex. (9), the expression *by any chance* fulfills a similar function; however, in this particular instance, the tentative character of the question is likely ironical, considering the situational context of the particular dialogue (the speaker is a teacher, the question is addressed to his former student who did not do well at school). Here, we believe the tentativeness to be motivated by the speaker´s expectation of a negative answer.

(9) *„Jestlipak znáte ještě vzoreček pro výpočet plochy kruhové výseče?"*

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

There was one instance of a question introduced by the interrogative phrase *what if* – cf. ex. (10). Quirk et al. (1985: 839) classify such clauses as „irregular questions", used „mainly in conversation". They „introduce questions used as inquiries: *What if it rains? ['What happens if it rains?']"* (ibid.: 840). The colloquial character of irregular questions corresponds to the colloquial nature of *jestlipak* (*SSČ*, 2005: 121). Huddleston

---

[32] „Posunem do minulosti se mluvčí vyjadřuje tentativněji a tím i zdvořileji." (Dušková, 2012: 223; my translation).

and Pullum (2002: 910) argue that the meaning of questions introduced by *what if* is roughly equivalent to that of "*what will happen/will you do/shall I do if...*". This meaning corresponds to the contact function of the particle *jestlipak* (Poldauf, 1964: 253) as the *what if* question has the illocutionary force of appeal, suggesting that the addressee should react to the situation or provide a solution to it. In ex. (10), judging by the context of the passage, this particular question is deliberative: the speaker is wondering what he should do in case the other person was listening in.

(10) *Sklapla. [...] **Jestlipak** ten řecký hajzlík připoslouchával? – Dceruška? vtíral se šéf medovým úsměvem.*
*She hung up. [...] **What if** that little Greek prick was listening in? "Your daughter?" my boss interjected with a honeyed smile.*

### 4.1.2.1 Question with a modal verb. Inferential construction

As the speaker of a deliberative question is considering the truth value of a given statement (Dušková, 2012: 313), we could say that the deliberative character of a question implies an epistemic modal meaning. This accounts for the use of the modal verb *could* in the English counterpart in ex. (11).

(11) *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 Dotty and Lida's probable profession have awakened the masochistic pleasure principle in Mr. Zawynatch?*

Two instances in our material included the construction *could it be that...*, which falls under what Delahunty (1995: 341) refers to as inferential constructions – cf. ex. (12). Delahunty presumes that these constructions can occur in any language which includes expletive/zero subjects, copular verbs and subordinate tensed clauses (ibid.: 343).

(12) *Jestlipak jste, vy syčáci, ještě nezapomněli otčenáš?*
*"Could it be, you bums, that you have forgotten your 'Our Father'?"*

English inferential constructions are sentences in which "a tensed subordinate clause is embedded as the complement of a form of *be* whose subject is expletive *it*" (Delahunty,

1995: 342), as in **It's not that** *he hates the press the way Nixon did,* **it's just that** *he is insensitive to the press' role in our society* (ibid.: 341). Delahunty refers to the superordinate part (i. e. the form of *be* and the expletive *it*) as the matrix (ibid.). Modal verbs can occur in the matrix (ibid.: 343), as in ex. (12). Delahunty points out that the construction enables the entire clause to be placed within the scope of modals, negation or adverbs (ibid.: 344).

According to Quirk et al. (1985: 1392), such constructions occur in "expressions of possibility and (especially) reflective questions"; in such instances, the extraposition of the clause is obligatory (ibid.). Delahunty (1995: 347) revises this assertion, adding that the construction itself does not express possibility but rather can include items expressing possibility. In terms of function, inferential constructions "may represent an interpretation, reflection, or conjecture" (ibid.: 348). In this aspect, the inferential construction can be related to *jestlipak* in its deliberative use.

In ex. (12), it seems plausible to interpret the particle *jestlipak* as a means of establishing contact. (According to *MČ 2* (1986: 231), *jestlipak* voices an appeal directed to the addressee or establishes contact, while expressing the speaker´s relationship to the content of the utterance.) The question in ex. (12) is posed by a priest during the service, implying that the audience should start praying. In this instance, its function is that of appeal: the speaker may pretend to be "thinking aloud", thus making the question resemble a deliberative one, but the intent of his utterance is to elicit a particular reaction from his audience.

As inferential constructions have occurred both as counterparts of *jestlipak* and *copak*, they will be further discussed in chapter 4.2.

### 4.1.3 Other

In several instances the English counterpart sentence was completely rephrased. Although the English translation in ex. (13) may seem to be addressed to a specific person, the context of the passage proves its deliberative character.[33] The pronunciation

---

[33] In this passage, the only character present besides the speaker is asleep, therefore the speaker is apparently posing the question to himself.

of *do you,* reflected in the spelling, reflects the colloquial character of the particle *jestlipak*.

(13) *Jestlipak se trefím?*

   *Well, how d'you reckon my chances?*

### 4.2 English counterparts of *copak*

The following table presents a detailed summary of all the counterparts of *copak* and its variants *cožpak* and *cák* which occurred in our material. The types of counterparts are sorted in accordance with the sequence in which they will be discussed in this chapter. An individual subchapter will be dedicated to all types of counterparts except those in *italics.*

**Table 6. Counterparts of *copak/cožpak/cák* – detailed summary**

| counterpart of *copak/cožpak/cák* | number of instances | percentage |
|---|---|---|
| **NEGATIVE POLAR QUESTION - total** | **42** | **35 %** |
| negative polar question | 37 | |
| question including non-verbal negation | 5 | |
| **POSITIVE QUESTION - total** | **55** | **45.8 %** |
| *do you think…* | 5 | |
| *how* + modal verb | 7 | |
| inferential construction | 3 | |
| echo question | 2 | |
| variable and polar question juxtaposed | 2 | |
| *(do) you mean…* | 3 | |
| *question with modal verb* | 2 | |
| *other positive questions* | 30 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **NEGATIVE DECLARATIVE CLAUSE** | **8** | **6.7 %** |
| **QUESTION TAGS** | **4** | **3.4 %** |
| **OTHER - total** | **11** | **9.2 %** |
| added introductory clause | 3 | |
| added lexical items | 2 | |
| referent-final tags | 2 | |
| *other* | 4 | |
| *total* | <u>**120**</u> | *100 %* |

*Note*: Except one equivalent containing *how* + modal verb, all sentences containing *cák* were instances of idioms which will be discussed separately in chapter 4.3.

### 4.2.1 Negative polar question

As has been mentioned earlier in the theoretical chapter of this thesis (cf. 2.2.7), English negative polar questions occur in specific contexts. They imply a change in the speaker's original assumption, which may be the cause of the speaker´s (unpleasant) surprise (Dušková, 2012: 314). This particular type is illustrated by ex. (14) – the speaker had assumed that the addressee was looking forward to "her being his" but now her conduct makes him doubt the assumption.

> (14) *Copak ty se netěšíš na to, že budeš moje se vším všudy?*
>
> *Aren´t you looking forward to being mine and all that goes with it?*

In ex. (15), the illocutionary force of the question is that of a reproach. Interrogative sentences introduced by *copak* with this illocutionary force reprimand the addressee for inadequate conduct, possibly implying "a flaw on the addressee´s part" (Štícha, 2013: 773) – in ex. (15), with regard to the context provided by the addressee´s reply, the implication is probably that the addressee is narrow-minded or stubborn).[34]

---

[34] „Mluvčí vytýká partnerovi nepřiměřené jednání, které jako by bylo důsledkem nějakého partnerova nedostatku" (Štícha, 2013: 773; my translation).

(15) *Copak, madam, nechápete, co je v literatuře funkční? – Nechápu a nechci chápat!*

*Don't you understand what it means for something to have a function in literature? – I don't understand and I don't want to!*

When posing a negative polar question implying an answer of the opposite polarity, the speaker expects to receive a reaffirmation of the opposite of what he is claiming (Dušková, 2012: 315), as in ex. (16).

(16) *Copak právě v jeho "nevěděl jsem! věřil jsem!" netkví jeho nenapravitelná vina?*

*Isn't his 'I didn't know! I was a believer!' at the very root of his irreparable guilt?*

Negative polar questions can function as rhetorical questions, which are equivalent to emphatic statements of the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316). This is observable in (16) as well as in (17), which states a self-evident fact.

