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Categories and Categorical Changes: The Third Syntactical Plan and Beyond



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and Jaroslav Macháček

Palacký University
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Categories and Categorial Changes: The Third Syntactical Plan and Beyond

Table of Contents

Introduction	7
Section I: On Constructions	
Chapter 1 From Semantic to Interactional Dative: A Preliminary Investigation (Mirjam Fried)	12
Chapter 2 Cause and Concern: The <i>Have</i> Construction with the Infinitive Seen through Its Czech Translation Equivalents	21
(Michaela Martinková)	
Chapter 3 Explicitation of Causality in Periphrastic Constructions with Human Causees: The Case of <i>Make</i> and <i>Cause</i>	47
(Naděžda Kudrnáčová)	
Chapter 4 <i>It Is Surprising</i> : Do Participial Adjectives after Copular Verbs Form a Special Evaluative Construction? A Contrastive View	58
(Olga Richterová)	
Chapter 5 Clines of Categoriality in Ivan Poldauf's Theoretical Framework	73
(Jarmila Tárnyiková)	
Section II: On the Categories of Tense, Aspect, and Modality	
Chapter 6 Between Modality and Futurity: <i>Will</i> and <i>Be Going to</i> Seen through Their Czech Translation Equivalents	86
(Markéta Janebová)	
Chapter 7 Re-evaluating the Progressive Form: The Case of English Verbs of Attitude	114
(Lucie Černá)	
Chapter 8 On the Status of <i>Begin</i> and <i>Start</i> in Constructions with the Verb <i>Be</i>	126
(Jaroslav Macháček)	
Section III: On Word Categories	
Chapter 9 From Clauses to Words: Quotational Compounds in English and Czech	140
(Andrea Ryšavá)	
Chapter 10 Diachronic Development of English Relativizers: A Study in Grammar Competition	149
(Joseph Emonds and Kateřina Havranová)	
Conclusions	160

Appendix 1: InterCorp texts	161
Appendix 2: Subcorpus of TV series (Chapter 9)	164
Works Cited	165
Alphabetical List of Authors	176
Index of Authors	177
Subject Index	179
Résumé	187

Introduction

Michaela Martinková

If linguistics can be said to be any one thing it is *the study of categories*: that is, the study of how language translates meaning into sound through the *categorization of reality* into discrete units and sets of units.

(Labov 2004, 68, our italics)

The study of categories and categorization goes back to ancient times; the definition of a category (which in its classical form is characterized as a set of necessary and sufficient features for membership) originates in the works of Aristotle. This classical view now represents the background of all scientific investigation, including linguistic.

The problem linguistics has to face is that it deals with categorization at more than one levels. First, like any other science, it sorts out, or taxonomizes the object of its study: “any time we either produce or understand any utterance of any reasonable length, we are employing dozens if not hundreds of categories: categories of speech sounds, of words, of phrases and clauses” (Lakoff 1987, 6). All of them have to be defined unambiguously and precisely, as required by the laws of science: “vagueness is not respected in the scholarly world” (Aarts 2007, 12).

However, categorization is also a more general “cognitive process which allows human beings to make sense of the world” (Aarts 2007, 9), which in “real life everywhere offers us only concretissima” (Jespersen [1924] 1992, 68). “By carving it up,” we make it “more orderly and manageable for the mind” (Aarts 2007, 9); “if we were not able to assign aspects of our experience to stable categories, it would remain disorganized chaos” (Cruse 2011, 127); if we did not share categories/concepts, we would not be able to communicate. Linguistics is then interested in the “whole process of organizing human experience into general concepts with their associated linguistic labels” (Crystal 1985, 43). Building on experimental evidence from psychologists, linguists challenge the classical view of categories by claiming that categories center around the best examples, so called prototypes. This does not necessarily mean a denial of the existence of features, but “unlike the classical features . . . these [features] do not constitute a set of necessary and sufficient criteria, except perhaps for the prototype itself” (Cruse 2011, 60). Unlike the classical approach, the prototype theory postulates fuzzy/vague category boundaries.

In 1987 Lakoff noted that “linguistic categories should be of the same type as other categories in our conceptual system” and that “they should show prototype and basic-level effects” (1987, 56). This fact is not entirely new in linguistic description; the notion of the center (core) and the periphery, for example, was introduced by the Prague Linguistic

Circle, and in 1966 it was postulated by Daneš as a language universal.¹ Still it does not mean a priori discarding the classical approach when it comes to defining scientific concepts such as the linguistic ones: the term gradience refers only to the vagueness at the category boundary, not to its well-delineated center (prototype), and it is only admitted to linguistics after all imprecise descriptions² have been eliminated: after all, gradience phenomena are considered to be important evidence of language change.

This approach to linguistic phenomena, we believe, underlies the whole present monograph, which builds on the work of a prominent Czech linguist, Ivan Poldauf. Like quite a few other linguists, Poldauf strived to reduce the wide variety of language data to a system of categories. What is significant about him is that he tried to have his categories, i.e., “classifications which are obligatory for a given language” (Poldauf 1947, 28), cover the widest possible range of language phenomena. A good example is his explanation of the category of number in nouns in terms of divisibility rather than multiplicity in the sense of more than one (Poldauf 1951, 26). Though he respected the center-periphery dichotomy, he did not leave much space for exceptions: categories were understood as stable cores with the boundaries delineated as clearly as possible. Conditions under which a categorial opposition can be neutralized were also precisely formulated (Poldauf 1947, 28). This overall focus on precise formulations is a very typical aspect of all of Poldauf’s argumentation. The members of his part of speech categories are classified not only on the narrow basis of their morphology and cognitive content³ but in relation to the part they play in other levels of language structure, namely syntax (Poldauf 1951, 22–24). So when he discusses the category of nouns, he subsumes under one heading nouns as such and other parts of speech standing in places of nouns. For the latter he coins the term “syntactic nouns” (215–50).

On the syntactic level, Poldauf differentiates between “the structurally indispensable components of the sentence (subject in a subject sentence, object in a sentence with the verb requiring an object specifically formulated, the complement of a copula, etc.)” and “the different dispensable components of a well-defined function” (Poldauf 1964b, 241), which are a matter of what he called the first and the second syntactical plans, respectively. The dative form, for example, can belong to both the first syntactical plan (when it is syntactically indispensable, “governed” by the verb, e.g., with verbs such as *slušet* “suit someone” and *křivdit* “to do someone an injustice” [Poldauf 1964b, 242]), and to the second syntactical plan (syntactically dispensable but the argument is still semantically present, possibly the addressee in *poděkovat* “to thank”). Poldauf, however, posits yet another level of syntax,

1 “The classes (and sub-classes) of elements should not be regarded as ‘boxes’ with clear-cut boundaries but as formations with a compact core (centre) and with a gradual transition into a diffuse periphery which, again, gradually passes (infiltrates) into the peripheral domain of the next category” (Daneš 1966, 11).

2 Aarts (2007) warns against the “gradience-is-everywhere perspective” and talks about a gradience trap, into which descriptive grammars sometimes tend to fall.

3 A category must point to a subjective conception of reality; number and gender in Czech adjectives, which are only a matter of agreement/concord (are only required syntactically), cannot be considered as a category (see Poldauf 1947, 28).

which he calls the “third syntactical plan.” This plan introduces “into a sentence the person having some sort of concern in what is being communicated and his attitude to what is being communicated” (Poldauf 1964b, 254), i.e., it “has in it components which place the content of the sentence in relation to the individual and his special ability to perceive, judge and assess” (Poldauf 1964b, 242). Poldauf poses the existence of the third syntactical plan, as he declares, “in spite of, or rather in accordance with, the tendency of the elements of this plan to penetrate into and find their place in the other plans,” recognizing the fact that the linguistic means of its expression might differ cross-linguistically. In English, for example, “it is developing anew in the form of introductory signals,” which “sometimes even help to establish new sentence patterns” (Poldauf 1964b, 254).

Fifty years later, with the help of new methodologies, not only in the form of systematically assembled linguistic corpora but also under the now well-established theoretical frameworks within the field of cognitive syntax and pragmatics, whose birth Poldauf truly anticipated, the authors of the present monograph attempt to elaborate on Poldauf’s insights related to categorization. Chapters in the first section focus on constructions that found its place in the third syntactical plan. In the first chapter, “From Semantic to Interactional Dative: A Preliminary Investigation,” Mirjam Fried draws on Poldauf’s work on the non-attached dative and her own work on the dative of interest construction (2009); she investigates the cases in which the dative form becomes closer in meaning and function to the category of pragmatic particles, i.e., linguistic devices that help structure the flow of conversational discourse. As she argues, the interactional dative not only indexes discourse participants but participates in expressing mirativity as well as a shared perspective on, or interest in, what is being said. The semantic and functional shift correlates with incipient syntactic changes, particularly word order. The dative of interest is dealt with in the next chapter, “Cause and Concern: The *Have* Construction with the Infinitive Seen through Its Czech Translation Equivalents” by Michaela Martinková, who in her analysis of what Poldauf calls the *Have* construction puts to test on a parallel translation corpus (InterCorp) Poldauf’s argument that this type of dative is equivalent to the subject of *have* in this construction. In the third chapter, “Explicitation of Causality in Periphrastic Constructions with Human Causees: The Case of *Make* and *Cause*,” Naděžda Kudrnáčová presents a fine-grained semantic analysis of periphrastic causative constructions with human causees, arguing that owing to the involvement (in Poldauf’s terms “concern”) of the causee’s inner self, causation in *make* has a compelling character. In the chapter called “*It Is Surprising*: Do Participial Adjectives after Copular Verbs Form a Special Evaluative Construction?” Olga Richterová presents a true corpus-driven study of the participial form (or *-ing* form), sometimes called a categorical hybrid. Richterová suggests that when this form (which is otherwise used to fulfill a number of functions) follows a copula with a third person personal pronoun referring to prior discourse, whole context or situation as its subject, it tends to be focused on expressing the stance of the speaker, i.e., it forms a special evaluative construction, close in function to what Poldauf calls “the introductory signal.” The first section closes with the chapter

on “Clines of Categoriality in Ivan Poldauf’s Theoretical Framework,” where Jarmila Tárníková approaches as manifestations of a cline of categoriality Poldauf’s treatment of passivization and investigates the role of the medial member of the originally active-passive dichotomy (the medio-passive).

