In the present paper the term verb is used to denote its syntactic function, i.e. not as a word class term but as a term designating the clause-constitutive element. Specifically, it refers to verb phrases containing a finite verb, whether alone or in a compound form which incorporates, in addition to the finite verb, one or more nonfinite forms. The verb thus defined (this limitation being necessary with regard to the syntactic functions of nonfinite verb forms) differs from the nominal and adverbial clause elements in two respects: first in its relationship to its regular realization form, the finite verb form, which has only this one function. Secondly, it differs in its predicative force: in regular sentences it is the element that constitutes the predicative act. The first of these features is reflected in the FSP function of the verb, the second in the major types of its syntactically divergent counterparts.

Within the broader study of syntactic constancy of clause elements as displayed by English and Czech parallel texts (cf. Dušková, 2003, 2004a, 2004b, 2005b; Valehrachová, 2003) the verb occupies a special position since from the viewpoint of the project's major objective, the role of FSP in the syntactic structure of the sentence, it again differs from the nominal and adverbial elements. While both these elements constitute the two principal poles of the FSP structure, the theme or the rheme in dependence on the context and semantic structure, the verb intrinsically operates as transition, a link between the thematic and the rhematic section, its only other FSP function being rarely the rheme. The only other clause element which also basically performs one FSP function, the subject complement, aligns itself, through its nominal nature, with the other nominal elements. In contrast to the verb its greatly predominant FSP function is the rheme (over 90%), and only marginally the theme (cf. Dušková, 2004b, 2005a; Uhlířová, 1974). Even more marginal is the subject complement in the FSP function of transition, which is restricted to verbonominal predicates whose

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1 In certain semantic roles and as sentence modifiers, i.e. where they are semantically affinitive with the modal or temporal exponents of the verb, adverbials also occur as transition-oriented elements (cf. FIRBAS, 1992, pp. 77–79).

2 According to UHLÍŘOVÁ (1974, p. 210) the verb performs the FSP function of transition in over 90% of its occurrences.
notional component complementing a copula is a modal adjective. The FSP function of transition thus appears to be specific to the verb.\textsuperscript{3}

1. The study is based on parallel texts drawn from English and Czech fiction and the respective translations into the other language (see Sources).

1.1 Examples in the English-Czech direction were collected in the same way as in the other studies of syntactic constancy, referred to above. That is, I followed the procedure of excerpting syntactically divergent counterparts of English finite verbs, registering at the same time instances of syntactic correspondence. The excerption of syntactically divergent counterparts continued until their number reached fifty, the measure of constancy being provided by the number of corresponding counterparts within the same length of the text.

The Czech-English part relies on the findings of a diploma dissertation (Strnadová, 1998), see Section 2.

1.2 The classification of excerpts into syntactically corresponding and divergent counterparts produced a gradient rather than a clear-cut division. At one end there are instances classifiable as fully corresponding, at the other the counterparts of finite verbs which display a different syntactic function, with several types of shifts in between. Instances classified as fully corresponding comprise pairs of English and Czech finite verbs that deviate in none of the verbal categories (tense, mood, voice) and represent interlingual synonyms. The latter criterion applies to all counterparts included in the study. Finite verbs differing only in their formal make-up, such as phrasal and prepositional verbs, were included among the fully corresponding counterparts (e.g. set out / vyjít, put away / odkládat, take for / považovat za, account for / vysvětlit and the like). Similarly differences between the analytic vs. inflectional morphological devices were disregarded (compound perfect and progressive forms, as well as other compound forms vs. Czech inflectional).

1.3 Comparison of the two texts has shown that the number of finite verb forms in the original and the translation considerably differs. Instances without a counterpart have been noted, but not included, the analysis being based only on finite verb forms which had corresponding finite-verb counterparts and syntactically divergent counterparts.

1.3.1 In the Czech translation the added finite verbs outnumber the English instances without a Czech counterpart more than three times: 86 and 27, respectively. Compared with the total number of finite verbs with counterparts (1272) the Czech translation appears to contain 4.6\% (59) additional instances.

The prevalence of added finite verbs over their omission is presumably due to a general feature of translated texts, viz. their greater explicitness, cf.

(1) Only one art has ever caught such scenes – that of the Renaissance. F, 63
Atmosféru podobné scény dovedlo postihnout umění jediného období. Byla
to renesance. Z, 63
[It was Renaissance].

\textsuperscript{3} This applies to the sentence level. According to SVOBODA (1989, pp. 85–87), the FSP function of transition also appears in the communicative subfield of the noun phrase and other subfields.
However, it may also reflect the more verbal nature of Czech, entailing a less condensed structure. Among the 86 added finite verbs, there were several recurrent types the most frequent of which (11 instances) reflected an English noun phrase or a prepositional phrase with an action noun or another deverbal noun, as in (2):

(2) normally she would have guessed his tease at once\(^4\) F, 75
jindy by ihned poznala, že jí škádlí [that her he-teases] Ž, 75

Two other recurrent counterparts reflect English apposition (see (1) above) and nonclausal modification of nouns (6 and 8 instances, respectively), cf. (3).

(3) Mary spoke in a dialect notorious for its contempt of pronouns and suffixes. F, 70
Mary mluvila nářečím, které proslulo [which became-known] naprostým pohrdáním ke gramatickým osobám a zájmenům. Ž, 70

As regards the less represented types, of contrastive interest are clausal counterparts of verbless sentences and non-clausal disjuncts.\(^5\)

(4) A thousand apologies. F, 65
Prosim tisickrat za prominuti. [I beg thousand-times for pardon.] Ž, 65

(5) that she could therefore, just conceivably, be ignorant of... F, 83
A že proto není vyloučeno, že neměla tušení... Ž, 83
[And that therefore is-not excluded that she-not-had knowledge]

Most of these types of noncorrespondence also occurred among the divergent syntactic counterparts, cf. 1.7.

As regards recurrent instances of English finite verbs without a Czech finite-verb counterpart, they mostly involve omission of a clause containing be, and some coordinate structures of verbs rendered only by one of the conjoints, cf. (6) and (7).

(6) Sam did most of the talking, though it was mainly to the scrubbed deal of the long table. F, 94
většinou mluvil Sam, i když zdánlivě do vydrhnuté desky dlouhého stolu. Ž, 94
[even though apparently to scrubbed deal of-long table]

(7) as he had sweated and stumbled his way along the shore. F, 71
když klopytal [he-stumbled] podél pobřeží. Ž, 71

1.3.2 Another source of additional finite verbs in Czech was found in English nonfinite constructions reflected in Czech finite clauses. Here again the more verbal and less condensed nature of Czech has come to the fore. There were altogether 151 instances of this kind.

1.3.2.1 Most finite counterparts of English nonfinite verb forms reflected English infinitive constructions (72 instances). The Czech finite verbs largely occurred in clauses which retained the syntactic function of the infinitive: object, adverbal of purpose, adverbal of result, subject. Compare a. and b. in (8), (9), (10) and (11), respectively.

(8) a. I wish to be told at once. F, 71
b. přeji si, abyste mi to ihned řekla. [that to-me it you-said] Ž, 71

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\(4\) In the examples, capitalization and punctuation follow the original, i.e. where an example starts with a small letter and/or a termination mark is lacking, the example is an extract from a longer sentence.