(17) *Copak netrpí všechny ženy měsíčním krvácením?*
     *Don't all women suffer from monthly bleeding?*

Some verbs seem more likely to occur in negative questions than others, e.g. the verbs *see,* as in ex. (18), and *understand,* as in (19). In one English sentence counterpart, *see* even replaced the Czech verb *cítit* (*feel*) – cf. ex. (18). These instances could be related to the characteristic feature of negative polar questions – a change in the speaker´s previous assumption (Dušková, 2012: 314). Here, the change of assumption is motivated by the speaker´s observation of the addressee´s reactions to his previous utterance. Based on these reactions, the speaker comes to suspect that the addressee may have misinterpreted his intent. The question therefore carries a meaning of inference or conjecture. As Poldauf points out, it is impossible for the speaker to know the true feelings or thoughts of the addressee: "about the emotional attitude of another person the only thing the speaker can do is give an (intellectual) piece of information" (Poldauf, 1964: 246). Therefore, the speaker´s "change of assumption" has an essentially intellectual basis and such sentences could be regarded as instances of intellectual evaluation.

(18) *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?*

In some Czech sentences with *copak*, the boundary between the interrogative and exclamative sentence type seems fuzzy (here we are referring to the exclamative sentence type which is formally identical with negative polar questions, distinguished solely by intonation (Dušková, 2012: 334). We have encountered sentence pairs in which one sentence type occurred as the counterpart of the other, as in ex. (19) and (20). As Štícha (2013: 773) points out, interrogative sentences with the illocutionary force of reproach can end either with a question mark or an exclamation mark.

(19) *„Copak nechápete, že jste nic neudělal, a nemáte proto co odčiňovat?"*

*"Don't you **understand** that you've done nothing and so there is nothing to atone!"*

(20) *Copak nevidíte!*

*Can´t you see?*

In example (21), the Czech adverb *jak* functions as a marker of degree. The English sentence contains no relevant counterpart of *jak*. Possibly, the functional specificity of the English negative polar question is enough to ensure that the English sentence expresses an equivalent meaning and to emphasise its emotional expressivity, whereas the Czech negative question, not being marked enough by itself, needs to be accompanied by another expressive element.

(21) *Copak nevíš, **jak** tě mám rád?*

*Don't you know I love you?*

#### 4.2.1.1 Question containing non-verbal negation

Among the counterparts of *copak* there were also interrogative clauses including non-verbal clausal negation – there occurred the absolute negators *no* or *never* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 788 – 789). These clauses count as negative (ibid.), they can therefore be included in this category.

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

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

(23) *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?*

### 4.2.2. Positive question

This type of translation counterpart of *copak* proved to be the most frequent as well as the most varied one in our material.

If there is no marked element present in the English interrogative clause, it proves difficult to determine whether or not the question is marked in any way without a wider context being available – cf. ex. (24). On the other hand, the Czech particle *copak* is a clear marker of emotional expressivity, expressing indignation (*SSJČ I*, 1964: 222), as in the aforementioned example (35) in 4.2.1.

(24) *Copak za ně byla odpovědna?*
*Was she responsible for them?*

As regards ex. (24), the emotional expressivity of the English counterpart only becomes clear upon a closer observation of the context: it occurs within a series of questions (cf. ex. (25)), the first one being a negative polar rhetorical question, equivalent to an emphatic assertion of the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316). (This particular rhetorical question has been discussed above in ex. (17) Therefore, the interpretation of positive questions occurring as counterparts of *copak* proved to be context-dependent, similarly to negative polar questions (as discussed in 4.2.1).

(25) *Copak netrpí všechny ženy měsíčním krvácením? Copak snad ona vymyslela ženská rodidla? Copak za ně byla odpovědna? Nebyla.*
*Don't all women suffer from monthly bleeding? Did she invent women's genitals? Was she responsible for them? No.*

The abovementioned ambiguity of the English positive polar question in terms of emotional expressivity as opposed to the distinct expressivity of *copak* may be the reason for the relatively frequent occurrence of sentence modifiers in the English translation counterparts, the most frequent one in our material being *really* (occurring six times in total). *Really* evaluates the content of a sentence, expressing the speaker´s certainty that it is valid (Dušková, 2012: 477). Quirk et al. (1985: 621) classify *really* as an epistemic content disjunct, i. e. a disjunct expressing the speaker´s opinion of the truth value of an utterance (ibid.: 620). *Really* "asserts the reality of what is said" (ibid.: 621), i. e. it expresses epistemic modality (ibid.: 52). However, if *really* is used in a polar question, the "reality of what is said" is actually being questioned by the speaker – cf. ex. (26). Apparently, the use of *really* in our questions is parallel to the role of *copak* in rhetorical questions functioning as statements of the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316). *Copak,* like *really,* could therefore be a means of commenting on the reality of the content of the sentence.

To sum up, *copak* here carries the meaning of epistemic modality as well as evaluative meaning. This is in accordance with Poldauf´s assertion (1964: 244) that there is "a smooth transition" between the third syntactical plan elements expressing evaluation and those which express modality (cf. ex. (4) in 2.1).

(26) *Copak je nutné, aby po člověku zůstalo tělo, které se musí zahrabat do země nebo hodit do ohně?*
*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?*

In two cases the positive polar question was preceded by the interrogative pronoun *what*, which could be interpreted as a marker of emotional expressivity, which is signalled by *copak* in this type of rhetorical questions (Dušková, 2012: 316) – see ex. (27).[35]

---

[35] There may be a certain parallel between this use of *copak* and the interrogative pronoun *cože*, which occurs in similar contexts – it is an expressive, colloquial item (*MČ 2*, 1986: 95) and its component *-že* allows it to serve as a means of emphasis in spoken discourse (ibid.: 100); like *–pak,* it can serve as a colloquial device of establishing contact, marking the speaker´s surprise (*PMČ*, 2000: 679).

(27) *Mlčky zvedla obočí – copak jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času?*

     *She raised her eyebrows silently – what, had I forgotten how little time I had?*

In some instances, the original Czech superordinate clause becomes subordinate in English, depending on a variant of the clause *do you think*, as in ex. (28). These Czech questions are rhetorical, i. e. semantically they are statements (Quirk et al., 1985: 804) expressing the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316). Accordingly, the English counterpart does not ask the addressee´s opinion; rather, it voices the speaker´s.

(28) *„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?"*

As Martinková and Šimon (2014: 21) point out, the inserted phrase *(do) you think* is a direct expression of the contact between the speaker and the addressee; in this aspect it corresponds to the contact function of the postfix *–pak* (*PMČ*, 2000: 679).

### 4.2.2.1 Question introduced by *how* + modal verb

Questions introduced by the interrogative pronoun *how* tended to co-occur with modal verbs, above all with *can/could*. The motivation for the use of a modal as the counterpart of *copak* is probably the same as with the content disjunct *really* as discussed in 4.2.2, i. e. Czech rhetorical questions introduced by *copak* express epistemic modal meaning.

*How* in the examples (29) and (30) does not ask about manner; rather, it falls under Huddleston and Pullum´s (2002: 908) category of "adjunct in clause structure, asking for evidence". In such contexts, *how* is used to "challenge what has been said or implied" (ibid.), in other words to challenge the truth value of the content of the following clause. In terms of semantics, these questions seem close to rhetorical questions − they could be rephrased using a statement such as "there was no way of knowing that Stalin had ordered loyal Communists to be shot", or "I cannot tell a composed poem from a written one".

(29) *[…] 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?*

44

(30) *Copak poznám složenou básničku od napsaný?*

   *How can I tell a composed poem from a written one?*

However, in (30) the use of the modal *can* is probably also due to its collocability with *tell* in this particular meaning (*OED Online* defines it as follows: "*tell* preceded by *can*: To be able to state; to know; to discern, perceive, make out, understand.")[36]

### 4.2.2.2 Question containing the inferential construction

The counterparts of sentences with *copak* included four instances of the inferential construction (Delahunty, 1995: 341), which has been referred to in 4.1.2.1. Inferential constructions "may represent an interpretation, reflection, or conjecture" (ibid.: 348), which pertains to ex. (31). They can be understood as "a pragmatic  instruction to its audience to regard its clause as an interpretation of its local context, that  is, to  be about, rather  than of,  its  context" (ibid.: 359).

(31) „*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?*"

In the light of Delahunty´s conclusion, we regard the speaker in ex. (31) to be interpreting the addressee´s possible stance. This situation is similar to that described in 4.2.1, ex. (18), where the negative question was motivated by a change in the speaker´s assumption, prompted by how the speaker understood the addressee´s reactions to his earlier utterance. In both cases, *copak* in the Czech clause expresses surprise and suggests that the speaker demands a reaction − the utterance has the function of appeal and is emotionally expressive.

