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Czech *copak* and its English translation equivalents in parallel texts  
České *copak* a jeho anglické překladové ekvivalenty v paralelních textech

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## Abstrakt

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá českou lexikální jednotkou *copak* a jejími překladovými protějšky. Práce se zaměřuje na jednotlivé funkce a významy zkoumaného výrazu a způsoby jejich vyjádření v angličtině. Cílem práce je určit do jaké míry jsou diskurzní významy částice *copak* v překladu zachovány a jakými prostředky toho angličtina dosahuje. V zájmené funkci českého *copak* je pak zásadním problémem reflexe, respektive zanedbání postfixu *-pak*. Předmětem zájmu jsou také ekvivalenty, které angličtina pro překlad zájmena *copak* používá, ve srovnání s tvary, kterým postfix schází. Práce si rovněž klade za cíl prozkoumat anglické protějšky z hlediska jejich formy a jazykové charakteristiky a vymežit jejich komunikační funkce vzhledem k diskurzním významům českých originálů s částicí *copak*.

Výzkum této práce se zakládá na materiálu z paralelního korpusu *InterCorp*, z něhož bylo excerpováno 240 dokladů českého *copak* se zarovnanými anglickými překlady. Samotná analýza sestává z pěti částí, které jsou dány slovnědruhovou platností zkoumaného výrazu. Nosným slovním druhem práce se ukázaly být částice, které byly jednak nejpočetněji zastoupeny (187 příkladů), ale také představily 25 různých překladových protějšků, z nichž nejčastějším je anglická záporná otázka. Výzkum ukázal, že ačkoliv překlad výpovědi s částicemi, které se podílejí na diskurzních významech a nepřispívají k propozičnímu obsahu výpovědi, představuje náročný úkol, ve většině případů české *copak* v překladu vyjádřeno bylo a jen v 7 % případů je překlad zcela vynechal. K zachycení široké palety významů částice *copak* využily anglické překlady rozmanitou škálu ekvivalentů pocházejících z různých jazykových úrovní. Rozbor také dosvědčil, že svým významem je částice *copak* výraznější než tentýž výraz ve funkci zájmené, o čemž vypovídá množství příkladů, v nichž nebyl postfix *-pak* v zájmené funkci v překladu reflektován (v 73 % případů).

### Klíčová slova:

překladové protějšky, částice, zájmena, třetí syntaktický plán, komunikační funkce, čeština, angličtina

## **Abstract**

This diploma thesis examines the Czech expression *copak* and its translation counterparts. It focuses on the individual functions and meanings of *copak* and the ways these are expressed in the English translation. The aim of the present paper is to determine to what extent the discourse meanings of *copak* as a particle are maintained in the translations and what means English uses to do so. Regarding the pronominal function of *copak*, the main issue is to examine whether the postfix *-pak* is reflected in the English translations or not and what equivalents are used in comparison to the forms without the postfix. Another objective is to analyse the English counterparts according to their formal representation and define their discourse functions in respect to the discourse meanings of the Czech originals containing *copak*.

The research carried out in the present thesis was based on material drawn from the parallel corpus *InterCorp*. A total of 240 examples with the expression *copak* was excerpted with the English translations aligned to them. The analysis was divided into five parts, according to the particular word class of *copak*. Particles proved to be the most productive word class, as they provided 187 examples and 25 different translation counterparts, negative question being the most frequent one. The research showed that although to translate utterances with particles contributing to their discourse meaning (not the propositional content) is rather difficult, in the majority of the cases *copak* was reflected in the translation, as only 7 % of omissions occurred. In order to convey the full range of meanings of the particle *copak* into English, the translations employed a wide scale of equivalents from different language levels. The analysis also gave evidence of the significance of *copak* in the function of a particle in comparison to its pronominal function, since the omissions of the meanings of the postfix *-pak* in these cases were much more frequent (73 %).

## **Keywords:**

translation counterparts, particles, pronouns, third syntactical plan, discourse functions, Czech, English

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## List of abbreviations

ČJA	<i>Český jazykový atlas</i> (Balhar, J. et al. 1992 – 2011)
MČ 1	<i>Mluvnice češtiny. 1, Fonetika. Fonologie. Morfofonologie a morfemika. Tvoření slov</i> (Petr, J. 1986)
MČ 2	<i>Mluvnice češtiny. 2, Tvarosloví</i> (Komárek, M. et al. 1986)
MSČ	<i>Mluvnice současné češtiny. 1, Jak se píše a jak se mluví</i> (Cvrček, V. et al. 2010)
CGEL	<i>A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language</i> (Quirk et al. 1985)
OED	<i>Oxford English Dictionary Online: the definitive record of the English language</i> (2011)
PMČ	<i>Příruční mluvnice češtiny</i> (Karlík, P. et al. 2012)
SSJČ	<i>Slovník spisovného jazyka českého</i> (Havránek, B. et al. 1989)

\* ungrammatical form

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# 1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to analyse different meanings and functions of the Czech expression *copak* and its English equivalents. Since the word can be used in Czech as a representative of several word classes, it takes various syntactic functions and conveys several meanings. Due to this syntactic and semantic diversity of a single lexical unit, it is assumed that a range of solutions is required to translate this expression in its different instances of usage and convey its full meaning into English.

The theoretical chapter of this study presents an outline of different uses of Czech *copak* and its formal variations. Czech grammars and other linguistic literature were used as a reference in this part of the paper. The theoretical part also gives suggestions of possible English counterparts of Czech *copak* as presented in literature.

The methodological chapter introduces the method and material used for the analysis. It specifies the data regarding its source, selection, and way of processing.

The empirical part of the thesis deals with instances of Czech *copak* and its English counterparts as found in parallel texts. The data was analysed according to the word classes and discourse functions of Czech *copak* and classified and evaluated on the basis of the English translation counterparts. The analysis also examines to what degree the equivalents succeed in conveying the original functions and meanings of Czech *copak* as introduced in the theoretical section. The concluding chapter of the empirical part of the thesis provides a comparison of the results of the analysis with the hypotheses found in the literature and the results of other studies covering the same issue.

As Czech *copak* can take several syntactic and discourse functions, an analysis of its English equivalents is believed to be beneficial to Czech – English translators, lexicographers, teachers and students alike.

## 2 Theoretical background

The theoretical chapter consists of four main sections. The first describes Czech *copak* in all its forms and functions (cf., 2.1 – 2.3). The second focuses on the postfix *-pak* and its purpose in different Czech expressions (cf., 2.4). The third part outlines the differences in the concepts of particles in Czech and English (cf., 2.5) and the last section presents possible English equivalents of *-pak* on the basis of the specialized literature (cf., 2.6).

### 2.1 Czech *copak* – origins

Czech *copak* originated from the pronoun *co*, which can like many other pronouns have several affixes attached to it, giving rise to new pronominal meanings (Karlík, P. et al. 2012: 216, PMČ henceforth). The original pronoun *co* belongs to two categories of the word class, i.e. interrogative and relative pronouns (PMČ 2012: 295–7).

The function of the interrogatives is to ask for information – substances, qualities or possessors – and the pronoun *co* asks about an unknown object or even an animal. It can be used to ask about anything except a person (Ibid). As *Mluvnice češtiny 2* (Komárek et al. 1986, MČ 2 henceforth) sums up – *co* asks about “non-persons”<sup>1</sup> (MČ 2 1986: 96, Transl. ZP).

(1) *Co to tam šustí? (What is it rustling over there?)*

(2) *Co to tam skáče? (What is it jumping over there?)*

As a relative pronoun, *co* expresses the relation to a substance or quality and works as an intratextual connector (PMČ 2012: 297).

(3) *To, co jste slyšeli, není pravda. (That which you have heard is not true.)*

Nevertheless, the form of *copak* (*co* + postfix *pak*) works as an interrogative pronoun only, which is obvious when the pronoun *co* is substituted by *copak* in each of the examples.

(4) *Copak to tam šustí?*

(5) *Copak to tam skáče?*

---

<sup>1</sup> “ne-osoby“

(6) \* *To, **copak** jste slyšeli, není pravda.*

The present thesis therefore looks in more detail into the interrogative pronouns only.

As PMČ states, interrogative pronouns have colloquial, emotionally marked (Transl. ZP)<sup>2</sup> variants which are modified by the postfix *-pak* (PMČ 2012: 296). *Mluvnice současné češtiny 1, Jak se píše a jak se mluví* (Cvrček et al. 2010, MSC henceforth) declares that all interrogative pronouns can occur with *-pak* and sees its purpose in strengthening the interrogative meaning (MSC 2010: 221). The nature of *-pak* and its functions and meanings will be examined more thoroughly in the last section of this chapter.

## 2.2 Czech *copak* – formal variations

*Copak* occurs in several formal modifications. These are *cožpak*, *copa*, *cák*, and *či*. *Český jazykový atlas 5* (2005, ČJA 5 henceforth) presents these expressions as dialectal variants of the particles *co* and *copak* (ČJA 5 2005: 482). This suggests that these variants would not work in the pronominal function of *copak*, which can again be proved by the following substitutions:

(7) \* ***Cožpak** to tam šustí?*

(8) \* ***Cák** to tam skáče?*

ČJA 5 introduces these particles as a part of the so-called questions of astonishment (Transl. ZP)<sup>3</sup>. They belong to false *yes-no* questions and express the speaker's astonishment at something they did not expect (Ibid).

(9) ***Copak** jste o tom nevěděl? (What [co + postfix] you didn't know about it?*

*paraphrase: Didn't you know about it?)*

All the dialectal forms listed above work in this structure as can be seen below:

(10) ***Cák** jste o tom nevěděl?*

(11) ***Cožpak** jste o tom nevěděl?*

---

<sup>2</sup> “citově zabarvené“

<sup>3</sup> “podivové otázky“

(12) *Copa* jste o tom nevěděl?

As for the last dialectal form, *či*, it seems to be a marginal expression and probably a variant of the particle *co*, not *copak*. Its suitability for this structure cannot be explicitly judged.

(13) (\*) *Či* jste o tom nevěděl?

The most frequent form, *copak*, predominates in most parts of Bohemia and in the majority of the middle-Moravian<sup>4</sup> dialects. The form *cožpak* comes from the already modified pronoun *což* and it occurs in the eastern half of the south-west-Bohemian<sup>5</sup> dialects. *Copa* is characteristic of west-Bohemian<sup>6</sup> dialects, whereas *cák* comes from the western part of north-Bohemian<sup>7</sup> dialects (ČJA 5 2005: 482, Transl. ZP).

### 2.3 Czech *copak* – functions

As was mentioned above, one of the basic functions of *copak* is that of its predecessor – an interrogative pronoun. It has however developed several more functions and spread into other word classes.

*Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Havránek, B. et al. 1989, SSJČ henceforth) states four different functions of *copak* in four different word classes. They are as follows: pronoun, adverb, particle and interjection (SSJČ 1989: 222):

(14) **interrogative pronoun:**

*Copak* to neseš? (What is it you carry?)

(15) **interrogative pronominal adverb:**

*Copak* se pořád smějete? (What [co + postfix] do you laugh all the time?

paraphrase: Why do you keep laughing?)

(16) **particle:**

*Copak* to nevíš? (What [co + postfix] you don't know?

paraphrase: Don't you know?)

---

<sup>4</sup> “středomoravské“

<sup>5</sup> “jihozápadočeské“

<sup>6</sup> “západočeské“

<sup>7</sup> “severočeské“

(17) **interjection:**

**Copak**, *oni to dnes nehrají?* (What [co + postfix], they don't play it tonight?)

*paraphrase: What's the matter, it's not on tonight?)*

In its pronominal function, *copak* takes the meaning of the interrogative pronoun *co*. The question is in which respect(s) the new form differs from the basic interrogative pronoun *co*. SSJČ presents *copak* in pronominal function as a mere expressive form of the pronoun *co* (SSJČ 1989: 222); nevertheless, it seems that a certain new aspect of meaning is added to the word together with the expressivity mentioned. PMČ adds colloquiality as a new feature of the form with *-pak* (PMČ 2012: 296).

Expressivity involves the question of register and standard. According to SSJČ, *copak* in the function of interrogative pronominal adverb emerges in the sphere of common Czech (SSJČ 1989: 222), that is a sub-standard variety. It is used to ask about a reason or cause of some actions, as illustrated in example (15).

A specific usage is in the substantivized phrase *jaképak copak* as in the following example:

(18) *Tady neexistuje žádné copak.* (There is no what [co + postfix] here.)

*paraphrase: It's beyond any doubt.)*

SSJČ interprets this meaning of *copak* as inquiry, doubt, and defiance<sup>8</sup> (SSJČ 1989: 222, Transl. ZP).

Another case is *copak* in the role of an interjection. Interjections share many expressions with another word class where *copak* occurs – particles, and it is often quite difficult to distinguish between these two. The main difference is that interjections can stand separate and substitute the whole utterance (MSČ 2010: 299) as in (19).

(19) **Jasně!** ([Clearly!]) *paraphrase: Certainly!*

If this expression were used in a different context, it could function as a particle (20) or an adverb (21).

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<sup>8</sup> “vyptávání, pochybování, odmítnutí, odmítání”



(20) *Jasně že tam půjdu. ([Clearly] I will go there.*

*paraphrase: Of course I will go there.)*

(21) *Když vyšlo slunce, byl obrys jasně patrný.*

*(When the sun rose, the shape was clearly visible.)*

As an interjection, *copak* expresses wonder, surprise, and annoyance<sup>9</sup> (SSJČ 1989: 222, Transl. ZP) as in (17).

The most productive word class regarding the development of *copak* are particles. According to SSJČ, the particle *copak* introduces a phrase or a sentence expressing admiration, evaluation, appreciation, modest refusal, but also underrating or contempt<sup>10</sup> (SSJČ 1989: 222, Transl. ZP).

(22) *Copak ten, ten umí spravit všechno. (What [co + postfix] he, he can fix everything.*

*paraphrase: Don't worry about him, he can fix everything)*

Moreover, in different contexts, *copak* can express wonder, surprise, curiosity, reproach or irritation<sup>11</sup> (Ibid, Transl. ZP).

(23) *Copak to nevíš? (What [co + postfix] you don't know it?*

*paraphrase: Don't you know it?)*

As it is obvious from the above enumeration, even within one word class *copak* can convey diverse meanings. The differences between these meanings and the individual types of particles the word pertains to will now be looked into in more detail.

According to MČ 2, *co(ž)pak* functions as an interrogative and emotional particle signifying wonder or concern<sup>12</sup> (MČ 2 1986: 231–6, Transl. ZP). The interrogative particles express an appeal towards the addressee and their meaning is quite clear (Ibid: 231), cf. (24).

(24) *Což ho nemá ani dost málo ráda? ([What] she doesn't love him at least a bit?*

*paraphrase: Doesn't she love him at least a bit?)*

---

<sup>9</sup> “údiv, překvapení, rozmrzení”

<sup>10</sup> “obdiv, hodnocení, uznání, skromné odmítání, podceňování, pohrdání”

<sup>11</sup> “mírný podiv, překvapení, zvědavost, výčitka, rozhořčení”

<sup>12</sup> “podiv, obava”

*Což*, chosen by MČ 2 as an example of the interrogative particles is in fact synonymous to *copak* in its function as a particle (SSJČ 1989: 222). Because of the synonymity and formal link between those two expressions, *což* was given a short research on its own. It showed that as a particle *což* conveys very similar meanings to *copak*. It often appeared in questions of philosophical nature. This is only confirmed by the fact that most of the examples came from the works of Milan Kundera and Václav Havel – authors who are famous for embedding philosophical passages into fiction and drama. *Což* therefore turned out to be a both style- and subject matter-specific means of communication.

Regarding the other type of particles among which *copak* appears, the emotional particles, MČ 2 declares emotionality<sup>13</sup> (Transl. ZP) is a semantic feature representing the speaker's emotional attitudes concerning the content of the text or its part (MČ 2 1986: 236). The emotional attitudes can then be divided into specific subcategories as mentioned above. The subcategories of wonder and concern are relevant for *copak* as an emotional particle.

PMČ introduces yet another category. It states that *copak* can take the role of a modifying particle, too. These particles signal the discourse functions. They do not determine the function of the utterance by themselves, but in the interaction with other means of expression (intonation, mood and other) and with regard to its context. They are expressions which primarily belong to different word classes and are used specifically. Modifying particles are characteristic of spoken language (PMČ 2012: 362). The difference between *copak* as an interrogative pronoun (25) and a modifying particle (26) is illustrated by the following examples:

(25) **Co(pak)** *jste tam koupila?* (What [co + postfix] have you bought there?)

*paraphrase: I wonder what you have bought there!*)

(26) **Copak** *něco říkám?* (What [co + postfix] do I say anything?)

*paraphrase: Do I say anything or what?)*

For the second example PMČ suggests the equivalent *snad* (Ibid: 362).

According to PMČ, modifying particles provide a commentary on the content of the utterance and they can be easily paraphrased in a particular context. They bring in certain pragmatic effects which are dependent on the context, the content of the utterance, and means of expression determining the discourse function of the utterance. These effects or modifications of certain sentence type, for example strengthening or softening the imperative

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<sup>13</sup>“emocionalita“

sentence into a command or a request are a result of the meaning of the particle, the context, the content of the sentence and other means of expression. This abstract meaning of the particles can be outlined in the dictionaries; however, these meanings are not to be interchanged with the function of the utterance, even though the particles contribute to it. Another distinctive feature of modifying particles is that they occur close to the rheme of the utterance (PMČ 2012: 364).

Although *copak* comes from the interrogative pronoun *co* and takes over its original meaning, it became an independent unit and the pronominal function is only one of the many it has. It entered other word classes and created new meanings and shades of meanings. It works as an adverb and an interjection, but it is particles among which it is efficient the most. Even within this word class the usages of *copak* must be discerned since they convey various meanings. Many other means of expression like intonation, mood and so on usually constitute the meanings; thus it is rather difficult to state a specific meaning of *copak* itself. The meanings *copak* contributes to range from positive ones like admiration or appreciation to negative ones such as annoyance or reproach.

Nevertheless, the research has shown that *copak* has one characteristic aspect – that it is never neutral. In all its functions, as a pronoun, adverb, interjection, and particle, it is accompanied with a shade of colloquiality and/or expressivity, regardless if positive or negative. In some interpretations, it is even regarded as an instance of substandard variety.

## 2.4 The postfix *-pak*

The following part will concentrate on the particle *-pak* itself, on its purpose and meaning. According to *Mluvnice češtiny 1, Fonetika. Fonologie. Morfofonologie a morfemika. Tvoření slov* (Petr, J., ed. 1986, MČ 1 henceforth), *-pak* is a particle that became a postfix (MČ 1: 435). As an independent unit, in *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (2010) it is described as an adverb, a conjunction, and a particle. The particle already shows similar meanings to those of the later postfix as it expresses *warning, threat or irritation*<sup>14</sup> (*Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* 2010: 258, Transl. ZP).

PMČ includes *-pak* among enclitic particles, seen as means of contact<sup>15</sup> and described as occurring especially at the beginning of a dialogue or a new topic (PMČ 2012: 679, Transl. ZP).

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<sup>14</sup> “varování, pohrůžka, rozhořčení“

<sup>15</sup> “prostředky kontaktní“

(27) *Co se ti stalo?* (What happened to you?)

(28) *Copak se ti stalo?* (What [co + postfix] happened to you?)

*paraphrase: I wonder what happened to you?*

PMČ asserts that (27) is neutral, whereas (28) is friendly and sympathetic<sup>16</sup> (Ibid, Transl. ZP).

However, there is a discrepancy in what *-pak* is termed in the literature. PMČ describes *-pak* as a postfix (PMČ 2012: 296), defined as a type of suffix that is connected to the very end of the word, following the inflectional ending. The postfix stays at the end of the word even if the word is declined, e.g. *jaký-si, jakého-si* (PMČ 2012: 109). On the other hand, MSČ chooses the term suffix (MSČ 2010: 221) and defines it as a morpheme which occurs between the root of the word and its inflectional ending (Ibid: 127). MSČ adds a note on the character of *-pak* and its declension stating the declension is specific since only the first part of the word changes and *-pak* remains unchanged (Ibid: 222).

Martinková in her presentation (Martinková, M., M. Šimon 2014) introduces yet another perspective. In her conception *-pak* is broadly called *a bound morpheme*. In her analysis of *-pak* Martinková then draws on Poldauf's concept of the third syntactical plan, which will be looked into later on in this section.

It seems more convenient to talk about *-pak* as of a postfix; it will therefore be termed accordingly in the present thesis.

According to Poldauf, the instances of Czech *copak* in the function of a particle and other Czech expressions with the postfix *-pak* are part of the third syntactical plan (Poldauf 1964). The first syntactical plan deals with the structure of the core of a sentence and the second syntactical plan works with the dispensable components of a well-defined function. Poldauf declares that a third plan is needed to cover other complementations. The components of the third syntactical plan "place the content of the sentence in relation to the individual and his special ability to perceive, judge and assess." (Ibid).

Poldauf then mentions the difference between Czech and English regarding the third syntactical plan, which "is a plan clearly present in Czech, while only traces remain in English, as far as parallel means of expression are concerned, while it is developing anew in the form of introductory signals (and sometimes of tags). (Poldauf 1964). Poldauf comes to the following conclusion on this matter: "We can say that the third syntactical plan – introducing into a sentence the person having some sort of concern in what is being communicated and his attitude

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<sup>16</sup> "přátelské, účastné"

to what is being communicated – is far less represented in English than in Czech and also that where it is represented it is in different forms or at least the different forms prevail.” (Ibid).