In the second section attention is paid to the categories of time, aspect, and modality; two chapters again adopt the methodology of inspecting meaning through translation patterns. In the first one, “Between Modality and Futurity: *Will* and *Be Going to* through Their Czech Translation Equivalents,” Markéta Janebová focuses on what Poldauf called “supplementary signals” (*dodatkové signály*), i.e., “circumstances which select the contextual function of a potential signal [of a grammatical category]” (1947, 201); she provides a thorough analysis of *will* and *be going to* in different settings in order to describe their contextual functions and differences in their usage that can be interpreted only in pragmatic terms. Lucie Černá in her chapter on “Re-evaluating the Progressive Form: The Case of English Verbs of Attitude” reports that the Czech translation equivalents of English verbs of attitude in the progressive form not only make explicit a shift from a stative to a dynamic interpretation of these verbs, but also reveal added intensity and/or expressivity, not infrequently containing expressions of “emotional evaluation” (Poldauf 1964b), i.e., elements of the third syntactical plan. Finally, Jaroslav Macháček in the chapter “On the Status of *Begin* and *Start* in Constructions with the Verb *Be*” places within the context of contemporary linguistic accounts of the status of these aspectual verbs Poldauf’s argument that in the constructions with V_{INF} the semantic weight shifts from the governing verb to the infinitive, and that the governing verb comes close to being a grammatical device (Poldauf 1955, 221).

The last section, “On Word Categories,” includes two chapters. In the first one (“From Clauses to Words: Quotational Compounds in English and Czech”) Andrea Ryšavá analyzes the categorial status of quotational compounds, focusing on those containing a verb. Following Poldauf’s definition of parts of speech, she puts their newly acquired nominal status to the test by studying their morphological and syntactic properties. The whole book closes with a chapter on diachronic change: in the chapter on “Diachronic Development of English Relativizers: A Study in Grammar Competition” Joseph Emonds and Kateřina Havranová build on Poldauf’s historical account of relative clauses, specifically of how the three “strategies” used in Modern English (none of which is a direct development of the two Old English strategies) entered the language, focusing on perhaps the most interesting development, namely how late Middle English reintroduced the Indo-European use of interrogative pronouns, especially *which*, as relatives.

Section One

On Constructions

Chapter One

Mirjam Fried

From Semantic to Interactional Dative: A Preliminary Investigation

1. Introduction

Dative-marked nominals are just about ubiquitous in the Czech conversational language. The form seems to be associated with a conspicuously rich and broad semantic and functional spectrum, as can be gathered from the existing literature on the topic (Poldauf 1962; Zimek 1960; Janda 1993; Fried 1999, 2004, 2009). While the expected meanings relate to marking various kinds of event participants involved in the proposition expressed by a given sentence, one of the less explored, but by no means less robust, functions situates the dative form in the discourse domain, i.e., away from propositional meanings. This function is generally referred to as “ethical dative,” it is attested in various languages, and has been analyzed from various theoretical perspectives (e.g., Berman 1982; Borer and Grodzinsky 1986; *Mluvnice češtiny* 1986; Authier and Reed 1992; Dąbrowska 1997; Maldonado 2002; Molochieva 2011; Evola and Raineri 2011; etc.). However, existing accounts tend to stop at identifying the dative’s morphosyntactic behavior, its non-argument status in the structure of the sentence, and its special discourse-referential properties, without much concern for its textual role, let alone its categorial status. The label “ethical dative” itself is rather unhelpful, as it is not universally well defined and means somewhat different things to different researchers, very often referring to benefactive and/or possessive meanings (cf. Shibatani 1994; Michelioudakis and Sitaridou 2009; among others). In order to avoid terminological confusion and also to capture the nature of this category more precisely, I will use the term “interactional dative” (I-D).¹

1 This terminological decision is the result of a rather complicated evolution. In my earlier work I have referred to it also as “dative of empathy” (Fried 1999, 2011) in order to highlight some of its semantic properties, but subsequent research has shown that it might still be a rather narrow label and that what connects its various modulations, both in Czech and across languages that have this category, is its role in structuring dialogic interaction.

The goal of this brief contribution is quite modest: focusing on the 2nd person sg. only and following up on my previous work concerning the meaning and function of this form in conversational discourse (Fried 2011), I wish to draw attention to certain observations concerning the cluster of features (syntactic, textual, semantic) that suggest a tangible shift in the grammatical status of the I-D toward acquiring properties from the domain of pragmatic particles. The theoretical background in which the present analysis is grounded is consistent with the general consensus that has developed during the last decade or so concerning the formation of grammatical categories. It rests on the idea that speakers' categorization strategies incorporate the notion of scale, which inevitably leads to a certain degree of categorial gradience, even in the domain of grammatical structure (cf. Aarts 2007), in our case in the domain of case-marking. It is important to stress, though, that this brief study is meant to be taken more as a rough sketch of a possible direction for further study, rather than a fully fledged account; more data and more thorough treatment is certainly called for in order to validate the present hypotheses.

The central notion in the analysis is the process of "pragmatic strengthening" (Traugott 1982, 1988), which is based on the idea that (i) grammatical change originates in specific contextual preferences and specific socio-pragmatic settings, such as the nature of the interpersonal relationship, speakers' communicative intentions, degree of shared context, etc.; (ii) the change takes place gradually, through feature-based shifts which are imperceptible individually but collectively amount to an observable change in meaning, function, and grammatical behavior of a given linguistic form; and (iii) the change progresses in the direction from propositional meanings (event-participant marking in the case of semantic datives) toward non-propositional meanings (discourse structuring functions in the case of I-Ds). I will propose that the current state of the Czech I-D as attested in actual texts can be best accounted for through reference to these three conditions.²

2. Addressee-Centered I-D in Czech

As is well known, this is not a category specific to Czech (1a) or Slavic; here I illustrate this point by the examples from French (1b) and Nakh (1c) below.³

- (1) (a) *vona je teda úžasně čistotná, vona ti každých štrnáct dní myla vokna*
 [oral2006]
 "I have to say she's amazingly cleanliness-conscious, every two weeks, [*can*]you [*imagine?*], she'd wash the windows."

2 The present analysis is based on conversational data from the spoken corpora of the Czech National Corpus. The Old Czech data come from manual extraction of examples from texts in which we can expect features of spontaneous dialogic interaction, such as street plays.

3 The Nakh language is spoken in the North Caucasus, mainly in Chechnya and Ingushetia.

(b) Je *te* vais lui constituer une dot auprès de quoi les économies de de Rothschild passeront pour un viatique d'étudiant. (Evola and Raineri 2011)
 "I'm going to settle for her, *you* [*get this*], a dowry which will make Rothschild's savings look like a student's travel stipend."

(c) Muusaa-(n) deevasha valla hwuun (Molochieva 2011)
 Musa-GEN strýc.NOM zemřít.PERF 2SG.ADR
 "[*Hey,*] *you*, Musa's uncle has died."

Generally speaking, the Czech variant of the 2nd person I-D conforms to the features that are usually listed as crosslinguistically characteristic of this category: it is restricted to atonic pronouns, which always refer to a discourse participant (in this case the addressee) and not to any event participant, and their presence appears to be motivated by the speaker's assessment of the addressee's interest in what is being said.

What is often missing in the more traditional analyses are the textual properties which (i) co-constitute the language users' knowledge and understanding of this linguistic category, in further contrast to semantic datives, and (ii) determine the I-Ds' distribution in discourse. The I-D is restricted to primarily dialogic texts, particularly to private, informal conversational registers. Moreover, the use of I-D presupposes that interlocutors are sufficiently familiar with each other and have a certain emotional bond, since the usage of the I-D is associated with the speaker's emotional involvement.

One questionable claim about these I-D remains, though, and it is its presumed function as a device used for securing and/or maintaining the addressee's attention, similar to the function of vocatives. In a more explicit formulation of this view, the I-D is taken to be simply an elliptical form of the phrase "I'm telling you," with "you" being the dative of addressee (e.g., Borer and Grodzinsky 1986; Michelioudakis and Sitaridou 2009). While this may be the right conclusion about some of the cases (and/or languages), the Czech material suggests that it need not be the whole story. In fact, a close textual analysis of their semantic and pragmatic properties reveals these datives as distinct discourse-structuring devices, thereby suggesting that they may even be shifting toward a different categorial status. Another indicator of such a development comes from the syntactic behavior of the 2nd person I-Ds, namely their linear placement in a clause. I will turn to these two sets of issues in the following section, in a brief comparison between Old Czech (OCz) and Modern Czech (ModCz) in order to show that both of these criteria (the pragmatic function and the linearization) can be explored as factors in a pragmatization process involving a linguistic unit that is formally a dative-marked personal pronoun but functionally and syntactically an emergent pragmatic particle.

3. Toward a New Categorial Status

3.1 Expansion of Contexts and Meanings

As I have argued elsewhere (Fried 1999), a good starting point for understanding the semantics of the I-Ds is the notion of *dativus (in)commodi*, or dative of interest, in the way it is discussed by Poldauf (1962, 341). It concerns participant roles – whether required by the verb valence or added as a “free” complement – that mark a kind of indirect affectedness by the event expressed by the predicate; the affectedness can take on various semantic modulations, including the sense of someone’s interest in the outcome of the event. I will take this semantic property for granted here and simply work with the general idea that there is a motivated basis for the expectation that the event-structure centered concept of interest can, in certain communicative circumstances, transfer also into the discourse domain and acquire the sense of a pragmatically, non-propositionally interpreted interest in what is being talked about.