\(5\) The term disjunct is used according to QUIRK ET AL. (1985, pp. 612 ff.).
(9) a. Charles set out to catch her up F, 77
b. Charles spěchal, aby ji dostihl [so-that her he-caught] Z, 78
(10) a. she now decided that she disliked Charles sufficiently to be rude to him. F, 93
b. rozhodla se, že Charles je jí natalik nesympatický, aby k němu mohla být hrubá. Ž, 93
   [so-that to him she-could be rude]
(11) a. it is a pleasure to see you. F, 91
b. jak mě těší, že vás vidím. [how me it-pleases that you I-see] Ž, 91
   However, this correspondence in syntactic function often gives way to coordinate
   clauses, as in (12):
(12) she rose at once to leave the room. F, 90
   Sarah se okamžitě zvedla a chtěla odejít z pokoje. [and wanted leave from
   room] Ž, 90
Coordination is the regular equivalent of the infinitive with temporal function
   (called “nongenuine purpose” in Czech grammar), cf. (13).
(13) She turned, to see him hatless, smiling; F, 78
   Otocila se a viděla ho tu stát usměvavého s kloboukem v ruce. Ž, 78
   [and saw him here stand smiling with hat in hand]
1.3.2.2 The gerund was rendered by a finite clause in 29 instances.
(14) instead of continuing on her way F, 78
   místo aby pokračovala v cestě [instead that she-continued] Ž, 78
(15) Still without looking at him, she inclined her head F, 78
   Porád ještě na něho nepohnědla, sklopila hlavu [Still yet at him she-not-
   looked] Ž, 78
1.3.2.3 The participle (ing-participle: 33 instances including two perfect forms) is
   of particular interest insofar as it also occurs in the English-Czech direction as
   a frequent divergent counterpart of an English finite verb (16 instances). However, this
   mirror image is only partial: of the 33 ing-participles only seven have the
   postmodifying function, as in (16):
(16) a. he saw a man hoying a herd of cows F, 76
   spatril muže, který vyháněl [who hoyed] stádo krav Ž, 76
   b. the ordeal facing travellers F, 89
   obřad, jaký čekal cestovatele [such-as awaited] travellers Ž, 89
   Most ing-participles rendered by finite clauses in Czech (26, i.e. 78.8%) functioned
   as adverbials or object complements, cf. (17) and (18).
(17) Sarah scrambled to her feet, gathering her coat about her F, 65
   Sarah prudce vstala, zapnula si plášť a [she buttoned to-herself coat and] Ž, 65
(18) She saw Charles standing alone F, 73
   Všimla si, že Charles stojí sám [that Charles stands alone] Ž, 73
   In the case of the past participle the postmodifying function prevails (11 instances out
   of the total of 17, i.e. 64.7%), but again, the mirror image is only partial: against four
   English finite verb forms rendered by Czech past participles (see 1.7.1, ex. (53) b.), there
   are 11 English past participles reflected in Czech finite verb forms, as in (19).
(19) no wife thrown at Charles’s head would ever touch his heart. F, 73
žádná žena, jež bude Charlesovi vnucována [who will-be on-Charles forced], se nikdy nedotkne jeho srdce. Ž, 73

Ex. (20) illustrates rendition by a finite clause of a past participle functioning as object complement.

(20) why she should not wish it known F, 79
proč si nepřála, aby se vědělo [that it-was-known] Ž, 79

As stated above, none of these additional finite verb forms found in the Czech translation have been included in the count.

1.4 Proceeding to the intermediate groups between fully corresponding and divergent counterparts, the first point to be noted is shifts in the verbal categories. Since these shifts do not affect the syntactic function of the verb as such, instances of this kind qualify as corresponding counterparts, albeit deviant in one (exceptionally more) categorial features. Shifts in categorial features have been extended to include shifts in polarity.

1.4.1 Shifts of this type most frequently concerned the category of voice. This is not accidental, since while shifts in the rendition of the other verbal categories largely lack systemic grounds, in the case of the passive the shift reflects the different status of this category in the Czech verbal system (cf. Dušková, 1999, Part 2, Chapter 7). Rendition of numerous English passives by the Czech active is thus only to be expected: out of the 74 finite passives in the original 57 (77%) had active counterparts, cf. (21) a. and b.

(21) a. The door was opened by Mary; F, 79
Dveře otevřela Mary, [door accusative opened Mary nominative] Ž, 79
b. I was reminded of some of the maritime sceneries F, 79
Připomnělo mi to [it to-me reminded] některá přímořská místa Ž, 80

Among the passive counterparts of the English passives, all of which evidently qualify as fully corresponding, it is the compound form, a structural parallel of the English passive, cf. (22) a., that prevailed over the reflexive form, cf. (22) b. (12 and 5 instances, respectively, i.e. 70%). This may raise the question to what extent a translated text is influenced by the original.

(22) a. The visitors were ushered in. F, 90
Návštěvníci byli uvedeni. Ž, 90
b. that was generally supposed F, 58
jak se všeobecně předpokládalo [as reflexive particle generally it-supposed] Ž, 59

1.4.2 Shifts in mood (cf. (23)) and temporal reference (cf. (24)) were found to be far less frequent (9 and 8 instances, respectively).

(23) To the ignorant it may seem that F, 58
Nezasvěceným lidem by se mohlo zdát, že [it-might seem] Ž, 58

(24) Mrs Poulteney thought she had been the subject of a sarcasm F, 83
paní Poulteneyová zatrnula, že je [is] obětí sarkasmu Ž, 84

In some of these instances the shift did not materially affect the meaning, cf. the shift in mood (indicative vs. imperative) in (25), and in tense in (26):
(25) you will kindly remember F, 71
Napříšťi si laskavě pamatujte [remember] Ž, 71

(26) Is something wrong, Mrs Poulteney? F, 82
Stalo se [happened] něco, paní Poulteneyová? Ž, 82

1.4.3. Shifts in polarity, illustrated by ex. (27), were also infrequent (7 instances):
(27) Yet there had remained locally a feeling that F, 80
Přesto však v městečku nikdy nezanikl pocit, že Ž, 81
[In-spite-of-that however in village never not-expired feeling that]

1.4.4 A somewhat different type of shift was found in phasal and modal modification, i.e. in predicates containing a phasal or modal verb as the finite component and the main verb in nonfinite form.

As regards phasal modification (13 instances), the shifts concerned the inceptive (initial) and durative (continuative) phases (7 and 4, respectively), the remaining 2 instances being accounted for by shifts in iterativeness. In 8 instances phasal modification was added, in 5 it was omitted. All phasal meanings were more frequently expressed correspondingly in both languages, and included among the fully corresponding instances, cf. (28) a., b. and c.

(28) a. Ernestina began to cry again; F, 75
Ernestina se zase rozplakala; [roz- prefix denoting initial phase] Ž, 75
b. it remains to be explained F, 80
zbývá vysvětlit Ž, 80

c. she would throw herself into his arms F, 89
vrhala [iterative x vrhla semelfactive] se mu do Ž, 89

The following examples illustrate counterparts with phasal shifts:

(29) a. It [her mouth] fell open. F, 60
Zůstala dokořán otevřená [It-remained widely open] Ž, 60
b. Mrs Poulteney began to change her tack. F, 83
Pani Poulteneyová změnila [changed] taktiku. Ž, 83

c. He accordingly described everything that had happened to him; F, 79
A tak začal popisovat [began describe] všechno, co se mu přihodilo. Ž, 79

Shifts in modal modification were more numerous (56 instances), but even more numerous were instances of full correspondence (61 + 6 where the modal verb is reflected in a modal adverbial), cf. (30) a.–c.