The study then acquires the opposite perspective and follows the means of emotional evaluation in English and compares them with Czech. The topic of so-called rhetorical questions, which Poldauf claims are of greater importance in English than in Czech introduce *copak* as a translation equivalent (Poldauf 1964).

(29) *What good/use (is) a scooter for him? – Copak potřebuje skútr? Potřebuje skútr!*

In his study, Poldauf deals with Czech expressions containing *-pak* and gives suggestions for their English counterparts. These possible equivalents will be examined in the last section of this chapter.

## 2.5 Particles in English and Czech

The concept of word classes differs in Czech and English. As Dušková points out (Dušková et al. 2012), both languages share most of the word classes – *nouns, adjectives, adverbs, verbs, pronouns, numerals, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections* (Dušková et al. 2012: 23), however, the only Czech word class missing in the above list are *particles*, the topic of the following section.

In Czech, words are classified into the word classes regardless of the context, only thanks to their clear morphematic structure, especially their suffix (Dušková et al. 2012: 23). On the contrary, English lexis is mostly constituted by words lacking these signals, the context of the sentence is therefore crucial for classifying the word and understanding the meaning (Ibid: 24).

In English, particles are not such a developed word class as in Czech. The concept is rather different in each of the languages.

Quirk includes a commentary upon particles in a part of *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk et al. 1985, CGEL henceforth) called “Complementation of verbs and adjectives”, in the section “Multi-word verbs”, “Verb-particle combinations” (CGEL 1985: 1150).

The description is as follows: “The words which follow the lexical verb in expressions like *drink up, dispose of, and get away with* are morphologically invariable, and will be given the neutral designation particles. They actually belong to two distinct but overlapping

categories, that of prepositions and that of spatial adverbs [...]. The term ‘particle’ will therefore apply to such words as these [...], when they follow and are closely associated with verbs” (Ibid: 1151). Three groups of words are then listed under the title particles: prepositions, spatial adverbs, and prepositional adverbs (Ibid).

*The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston and Pullum 2002) also mentions particles in connection with verbs only. The most elaborate description upon particles is found in the section “The ‘verb – particle – object’ construction” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 280). The definition of a particle in this concept goes as follows: “We use the term particle for words like *down* in *She brought down the bed. She brought the bed down.*, as opposed to *downstairs* in *\*She brought downstairs the bed. She brought the bed downstairs.* *Down* is a one-word phrase functioning as a complement of the verb, and the term ‘particle’ can be applied to the word or the phrase it constitutes. The distinctive property of particles is that they can be positioned between the verb and an NP object with the form of a proper noun or determiner + common noun.” (Ibid: 280). The interpretation of particles in English is therefore rather broad and structure-based, as they are conceived as “[w]ords which can occur as complement in [the position between verb and a simple object]” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 273).

Under the term particles Huddleston and Pullum also include mainly prepositions, which they see as the central group, “since they are one-word phrases” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 280). According to them, however, this word class “also contains some adjectives and verbs, but these are restricted to a fairly small number of verbal idioms (*He made clear his intentions; They cut short their holiday; She let go his hand.*), whereas prepositional particles are found readily in both idioms like *She brought down the price* and in non-idiomatic, or free, combinations like *She brought down the bed.*” (Ibid: 280–1).

As was already noted by Quirk, the category of particles overlaps with the category of transitive prepositions – to distinguish between these two, Huddleston and Pullum give the following example:

(30) V – particle – NP = *She took off the label.*

(31) V – [preposition + NP] = *She jumped [off the wall].*

According to them, in (26) “*off* is a particle, an intransitive preposition functioning as complement of the verb, with *the label* a separate complement of the verb [...], object” (Huddleston and Pullum: 281). On the contrary, in example (27) “*off* is a transitive preposition with *the wall* as its object, so that *off the wall* is a prepositional phrase forming a single

complement of the verb” (Ibid). Huddleston and Pullum conclude this demonstration by the assertion that the constructions are different in their syntactic structure: in the construction with a particle and NP the order of these two can be usually switched, whereas, in the construction with a preposition and NP it cannot:

(32) *She took off the label / She took the label off.*

(33) *She jumped off the wall. / \* She jumped the wall off.*

To sum up the characteristic features of particles in English let it be pointed out that particles may either precede or follow the object in English, i.e. they can stand both before and after the object, provided it is not a pronoun.

To complete the survey of particles as a word class in English, a third source was used, the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999).

Biber et al. deal with particles as one of the word classes prepositions overlap with. In this concept they are called *adverbial particles*, i.e. “a small group of short invariable forms with a core meaning of motion and result. The most important are: *about, across, along, around, aside, away, back, by, down, forth, home, in, off, on, out, over, past, round, through, under, up*” (Biber et al. 1999: 78).

What Biber et al. claim to be the most important characteristic of adverbial particles is their close link to verbs, as opposed to prepositions, which are closely linked to nouns (Ibid: 78). Adverbial particles are added to the verbs in two main ways: “to build multi-word verbs: *bring up, look down on, take in, etc.* [and] to build extended prepositional phrases: e.g. *back to the roots, down in the middle, up in the mountains*” (Ibid: 78). Although the name *adverbial particles* necessarily evokes adverbs, the authors emphasise that they “should be distinguished from adverbs and from prepositions. [...] They are shorter and less complex than most adverbs. Their core meaning is quite restricted, while the meanings of adverbs may vary widely.” (Ibid: 78).

The greatest problem in conceptualization of particles in English is the high degree of overlap, since the “forms which are used as adverbial particles can also be used as prepositions” (Biber et al. 1999: 78). Huddleston and Pullum also mention this issue (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 281), stressing the importance of the context of the word, because “[g]iven the large degree of overlap between particles and transitive prepositions, it is not surprising that the same item can often be found with the same verb, interpreted now as particle, now as transitive preposition” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 281).

The overlapping character of English particles is something they share to a certain degree with particles in Czech context. As MČ 2 states, almost a quarter of all Czech particles are homonymous with other word classes or word forms, e.g. conjunctions and adverbs, but also some inflectional word classes and their forms such as verbs or nouns etc. (MČ 2 1986: 228). To interpret the meaning of most Czech particles in a specific usage, it is crucial to know the context, too.

The account of particles in English made it obvious that the understanding of this word class considerably differs in Czech and English. The definitions and examples suggest that certain words under the term *particle* in English would from the Czech perspective be classified as prepositions or adverbs. On the other hand, the words which are classified as *particles* (*částice*) in Czech would probably not make a distinguishable word class in English, but they would rather belong to discourse particles or clause elements.

Another conceptual issue is the use of the term *partikule* in Czech instead of or together with the traditional *částice*. It allows looking at particles in Czech from a broader perspective – as PMČ states, the term *částice* is in Czech linguistic tradition used to designate a rather heterogeneous group of inflexible synsemantic words, which does not include conjunctions and prepositions. Nevertheless, these expressions are due to their function sometimes put together with conjunctions and prepositions and classified as *partikule* (PMČ 2012: 358). It could thus be said that the term *partikule* is slightly closer to the English *particles* than the traditional Czech concept of particles (*částice*).

The discrepancy between the concept of particles in Czech and English does not mean that the two languages do not share the means of expression the two concepts offer. The effects achieved in Czech through this word class are not unattainable in English, but they are realized by different a word class and linguistic devices in general. For example, Czech modal particles determine the degree of probability of the content of the utterance (PMČ 2012: 359). In English sentence modifiers are used to achieve a similar effect. In this specific case, a truth value disjunct would provide the desired result.

To conclude let it be said that Czech *particles* (*částice*) are a very heterogeneous word class, overlapping with other word classes such as interjections and other. There are many borderline cases, which are classified differently in individual grammars and dictionaries. The main interest of this thesis remains the particle *copak*.



## 2.6 Possible English equivalents of *-pak*

Although the main analysis of English equivalents of Czech *copak* will be done on the basis of the data collected from the parallel texts in the empirical part of this thesis, it seems to be useful to sum up what the literature suggests regarding the counterparts of *copak* and the postfix *-pak* in general. The conclusions listed here will then be compared with the outcome of the corpus-based analysis and commented upon their presence in the excerpted sample of texts.

### 2.6.1 *I wonder*, tags

Poldauf suggests that one of the possible counterparts of one of the functions of the Czech postfix *-pak* is the English phrase *I wonder*. As he declares, “[t]he introductory *I wonder* is certainly a parallel to the Czech use of *pak* for establishing contact: *I wonder where he is*. (Kdepak asi je?) *I wonder if you know (it)*. (Jestlipak to víte?) It is also used epenthetically: *Where is he, I wonder?*” (Poldauf 1964). This English expression could therefore provide an equivalent for *-pak* as a means of contact.

As Poldauf includes Czech words containing *-pak* in the third syntactical plan (see 2.4), it might be useful to have a look at the means English uses on this level. Poldauf asserts that English does not use means of expression in the third syntactical plan as much as Czech does; however, it develops new devices, specifically introductory signals and tags. He develops this thought as follows: “The introductory signals are mainly intellectual in character. (They sometimes even help to establish new sentence patterns, as the hortative *let us*, the optative *I wish* – unreal and *I hope* – potential, the inquisitive *I wonder*, etc.)” (Poldauf 1964). Another possible tool to convey a similar meaning as the Czech postfix *-pak* does might thus be English tags.

### 2.6.2 *ever*

Dušková in *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* (Dušková et al. 2012) mentions the intensification of interrogative expressions common in spoken language through the use of the particle *ever*, which is written separately or sometimes together with the interrogative expression: e.g. *why ever*, *who ever*, *what ever*, *how ever*, *where ever*. An example is given and in its translation, the postfix *-pak* is used (Dušková et al. 2012: 324).

(34) *Who ever told you that? – Kdopak vám to řekl?*

Regarding other usages of *-pak*, Dušková comments on the Czech *yes-no* questions with particles *jestlipak* or *zdalipak* and states they have no structural correspondence in English (Dušková et al. 2012: 313). English *whether* introduces only indirect questions such as:

(35) *He asks whether / if you have noticed it. – Ptá se, zdali jste si toho všiml.*

Direct questions introduced by *zdalipak* or *jestlipak* correspond to English *yes-no* question (36) or indirect question with *I wonder* (37).

(36) *Have you noticed it? – Všiml jste si toho?*

(37) *I wonder whether / if you have noticed it. – Jestlipak jste si toho všiml?*

In example (37) the phrase *I wonder* occurs again as a possible counterpart of Czech *-pak*. Apart from this, Dušková suggests a new possible equivalent, i.e. the particle *ever*, which could function as a counterpart of *-pak* or directly *copak* not only in the function of particle, but also in its pronominal function.

The empirical chapter goes back to these suggestions one by one and compares the equivalents offered in the literature with the results of the analysis (cf., 4.6).

### 3 Material and method

The present thesis is corpus based. The analysis is therefore grounded on material drawn from a corpus. The material comprises the English equivalents of Czech *copak* and its variants in its different functions. The examples are taken from parallel texts (original – translation).

Since the topic of this study is translation equivalents, the parallel corpus InterCorp was used to obtain the data. The Czech version of InterCorp, version 8, was used as the starting point of the research, as it is based on a Czech expression. The English version of InterCorp was aligned to gain the English counterparts.

The original intention was to collect 200 examples of *copak* and its variants in the two predominant functions of the expression – particle and pronoun, 100 each. The material was restricted to *Core* only; to maintain authenticity of the examples of Czech *copak* in genuine usage, Czech was chosen as the source language.

A subcorpus of Czech original texts with their English translations was thus created. The diversity of the translations and translators contributes to the value of the data since it offers a broader range of the equivalents. The subcorpus consists of 25 Czech texts (mainly fiction) of the size of 2 268 890 positions. The size of the English translations is 2 603 911 positions.

To excerpt the data, a search based on several queries was performed. To cover all the formal variations of the expression, four different queries were executed for all the variants (*copak*, *cožpak*, *copa*, *cák*). In the first case, a *lemma* query was performed, since *copak* in its pronominal function can occur in inflected forms (e.g. *čímpak* etc). The rest of the variants were inserted as *word forms* into the corpus query.

A sample of 242 instances was thus obtained. It consists of 226 instances of *copak*, 9 instances of *cožpak*, and 7 instances of the dialectal form *cák*. No instances of the dialectal form *copa* were found in the corpus. Two instances were directly excluded from the sample for their technical inadequacy; one of them was a finding that appeared twice in the results (once with part of the text missing) and the other one was aligned incorrectly and had the same Czech sentence in the place of both the original and translation. A sample of 240 instances was thus created, all of them listed in the respective appendices at the end of this thesis.

To cover the word class distribution of the expression in the corpus, a word class classification was carried out. The classification had to be done manually since the grammatical tagging of the corpus turned out to be a rather unreliable tool and failed.

The instances of *copak* and its variants found in the corpus consist of 187 particles, 37 pronouns, 13 interjections, 2 adverbs, and a special case. As was said above, it was originally intended to collect 100 pronouns and 100 particles. Nevertheless, the research and subsequent word class analysis showed that the two predominant functions of *copak* – particle and pronoun – are not distributed equally in the material, pronouns representing a minority usage and particles the most productive one. It was thus decided to use the data as it is and treat all the individual functions of *copak* in respect to their distribution in the corpus. The equivalents of *copak* in pronominal function turned out to be a rather homogeneous group without any extra aspects that would require further examination. The pronouns were therefore given less space in the analysis. Although every word class represented in the material is covered, the crux of the analysis lies in the particles.

Since the size of the data (240 instances) approximately corresponds to the original request of 200 instances, all the examples were used for the analysis on the assumption that some may not meet the requirements for further examination (e.g. lack the English equivalent, be of idiomatic character etc.) and reduce thus the final number of usable examples. The material was organised according to word classes and it is listed in the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

A supplementary analysis of *což*, which can take the same role as the particle *copak* was added to the theoretical description of the different functions of *copak* to make the overview complete. An extra *word form* query in the same subcorpus of 25 Czech texts with their English translations was thus required to confirm the equivalence. The texts yielded 494 instances of *což*, 79 of which were classified as particles. This classification was again done manually. The sample served as a base for a brief comment on the particle *což* and its English equivalents. However, it represents only a marginal issue in the thesis, and is not therefore included in the main analysis and the Appendix.

Another research was carried out to contribute to the analysis of the pronominal function of *copak*. To discover whether the English *what ever* could be a means to convey the meaning of the pronoun *copak* as opposed to mere *co*, a *phrase query* was performed to find it in the corpus. In this case the English version of the corpus InterCorp was used as the starting point and the Czech version was aligned to it. The material was again narrowed to *Core* and English was selected as the source language of the texts. There were only 4 examples of *what*

*ever* with parallel Czech translations found in the corpus. The data are part of the Appendix at the end of the thesis.

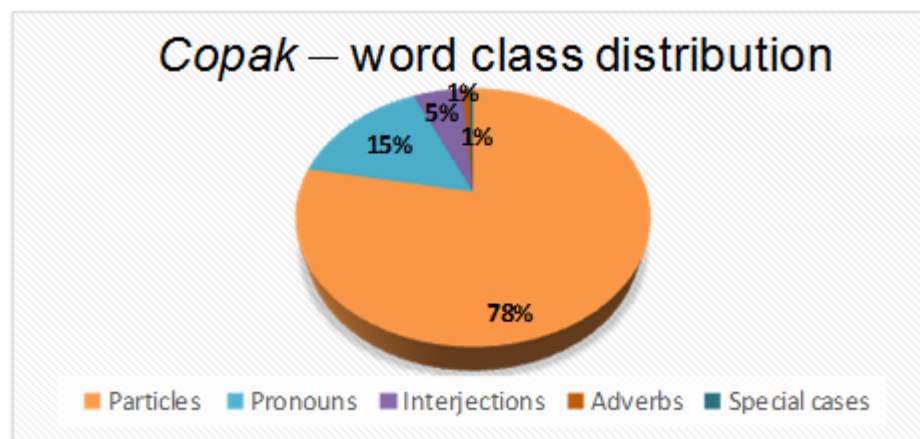
## 4 Analysis

The empirical part of the present thesis consists of five main sections, each of them pursuing *copak* as the representative of one of the word classes it can be sorted into. The analysis therefore covers the instances of particles, pronouns, interjections, adverbs, and a special case as found in the material. Since the individual word class functions are not represented equally in the corpus, the space and attention given to each of them varies and the sections differ in both length and depth of examination as some of the functions of *copak* offer more aspects to deal with than the others.

**Table 1. *Copak* (*cožpak*, *cák*) - word class distribution in the corpus**

Word Class	Σ	%	Realization forms
Particles	187	78 %	<i>copak</i> 172 hits (92 %) <i>cožpak</i> 9 hits (5 %) <i>cák</i> 6 hits (3 %)
Pronouns	37	15 %	<i>copak</i> 36 hits (97 %) <i>cák</i> 1 hit (3 %)
Interjections	13	5 %	<i>copak</i> 13 hits (100 %)
Adverbs	2	1 %	<i>copak</i> 2 hits (100 %)
Special cases	1	1 %	<i>copak</i> 1 hit (100 %)
<b>Total</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>100 %</b>	<b><i>copak</i> 224 hits (93 %)</b> <b><i>cožpak</i> 9 hits (4 %)</b> <b><i>cák</i> 7 hits (3 %)</b> <b><i>copa</i> 0 hits (0 %)</b>

**Diagram 1. *Copak* (*cožpak*, *cák*) - word class distribution in the corpus**



## 4.1 Particles

Particles represent the majority of all the occurrences of *copak* and its variants in the material. Out of 240 instances, 187 were classified as particles. Their quantitative predominance together with the range and diversity of their English equivalents make them the most productive word class of all that *copak* represents. Thus, the analysis of particles constitutes the main part of the empirical chapter of the present thesis and covers the principal and most complex issue of Czech *copak* and its English equivalents. The material used for the analysis is gathered in the Appendix Table 1.

### 4.1.1 Discourse functions of the particle *copak*

As stated in the chapter dealing with the individual functions of *copak* in the theoretical part of the present thesis (cf., 2.3), in the function of a particle, *copak* can express several discourse functions or semantic roles. These modify the propositional content of the utterance and present certain emotion or attitude of the speaker. Furthermore, they manifest the interaction between the speaker and the addressee. The discourse functions of the particle *copak* are as follows: admiration, evaluation, appreciation, modest refusal, underrating, contempt, wonder, surprise, curiosity, reproach, irritation, and concern.

To identify the discourse functions of the individual examples of the 187 particles, a broader context had to be taken into account. The examples were examined with consideration of this context, which however cannot be fully recorded in the appendix (Appendix Table 1). The appendix represents the context of the instances only partially, and do not thus give sufficient evidence of the discourse functions.

Another obstacle was the fact that the examples gathered from the corpus usually represent spoken language, which in its full meaning is dependent on intonation. However, as the examples are captured in a written form, the intonation cannot be deduced. The analysis of the discourse functions therefore relied on the available clues, i.e. mostly the broader context and punctuation.

Out of the 12 discourse functions ascribed to the particle *copak* in the specialised literature, there are 8 represented in the excerpted material. The data from the corpus offered the particle *copak* in following discourse functions: appreciation, underrating, contempt, wonder, surprise, reproach, irritation, and concern. The remaining discourse functions were not

found among the examples of the particles. The frequency of the discourse functions is shown in Table 2 and they are treated individually in the following sections 4.1.1.1. – 4.1.1.8.

**Table 2. Discourse functions of the particle *copak***

Discourse functions	$\Sigma$	%
Irritation	58	31 %
Wonder	46	24 %
Reproach	36	19 %
Underrating	25	13 %
Surprise	7	4 %
Appreciation	7	4 %
Concern	5	3 %
Contempt	3	2 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>100 %</b>

#### 4.1.1.1 The particle *copak* expressing irritation

The most frequent discourse function that occurred in the material was irritation. The particle *copak* expresses irritation in 58 cases of all 187, i.e. almost one third of all examples. The irritation marked by the particle (and other discourse markers) is that of the speaker, who responds with irritation on previous utterance of the partner in the communication, state of things, or other impulses, which can originate from extralinguistic context.

- (38) *Copak jsem stará bába, propána?*  
*I'm not an old woman, for Heaven's sake!*

In (38) the speaker's irritation is caused by something that has been said or suggested possibly by the addressee in their previous conversation. The speaker therefore reacts with a rhetorical question containing the particle *copak*; the expressive character of the utterance being enhanced by the interjection *propána* (for Heaven's sake).

Nevertheless, it is not necessary for an utterance expressing irritation to be said in a dialogue, moreover, it often occurs as an exclamation without any expectations of being answered, cf. (39).



- (39) ***Copak*** *tady neni ani podzim!*  
*Don't they even get fall here!*

Example (39) presents an exclamation, which signals the speaker's irritation at the situation or given state of things. The fact that the utterance has a form of an exclamative sentence instead of a mere question with the particle *copak* contributes to its expressivity and emphasises its discourse function.

#### 4.1.1.2 The particle *copak* expressing wonder

There were 46 instances of the particle *copak* expressing wonder found in the material, which make it one of the most frequent discourse functions, representing almost a quarter of all examples. It demonstrates the speaker's amazement at a certain fact or situation and often also signals an appeal towards the addressee to explain or confirm what was said or introduced. Nevertheless, the cases where the speaker talks only to themselves are also possible with this discourse function.