However, this broad framing of the I-D as appealing to the interlocutor’s interest in the discourse can manifest itself in several ways, once we take a closer look at the actual conversations in which the I-Ds appear. In the limited space of this article, I will simply draw on the semantic analysis and evidence concerning ModCz usage of the 2nd person I-D as presented in Fried (2011), but include now also OCz tokens of the corresponding pronoun in order to emphasize the changing nature of the I-D over time. In brief, the semantics of the I-D as attested in the contemporary language includes the following two variants: expressing a (possibly unusually) high degree of something (2a), indicated by collocations with degree quantifiers, such as *tak* “so,” *tolik* “so much/many,” *takový* “such,” etc.; and serving as a general marker of mirativity (2b), i.e., expressing a kind of counterexpectation or surprise that may either come from the immediate context or relate to a commonly accepted norm. Moreover, the mirative meaning manifests itself quite strongly also in one particular realization, indicated by the frequently attested collocation with the verb form *nevím* “I don’t know” (2c), namely, in situations when the speaker acknowledges, often apologetically, that s/he does not have an adequate answer to the addressee’s question or to something that is set up as an open issue by the context.

- (2) (a) von začne řvát a já *ti* bych mu **takovou** dala pěstí [oral2008]
 “he starts howling and [I’ll tell] you, I’d **so** [like to] let him taste my fist”
- (b) nějakou chvíli sme eště vo tom mluvili, vona vodošla a já *vám* sem vo tom přemýšlela i v noci [PMK]
 “we kept talking about it for a while longer, she left and you [know what], I kept thinking about it even at night”

- (c) ráno sme spolu dneska stály u pokladny v diskontu, tak aby řeč nestála, říkám: „Štěpánka už má za sebou druhý spalničky a, a to?“ a vona říká: „ježiš já *vám* ani **nevím**“ [oral2006]
 “this morning we were standing at the cashiers in the market and so to make conversation I say: ‘Štěpánka’s been through two cases of measles by now, huh, and, and y’know?’ and she said: ‘Jesus, I don’t really know, [*believe it or not*]”

None of these examples can be fully described by treating the I-D generically as a way of securing the addressee’s attention. In each of these and similar other cases, the speaker is also situating the propositional content in a particular evaluative frame and letting the addressee know about his/her emotional involvement in the topic. What connects them all is not merely an attempt to inform the addressee that “I’m telling you something, so please listen” (the traditional and empirically not properly grounded analysis) but drawing attention to the fact that “I’m telling you” for a reason: the propositional content at hand is presented as particularly newsworthy because it contains an element of surprise and in that sense is also relatively “new.”

When we compare this with available conversational data from OCz texts (here exemplified by the street play *Mastičkář* from the first half of the 14th century), it is rather striking that we find only partial overlap with the contemporary uses, while at the same time observing also a usage that is not attested in ModCz. On the one hand, we might analyze the token in (3) as a case analogous to (2a): the street peddler’s servant is praising his goods, highlighting the extraordinary value of the must-have ointment by invoking the expectations of Prague ladies as a measure of what counts as the baseline for luxury status; the goods are so good that even this expected level of quality pales in comparison. This interpretation is reinforced by the degree markers *tak* “so” and *ani* “not even,” the same way as we see in (2a).

- (3) A toto *ti* jest mast **tak** drahá, žeť jje niema vjednie **ani** praha;
 “And this, *let me tell you*, is **such** a precious ointment that – *imagine* – **even** Prague has none such;” [Mast 152]

In contrast to the modern language, though, OCz also offers examples of the usage shown in (4), which does not support any mirative interpretation. The speaker’s (R) turn does not bring anything necessarily surprising or contradictory; he is simply answering the immediately preceding question of the itinerant peddler, his potential employer:

- (4) M: Pověž mi, kak ti dejú pravé jmie, ať s tobú čěle sděju.
 R: Mistře, jsem *ti* dvorný holomek, dějút mi Rubín z Benátek. [Mast 152]
 M: “Tell me, what’s your real name, so that I deal with you properly.”
 R: “Master, [*listen*], *you*, I’m a well-bred youth, they call me Ruby from Venice.”

The example in (4) suggests that the OCzech I-D could serve the relatively generic function of marking explicitly something that is already fully established by the context: a simple contact with the addressee in a straightforward question-answer exchange, where one interlocuter poses a question and the other provides the requested information. By using the dative, the speaker seems to be simply reinforcing the fact that they both are engaged in a mutually important conversation.

The usage shown in (4) cannot be found in ModCz; simple contact in question-answer sequences is no longer explicitly coded. On the other hand, contemporary Czech provides examples of I-D behavior that is not attested in OCz and its function can be examined in relation to its syntactic properties, addressed in the next section.

3.2 Linearization Patterns

As argued in Fried (2011, 129–30), the 2nd person I-D in ModCz can be found in several different positions in a clause, despite the fact that the atonic pronoun is normally a second-position (2P) clitic. The semantic dative is always placed after the first syntactic constituent and the 2P position is also the only pattern that seems to be attested in the OCz material even with the I-Ds, as documented by examples (3)–(4). In ModCzech, on the other hand, the linearization options have become more varied when it comes to I-D placement. Consider the extract in (5); for reasons to be explained below, I gloss this usage only as “TI” in the English rendering of the passage.

- (5) A: tak sem si koupila právě eště jednu tudletu balzamínu, tu červenou /
 B: / no ta je
 nádherná /
 A: / a mezi to tu molici, a to sem právě, to měla naše Lucka *ti* vloni
 a vono to takle dólu padá, /
 B: / a vono to pak padá, vid' /
 A: / ale uplně, vona to měla
 až uplně dólu po voknech [oral2006]
 A: so yes, I bought one more of those impatience, the red one /
 B: / oh it is gorgeous /
 A: / and in between those [I put] the spurflower, and I just, that's what our Lucy
 had [TI] LAST YEAR and it hangs down like this /
 B: / and it then hangs down,
 doesn't it /
 A: / but completely all the way, she had it all the way down the windows

In the relevant segment – *to měla naše Lucka ti vloni* – the expected placement of the pronoun *ti* would be after the clause-initial *to*, and yet, the actual word order in A's utterance is not problematic. The usage in (5) exemplifies a pattern, in which the I-D falls immediately before the rhematic element of the clause (marked by the small caps in the English

translation), which in Czech normally occupies the clause-final position. The utterance in question focuses on the fact that the speaker's motivation for buying particular plants draws on the experience Lucy had the year before; the time reference is the new information and the I-D seems to take on the flavor of a focus marker. This would not be a stretch pragmatically: marking counterexpectation can naturally become generalized into marking new information and as such reinforced even syntactically, while still preserving the expression of the speaker's subjective assessment that the news is actually worth reporting.

Once the syntactic emancipation of the 2P clitic into a rhematic marker is a possibility, it need not be too surprising that this I-D is attested also in the absolute clause-final position, i.e., at the right edge of a clause. Such cases are exemplified by the extract in (6):

- (6) tak mu kouká pod nohy *ti*, jesi nákej neukopneš náhodou [oral2008]
“so she looks where he puts his feet [*TI*], [to see] if one doesn't happen to kick
one [=stone] out of its place”

The speaker reports an experience with a particularly vigilant park ranger, who is very concerned that nobody disturbs the environment in which they are walking and that everything remains as intact as possible. The sense of newsworthiness is clearly preserved here, as the speaker finds the ranger's behavior somewhat odd and beyond what one would expect. Syntactically, though, the I-D here no longer bears the feature of 2P enclitic pronouns and their linearization habits. Instead, it resembles pragmatic particles in that those also tend to be placed at the edges of utterances.

3.4 Possible Path of Development

The findings that are briefly laid out in the preceding sections can be now summarized as follows. The OCz variant is attested in contexts of plain contact with the addressee and in situations in which the speaker tries to draw attention to the high degree of something, in collocations with degree quantifiers. The placement of either semantic type follows the 2P linearization of atonic personal pronouns in the dative. By comparison, the ModCz I-D can be linked to a wider spectrum of semantic or functional variants and displays a greater freedom with respect to word order. In addition to collocating with degree quantifiers signaling a surprisingly high degree of something, it is also used in contexts in which the speaker simply wishes to alert the addressee to the fact that something generally surprising – and therefore newsworthy – is being reported. And it shows signs of being further generalized into simply marking the rheme. Either way, there is a tangible shift toward consolidating the pragmatic potential of the I-D and thus pushing this dative into a new categorial domain, namely, a marker of certain non-propositional meanings.

As a result, the I-D's pronominal status is at best significantly weakened, with formal signs of becoming a different, i.e., non-pronominal, category altogether. When compared to the propositional dative of interest (expressed by true pronouns), the I-D clearly shares

with it the notion of indirect affectedness or interest. This quality persists but is reinterpreted as a discourse-based interest and the collocational habits of the I-D suggest that this reinterpretation is motivated primarily by the speaker's assessment of the reported event as surprising to the addressee. Put more generally, the history of the Czech I-D bears features of a process that goes from indirect affectedness (as a participant role in an event structure) toward developing an intersubjective function indicating the speaker's comment on the newsworthiness of the current discourse. A rough and preliminary sketch of this hypothetical recategorialization path is suggested in Diagram 1.

OCz

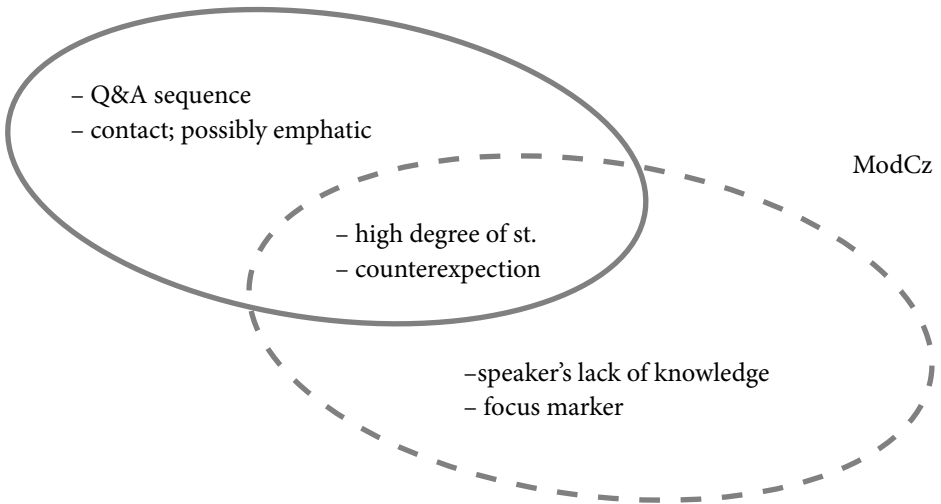


Diagram 1. Hypothesized functional development path for 2nd pers. I-D in Czech

3. Conclusions

The changing behavior of the Czech I-D can serve as an illustration of categorical change that might take place at the boundary of two grammatical domains: the form carries features shared with propositional, semantic datives (in particular, the dative of interest), but in meaning and function it is closer to the category of pragmatic particles, i.e. linguistic devices that help structure the flow of conversational discourse. The I-D not only indexes discourse participants, which could also be hypothesized as its original function, but participates in expressing mirativity as well as shared perspective on, or interest in, what is being said. Finally, the semantic and functional shift also correlates with incipient syntactic changes, particularly word order.