(30) a. I cannot possess this for ever F, 63
Nemohu to mit navždy Ž, 63
b. It was very clear that any moment Mrs Poulteney might go off F, 81
Bylo nad slunce jasnější, že paní Poulteneyová může každým okamžikem vybuchnout Ž, 85

c. She must have heard the sound of his boots F, 77–78
Určitě slyšela [certainly she-heard] klapot jeho okovaných bot Ž, 78

The shifts in modal modification were of three kinds: most frequently the modal component was omitted (22 instances), cf. (31), less frequently (15 instances) a modal verb was added, as in (33), and in 19 instances there was a change in the modal meaning, cf. (35) a. and b.
(31) not what you may think of as a family Bible [F, 81]
ne to, co si pod tím pojmen představujete [you-imagine] Ž, 82
Omission of can is regular in the case of verbs of perception and where it expresses
ability reflected in a perfectivizing prefix in Czech, cf. (32) a. and b.
(32) a. a man with a broken leg could shout all week and not be heard [F, 62]
člověk se zlomenou nohou by mohl křičet celý týden a nikdo by ho neuslyšel [nobody would him not-hear] Ž, 62
b. Yes, he was welcome to as much milk as he could drink. [F, 76]
Ano, může mit tolik mléka, kolik vypije [drinks up] Ž, 76
An added modal is illustrated by the following example.
(33) But what is the sin in walking on Ware Commons? [F, 82]
Ale proč by měl být [should be] hřich chodit na Wareskou občinu? Ž, 82
In some cases the added modal, together with the particular lexical verb, captured
the meaning of the verb in the original, cf. (34):
(34) when she was spared the tracts [F, 57–58]
když nemusela rozmiSet [she-did-not-have-to distribute] traktáty Ž, 57
Changes in modal meaning involved different kinds of modality:
(35) a. We must never fear what is our duty. [F, 60]
Nikdy se nemáme [we-not-should] bát svých povinností. Ž, 60
b. he would not tolerate it in the girl he was to marry [F, 94]
Nebude nic takového trpěť u děvčete, které si chce [wants] vzít. Ž, 94
Examples (32) and (34) demonstrate the fluent borderline between fully and
partially corresponding counterparts.
There were two examples of emphatic do without an explicit reflex, which were
added to shifts in modality:
(36) But they do think that. [F, 58]
Ale oni si to mysli [think]. Ž, 58
1.4.5 In a small number of instances (6) the shift concerned catenative verb phrases
one component of which (attitudinal or notionally modal) appeared in a nonverbal
form in Czech, as in (37) a. and b.
(37) a. I prefer to walk alone. [F, 78]
Chodím raději sama. [I-walk more-gladly alone] Ž, 78
b. Mrs Tranter chanced to pass through the hall [F, 79]
paní Tranterová šla náhodou kolem [passed-by-chance] Ž, 79
1.4.6 The last group of shifts includes instances which still qualify in respect of the
correspondence English finite verb > Czech finite verb, but the interlingual synonymy is
on the level of the whole sentence, rather than on the level of the verb alone, as
a consequence of shifts in the assignment of syntactic functions and/or semantic roles. Two
subgroups may be distinguished here, one preserving a verbal predicate in both languages,
the other involving an additional shift between verbal and verbonominal predication.
1.4.6.1 The first subgroup is represented by 23 instances out of which two distinct
patterns emerge: (a) possessive predicate in one language vs. existential sentence in the
other (6 instances, i.e. nearly 25% of this group):
(38) a. She had infinitely the most life and infinitely the least selfishness; F, 68
   Bylo v ní [was in her] daleko nejvíce života a daleko nejméně sobectví. Ž, 68
b. There had been Charles’s daffodils and jonquills F, 67
   Měla [she-had] sice Charlesovy žluté a bílé narcisy Ž, 67

The two constructions are often interchangeable within one language, cf. She had
Charles’s daffodils, where the actual choice is presumably due to the semantic
difference. In other instances the sentence structure may favour only one: in (38) a. in
her in the existential construction would have to be placed either after a weighty
coordinated subject or, if placed according to its degree of communicative dynamism,
it would violate the grammatical word order principle. In Czech the choice appears to
be even more restricted (cf. Dušková, 2005c).

(b) The second subgroup involves instances of shifts between object and subject.
The most frequent pattern presented an English object rendered as the subject in
Czech, both elements operating as rhemes, with the subject invariably in final position;
the position of the English object was most frequently postverbal but penultimate
before a thematic element. Compare (39) a. and b.

(39) a. It [= Lovers’ Lane] drew courting couples every summer. F, 81
   Každé léto se sem táhly milenecké páry. Ž, 81
   [Every summer reflexive particle here gathered courting couples]

b. I brought up Ronsard’s name just now; F, 68
   Před nedávnem tu padlo Ronsardovo jméno: Ž, 68
   [Before not-long here appeared Ronsard’s name]

1.4.6.2 The second subgroup involves an additional shift between verbal and
verbonominal predicates. It might be added to the last group, treated in 1.5, but owing
to displaying other syntactic shifts it has been included as a subtype in 1.4.6.

This subgroup is represented by 43 instances, most of which (27) display the same
type of syntactic divergence, consisting in an object or adverbial counterpart of an
English subject complement as a concomitant feature of a full verb in place of the
copula. In some instances, additional syntactico-semantic shifts appeared, connected
mainly with the choice of the subject.

(40) a. Ware Commons was public property. F, 80
   Wareská občina patří všem. Ž, 81
   [Wares Commons belongs to-all]

b. It’s no matter, sir. F, 78
   Nic se nestalo [nothing not-happened], pane. Ž, 78
   [Nothing not-happened], pane. Ž, 78

Significantly, all instances but one displayed the verbonominal predicate in English
whereas only one English verbal predicate appeared as a copula + subject complement
in Czech, cf. (41):

(41) Some said that after midnight more reeling than dancing took place; F, 81
   Někteří tvrdili, že po půlnoci je to spíše potáčení než tanec. Ž, 81
   [after midnight is it rather reeling than dancing]

It is to be noted that the Czech construction conduces to final position of the rhyme,
which in English occurs before the verb.

26
Mit ‘have’ as a counterpart of be or být ‘be’ against have (belbýt as a copula or lexical verb other than existential) again occurred in several instances (6), cf. (42) a. and b.

(42) a. It was on the tip of his tongue F, 80
Měl to zrovna na jazyku [he-had it just on tongue] Ž, 80
b. Its cream and butter had a local reputation; F, 76
Zdejší smetana a máslo byly pověstné v celém okolí; [were renowned in whole area] Ž, 76

1.5 Unlike the shifts discussed in 1.4, which displayed more (in 1.4.1–1.4.4) or less (1.4.5, 1.4.6) correspondence between finite predicates, examples of this group involve addition or deletion of a clause element, and may hence be classed in different ways. The shift concerns the correspondence between verbal and verbonominal predicates, the clause element verb being reflected in a copula + subject complement and vice versa. This shift was found in both directions. Apart from copular predications (1.5.1, ex (43); 1.5.2 (a)) it appeared functionally and semantically justifiable to include in this group all instances where the verb has a decomposed make-up consisting of a semantically weakened or indeterminate verb and a nominal component which shapes the meaning of the whole construction (1.5.1, ex (44) a., b.; 1.5.2 (b)–(e).

1.5.1 The shift between an English verb and a Czech copula + subject complement was found in 6 instances, cf. (43).

(43) he did not know this. F, 63
nebyl si toho vědom. [not-was aware] Ž, 63

(44) a. Certainly I intended at this stage ... to tell all F, 85
Zajistě jsem měl v úmyslu [I-had in intention] na tomto místě ... vy-povědět všeho Ž, 85
b. the first disagreement that had ever darkened their love F, 95
první neshoda, která vrhla stín [threw shadow] na jejich lásku Ž, 95

1.5.2 Czech univerbal expression of English verbonominal predication altogether accounts for 68.76% of this shift, the number of Czech verbal counterparts being 55 (as compared with 26 English verbal predicates rendered by the Czech verbonominal). This quantitative difference again testifies to the more verbal character of Czech (cf. Dušková, 2005a and 2004b).

English verbonominal constructions with Czech verbal counterparts were of several types.

(a) The most frequent type is constituted by a copula + subject complement (21 instances, i.e. 38.2% of all registered English verbonominal constructions), cf. (45).