- (40) *Roman, že prej mají cenu sto dolarů, **copak** dolary opravdu vůbec jsou?*  
*Roman says they're worth a hundred dollars, **do** dollars really exist?*

In example (40) the speaker gives their opinion upon something they have learned, demanding the addressee's point of view, i.e. to confirm or disprove the information.

Another example of the particle *copak* expressing wonder presents an utterance by which the speaker manifests their judgement and astonishment at the possibility of the existence of some other view, cf. (41).

- (41) *Jsi krásná... **copak** to opravdu může někdo nevidět?*  
*You're beautiful... **how** can anyone not see that?*

Similarly as in the previous examples, the discourse function in this utterance is achieved by employing other features than the particle *copak* only, in this case the particle *opravdu*.

#### 4.1.1.3 The particle *copak* expressing reproach

The third most frequent discourse function of particle *copak* as found in the material was that of reproach. It occurred in 36 instances, which constitute 19 % of all particles examined. In this case the speaker uses *copak* to rebuke the addressee either for something they have done (and it did not meet the speaker's expectations), or instantly for something the addressee is (not) doing at the moment of pronouncing the utterance and which causes the speaker's disapproval.

(42) ***Copak*** v tom baráku nemůžeš dohlídnout na trochu pořádku?!  
*Can't you maintain a little order in this building?!*

(43) *Který dobytek to zas klepá na dveře, **cožpak** nečte na dveřích 'Nicht klopfen!'*?  
*Which cattle swine is again knocking on the door, **is it that** he hasn't read the sign 'NICHT KLOPFEN, Do not knock!' on the door?*

Example (42) demonstrates a reproach aimed at the addressee for neglecting their responsibilities as required by the speaker. The intensity of the reproach is emphasised by the exclamation mark added to the question mark at the end of the sentence. Secondary purpose of the reproach could be to make the addressee change their behaviour and prevent the same situation from happening again. On the other hand, example (43) is representative of a reproach uttered directly in the situation that is being criticised. Here the main interest is to express the speaker's disapproval with the events without aspiring to influence the future actions of the addressee.

#### 4.1.1.4 The particle *copak* expressing underrating

Another discourse function of *copak* that occurred in the material was termed underrating. Out of 187 particles, 25 were classified as expressing this meaning, which therefore represents still a significant share of the examples (13 %). This usage of *copak* enables the speaker to dissociate slightly from the content of the utterance. By employing the particle *copak*, the speaker suggests their belief in the opposite than what is being said. Let us examine this in the following examples.

- (44) **Copak** to potřebuju?  
*I don't need that kind of trouble.*

In example (44) the assumption that the speaker is inclined to the opposite than what is suggested by the propositional content is supported by the English translation using a clear statement expressing the opposite in the form of a declarative sentence. In the next example the application of *copak* adds a shade of absurdity to what is being said, making it thus obvious from the speaker's perspective that it cannot be true, cf. (45). This aspect of *copak* expressing underrating is aptly captured in the English translation of example (45) using the phrase *come on*.

- (45) **Zuzáne, copak** já nebo Jiřina jsme nějaký Holmesové?  
*Come on, Zuzka, do Georgie or I look like Sherlock Holmes or something?*

In some cases, the most prominent feature is the aspect of dissociation from or even trivialization of something (or someone), cf. (46).

- (46) **Cák** já.  
*But don't take no account of me.*

#### 4.1.1.5 The particle *copak* expressing surprise

In 7 cases the particle *copak* was identified as expressing surprise. Although with only 4% representation in the material it constitutes a minor issue, this discourse function still offers interesting insights into the topic. Mostly, these cases demonstrate situation after a new piece of information had been revealed, which causes the speaker's surprise. Often the appeal towards the addressee to reconfirm the assumption of the speaker is included in the utterance.

- (47) **Copak** vy jste četli všechny mé dopisy Markétě?  
*You mean you've read all my letters to Marketa?*

In example (47) the speaker reacts with surprise to what they deduced from or were told in the previous conversation. The attempt to gain confirmation of the speaker's apprehension is present also in the English counterpart *you mean*. In example (48) the surprise denoted by the

particle *copak* originates from the speaker realizing that they were wrong as something they considered true turns out to be otherwise. In English this is expressed explicitly by using the phrase *I thought*.

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

#### 4.1.1.6 The particle *copak* expressing appreciation

Among the discourse functions expressed by the particle *copak*, appreciation also occurred. There were 7 instances of that kind identified in the data, which constitute only 4 % of the material. In this usage the speaker shows their appreciation for somebody – their character, deeds etc. – or something – a situation, an item, and so on. It is again rather expressive and emotive, cf. (49, 50).

- (49) ***Copak*** *náš Milouš!*  
*He really is something, our Bertie!*

- (50) ***Copak*** *moře, to bych si ted' zrovna dal říct.*  
*What was that about the sea? I wouldn't mind taking a dip right about now.*

In example (49) the speaker appreciates the qualities of the person mentioned, the emotionality here being reinforced by employing the possessive pronoun *náš* (*our*) and the form of an exclamation. The English translation combines two means to mark the discourse function and also chooses an exclamative sentence.

Example (50) presents appreciation for a certain location or activity the speaker dreams of. This utterance also contains a great deal of emotionality and expressivity reflected in the particle *zrovna* and the verb *dát si říct*. To capture the meaning, a loose translation is chosen in the English version of the text.

#### 4.1.1.7 The particle *copak* expressing concern

Czech particle *copak* can also express concern. In the analysed material 5 examples of this case were found, representing only 3 % of the 187 instances. In example (51) the speaker

is concerned about possible future events. The concern is expressed in the form of a rhetorical question, the speaker being afraid of a positive answer.

- (51) *Ale **copak** nelze dalším smrtím zabránit?*  
*Isn't it possible to prevent another death?*

Another illustration of this discourse function is showed in example (52), where the concern relates to hypothetical actions of the person mentioned. Here again the apprehension that what is suggested in the utterance might be true is evident from other features of the sentence, such as the conditional form and aposiopesis.

- (52) ***Cák** dyby von jenom kreslil...*  
*If only **that was** all the little bugger was up to...*

#### 4.1.1.8 The particle *copak* expressing contempt

The last group of examples was identified as contempt. It is numbered by only 3 instances, i.e. 2 % of the material. The discourse function in question thus represents only marginal, yet still characteristic usage of the particle *copak*. By including it in the utterance, the speaker shows contempt of the subject matter, a person or a thing. In example (53) the contempt applies to the addressee and possibly something they have claimed earlier in the conversation, cf. (53).

- (53) ***Copak** ty jsi nějaká výroba obuvi?*  
*What's all this about a manufacturer of footwear?*

The next example of contempt as the discourse function of the particle *copak* is a problematic one, as it depends on the context more than the other examples stated here. However, from the context it seemed obvious that the speaker disparaged their own importance in the exclamation. This interpretation is supported by the English translation, which uses the verb *to matter* and the form of a rhetorical question, cf. (54).

- (54) ***Copak** on!*  
*What did he **matter**?*

#### **4.1.1.9 Discourse functions of the particle *copak* – conclusion**

The above sections analysed the particle *copak* in its discourse functions as represented in the material. However, it has to be said that discourse functions are based on several distinct features, some of them coming from the extralinguistic context. Although the particle *copak* contributes substantially to the particular discourse function, it is only one of the devices creating the overall meaning. This is reflected in the choice of the English equivalents of the particle *copak*, as there are cases where more than one counterpart is used (cf., 4.1.2.3).

It is therefore impossible to determine the discourse functions with absolute certainty as the classification is always inevitably partly subjective. Moreover, the individual meanings are not contradictory and there can often be found overlapping cases. The classification proposed in the analysis and the terms used for the individual discourse functions are thus far from being perfect; nevertheless, they provide a basic overview of the subject matter, however complex it is.

#### **4.1.2 English equivalents of the particle *copak***

This section discusses the English equivalents of the Czech particle *copak*. Out of 187 instances, 15 were excluded, as they did not meet the criteria for the analysis. In 3 cases the Czech passage containing *copak* lacked any English translation; two other cases were unclear. Since only more or less accurate translations could serve as the basis of a valid analysis, 10 other translations were eliminated for being too loose.

However, to determine which of the translations is a loose one and which can be classified as an equivalent in a singular usage was rather complicated and there was seldom a definite view. Nevertheless, the main criterion for ascribing a translation the status of an equivalent was a high degree of correspondence and the possibility to use the structure in a different context, in which it would still convey the meaning of *copak* successfully. Thus several translations which occurred only once in the material were classified as separate counterparts, since they seemed to represent a proper equivalent, which having been taken out and put in a different context, could work similarly. Yet it is evident that due to the low frequencies of such equivalents no profound generalisations can be made. On the other hand, a translation was classified as a loose one when the structure seemed to work in this particular usage only.

Out of 187 particles, the final number of instances put to examination is thus 172. The following sections present all the English translation equivalents of the Czech particle *copak*;

nonetheless, these are treated mainly in respect to their frequency, i.e. more frequent counterparts are therefore given more space than the less common ones. Although all 172 examples were analysed, it is beyond the scope of the present thesis to comment on them all one by one. As a result, the equivalents are presented with the support of illustrative examples, which were carefully chosen to illustrate the specifics of the particular device. The complete data which was used for the analysis is presented in the Appendix Table 1.

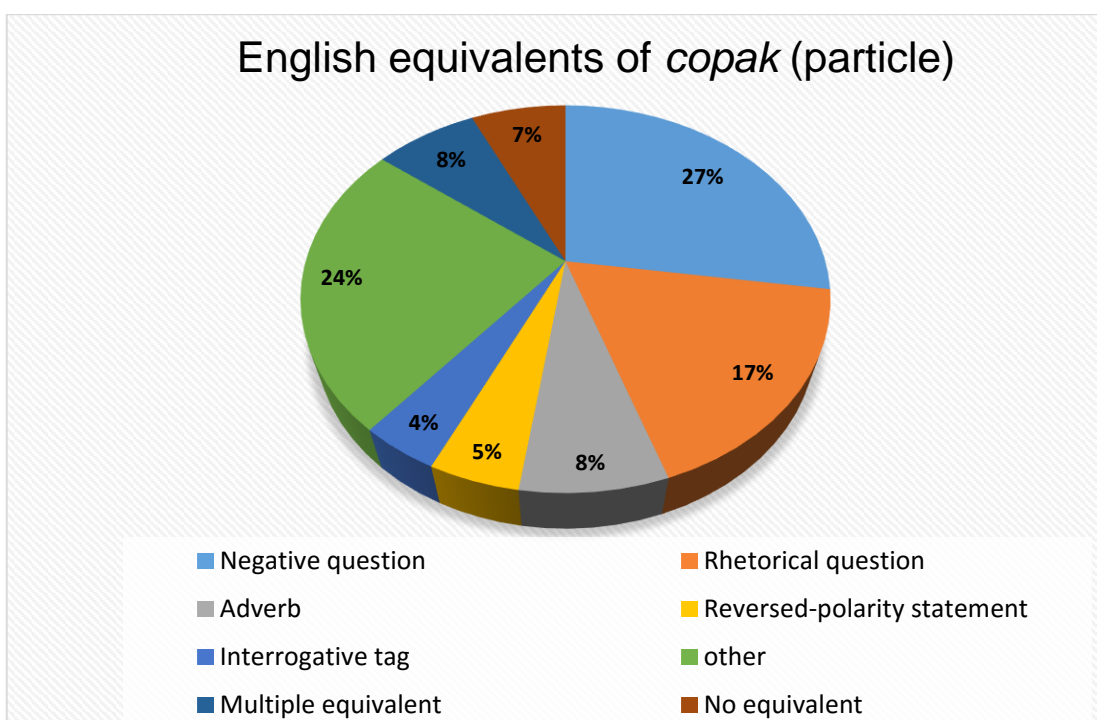
**Table 3. English equivalents of *copak* (*cožpak, cák*) – particle**

Equivalent		$\Sigma$	%	Discourse function
CLAUSAL 19,5 %	Interrogative tag	7	4 %	Wonder (3)
				Underrating (2)
				Surprise (1)
				Irritation (1)
	<i>(do) you think</i>	5	3 %	Irritation (4)
				Underrating (1)
	cleft construction	5	3 %	Reproach (2)
				Concern (2)
				Irritation (1)
	<i>(do) you mean</i>	4	2 %	Surprise (3)
				Wonder (1)
	<i>what [are we]</i>	3	2 %	Irritation (2)
				Reproach (1)
	<i>never mind</i>	2	1 %	Underrating (2)
	<i>look at</i>	1	0,5 %	Appreciation
	<i>come on</i>	1	0,5 %	Underrating
	<i>I'm not worried</i>	1	0,5 %	Appreciation
<i>be all right</i>	1	0,5 %	Appreciation	
<i>take no account of</i>	1	0,5 %	Underrating	
<i>I thought</i>	1	0,5 %	Surprise	
<i>I ask you</i>	1	0,5 %	Irritation	
<i>what do you take me for</i>	1	0,5 %	Underrating	
<i>what [did he] matter</i>	1	0,5 %	Contempt	
NON-CLAUSAL 65,5 %	negative question	47	27 %	Reproach (18)
				Wonder (15)
				Irritation (13)
				Concern (1)
	rhetorical question	30	17 %	Irritation (11)
				Wonder (11)
				Underrating (5)
				Reproach (3)
	adverb	13	8 %	Irritation (6)
				Wonder (5)
				Underrating (1)
				Reproach (1)
	reversed-polarity statement	8	5 %	Irritation (4)
				Underrating (3)
Wonder (1)				
wh-question with <i>how</i>	6	4 %	Irritation (2)	
			Wonder (2)	
			Reproach (1)	
			Underrating (1)	
<i>or something / what</i>	3	2 %	Reproach (2)	
			Surprise (1)	
<i>what</i> (interjection)	2	1 %	Reproach (1)	
			Irritation (1)	
<i>well</i>	1	0,5 %	Appreciation	
<i>but</i>	1	0,5 %	Wonder	
<i>as if</i>	1	0,5 %	Underrating	



<b>Multiple equivalent</b>	13	8 %	Irritation (4)
			Underrating (4)
			Reproach (3)
			Appreciation (1)
			Wonder (1)
<b>No equivalent</b>	12	7 %	Irritation (5)
			Wonder (4)
			Concern (2)
			Reproach (1)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>172</b>	<b>100 %</b>	

**Diagram 2. English equivalents of *copak* (*cožpak, cāk*) – particle**



As shown in Table 3, there were 25 structures identified as the translation counterparts of the Czech particle *copak*. These were classified and divided into individual categories according to their formal representation. The basic classification created two groups of equivalents – clausal and non-clausal. The criterion for this classification was the presence (or absence) of a separate finite clause containing a finite verb in the part of the English sentence which represented the equivalent of the Czech particle *copak*. The translations including such a clause were labelled as *clausal*. The instances which used other devices (morphological, syntactic, or lexical without extra finite verb) as counterparts of the particle *copak* were gathered in the category of *non-clausal* equivalents.

#### **4.1.2.1 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak***

More than a half of the equivalents include a finite verb and pertain therefore to clausal equivalents. They are interrogative tag, *(do) you think*, cleft construction, *(do) you mean, what [are we], never mind, look at, come on, I'm not worried, be all right, take no account of, I thought, I ask you, what do you take me for*, and *what [did he] matter*. The clausal equivalents occurred in 35 examples of the particle *copak* and represent thus 19,5 % of the examined material. They are discussed one by one in the sections 4.1.2.1.1 – 4.1.2.1.15.

##### **4.1.2.1.1 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – interrogative tag**

In 7 cases, the English translation of passages with the Czech particle *copak* included an interrogative tag. These make it the equivalent of 4 % of the analysed data and rank it on the fifth place regarding the frequency of the counterparts.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 891) describe interrogative tag as a short interrogative clause, negative or positive, added as a supplement to another clause (referred to as “anchor”), changing the illocutionary force of the utterance. Negative tags attached to a positive anchor and positive tags attached to a negative anchor are referred to as “reversed polarity tags”. It is also possible to have constant polarity tags (the tag has the same polarity as the anchor); however, these are much less frequent and occur predominantly with positive anchors. (Ibid: 892)

As Huddleston and Pullum assert, it is not as important for the meaning of the tag whether it is positive or negative, but whether it has reversed or constant polarity. The illocutionary force of an utterance with the form anchor + tag depends on the prosody. The tone of the tag – either rising or falling – determines the meaning of the utterance (Ibid: 894).

All 7 instances of interrogative tags found in the material are reversed polarity tags. The anchor is in all cases a declarative clause, but they differ in its polarity. There are 4 tags with a negative anchor and 3 with a positive one. The main function of reversed polarity tags is “to elicit confirmation or agreement (thus involving the addressee in the conversation) rather than to elicit information” (Biber et al. 1999: 208). As for the cases with a negative anchor, Huddleston and Pullum claim that there can be a bias towards a positive answer, but in addition the construction has an emotive component of meaning – a suggestion of being afraid that the positive answer is the true one. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 894).

The fact that the meaning of the utterance containing an interrogative tag is expressed by its tone makes it complicated to determine whether the English translations with tags correspond semantically to their Czech originals or not. However, some information can be deduced from the structure of the tags and their polarity. Since in all of the cases the tags have reversed polarity, it is true for all of them that they elicit confirmation or agreement and involve the addressee in the conversation. It seems that it is precisely this function, to make contact with the addressee, that caused the interrogative tags appeared as English equivalents of the particle *copak*, cf. (55, 56).

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

(56) *Copak ty tam chceš jít?*  
*You're not going, are you?*

In both examples the interrogative tag works similarly as the particle *copak* as a means of contact (cf. 2.4). Furthermore, as interrogative tags demand an anchor, the English translation paraphrased in all cases the Czech rhetorical questions (e.g. *copak neberou plat?*) into a declarative sentence with reversed polarity (*they get paid*) in order to attach a respective tag (*don't they*). This tendency is identical with a construction that was classified as a separate equivalent and is dealt with later on in this chapter (cf., 4.1.2.2.4).

Although interrogative tags provide successful correspondence to the particle *copak* regarding its interactional aspect, the discourse meanings seem to differ slightly in Czech and English. In cases with a negative anchor the English utterance contains a shade of fear that the positive answer is the true one, as was mentioned above. Although there is certain emotive element present in the Czech sentences, it does not take the form of being afraid. The discourse functions of Czech examples which were translated using a negative anchor are *wonder* (1 case), *surprise* (1), and *underrating* (2); the shade of fear seems therefore too strong.

As for the other cases it is difficult to decide whether the English translations agree in respect to discourse meaning with the Czech originals or not, since the meaning relies on intonation. Nevertheless, the main function of reversed polarity tags, i.e. to elicit confirmation or agreement makes this equivalent quite accurate, especially as regards the utterances with discourse functions *wonder* (3 cases) and *surprise* (1).

#### 4.1.2.1.2 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – (do) you think

Another clausal equivalent is the phrase (do) you think. It occurred in 5 instances, representing thus 3 % of all the examples of the particle *copak* analysed. Through direct addressing the hearer, this equivalent reinforces the interaction between the speaker and the addressee and also seeks confirmation, cf. (57, 58).

- (57) *Copak mi napadlo, že by to mohl těžce snášet?*  
*Do you think it ever occurred to me that he might take it so seriously?*
- (58) *Copak mám místo nervů vysokonapěťový dráty?!*  
*You think I have high-tension wires instead of nerves?!*

Similarly to the interrogative tags discussed above, this equivalent works as a means of contact. Regarding the discourse function of the Czech original (*irritation* in these two cases), it seems that the phrase could mark such a discourse meaning; however, probably only with a specific intonation. *Irritation* is nonetheless the predominant discourse function in this category (4 cases), as only one different instance occurred, which is *underrating*. It can be said that the equivalent works in this function as well, since the phrase suggests that the propositional content is obviously unrealistic, even absurd and by using the phrase the speaker urges the addressee to admit it.

#### 4.1.2.1.3 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – cleft construction

The material provided 5 instances of cleft constructions, i.e. 3 % of the examined data. There were 3 *it*-clefts and 2 pseudo-clefts, which were however included in this category, because their structure imitates that of a *wh*-cleft, cf. (59, 60, 61).

- (59) *Krucihihl, copak jseš hluchej?*  
*KRUCIHIML, is it that you're deaf?*
- (60) *Cák dyby von jenom kreslil...*  
*If only that was all the little bugger was up to...*

- (61) ***Cák*** *dyby von jenom kreslil...*  
*If only **that was** [what] the little bugger was up to...*

According to Biber et al., cleft constructions are used to bring particular element into additional focus (Biber et al. 1999: 959). These translations thus draw attention to the part of the utterance that in Czech is modified by the particle *copak*; however, they do not seem to convey its semantic aspects nor the discourse functions. The *concern* in (60) is for example not really apparent in the English utterance, nor is the *reproach* in (59).

#### 4.1.2.1.4 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – (do) you mean

The phrase (do) you mean occurred in 4 instances, making thus 2 % of all analysed examples. This equivalent seems semantically rather homogeneous, as in three cases the discourse function of the Czech original was *surprise* (cf., 62) and only in one case some other meaning appeared – that of *wonder* (cf., 63).

- (62) ***Copak*** *eště dávaj?*  
*D'you mean they're still handing out pay?*

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

In both examples the equivalent serves as a means of contact and it also provides an appeal towards the addressee. The discourse meanings of the translations therefore seem to correspond to those of the Czech originals.