### 4.2.2.3 Interrogative clause formally identical with declarative clause. Echo questions

Interrogative clauses which do not contain subject-verb inversion, as in ex. (32), are formally identical with declarative clauses, they are marked merely by rising intonation (Dušková, 2012: 317). Their illocutionary force is not that of a question; they function as statements with an added semantic feature of surprise, or as markers of the

---

[36] "tell, v." Def. 7b. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2015. Avaliable online from <www.*OED*.com> (accessed 16 May 2015).

speaker´s polite concern (ibid.) (the latter type was not represented in our material). There may be an additional feature of appeal as the speaker expects to have the content confirmed by the addressee – in this aspect, these clauses are close to declarative clauses with a question tag (ibid.).

(32) *Copak ty myslíš – že nevím, co mluvím?*
*You think I don't know what I'm saying?*

In the following example, the introductory *what* was added probably as an emphatic marker of the speaker´s surprise. (See also ex. (27) for a similar use of *what*.) According to Quirk et al. (1985: 836), *what* occurring individually can express "general incredulity"; in ex. (33) it does not stand on its own, yet it is not syntactically integrated into the sentence, therefore Quirk et al.´s definition may apply to this instance.

(33) *Copak Adam byl šlechtic?*
***What**, Adam was a nobleman?*

Echo questions are a subtype of the abovementioned type of interrogative sentences without subject-verb inversion. They react to a previous statement (declarative clause) by another speaker, whose content they repeat, sometimes word for word (Dušková, 2012: 317) – cf. ex. (34). Echo questions request confirmation of what the addressee has said previously (ibid.), repetition of the preceding utterance or its clarification (Biber et al., 2007: 1101). However, the speaker may request repetition not because he misheard the addressee´s previous utterance but rather because he "found it difficult to believe" (ibid.). This use of the echo question corresponds to the Czech *copak* expressing surprise or indignation (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222).

(34) *Namítal jsem, že Fučík patří všem a že snad i my si o něm smíme zazpívat po našem. – Copak o něm zpíváte 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?***

The question introduced by *you mean,* as in ex. (35), could be considered another subtype of the category of echo questions. Here, Huddleston and Pullum´s terminology proves convenient as they (2002: 891) distinguish between repetition echoes (requesting repetition/confirmation) and clarification echoes (requesting an explanation). The

former type usually implies the speaker has misheard the previous utterance, whereas the latter implies that the speaker did not fully understand it (ibid.). Therefore, clarification echoes may indicate the speaker´s puzzlement, which justifies their use as a counterpart of *copak* expressing surprise (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222).

(35) *Copak von to neví?*
    *"You mean, like, he doesn't know?"*

Example (35) is also illustrative of the colloquial character of *like*: here it may be understood as a counterpart of the colloquial *copak* as well as the non-standard form of the Czech personal pronoun *von*.

### 4.2.2.4 Variable and polar question juxtaposed

Variable (*wh-*) questions can be immediately followed by a polar or alternative one which "suggests an answer" to the former (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 876). The latter question is frequently reduced to avoid repetition, as in ex. (36) (ibid.) – the hypothetical full form would read "*What do you take me for? Do you take me for a psychologist?*". Together, the two questions can form a single sentence. According to Huddleston and Pullum, in case the latter question is polar, they cannot be separated by a comma (ibid.), nevertheless this is the case in example (37).

(36) *„Copak já jsem psycholog?"*
    *"**What** do you take me for – a psychologist?"*

(37) *Copak to nevidíš?*
    *What're you, blind?*

### 4.2.3 Negative declarative clause

Questions introduced by *copak* are equivalent to statements of the opposite polarity (Dušková, 2012: 316; Quirk et al., 1985: 804). It is the particle which causes this reversal of polarity. As English fails to supply a precise equivalent of *copak* in such contexts, the English counterparts resort to a direct expression of the negative meaning which is communicated – cf. ex. (38). The emotional expressivity of *copak* may have as

its counterparts e. g. expletives, as in ex. (39), or the exclamation mark in ex. (39) and (40).

(38) *„Copak to potřebuju?"*
   *"I don't need that kind of trouble."*

(39) *Copak jsem pořád malé dítě?*
   *For Heaven's sake, I'm not a child any more!*

(40) *Jak můžeš takhle mlčet, copak to je vůbec lidské?*
   *How can you be silent like this, it isn't human!*

### 4.2.4 Question tags

Three out of four instances of question tags in our material were negative clauses with a positive question tag – cf. ex. (41).

(41) *Copak jsem se tvářil andělsky?*
   *I didn't make an angel face, did I?*

The other example was a positive declarative clause with a negative tag – cf. ex. (42). According to Dušková (2012: 315), such clauses are similar to the type of negative questions implying an affirmative reply.[37] Similarly to negative declarative clauses which occurred as counterparts of *copak* (cf. 4.2.4), the declarative clause here is of the opposite polarity in comparison with the Czech original; it is the tag which corresponds in terms of polarity to the clause introduced by *copak*, as in ex. (42).

(42) *A to jako za co, povídám, **copak neberou** plat?*
   *What for, I say, they get paid, **don't** they?*

Question tags are used to "elicit confirmation or agreement (thus involving the addressee in the conversation) rather than to elicit information" (Biber et al., 2007: 208) – their function is essentially that of establishing contact. The occurrence of question tags as counterparts of *copak* suggests that *copak* serves as a means of establishing contact or expressing appeal in some contexts – a similar aspect has been observed in

---

[37] „Pokud záporné otázky implikují kladnou odpověď, podobají se kladným větám oznamovacím se záporným tázacím dovětkem." (Dušková, 2012: 315).

other counterparts, namely interrogative clauses without subject-verb inversion and echo questions (4.2.2.3) and added introductory clauses (4.2.5.1).

### 4.2.5 Other

#### 4.2.5.1 Added introductory superordinate clause

In several instances, what had been a superordinate clause in the Czech original became a subordinate clause in the English translation. Consequently, a new superordinate clause is introduced, containing a verb whose lexical meaning is in accordance with the function of the subordinate clause; the verb can be a performative one, as in ex. (43). In (43), the added superordinate clause can be understood as a means of emphasis. In (44), the content of the superordinate clause corresponds to the meaning of the Czech negative question introduced by *copak*, i. e. it is indicates a change in the speaker´s previous assumption (Dušková, 2012: 314). The sentence introduced by *I thought* has the illocutionary force of appeal, the addressee is expected to confirm (or possibly correct) the speaker´s assumption.

(43) *Copak je to možné?*
   *I ask you, is it possible?*

(44) *„Copak ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku?"*
   *"I thought you were post-invasion yourself, Frank."*

#### 4.2.5.2 Additional lexical items

To several English translation counterparts, a specific lexical item was added which had no counterpart in the Czech original.

(45) *Gabrielo (oslovení v nejvyšší nouzi), copak máš pas?*
   *"Gabriela" – her full name was pronounced only in the greatest of need – "you don't **even** have a passport!"*

*Even* is classified as a focusing adverb (Dušková, 2012: 473) or more specifically as an "additive focusing modifier" together with *also, as well* and *too* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 592). The position of *even* within this set is specific in that it "contributes and extra component of meaning, and can be negated" (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002:

594). The added semantic component lies in the implication that the given proposition is being juxtaposed with another proposition and presented as "stronger or more surprising" (ibid.).

Example (46) contains non-verbal negation – it could be listed with negative declarative clauses (cf. 4.2.3). The function of the adverb *hardly* is closely related to that of negative items (Dušková, 2012: 347). This characteristic is manifested in the co-occurrence of *hardly* with the items *any, at all* etc. (ibid.), i. e. "polarity sensitive items" typical of negative clauses (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 60). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 815) classify *hardly* as an adverbial approximate negator, i. e. an item expressing "an imprecise quantification which is close to or approximates zero" (ibid.: 816). It can mark clause negation as well as subclausal negation (ibid.: 820 – 821).