(45) she knew he was attractive to women. F, 67
Věděla, že přitahuje [attracts] ženy. Ž, 67

Besides be, the most frequent copula in this group (16 instances, i.e. 76.2%), there were 4 occurrences of become; fall (open), make (sure), grow (like) were each represented by one occurrence.
(46) a. Sarah went less often to the woods than she had become accustomed to.
Sarah chodila do lesa méně často, než si předtím navykla [to-herself she-acquainted] Ž, 87
b. Her coat had fallen open.
Kabát se jí rozvřel [coat reflexive particle to-her opened] Ž, 64

(b) The second type displays transitive copulas in the pattern V – O_d (12 instances, i.e. 21.8% of the registered verbonominal constructions). The verbs found in this constructions were make (advances, a nod, a response, a pretence, inquiries; 5 instances), give (a wink, a smile; 2 occurrences), have (the desire, revenge, fear; 3 instances), with bear (resemblance) and do (the talking) represented once.

(47) a. she ... made an infinitesimal nod; Ž, 91
nepatrně pokývla [infinitesimally she-nodded] Ž, 91
b. For the first time since her arrival she gave the faintest smile.
poprvé od svého příchodu se slabouncí usmála. [faintly she-smiled] Ž, 59
c. Charles resolved that he would have his revenge on Mrs Poulteney.
Charles se rozhodl, že se pomstí [he-will-revenge himself] paní Poulteneyové Ž, 93–94
d. Sam ... had borne very little resemblance to the mournful and indignant young man who.
Sam ... se velmi málo podobal [very little resembled] tomu nasupenému rozhůřenému mladíkovi, který Ž, 70

c. The next type differs from (b) in one of two features: a semantically weak or indeterminate verb is complemented by a non-action noun, or an action noun complements a full verb (set foot/eyes, one’s heart on x pick exits, come to one’s senses) (13 instances, 23.6%).

(48) a. the gentleman had set his heart on having an arboretum in the Undercliff.
slechtic si umínil [resolved], že na Spodním útesu zřídí jakousi botanickou zahradu vžácnych stromů. Ž, 80
b. He came to his senses of what was proper.
Uvědomil si [he-realized], co se sluší a patří. Ž, 66

d. The ditransitive type V – O_i – O_d is represented by 4 examples (7.3%), all containing the verb give.

(49) He gave his wife a stern look.
Přísně se podíval na ženu.6 [Sternly he-looked at wife] Ž, 77

(e) the last type displays the pattern V – O – C_o (5 instances, 9.1% of the verbonominal constructions):

6 For a discussion of this construction from the FSP point of view, see Dušková (2004a, pp. 117–118). Incidentally the Czech equivalent here deviates from the FSP structure of the original. Both the subject and the indirect object are context-dependent, hence the theme is constituted by the verb + the manner adjunct. However, the Czech counterpart presents the thematic object as the theme. If the sentence were construed verbally in English, the rhematic section, the verb + the manner adjunct, would be dissected by the thematic object. The English verbonominal construction here serves to achieve the basic distribution of communicative dynamism.
Mrs Poulteney, whom the thought of young happiness always made petulant, 90
paní Poulteneyová, kterou pomyslení na mladé štěstí vždycky podráždilo [whom ... annoyed]  Ž, 90

Considering these shifts from the viewpoint of the options offered by the target language, structural parallels may be found in all types, albeit not in particular instances, but verbal expression largely prevails in Czech (68.76% of these shifts, see above). The only exception is found in 1.5.2 type (c), where the number of examples rendered univerbally in Czech (13) is outnumbered by English verbs which have two-component Czech counterparts (20 instances, cf. 1.5.1 ex. 44 a., b.).

The type most amenable to variant expression appears to be copula + subject complement, cf. be attractive – přitahovat (cf. to attract), být přitažlivý; be jealous – žárlit, být žárlivý; be aware – vědět (cf. to know), být si vědom, etc.

The use of a verbonominal construction instead of verbal expression may be due to the interplay of the syntactic-semantic features of a given sentence, as shown by the following example. In (51) it is presumably the need to express the intensifier (very > velmi) that determines the choice.

(51) Ernestina had been very silent on the walk downhill to Broad Street. F, 95
Ernestina byla při chůzi z kopce dolů do Broad Street velice mlčenlivá. Ž, 95

In type (b), illustrated by the examples listed under (47), the option largely depends on the verb: while the counterparts of make and have + action noun sometimes offer a choice (make an offer – nabídouť, učinit nabídku, but make a nod – only přikývnout, make a pretence – only předstírat; have no fears – neobávat se, nemíti obavy, but have one’s revenge – only pomstít se), bear and monotransitive give are less amenable to alternative expression, cf. bear resemblance – podobat se, give a wink – mrkňout, give a smile – usmáť se. On the other hand type (d), represented by ditransitive give, displays, apart from verbal rendition, several instances of verbonominal construction. Compare (49) with the following examples:

(52) a. Mrs Poulteney gave her a look of indignation. F, 82
Paní Poulteneyová na ni vrhla pohoršený pohled. [at her threw indignant look] Ž, 82
b. Ernestina gave Charles a sharp, reproachful glance; F, 93
Ernestina vrhla na Charlese přísný, vyčitavý pohled. [threw at Charles stern, reproachful glance] Ž, 93
c. He threw an angry look at the bearded dairyman F, 77
Vrhl hněvivý pohled na vousatého sedlárka [he-threw angry look at bearded farmer] Ž, 77

It is to be noted that here the usual verbal counterpart would not display the FSP structure as distinctly as the verbonominal form which is decomposed into the categorial (transitional) and notional (rhetic) component. If the verb alone is used, both the categorial and the notional component are expressed in one form which hence

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7 For systemic gaps in this type, see Dušková (2005a, 3.1.1).
realizes two FSP functions (see Firbas, 1961). While the Czech counterparts of (52) a. and b. faithfully follow the FSP structure of the original, in (52) c. the translation again deviates from the FSP structure of the original, *the bearded dairyman* being context-dependent, and accordingly thematic (cf. Note 6).

Type (c) mostly comprises idiomatic constructions in English which seldom have a parallel Czech counterpart, cf. *have one’s eye on sb./sth.*, *set one’s heart on sth.*, but *set eyes on sth.* – *spatří, spočínout na něčem zrakem, set foot in a place* – *vkrocít, vkrocít nohou*. Here especially the verbonominal variant is shown to be more formal or literary, which is a fairly general feature of this type of constructions in Czech.

In type (e), prevalently realized by *make* in the complex transitive construction, Czech may resort to a causative verb, as in *make sb. petulant* (ex. (50), cf. *to pomyšlení způsobilo, že byla podrážděná* [the thought caused that she was petulant], but hardly in instances like *make sth. clear*, and the like.

As has been noted in 1.5, from the purely syntactic point of view shifts between verbal and verbonominal predicates involve a divergence consisting in the addition or deletion of a clause element, but from the semantic and functional point of view verbal and verbonominal predicates may be regarded as equivalent. This is especially shown by systemic gaps such *be jealous, be silent*, where verbal expression is lacking. Assignment of this group to corresponding or noncorresponding counterparts respectively enhances or lowers the interlingual syntactic constancy of the verb by 5.1%, see Table 1.

**Table 1. Czech counterparts of English finite verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with shifts in</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>voice</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mood</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polarity</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phasal modification</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modal modification</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>catenative verb phrases</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>syntactic structure</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with shifts between verbal and verbonominal predicates</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divergent</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6 Table 1 shows the total number of English finite verbs and their Czech counterparts found within the stretch of text that supplied 50 syntactically divergent counterparts.