The present chapter is only a rough sketch of a rather complex evolution from propositional to non-propositional meanings in a single grammatical form; a fully worked out

treatment will of course require further analysis as well as a larger sample of data, especially in OCz. Nevertheless, the point of the contribution was to show a direction in which such an investigation should be carried out in order to capture the process of recategorialization that results in a new conventional function and that presupposes an integration of cognitive and communicative motivations. In dealing with the categorial and functional gradience displayed by I-Ds, we need an analytic approach that looks beyond a narrowly understood relationship between form and meaning, allows systematic reference to contextual motivations in grammatical descriptions, and considers non-propositional meanings as part of grammatical organization.

Chapter Two

Michaela Martinková

Cause and Concern: The *Have* Construction with the Infinitive Seen through Its Czech Translation Equivalents

1. Introduction

Have complemented by a noun phrase (NP) followed by the infinitive, *-ing* form, or the past participle, exemplified in (1a), (1b), and (1c), respectively, is ranked in Quirk et al. (1985, 1206–7) among the complex transitive complementation type with “coercive” meaning:

- (1) (a) They *had me repeat* the message.¹
- (b) She *had us working* day after day.
- (c) She *had the watch repaired* immediately.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1236) remind us that “*have* is also used with a non-causative ‘undergo’ sense.” Quirk et al. (1985, 1412) consider this type of *have* as an “existential device,” parallel to the “existential *there*”:

- (2) They *had a few supporters helping* them. There were a few supporters helping them.

Unlike in the constructions with “existential *there*” the “*have* existential device” introduces in the subject of *have* a participant with “considerable involvement in the existential proposition,” though “we cannot specify what that involvement will be” (Quirk et al. 1985, 1411).

¹ All italics in the examples are mine.

Quirk et al. then go on to say that “calling it ‘affected’ seems to state the involvement with a degree of generality that satisfactorily accounts for most cases” (1985, 1412). This reading of *have* is sometimes called “experiential” (Inoue 1995; Austin 2004).

As early as 1940 Poldauf talks about the concern expressing *have* relation/phrase. This “construction of concerned participation,” as he calls it later (1967), is, for him, a means of expressing what he calls the third syntactical plan (Poldauf 1964b). In his own terms, the “have construction . . . makes someone interested in what is further predicated [,] the subject” (Poldauf 1967, 26). Along with the constructions with *find*, *feel*, and *see*, which also introduce a “secondary predication,” it makes it possible “to start a sentence with a definite and preferably personal subject,” and in this way “to meet the requirements of functional sentence perspective (the theme-rheme structure of a sentence)” (Poldauf 1964b, 250).²

The problem arises when it comes to strictly disambiguating *have* as causative or experiential. Several formal criteria have been suggested; according to Inoue (1995, 75–76), only “the experiential *have* co-occurs with the phrase *on NP*, which implies an adversative effect,” only “the subject NP of the ‘experiential’ reading can appear in the test frame *what happened to NP was*,” while only the subject NP of the “causative” reading “can occur in the test frame *what NP did was*,” and “only the ‘causative’ reading can be embedded under the phrase *try to*.” Only causative, not experiential *have*, seems to be felicitous in the imperative and progressive forms (Poldauf 1967, 32).

In this chapter I aim to adopt a different methodology and make use of resources not available in Poldauf’s times: systematically compiled monolingual corpora of English, and above all a parallel translation corpus of English and Czech. After a brief presentation of the results of corpus-based research on the topic I will turn to a multilingual translation corpus to see whether it “can make meanings visible through translation” (Johansson 2007, 57), and which meanings of the construction with *have* can be seen “through translation patterns.” Czech is convenient since it can make explicit not only the causative meaning (a causative verb may be used), but to a certain extent also the experiential reading: Poldauf (1962, 343) shows with examples that the Czech equivalents of the NP in the subject of experiential *have*, i.e., the NP referring to the one with concern or interest, can be rendered in the dative case, both attached and unattached. The latter, referred to in Poldauf (1940) as the “free dative,” is exemplified in (3):

(3) I *had* two dogs die of snake-bite. (Poldauf 1962, 343)

Dva psi mi umřeli na hadí uštknutí.

Two dogs:NOM.PL me:DAT died:PTCP.PL on snake:ADJ.ACC.N bite:ACC.N

“Two dogs of mine died of snake bite.”

For Poldauf, this type of dative is again a means of expressing what he calls the third syntactical plan. This applies both to the *dativus (in)commodi*, and the *possessive dative*, which

² This is what it shares with passive constructions.

is a distinction sometimes recognized by Czech linguists (e.g., Karlík et al. 1995, 430), but considered only “artificial” by Poldauf (1962, 341). The same view seems to be adopted in Fried (2009), who, following Poldauf (1962), talks about the “Dative of Interest.”³ More specifically, she analyzes sentences analogous to (3) within the framework of construction grammar as instantiations of the Affected Possessor (AP) construction, which “inherits” the properties of what she calls a linking Dative of Interest (DI) construction. A need to describe the semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic properties of both the AP construction and the DI construction as well as the inheritance links also leads Fried to state in detail the restrictions on the use of these constructions. Poldauf, fifty years earlier, is still a little vague on this issue; apart from noting that the unattached dative is only possible with human subjects he says that it can only express concern in the narrow sense of the word.⁴

Last but not least, this chapter is intended to show how a study of translation equivalents can contribute to the delimitation of these restrictions. Attention is also paid to the difference between British and American English. With the help of a parallel translation corpus I want to see whether “the infinitive structure” “is [indeed] not common in British English with this [causative] meaning” (Swan 1996, 232). In more general terms, I will test the potential of a parallel translation corpus for a contrastive analysis of a very complex linguistic phenomenon with many variables at play: an underspecified notion of affectedness and ownership (e.g., Taylor 1995; Heine 1997; Fried 1999), the animacy and inanimacy of the participants, contextual dependence, and semantic and syntactic properties of English and Czech verbs. The methodology used and the limited space of this chapter allow me only to investigate the construction with the infinitive.

2. The Have Constructions in the Corpora of English

Corpus-based studies of the *have* construction are rather scarce. In fact, linguists have so far only investigated the use of *have* NP $V_{\text{ING}}/V_{\text{INF}}/V_{\text{PP}}$ in British English, more specifically in the syntactically annotated British Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB), which allows searching for structures. Unfortunately, the American component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-USA) is not yet available, and larger corpora of American English are not annotated for syntax. Queries using morphological annotation are problematic for two reasons: first, the complexity of the NP component of the construction and abundance of spurious tokens, especially in the construction with V_{ING} , and second, the inconsistency in the tagging of V_{INF} . For example, the verb *work* in *have* NP *work* is sometimes tagged in the Corpus of Contemporary

3 The Dative of Interest is closely related to another type of unattached dative, namely the “interactional dative” (Fried 2011), previously referred to as the “ethical dative” (Poldauf 1962; Karlík et al. 1995). For more, see Chapter 1.

4 In Poldauf’s terms, “druhého českého prostředku, dativu sympthetiku, je možno užít jen při osobním subjektu a většinou jen o vztazích nejbližší účasti, a to jen účasti na tom, co je vyjádřeno některou nominální, jen řídicí i příslovečnou složkou stilisace (Nesed’ mi na novinách! Nechoď mi sem!), někdy i složkou ve významu věty nebo některého členu zahrnutou (Bude nám přšet. T. j. na náš výlet a p.)” (1940, 363).

American English (COCA) as a base form of a verb VV0, as in (4), and sometimes as an infinitive VVI, as in (5):

- (4) You earned enormous economic benefits by *having* people *work* for you for nothing. [COCA:1999:SPOK_CBS_Sixty]
- (5) I have *had* students *work* for me as an undergraduate and not use me as a reference. [COCA:2011:ACAD_Mechanical.Eng.]

In her analysis of causative *have* and *get* in the constructions with NP and non-finite verb forms in the ICE-GB, Gilquin (2003) adopts a frame semantics approach, i.e., she analyzes the individual syntactic components of the *have* construction in terms of frame elements belonging to the CAUSATION frame. In (6) *she* is the CAUSER of the event described in the secondary predication, and *them* is the CAUSEE:

- (6) She *had* them send her mail.
 CAUSER CAUSEE EFFECT PATIENT

Example (7), a corresponding construction with the raised object (also found in the ICE-GB), demonstrates that the CAUSEE may disappear during the transformation:⁵

- (7) She ʼs *having* her personal mail sent to our address. [W1B-015#79:4]
 CAUSER PATIENT EFFECT CAUSEE

Table 1 summarizes the absolute frequencies of the causative *have* constructions in the ICE-GB as identified by Gilquin (2003) and the total number of all the *have* constructions in the same corpus as identified by me (Martinková 2012):

have + NP + V _{non-finite} in ICE-GB	causative	TOTAL
V _{INF}	10	14
V _{ING}	12	47
V _{PP}	55	86
TOTAL	77 (52.4%)	147 (100%)

Table 1. Absolute frequencies of individual *have* constructions in ICE-GB

⁵ According to Gilquin (2003, 136), the CAUSEE is “demoted” in 92.4% of the tokens of the construction with V_{PP} mostly because it is “irrelevant” or “obvious.” If it is preserved, it is usually the information focus of the sentence. This is the case of Huddleston and Pullum’s (2002, 1236) example *He had his son examined by a specialist* (*He had a specialist examine his son* after object raising).