> (46) *„Životní štěstí," řekl jsem posléze bezradně, „copak to jde vyučovat?"*
>
> *"Happiness," I eventually said nonplussed, "that's **hardly something** you can teach."*

*Hardly* occurs in clauses with a positive verb form (Dušková, 2012: 347). In ex. (46), the negator *hardly* co-occurs with *something,* which is a positively-oriented polarity-sensitive item (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 831); however, *something* is out of the scope of the negation of *hardly*, as *hardly* here indicates clause negation – the sentence could be rephrased as "*that is not something you can teach*". Similarly, *copak* in rhetorical questions co-occurs with a positive verb form; the question is a positive one but has the meaning of an emphatic negative declarative clause, such as "*to nejde vyučovat*" in case of ex. (46) (Dušková, 2012: 316).

### 4.2.5.3 Referent-final tags

There occurred several interrogative sentences ending in a tag of the type *or something*. Despite their outward resemblance to alternative questions, these are polar questions. They are frequently used in conversation (Biber et al., 2007: 208). Biber et al. (2007: 115) classify the tags as coordination tags functioning as vagueness markers and implying that the preceding utterance "is not to be taken as precise or exhaustive" (ibid.: 116).

The tags *or something* (47) and *or what* (48) are classified by Aijmer (2002: 223) as discourse particles, i. e. expressions „[giving] important clues to how discourse is segmented and processed" (ibid.: 1). According to Aijmer, 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). This definition could be related to Poldauf´s concept of the third syntactical plan, whose elements are defined by "the individual´s specific ability to perceive, judge and assess" (Poldauf, 1964: 242).

(47) *Copak Viktor umřel?*

*Has Viktor died or something?*

(48) *„Copak jste němý?"*

*"For goodness sake say something! Are you dumb, or what?"*

Both *or something* and *or what* fall into the category of referent-final tags (Aijmer, 2002: 223). Referent-final tags, if not specifically linked to the previous context, are generally markers of politeness (ibid.: 212), vagueness (ibid.: 213), uncertainty (ibid.: 216) or "lack of commitment" (in the case of *or something*) (ibid.: 219) – broadly speaking, they are markers of tentativeness (ibid.: 248). The use of *copak* in examples (47) and (48) may be motivated by the speaker´s afterthought to make the question sound a little less direct or harsh – given such interpretation, the translation counterparts may point to the general ability of the postfix *–pak* to make a question more tentative. In our material, this function of the postfix *–pak* seems to be suggested by several English equivalents (cf. e. g. 4.1.2).

### 4.3 Idioms containing *copak*

In the excerpted sentence pairs, there occurred several idiomatic structures containing the particle *copak*. Given their specificity, we discuss them in a separate chapter apart from the other instances of *copak*.

The first type of idiomatic structure is defined by Čermák (1988: 494) as an idiom following the pattern of *copak ten (X) – ale (Y)!*. The positions indicated here as X and Y can both be occupied by a noun, adjective, verb or adverb (ibid.) As suggested by example (49), the structure is apparently open to some variation, at least in colloquial

Czech: in this particular instance, the Y position is occupied by a clause and the demonstrative pronoun *ten* is left out. The structure is emphatic, colloquial and expressive, comparing two alternatives, the latter of which is seen as possessing a higher degree of a given quality than the former (Čermák, 1988: 494). The structure is normally followed by a further intensification or an added explanation, as in (49). *Copak* in this type of structure is an evaluative particle (Čermák, 1988: 494).

In example (49), the speaker assigns to the latter element a greater degree of importance/relevance rather than of a particular quality.

> (49) *„Copak trapné, ale přišli bychom o Dvořákův violoncellový koncert!"*
> *"Never mind the embarrassment, think of the Dvořák's cello concerto we'd be missing!"*

The role of both *copak* and *never mind* in (49) is that of focusing, yet semantically, they seem to imply that the immediately following item is less important than the addressee believes, while suggesting the existence of something considerably more significant which is presented in the following clause. This "downtoning" function of *never mind* is in accordance with the definition of *never mind (about) (doing) something:* "it is not as important as something else" (*OALD*, 2005: 934). Let us conclude that this use of *never mind* shares with the idiom *copak X, ale Y* the evaluative aspect as well as the implication of two alternatives of contrasting importance.

In the other type of idiomatic construction, *copak* is employed in the role of a focusing particle: it allows for a particular sentence element to become the focus of the sentence. This focus element is referred to twice; its second occurrence tends to be realised by an anaphoric pronoun, as *to* in ex. (50). According to *SSJČ I* (1960: 222), the introductory *copak* in such constructions can express, among other meanings, the speaker´s recognition, which would pertain to ex. (50) and (52); or understatement and modesty, as in ex. ((51).[38]

> (50) *Copak nakladatelství, to vydrží.*
> *I'm not worried about her publishing business - that will hang together.*

---

[38] Def. 1. „obdiv, hodnocení, uznání n. skromné odmítání, podceňování, pohrdání" (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222; my translation).

(51) *Copak já, já sem malej pán a to už sem vám říkal!*
   *Never mind me, I'm jus a little man, an I told ja before!*

(52) *Cák Franta, ten se znova vožení.*
   *Franta´ll be all right, he can marry again.*

Possibly, even these structures with *copak* do imply a juxtaposition of two items, like the first type *copak X, ale Y;* only in these structures the other item is not present. The "added explanation" (Čermák, 1988: 494) may not be provided, nevertheless the sentence still implies the general notion of a contrast of two elements, although the exact nature of this contrast may be unspecified. (E. g. ex. (52)(52) implies the existence of other unspecified people who are less likely to marry again than Franta.) Therefore, the latter type of idiom including *copak* could be viewed as the result of a variation (in fact reduction) of the former *copak X, ale Y* construction.

Interestingly, all but one of the examples introduced by the dialectal variant *cák* were idiomatic (cf. ex. (52)), which may point to the colloquial character of the idiomatic structures.

To sum up, words or phrases including the postfix *–pak* occur as counterparts of *never mind* expressing the following different meanings, termed provisionally as follows:

**1) The "contrasting *copak*":** the constructions mostly follow the pattern *copak X, ale Y*. Y is presented as possessing a higher degree of a given quality (or relevance) than X – see ex. (49).

**2) The "focusing *copak*":** used as a means of expressing "recognition" – cf. ex. (52) – or "understatement/modesty" – cf. ex. (53) (*SSJČ I*, 1960: 222). The latter corresponds to the meaning of *never mind (about) (doing) something* listed in *OALD* (2005: 934): the clause element following *never mind* is presented as "not as important as something else".

(53) *Cák já.*
   *But don´t take no account of me.*

According to Poldauf (1964: 252), in colloquial uneducated English, repetition often occurs as a means of the third syntactical plan, expressing intensification and emotional evaluation, as in ex. (54).

(54) *You work hard, you do.* (ibid.)

Let us suggest that this sentence could be translated into Czech using the abovementioned structure with *copak*, for example as: *Copak ty, ty pracuješ jaksepatří.* Possibly, the repetition in English could serve a similar function to the idiomatic use of the "focusing *copak*", i. e. expressing the speaker´s recognition.[39]

---

[39]There appear to be some further links between the English idiom *never mind* and Czech particles functioning as elements of the third syntactical plan. Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 594) point out that *never mind* occurs in constructions in which two negative propositions are compared and the latter, introduced by an idiom such as *never mind* or *let alone,* is presented as "weaker", i. e. even less plausible in the light of the former proposition (cf. ex. (1) and (2) in this footnote). In general, this type of *never mind* fulfills the same function as *even* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 594), i. e. both are focusing items.

    (1) *We can´t even afford to go to the movies, let alone the theatre.* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 594)

    (2) *I never thought she´d win once, never mind twice!* (*OALD*, 2005: 934)

This use of *never mind* corresponds to the colloquial Czech particle idiom *natož(pak) aby*, which occurs in analogous contexts (Čermák, 1988: 502) – cf. ex. (3). The Czech idiom stands between the two propositions, functioning as a linking device with an added grading function (Čermák, 1988: 502); these properties can be attributed to the English idiom as well (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002: 594).

    (3) *Ani nepoděkoval, natož(pak) aby nabídl pomoc.* (Čermák, 1988: 502)

The postfix *–pak* in *natožpak aby* is optional (Čermák, 1988: 502), its function is possibly that of a further emphasis (cf. *ČJA 5*, 2011: 570). Still we could say that some Czech particles/particle idioms with *–pak* share with the English *never mind* the focusing as well as evaluative function.