In addition to the fully corresponding counterparts, most of the groups involving shifts qualify to be regarded as corresponding rather than divergent counterparts, specifically the groups involving shifts in the verbal categories, polarity, phasal and modal modification and catenative verb phrases, which together account for 8.8%.
With this correction, syntactic constancy of the verb would appear to be 86.4%. Moreover, the discussion in 1.4.6 has shown that even the type displaying correspondence between English and Czech finite verbs whose interlingual synonymy involves the sentence level may justifiably be classed with the corresponding rather than the divergent counterparts. Syntactic constancy then rises to 91.6%. If even the most problematic group of shifts between verbal and verbonominal predicates is included, syntactic constancy of the verb, viz 96.7%, appears to be higher than that of the subject, which has so far ranked as the most constant clause element: 96.15% (see Dušková, 2003 and 2005b).

1.7 Table 2 presents the syntactic functions of the 50 divergent counterparts of the English verb, obtained from the analysed texts.

1.7.1 The most frequent syntactically divergent counterpart of the English finite verb is the noun modifier (18 occurrences). Except one example, all instances of English finite verbs as noun modifiers are found in postmodification which is further expanded. The realization form of the modifier is prevalently the present participle (12 instances, see ex. (53) a.), the past participle accounting for four instances. It is this form that implements the only instance of premodification, see (53) b.

(53) a. the one remaining track that traverses it is often impassable. F, 62
   jediná cesta procházející [traversing] těmito místy je často neschůdná. Ž, 62
b. Part of her hair has become loose and half-covered her cheek. F, 65
   Pramen rozpuštěných vlasů [strand of loosened hair] ji pokrýval část obličeje. Ž, 65

In the two remaining instances the postmodifier is expressed, respectively, by an adjective and an agent noun derived from the present participle in the genitive case, cf. (54).

(54) which [= a ledge] hid her from the view of any but one who came ... to the very edge. F, 64
   jejíž výběžek ji chránil před očima každého příchozího [from the eyes of every arrival] vyjma toho, kdo ... postoupil až úplně na okraj. Ž, 64

This group of counterparts is characterized by one common feature, viz. the finite verb reflected in the modifier occurs in a subordinate clause that as a whole performs...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>modifier</th>
<th>18</th>
<th>36%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>premodifier</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>postmodifier</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbial reflecting a cleft sentence</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the postmodifying function. It is thus only on the level of this clause that the counterparts display a divergence. On the level of the head noun, which is a constituent of the superordinate clause, the difference consists only in the form of realization (finite vs. nonfinite or nonverbal form).

Since nonfinite realization forms of syntactic functions serve to condense sentence structure, the Czech counterparts here display a feature which is usually pointed out as characteristic of English. As was shown in 1.3.2, this is indeed the case. As regards the participles rendered by Czech finite clauses within the same stretch of text (33 instances of the ing-participle and 17 occurrences of the past participle, see 1.3.2.3), they considerably outnumber English finite clauses rendered by Czech participles (16 instances). The discussion in 1.3.2.3 moreover shows that English participles rendered by Czech finite clauses also occur in other than the modifying function, notably the adverbial (23 instances). Here the structural parallel (přechodník ‘transgressive’) has largely disappeared from Modern Czech in favour of finite realization.

In two instances the choice of participial postmodification is presumably due to the fact that otherwise there would be two or three relative clauses in close proximity. Since Modern Czech has virtually one relative for the subject function (který ‘who/which’), cumulation of relative clauses may be felt undesirable for stylistic reasons.

(55) She had ... physical charms to match ... corn-coloured hair and delectably wide grey-blue eyes, eyes that invited male provocation. F, 68

Bylo v ni ... mnoho fyzického puvabu ... vlasy, které připomínaly barvou zralé zrno [hair which resembled by-colour ripe corn], a široké, šedé modré oči, vyzývající [inviting] mužské dvoření Z, 68

1.7.2 The second well represented divergent counterpart is the adverbial. In Table 2 it is presented in two separate groups, as adverbials and explicit counterparts of the cleft sentence.

The counterparts of the first group of adverbials (17 instances) display two distinct patterns.

(a) The English finite verb is reflected in a temporal adjunct (as defined by Quirk et al. 1985, pp. 504–505) (6 instances), cf. (56).

(56) the little scene that took place with a pleasing regularity when they got back to Aunt Tranter’s house. F, 89

malý výstup, který se odehrával s příjemnou pravidelností po návratu [after return] do domu tety Tranterové. Ž, 89

The temporal adjunct is realized by a prepositional phrase containing an action noun derived from, or semantically affinity with the finite verb of the corresponding clause. As in the case of the modifier, the syntactic divergence is found on the level of the subordinate temporal clause, since in the structure of the superordinate clause both the prepositional phrase and the subordinate clause operate in the same syntactic function, as a temporal adjunct. Accordingly, the divergent feature is again only the realization form. This type of noncorrespondence appears to be specific to the verb and is due to its predicative nature.
(b) The second pattern emerges from finite verbs occurring in comment clauses with the function of attitudinal disjuncts (4 instances). Both the comment clause and the adverbial operate as a sentence modifier, the syntactic divergence being restricted to the level of the comment clause alone.

(57) a. But it was not, I am afraid, the face for 1867. F, 69
Bohužel [unfortunately] to však nebyl obličej pro rok 1867. Z, 69
b. So also, Charles was not pleased to note, did Ernestina. F, 91
A také Ernestina si k Charlesově malé radosti [to Charles’s small pleasure] počínala stejně. Z, 91

This pattern reflects the differences in the status of comment clauses and disjuncts in general between English and Czech.

c) Another type of interlingual relations based on systemic differences between the two languages was observed in the rendition of the verbal proform do by the sentential adverb ano ‘yes’ (2 instances), cf. (58).

(58) Travelling no longer attracted him; but women did, F, 74
Cestování už ho nelákalo, ale ženy ano [yes] Z, 74

Of the remaining instances one displays a correspondence which may be classed with type (b), cf. (59).

(59) It so happened that the avalanche ... was appointed to take place at Marlborough House F, 89
Zvláštní náhodou [by-strange chance] čekala Charlese ... lavina právě v Marlborough House. Z, 89

Here the structure of the sentence with the main clause which modifies the content of the subordinate clause like a content disjunct, cf. accidentally, represents the underlying form out of which comment clauses have developed.

Two instances display syntactic divergence even on the level of the higher clause; however, they seem to be individual solutions chosen by the translator rather than patterns reflecting systemic relations.

(60) There were times, if cook had a day off, when Mrs Tranter sat and ate with Mary alone in the downstairs kitchen. F, 69
Občas [occasionally] když kuchařka měla volný den, jedla paní Tranterová s Mary sama dole v kuchyni. Z, 69

Here the temporal content of the main clause appears as a subordinate element, a temporal adjunct, in the clause which has subordinate status in the original, but has been raised to the status of the main clause in the translation.

Similarly one of the two instances completing this group is an ad hoc solution while the last is a case of recategorization and subsequent lexicalization in Czech:

(61) one day it was discovered ... that a gang of gipsies had been living there ... for nobody knew how many months. F, 80
jednoho dnes se přišlo na to, že se tu ... zdržovala bůhvíkolik [god-knows-how-many] měsíců ... banda cikánů. Z, 81

1.7.3 The last type of divergent counterparts represented by recurrent examples (10 instances) was found in explicit devices reflecting the focusing function of the cleft
sentence (8 it-clefts and 2 wh-clefts). It is discussed as a separate type, rather than having been included among the other adverbial counterparts, on the ground of its homogeneous nature: all counterparts of the it-clefts are focusing adjuncts, the counterparts of the wh-clefts reflecting the meaning of be + the following wh-word. Functionally the English and the Czech devices are equivalent; syntactically they display a major divergence which provides another reason for treating them as a separate group. The divergence involves a reversal of the relation of subordination: the focusing adjunct reflects the copular verb in the main clause of the cleft sentence, but in the resulting sentence which replaces the bi-clausal construction of one propositional content, the constitutive feature of the cleft sentence, it appears as a subordinate element.