First, Table 1 brings into question Swan's argument that "the infinitive structure is not common in British English with this [causative] meaning" (Swan 1996, 232); that is to say, the overall frequency of the construction with the infinitive is generally very low in the ICE-GB, and if the construction is used at all, it seems to have a causative reading more often than not (in 10 out of 14 tokens). The construction with V_{pp} is by far the most frequent of the three, and it is also predominantly causative (55 out of 86 tokens). The only construction whose causative reading is outnumbered by the cases of its non-causative reading is thus the pattern with V_{ING} .

However, the criteria used to identify (and consequently "discard") tokens of non-causative *have* are not given in Gilquin's paper. For her, non-causative constructions are "experiential constructions," "existential constructions," and "lexical constructions" (Gilquin 2003, 129), which she exemplifies in (8), (9), and (10), respectively:

(8) Unfortunately Lorraine . . . *had* her bag stolen. [ICE-GB: W1B-009#089]

(9) And you *had* a scientist up there talking about pilgrimages.
[ICE-GB:S1A-096#201]

(10) Mr Gorbachev *has* very few cards left to play. [ICE-GB:W2C-008#24]

The examples seem to imply that in existential constructions the NP in the secondary predication is indefinite, while in experiential constructions it is definite; this is, however, never stated explicitly. Sentences analogous to (11) are counted as causative:

(11) I *had* my tonsils removed. [ICE-GB:S1A-051 #118:2:B]

As Gilquin herself admits, however, the CAUSER here "not only initiates the caused event . . . but is also 'acted on' during the operation" (2003, 129), which means that even the CAUSER "can present various degrees of involvement in the caused event" (2003, 132). A similar line of argument can be given for (12):

(12) And I'm afraid my ancient history was so bad that I had to *have* this explained to me. [S2A-027 #151:1:A]

What (11) and (12) have in common is the fact that they contain an affected participant co-referential with the CAUSER. In (11) the co-reference between the CAUSER and the PATIENT is in the form of an inalienable possession (Gilquin 2003, 133); in (12) the CAUSER is fully co-referential with the ADDRESSEE coded in the prepositional object of the verb in the secondary predication, i.e., it is also affected by the event it caused. Arguably, these cases, i.e., cases where the causative reading and the non-causative reading do not exclude but rather complement each other (tentatively called "unified"

readings in Martinková 2012), can be found even in sentences with no PATIENT/ADDRESSEE explicitly present. The speaker in (13), for example, is a politician who may have initiated the event, but above all intends to take credit for the fact that it took place.

- (13) Last week alone we *had* two new galleries opening one in the Royal Academy one in the Victoria and Albert. [S1B-022 #90:1:E]⁶

In (14) the experiential reading can hardly be ruled out either:

- (14) And the curious and delightful thing about working with a dance group is that it's a bit like opening doors of the studio and *having* people come in and actually have those people involved and engaged in in your work. [ICE-GB:S1A-004 #6:1:B].

3. Seeing the Meaning of the *Have* NP V_{INF} Construction through Translation

Johansson argues that “in monolingual corpora we can easily study forms and formal patterns, but meanings are less accessible” (2007, 57). According to him, multilingual corpora “can make meanings visible through translation” and in this way possibly reveal ambiguity and vagueness (2007, 57). The *have* construction seems to be a good candidate: for ten out of the fourteen tokens of the *have* construction with V_{INF} in ICE-GB, Gilquin argued a causative reading; the rest are assumed to be non-causative, more specifically “experiential,” “existential,” and possibly “lexical” (examples [8], [9], and [10] above). Before I proceed to the analysis of examples from a parallel translation corpus, let me attempt my own translations of these ICE-GB tokens of the *have* construction with V_{INF} to see 1. what translation equivalents can be expected and 2. whether Gilquin’s distinction is tenable.

3.1 Translation Equivalents of Causative *Have*

For the causative *have* we expect translations with Czech causative verbs. This translation is exemplified in (15):

- (15) So now we can *have* people object to it if anybody wishes to object to it.

[ICE-GB:S1B-002 #68:1:A]

Tak teď můžeme lidi nechat protestovat.
 so now can:PRES.1PL people:ACC let:INF protest:INF
 “So now we can let people protest.”

⁶ Gilquin’s account does not make it explicit how sentences such as (13) were counted.

For (16), a translation with the verb *chtít* “want,” referred to in the Czech linguistic tradition as a modal verb (Karlík 2002, 413), seems to be more convenient. The reason might be that *have* is here preceded by *would*, which still carries some modal overtones:

- (16) All that the opposition would *have* us do was to hand out more and more fish. [ICE-GB:W2B-012 #120:1]
 Opozice po nás bude chtít jen
 opposition after us:LOC be:AUX.FUT.3SG want:INF only
 víc a víc ryb.
 more and more fish:GEN.PL
 “The opposition will want (to get) more and more fish from us.”

Sentence (14), repeated here as (17), is more problematic:

- (17) (And the curious and delightful thing about working with a dance group is that it’s a bit like opening doors of the studio and) *having* people come in and actually have those people involved and engaged in in your work. [ICE-GB:S1A-004 #6:1:B].

Although *have* can be translated by a causative verb, as in (18), a competing translation in which the “understood” subject of *have*⁷ comes out as a pronoun in the dative case, as in (19), is not impossible either:

- (18) nechat lidi vejít dovnitř
 let:INF people:ACC enter:INF inside
 “letting people enter”
- (19) lidé vám sem přijdou
 people:NOM you:DAT here come:PFV.PRS.3PL
 “people will come here”

Apparently, Gilquin counted (17) as causative, as she did sentence (11) with V_{pp} repeated here as (20). This sentence, too, might potentially have two translation equivalents, one with a causative verb (21), and one with a free dative (22):

- (20) I *had* my tonsils removed.

7 What is meant by “understood subject” is the notional subject in sentences with *have* used in a non-finite verb form.

- (21) Nechal jsem si vytrhnout mandle.
 let:PST.PTCP.SG.M AUX.PRS.1SG REFL.DAT extract:INF tonsils:ACC
- (22) Vytrhli mi mandle.
 extracted:PTCP.3PL me:DAT tonsils:ACC

The existence of two competing translation equivalents confirms the claim made above, namely that the causative and experiential readings of *have* do not exclude but rather complement each other. The causative reading is just a contextual inference, which is always at hand if the event is to the benefit of the participant expressed by the subject. If the event is to his/her detriment, *have* invites a causative reading only if it is negated. Sentence (23) with V_{ING} and a negated *have* can thus be translated both by a causative verb, as in (24), and by a construction with a free dative, as in (25):

(23) but we're not *having* people slopping around [S1A-054 #167:1:A]

(24) Nikomu nedovolíme,
 nobody:DAT permit:NEG.PFV.PRS.1PL
 aby se tu flákal.
 PURP.COND.3SG REFL here be.slacking:PST.PTCP.SG.M
 "We won't allow anyone to be slacking around here."

(25) Nikdo se nám tu nebude flákat.
 nobody:NOM REFL us:DAT here be:NEG.FUT.3SG be.slacking:INF
 "Nobody will be slacking around here."

3.2 Translation Equivalents of Non-causative *Have*

First, no lexicalized phrases (analogous to *cards left to play*) were found among the instances of the construction with V_{INF} in the ICE-GB data. As to Gilquin's distinction between the experiential and existential *have*, it is hard to maintain; in both cases the subject of *have* seems to introduce the "affected" participant, i.e., the one with concern or interest (experiencer). After all, this is confirmed in Quirk et al., who explicitly state that the "*have* existential device" introduces in the subject of *have* a participant with "considerable involvement in the existential proposition" (Quirk et al. 1985, 1411). A closer look at the data reveals that what the sentences also have in common is the fact that the verb in the secondary predication of the non-causative *have* in the ICE-GB always has in its complementation a personal pronoun co-referential with the subject of *have*; in other words, the experiencer is expressed twice. This is in agreement with Poldauf (1967, 35), who argues that "interest in [the] event is due to its 'direction' (I have . . . come to me, . . . sent to me, and similarly happen to me)":

(26) I *had* three people try to ring me. [ICE-GB:S1A-041 #75:1:B]

Zkoušeli se mi dovolat tři lidé.
 tried:PTCP.PL REFL me:DAT call:INF three people:NOM
 “Three people tried to call me.”

(27) Yeah John Barlow *had* that happen to him once at school. [ICE-GB:S1A-046 #96:1:A]

Jo, Johnu Barlowovi se to kdysi stalo ve škole.
 yes John:DAT Barlow:DAT REFL it once happened:PTCP.SG.N at school:LOC
 “Yes, it happened to John Barlow once at school.”

The experiencer expressed in the complementation of the English verb in the secondary predication must, naturally, be rendered in Czech in the case form required by the Czech verb. In (26), as well as (27), it is the dative form, but in other cases, such as (28), it may be the other case form used in Czech to introduce an affected participant, namely the accusative case form:

(28) I’ve *had* my husband leave me for a younger woman. [ICE-GB:S1A-080 #154:1:B]

Manžel mě opustil kvůli mladší ženě.
 husband:NOM me:ACC left:PTCP.SG.M because.of younger:DAT woman:DAT
 “My husband left me because of a younger woman.”

To put it differently, in (28) the Czech verb *opustit* is a two-place predicate which requires its object argument to be used in the accusative case form, i.e., the dative form is ruled out completely. The only way to express the experiencer in the dative form as an extra-clausal constituent is to translate the verb in the secondary predication by a semantically related verb, one that does not require the experiencer to be expressed as an object argument. (28) thus has a competing Czech equivalent, given in (29):

(29) Manžel mi odešel za mladší ženou.
 husband:NOM me:DAT left:PTCP.SG.M after younger:INS woman:INS

The difference between the two is then the following: while the translation in (28) is absolutely neutral, roughly equivalent to *My husband left me for another woman*, in the translation with a free dative (29) the fact that the husband leaves really affects the speaker, the speaker is truly “concerned.” This is in agreement with Fried, who argues that “AP casts the possession relation as something that is relevant to the PR [possessor] in a particular way, as something in his sphere of interest beyond just the fact of being owned. AP signals that the PR is being affected (positively or negatively) by something that affects the PM [possessum]” (2009, 7).