## 5. Conclusion

This thesis aimed to examine the English elements of the third syntactical plan corresponding to the Czech particles *copak* and *jestlipak.* Our initial hypothesis, based chiefly on the findings of Poldauf, was that the English counterparts of Czech sentences introduced by *jestlipak* would include the introductory or epenthetic marker *I wonder.* This hypothesis was essentially proven by our analysis. Based on the material analysed in chapter 4.1, we may conclude that the particle *jestlipak* has two distinct uses in Czech. Firstly, it is used for establishing contact (with a possible additional role of a politeness marker), corresponding to the role of the enclitic particle *–pak* as a colloquial polite linking device, mentioned by *PMČ* (2000: 679; 694). Secondly, *jestlipak* occurs as a marker of the deliberative character of a question. Both of these meanings of *jestlipak* correspond to the English use of *I wonder,* as suggested by Poldauf. The other chief group of English translation counterparts of both the types of *jestlipak* were polar questions. Deliberative questions sometimes included additional markers such as modal verbs or the inferential construction, as deliberativeness is linked with an epistemic modal meaning ("conjecture"). When used in the contact/politeness function, polar questions were found to co-occur with added markers of tentativeness, such as specific lexical items or past tense. Although *jestlipak* is not systematically classified as a tentativeness/politeness marker by all Czech grammars or dictionaries (*PMČ* as noted above is an exception, yet it provides merely a brief mention of this function of *–pak*), the corpus excerption suggested that the particle can carry such meaning.

As regards the translation counterparts of *copak,* our hypothesis was based on Poldauf´s study and the roles of *copak* mentioned with regard to their English counterparts by Dušková We expected to encounter negative polar questions, rhetorical questions, question tags attached to declarative clauses of reversed polarity and expletives. English negative polar questions, whose speaker expects to receive an affirmation of the opposite of what he is asking, indeed correspond to Czech rhetorical questions introduced by *copak*. Rhetorical questions were found both within the group of negative polar questions and positive questions. In terms of illocutionary force, questions introduced by *copak* can function as appeals and are emotionally expressive. As regards question tags, they did occur in our material, serving an analogous function to that of negative polar rhetorical questions. A type of counterpart which we did not

expect was the negative declarative clause, reflecting literally the illocutionary force of the Czech rhetorical questions with *copak.*

To sum up, the main functions of *copak* in our material were the following. Firstly, *copak* carries **epistemic modal meaning**, either presenting an assertion of the reversed polarity, as in negative polar questions; or marking the speaker´s inference. The inferential construction as well as some negative polar questions imply that the change in the speaker´s assuption applies to the addressee´s supposed views or attitudes. In such contexts, questions containing *copak* express the speaker´s "interpretation/conjecture" of reality (Delahunty, 1995: 348).

Secondly, *copak* occurred as a marker of **expressivity or emotional evaluation**. Universally, *copak* functions as a marker of emotional expressivity, carrying meanings such as indignation, surprise, reproach, incredulity. In Poldauf´s terminology, the particle would thus probably fall under the emotionally evaluative third syntactical plan elements. Its expressivity accounts for the use of *copak* in rhetorical questions, in which the particle occurs as a means of emphasis (due to the particle, such questions function as equivalents to emphatic negative declarative clauses).

Thirdly, its function is that of **establishing contact** or voicing an **appeal**, as in rhetorical questions requesting a confirmation of the content of the clause (or its opposite). Generally, *copak* is a marker of the speaker´s surprise and prompts the addressee to react to the question – either to reaffirm the speaker´s original view (here, *copak* carries the added epistemic meaning of "impossibility"), or to confirm the speaker´s surmise (meaning of "inference/interpretation" combined with "appeal"). Contexts in which this function of *copak* has been observed include declarative clauses with a reversed-polarity question tag, interrogative clauses without subject-verb inversion, echo questions, added introductory clauses with a performative verb, questions introduced by *(do) you think.*

These three functions were often combined. For instance, in rhetorical questions, *copak* carries epistemic modal meaning: the speaker makes a comment on the supposed reality of the content of the clause. The epistemic meaning in rhetorical questions is often accompanied by the emotionally evaluative semantic feature of surprise or disbelief.

In some contexts, the use of *copak* may manifest the ability of the postfix *–pak* to make a question more tentative. Possibly, the contact meaning of *copak* here is combined with an added sense of politeness. (We touched upon the possibility of this use of *–pak* in 4.1.2.)

Positive questions turned out to be the most frequent counterpart of Czech questions introduced by *copak;* they were also the most heterogeneous group in our analysis. The English positive polar question does not in itself function as a marker of emotional expressivity, therefore it often contains additional lexical items such as sentence modifiers. Where *copak* carried epistemic modal meaning, the English counterpart often included modal verbs (most frequently *can*). We have also encountered the epistemic content disjunct *really* serving a similar function.

The English counterparts of the expressive meanings of *copak* did include some expletives (as had been expected), or the occasional use of exclamation marks, but mostly the use of a negative polar question was enough to provide the English translation with the corresponding expressivity.

In summary, we can conclude that the material of our analysis corresponds to our hypothesis. The primary counterpart of *jestlipak* as suggested by Poldauf, the introductory/epenthetic signal *I wonder,* proved prevalent in the available corpus excerpts. Negative polar and negative as well as positive rhetorical questions were the most frequent counterparts of *copak*. The postfix *–pak* in Czech particles can serve functions of establishing contact or, put more generally, the function of appeal. Its ability to make an utterance more tentative is related to this "contact function". In some occurrences of *jestlipak*, it serves to add deliberative meaning to a question; with some uses of *copak*, the postfix can signal an "inferential" meaning – the speaker is making a surmise rather than an assertion.

## 6. References and sources

### References

Aijmer, K. (2002) *English Discourse Particles: Evidence from a Corpus*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.

Balhar, J. a kol. (2005) *Český jazykový atlas 5*. Praha: Academia.

Biber, D., S. Johansson, G. Leech, S. Conrad, E. Finegan (2007) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. Harlow: Longman.

Cvrček, V. a kol. (2010) *Mluvnice současné češtiny. 1, Jak se píše a jak se mluví*. Praha: Karolinum.

Čechová, M., M. Dokulil, Z. Hlavsa, J. Hrbáček, Z. Hrušková (2002) *Čeština – řeč a jazyk*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Čermák, F. (2012) *Morfématika a slovotvorba češtiny*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Čermák, F. a kol. (1988) *Slovník české frazeologie a idiomatiky. Výrazy neslovesné.* Praha: Academia.

Delahunty, G. P. (1995) 'The Inferential Construction'. *Pragmatics* 5:3. (pp. 341–364). Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins Pub. Co. Available online from <https://benjamins.com/#catalog/journals/prag.5.3.03del/fulltext> (accessed 19 May 2015).

Dokulil, M. a kol. (1986) *Mluvnice češtiny. 1, Fonetika, fonologie, morfonologie a morfemika, tvoření slov*. Praha: Academia.

Dušková, L. a kol. (2006) *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny*. Praha: Academia.

Filipec, J., L. Kroupová a kol. (2005) *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost.* Praha: Academia.

Havránek, B. et al. (1960) *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého I; A – M*. Praha: ČSAV.

Hlavsa, Z. a kol. (2010) *Pravidla českého pravopisu*. Praha: Academia.

Huddleston, R., G. K. Pullum et al. (2002) *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*Internetová příručka Ústavu pro jazyk český AV ČR* (2008) Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český Akademie věd České republiky. Available online from <http://prirucka.ujc.cas.cz/> (accessed 17 May 2015).

Johansson, S. (2007) *Seeing through Multilingual Corpora: On the use of corpora in contrastive studies.* Amsterdam/Philadephia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Karlík, P., M. Nekula, J. Pleskalová (2002) *Encyklopedický slovník češtiny*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Karlík, P., M. Nekula, Z. Rusínová, eds. (2000) *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Komárek, M. a kol. (1986) *Mluvnice češtiny. 2, Tvarosloví.* Praha: Academia.

Martinková, M., M. Šimon (2014) ‚Enklitická partikule pak: korpusová studie'. *Korpusová lingvistika Praha 2014: 20 let mapování češtiny.* Příspěvek na konferenci, 17.9. 2014.

*OED Online*. Oxford University Press, March 2015. Available online from <www.*OED*.com> (accessed 19 May 2015).

*Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* (2005) S. Wehmeier, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peprník, J. (1984) *Angličtina pro pokročilé I.* Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Poldauf, I. (1964) 'The Third Syntactical Plan', in *Travaux linguistiques de Prague* 1, L´école de Prague aujourd´hui, pp. 241-55.