The most frequent counterpart of an English it-cleft contains the focalizer právě ‘just’, ‘precisely’ (4 instances).

(62) **It was Mrs Tranter who** made me aware of my error. F, 78

Právě pani Tranterová [precisely Mrs Tranter] mě upozornila na můj omyl.

Ž, 78

The wh-clefts contained in the excerpted text also illustrate a well-established counterpart, cf. (63).

(63) **This is why** we cannot plan. F, 86

Proto [therefore] nemůžeme plánovat. Ž, 86

Besides právě, illustrated in (62), the counterparts of it-clefts included teprve ‘only’ rendering it was not until ... that (attested once), which even more than právě appears to be generally used to render this construction.

(64) **It was not until towards the end of the visit** that Charles began to realize F, 91

Teprve ke konci návštěvy [only towards end of-visit] svítlo Charlesovi, že Ž, 92

In the remaining instances the devices chosen as focalizers are contextual, ad hoc choices: tedy ‘thus’, ‘then’ and v jádru ‘in core’.

(65) If I have pretended until now to know my characters’ minds and innermost thoughts, it is **because I am writing ... in a convention universally accepted** at the time of my story. F, 85

Jestliže jsem dosud předstíral, že vím, co se děje v mysli mých osob, v jejich nejskrytějších myšlenkách, tedy [then] proto, že piši ... v mezích konvence běžně uznávané za časů, kdy se můj příběh odehrává. Ž, 85

In this elliptical it-cleft (it is because I am writing in a convention universally accepted ... that I have pretended ...) tedy functions as an emphaziser. Similarly the expression v jádru ‘in core’ in the following example:

(66) but it was really Charles’s heart of which she was jealous. F, 68

ale v jádru žárlila spíše na Charlesovo srđe. Ž, 68

[but in core she-was-jealous rather of Charles’s heart]

Here it may be argued that v jádru renders really, but then spíše [=rather] remains to be accounted for.

This brief account of explicit Czech reflexes of the cleft sentence needs to be complemented by noting instances which lack an explicit counterpart of the focusing function of the main clause of the it-cleft. Within the excerpted text, there were 8 such instances.
(67) It was to banish such gloomy forebodings ... that Ernestina fetched her diary
F, 71
Aby zahnala teskne předtuchy ... přinesla si Ernestina deník Ž, 71
[so-that she-banished gloomy forebodings ... brought to-herself Ernestina diary]

In a few it-clefts, the focusing function is expressed twice in that they also contain
an adverbial focalizer. On the other hand the Czech counterpart expresses the focusing
function only once through the equivalent of the adverbial focalizer.

(68) it was only then that he realized whom he had intruded upon. F, 65
tepře v té chvíli si uvědomil [only in that moment he-realized], na koho to
vlastně narazil. Ž, 65

These three types account for 90% of all the divergent counterparts.

1.7.4 The remaining instances are represented by one or two examples, and
accordingly do not lend themselves to generalizations.

In two instances the divergent counterpart is the subject:

(69) a. She was not standing at her window as part of her mysterious vigil for
Satan’s sails; F, 84
Její hlídka u okna neměla nic společného s mystickým čekáním na
Satanovy plachty; Ž, 84
[her vigil at window not-had nothing in-common with mystic waiting for Satan]
b. what has changed is that we are no longer the gods of the Victorian image
F, 86
hlavní změna je v tom, že [main change is in that that] už nejsme bohové
toviktoriánskémouhrazu Ž, 86

The b. example is a noninverted wh-cleft, but without an explicit counterpart in
Czech of its focusing function. Since it displays the syntactic divergence discussed
at this point, it has not been included among instances like (67). The example is
moreover of interest for illustrating a frequent textual function of wh-clefts, viz. to
express a contrast with the preceding context.8 This is reflected in the adjective
hlavní ‘main’ added to the nominalized subject, cf. the preceding context: The
novelist is still a god, since he creates ...; what has changed is that we are no longer
the gods of ... (F, 86).

In one instance the English verb is reflected in a Czech object:

(70) I have decided to leave England. For the rest of my life I shall travel. F, 75
Rozhodl jsem se odjet z Anglie a venovat zbytek života cestování. Ž, 75
[I-decided leave from England and devote rest of-life to-travelling]

Example (71) illustrates a regular equivalent which preserves both the optative
function and the stylistic (formal and archaic) characteristic: the Czech optative particle
kéž rendering the verb of the main clause would.

(71) Would that it did not F, 60
Kéž by se netýkalo Ž, 60
[optative particle it-would-not-concern]

8 For a more detailed discussion of this point, see DUŠKOVÁ (2005a, 3.2.2).
The last divergent example is an ad hoc counterpart (\textit{it seemed} rendered as \textit{jakoby} ‘as if’, F/Z 78).

1.8 Attempting to summarize the results of the foregoing discussion, what appears to have been clearly shown is the unique nature of the verb, specifically its clause-constitutive function. Most of the divergent counterparts represent reduction of clauses, cf. participial modification vs. adjectival relative clause, nominalization of adverbial clauses, and reflexes of English finite verbs in the subject and object. In all these types the verbal element remains preserved either in the respective nonfinite form or an affinitive action noun in the respective noun phrase or prepositional phrase. The syntactic divergence is largely found only on the level of the subordinate clauses; on the level of the superordinate clause both the finite subordinate clause and its restructured counterpart display the same syntactic function. A similar picture emerges where an English finite verb occurs in a comment clause, rendered as a sentence adverbial (disjunct) in Czech.

A second distinct relationship emerging from the divergent counterparts displays differences between the two languages in focusing devices, which confirm earlier findings (cf. Dušková, 2005a).

2. The Czech-English part draws on the data obtained from a diploma dissertation (Strnadová, 1998) dealing with constancy of the verb as a word class. Although the treatise pursues a different aim, and adopts a different approach following the methodology of \textit{The Noun in Translation} (Klégr, 1996), in consequence of the close relationship between the finite verb and its syntactic function it largely covers the same ground as the preceding part.

The study is based on three Czech novels and their English translations (see Sources) which provided 828 finite verbs. Elimination of finite verbs that lacked an equivalent (31 instances) and finite verbs whose finite counterparts displayed too complicated equivalence relations (34 instances, cf. Strnadová, 1998, pp. 16–17) reduced the original number by 65 instances, i.e. to 763. These Czech finite verbs were found to have finite counterparts in 90.1\% (687 instances), the remaining 76 Czech finite verbs being accounted for by 65 (8.5\%) nonfinite verb forms and 11 (1.4\%) nonverbal forms. Syntactic constancy of the finite verb was accordingly attested in 90.1\%, the nonfinite and nonverbal counterparts displaying syntactic functions other than that performed by the finite verb (see Tables 4 and 5).

2.1 The group of instances classed as fully corresponding in the English-Czech direction is here represented by the basic group denoted as simple predicates (= verb phrases constituted by lexical verbs); copulas, modal and phasal verbs are treated as separate groups termed complex predicates. In the English-Czech part modal and phasal predicates that preserved these components were included among the fully corresponding counterparts. Nevertheless, a comparable group of fully corresponding English counterparts of Czech finite verbs can be arrived at by adding to the group of simple predicates copular, modal and phasal predicates with the same structure in English. This is made possible on the basis of detailed treatment of each of these groups in which the divergent instances are specified and discussed. According to Table 3.1.4 in Strnadová (1998, p. 19) from the total of finite predicates (687 instances, 100\%)
Table 3. English counterparts of Czech finite verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Czech finite verbs</th>
<th>English counterparts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple predicates (lexical verbs)</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copular predicates</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modal predicates</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phasal predicates</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>634</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53 (7%) display some kind of deviation in the verb phrase: 18 simple predicates, 8 copular, and 27 modal (there is no deviation in the rendition of phasal predicates), see Table 3.