#### 4.1.2.1.5 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – what [are we]

Another phrase used as a translation equivalent of the particle *copak* is *what [are we]*. There were 3 instances of this equivalent found in the material, i.e. only 2 % of it. This counterpart surely succeeds in establishing interactive relationship between the speaker, the addressee, and the message and it also expresses the appeal towards the hearer. Nevertheless, to declare a full correspondence between the Czech originals and English translations regarding

the discourse functions in these cases would require the presence of other features, intonation above all (cf., 64 – *irritation*, 65 – *reproach*).

- (64) *at' se něco děje. copak jsme vězni, abychom jen seděli na kavalcích [...]*  
*let something happen, what are we, prisoners sitting around on our cots all*  
*day?*
- (65) **Copak** *to nevidíš?*  
**What're you, blind?**

#### 4.1.2.1.6 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *never mind*

The phrase *never mind* occurred in 2 cases, representing thus only 1 % of all the examples. In both cases the ascribed discourse function is *underrating*. The *Oxford English Dictionary Online: the definitive record of the English language* (2011, OED henceforth) lists this phrase in the entry of the verb *mind* and defines it as idiomatic use with the meaning “don't let it trouble you, it does not matter” and also offensively “it is none of your business” (OED 2011: “mind”). The account of this equivalent in OED proves that *never mind* represents an accurate counterpart of the Czech particle *copak*, especially with the meaning of *underrating*, in which it appeared, cf. (66, 67).

- (66) **Copak** *trapné, ale přišli bychom o Dvořákův violoncellový koncert!*  
**Never mind** *the embarrassment, think of the Dvořák's cello concerto we'd be*  
*missing!*
- (67) **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!*

#### 4.1.2.1.7 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *look at*

The clause *look at* was found only in 1 case, which makes 0,5 % of the examined material. In Czech the particle *copak* expresses *appreciation* in this case. As most of the clausal equivalents the phrase *look at* is aptly used as a means of contact between the speaker and the

addressee. However, apart from this function the equivalent does not seem to convey the meanings of *copak*, as demonstrated in (68).

- (68) *copak ten první Jezu, ten když se válel v plenkách v chlívě...*  
*look at the first Jesu, rolling around the manger in his diapers...*

#### 4.1.2.1.8 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *come on*

The phrase *come on* was used to translate the particle *copak* with the discourse function of *underrating*. The only instance (only 0,5 % of the material) shows that this equivalent is successful in emphasising the unrealistic, even absurd character of the content, as seen by the speaker, who wants the hearer to acquire the same perspective and acknowledge it (cf., 69).

- (69) *Zuzáne, copak já nebo Jiřina jsme nějaký Holmesové?*  
*Come on, Zuzka, do Georgie or I look like Sherlock Holmes or something?*

#### 4.1.2.1.9 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *I'm not worried*

Another singular usage with only 0,5% representation in the analysed data is the phrase *I'm not worried* expressing the speaker's appreciation. The English translation captures more or less the meaning of the Czech utterance; however, the emotionality in the speaker's attitude is much weaker in English than in Czech, cf. (70).

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

#### 4.1.2.1.10 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *be all right*

The next equivalent also represents a sole instance in the material (i.e. 0,5 %). The phrase *be all right* appeared as the translation of the particle *copak* with the discourse function *appreciation*. It seems that the counterpart works well in this function, expressing the same discourse meaning. The only difference can be seen in the emotional aspect, which seems stronger in Czech than in English, cf. (71).

- (71) **Cák** Franta, ten se znova vožení.  
*Franta'll be all right, he can marry again.*

#### 4.1.2.1.11 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *take no account of*

Another singular usage is that of the phrase *take no account of*. It also constitutes a rather insignificant part of the examined material, 0,5 %; nevertheless, it seems to correspond to the Czech original, its discourse function being *underrating*.

- (72) **Cák já.**  
*But don't take no account of me.*

#### 4.1.2.1.12 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *I thought*

In one case the particle *copak* expressing the speaker's *surprise* was translated by the phrase *I thought*. It is therefore representative of only 0,5 % of the examined material. As example (73) shows, the English translation seems to express the same discourse meaning as the Czech original, i.e. *surprise*; moreover, it signals the interaction between the speaker, the addressee, and the message, too. The equivalent also elicits confirmation from the hearer, although it is not put as directly in English as in Czech.

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

#### 4.1.2.1.13 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *I ask you*

Another phrase containing the first person sg. pronoun is *I ask you*. It also occurred only once, that is in 0,5 % of the cases. The urgency evident from this equivalent creates a very strong appeal towards the addressee to react. The discourse function of the Czech original (*irritation*) thus seems to be included in the English translation as well, cf. (74).

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



#### 4.1.2.1.14 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *what do you take me for*

One of the instances representing a borderline case between an equivalent in singular usage and a loose translation is the phrase *what do you take me for*. It was assigned the status of a separate equivalent as it seems that the phrase could work in other contexts, too. The phrase occurred in only one case (0,5 %). It is a successful device of maintaining the contact between the speaker and the addressee; the discourse functions (*underrating*) also relatively agreeing in both languages, cf. (75).

- (75) *Copak já jsem psycholog?*  
*What do you take me for - a psychologist?*

#### 4.1.2.1.15 Clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *what [did he] matter*

The last clausal equivalent uses the verb *matter*. It represents a singular usage, that is 0,5 % of the examined data. The correlation between the Czech original and the English translation seems to be a tight one; however, the discourse function of the particle *copak* – *contempt* seems to be stronger than what the English translation expresses, cf. (76).

- (76) *Copak on!*  
*What did he matter?*

#### 4.1.2.2 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak*

In majority of the translations, a non-clausal equivalent of the particle *copak* was chosen. This category includes 112 instances, i.e. 65, 5 % of the examined data. These equivalents use various morphological, syntactic, or lexical devices, but they do not contain a separate clause with a finite verb. Ten following counterparts were classified as non-clausal: *negative question*, *rhetorical question*, *adverb*, *reversed-polarity statement*, *wh-question with how*, *or something / what*, *what (interjection)*, *well*, *but*, *as if*. They are treated individually in the sections 4.1.2.2.1 – 4.1.2.2.10.

#### 4.1.2.2.1 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – negative question

With 47 instances the negative question represents the most frequent equivalent of the particle *copak*, occurring in more than a quarter of all examples (27 %). It is therefore a significant category and requires a thorough examination.

Biber et al. (1999: 1113) mention that conducive questions which contain a negative word (normally the negative particle *not* or *-n't*) have interesting functions in conversation. Regarding their structure, they have a normal form of a *yes-no* question with inversion, but contrast with another form of interrogative, which is regarded as more neutral. Example (77) thus contrasts with (78).

(77) *Won't you come back?*

(78) *Will you come back?*

Positive interrogatives, such as (78) are the neutral 'open-minded' kind of interrogatives which are biased neither positively nor negatively. On the other hand, negative interrogatives have a more complex affect: they challenge a negative expectation that has been assumed to exist in the context, and thus indicate the speaker's inclination towards a positive answer (Biber et al. 1999: 1114).

Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 883) also see this kind of questions as always strongly biased, adding that they typically allow a range of interpretations. From their point of view, the epistemic bias, i.e. a matter of the speaker thinking, expecting, or knowing that one answer is the right one, can be towards either the negative or the positive answer (Ibid: 879 – 880). The bias can however be deontic, too. In such a case, the speaker judges that one answer ought to be the right one, cf. (79).

(79) *Aren't you ashamed of yourselves?*

In example (79) a deontic bias toward a positive answer is distinguishable: *You ought to be ashamed of yourselves*. At the same time the sentence has an epistemic bias towards a negative answer: *It appears from your behaviour that you are not ashamed of yourselves*. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 880). Therefore, as Huddleston and Pullum claim, negative interrogative questions with negative bias contain an implied contrast between the state of affairs which apparently obtains (negative) and the speaker's judgment of what should be the

case (positive). When such a contrast reflects adversely on the addressee, the question will be indirect reproach or rebuke (Ibid: 883 – 4).

The account of negative questions presented above attests that the discourse meanings of this equivalent correspond to a high degree to the Czech ones, especially as regards the utterances expressing *reproach* (18 instances) and *irritation* (13). These two discourse functions were the most frequent in the instances which were translated by a negative question, cf. (80, 81 respectively).

- (80) *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?*
- (81) *copak se málo snažím dělat všechno tak, jak má být [...]*  
*don't I try hard to do everything the way it's supposed to be done [...]*

While the negative questions with deontic bias (the speaker judges) serve as accurate equivalents of Czech utterances expressing *reproach* and *irritation*, the negative questions with epistemic bias (the speaker knows) aptly translate the particle *copak* expressing *wonder* (15 cases). This is demonstrated by example (82).

- (82) *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?*

It is evident from the examination of the negative questions as equivalents of the particle *copak* that apart from this counterpart being the most frequent one, it is also the most accurate one, maintaining both the discourse functions and the interactional aspect of the Czech particle.

#### 4.1.2.2.2 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – rhetorical question

Another numerous category uses rhetorical question as the English counterpart of the particle *copak*. This is the case of 30 instances, which represent 17 % of the analysed material. Regarding the frequency of the equivalents, this group is ranked second, following the negative question discussed above.

Rhetorical question is one of the conducive *yes-no* interrogatives, which have “a built-in bias towards one answer rather than another (Biber et al. 1999: 1113). Moreover, these questions, specifically the rhetorical ones express an opinion rather than ask a question. By choosing an interrogative form, the speaker appears to let the addressee be the judge, but no overt response is expected. They can therefore occur in monologues and dialogues alike (Ibid: 206).

This was the case in the examined data as well. There were instances of the particle *copak* translated by the rhetorical question in both monologues and dialogues. In all instances, the English equivalent copied the Czech rhetorical question, which included initial *copak*, cf. (83).

- (83) ***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?*

Although the English rhetorical question does not seem as a marked equivalent (in comparison to a negation question for example), as it more or less follows the Czech structure, it still expresses more than the propositional meaning only. Especially in the cases where the meaning of the Czech original is *wonder* (11 instances), the rhetorical question provides a satisfactory counterpart thanks to the bias it contains. The translations of examples with other discourse functions, such as *irritation* (11 instances), *underrating* (5), and *reproach* (3) also correspond to their originals; nevertheless, the discourse meaning seems to be stronger in Czech than in English, cf. (84) – *underrating*.

- (84) ***Copak*** *by mně afekt vydržel na to, abych někde sháněla lékařskou toxikologii?*  
*Would the throes of emotion last long enough for me to go dig up a book on toxicology?*

It is also to be noted that among the examples which were translated using this equivalent, two types occurred regarding functional styles. Most of the Czech originals consisted of colloquial, sometimes even vulgar rhetorical questions uttered mostly in a dialogue. However, in some cases, the rhetorical question took the form of an atemporal philosophical statement, representing a part of the speaker’s monologue. This distinction is apparent also in the English translations, cf. (85, 86).

- (85) *Madda si obula Alexovy těžké vibramky a zběsile dupala na podlahu, **copak** je už i ta voda jen pro ty hajzly v prvním patře.*  
*Madda tripped over Alex's heavy boots and angrily stomped on the floor, is the water only for the assholes downstairs-*
- (86) ***Copak** může blízkost působit závrať?*  
*Can proximity cause vertigo?*

#### 4.1.2.2.3 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – adverb

In 13 cases, the particle *copak* was translated with one of the following adverbs: *really*, *possibly*, *actually*. It was predominantly the first of them, which occurred in 11 instances, while the other two represented singular occurrences. Together these three adverbs constitute 8 % of the examined material, and they are therefore ranked the third equivalent in overall frequency.

The adverb is in all cases added to a rhetorical question (which is also in the Czech original), intensifying thus the discourse meaning of the utterance. The presence of the adverb strengthens the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and elicits confirmation as well. The equivalent also contributes to the expressivity of the utterance. It therefore seems a good way to convey the meaning of the particle *copak* in their full range into English, cf. (87).

- (87) ***Copak** bylo potřeba mne takhle klamat?*  
*Was there **really** any need to deceive me like that?*

Although the adverbs seem to represent accurate translations of the particle *copak*, it is impossible to determine whether the nuances expressed by the different discourse functions in Czech (*irritation* in 6 cases, *wonder* in 5, *underrating* 1, and *reproach* 1) are present in the English texts, as other features contributing to the discourse meaning – namely intonation – would have to be taken into account.

#### 4.1.2.2.4 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – reversed-polarity statement

In 8 cases, the English translations showed a similar tendency of specific kind, and were thus classified under the category reversed-polarity statement. Representing 5 % of the analysed data, this counterpart is ranked fourth in overall frequency.

The equivalent is used in the cases where the Czech text contains a rhetorical question. Instead of imitating this structure, the translation presents a declarative sentence with the respective content, the polarity being reversed, cf. (88)

- (88) *Copak jsem stará bába, propána?*  
*I'm not an old woman, for Heaven's sake!*

As shown in the above example, the English translation ingeniously uses different construction to convey the same message. The discourse functions seem to be maintained (successfully with *irritation* in ex 88 and other 3 cases and *underrating* in 3 cases, less accurately with *wonder* in 1 case). Nevertheless, it seems that this equivalent gives up both the interactional and emotional aspect of the particle *copak* entirely.

#### 4.1.2.2.5 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – wh-question with *how*

The wh-question with *how* appeared 6 times, i.e. in 4 % of the analysed data. As this equivalent represents the translations of the particle *copak* with various different discourse meanings (*irritation* 2 cases, *wonder* 2 cases, *reproach* 1 case, and *underrating* 1 case), it seems that to determine the discourse function of the English utterance, some extra features would have to be present – especially intonation. Nevertheless, with the respective tone added to them, the translations could correspond to their Czech originals, cf. (89) – *irritation*, (90) – *wonder*.

- (89) *Copak si na nás každý může otevřít pusou?*  
*How can they say things like that?*

- (90) *Copak by se na to mohl dívat?*  
*How could he go on looking at it all if there was?*

#### 4.1.2.2.6 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *or something / what*

In 3 cases (2 % of the material), a Czech question containing initial *copak* was translated into English by a question expressing the propositional content but modified by *or something* (*what*) at the end. Interestingly enough, *something* was used for the translation of the particle *copak* expressing *surprise*, while *what* occurred in two translations of the text expressing *reproach*, cf. (91, 92).

(91) ***Copak*** Viktor umřel?  
*Has Viktor died or something?*

(92) ***Copak*** seš pitomá, baby?  
*Are you stupid or what, babe?*

The equivalent in both variations seems to work well in respect to the discourse functions and the interactional and expressive aspect of the particle *copak*.

#### 4.1.2.2.7 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *what* (interjection)

*What* as an interjection occurred in 2 cases (1 %). In both cases, it was used to translate the particle *copak* in a rather negative context (discourse functions *irritation* and *reproach*). Attached to the main clause, the interjection modifies the propositional content similarly as the particle *copak* does in Czech, cf. (93) – *reproach*.

(93) *Mlčky zvedla obočí - copak* jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času?  
*She raised her eyebrows silently - what, had I forgotten how little time I had?*

#### 4.1.2.2.8 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *well*

A singular usage offered the expression *well* as the translation counterpart of the particle *copak*. It is thus representative of 0,5 % of the material only. Although this equivalent signals the interactive relationship between the speaker, the addressee, and the message, it does not seem to express the discourse meaning of the Czech original (*appreciation*), cf. (94).

- (94) **Copak** společnost není špatná.  
*Well, the company isn't all that bad.*

#### 4.1.2.2.9 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *but*

In 1 case, the translation attempted to capture the meanings of the particle *copak* by mere *but*. This is true for 0,5 % of the examined data. The discourse function of the Czech utterance being that of *wonder*, it seems that the English translation approaches the same meaning, cf. (95).

- (95) **Copak** ty ses někdy bála, Nad'o?  
*But were you ever afraid, Nadia?*

#### 4.1.2.2.10 Non-clausal English equivalents of the particle *copak* – *as if*

The last non-clausal equivalent, which also occurred only once, making thus only 0,5 % of the analysed material, consists of the conditional structure *as if*. It represents another borderline case between equivalents and loose translations. However, it was ascribed the status of a proper counterpart, as it seems to have the potential to fit other contexts, too.

The conditional meaning created by the equivalent corresponds to the discourse function of the Czech utterance – *underrating*, cf. (96).

- (96) *"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."*

As shown in ex (96), in the Czech original the content is questioned by the phrase *copak je to něco*, suggesting that the opposite is true. Similarly, the English uses *as if it were something* to hint that it is not.



#### 4.1.2.3 English equivalents of the particle *copak* – multiple equivalent

In 13 cases, more than one counterpart of the particle *copak* was identified in the English translation. That is, in 8 % of the examples the translators combined two devices to create an accurate translation. The multiple equivalents consisted of combinations of the counterparts discussed above, i.e. no new equivalent arose. The effect of cumulating more than one equivalents in a single translation is usually strengthening the meanings which the constructions create individually, cf. (97).

- (97) ***Copak*** *se to dá takhle formulovat?*  
*Do you really think you can formulate it that way?*

In (97), the phrase *do you think* combines with the adverb *really*, reinforcing thus both the interaction between the speaker and the addressee and the discourse function of the utterance (*irritation*).

Although the multiple equivalent did not occur in a significant number of examples, the fact that such an equivalent occurred makes it evident that the translators struggle while attempting to capture the full range of meanings of the particle *copak*.

#### 4.1.2.4 English equivalents of the particle *copak* – no equivalent

Ultimately, there were instances where no part of the English translation seemed to represent the particle *copak*, only the propositional meaning was clear. This is true for 12 examples, that is 7 % of the examined material. No modification of the propositional content is apparent in these cases, cf. (98) and (99).

- (98) ***Copak*** *o něm zpíváte po našem? Zpíváte podle receptu agitpropu a ne po našem!*

*In our own way? You don't sing in our way, you sing the agitprop way!*

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

The omission of the particle *copak* in some of the translations again proves the

uniqueness of this expression and its functions and that it is rather difficult for the translators to deal with the texts which include it.

#### **4.1.2.5 English equivalents of the particle *copak* – conclusion**

The analysis of the English equivalents of the particle *copak* showed that the range of the equivalents is rather wide. There occurred several counterparts with high frequencies and also high degree of correspondence, but also many singular usages which due to their lower frequencies cannot be generalised into a rule.

It cannot be said that a particular equivalent corresponds to a particular discourse function of the particle *copak*, as there seem to exist several adequate counterparts which cover the meanings of *copak* in different discourse functions. This is caused by the character of the discourse functions, which are not absolute and often tend to overlap. Moreover, both in Czech and English, the discourse meaning is constituted by several linguistic, but also extralinguistic features, which are not always distinguishable in examples of written texts.

Nevertheless, some cases showed the tendency to use particular equivalents for certain discourse functions, for example the English counterpart *(do) you mean* expressed *surprise* in most cases and the negative question served as the most frequent counterpart of the particle *copak* expressing *reproach*.

As was discussed in the theoretical chapter (cf. 2.1 – 2.4), the particle *copak* has several functions apart from contributing to the discourse meaning of the utterance. Table 4 attempts to list the main aspects of the particle and the degree to which these are represented by the individual English counterparts.

**Table 4. Tentative overview of the correspondence between the meanings of the particle *copak* and its English equivalents**

English equivalent	Interaction S – A, means of contact	Appeal towards the A (confirmation etc.)	Discourse meaning corresponding to the Czech original	Emotionality, expressivity
<b>interr. tag</b>	yes	yes	no	partly
<i>do you think</i>	yes	yes	other features needed (intonation)	no
<b>cleft constr.</b>	no	no	no	no
<i>do you mean</i>	yes	yes	yes	partly
<i>what are we</i>	yes	yes	other features needed (intonation)	partly
<i>never mind</i>	yes	no	yes	partly
<i>look at</i>	yes	no	unclear	no
<i>come on</i>	yes	partly	yes	yes
<i>I'm not worried</i>	no	no	partly	partly
<i>be all right</i>	no	no	yes	partly
<i>take no account</i>	yes	no	yes	no
<i>I thought</i>	yes	yes	yes	no
<i>I ask you</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>what do you take me for</i>	yes	yes	yes	partly
<i>what did he matter</i>	no	no	yes	partly
<b>neg. question</b>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<b>rhet. question</b>	yes	yes (if in dialogue)	yes	partly
<b>adverb</b>	yes	yes	other features needed (intonation)	yes
<b>rev-pol. statement</b>	no	no	yes	no
<b>wh-question with <i>how</i></b>	yes	yes	other features needed (intonation)	no
<i>or sth / what</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>what (interj.)</i>	yes	yes	yes	yes
<i>well</i>	yes	no	no	partly
<i>but</i>	yes	no	yes	no
<i>as if</i>	no	no	yes	partly

## 4.2 Pronouns

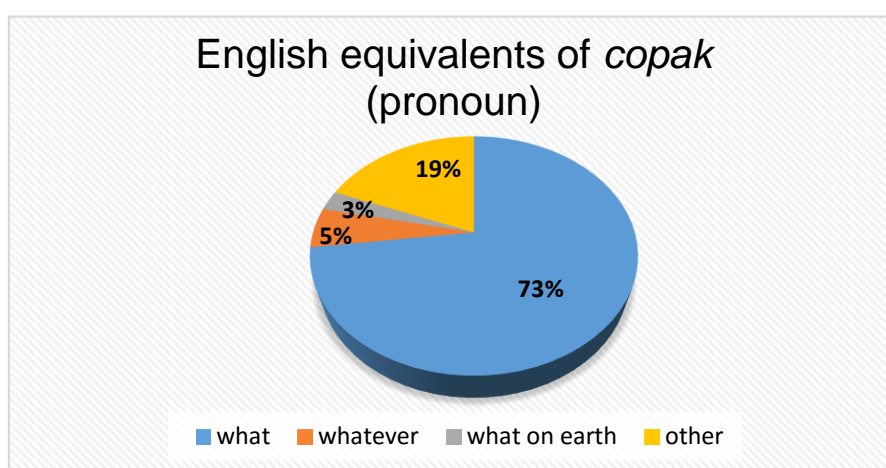
Pronouns follow the particles both in the number of occurrences and significance of the subject matter. The issue is less complex and the English equivalents are more homogeneous than with the previous word class, yet even in this function, several diverse equivalents appeared that require a thorough examination and commentary.