Pravdová, M., I. Svobodová, I. (2014) *Akademická příručka českého jazyka.* Praha: Academia.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, J. Svartvik (1985) *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* London, New York: Longman.

Šmilauer, V. (1969) *Novočeská skladba*. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství.

Špirit, M. ‚Josef Škvorecký', in *Slovník české literatury po r. 1945* (2013). Available online from <www.slovnikceskeliteratury.cz> (accessed 12 May 2015).

Štícha, F. a kol. (2013) *Akademická gramatika spisovné češtiny*. Praha: Academia.

Trávníček, F. (1951) *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny. Část II., Skladba* Praha: Slovanské nakladatelství.

**Sources**

*Český národní korpus – InterCorp*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Prague. Available online from <http://www.korpus.cz> (accessed 5 March 2015).

*Český národní korpus – ORAL 2013, ORAL 2008, ORAL 2006*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Prague. Available online from <http://www.korpus.cz> (accessed 20 May 2015).

## 7. Résumé

Tato bakalářská práce si klade za cíl prozkoumat anglické protějšky českých částic *copak* a *jestlipak*. Opírá se přitom zejména o poznatky Poldaufovy studie ‚Třetí syntaktický plán'/'The Third Syntactical Plan' (1964). Podle Poldaufa sestává třetí syntaktický plán z jazykových prostředků, jež vztahují obsah věty k jedinci a vyjadřují jeho zainteresovanost na obsahu sdělení, nebo jeho postoj k obsahu či způsobu sdělení; Poldauf dále rozlišuje mezi prostředky třetího plánu sloužícími emocionálně hodnotící a intelektuálně hodnotící funkci. Vzhledem k typologickému rozdílu mezi češtinou a angličtinou jsou třetí syntaktické plány těchto dvou jazyků značně odlišné a nestejně rozvinuté: flektivní čeština má oproti analytické angličtině výrazně bohatší repertoár prostředků třetího syntaktického plánu, mimo jiné často uplatňuje částice. Práce se zaměří na dvě částice *copak* a *jestlipak,* obsahující postfix/enklitickou partikuli –*pak*, která se vyvinula ze samostatné částice *pak.* Z poznatků českých mluvnic a zmínek v další odborné literatuře vyplývá, že tento postfix propůjčuje slovům příznakovost: má expresivní (emotivní) a intenzifikační povahu a je frekventovaný v hovorové češtině.

Cílem práce je zjistit, jaké prostředky užívá angličtina v ekvivalentních funkcích, a dále, bude-li to možné, pomocí těchto překladových protějšků specifikovat hlavní rysy a funkce daných českých částic. Na základě Poldaufových zjištění a zmínek o částicích *copak* a *jestlipak* v *Mluvnici současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková, 2012) jsme formulovali následující hypotézu: mezi protějšky českých vět uvozených částicí *jestlipak* lze v angličtině očekávat věty obsahující spojení *I wonder*; věty s *I wonder* je možné převádět do forem vyjadřujících různé hodnoty kategorie osoby, čísla i času (tyto specifické možnosti, dané slovesem *wonder*, odpovídající české věty s částicemi přirozeně nemají, což ukazuje odlišnost třetího syntaktického plánu anglického proti českému). Mezi anglickými protějšky českých vět s *copak* lze očekávat záporné otázky zjišťovací, fungující v komunikaci jako důrazná tvrzení opačné polarity; obecně otázky řečnické; a věty s tázacím dovětkem opačné polarity. Těmto předpokládaným ekvivalentům je společná funkce: ač se formálně jedná o otázky, z hlediska ilokuční síly jde zpravidla o tvrzení. Mimo zmíněné ekvivalenty lze v angličtině očekávat rovněž výskyt expletiv, která mohou být částicím s –*pak* funkčním protějškem co do expresivity.

V teoretické kapitole práce rekapituluje Poldaufovu koncepci třetího syntaktického plánu se zřetelem k roli částic v plánu českém. Následně stručně shrnuje etymologický původ a funkce postfixu *–pak*, jeho výskyty v rámci různých slovních druhů a funkci částic obsahujících daný postfix v různých typech otázek. V praktické části práce analyzuje 137 překladových dvojic vět, jejichž české originály obsahují částice *jestlipak*, *copak*, případně varianty *cožpak* a *cák*. Věty byly excerpovány z paralelního korpusu *InterCorp*. Byl vytvořen subkorpus čerpající z jádra korpusu, obsahujícího beletristické texty; subkorpus jsme omezili na původní česky psané texty. K tomuto subkorpusu byla zarovnána anglická verze *InterCorpu*. Vyhledávány byly postupně všechny varianty *jestlipak*, *copak*, *cožpak* a *cák*. Pro účel práce byl dostačující základní dotaz, protože částice jsou neohebný slovní druh a velikost počátečního písmene je pro naše potřeby irelevantní, nebylo tedy nutné nastavovat vyhledávací parametr na *lemma*. Konkordanční řádky byly ručně roztříděny, vyloučeny byly irelevantní výskyty, tedy především případy, v nichž bylo *copak* tázacím zájmenem, a dále tři věty, v nichž nebylo možné určit jasný anglický protějšek české částice. Ve zbylých 137 dvojicích vět byl anglický protějšek české částice vždy identifikován. Na základě typu tohoto protějšku byly věty rozděleny do skupin. Vlastní analytická část práce pojednává o jednotlivých typech ekvivalentů a s přihlédnutím k relevantní literatuře se snaží určit, v čem spočívá u jednotlivých protějšků funkční ekvivalence s českými částicemi. Ke každému typu protějšků je uveden ilustrativní příklad z korpusových excerpcí.

Práce dochází k závěru, že frekventovaným protějškem českého *jestlipak* je skutečně výraz *I wonder,* který může být k české částici ekvivalentní ve dvou jejích významových odstínech, a to ve významu deliberativním (zde *jestlipak* uvozuje otázky, jež mluvčí klade sám sobě a projevuje v nich nejistotu, pochybnost o pravdivosti sdělení – jde o podkategorii otázek dubitativních) a ve funkci kontaktové. Protipóly českých vět s *copak* rovněž hypotézu potvrdily – obsahovaly zejména zjišťovací otázky záporné a otázky řečnické (kladné i záporné). České částice s postfixem *–pak* tedy plní funkci kontaktní, popř. apelovou; s kontaktní funkcí souvisí zřejmě schopnost postfixu dodat otázce zdvořilejší či tentativnější odstín. Částice *jestlipak* mívá deliberativní povahu. *Copak* v některých kontextech signalizuje „inferenční" význam, tedy naznačuje, že mluvčí spíše vyslovuje domněnku či interpretaci než tvrzení – částice je zde prostředkem vyjádření jistotní modality.

## 8. Appendix

**Appendix table 1: Czech sentences introduced by *jestlipak* with their English counterparts**

| no. | source | original | translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | „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. " |
| 2 | *Fischerová, D. - Hodina mezi psem a vlkem* | Jestlipak se trefím? | (picks up a stone and weighs it lovingly in his hand). Well, how d ' you reckon my chances? |
| 3 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Jestlipak se Hakim ozve na takový výlev idealismu? | Will Hakim rise to confront such an outpouring of idealism? |
| 4 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | Jestlipak má při vrcholu úsměv, vzpomněl jsem si. | I remembered, and I wondered if it might have a smile at the top. |
| 5 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Kouřil bys, viď,“ řekl, „jestlipak...“ | "You 'd like to have a smoke, right? I wonder if...“ |
| 6 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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 Dotty and Lida 's probable profession have awakened the masochistic pleasure principle in Mr. Zawynatch? |
| 7 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy...* | „Jestlipak znáte časopis Svět zvířat?“ | "Could it be that you know the magazine The Animal World?" |
| 8 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | […] a potom jsme seděli v malé hospůdce u Zbraslavi, jedli jsme chleba a buřt, všechno bylo docela obyčejné a prosté, nevrlý | […] and then we found a little inn and had some bread and sausage, everything was perfectly ordinary and simple, the surly waiter, the |

| | | hostinský, polytý ubrus, a přece to bylo nádherné dobrodružství, řekla jsem Ludvíkovi, jestlipak víte, že jedu za tři dny na Slovácko dělat reportáž o Jízdě králů. | stained tablecloth, and yet what a wonderful adventure, 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? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Jestlipak ti dají také zakouřit, než tě pověsí," ale nedokončil větu, vyciťuje, že by to byla beztaktnost. | The short one didn't finish his sentence, because he wanted to say : " I wonder if they will give you a smoke before they hang you." But, he felt saying it might be tactless. |
| 10 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Jestlipak to ještě dovedu, bejt mlsná. | ÉVI. Do I still have a sweet tooth? I wonder. |
| 11 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | Jestlipak jste, vy syčáci, ještě nezapomněli otčenáš? | "Could it be, you bums, that you have forgotten your 'Our Father '? |
| 12 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | Jestlipak ten řecký hajzlík připoslouchával? | What if that little Greek prick was listening in? |
| 13 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | „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? |
| 14 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | „Tak jestlipak víš, kam teď pojedeš?" zeptal jsem se ho. | "So do you know where you ' re going now?" I asked him. |
| 15 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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? " |
| 16 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | Jestlipak vůbec ví, že je vlastně král? | I wonder if he knows he ' s a King? |
| 17 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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? |