Although there are differences in the conception of modal verbs in the two approaches, the figure 634 is essentially comparable with the group of fully corresponding counterparts of English finite verbs: 1222 (77.6%), see Table 1 in 1.6. Within the total of 763 Czech finite verbs including syntactically divergent counterparts (65 nonfinite and 11 nonverbal forms, according to Table 3.1.2 in Strnadová, 1998, p. 17), the group without divergent copular and modal predicates accounts for 81.1%. Syntactic constancy of Czech finite verbs with respect to their English counterparts thus appears to be higher by 3.5% than in the English-Czech direction. However, compare the commentary on Table 1 in 1.6, where predicates with shifts between verbal categories are considered with respect to their potential for being included among corresponding counterparts.

2.2 As regards the divergent counterparts in each of the groups listed in Table 3, they more or less mirror the shifts treated in 1.5 and 1.4.4.

Czech finite lexical verbs were found to have 18 divergent counterparts, of which 15 correspond to copular predications (Table 3.2.1 in Strnadová, 1996, p. 23). As compared with the total of comparable counterparts obtained from Table 3 (634 instances), these copular counterparts represent 2.3% (the percentage of 15 from 634+15). In the opposite direction this percentage is more than four times smaller: 6 Czech copular predicates reflecting English finite verbs (see 1.5.1) as compared with 1222 structurally parallel counterparts, i.e. 0.5%.

The 15 copular counterparts of Czech finite lexical verbs include four which display the same type of shift as was noted in 1.4.6, exx. (38)b., (42)a., viz. predicates with mit ‘have’ reflected in predicates with be, as in (72).

(72) měla vztéklo tvář [she-had livid face] KM, 134
her face was livid H, 125

Two instances are of interest from the FSP point of view: the copular predicate here conduces to preserving the same linear order of the nominal elements as in the original. As a result both the Czech sentence and its English counterpart display the basic distribution of communicative dynamism.

(73) a. jehož korbu tvořila poloviční popelnice KI, 11
[whose body accusative formed half dustbin nominative]
a hand cart whose body was half a dustbin O, 5
b. Z prostředního patra ... vznikl soud L, 227
The middle floor ... was now a courtroom W, 93

In the group of copular predicates (101 instances) there are altogether 8 divergent counterparts, all but one of which are reflected in a finite lexical verb, cf. (74).

(74) čim budeš k lidem důvěřivější L, 231
    [what_instrumental you-will-be to people more-trusting]
    the more you trust people W, 98

As compared with the 21 instances of English copular predications rendered univerbally by a lexical verb in Czech (cf. 1.5.2 (a)), this type of shift appears to be much less frequent from Czech to English, which supports the generally held view of Czech as the more verbal of the two languages.

2.3 The divergences in modal predicates (27 out of 61, see Table 3), which appear to be very frequent, in fact reflect a different conception of the modal verbs in English and Czech: in the latter, the class of the modals is conceived more broadly. As a result, entirely parallel structures are regarded differently, e.g. verbs like přát si ‘wish’, chtít ‘want’, mínit ‘mean’ are classed as modal in Czech but as lexical in English. In a few other instances similar shifts were noted as in 1.4.4 (omission or addition of a modal component), cf. (75) (and the comment on (34) in Part 1).

(75) musil za trest ... očistovat městské ulice KI 12
    [he-had for punishment to-clean city streets]
    He was ... sentenced to clean the streets O, 5

2.4 As regards the verbal categories discussed in 1.4.1–1.4.3, voice, mood and polarity, they are mentioned in connection with the specification of the code system, but not included among the points under detailed discussion.

2.5 For the present purpose the most relevant part of the study is the treatment of the nonfinite and nonverbal counterparts (the quantitative data are presented in Table 3.1.2, Strnadová, 1998, p. 17).

The figure 687 (90.1%) includes not only the simple predicates, but also the complex groups, i.e. copular, modal and phasal. Consequently, it is comparable with the percentage 96.7 in 1.6, in which the predicates involving shifts between verbal and verbonominal structure are included in the syntactically corresponding counterparts. Without this group, the percentage of syntactic constancy from English to Czech is 91.6 (see the commentary on Table 1 in 1.6). This figure is then comparable with the total of Czech finite verb forms 687 from which copular counterparts of simple predicates (15) and univerbal lexical counterparts of copular predicate (7), see below, have been subtracted, i.e. 665. This lowers the percentage of syntactically corresponding counterparts in the Czech-English direction to 87.1, i.e. by 3%.

Table 4. English counterparts of Czech finite verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Form</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Finite verb forms</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonfinite verb forms</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonverbal forms</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38
Table 5. English divergent syntactic counterparts of Czech finite verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>total</th>
<th>%</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>adverbial</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>gerunds</td>
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<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ing-participle</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ing-participle</td>
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<td>28.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>ed-participle</td>
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<tr>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposition &quot;with&quot;</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposition &quot;like&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>derivational morpheme &quot;-like&quot;</td>
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<td>object</td>
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<td>infinitives (complements of verbs)</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; (complements of adjectives)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>3.9</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.6 Table 5 is based on Supplement 1 of the Czech-English study (3.2.3), in which all nonfinite counterparts of Czech finite verbs are listed. The nonverbal counterparts are exhaustively treated by Strnadová in 3.2.4 (pp. 48–50). The examples are first classified according to the realization form: nonfinite (infinitive, gerund, ing-participle, ed-participle) and nonverbal (noun, preposition, derivational morpheme), and then according to syntactic function. To be comparable with Table 2 in 1.6, Table 5 is arranged according to the syntactic function within which the different realization forms are listed.

At first sight, Table 5 differs from Table 2 in two major respects. The first concerns the degree of syntactic constancy, which appears to be considerably lower than in the English-Czech direction. The English divergent forms, though obtained from a smaller material (763 against 1575 instances) materially outnumber the Czech divergent counterparts (76 against 50), thus displaying a higher density as a concomitant feature.

This difference is closely connected with the second major point of noncorrespondence, viz. the forms of realization of the syntactically divergent counterparts. Of those listed in Table 5 only the participles and the noun (mostly in
prepositional phrases) are also found from English to Czech (see 1.7.1 and 1.7.2). The third major realization form is here the adverb (1.7.3), which is not attested in the Czech-English direction. The Czech-English direction largely displays divergent counterparts constituted by specific realization forms, viz. infinitives, gerunds, prepositions (except for the preposition with/Czech s, see the comment on ex. (77) d.) and a bound morpheme. Of the last two realization forms only the preposition with appears to be based on systemic relations.

Table 5 also shows that the two most significant factors conducing to the higher degree of syntactic nonconstancy of Czech finite verbs in English are the infinitive and the gerund, i.e. the nonfinite forms whose syntactic behaviour parallels that of the noun.

In general the nonfinite verb forms as counterparts of Czech finite verbs play a specific and decisive role in this direction insofar as the English-Czech approach entirely excludes them: the starting point being the syntactic function of the finite verb, the nonfinite forms are a priori ruled out by their syntactic functions which assign them to syntactic nouns, adjectives and adverbs.

The different syntactic functions of the Czech divergent counterparts are illustrated by the following examples.

**Adverbial:** a. gerund, b. ing-participle, c. infinitive, d. noun.

(76) a. aniž to pokladný věděla L, 230

[without conjunction it cashier knew] without her knowing about it W, 97

b. Sedl jsem si na lavici ... a držel jsem [and clutched] koženou taštičku KI, 7

I sat down on a seat ... clutching a small leather bag O, 1

c. Abych dokázal [in-order-that I-showed] dobrou vůli, chopil jsem se největší lopatí. KI, 11

To show my good will I took the biggest shovel. O, 5

d. To všechno byly dostatečné důvody, že se mu říkal Voltaire. KM, 132

[that all were sufficient reasons that he-was-called Voltaire] -- reason enough for his nickname. H, 123

**Noun modifier:** a. ing-participle, b. ed-participle, c. preposition like, d. preposition with, e. derivational morpheme -like.