There were 37 instances of *copak* and its variants found in the corpus that were ascribed the function of pronoun. These 37 cases possess 10 different equivalents in the English translation of the texts. The individual equivalents are listed in Table 5 and analysed one after another in the following sections. The examples used for the analysis are gathered in Appendix table 2.

**Table 5. English equivalents of *copak* (*cák*) – pronoun**

Equivalent	$\Sigma$	%
<i>what</i>	27	73 %
<i>whatever</i>	2	5 %
<i>what on earth</i>	1	3 %
other	7	19 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>100 %</b>

**Diagram 3. English equivalents of *copak* (*cák*) – pronoun**



### 4.2.1 English equivalents of the pronoun *copak* – *what*

As shown in Table 5, in most of the cases the pronoun *copak* is translated as mere pronoun *co*, the English equivalent being *what*. This is true for 27 of 37 instances of *copak* in

the pronominal function. The English *what* perfectly corresponds to Czech *co*, as it is also an interrogative and relative non-personal pronoun (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 428), cf. 2.1. Nevertheless, the meanings and connotations added to the pronoun *co* by the postfix *-pak* are not captured in the English equivalent *what*. Therefore, this equivalent does not fully convey the meanings of *copak* in pronominal function.

- (100) ***Copak*** *jste jí udělal?*  
*What have you done to her?*

#### 4.2.2 English equivalents of the pronoun *copak* – *whatever, what on earth*

However, in 10 examples, an effort of the translator(s) to convey the extra meaning of the postfix *-pak* is distinguishable. It is achieved in various different ways. In two cases, the expression *whatever* appeared (101, 102) and in one case the translator used the phrase *what on earth* (103).

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

- (102) *A vo čempak ste si povídali?*  
*Whatever were you talking about?*

- (103) “***Copak*** *je s tebou?*” *ptala se ho žena.*  
“***What on earth***’s the matter with you?” *asked his wife.*

Huddleston and Pullum present both of these expressions as modifications of interrogative words, expressing surprise or bafflement, and suggesting thus that the speaker does not know the answer to the question. Moreover, they state that these items do not contribute to the propositional meaning, labelling them thus as emotive modifiers. The modifiers have many variants such as *ever, the hell, on earth*, and others (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 916).

The OED lists *whatever* as a pronoun and an adjective. The interrogative usage of *whatever* is described as “an emphatic extension of *what*, used in a question (direct or indirect),

implying perplexity or surprise”. The dictionary also ascribes colloquiality to this expression (OED 2011: “whatever”).

In Huddleston and Pullum’s account of emotive modifiers, these stand separate from the interrogative word, i. e. *what ever* appears as a phrase not a word. However, the instances found in the corpus show *whatever* written together, as one word. The OED states *whatever* as one word, but adds that it is more properly written as two (as it originally was) (Ibid).

The account of the English expressions *whatever* and *what on earth* in literature shows that these equivalents fairly correspond to Czech *copak* in pronominal function. They do not change the propositional meaning, but add some extra aspect regarding emotionality and register or they strengthen the interrogative meaning. In example (102), the choice of the equivalent might have also been motivated by the non-standard character of the original (*vo, ste*).

Nevertheless, the expressivity of Czech pronoun *copak* in contrast to *co* seems positive (expressing interest and care), while the expressivity in English modified interrogatives such as *what on earth* seems more dramatic, even negative, cf. ex (103). The English intensifiers seem to be stronger than Czech postfix *-pak* and they also appear to have more specific attitudinal meanings.

#### 4.2.3 Other English equivalents of the pronoun *copak*

The 7 remaining instances of *copak* in pronominal function all have different English equivalents. They are the following devices: wh-question with *why* (104), wh-question with *where* (107), negation (108), modal verb (109), the phrase *let’s see* (111), cleft sentence (112), and *really* (113). Let us now look at these equivalents one by one in more detail.

In the first case, the Czech original and English translation go as follows:

- (104) *Nic, nic, Mařenko... copak by se mnou mělo být?*  
*Nothing, nothing at all, Mary, my dear... why should anything be the matter with me?*

The character of the Czech wh-question is maintained in the English translation; however, the wh-word is different. By doing so, the translator slightly changed the original meaning of the whole utterance, since the more accurate counterpart would be a wh-question with *what*, cf. ex (105).

- (105) *Nic, nic, Mařenko... **copak** by se mnou mělo být?*  
*Nothing, nothing at all, Mary, my dear... [**what** should] be the matter with me?*

Furthermore, the English translation suggests that the original looked as in (106), which is not true.

- (106) *Nic, nic, Mařenko... [**proč** by se mnou mělo něco být]?*

Nevertheless, the translator's motivation might have been to differentiate the translation of the original with *copak* from using mere *what* in pursuit of capturing the extra meaning of the postfix *-pak*.

Substitution of another wh-word for the pronoun *copak* in the original appeared once more, cf. (107).

- (107) *Nó... od **čehopak** máme tu roztomilou jizvičku?*  
*Well... **where** did we come by that sweet little scar, eh?*

Here, the translator again could have used *what* to convey the propositional meaning, but the chosen equivalent is lexically more interesting (*where* instead of *what*, *come by* instead of *have*, *get*), which contributes to the stylistic quality of the translation despite a slight divergence from the original. The causal meaning is realized differently according to the choice of the verb.

Another English equivalent of *copak* in pronominal function is realized by negation:

- (108) *Ležet jako zvíře v trávě a mžourat do slunce – ach, o **čempak** jsem to snil ještě docela nedávno?*  
*To lie like an animal in the grass blinking at the sun – oh, **didn't I** dream like this not so long ago...*

This case offers the loosest translation of all 37 pronominal usages of *copak*. The Czech wh-question is translated into English by a negative *yes-no* question. The original presents the

subject of dreaming as something unknown, while the English translation describes the way and character of the dreaming.

Looking back to the analysis of particles, one could also suggest the translator was affected by the meaning of *copak* as a particle, even though here it is obviously a pronoun.

The following 4 examples (109, 111, 112, 113) contain the translation of the propositional meaning using the pronoun *what*; however, the additional meanings of the postfix *-pak* are conveyed into English by adding a certain expression, or better adapting the morphological or syntactic structure of the sentence.

In example (109), the propositional meaning of the original is modified by the modal verb *can*.

- (109) „**Copak** hledaji?” zeptal jsem se pani Venuše.  
‘What **can** they be looking for?’ I asked Mrs Venus.

This central modal auxiliary expresses extrinsic modality – possibility in this case, which strengthens the interrogative meaning of the sentence and brings in emotionality. It could similarly work in Czech, cf. (110).

- (110) [**Co asi**] hledaji?

The modality used as an equivalent of the postfix *-pak* conveys its additional meanings quite successfully; it mainly intensifies the interrogative meaning and also expresses stance.

In the next example (111), the translation strives to convey the full meaning of the pronoun *copak* by employing the phrase *let’s see*.

- (111) **Copak** nám tu mistr dneska vystavil?  
**Let’s see** what our artist has put on show for us today.

This equivalent concentrates on postfix *-pak* as a means of contact (cf., 2.4) and by addressing the hearer in first person plural imperative expresses suggestion and makes them engaged in both the inquiry and the action of finding out.

Another singular way of translating the pronoun *copak* is demonstrated in example (112), which presents a cleft construction.



- (112) **Copak** *to napsal Bill Pokušitel Svaté Aničky do záhlaví tohoto příkladu?*  
*What is it that William the Serpent wrote to Saint Ann about this problem?*

The type of the cleft construction represented here is *it*-cleft, used “to bring particular elements into additional focus” (Biber et al. 1999: 958). The element brought into focus is the interrogative pronoun *what* in this case; therefore, this structure succeeds in strengthening the interrogative meaning of the utterance, which is one of the basic functions of the postfix *-pak*, cf. 2.1.

The last case of *copak* in pronominal function offers the expression *really* as addition to the propositional meaning of the original, cf. 113.

- (113) **Copak** *dělávala předtím, než emigrovala do Kanady?*  
*What had Dotty really done before she emigrated to Canada?*

The OED gives several meanings of this adverb, one of them being synonymous to *actually* (OED 2011: “really”). It intensifies the speaker’s interest in what they are asking about; enriching thus the English translation with some of the connotations of the pronoun *copak*.

#### 4.2.4 *What ever* as the English equivalent of Czech *copak* – from English to Czech

To develop the hypothesis that *what ever* can represent a proper counterpart for Czech pronoun *copak*, a short inquiry into this matter was made using parallel texts. The corpus provided only 4 instances of *what ever* in English original texts with Czech translations aligned to them. The material is gathered in Appendix table 6.

Two of the cases offer *what ever* as a determiner, not a proform, and they are therefore irrelevant to the topic of the present thesis. Nevertheless, the other two examples show *what ever* as an interrogative pronoun (114, 115).

- (114) ‘**What ever** do you mean?’ asked Mother, putting on her spectacles and glaring at Larry suspiciously .  
“**Co** tím chceš říct?” zeptala se ho maminka, nasadila si brýle a podezíravě se zadívala na Larryho.

- (115) **What ever** happened to the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United

*States of America?*

*Co se stalo s První dodatkem k Ústavě Spojených států amerických?*

As the examples show, in both cases the translation used pronoun *co*, giving up the extra information of the particle *ever*. Similar to English translations of Czech pronoun *copak*, the Czech translations of English *what ever* chose to concentrate on the propositional meaning regardless of the connotations and modifications of the utterance.

#### **4.2.5 English equivalents of the pronoun *copak* - conclusion**

As the analysis of pronouns has shown, the most frequent equivalent of Czech *copak* in this function is the English interrogative pronoun *what*. Although it fully corresponds to the Czech pronoun *co*, which developed to *copak* by acquiring the postfix *-pak*, English *what* conveys only the propositional meaning of the original and fails to modify it with shades of emotionality, expressivity, and/or colloquiality that the Czech expression contains.

The attempts to capture these aspects of the original are rather sporadic, but when they occur, they are quite successful. The equivalents rarely manage to cover the meanings and connotations of *copak* in their complexity, but rather emphasise one of its particular functions. While the lexical equivalents such as *whatever* and *what on earth* work mostly as intensifiers, other structures often strengthen the interrogative meaning of the utterance or express the speaker's interest and intention to attract the addressee's attention.

As the examination has shown, the English equivalents of Czech pronoun *copak* can be found at the levels of morphology, syntax, and lexis alike.

#### **4.3 Interjections**

There were 13 instances of *copak* identified as interjections. As was pointed out in the respective part of the theoretical chapter of the present thesis (cf., 2.3), interjections are a rather heterogeneous word class and share many expressions with particles. Their most significant feature, i.e. that interjections can stand separate creating an independent utterance was therefore chosen as the main criterion for a word to be classified as an interjection. The examples used for the analysis are gathered in Appendix table 3.

Interestingly, this is reflected in the English counterparts that occurred in the examined material. As shown in Table 6, out of 13 instances, 8 used a sentential equivalent to translate

the interjection *copak*. Although the account of the interjection *copak* in the literature (cf. 2.3) lists only three following discourse functions (*wonder*, *surprise*, and *annoyance*), the instances put to examination seem to express *curiosity* rather than any of these three. As a result, the equivalents using a whole phrase such as *what's up* or *what happened* correspond semantically to the Czech original, although they lack the expressivity of the particle *-pak*, cf. (116).

- (116) "***Copak?***" ukázal poručík na černé podmalování černé zřítelnice.  
 "What happened to you?"

In the majority of the cases, a similar tendency as in the pronominal function of *copak* can be observed, since the interjection *copak* is translated using mere *what* without reflecting the particle *-pak*. This is true for most of the examples, including the instance of a loose translation, which was otherwise excluded from the analysis. In one case, the interjection *copak* was translated by *yes?*, which also works well, but it does not contain the emotional aspect that the interjection *copak* has in Czech.

**Table 6. English equivalents of *copak* – interjection**

Equivalent	Σ	%
<i>what</i>	2	17 %
<i>what's wrong</i>	2	17 %
<i>what's up</i>	2	17 %
<i>what's the matter</i>	1	8 %
<i>Yes</i>	1	8 %
<i>what happened</i>	2	17 %
<i>what about</i>	1	8 %
<i>what is it</i>	1	8 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100 %</b>

#### 4.4 Interrogative pronominal adverbs

Two instances of Czech *copak* were ascribed the function of an interrogative pronominal adverb. As it is used to ask about a reason or a cause of some actions (cf., 2.3), it was translated in one case by a *wh*-question with *why* into English. This translation conveys the propositional meaning; however, the expressivity and emotionality of the original is lost, cf. (117). The second example of *copak* in this function was translated rather loosely. The examples used for the analysis are gathered in Appendix table 4.

- (117) *Nu jen pište dál, Švejku, **copak** sebou tak vrtíte?*  
*Well, just go on writing, Švejk, **why** are you fidgeting so?*

#### 4.5 Special cases

The material provided a single instance of the substantivized phrase *jaképak copak*. As it is a very specific usage of Czech *copak*, it was translated by a paraphrase into English, which however lacks the expressivity of the Czech original, cf. (118). The material used for the analysis is gathered in Appendix table 5.

- (118) *Ať holka ví, že její jméno je kradený, jakýpak **copak**, velká byla dost.*  
*The girl should know her name is stolen, she's old enough, **why all the fuss?***

#### 4.6 Discussion

The last section of the analysis is dedicated to the discussion of the results of the research in comparison with the assumptions stated in the theoretical chapter and the results of similarly oriented studies.

As presented in the sub-chapter 2.6, Poldauf suggests that the possible English counterpart for the postfix *-pak* is *I wonder*, employed as a means of contact. However, the research carried out in the present thesis showed no occurrences of this equivalent. On the other hand, another possible counterpart that Poldauf mentions, that is tags, occurred as the fifth most frequent equivalent of the particle *copak* with the representation of 4 % of the data (cf., 4.1.2.1.1). Poldauf also treats introductory signals as the means of the third syntactical plan, mentioning the usage of hortative *let us*. This phrase occurred in a translation of the pronoun *copak* (cf., 4.2.3).

The particle *ever*, suggested as a possible counterpart of the postfix *-pak* by Dušková, occurred in 2 cases (4.2.2). Furthermore, as a separate inquiry into this matter proved, although the particle *ever* corresponds to the postfix *-pak* regarding its emotional expressivity, it is seldom used (cf., 4.2.4).

The comparison of the assumptions made on the basis of the literature with the results of the research of the present thesis are shown in Table 7.

**Table 7. The occurrence of suggested counterparts in the data**

Equivalent	Frequency	Word class
<i>I wonder</i>	0	–
<b>tag</b>	7 instances	particle
<i>let us</i>	1 instance	pronoun
<i>ever</i>	2 instances	pronoun

The study conducted by Martinková and Šimon, dealing with the enclitic particle *–pak* showed the same tendency regarding the counterpart *I wonder* as was observed in the present thesis (Martinková, M., M. Šimon 2014: 29). Additionally, the study yielded several constructions which seem to correspond to the interrogative expressions containing *–pak*. Its main function being establishing contact, Martinková and Šimon introduce counterparts which explicitly express the contact between the speaker and the addressee, e.g. *tell me, let's see* (Ibid: 21). Expressions of these types also occurred in the results of the analysis of the present thesis: *(do) you mean, look at, I ask you, let's see* (cf., 4.1.2.1.4, 4.1.2.1.7, 4.1.2.1.13, 4.2.3).

Another feature ascribed to the postfix *–pak* and observed in its English counterparts is tentativeness. This was expressed by modals and other means (Ibid: 24). Although some of these cases also occurred in the examined material in the present thesis, this tendency was not so prominent.

Discourse markers were also identified as the English counterpart of the postfix (Ibid: 25). Although there was no instance of the discourse marker presented by Martinková and Šimon – *then* – in the present thesis, different discourse marker occurred (*well* cf., 4.1.2.2.8). Nevertheless, the frequency of this counterpart in the examined material is quite insignificant.

Another counterpart introduced by the study are *wh*-clefts (Ibid: 26). Cleft constructions were also present in the data of the present thesis; however, the majority of them were *it*-clefts, cf. 4.1.2.1.3, 4.2.3.

One of the significant features of the postfix *–pak* was identified as reinforcement. This was achieved in the English translations by using intensifiers such as *on earth, the hell* etc. (Ibid: 27). This tendency was also proved in the above analysis of *copak* in the pronominal function, cf. 4.2.2.

To sum up, Martinková and Šimon assert that the postfix *–pak*, being a means of contact, tends to be often omitted in the translations. However, while this is true for the analysis of *copak* in the pronominal function (cf., 4.2) and partly for the interjections (cf., 4.3), the research of *copak* in the function of a particle carried out in the present thesis suggests otherwise. With

only 7% omission of the particle *copak*, it is evident that in most cases the translators attempt to include the meanings of the particle *copak* in the English translation using various means, however complicated (and not always successful) it might be.

The discrepancy between the results of the study of Martinková and Šimon and the present thesis is nevertheless caused by the fact that their study deliberately excluded instances of the expressions with the postfix *-pak* which conversed into particles (Martinková, M., M. Šimon 2014: 13). Since particles constitute the main part of the analysis of the present thesis, it is only understandable that the results of these two studies differ.

Šebestová in her bachelor thesis *English translation counterparts of Czech sentences containing copak and jestlipak* (Šebestová 2015) conducted a similar research to the one performed in the present thesis. However, her study dealt only with instances of *copak* as a particle. It seems therefore convenient to compare the results of Šebestová's study with the outcome of the respective part of the analysis of the present thesis.

The material used for the analysis in Šebestová's study was also excerpted from the parallel corpus InterCorp (Šebestová 2015: 27); however, the present thesis worked with a more current version (8). Nevertheless, it seems that the corpus yielded similar examples in both cases. The amount of examples analysed slightly differs in both studies, as Šebestová used 137 instances and the present thesis analysed 172 cases.

The results of Šebestová's study seem to agree with the findings of the present thesis. The most frequent counterparts of *copak* in the study are as follows: negative polar question, positive question, negative declarative clause, and question tag (Šebestová 2015: 38). These correspond to the most frequent equivalents presented in this thesis: negative question (cf., 4.1.2.2.1), rhetorical question (cf., 4.1.2.2.2), reversed-polarity statement (cf., 4.1.2.2.4), and interrogative tag (cf., 4.1.2.1.1). Nevertheless, the group of equivalents labelled as *positive question* in Šebestová's study are treated individually in this paper (cf., 4.1.2.1.2, 4.1.2.1.3, 4.1.2.1.4) and some of them are classified differently.

Despite minor dissimilarities in classification and terms, the two studies agree in the identification of the English equivalents of the particle *copak*. Nevertheless, the aims and overall conclusions of the studies differ. Šebestová's paper deals with Czech sentences containing particles *copak* and *jestlipak*; however, the present thesis concentrates on Czech *copak* only, pursuing this expression in all its functions.

## 5 Conclusion

The Czech *copak* proved to be an expression with a wide range of functions and meanings. Having originated from the pronoun *co* by acquiring the postfix *-pak*, it is used to enrich the interrogative pronominal usage with expressivity and colloquiality. The postfix *-pak* functions as a means of contact. *Copak* entered other word classes, too. It can occur in the function of an interrogative pronominal adverb, a particle, an interjection, and there even evolved a substantivized special case – *jaképak copak*.

To distinguish between the usages of *copak* as a particle and an interjection is as difficult as with many other members of these word classes, since they have many features in common. There are therefore many borderline cases, which are treated differently in individual Czech grammars. The main criterion for the distinction between particles and interjections used in the analytical part of the present thesis was the ability of interjections to substitute the whole utterance.

Particles seem to be a problematic word class not only when the distinction between them and interjections is in question. Their account in the literature is rather varied, as they represent an extremely heterogeneous word class, including many expressions which are present also in other word classes. There exist several classifications and perspectives, which are not universally agreed on. Furthermore, the concept of particles in Czech (however indefinite it might be), does not have a proper counterpart in the English word class theory. Moreover, the term *particle* is used to describe a complement of verbs and adjectives, mostly prepositions, spatial adverbs, and prepositional adverbs.

Out of the many types of Czech particles, *copak* represents interrogative, emotional, and modifying particles. As an interrogative and emotional particle it signifies *wonder* or *concern*. Additionally, the interrogative particles express an appeal towards the addressee, which proved to be one of the most significant meanings of *copak*. Regarding emotional particles, their emotionality is a semantic feature representing the speaker's emotional attitudes concerning the content. As a modifying particle, *copak* can signal the discourse functions. However, these are determined in interaction with other means of expression (intonation, mood etc.) and with regard to context.