The last ICE-GB token is very specific, since the verb in the secondary predication introduces yet another secondary predication, whose subject (introduced in a *for*

phrase) is co-referential with the subject of *have*. In Czech it would be rendered in the subject of the dependent clause:

- (30) And so we were very lucky indeed to *have* a statutory body agree for us to have five hundred hours of ethics and politics for our nursing course. [ICE-GB:S1B-044 #103:3:B]

Měli jsme štěstí, že statutární orgán
had:PTCP.PL be:AUX.PRS.1PL luck:ACC that statutory:ADJ body:NOM
rozhodl, že budeme mít . . .
decided:SG.M that be:AUX.FUT.1PL have:INF. . .

“We were lucky that the statutory body decided that we will have . . .”

In the rest of this chapter I will investigate the construction with V_{INF} via its equivalents found in a parallel translation corpus. I will be interested to see not only whether the Czech translations reveal ambiguity, but also how they disambiguate between the readings.

3.3 Czech Equivalents of *Have* NP V_{INF} in a Parallel Translation Corpus

The data for the analysis were taken from InterCorp, a multilingual translation corpus of Czech and 31 languages. Two subcorpora of fiction were created: one from British fiction (818,281 words) and its Czech translations, and one from American fiction (3,278,423 words) and its Czech translations, all post-1920. Four CQL queries were designed: two to search for *have* as a lemma followed by a personal pronoun and V_{INF} ⁸ ([lemma="have"] [tag="P.*"] [tag="VB"]) and [lemma="have"] [tag="P.*"] [tag="VBP"]), and two for an NP in the subject of the secondary predication ([lemma="have"] [] {0,3} [tag="N.*"] [tag="VB"] and [lemma="have"] [] {0,3} [tag="N.*"] [tag="VBP"]). The results were checked manually and incorrectly annotated tokens discarded, as well as two sentences in which the whole clause with the *have* construction was left untranslated. This gave me 129 tokens of the construction in the subcorpus of American English and eight in British English.⁹

First, the subjects of *have* were identified, both those agreeing with *have* in number and person, and understood subjects. Even this procedure brought an interesting observation: in the majority of examples (94 out of the 129 in American English and seven out of the eight

8 Like in the COCA, the infinitive in the *have* construction is not systematically annotated; the tags used are VB and VBP.

9 The numbers provided by a parallel corpus are inevitably very low. The reason might be that the *have* constructions with V_{INF} and V_{ING} are much less frequent in written language than in spoken language: not only has the research carried out on the ICE-GB data suggested this (per 100,000 words, there are 1.7:1 tokens of the construction with V_{INF} and 7.2:1 tokens of the construction with V_{ING} in spoken and written language, respectively), but also in InterCorp the majority of the tokens of the *have* construction are found in reported direct speech. However, currently there is no parallel bilingual corpus of spoken Czech and English available to allow for a quantitative analysis based on a larger sample of data (the only approximation, namely the corpus of proceedings from the European Parliament Europarl, shows a striking predominance of the phrase *X would have us believe*). In addition, I believe that even a small-scale qualitative analysis may render interesting results.

in British English) *have* is used in a non-finite verb form. A closer look at the American data then reveals that the non-finite form of *have* in most cases (44 tokens) follows a modal verb, most typically *will* (16 tokens) or *would* (11 tokens), or complements a lexical verb (22 tokens), i.e., it is a part of a verb phrase; only in 27 tokens is the non-finite *have* used outside the predicate position. This issue will very briefly be touched upon in Section 3.3.4.

Czech equivalents of the *have* NP/P V_{INF} construction fall into two groups: one in which this subject of *have* (formal or understood) remains the subject of the Czech sentence, as in (31), and the other in which it is the subject of the secondary predication that becomes the subject of the Czech sentence, as in (32). Within each group, the data are sorted into more specific translation types, summarized in Table 2 and Table 3, respectively.

(31) He's never *had* anyone fetch the makings of colours for him before, though.
[CT_GPE]¹⁰

Ale ještě nikdy si nikoho pro suroviny
but yet never REFL.DAT no-one:ACC for ingredients:ACC
na barvy neposlal.
on colors:ACC sent:NEG.PTCP.SG.M
“But he has never sent anyone to fetch him the ingredients for colors.”

(32) I *had* one catch me in the elevator this afternoon. [GJ_C]

Dnes odpoledne mě jeden z nich
today afternoon me:ACC one:NOM of them:GEN
chytil ve výtahu.
caught:PTCP.SG.M in elevator:LOC
“This afternoon one of them caught me in the elevator.”

Czech translations of the <i>have</i> construction	US English	Br English
construction with a causative verb	56	4
construction with the verb říct “tell”	7	–
construction with the verb chtít “want”	2	–
construction with the verb muset “must”	1	–
construction with the verb slyšet “hear”	1	–
mít “to have” NP, který “who”	4	–
zero correspondence	5	–
TOTAL	76	4

Table 2. Czech translations of *have* in the construction with V_{INF} in sentences where the subject of *have* remains the subject of the Czech sentence

10 For the list of abbreviations of InterCorp texts quoted in this book see Appendix 1.

Czech translations of the <i>have</i> construction	US English	Br English
construction with a causative verb	1	–
construction with a modal verb	10	1
construction with a modal adverb	1	–
construction with the optative particle <i>ať</i>	3	–
imperative form	–	1
construction with a free dative	1	–
construction with an obligatory dative	1	–
zero correspondence	36	2
TOTAL	53	4

Table 3. Czech translations of the *have* construction with V_{INF} in sentences where the subject of the secondary predication is rendered as the subject of the Czech sentence

3.3.1 Data Analysis

Tables 2 and 3 show that the construction with the infinitive is indeed rare in British English. Only eight tokens were found altogether; in four of these *have* is translated by a causative verb, e.g., in (33):

- (33) (“Get off,” said Ford, “They’re ours,” giving him) a look that would *have* an Algolian Suntiger get on with what it was doing. [AD_HHGG]
 pohled, který by přiměl i
 look:ACC which:NOM AUX.COND.3SG made:PTCP.SG.M even
 algolského slunečního tygra, aby . . .
 Algolian:ACC sun:ADJ.ACC tiger:ACC PURP.COND.3SG
 “a look that would make even an Algolian Suntiger . . .”

What the remaining tokens seem to have in common is the fact the English and the Czech sentence have different subjects, i.e., the subject of the Czech sentence is the subject of the secondary predication introduced by *have*. In (34), a modal verb expressing obligation is found in the translation:

- (34) (SIR S. L. [aside] She speaks the truth there! [Aloud]) You would *have* me understand, Madam? [WV_BA]
 Mám tomu, milostivá, rozumět . . .
 have:PRS.1SG it:DAT dear:VOC understand:INF
 “Shall I, my dear, understand . . .”

In the following section I will demonstrate that this translation, too, argues for a causative reading of *have*. In order to do so, a broader semantic category has to be introduced.

3.3.2 Causation, or Force Dynamics?

The fact that there is a relation between causation and modality was noted in the linguistic literature long ago. That is to say, the semantics of both can be best understood in terms of “force dynamics, that is in terms of our linguistic treatment of forces and barriers in general” (Sweetser 1990, 51). The concept was first introduced by Talmy to cover

the range of relations that one entity can bear to another with respect to force. This range includes one entity’s intrinsic force tendency, a second entity’s opposition to that tendency, the first entity’s resistance to such opposition, and the second entity’s overcoming of such resistance. It further includes the presence, absence, imposition, or removal of blockage to one entity’s intrinsic force tendency by a second entity. In force dynamics, causation thus now appears within a larger conceptual framework in systematic relationship to such other concepts as permitting and preventing, helping and hindering. (2000, 10)

The force dynamics explanation for the root modals was elaborated on in detail in Sweetser (1990). *Have*, according to Talmy (2000, 435), “*is also force dynamic, expressing indirect causation either without an intermediate volitional entity, as in I had the logs roll down the south slope, or, as is usual, with such an entity: I had the boy roll the log along.*” All of this allows Talmy to consider the causative constructions with *make / have / let / help* to be in fact part of what he calls “the greater modal system.” More specifically, “with the greater modal system, English appears to have established a syntactic category to correspond, in part, to the semantic category of force dynamics” (Talmy 2000, 444). This is evidenced by a “parallelism” between (35) and (36), suggested by Talmy; in other words, the pronoun in the subject of the secondary predication in (35) and the pronoun in the subject of a parallel sentence with a modal verb in (36) refer to the same CAUSEE:

(35) I made him / let him / had him / helped (him) push the car to the garage. (Talmy 2000, 444)

(36) He can / may / must / should / would not / need not / dare not / had better push the car to the garage. (Talmy 2000, 444)

Arguably, modal verbs in the Czech translations of the *have* construction confirm this parallelism; apart from the modal verb in sentence (34) above, an additional 10 modal

verbs are found in the translations of the *have* construction in the American data, e.g., in (37) and (38):¹¹

- (37) I'll *have* you drop me off there the first thing Friday morning. [IJ_WY]
 Budeš mě tam muset v pátek hned
 be:AUX.FUT.2SG me:ACC there must:INF in Friday immediately
 ráno odvézt.
 morning:ADV take:INF
 “You will have to take me there first thing Friday morning.”

- (38) I will not *have* anyone see these. [DC_CW]
 Tohle nesmí nikdo vidět.
 this:ACC must:NEG.PRS.3SG no-one:NOM see:INF
 “No-one is allowed to see this.”

Force dynamics, however, can explain even more. First, since “in the epistemic world, only premises count as forces or barriers” (Sweetser 1990, 67), it is natural to see a “force dynamic structure” also in the “reasoning process” (Sweetser 1990, 67): evidence forces us to make a conclusion. As Talmy sums up, force dynamic concepts extend “from interpersonal impingements to the impingements of arguments on each other or on the reasoner, constraining him toward certain conclusions” (Talmy 2000, 443). Arguably, Czech translations with a modal (epistemic) adverb are a good proof of this: if we ask someone to pick us up, ideally, they have to do it; it is then likely that they will indeed pick us up:

- (39) We'll *have* someone pick us up. [GJ_B]
 Někdo nás tam určitě hodí.
 someone:NOM us:ACC there surely throw:PFV.PRS.3SG
 “Someone will definitely take us there.”