**Appendix table 2: Czech sentences introduced by the particle *copak* (or its variants *cožpak, cák*) with their English counterparts**

| no. | source | original | translation |
|---|---|---|---|
| **18** | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak se člověk fízlů v životě nezbaví. | Will we ever get rid of those spooks? |
| **19** | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Hajlování přešlo v nepopsatelný řev – copak se nikdo z těch řvounů nebojí války? | The siegheiling disintegrated into indescribable pandemonium. Weren't any of those howlers afraid of war? |
| **20** | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | „Copak ty tam chceš jít?" zeptal jsem se ho. | "You're not going, are you?" |
| **21** | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | Mlčky zvedla obočí – copak jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času? | She raised her eyebrows silently – what, had I forgotten how little time I had? |
| **22** | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | (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?) |
| **23** | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak sem vrah, zamumlal Doktor. | What, do I look like a murderer, the Doctor mumbled. |
| **24** | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak to nevidíš? | What're you, blind? |
| **25** | *Kundera, M. - 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? |
| **26** | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | „Copak si myslíš, že oni si myslí, že někdo takhle rýli myslí?" | "Do you really think they think people actually think that way?" |
| **27** | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak nejsem? | Am I not? |
| **28** | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | „Copak vím?" | "How should I know?" |
| **29** | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Copak o něm zpíváte po našem? | In our own way? |

| 30 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | „Copak, madam, nechápete, co je v literatuře funkční?" | "Don't you understand what it means for something to have a function in literature? |
| 31 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | „Copak sem tvoje žena?" | "Am I your woman?" |
| 32 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | – Gabrielo (oslovení v nejvyšší nouzi), copak máš pas? | "Gabriela" – her full name was pronounced only in the greatest of need – "you don't even have a passport!" |
| 33 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války* | Copak se nemůžete škrábat doma a musíte si to právě nechat na služby boží? | Can't you scratch yourselves at home?! Do you have to leave it to do during our very divine services? |
| 34 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Copak za ně byla odpovědna? | Was she responsible for them? |
| 35 | *Kohout, P. - Hvězdná hodina vrahů* | Copak jste nedostali Beranův vzkaz? | Didn't you get Beran's message? |
| 36 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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. Don't you see – he had the faith." |
| 37 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak ta deodorantem a levandulí vonící švédská holka nevidí, že já ji přeci jakživ děkanovi nepráskну? | Didn't this Swedish girl smelling of deodorant and lavender realize that I could never ever have brought myself to report her to the Dean? |
| 38 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | – Copak von to neví? | "You mean, like, he doesn't know?" |
| 39 | *Havel, V. - Largo desolato* | Copak nechápete, že jste nic neudělal, a nemáte proto co odčiňovat? | Don't you understand that you've done nothing and so there is nothing to atone! |

| 40 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak neni pro tebe dost dobrá, dyž pro mě je? | Don't you think she's good enough for you, if she's good enough for me? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 41 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak můžu? | How can I? |
| 42 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak jsem se tvářil andělsky? | I didn't make an angel face, did I? |
| 43 | *Fischerová, D. - Hodina mezi psem a vlkem* | Copak s tebou někdy můžu žít! | How do you think I could ever live with you? |
| 44 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Copak snad ona vymyslila ženská rodidla? | Did she invent women's genitals? |
| 45 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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? | Doesn'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?" |
| 46 | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | No jo, ale copak maj děti ňáký občanky? | Yeah, but it's not like the kids've got ID. |
| 47 | *Viewegh, M. - Výchova dívek v Čechách* | „Copak já jsem psycholog?" | "What do you take me for – a psychologist?" |
| 48 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | „Copak si na nás každý může otevřít pusu?" | "How can they say things like that?" she continued. |
| 49 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | „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?" |
| 50 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | Copak to nikdá nebylo, že sem tu vařila pro pět krků denodenně tu samou polívku ze shnilýho zelí? | Didn't I cook that same soup from rotten cabbage day in and day out for five mouths? |

| 51 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Copak je odpovědný za to, že má zelený nos? | Is he responsible for his green nose? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | 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? |
| 53 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | „Copak nevidíš, že je nemocný!" | "Can't you see that he is sick!" |
| 54 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak neexistuje jiná ctnost než ta, jež pramení ze zdravého strachu před šibenicí? | "Is there no virtue... save what springs from a wholesome fear of the gallows?" |
| 55 | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak tady neni ani podzim!, ten jsem míval rád, i když věci podzimu mě občas pěkně rozhodily... musel jsem se rozcvičit, navlík jsem na sebe všechny svý hadry. | Don't they even get fall here, the one season I was fond of, even if autumn stuff did occasionally throw me off pretty good... I needed to warm up, slipped into my duds. |
| 56 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | Copak Viktor umřel? | Has Viktor died or something? |
| 57 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | Copak nechápu, nevidím to snad? | Didn't I understand, couldn't I see? |
| 58 | *Levý, J. - Umění překladu* | Copak Adam byl šlechtic? | What, Adam was a nobleman? |
| 59 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | Copak jste němý?" | For goodness sake say something! Are you dumb, or what? " |
| 60 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | Copak není pasé? | " Isn't that a bit passé? |
| 61 | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Copak milování není než věčné opakování téhož? | Isn't making love merely an eternal repetition of the same? |
| 62 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Copak ty se netěšíš na to, že budeš | " Aren't you looking forward to being mine and all that goes |

| | | moje se vším všudy?" | with it? " |
|---|---|---|---|
| 63 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „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. |
| 64 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 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? |
| 65 | *Fischerová, D. - Hodina mezi psem a vlkem* | / s komickými vzdechy káraného žáka padne před Régnierem na kolena / Copak mě neznáš, Rrrreň? | VILLON (with the comic sighs of a scolded pupil, he falls on his knees before RÉGNIER). |
| 66 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Ale copak jsem se střetl s takovým mladistvým hercem poprvé? | But was this the first time I encountered adolescent actors? |
| 67 | *Viewegh, M. - Výchova dívek v Čechách* | A to jako za co, povídám, copak neberou plat? | What for, I say, they get paid, don't they? |
| 68 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak se musí pořád něco dít? | ÉVI. Does something have to happen all the time? |
| 69 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Krucihiml, copak jseš hluchej? | " KRUCIHIML, is it that you ' re deaf? |
| 70 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | Copak mi napadlo, že by to mohl těžce snášet? | Do you think it ever occurred to me that he might take it so seriously? |
| 71 | *Fischerová, D. - Hodina mezi psem a vlkem* | Copak nikdo neslyší? | Can no one hear me? |
| 72 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak něco ví? | „But there was never anything |

| | | | to be jealous of - we never did anything." |
|---|---|---|---|
| 73 | *Viewegh, M. - Výchova dívek v Čechách* | „Životní štěstí -," řekl jsem posléze bezradně, „copak to jde vyučovat?" | " Happiness - " I eventually said nonplussed, " - that 's hardly something you can teach." |
| 74 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | - 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? " |
| 75 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak tebe by napadlo něco tak něžného jako sýkorka? | You could never think up anything as tender as a finch. |
| 76 | *Levý, J. - Umění překladu* | Copak já něco říkám! | "My dears! But I... my love! Did I speak? I ' m just…" |
| 77 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak ty ses někdy bála, Naďo? | But were you ever afraid, Nadia? |
| 78 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | Copak jsem pořád malé dítě? | For Heaven ' s sake, I ' m not a child any more! |
| 79 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | „Copak bylo potřeba mne takhle klamat?" | "Was there really any need to deceive me like that?" |
| 80 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | „Copak jsem stará bába, propána?" | "I ' m not an old woman, for Heaven ' s sake! " |
| 81 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | Copak je to možné? | I ask you, is it possible? |
| 82 | *Kundera, M. - 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? |
| 83 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | I kdyby duše byla nehmotná, i kdyby byla jen prostorem, jenž je hmotou obepjat, i kdyby byla | Even if the soul was non-corpuscular, even if it was only space enveloped by matter, |