The discourse meanings of *copak* are rather wide. The interjection *copak* is ascribed the discourse functions of *wonder*, *surprise*, and *annoyance*. Similarly, in the function of a particle, *copak* can express *wonder*, *surprise*, *irritation*, *admiration*, *evaluation*, *appreciation*, *modest refusal*, *underrating*, *contempt*, *curiosity*, *reproach*, and *concern*.

The discourse functions *copak* contributes to range from positive to negative ones. It is therefore impossible to state a single core meaning of *copak*. Nonetheless, the main feature of *copak* is that it is never neutral. In all functions it has connotations of colloquiality and expressivity, which can be positive or negative.

The analysis of 240 instances of Czech *copak* showed that the expression takes predominantly the function of a particle (187 cases, 78 %). In this function, the full range of (dialectal) variants of *copak* appeared – *copak*, *cožpak*, *cák*, except for *copa*, which was not represented in the material. The texts yielded 37 instances (15 %) of *copak* in pronominal function, in which the word took the following forms: *copak*, *cák*. There were also 13 interjections found in the data (5 %), 2 instances of interrogative pronominal adverb (1 %), and a special case (1 %). In these three word classes, the expression appeared in the form *copak* only.

The particles provided the most productive word class regarding the number of instances, the scale of meanings of *copak*, and the range of the English equivalents. As *copak* in the function of a particle contributes to the discourse meaning of the utterance, it was necessary to ascribe the individual examples a discourse function in order to analyse the correspondence of the English equivalent to the Czech original. Nevertheless, as discourse functions are created by other linguistic and extralinguistic features as well (intonation, broader context etc.), it was rather difficult and the result is certainly not a definite one. It was especially problematic, since the particle *copak* is characteristic for spoken language; however, the material was analysed in a written form. Nevertheless, the classification of the examples of the particle *copak* according to the discourse functions provided a useful tool for categorizing the individual cases and suggesting thus some generalisations.

*Copak* in the function of a particle occurred expressing a variety of discourse functions. The 187 instances were ascribed the following discourse functions: *irritation* (58 cases, 31 %), *wonder* (46 cases, 24 %), *reproach* (36 cases, 19 %), *underrating* (25 cases, 13 %), *surprise* (7 cases, 4 %), *appreciation* (7 cases, 4 %), *concern* (5 cases, 3 %), and *contempt* (3 cases, 2 %). These meanings modify the propositional content of the Czech utterance and present certain emotion or attitude of the speaker. Despite the discourse functions being the main semantical clue, it seemed useful to define overall meanings of the particle *copak* regardless of the particular discourse function. The particle *copak* can be thus described as a means of contact between the speaker and the addressee, signalling their interaction, making an appeal towards the addressee asking for confirmation of agreement as well as reflecting emotionality and expressivity both positive and negative.



The English counterparts of *copak* in the function of a particle represent a rather heterogeneous and varied group of constructions and devices. The 172 examples which were put to examination (15 examples having been excluded as loose translations or unsuitable in some other ways) offered 25 different structures. These were classified into two basic groups: *clausal* (35 instances, 19,5 %) and *non-clausal* (112 instances, 65,5 %) equivalents according to their having or lacking a separate finite clause. The equivalents were subsequently classified in terms of their formal representation.

The most frequent counterpart of the particle *copak* proved to be *negative question* (47 cases, 27 %). Thanks to their bias and expressivity, the negative questions succeed in conveying the full range of meanings of *copak* into English and represent thus the most frequent but also the most accurate equivalent of the particle *copak*, especially expressing *reproach* and *irritation*.

Rhetorical questions are another type of questions which constituted a counterpart of Czech *copak*. They occurred in 30 cases (17 %) and were the second most frequent equivalent. Although their form is not so striking as the form of the negative question, these counterparts also succeed in conveying the meanings of the particle *copak* into English; however, the English translations were not as expressive as the Czech originals.

The third most frequent counterpart was a lexical one. In 13 cases (8 %), the English translation used an adverb (mostly *really*) to express the emotionality and discourse function of the Czech original. These were of various kinds but mostly negative.

An interesting device represented the fourth most frequent English equivalent. In these cases (8, i.e. 5 %), a Czech rhetorical question was translated by a statement with the polarity reversed. Categorical statements thus appeared in the English translations conveying successfully the discourse functions but giving up the expressive and by eliminating the interrogative from also the interactional aspects of the particle *copak*.

The last equivalent that due to its frequency and consistency created a distinct category are interrogative tags. They occurred in 7 instances (4 % of the material) and rather than to convey the discourse meaning of the original, they provided the translation with a means of contact between the speaker and the addressee.

The rest of the equivalents represent a miscellaneous group of devices, which due to their low frequencies and functional diversity cannot provide significant generalisations. Nevertheless, in most of the cases, their attempt to capture the meaning of the Czech particle *copak* is more or less successful.

Although most of the equivalents do not seem to be function specific, certain tendencies to use a particular counterpart in a particular function can be observed. This is true especially for the *negative question* expressing the speaker's *reproach* and the phrase *(do) you mean* expressing *surprise*. In the case of some other equivalents, the tendency to represent negative discourse functions rather than positive ones can be noticed, e.g. *(do) you think*.

The wide range of equivalents of the particle *copak* seems to reflect its variety of (diverse) meanings in Czech. It is to be noted, that several predominant counterparts occurred (negative and rhetorical question) with high numbers of instances and then many minor groups and singular equivalents followed.

The analysis showed that some of the equivalents succeed in conveying the same discourse function as the Czech original; however, other work well as a means of contact or as expressing emotionality, which are also significant meanings of *copak*. Only few equivalents manage to cover all the meanings of *copak*, i.e. express the discourse function and the interactional and emotional meanings of *copak* alike.

In contrary to the common assumption that the particles in such functions are often omitted in translations, in only 7 % of the material (12 examples) the particle *copak* was left out. However, the omissions of the meanings of the postfix *-pak* were much more common with *copak* in pronominal function (73 % of cases translated *copak* as *what* merely). Nevertheless, the pronominal examples also offered several cases with more elaborate counterparts. The expressions *whatever* and *what on earth* represent insignificant ratio of the examples (8 %), but they seem to intensify the interrogative meaning, which is something the pronoun *copak* in contrast to mere *co* does as well. However, the expressivity seems stronger in English, as in Czech the connotations of the postfix *-pak* are sympathy and friendliness.

The most significant outcome of the analysis of *copak* as interjection is the fact that the English counterparts obviously reflect the characteristic feature of Czech interjections – that they can substitute the whole utterance. Thus, sentential equivalents such as *what's up*, *what's wrong*, and other occurred in the translations.

The interrogative pronominal adverbs and the special case occurred in too low frequencies and they also represent too specific an issue to give rise to some generalisations.

Interestingly enough, the possible English counterparts of Czech *copak* suggested in the literature proved out to be represented only marginally or not at all in the analysed data.

The present thesis demonstrated that the Czech *copak* can take various functions and express different meanings, which is reflected by the wide range of its English equivalents. The tendency to omit the additional meanings of the postfix *-pak* in the pronominal function of

*copak* attests that in this function its meanings are not so important. However, the complexity of meanings of *copak* in the function of a particle causes that the translations seek different ways to create correspondence to the originals. Nevertheless, the uniqueness of the Czech expression together with the complex concept of Czech particles (lacking corresponding formal representation in English) make it rather problematic to translate. That is also proved by the occurrence of multiple equivalents, attempting to capture the variety of meanings of the particle *copak* by more than one means.

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Appendix table 2: Pronouns

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Appendix table 5: Special cases

Appendix table 6: *What ever*

## 7 Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá českou lexikální jednotkou *copak* a jejími anglickými překladovými protějšky. Jelikož je zkoumaný výraz nositelem mnoha funkcí a významů, často jen velmi obtížně vymežitelných, přeložit jej do jiného jazyka může být obtížné.

Teoretická kapitola popisuje formy, funkce a způsoby užití českého *copak*. Opírá se přitom o české mluvnice a slovníky, především *Příruční mluvnici češtiny* (Karlík, P. et al. 2012), *Mluvnici češtiny 2* (Komárek, M. et al. 1986) a *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Havránek, B. et al. 1989).

Podkapitola 2.1 se soustředí na vznik výrazu *copak* přidáním postfixu *-pak* k zájmenu *co* a následné změny ve významu i distribuci. Část 2.2 podává přehled dialektických variant zkoumaného prostředku – *cožpak*, *copa*, *cák* a *či* na základě *Českého jazykového atlasu* (Balhar, J. et al. 1992 – 2011). V následující podkapitole (2.3) jsou představeny všechny slovnědruhové funkce *copak*, tedy tázací zájmeno, tázací zájmenné příslovce, citoslovce, částice a substantivizované *jaképak copak*.

V pronominální funkci je uveden zesilovací a emocionální význam zájmena *copak* ve srovnání se zájmenem *co*. Odlišit užití *copak* jakožto interjekce a částice se ukázalo dosti obtížným, což je dáno z povahy těchto slovních druhů, které mají řadu rysů i prostředků společných. Pro účely této práce byla jako hlavní faktor klasifikace vymezena schopnost interjekcí tvořit samostatnou výpověď. U těchto slovních druhů byly výrazu *copak* připsány příslušné komunikační funkce, jak je uvádí odborná literatura. Pro *copak* jako citoslovce to jsou: *údiv*, *překvapení* a *rozmrzení*. Pro *copak* ve funkci částice uvádí zdroje následující komunikační funkce: *obdiv*, *hodnocení*, *uznání*, *skromné odmítání*, *podceňování*, *pohrdání*, *mírný podiv*, *překvapení*, *zvědavost*, *výčitka*, *obava* a *rozhořčení*.

Popis výrazu *copak* v odborné literatuře potvrdil, že zkoumaná lexikální jednotka má velmi široké užití a disponuje řadou rozličných diskurzních významů. Ty ovšem nejsou vyjadřovány pouze daným výrazem, ale několika různými prostředky, jako je intonace, kontext a další. V neposlední řadě se ukázalo, že napříč slovními druhy funguje *copak* jako kontaktní prostředek mezi mluvčím a adresátem a je nositelem expresivity.

Část 2.4 se zaměřuje na postfix *-pak* jako takový, jeho účel a význam. Podkapitola představuje různá konceptuální pojetí, která se liší na příklad v tom, zda se jedná o sufix, postfix, či vázaný morfém. Východiskem této části práce jsou stať Ivana Poldaufa „The Third Syntactical Plan“ (Poldauf, I. 1964) a prezentace Martinkové a Šimona „Enklitická partikule

pak: korpusová studie“ (Martinková, M., M. Šimon 2014) Nehledě na terminologii je *–pak* vnímáno jako prostředek kontaktní.

Následující část teoretické kapitoly (2.5) podává přehled odlišného pojetí částic v české a anglické slovnědruhové teorii. Opírá se zde o popis prostředků zvaných *particles* v anglických mluvnicích *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk, R. et al. 1985), *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language* (Huddleston, R., G. K. Pullum et al. 2002) a *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber, D. et al. 1999). Z popisu je patrné, že mezi oběma jazyky jsou v nazírání na částice velké rozdíly. Termín *particles* se v angličtině obvykle vztahuje k doplnění sloves a adjektiv a zahrnuje předložky, prostorová a předložková příslovce. České částice jako samostatný (ač velmi heterogenní) slovní druh nemají v anglické teorii vhodný protějšek.

Poslední část teoretické kapitoly (2.6) uvádí návrhy anglických protějšků *copak* z odborné literatury (Poldauf, I. 1964 a Dušková, L. et al. 2012). Objevují se zde dovětky, fráze *I wonder* a zesilující částice *ever*.

Metodologická kapitola (cf., 3) popisuje zdrojový materiál, způsob výběru a zpracování vzorku. Pro sestavení dat byl využit paralelní korpus *InterCorp*, verze 8, z něhož byly excerpovány příklady *copak* a jeho formálních variant v rozsahu 242 výskytů. Zdrojové texty pocházejí z části korpusu označené jako *jádro* a tvořené především beletrií. Byly použity pouze texty originálně české. Pro potřeby práce byl proveden ještě menší výzkum prostředku *what ever* na základě anglické původní beletrie. Vzorek 242 výskytů českého *copak* byl zbaven nevyhovujících příkladů (pouze 2) a zbylých 240 výskytů bylo ručně roztříděno dle slovnědruhové platnosti *copak*. Vzniklo tak 6 souborů dat, které jsou uvedeny v příloze (Appendix).

Empirická část práce (cf., 4) podává kvantitativní a kvalitativní analýzu překladových protějšků *copak* v jednotlivých slovních druzích. Ukázalo se, že nejnosnějším slovním druhem jsou částice, které představovaly 187 ze všech 240 příkladů (78 %). V této funkci se také vyskytla většina dialektických tvarů částice, tedy kromě *copak* i *cožpak* a *cák*. Forma *copa* se v korpusu nevyskytla. Částice jsou také nejpłodnějším slovním druhem, co se týče významů *copak* a počtu a rozmanitosti jeho anglických překladových protějšků.

Aby mohly být zkoumány rozdíly mezi diskurzním významem českého originálu a jeho anglického překladu, podává podkapitola 4.1.1 přehled jednotlivých komunikačních funkcí částice *copak* s příklady. Klasifikace dokladového materiálu dle komunikačních funkcí byla provedena s přihlédnutím k širšímu kontextu, který ovšem není zachycen v přílohových tabulkách. Navzdory zapojení kontextu rozhodně není klasifikace definitivní ani absolutní,

jelikož k diskurzívnímu významu vždy přispívá ještě řada dalších, často mimojazykových prvků. I přesto však posloužila jako východisko pro srovnání významů částice *copak* v českém textu a jejich zachycení v anglickém překladu.

Ve 187 příkladech částice *copak* jsou zastoupeny tyto komunikační funkce: *rozhořčení* (58 případů, 31 %), *údiv* (46 případů, 24 %), *výčitka* (36 případů, 19 %), *podceňování* (25 případů, 13 %), *překvapení* (7 případů, 4 %), *uznání* (7 případů, 4 %), *obava* (5 případů, 3 %) a *pohrdání* (3 případy, 2 %). Tyto významy jsou přidány k propozičnímu obsahu výpovědi a vyjadřují emoci či postoj mluvčího.

Ačkoliv je částice *copak* sémanticky velmi divergentní, podařilo se vymezit i některé její společné charakteristické rysy, kterými oplývá nehledě na komunikační funkci. Je to především povaha kontaktního prostředku mezi mluvčím a adresátem, poukazování na interakci mezi nimi, dále výzva mluvčího směrem k adresátovi, aby reagoval (potvrzením, souhlasem apod.), a v neposlední řadě rys emocionality a expresivity, ať už pozitivní či negativní. Jednotlivé ekvivalenty částice *copak* byly poté analyzovány s přihlédnutím jak ke komunikační funkci českého originálu, tak k těmto stálým rysům dané částice.

Anglické překladové protějšky částice *copak* představují velmi různorodou skupinu prostředků. 172 příkladů, které byly nakonec podrobeny analýze (po vyřazení volných překladů a jinak nevyhovujících výskytů), obsahovalo 25 různých konstrukcí. Tyto byly rozděleny do dvou základních skupin na ekvivalenty větné (35 případů, 19,5 %, cf., 4.1.2.1) a nevětné (112 případů, 65,5 %, cf., 4.1.2.2). Kritériem pro tuto klasifikaci byla přítomnost, respektive absence samostatné věty obsahující sloveso v určitém tvaru v té části anglického textu, která zastupovala překlad částice *copak*. Následně byla provedena klasifikace jazyková. Jednotlivé ekvivalenty byly rozděleny dle formy, zkoumány a popsány v příslušných podkapitolách (cf., větné ekvivalenty 4.1.2.1.1 – 4.1.2.1.15, nevětné ekvivalenty 4.1.2.2.1 – 4.1.2.2.10).

Nejčastějším anglickým protějškem částice *copak* se ukázala být anglická záporná otázka (47 případů, 27 %, cf., 4.1.2.2.1). Odpovídá částici *copak* svou expresivitou a ve většině případů i příslušnou komunikační funkcí (především *výčitka* a *rozhořčení*). Forma otázky rovněž dobře funguje jako kontaktní prostředek, což, jak bylo řečeno, je jedním z hlavních rysů částice *copak*.

Podkapitola 4.1.2.2.2 podává přehled o druhém nejčastějším překladovém protějšku částice *copak*, tj. řečnické otázce. Tento ekvivalent se vyskytl v 30 případech (17 %). Není výrazný svou formou (často kopíruje formu řečnické otázky z českého originálu), nicméně přesto patřičně zachycuje řadu aspektů přítomných v českém textu. Anglické překlady se ovšem za použití tohoto protějšku liší od českých originálů menší měrou expresivity.



Třetím nejčastějším překladovým protějškem částice *copak* jsou adverbia, popsána v podkapitole 4.1.2.2.3. Vyskytla se ve 13 případech (8 %) a v drtivé většině se jednalo o výraz *really*. Prostředek úspěšně vyjadřuje emocionalitu českého originálu i patřičné komunikační funkce. Těch se objevilo několik, povětšinou negativních.

Podkapitola 4.1.2.2.4 představuje čtvrtý nejčastější anglický ekvivalent, totiž výrok opačné polaroty. Tímto způsobem si anglické překlady poradily s částicí *copak* v 8 případech (5 %), přičemž změnilly českou řečnickou otázku ve výrok s opačnou polaritou. Tato operace poměrně úspěšně přenesla do angličtiny význam příslušné komunikační funkce, ale došlo k rezignaci na expresivitu částice *copak* a odstraněním tázací formy také na její kontaktovost.

V podkapitole 4.1.2.1.1 je představen poslední signifikantní překladový protějšek částice *copak*. Jsou jím tázací dovětky se 7 výskyty (4 %). Tento ekvivalent málokdy odpovídá komunikační funkci českému originálu, ale je velmi úspěšný jako prostředek kontaktu mezi mluvčím a adresátem, včetně výzvy k potvrzení, souhlasu apod.

Podkapitola 4.1.2.3 představuje případy (13 výskytů, 8 %), kdy se překladatelé uchýlili k využití vícera překladových protějšků. Obvykle se jednalo o kombinaci výše rozebraných prostředků, jejichž efekt se takto znásobil. Následující podkapitola (4.1.2.4) pak informuje o případech nulové ekvivalence, tedy kdy byla částice *copak* v překladech zcela vynechána. Stalo se tak ve 12 případech (7 %), což je zjištění, které jde proti obecnému předpokladu, že částice tohoto typu v překladech obvykle reflektovány nejsou.

Zbylé podkapitoly představují ostatní překladové protějšky částice *copak*, jimiž jsou různé konstrukce vyšších či nižších počtů výskytů. Nepředstavují již však ustálenou kategorii, ať už vlivem nízké frekvence či funkční rozmanitosti, a nelze tak z jejich popisu činit hlubší závěry. Navzdory tomu většina překladových protějšků částice *copak* v alespoň částečném zachycení patřičných významů uspěla.

Podkapitola 4.1.2.5 shrnuje dosavadní výsledky zkoumání, tedy analýzu překladových protějšků částice *copak*. Je zřejmé, že široká škála překladových protějšků částice *copak* odráží její polysémní charakter. Některé ekvivalenty úspěšně vyjadřují diskurzí význam částice, jiné naopak dobře fungují jako prostředky kontaktu a interakce mezi mluvčím a adresátem.

Část 4.2 se věnuje analýze zájmen. V materiálu se objevilo 37 příkladů *copak* v pronominální funkci (15 %), a to ve tvarech *copak* a *cák*. Ve většině příkladů byly významy postfixu *-pak* ignorovány a protějškem se stalo zájmeno *what* (73 %). Vyskytly se ale případy, kdy zájmeno *copak* v celém svém významu vystiženo bylo, a to především pomocí zesilujících prvků *ever* a *on earth* (8 %). Srovnání s českým originálem ovšem ukázalo, že tyto anglické

výrazy jsou příliš silné a nesou emocionalitu jiného charakteru než české zájmeno *copak*, které vyjadřuje sympatii, přátelskost a účast.

Sekce 4.3 poskytuje přehled méně zastoupeného slovního druhu, tj. citoslovcí. Těch se v materiálu objevilo 13 (tedy 5 %). Zajímavým zjištěním této části analýzy je fakt, že charakter citoslovcí, popsaný výše, tedy schopnost tvořit samostatnou výpověď, se odráží v anglickém překladu. Ten často volí jako protějšek celou větu (v 67 % případů), např. *what's up* nebo *what's wrong*.

Zbylé podkapitoly analýzy (4.4 a 4.5) se zabývají marginální otázkou českého *copak*, tedy výskytů ve funkci tázacího zájmeného příslovce (1 %) a substantivizovaného výrazu *jaképak copak* (1 %). Část 4.6 nabízí interpretaci výsledků výzkumu a jejich srovnání s hypotézami popsanými v teoretické části (2.6) a s výsledky podobně zaměřených studií (Martinková, M., M. Šimon 2014, Šebestová, D. 2015).

Tato diplomová práce ukázala, že české *copak* nabývá různých významů a funkcí, což je v překladu reflektováno širokou škálou anglických ekvivalentů. Tendence nezohledňovat významy postfixu *-pak* v pronominální funkci svědčí o nižším stupni důležitosti těchto významů ve srovnání s významy *copak* jakožto částice. Naopak komplexnost a polysémie částice *copak* vede překladatele k hledání různých způsobů vystižení originálu. Jedinečnost českého *copak* a komplikovanost českých částic obecně nicméně činí překlad těchto struktur obtížným. To dokazují příklady kumulace překladových protějšků, které se snaží zachytit významy českého *copak* ve vší rozmanitosti.