The other translation that makes explicit the force dynamic reading of *have* is the use of the Czech modal verb *chtít* “to want.” That is to say, according to Talmy (2000, 430) “wanting, as in *He wants to open the window*, seems to be conceived in terms of a kind of psychological ‘pressure,’ ‘pushing’ toward the realization of some act or state,” i.e., it is also force dynamic:

¹¹ The modal verb found in the translation of *I'll have you know*, namely, *musím vám říct* (“I must tell you”), is a different case; here the subject of the English sentence remains the subject of the Czech sentence. Arguably, *I'll have you know* is rather fixed in form (the subject of *have* is always *I* and the subject of the secondary predication *you*), close to a lexical bundle, and is often translated as a unit.

- (40) Would you *have* them die in vain? [BD_DVC]

Chtěl byste, aby jejich
 wanted:PTCP.SG.M AUX.COND.2PL PURP.COND.3SG their:NOM
 oběť byla marná?
 sacrifice:NOM.F was:PTCP.SG.F futile:NOM.F
 “Would you like their sacrifice to be futile?”

Unlike the other modal verbs, however, *chtít* keeps the Czech equivalent of the subject of *have* as its subject, which makes it very similar to the most numerous group of translation equivalents: the Czech causative verbs.¹² These will be analyzed in the remaining part of this section.

First, it should be stressed again that in a great majority of the tokens (in fact, all but one),¹³ the subject of *have* remains the subject of the Czech sentence. There are two types of equivalence: if the verb in the secondary predication is semantically rather empty (usually a verb of motion), the Czech causative verb translates both *have* and this verb in the secondary predication:

- (41) “Shall we *have* your man go below stairs?” said Nicholson [FM_LS]

“Nepošleme toho vašeho člověka dolů?”
 send:NEG.PFV.PRS.1PL the:ACC your:ACC man:ACC downstairs
 navrhl Nicholson.
 suggested:PTCP.SG.M Nicholson:NOM
 “Are we not sending that man of yours downstairs,” Nicholson suggested.

In most of the tokens, however, the Czech causative verb translates just *have*. This is the case of the most frequently occurring verb *požádat* (“ask”), e.g., in (42), as well as the second most frequent verb *nechat* (“let,” “leave”), exemplified in (43):

- (42) on Monday he would *have* the secretary check the computer files (against my list).

[GJ_SL]
 v pondělí požádá sekretářku, aby
 in Monday ask:PFV.PRS.3SG secretary:ACC PURP.COND.3SG
 můj seznam srovnala s . . .
 my:ACC list:ACC compared:PTCP.3SG.F with . . .
 “On Monday he will ask the secretary to compare my list with . . .”

12 For the discussion of *chtít* in the translation of *will* and *be going to* see Chapter 6.

13 The verb in the secondary predication is replaced by its converse used in the reflexive passive:

He had not expected, however, to *have* the Commissioner give in so easily. [AI_CS]

Neočekával, že se komisař dá přesvědčit tak snadno
 expected:NEG.PTCP.SG.M that REFL.PASS Commissioner:NOM let:PRS.3SG persuade:INF so easily

“He did not expect that the Commissioner will let himself be persuaded so easily.”

- (43) He was *having* me do things a lady would do, (but I was wearing a maid's clothes.)
 [CT_GPE]
 Nechal mě dělat věci,
 let:PST.PTCP.SG.M me:ACC do:INF things:ACC
 jaké by dělala dáma . . .
 what.like:ACC.PL.F AUX.COND.3SG done:PTCP.SG.F lady:NOM
 "He let me do things a lady would do . . ."

If the verb *nechat* is used, the CAUSEE sometimes gets lost in the translation. This is the case of (44), where the infinitive *deportovat* has a passive interpretation:

- (44) (And if I find which one of you provided that article) I'll *have* the consulate deport you. [BD_DVC]
 nechám ho okamžitě deportovat.
 leave:PFV.PRS.1SG him:ACC immediately deport:INF
 "I will make sure he is immediately deported."

In the majority of the Czech sentences with a causative verb equivalent to *have*, a dependent clause introduced by *aby* (a conjunction of purpose)¹⁴ follows. This is the case not only of the most frequent causative verbs *požádat* and *nechat* – which can, however, also be followed by an infinitival form, as in (43) and (44) – but also of other verbs: *určit* [determine] / *pověřit* [entrust] / *přimět* [make] *někoho* [someone:ACC], *aby* [PURP.COND]; *zařídít* [make arrangements] / *postarat se* [take care], *aby* [PURP.COND]. Take (45):

- (45) I think I'll *have* someone listen to all (– how many hours is it?) [BS_HD]
 Asi někoho určím, aby si
 perhaps someone:ACC determine:PFV.PRS.1SG PURP.COND.3SG REFL
 je vyposlechl všechny.
 them:ACC listened:PTCP.SG.M all:ACC
 "Perhaps I will nominate someone to listen to them all."

Apart from them there is the translation with the Czech equivalent of the verb *tell*, followed by a dependent clause introduced by the optative particle *ať*:

- (46) Could I *have* him return your call? [GJ_B]
 Mám mu pak říct, ať vám zavolá?
 have:PRS.1SG him:DAT then say:INF OPT you:DAT call:PFV.PRS.3SG
 "Should I tell him then to call you?"

14 Karlík and Osolobě (2002, 436) talk here about the inflective conjunction *aby*, whose part is the AUX.COND morpheme *by* (otherwise used to create conditional verbal forms), which expresses the grammatical categories of person and number (e.g., *bych* AUX.COND.1SG, *bys* AUX.COND.2SG, etc.). In our notation *abych* is glossed as PURP.COND.1SG, *abys* as PURP.COND.2SG, etc. The same morpheme *by* is also part of the conditional (inflective) conjunction *kdyby* "if"

If *have* is used in the imperative form, the verb may be elided in Czech. The construction with the optative particle forms a periphrastic imperative and functions as a command. This is the case of (47). In (48) an imperative form is used:

(47) “*Have* the wide-eyed maid bring it to us,” (van Ruijven commanded) [CT_GPE]

Ať nám ho přinese
 OPT us:DAT him:ACC bring:PFV.PRS.3SG
 ta okatá služka.
 the:NOM.SG.F eye:ADJ.NOM.SG.F maid:NOM.SG.F
 “Let the maid with big eyes bring it.”

(48) “(I’m no castaway,) I’d *have* you know, Sir” [WV_BA]

. . . pamatujte si to, pane
 remember:IMP.REFL it Sir:VOC
 “. . . remember, Sir”

Before I proceed to the analysis of the experiential *have*, let me sum up: the data suggest that causation is part of a wider semantic category of force dynamics. The translation equivalents that make this force dynamics reading of the construction explicit are summarized in Table 4. Given that the total numbers of the tokens of the *have* construction with V_{INF} in the American data and in the British data are 129 and eight respectively, it can be concluded that the force dynamic reading of the construction dominates in American as well as British English, covering 62% and 75% of the data.¹⁵

	US English	Br English
construction with a causative verb	56	4
construction with the verb <i>říct</i> “tell”	7	–
construction with the verb <i>chtít</i> “want”	2	–
construction with a causative verb	1	–
construction with a modal verb	10	1
construction with a modal adverb	1	–
construction with an optative particle “ať”	3	–
imperative form	–	1
TOTAL (force dynamic equivalents)	80	6

Table 4. Czech translations of the *have* construction with V_{INF} making explicit its force dynamic reading

¹⁵ For British English, the conclusion must be taken with a grain of salt; the number of tokens is very low. Still, the InterCorp data confirm what was stated above about the ICE-GB data: if the construction is used in British English at all, *have* tends to be causative rather than not.

3.3.3 The Czech Dative: *Have* in Its Experiential Reading?

Free datives are not common in the translations of the construction with the infinitive in the data analyzed; the datives found are (all but one) integrated into the syntactic structure of the sentence as predicate arguments. What they share with the free datives, however, is the fact that they are often syntactically dispensable; in Poldauf's terms, they are a matter of the second syntactical plan, not the first¹⁶ (1964b, 242). A good example is the verb *explain* ("vysvětlovat/vysvětlit"). To use Framenet's¹⁷ terminology, the ADDRESSEE is only a non-core element in the STATEMENT frame, i.e., it can be left unexpressed; and the same applies to the Czech equivalents *vysvětlit/vysvětlovat*.¹⁸ In (49) the ADDRESSEE of the verb *explain* is syntactically present in Czech (in the dative case), though unexpressed in the English source sentence. Arguably, this might be seen as a way of compensating for the construction with *have*¹⁹ (the pronoun in the dative case is only equivalent to the understood subject of *have*):

(49) We'd like to *have* you explain exactly (how you knew Daneel was a robot).

[AI_CS]

Rádi bychom, abyste nám přesně vysvětlil . . .
gladly AUX.COND.1PL PURP.COND.2PL us:DAT exactly explained:PTCP.SG.M
"We'd like you to explain to us exactly . . ."

In (50), however, the ADDRESSEE is expressed in English not only in the subject of *have*, but also in the prepositional object of the verb *explain*, i.e., it is expressed twice. Arguably, the Czech translation reflects this in the choice of the verb; the verb *like* is replaced by the verb *appreciate* "ocenit":

(50) I'd like to *have* you explain it to me, (because frankly I don't see it). [AJ_C]

potom bych ocenila, kdybyste mi
then AUX.COND.1SG appreciated:PTCP.SG.F if:COND.2PL me:DAT
to objasnili
it:ACC explained:PTCP.PL
"I would then appreciate it if you explained it to me"

16 The dative belonging to the first syntactical plan, i.e., the indispensable dative "governed" by the verb, is found, for example, with verbs such as *slušet* "suit someone" and *křivdit* "to do someone an injustice" (Poldauf 1964b, 242).

17 See the Framenet database at <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/>.

18 According to Svozilová et al. (1997, 300), they can both be used in sentences with the syntactic structure Val1 – VF – Val2, i.e., with just one internal argument. In other words, the ADDRESSEE ("funktor adresát" in Lopatková et al. 2008) does not have to be present in Czech either.