| | | zcela jiné podstaty, copak by mohla snést ten žár? | even if it was of an entirely different nature, could it really survive that heat? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 84 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | „Copak ty umíš německy?" | "Since when can you speak German?" |
| 85 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „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?" |
| 86 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak už nic mezi náma nemůže bejt jen tak? | Can't we just be... as is? |
| 87 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Copak vy jste četli všechny mé dopisy Markétě? | You mean you 've read all my letters to Marketa? |
| 88 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Copak nevíš, jak tě mám rád? | Don't you know I love you? |
| 89 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | 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? |
| 90 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Ale copak se to nedalo vymyslit nějak jinak? | But was there no other way to arrange things |
| 91 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Ty pitomče, copak tě sežeru." | "You numskull, do you think I will devour you?" |
| 92 | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak sme mrtvý? | Look at us, we 're not dead. |
| 93 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | / Sveze se k němu na kolena / Copak ty myslíš – že nevím, co mluvím? | (She kneels beside him.) You think I don't know what I 'm saying? |
| 94 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Copak to potřebuju?" | I don't need that kind of trouble. " |
| 95 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Copak jenom on bojoval v ilegalitě? | Was he the only one in the underground? |

| 96 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | 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? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 97 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | „Copak nejsi na pilulce?" | Gazing at the horrors, I ask, "But aren't you on the pill?" |
| 98 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Copak vy zase nepatříte ke společenský smetánce, pane profesore? | Don't you belong to the cream of society again, professor? |
| 99 | *Kohout, P. - Hvězdná hodina vrahů* | Copak nevím, že na každé své cestě tam, nevím kam, a odtud, nevím odkud, znova a znova nastavuješ krk? | Don't you know that with each trip to and from I don't know where, you put your head on the chopping block? |
| 100 | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Copak právě v jeho „nevěděl jsem! věřil jsem!" netkví jeho nenapravitelná vina? | Isn't his ' I didn't know! I was a believer! ' at the very root of his irreparable guilt? |
| 101 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Jednou byly velikonoce a ona pořád mlela, abych nezapomněl přijít s mrskačkou, 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 paničce sukni, a já ji musel vyhrnout sukni a sundat kalhotky a pořád jsem blbec jen tak symbolicky pleskal a ona se stala zlá a křičela, budeš bít pořádně, spratku! prostě byl | And this one (he pointed to the girl on the sergeant 's left), this one is Lojzka, I was much more experienced by the time I got to her, she had small breasts (he pointed to them), long legs (he pointed to them), and very pretty features (he pointed to them too), and she was in my year at school. |

| | | jsem vůl, zato tahle (ukázal na ženu po levici seržanta), to je Lojzka, tu jsem měl už v dospělým věku, měla malý prsa (ukázal) a hrozně hezkou tvář (taky ukázal) a chodila do stejného ročníku jako já. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 102 | *Kundera, M. - 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? |
| 103 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | Copak tomu nerozumíš?" | Why can ' t you see that? " |
| 104 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | Copak jsem vám to neřek? | ' Haven ' t I told you? |
| 105 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Copak je důležitá jenom původnost formy? | Is originality of form the only important thing (insofar as originality alone is important at all)? |
| 106 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | Jak můžeš takhle mlčet, copak to je vůbec lidské? | How can you be silent like this, it isn ' t human! |
| 107 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | 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? " |
| 108 | *Stýblová, V. - Skalpel, prosím* | Copak se to dá takhle formulovat? | Do you really think you can formulate it that way? |
| 109 | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Copak jim viděl do duše? | Could he see into their souls? |
| 110 | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „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? " |
| 111 | *Fischerová, D. - Hodina mezi psem a vlkem* | Copak člověk žije sám? | People don ' t live in isolation, do they? |

| 112 | *Topol, J. - Kočka na kolejích* | Copak poznám složenou básničku od napsaný? | How can I tell a composed poem from a written one? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 113 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku?" | " I thought you were post-invasion yourself, Frank. " |
| 114 | *Klíma, I. - Láska a smetí* | Copak nemáš ani trochu slitování? | Have you no pity at all? |
| 115 | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Copak může blízkost působit závrať? | Can proximity cause vertigo? |
| 116 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Copak nevidíte! | Can't you see? |
| 117 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | Copak jste se mi vnutil? | " Who said you were forcing me into anything? " |
| 118 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Copak Lucii nemiluješ?" zeptal se Harýk. | " You mean you don't love Lucie? " said Haryk. |
| 119 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Copak měl snad nejmenší chuť je někomu ukazovat? | Did he have the slightest desire to show them to anyone? |
| 120 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | 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? |
| 121 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Copak každý saxofonista - | Is every saxophonist - |
| 122 | *Kohout, P. - Sněžím* | - 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? " |
| 123 | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Copak sis jí nevšiml?" | Haven't you noticed? ' |
| 124 | *Otčenášek, J. - Romeo, Julie a tma* | 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? |
| 125 | *Kundera, M. -* | Copak netrpí všechny ženy | Don't all women suffer from |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | *Nesmrtelnost* | měsíčním krvácením? | monthly bleeding? |
| **126** | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Copak nemáš známý? | Don't you know anyone? |
| **127** | *Kundera, M. - Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí* | Cožpak je přece jen něco, o čem si myslí oba totéž? | Didn't they then at last agree on something? |
| **128** | *Topol, J. - Sestra* | Když uviděl černou kočku, nechápal, proč by měl uplivnout, cožpak žvýkám ňáký tabák, cápcí? divil se. | He didn't see why he should spit whenever he saw a black cat, ain't packin no chew, fellers, he puzzled. |
| **129** | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | Který dobytek to zas klepá na dveře, cožpak nečte na dveřích ' Nicht klopfe!'? | 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? |
| **130** | *Kundera, M. - 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? |
| **131** | *Hašek, J. - Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka...* | „Dáme ho do šestnáctky," rozhodl se štábní profous, „mezi ty v podvlíkačkách, cožpak nevidíte, že je na spise napsáno panem hejtmanem Linhartem ' Streng behüten, beobachten! '? | " We 'll put him in 16, " decided the Command Warden." Can't you see what Captain Linhart wrote on his file? STRENG BEHUTEN, BEOBACHTEN! Watch! Closely guard!. So, put him with those bums who are stripped down to their longjohns. |
| **132** | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Cožpak příběhy, kromě toho, že se dějí, že jsou, také něco říkají? | Do stories, apart from happening, being, have something to say? |

| 133 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Cožpak nevěděl, že Bettina chtěla sama vydat knihu vzpomínek na Goethovo dětství? | Didn'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? |
|---|---|---|---|
| 134 | *Kundera, M. - Nesmrtelnost* | Cožpak jsem vám to neřekl hned, když jsem vás uviděl? | ' Didn't I tell you the moment I set eyes on you? |
| 135 | *Kundera, M. - Žert* | Cožpak jsem takových dívčích obyčejností nepotkával na ostravských ulicích více? | Hadn't I seen enough ordinary girls in the streets of Ostrava? |
| 136 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Cák dybo von jenom kreslil... s těma třema tečkama, významnejma, jenomže pan Helebrant si jejich význam vyložil ne ouplně přesně… | If only that was all the little bugger was up to... with those three dots, very signifycant, only the way Helebrant interpreted their signifycants was not quite on… |
| 137 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Cák dyby von jenom kreslil... s těma třema tečkama, a tim to ponechal v poloze obecný, nikoli v konkrétní poloze Janky Helebrantový, kde sem to přestal? | If only that was all the little bugger was nil to... with those three dots, and he left it hanging there as a generality with no concrete reference to Janka Helebrantova, and where was I? |
| 138 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 1* | Cák já. | But don't take no account of me. |
| 139 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Cák Franta, ten se znova vožení. | Franta 'll be all right, he can marry again. |
| 140 | *Škvorecký, J. - Příběh inženýra 2* | Cák se ti z gumy může postavit? | " How could you get a rubber one up? " |