## 8 Appendix

### Sources:

- FH:** Fischerová, D. *Hodina mezi psem a vlkem*  
**HB:** Hůlová, P. *Paměť babičce*  
**HO:** Hašek, J. *Osudy dobrého vojáka Švejka za světové války*  
**HL:** Havel, V. *Largo desolato*  
**JS:** Jirotko, Z. *Saturnin*  
**KL:** Klíma, I. *Láska a smetí*  
**KH:** Kohout, P. *Hvězdná hodina vrahů*  
**KS:** Kohout, P. *Sněžím*  
**KN:** Kundera, M. *Nesmrtelnost*  
**KB:** Kundera, M. *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*  
**KZ:** Kundera, M. *Žert*  
**LU:** Levý, J. *Umění překladu*  
**ORJ:** Otčenášek, J. *Romeo, Julie a tma*  
**PM:** Páral, V. *Milenci a vrazi*  
**SH:** Škvorecký, J. *Hříchy pro pátera Knoxe*  
**SP1:** Škvorecký, J. *Příběh inženýra lidských duší 1*  
**SP2:** Škvorecký, J. *Příběh inženýra lidských duší 2*  
**SS:** Stýblová, V. *Skalpel, prosím*  
**TK:** Topol, J. *Kočka na kolejích*  
**TS:** Topol, J. *Sestra*  
**VV:** Viewegh, M. *Výchova dívek v Čechách*

**Appendix table 1: Particles**

No.	S	Original	Translation
1.	FH	<b>Copak</b> s tebou někdy můžu žít!	<b>How do you think</b> I could ever live with you?
2.	FH	<b>Copak</b> mě neznáš, Rrrreň?	Have you forgotten what I' m like, R-r-règne!
3.	FH	<b>Copak</b> nikdo neslyší?	<b>Can no one hear me?</b>
4.	FH	<b>Copak</b> člověk žije sám?	People don't live in isolation, <b>do they?</b>
5.	HO	"Dáme ho do šestnáctky, " rozhodl se štábní profous," mezi ty v podvlíkačkách, <b>cožpak</b> nevidíte, že je na spise napsáno panem hejtmanem Linhartem 'Streng behüten, beobachten!'"	"We'll put him in 16," decided the Command Warden. " <b>Can't</b> 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.

6.	HO	Který dobytek to zas klepá na dveře, <b>cožpak</b> nečte na dveřích 'Nicht klopfen!'?	Which cattle swine is again knocking on the door, <b>is it that</b> he hasn't read the sign 'NICHT KLOPFEN, Do not knock!' on the door?
7.	HO	<b>Copak</b> to potřebuju?	<b>I don't need</b> that kind of trouble.
8.	HO	<b>Copak</b> se nemůžete škrábat doma a musíte si to právě nechat na služby boží?	<b>Can't</b> you scratch yourselves at home?! Do you have to leave it to do during our very divine services?
9.	HO	A proč mám jít do svého bytu - <b>copak</b> nejsem ve svém bytě?	And why would we go to my apartment? – <b>Am I not</b> in my apartment?
10.	HO	"Nic se neboj, Vodičko, " konejšil ho Švejk, " jen klid, žádný rozčilování, <b>copak</b> je to něco, bejt před nějakým takovým divizijním soudem.	" Have no fear, Vodička, " Švejk was soothing him, "Just keep calm, no getting upset <b>as if</b> it were something, to be in front of such a Divisional Court.
11.	HO	<b>Copak</b> hejtman Ságner...	Oh well, <b>when it comes to</b> hejtman Ságner...
12.	HO	Ty pitomče, <b>copak</b> tě sežeru.	You numskull, <b>do you think</b> I will devour you?
13.	HO	Krucihiml, <b>copak</b> jseš hluchej?	KRUCIHIML, <b>is it that</b> you're deaf?
14.	HO	Ty vopice jedna, <b>copak</b> myslíš, že se budu jen s tebou bavit?	You singular monkey, <b>is it that</b> you think that I'd be prattling with you?
15.	HL	<b>Copak</b> nechápete, že jste nic neudělal, a nemáte proto co odčínovat?	<b>Don't</b> you understand that you've done nothing and so there is nothing to atone!
16.	JS	<b>Copak</b> ty jsi nějaká výroba obuvi?	<b>What's all this</b> about a manufacturer of footwear?
17.	JS	<b>Copak</b> náš Milouš!	<b>He really is something</b> , our Bertie!
18.	JS	<b>Copak</b> to někdy někdo slyšel?	Surely everyone must be aware of this.
19.	KL	Mílo, dyť skončíme na fašírku, <b>copak</b> máš rozum v prdeli?	Mila, d'you want us to end up as mincemeat? Have you lost your marbles?
20.	KL	Jak můžeš takhle mlčet, <b>copak</b> to je vůbec lidské?	How can you be silent like this, <b>it isn't</b> human!
21.	KL	I kdyby duše byla nehmotná, i kdyby byla jen prostorem, jenž je hmotou obepjat, i kdyby byla zcela jiné podstaty, <b>copak</b> by mohla snést ten žár?	Even if the soul was non-corpuscular , even if it was only space enveloped by matter , even if it was of an entirely different nature, could it <b>really</b> survive that heat?

22.	KL	<b>Copak</b> nechápu, nevidím to snad?	<b>Didn't</b> I understand, couldn't I see?
23.	KL	Jistě zvrhlá doktorka předepisuje nějaké zvrhlé léky, ale <b>copak</b> mi nikdy nevykládá o tom odporném, ponižujícím divadle, co musí ti chudáci hrát?	Perhaps a perverted doctor would also prescribe perverted drugs, but <b>had my wife never told me about that revolting, humiliating play-acting those poor wretches had to go in for?</b>
24.	KL	<b>Copak</b> nemáš ani trochu slitování?	<b>Have you no pity at all?</b>
25.	KL	<b>Copak</b> jsem vám to neřek?	<b>Haven't</b> I told you?
26.	KH	<b>Copak</b> jste nedostali Beranův vzkaz?	<b>Didn't</b> you get Beran 's message?
27.	KH	<b>Copak</b> nevidíš??	<b>Can't</b> you see, she practically moaned at him.
28.	KH	<b>Copak</b> nevím, že na každé své cestě tam, nevím kam, a odtud, nevím odkud, znova a znova nastavuješ krk?	<b>Don't</b> you know that with each trip to and from I do n't know where, you put your head on the chopping block?
29.	KS	Prosím tě, <b>copak</b> je pro tebe znásilnění jak houska na krámě?	Oh, come on, is getting raped just like a trip to the store for you?
30.	KS	Ježíši Kriste (dostala mě zas tak daleko, že jsem brala jméno Boží nadarmo skoro v každé větě), <b>copak'</b> 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 <b>do you think</b> just happened to you?"
31.	KS	Gabrielo (oslovení v nejvyšší nouzi), <b>copak</b> máš pas?	"Gabriela" - her full name was pronounced only in the greatest of need - " <b>you don't even have</b> a passport!"
32.	KS	<b>Copak</b> to nikdá nebylo, že sem tu vařila pro pět krků denodenně tu samou polívku ze shnilého zelí?	<b>Didn't</b> I cook that same soup from rotten cabbage day in and day out for five mouths?
33.	KS	<b>Copak</b> jste se mi vnutil?	<b>Who said</b> you were forcing me into anything?
34.	KS	<b>Copak</b> Viktor umřel?	<b>Has</b> Viktor died <b>or something?</b>
35.	KS	<b>Copak</b> von to neví?	<b>You mean,</b> like, he doesn't know?
36.	KS	<b>Copak</b> není pasé?	<b>Isn't</b> that a bit passé?

37.	KN	<b>Cožpak</b> nevěděl, že Bettina chtěla sama vydat knihu vzpomínek na Goethovo dětství?	<b>Didn't</b> he know that Bettina herself hoped to publish a book of recollections dealing with Goethe's childhood?
38.	KN	Ale <b>cožpak</b> existuje nějaký přímý styk mezi mým a jejich já bez prostřednictví očí?	But <b>does there exist another kind of direct contract between my self and their selves except through the mediation of the eyes?</b>
39.	KN	<b>Cožpak</b> jsem vám to neřekl hned, když jsem vás uviděl?	<b>Didn't</b> I tell you the moment I set eyes on you?
40.	KN	<b>Copak</b> nevidíš, že je nemocný!	<b>Can't</b> you see that he is sick!
41.	KN	Ale <b>copak</b> se to nedalo vymyslet nějak jinak?	But <b>was there no other way to arrange things?</b>
42.	KN	<b>Copak</b> je nutné, aby po člověku zůstalo tělo, které se musí zahrabat do země nebo hodit do ohně?	Is it <b>really</b> necessary for a person to leave a body behind , a body that must be buried in the ground or thrown into a fire?
43.	KN	<b>Copak</b> měl snad nejmenší chuť je někomu ukazovat?	<b>Did he have the slightest desire to show them to anyone?</b>
44.	KN	<b>Copak</b> je láska myslitelná bez toho, že úzkostně sledujeme náš obraz v mysli milovaného?	Can we <b>possibly</b> imagine love, without anxiously following our image in the mind of the beloved?
45.	KN	<b>Copak</b> všechno, co není bláznivý běh za konečným rozuzlením, je nuda?	<b>Do you think</b> that everything that is not a mad chase after a final resolution is a bore?
46.	KN	<b>Copak</b> je odpovědný za to, že má zelený nos?	<b>Is he responsible for his green nose?</b>
47.	KN	<b>Copak</b> netrpí všechny ženy měsíčním krvácením?	<b>Don't</b> all women suffer from monthly bleeding?
48.	KN	<b>Copak</b> snad ona vymyslíla ženská rodidla?	<b>Did she invent women's genitals?</b>
49.	KN	<b>Copak</b> za ně byla odpovědna?	<b>Was she responsible for them?</b>
50.	KN	<b>Copak</b> nevidíte!	<b>Can't</b> you see?
51.	KB	<b>Cožpak</b> je přece jen něco, o čem si myslí oba totéž?	<b>Didn't</b> they then at last agree on something?
52.	KB	<b>Copak</b> sis jí nevšiml?	<b>Haven't</b> you noticed?

53.	KB	<b>Copak</b> právě v jeho "nevěděl jsem! věřil jsem!" netkví jeho nenapravitelná vina?	<b>Isn't</b> his 'I didn't know! I was a believer! 'at the very root of his irreparable guilt?
54.	KB	<b>Copak</b> milování není než věčné opakování téhož?	<b>Isn't</b> making love merely an eternal repetition of the same?
55.	KB	<b>Copak</b> může blízkost působit závrat'?	<b>Can proximity cause vertigo?</b>
56.	KB	<b>Copak</b> jim viděl do duše?	<b>Could he see into their souls?</b>
57.	KZ	<b>cožpak</b> jsem takových dívčích obyčejností nepotkával na ostravských ulicích více?	<b>hadn't</b> I seen enough ordinary girls in the streets of Ostrava?
58.	KZ	<b>Cožpak</b> příběhy, kromě toho, že se dějí, že jsou, také něco říkají?	<b>Do stories, apart from happening, being, have something to say?</b>
59.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> vy jste četli všechny mé dopisy Markétě?	<b>You mean</b> you've read all my letters to Marketa?
60.	KZ	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, <b>copak</b> 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 jsem vůl, zato tahle (ukázal na ženu po levici seržanta), to je Lojzka, tu jsem měl už v dospělém věku, měla malý prsa (ukázal) a hrozně hezkou tvář (taky ukázal) a chodila do stejného ročníku jako já.	<i>No translation</i>
61.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> jenom on bojoval v ilegalitě?	<b>Was he the only one in the underground?</b>
62.	KZ	Ale <b>copak</b> jsem se střetl s takovým mladistvým hercem poprvé?	<b>But was this the first time I encountered adolescent actors?</b>
63.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> ty se netěšíš na to, že budeš moje se vším všudy?	<b>Aren't</b> you looking forward to being mine and all that goes with it?
64.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> nevíš, jak tě mám rád?	<b>Don't</b> you know I love you?

65.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> člověk může změnit celý svůj životní postoj jen proto, že byl uražen?	<b>Can a man abandon everything he 's stood for just because he 's been insulted?</b>
66.	KZ	<b>copak</b> jsme měli nejmenší tušení o tom, že Stalin dal střílet věrné komunisty?	<b>how were we</b> to know that Stalin had ordered loyal Communists to be shot
67.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> bylo potřeba mne takhle klamat?	Was there <b>really</b> any need to deceive me like that?
68.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> ty tam chceš jít?	You 're not going, <b>are you?</b>
69.	KZ	<b>Copak</b> o něm zpíváte po našem? Zpíváte podle receptu agitpropu a ne po našem!	In our own way? You don't sing in our way, you sing the agitprop way!
70.	LU	<b>Copak</b> já něco říkám!	Did I speak?
71.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> jste němý?	For goodness sake say something! Are you dumb, <b>or what?</b>
72.	ORJ	Vždyť já také... <b>copak</b> to necítíš, že i já... tě mám ráda?	Heavens, you are... It' s the same with me... <b>can't</b> you see I'm... just as much in love as you are?
73.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> jsem pořád malé dítě?	For Heaven's sake, <b>I'm not a child</b> any more!
74.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> by se na to mohl dívat?	<b>How</b> could he go on looking at it all if there was?
75.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> jsem stará bába, propána?	<b>I'm not an old woman</b> , for Heaven's sake!
76.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> tomu nerozumíš?	<b>Why can't</b> you see that?
77.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> on!	<b>What</b> did he <b>matter?</b>
78.	PM	Na liturgických obrazech si i s'até mučednice nesou v podpaží své hlavinky úhledně načesané – <b>cák</b> si může baba v tvém věku dovolit přestat chodit k holiči?	Even in the religious paintings the heads beheaded martyrs carry beneath their arms are neatly combed – <b>how</b> can a hag of your age allow herself to stop going to the hairdresser's?
79.	PM	Madda si obula Alexovy těžké vibramky a zběsile dupala na podlahu, <b>copak</b> je už i ta voda jen pro ty hajzly v prvním patře.	Madda tripped over Alex 's heavy boots and angrily stomped on the floor, <b>is the water only for the assholes downstairs-</b>
80.	PM	<b>Copak</b> se můžeš dívat, jak ze sebe dělá slouhu, jak se plazí a ponižuje, jak si z něho každéj dělá onuci...	<b>Can't</b> you see he's made himself into a flunkey, the way he grovels and demeans himself, the way everyone treats him like just a piece of dirt...



81.	PM	" <b>Copak</b> se nedá ani chvilku sedět bez alkoholu?" řekl Julda tiše.	, <b>Can't</b> you sit for even a moment without alcohol?' Julda said softly.
82.	PM	<b>Copak</b> nechápeš ani to, že v lásce je nejlepší hra?	<b>Don't</b> you understand that love is the best game of all?
83.	PM	<b>Copak</b> musíme být jak pekař s pekařkou na peci?	<b>Do we have to be like the baker and his wife on the stove?</b>
84.	PM	Když tak vyznáváš technologii... <b>copak</b> nevíš, co je to například nacking?	If you profess your love for technology so much... <b>you must</b> know what necking is, for example?
85.	PM	<b>Copak</b> moře, to bych si teď zrovna dal říct.	<b>What was</b> that about the sea? I wouldn't mind taking a dip right about now.
86.	PM	<b>Copak</b> jsi opravdu tak slepá?	<b>Are you really that blind?</b>
87.	PM	<b>Copak</b> nevidíš, že jsi ho omrzela, jakmile tě už jednou měl?	<b>Can't</b> you see that after he's had you once, he 's bored with you?
88.	PM	Roman, že prej mají cenu sto dolarů, <b>copak</b> dolary opravdu vůbec jsou?	Roman says they're worth a hundred dollars, do dollars really exist?
89.	PM	Na posilu si přitáhli ještě Juldu a jakživa jsem neslyšela tolik blbejch canců najednou, no dyž je zábava, tak dycky tu a tam něco rupne, já vám všechno zaplatím, ale tvrdší valutou než sou love, tvrdší než zlato je ocel, vy degene pitomci, ale, Juldo, tys mě zklamal, když ses proti mně přidal k těm modrým kreténům, o jejich nenávisti k nám vím, ale <b>copak</b> ty seš jinej chudej, než jsem chudá já?	For reinforcement they'd even brought Julda, and I've never heard so much ridiculous drivel all at once, we were just having fun, so a couple things got broken, I'll pay for them, and with better currency than love, better than gold and steel, you degenerate asses. But Julda, you disappointed me when you joined those blue cretins against me, I know they hate us, but <b>what about you, are</b> you poor in a different way than me?
90.	PM	A tak zas stěhování zpátky do bejvalý mužský svobodárny v druhým patře, na kavalec vycpanej senem a místo koupelny zas jen u zdi kohoutek, kerej neteče... stejně nebydlím tady ani tady, <b>copak</b> je tohle náký bydlení?	And so I moved back to the former men's one-room flat on the third floor, to the cot stuffed with straw, and instead of a bathroom just a faucet on the wall that doesn't work.. either way, I live neither here nor there, is this <b>really</b> any way to live?
91.	PM	Já o tom prostě nevěděl - <b>copak</b> jsem mohl vniknout do vašeho stolu?	I simply didn't know about it - I couldn't have broken into your desk, now, <b>could I?</b>
92.	PM	Jsi krásná... <b>copak</b> to opravdu může někdo nevidět?	You're beautiful... <b>how</b> can anyone not see that?

93.	PM	VYSTOPOVAT... čtyři minuty denně na trase domovní vrata - hradní brána, co lze za čtyři minuty, nadto rozpadlé do čtyř jejích minutových běhů - Ale fix, <b>copak</b> ona k těm domovním vratům padá přímo z nebe...	FOLLOW... four minutes a day on the way to the front gate-the fortress gate, what can you do in four minutes, which are, moreover, divided into four one-minute runs-Damn it, <b>what does she do</b> , fall from the sky in front of the gate...
94.	PM	<b>Copak</b> mám místo nervů vysokonapěťový dráty?!	<b>You think</b> I have high-tension wires instead of nerves?!
95.	PM	<b>Copak</b> se do telefonu říká - dvě -?	Does one <b>really</b> say 'nine ' into a telephone?
96.	PM	Nechte nás v našem hříchu - ale <b>copak</b> láska může být hřích?	Leave us to our sinning-can love <b>really</b> be a sin?
97.	PM	<b>Copak</b> já v tomto domě nebydlím?	I live in this building, too, <b>don't I</b> ?
98.	PM	<b>Copak</b> neslyšels?	What <b>didn't</b> you understand ?
99.	PM	Na stole druhý "džbáněk" dosud plný, už jsme se všichni napili, denní dílo dokončeno a na spaní dosud brzy, příšerná nuda v téhle prdeli, kde se nic neděje, ať se něco děje. <b>copak</b> jsme vězni, abychom jen seděli na kavalcích [...]	On the table was a second "jug" still full, we've already had our fill, the day's work is done but it's still too early to go to bed, ghastly boredom in this shithole where nothing's going on, let something happen, <b>what are we</b> , prisoners sitting around on our cots all day?
100.	PM	tedy jen obsluhujícímu technikovi, <b>copak</b> jsem opravdu UŽ JEN obsluhující technik [...]	a mere service technician, am I really MERELY a service technician [...]
101.	PM	<b>copak</b> jsme, proboha (ale toho jsme vědecky vyvrátili) opravdu JEŠTĚ POŘÁD JEN divoká zvěř?	<b>what are we</b> , for God's sake (but that's already been scientifically refuted) are we really STILL just wild animals?
102.	PM	"Přišla by docela vhod nějaká větší mela, " šeptá Bogan, " vyrazili bychom Juldu i s tou děvkou, vy byste šli místo nich - <b>copak</b> oni nebydlí v bývalé mužské svobodárně?	"A big scuffle would be just the thing right about now," whispers Bogan." We could throw out Julda and that slut, you could take their place – <b>aren't</b> they living in a former men's one-room flat?
103.	PM	<b>Copak</b> to nikdy nepřestane?	<b>Will it never stop?</b>
104.	PM	Hnusáci, <b>copak</b> je to tak příliš chtít bydlet a žít důstojně?!	Loathsome creatures, is it <b>really</b> too much to ask for respectable accommodations?!
105.	PM	<b>copak</b> se málo snažím dělat všechno tak, jak má být [...]	<b>don't</b> I try hard to do everything the way it's supposed to be done [...]