(77) a. z mraků, které visí [which hang] nad městem L, 231

from the clouds hanging over the city W, 97

b. výbuchů žárlivosti, za nimiž následoval [after which followed] ostých L, 233

explosions of jealousy followed by shyness W, 99

c. zvenči našité kapsy připomínaly neforemná pouzdra na pistole [sewn-on pockets resembled shapeless holders for pistols] KI, 7

sewn-on pockets rather like misshapen pistol holders

d. Toho, co má [that has] tak velký zuby? L, 232

The one with the big teeth? W, 98

e. co na pokladně připomínalo zvíře L, 228

[what in cashier resembled animal]

it was the only animal-like thing about her W, 96
The correspondences illustrated by (77) a. and b. were also found in the English-Czech part, but with lower frequency (see 1.7.1). A special recurrent realization form is here illustrated by (77) d., which demonstrates two different forms of expressing the possessive relationship: the verb *mit* 'have' and the preposition *with*. This type is also found in Czech, cf. *dívka s dlouhými vlasy* 'the girl with long hair'; in (77) d. *mit* is presumably preferred in Czech to avoid two instrumental forms with the Common Czech ending -ama.

Object: a. infinitive as verb complement, b. infinitive as adjectival complement, c. gerund, d. noun.

(78) a. dožadovali se, abych vysvětlil [they-asked that I-explained] KI, 8
they asked me to explain O, 2
b. jak ráda pro tebe udělám [how gladly it for you I-will-do] L, 227
how glad I am to be able to do this for you W, 95
c. vyhnout se ... aby ho znechutila [that him she-repelled] ... informacemi
KM, 129
to avoid repelling him ... with the ... directions H, 120
d. naslouchal jsem ... jak oheň vítězně huče [how fire victoriously roars] KI, 12
I'd ... listen ... to the victorious roar of the fire O, 6

Type (d) realized by a prepositional phrase with an action noun was also noted in Part 1, cf. 1.7.2.

Object complement: *ing*-participle

(79) Student cítí, jak mu hoří tváře [how to-him burn cheeks] KM, 134
The student felt his cheeks burning H, 124

Subject: infinitive

(80) představení, na které se dostaly [for which could-be-obtained] jen málokdy
vstupenky těsně před zahájením L, 228
when it was impossible to get the tickets just before the film began W, 95

This example also illustrates the shift between a prepositional phrase with an action noun (*před zahájením* [before beginning]) and a finite clause (*before the film began*) as in (78) d., but here in the Czech-English direction (cf. 1.7.2).

Subject complement: infinitive

(81) nezbývá, než aby si paní Kristýna vymyslela [that Madame Kristýna thought-up] záminku KM, 130
the only possibility was for Kristýna to think up an excuse H, 120

Similar features between Tables 2 and 5 are found in the relative frequency of occurrence of the different syntactic functions: in both Tables the two syntactic functions ranking highest are the adverbial and the noun-modifier. In the case of the latter, this appears to be largely due to the close relationship between participial postmodification and postmodifying finite clauses, which is found in both languages. The third most frequent counterpart of English finite verb forms, an explicit adverbial device conveying the focusing function of a cleft sentence, is specific to this direction. On the other hand the relatively high frequency of occurrence of the object function from Czech to English is to be ascribed to the infinitive and the gerund as the realization forms.
The conclusions which can be drawn from the foregoing discussion point to the specific status of the verb in both the sentence structure and the FSP structure. As regards its syntactic constancy, the finite verb involves problems connected with distinguishing between corresponding and noncorresponding counterparts, not encountered in the case of other clause elements (except in a much lesser degree, yet significantly, in the case of the subject complement, cf. Dušková, 2004b). In particular, a modal or phasal component in a verb phrase does not affect the syntactic function of the verb as a whole, but if left out or added in the counterparts, it detracts from full correspondence. An even more involved problem is presented by shifts between verbal and verbonominal predicates which are functionally and semantically equivalent but involve addition or omission of a clause element, the subject complement.

Another specific feature of the verb is the coincidence of the finite verb form and the syntactic function of predicate. In the English-Czech direction this relationship excludes inclusion of nonfinite verb forms, which in the opposite direction play a major role as the realization forms of divergent syntactic functions. In consequence, the syntactic constancy of the finite verb is higher from English to Czech than in the Czech-English direction.

Divergent counterparts of the finite verb moreover largely display yet another specific feature consisting in syntactic correspondence on a higher sentence level. This is found especially where the difference between the verb and its divergent counterpart involves a condensation process whereby a finite subordinate clause is reduced to a nonfinite or nonverbal structure. Noncorrespondence of this kind is often found where the finite verb appears in a subordinate postmodifying clause reflected in participial postmodification. Similarly finite verbs in subordinate adverbial clauses reflected in prepositional phrases containing an action noun represent syntactic divergence only on the level of the subordinate clause, the prepositional phrase being an instance of nominalization. These patterns, apart from some others, were found in both directions, but in Czech the reduced structures appear to be less frequent, which testifies to its more verbal character.

The role of functional sentence perspective as a factor conducive to syntactic divergence, which has proved to be significant in the case of the nominal elements and adverbials, appears to be marginal in syntactic divergence of the finite verb. In the material under study it was noted in a few instances where a different predicate structure served to preserve the basic distribution of communicative dynamism in copying the word order of the Czech sentence. This finding only confirmed the initial assumption based on the specific role of the verb in the syntactic and the FSP structure. On both these levels the verb forms a constitutive link between the left-hand and right-hand sentence components, which largely determines its FSP function of transition.
References


Sources


Syntaktická konstantnost verbalního přísudku mezi angličtinou a češtinou

Résumé

Článek se zabývá syntaktickou konstantností přísudku mezi angličtinou a češtinou jako součástí širšího výzkumu konstantnosti větých členů. V této souvislosti se přísudek vyznačuje některými specifickými
Rysy, které se objevují již při klasifikaci dokladů na syntakticky shodné a divergentní. Různé typy posunů ve složení přísudku způsobují, že výsledná klasifikace představuje spíše škálu přechodných skupin, mezi nimiž nelze věst jednoznačně dělit čáru. Zejména problematické je přiřazení přísudků s posunem mezi verbální a verbonominální strukturou. Další specifický rys přísudku je inherentní štěda mezi určitým slovesem a přísudkou funkcí. Ve směru z angličtiny do češtiny tento vztah vylučuje zahrnutí jmenných tvarů, které v opačném směru nejčastěji realizují divergentní syntaktické funkce. Specifickost přísudku se dále projevuje u divergentních protějšků v tom, že často představují syntaktickou divergenci pouze na úrovni věty obsahující určité sloveso: přísudky, jímž odpovídá participiální postmodifikace, se zpravidla vyskytují ve vedlejší větě, která má jako celek stejnou postmodifikační funkcí. Podobně je tomu často u protějšků realizovaných předložkovými vazbami s dějovým jménem. Některé korespondence mezi určitým slovesem a divergentním protějškem se projevily v obou směrech, avšak ve směru z angličtiny do češtiny jsou kondenzační struktury méně časté, což potvrzuje výrazně verbálnější charakter češtiny. Úloha aktuálního členění větěného jakočto činitele (spolu)působícího syntaktickou divergenci, která se ukázala být významnou u nominálních větných členů a adverbiálů, se v přísudku jeví marginální, což potvrdilo počáteční předpoklad vycházející ze specifické role slovesa jak na rovině syntaktické, tak aktuálně členěné. V obou případech sloveso tvoří konstitutivní pojítok mezi levostrannými a pravostrannými větnými komponenty, z čehož vyplývá jeho převažující funkce přechodu.