106.	PM	<b>Copak</b> bych to nemohl už dávno udělat?	<b>Wouldn't</b> I have done it long ago?
107.	PM	<b>Copak</b> v tom baráku nemůžeš dohlídnout na trochu pořádku?!	<b>Can't</b> you maintain a little order in this building?!
108.	PM	Osvěžuji si poznatky ze školy, když jsem byl ještě mladý ale <b>copak</b> už nejsem?	I recall a piece of knowledge from my youth-but <b>am I no longer young?</b>
109.	PM	Ale <b>copak</b> já jsem prašivý?!	Am I <b>really</b> so mangy?!
110.	PM	Ale <b>copak</b> nelze dalším smrtím zabránit?	<b>Isn't</b> it possible to prevent another death?
111.	PM	ale <b>copak</b> nějaký den není důležitý?	but are there <b>actually</b> unimportant ones?
112.	PM	Ředitelem bude doktor Sekanina - ale <b>copak</b> může Kotex řídit zkrachovalý advokát?	Dr. Sekanina will be the new director-but can a bankrupt lawyer <b>really</b> run our firm?
113.	PM	<b>copak</b> ona má díru do zadku jinde než já?	<b>is the hole in her butt any different from mine?</b>
114.	PM	<b>copak</b> z nás dvou nejsem chlap spíš já než ten dekadent?	<b>aren't</b> I the man in this relationship rather than that decadent?
115.	PM	<b>Copak</b> si může ředitel Kotexu dovolit nemravnosti s vlastní sekretářkou?	<b>Can the director of Cottex be allowed such licentiousness with his own secretary?</b>
116.	PM	<b>copak</b> není vrchol poezie sám žár	<b>isn't</b> ardor the summit of poetry
117.	PM	<b>Copak</b> není život více nežli pokrm?	<b>Isn't</b> life more than food?"
118.	PM	Ale <b>copak</b> nemáme aspoň povinnost k příštím generacím - stejně jim budeme jen pro smích.	But <b>don't</b> we at least have an obligation to future generations-even so, in their eyes we'll just be ridiculous .
119.	PM	Ale Maddo, děvče nešťastné, <b>copak</b> opravdu už -	But Madda, you unhappy girl, have you really -
120.	SH	Ale <b>copak</b> afekt může vydržet na to, abych naši magistře ukradla hyoskin, nasypala ho do tabletky, kterou bych taky musela ukradnout, a pak abych to smrt'ácký semínko nosila celý den až do noci s sebou?	<b>But could the throes of emotion last long enough for me to steal the hyoscine, steal an empty capsule, put them together, and then carry that seed of death around with me day and night?</b>
121.	SH	<b>Copak</b> by mně afekt vydržel na to, abych někde sháněla lékařskou toxikologii?	<b>Would the throes of emotion last long enough for me to go dig up a book on toxicology?</b>

122.	SH	<b>Copak</b> seš pitomá, baby?	Are you stupid <b>or what</b> , babe?
123.	SH	„ <b>Copak</b> to vaše není ještě tak hrozný," ozvala se šedooká mladá žena.	“ <b>It could be a lot worse</b> ,” interjected the grey-eyed young woman.
124.	SH	Zuzáne, <b>copak</b> já nebo Jiřina jsme nějaký Holmesové?	<b>Come on</b> , Zuzka, do Georgie or I look like Sherlock Holmes or something?
125.	SH	<b>Copak</b> bych toho byla schopná?	<b>Would I be capable of that?</b>
126.	SH	<b>Copak</b> společnost není špatná.	<b>Well</b> , the company isn't all that bad.
127.	SH	„ <b>Copak</b> to, " pravila pomalu.	“An ideal pair of lovers, maybe,” she said slowly.
128.	SH	<b>Copak</b> se dáma na dámě může dopustit vraždy z vilnosti?	<b>Can a lady commit a sex crime against another lady?</b>
129.	SH	<b>Copak</b> se nepamatuju nebo co, žes každéj rok dělala repec z matiky, s výjimkou sexy?	<b>Is my memory failing me, or do I recall your having to repeat math every year but one?</b>
130.	SH	<b>Copak</b> se takhle držej chlapi?	<b>What</b> men hold onto each other like that?
131.	SP1	<b>Cák</b> já.	But don't <b>take no account of</b> me.
132.	SP2	<b>Cák</b> Franta, ten se znova vožení.	Franta'll <b>be all right</b> , he can marry again.
133.	SP2	<b>Cák</b> dyby von jenom kreslil...	If only <b>that was all</b> the little bugger was up to...
134.	SP2	<b>Cák</b> dyby von jenom kreslil...	If only <b>that was all</b> the little bugger was nil to
135.	SP2	<b>Cák</b> se ti z gumy může postavit?	<b>How</b> could you get a rubber one up?
136.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> není pro tebe dost dobrá, dyž pro mě je?	<b>Don't you think</b> she's good enough for you, if she's good enough for me?
137.	SP1	Na co? <b>Copak</b> něco ví? Nemůže nic vědět. Přece sme spolu nic neměli.	But there was never anything to be jealous of - we never did anything.
138.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> ještě dávaj?	<b>D'you mean</b> they're still handing out pay?

139.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> ta deodorantem a levandulí vonící švédská holka nevidí, že já ji přeci jakživ děkanovi neprásknu?	<b>Didn't</b> this Swedish girl smelling of deodorant and lavender realize that I could never ever have brought myself to report her to the Dean?
140.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> 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?	<b>Cannot</b> 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?
141.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> sem tvoje žena?	Am I your woman?
142.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> neexistuje jiná ctnost než ta, jež pramení ze zdravého strachu před šibenicí?	<b>Is there no virtue... save what springs from a wholesome fear of the gallows?</b>
143.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> ty ses někdy bála, Nad'o?	<b>But</b> were you ever afraid, Nadia?
144.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> , madam, nechápete, co je v literatuře funkční?	<b>Don't</b> you understand what it means for something to have a function in literature?
145.	SP1	" <b>Copak</b> Lucii nemiluješ?" zeptal se Haryk.	" <b>You mean</b> you don't love Lucie?" said Haryk .
146.	SP1	Hajlování přešlo v nepopsatelný řev - <b>copak</b> se nikdo z těch řvounů nebojí války?	The siegheiling disintegrated into indescribable pandemonium. <b>Weren't</b> any of those howlers afraid of war?
147.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> ty nejsi posrpnovej, Franku?	<b>I thought</b> you were post-invasion yourself, Frank.
148.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> ty umíš německy?	<b>Since when</b> can you speak German?
149.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> každý saxofonista -	Is every saxophonist -
150.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> je důležitá jenom původnost formy?	<b>Is originality of form the only important thing (insofar as originality alone is important at all)?</b>
151.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> je nutné se starat - dnes, kdy se konečně může říkat všechno - komu nahraje pravda?	Do we <b>really</b> have to worry - today, when at last everything can be said - about those whose hands the truth plays into?
152.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> vy zase nepatříte ke společenský smetánce, pane profesore?	<b>Don't</b> you belong to the cream of society again, professor?
153.	SP2	„O dvě stránky dál zdůrazňuje žurnalista, který rovněž přišel za Marlowem vyzvídat, že pan Kurtz měl víru <b>copak</b> to nevidíte?	„Two pages later, a journalist who has come to dig out information on Kurtz claims that Mr. Kurtz had the faith." <b>Don't</b> you see - he had the faith.

154.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> nejsi na pilulce?	<b>But aren't</b> you on the pill?
155.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> nakladatelství, to vydrží.	I 'm <b>not worried about</b> her publishing business - that will hang together.
156.	SP2	<b>Copak</b> si myslíš, že oni si myslí, že někdo takhle rýlí myslí?	Do you <b>really</b> think they think people actually think that way?
157.	SS	Mlčky zvedla obočí - <b>copak</b> jsem zapomněl, jak málo mám času ?	She raised her eyebrows silently - <b>what</b> , had I forgotten how little time I had?
158.	SS	<b>Copak</b> nechápete, že taková maringotka padesát korun ani stát nemůže?	<b>Can't</b> you understand that a caravan like this just can't be bought for fifty crowns?
159.	SS	<b>Copak</b> je to možné?	<b>I ask you</b> , is it possible?
160.	SS	<b>Copak</b> trapné, ale přišli bychom o Dvořákův violoncellový koncert!	<b>Never mind</b> the embarrassment, think of the Dvořák's cello concerto we'd be missing!
161.	SS	A vůbec, <b>copak</b> se nebude v sobotu nic slavit?	Anyway, what about Saturday? There's got to be a family get-together then, <b>hasn't there</b> ? Or won't there be a celebration this year?
162.	SS	<b>Copak</b> mi napadlo, že by to mohl těžce snášet?	<b>Do you think</b> it ever occurred to me that he might take it so seriously?
163.	SS	<b>Copak</b> si na nás každý může otevřít pusku?	<b>How</b> can they say things like that?
164.	SS	<b>Copak</b> vím?	<b>How should</b> I know?
165.	SS	<b>Copak</b> se to dá takhle formulovat?	<b>Do you really think</b> you can formulate it that way?
166.	TK	<b>Copak</b> nejsem?	Am I not?
167.	TK	<b>Copak</b> můžu?	<b>How</b> can I?
168.	TK	<b>Copak</b> jsem se tvářil andělsky?	I didn't make an angel face, <b>did I</b> ?
169.	TK	<b>Copak</b> tebe by napadlo něco tak něžného jako sýkorka?	<b>You could never</b> think up anything as tender as a finch.
170.	TK	<b>Copak</b> poznám složenou básničku od napsaný?	<b>How can</b> I tell a composed poem from a written one?
171.	TK	<b>Copak</b> se musí pořád něco dít?	<b>Does something have to happen all the time?</b>

172.	TK	<b>Copak</b> už nic mezi náma nemůže bejt jen tak?	<b>Can't</b> we just be... as is?
173.	TK	<b>Copak</b> ty myslíš - že nevím, co mluvíš?	You think I don't know what I'm saying?
174.	TS	No jo, ale <b>copak</b> maj děti nějaký občanky?	Yeah, but <b>it 's not</b> like the kids've got ID.
175.	TS	Když uviděl černou kočku, nechápal, proč by měl uplívnout, <b>cožpak</b> žvýkám nějaký tabák, cápci? divil se.	He did n't see why he should spit whenever he saw a black cat, <b>ain't packin no chew</b> , fellers, he puzzled.
176.	TS	<b>copak</b> ten první Jezu, ten když se válel v plenkách v chlévě...	<b>look at</b> the first Jesu, rolling around the manger in his diapers ...
177.	TS	<b>copak</b> já, já sem malej pán a to už sem vám říkal!	<b>never mind</b> me, I'm jus a little man, an I told ja before!
178.	TS	<b>Copak</b> sme mrtvý?	<b>Look at us</b> , we're <b>not</b> dead.
179.	TS	<b>Copak</b> sem vrah, zamumlal Doktor.	<b>What</b> , do I look like a murderer, the Doctor mumbled.
180.	TS	<b>Copak</b> se člověk fízlů v životě nezbaví.	Will we ever get rid of those spooks?
181.	TS	<b>Copak</b> to nevidíš?	<b>What're you</b> , blind?
182.	TS	<b>Copak</b> tady není ani podzim!	<b>Don't</b> they even get fall here
183.	TS	<b>Copak</b> nemáš známý?	<b>Don't</b> you know anyone?
184.	TS	<b>Copak</b> Evka.	What's the matter now?
185.	VV	<b>Copak</b> já jsem psycholog?	<b>What do you take me for</b> - a psychologist?
186.	VV	"Životní štěstí -," řekl jsem posléze bezradně," - <b>copak</b> to jde vyučovat?"	Happiness - "I eventually said nonplussed," - <b>that's hardly</b> something you can teach."
187.	VV	A to jako za co, povídám, <b>copak</b> neberou plat?	What for, I say, they get paid, <b>don't they?</b>

**Appendix table 2: Pronouns**

No.	S	Original	Translation
1.	FH	Nó ... od <b>čehopak</b> máme tu roztomilou jizvičku?	Well ... <b>where</b> did we come by that sweet little scar, eh?
2.	HO	<b>Copak</b> děláte od té doby, chodíte sem často?	<b>What</b> have you been doing since then? Do you come here often?
3.	HO	Jakpak jsem vlastně k tomuhle přišel, <b>copak</b> to, pánové, se mnou děláte?	How have I gotten myself into this? What is this, gentlemen? <b>What</b> are you doing to me?
4.	HO	" <b>Copak</b> je to za pána?" otázal se někdo z diváků na ulici.	" <b>What</b> kind of a gentleman is that?" asked somebody from among the onlookers on the street.
5.	HO	<b>Copak</b> jste jí udělal?	<b>What</b> have you done to her?
6.	HO	<b>Copak</b> si dnes dáme k večeři?	<b>What</b> should we have for dinner today?
7.	HO	<b>Čímpak</b> vy jste v civilu, pane rechnungsfeldvébl?	<b>What</b> are you in civilian life RECHNUNGSFELDWEBEL, Sir?
8.	HL	A <b>copak</b> vás potkalo?	What 's the matter?
9.	KL	" <b>Copak</b> hledají?" zeptal jsem se paní Venuše.	' <b>What</b> can they be looking for?' I asked Mrs Venus.
10.	KL	<b>Copak</b> nám tu mistr dneska vystavil?	Let's see <b>what</b> our artist has put on show for us today.
11.	KS	Ani já dlouho nepostřehla, že by mě... že by se mnou rád... (znám, znám, mně musela pomoci mléka lačná Gabrielka, na <b>copak</b> 's ho ulovila ty?) rok byl prostě pan profesor, korektní tak, že se mnou hovořil jen anglicky, změnila to až má nemoc.	"Even I didn't catch the fact that he... that he wanted to get to know me. " I know, I know. Starving little Gabriela had to help me; <b>what</b> did you use to catch him?" For a year he was just Professor Král, so proper that he only spoke English with me, but my illness changed that."
12.	KS	Za <b>copak</b>	For <b>what</b> ?
13.	KS	Áá, pan Beneš! cvrlikala kavárnice (nebo spíš čajárnice?), spěchajíc k němu ze skryté přípravníčky, - <b>copak</b> si poručí?	"Mr. Beneš!" chirped the coffeehouse (or rather teahouse?) owner, scurrying over to him from the hidden kitchenette, " <b>what</b> 'll it be today?"
14.	KB	<b>Copak</b> to vůbec znamená 'odvolat'?	<b>What</b> does it mean, anyway, to "retract" what you've said?
15.	KZ	A <b>copak</b> ti píše soudruh Jahn?	And <b>what</b> did Comrade Jahn write about?
16.	KZ	" <b>Copak</b> mi Helena chce, nevíte?" zeptal jsem se.	"You don't happen to know <b>what</b> Helena wants, do you?" I said.
17.	ORJ	<b>Čímpak</b> ti to voní?	<b>What</b> does it smell of?



18.	ORJ	Ty žíd'átko nebohé... <b>copak</b> s tebou bude... ty moje kuřátko... a pak se mě najednou dotkl, víš... tak... tak sprostě... že jsem se rozbrečela a utekla a brečela doma... tolik mě zklamal..."	And he was breathing so strangely and kept on whispering: poor little Jew kid... <b>what's</b> to become of you... poor little creature... and then he suddenly touched me, you know... it was... oh, it was dirty and horrible... I burst into tears and ran away and I went on crying when I got home... I hadn' t thought he was like that..."
19.	ORJ	" <b>Copak</b> je s tebou?" ptala se ho žena.	" <b>What on earth's</b> the matter with you?" asked his wife.
20.	ORJ	"Nic, nic, Mařenko... <b>copak</b> by se mnou mělo být?" opáčil slabým hláskem, vrhaje pohled do polévky.	"Nothing, nothing at all, Mary, my dear... <b>why should</b> anything be the matter with me?
21.	PM	Jako fotřík má přece povinnost svýho juniora vychovávat a tak fotřík místo odpoledního spinkání na mě ospale zírá až půlhodinu v jednom kuse, mlčky, protože <b>copak</b> my dva si ještě můžem říct?	After all, as my father he has the responsibility of raising me, so instead of his afternoon nap he 's constantly and sleepily staring at me for up to a half hour without saying a word, because <b>what</b> do we have to say to one another?
22.	PM	Ležet jako zvíře v trávě a mžourat do slunce - ach, o <b>čempak</b> jsem to snil ještě docela nedávno?...	To lie like an animal in the grass blinking at the sun-oh, <b>didn't I</b> dream like this not so long ago...
23.	SH	Jakej to signál a <b>copak</b> ste dělal pak, až do půlnoci?	"What kind of a signal, and <b>what</b> were you doing afterwards, until midnight?"
24.	SH	<b>Copak</b> to napsal Bill Pokušitel Sváté Aničce do záhlaví tohoto příkladu?	<b>What</b> is it that William the Serpent wrote to Saint Ann about this problem?
25.	SH	Prej u něj našli kazetu, a ta by prej někomu pěkně zavařila, dyby se dostala do nepravějch rukou – <b>copak</b> je?	Apparently they found a tape cassette on him, and if it had got into the wrong hands it would really have messed up somebody's life – <b>what's</b> the matter?
26.	SH	Máš pravdu, snitzlefritz, <b>copak</b> sem přehlídla?	You're probably right . But <b>what</b> have I overlooked?
27.	SP1	" <b>C - c - cák</b> se stalo?" zadrkotal zuby zděšený děda.	" <b>Wh-what</b> 's going on?" said the old fellow timidly.
28.	SP1	Tak <b>copak</b> mi vzkazuje Vaculík?	And <b>what</b> does Mr. Vaculik have on his mind?
29.	SP1	A <b>copak</b> mi chce?	And <b>what</b> does he want of me?
30.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> dělávala předtím, než emigrovala do Kanady?	<b>What</b> had Dotty really done before she emigrated to Canada?
31.	SP1	<b>Copak</b> to je, Renko?	<b>Whatever</b> is the matter, Renka?
32.	SP2	A jak jsme šmírovali holky v Měskejch lázních a jak si Pitrman	And how we used to try and sneak looks at the girls in the local

		uříz vostudu kuli tý, co se líbila tobě, <b>copak</b> asi dělá?	swimming pool and how Rosta Pitterman made a fool of himself because of the one that you liked. What was her name - Marie? <b>What's</b> she doing now?
33.	SP2	A vo <b>čempak</b> ste si povídali?	<b>Whatever</b> were you talking about?
34.	SS	<b>Copak</b> ti udělali ti hoši?	<b>What</b> have these boys done to you?
35.	SS	"Prosím, " řeknu, " <b>copak</b> bys chtěla?"	"Of course. <b>What</b> do you want?"
36.	TS	Ale, ale, skautíku, <b>copak</b> to bylo? zastavil se kostra u Bohlera a hnátem mu přejel po cárech.	There there, scoutie, <b>what's</b> a matter? (sic) the skeleton stopped at Bohler and ran the bone over his rags.
37.	TS	A na <b>copak</b> přišla tajdlencta hlavinka?	An so <b>what'd</b> this noggin right here come up with?

**Appendix table 3: Interjections**

No.	S	Original	Translation
1.	HL	<b>Copak?</b>	<b>What?</b>
2.	KB	<b>Copak</b> váš pejsek?	<b>What's wrong</b> with the dog?
3.	ORJ	A <b>copak!</b>	<b>What's wrong</b> with it?
4.	ORJ	<b>Copak?</b>	Mmm... <b>What's up?</b>
5.	ORJ	A <b>copak</b> ty?	<b>What do you say</b> to that?
6.	ORJ	<b>Copak?</b>	<b>What's the matter?</b>
7.	ORJ	" <b>Copak?</b> " vychraptěl suchým hrdlem.	" <b>Yes?</b> " he said hoarsely, his throat dry.
8.	PM	" <b>Copak</b> - hoří?" řekl ve dveřích ředitel Evžen Gráf.	" <b>What-is there a fire?</b> " said Director Evžen Gráf.
9.	SH	<b>Copak?</b>	<b>What happened?</b>
10.	SH	" <b>Copak?</b> " ukázal poručík na černé podmalování černé zřítelnice.	" <b>What happened</b> to you?"
11.	SP2	"A <b>copak</b> Angela Davis?" zeptá se slizce a tak zvaným zvýšeným hlasem.	"And <b>what about</b> Angela Davis?" he asks in a needling voice.
12.	SP1	<b>Copak?</b>	<b>What is it?</b>
13.	VV	" <b>Copak?</b> " zeptal jsem se.	" <b>What's up?</b> " I asked.

#### Appendix table 4: Interrogative pronominal adverbs

No.	S	Original	Translation
1.	HO	Nu jen pište dál, Švejku, <b>copak</b> sebou tak vrtíte?	Well, just go on writing, Švejk, <b>why</b> are you fidgeting so?
2.	ORJ	<b>Copak</b> sis to zvykl nosit večeri k sobě do pokoje, Pavlíku?	<b>Since when</b> have you started taking your supper into your own room, Paulie dear?

#### Appendix table 5: Special cases

No.	S	Original	Translation
1.	HB	Ať holka ví, že její jméno je kradený, jakýpak <b>copak</b> , velká byla dost.	The girl should know her name is stolen, she's old enough, <b>why all the fuss?</b>

#### Appendix table 6: What ever

##### Sources:

AP Austenová, J. *Pýcha a předsudek*

DP Durrell, G. *Ptáci, zvířata a moji příbuzní*

LZ Lindseyová, J. *Zamilovaný ničema*

RL Roth, P. *Lidská skvrna*

No.	S	Original (English)	Translation (Czech)
1.	AP	Had his own happiness, however, been the only sacrifice, he might have been allowed to sport with it in <b>what ever</b> manner he thought best; but her sister's was involved in it, as, she thought, he must be sensible himself.	Kdyby bylo v sázce jen jeho štěstí, mohl by si s ním koneckonců zahrávat, jak uzná za vhodné, ale jde i o její sestru, a toho si přece musí být i on sám vědom.
2.	DP	' <b>What ever</b> do you mean?' asked Mother, putting on her spectacles and glaring at Larry suspiciously .	" <b>Co</b> tím chceš říct?" zeptala se ho maminka, nasadila si brýle a podezíravě se zadívala na Larryho.
3.	LZ	Realized the objections you had, <b>what ever</b> they were, were silly, did you?"	Pořád jsi byla proti, ale teď vidíš, že to bylo pošetilé, ne?
4.	RL	<b>What ever</b> happened to the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America?	<b>Co</b> se stalo s První dodatkem k Ústavě Spojených států amerických?