19 Poldauf, in fact, suggests that even the dative forms belonging to the second syntactical plan express concern: "the dative (as long as it does not belong to the first syntactical plan and represent the indispensable and the only complementation of the verb) expresses the concern of a person in either some component or the whole of the communication, depending on whether the broadly understood possessive relationship (including experience and enjoyment) is based on his relation to an objective (material) component (expressed, or, more rarely, implied) in the communication or to the communication as a whole" (Poldauf 1964b, 243).

In spite of the use of the dative case, however, the force dynamic reading of *have* in both (49) and (50) can hardly be ruled out. In the translation of (51) it is even made explicit by the use of a modal verb of obligation (note also the use of the proform “do” in the preceding clause):

- (51) (“I know what we’ll do,” said Gatsby), “we’ll *have* Klipspringer play the piano.”
 [FPS_GG]
 Klipspringer nám musí zahrát na klavír.
 Klipspringer us:DAT must:PRS.3SG play:INF on piano:ACC
 “Klipspringer must play the piano for us.”

The only sentence in the data analyzed in the translation of which a free dative is used is sentence (52). Even here, however, our translation with the causative verb *požádat* given in (53), would do equally well:

- (52) (He went over to the Schumperts’) and *had* Dave notarize it. [FJ_C]
 Dave mu na místě ověřil podpisy.
 Dave:NOM him:DAT on spot:LOC verified:PTCP.SG.M signatures:ACC
 “Dave verified the signatures on the spot for him.”

- (53) Požádal Dava, aby to
 asked:PTCP.SG.M Dave:ACC PURP.COND.3SG it:ACC
 notářsky ověřil.
 notary-wise verified:PTCP.SG.M
 “He asked Dave to verify it notary-wise.”

The reason why the translator did not use option (53) could very well be a mismatch between the spelling and pronunciation of the proper noun and a problematic omission of the silent *-e* in the spelling of its accusative form. On the other hand, the fact that the experiential reading does not rule out the force dynamic interpretation is in agreement with the tendencies observed above; contexts can be found in which *have* might have a unified causative and experiential reading: each of them profiles a different aspect of the same situation, in other words, construes the event in a different way. This, arguably, is also the case of sentence (54). Though in InterCorp the verb *have* is translated by a Czech perception verb, a causative verb would, too, do very well, as my translation in (55) suggests. The two Czech translations, (54) and (55), then exemplify two different construals of the same situation:

(54) (It's a lot less ostentatious than pulling up to a suburban house in a brightly-lit taxi) –
or *having* one beep the horn outside when the hour is up. [AJ_C]

nebo ho po hodině slyšet netrpělivě troubit
or him:ACC after hour:LOC hear:INF impatiently honk:INF
před vchodem
in.front.of entrance:INS
“or an hour later hear him honking impatiently in front of the entrance”

(55) nebo ho po hodině nechat netrpělivě troubit
or him:ACC after hour:LOC let:INF impatiently honk:INF
před vchodem
in.front.of entrance:INS
“or an hour later leave him honking impatiently in front of the entrance”

“Simple perceptives (of passive perception) – *see, hear, feel, find* – are,” according to Poldauf, “minimum expressions of experiencing” (1967, 30).²⁰ This is in agreement with the fact that the semantic role carried by the subjects of perception verbs is the one of an Experiencer (Aarts 2001, 94), in the original terminology introduced by Fillmore ([1968] 2003, 46) even the Dative: “the case of the animate being affected by the state or action identified by the verb.”²¹

Still, the very low number of translations with the dative case, just one with a perception verb, and the fact that the source sentences always have a competing translation with a causative verb, seem to suggest that the *have* construction with V_{INF} is hardly ever just experiential. Before this conclusion is made, however, sentences in which *have* remains untranslated have to be subjected to scrutiny, since these cover a substantial proportion of the American data.

3.3.4 Zero Correspondences

While in British English *have* remains untranslated only in two of the eight tokens of the construction with V_{INF} in American English the percentage of zero correspondences is quite high: *have* is completely lost in 31.8% of the tokens (41 tokens). In this section I will attempt to identify at least some common denominators in these uses of the construction.

First, it must be noted that among the sentences with zero correspondences there is a high number of non-finite forms of *have*; in only four of the 41 tokens of the sentences with zero correspondences is *have* used in the finite form. This fact alone does not

20 Similarly, the causative verbs *make, let, and help* are “minimum expressions of causation” and, like perception verbs, are attached to the bare stem of the following verb, not to its *to*-infinitive form (ibid). A similarity between the “have-relation” and perception verbs was noticed earlier in Macháček (1959).

21 Most recently, the Framenet authors have categorized all perception verbs as verbs belonging to the Perception-Experience frame.

necessarily have to be of importance since, as stated in Section 3.3, there is in general a very high frequency of the non-finite form of *have*, and the subject of *have* is, at least in the data analyzed, always retrievable from the context. Take (56), where the infinitive of *have* with its complementation functions as a temporal adverbial suggesting the immediacy of two events (three such tokens were found in our data):

- (56) He turned to do just that, only to *have* Artie appear. [LJ_LS]
 Otočil se, ale v tu chvíli se na prahu objevil Artie.
 “He turned and at that moment Artie appeared on the threshold.”

What makes (56) special, though, is the fact that the verb *have* seems to be the only way of introducing a secondary predication in this context; i.e., the notional subject of the secondary predication cannot be expressed in a *for* phrase. This suggests that, at least in certain contexts, the *have* construction might be just a means of complex condensation. Since such a line of argument, however, calls for a different methodology (research on native speakers’ grammaticality judgments for various expressions of the semantic content of each such sentence), it will be left for future research.

Second, in most of the sentences where no equivalent of *have* could be identified it is the subject of the secondary predication that becomes the subject of the Czech sentence, not the subject of *have*.²² As a consequence, the Czech sentence in fact translates a corresponding English sentence without the *have*. This is the case of sentence (32), repeated here as (57):

- (57) I *had* one catch me in the elevator this afternoon. [GJ_C]
 Dnes odpoledne mě jeden z nich
 today afternoon:ADV me:ACC one:NOM of them:GEN
 chytil ve výtahu.
 caught:PTCP.SG.M in elevator:LOC
 “One of them caught me in the elevator this afternoon.”

In addition, this sentence is the only one in our data to confirm correspondences with the “existential *there*,” suggested by Quirk et al. (1985): the NP in the subject of the secondary predication is indefinite, and, arguably, a corresponding sentence with an existential *there* seems to exist (*There was one caught me in the elevator this afternoon*). The Czech dative, which could confirm its experiential reading, is, however, ruled out on formal grounds – the personal pronoun must be used in the case form required by the verb, i.e., the accusative case.

22 Counter-examples are rather specific cases: one sentence, for example, has a secondary predication in the passive voice: (*I may well have been accustomed to*) *having men be attracted to me* [AJ_C], whose Czech translation *na muže působím přitažlivě* is loosely equivalent to “to men I look attractive.”

Example (58) is less straightforward; the use of the dative seems only to be prevented by a preceding use of the attached dative form, as our alternative translation in (59) suggests:

(58) How'd you like to *have* your sister go out with one of 'em? The local people whipped themselves into a mold of cruelty. [SJ_GW]

Jak by se vám líbilo, kdyby
 how AUX.COND.3SG REFL you:DAT appealed:PTCP.SG.N if:COND.3SG
 začala vaše sestra s některým chodit?
 started:PTCP.SG.F your:NOM.F sister:NOM.F with some:INS go.out:INF
 "How would you like it if your sister started dating one of them?"

(59) Co kdyby vám začala sestra
 what if:COND.3SG you:DAT started:PTCP.SG.F sister:NOM.F
 s některým chodit?
 with some:INS go.out:INF

Furthermore, (58) exemplifies a context in which the *have* construction is often found, namely the complementation of a verb of attitude in the conditional mood; this is the case of (50) above, repeated here as (60), but also of (61) and (62) below:

(60) I'd like to *have* you explain it to me, (because frankly I don't see it). [AJ_C]
 "I would then appreciate it if you explained it to me."

(61) (There is a small Men's Personal here) which we would be pleased to *have* you use if you wish to shower. [AI_CS]²³

a prosili bychom vás, abyste se
 and asked:PTCP.PL AUX.COND.1PL you:ACC.PL PURP.COND.2PL REFL
 v ní laskavě osprchoval.
 in it kindly showered:PTCP.SG.M
 "we are kindly asking you to have a shower in it"

(62) I'd hate to *have* him get anything on me. [FFS_GG]

Nechtěla bych, aby na mě
 wanted:NEG.PTCP.SG.F AUX.COND.1SG PURP.COND.3SG on me:ACC
 něco věděl.
 something:ACC knew:PTCP.SG.M
 "I wouldn't like him to know something (bad) about me."

23 Gilquin argues that though the causative *have* does not have straightforward collocations in the ICE-GB, "it brings about the idea that something is desirable" (2003, 141). It could very well be the case that whenever sentences with *you* in the subject of the secondary predication function as indirect requests (e.g., [60] and [61]), a construction whose function is to express the speaker's concern (namely the *have* construction) makes this request more tentative and consequently more polite.

Arguably, the concern of the speaker cannot be expressed in Czech here; in (62) the dative case is ruled out because the 1st person singular pronoun in reference to the speaker is already found in the complementation of *vědět* [to know]. However, this is not the only reason; there is also a semantic restriction on the use of the dative case, one not mentioned in Poldauf. According to Fried, that is to say, “AP can only occur with predicates that are semantically compatible with affectedness”; since “knowing” is not semantically compatible with affectedness, the dative is out. Note that the *have* construction is acceptable here; what follows is that the semantic restrictions on the use of the free dative appear to be more strict than the restrictions on the use of the *have* construction.²⁴

Interestingly and perhaps somewhat unexpectedly, force dynamic cases of *have* also tend to disappear. In (63), the English reporting verb is at least replaced by a more specific Czech one, equivalent to *to promise* (according to the *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* “to tell sb that you will definitely do or not do sth, or that STH WILL DEFINITELY HAPPEN”):

- (63) she said, “Okay, I’ll *have* him call you when he’s downstairs.” [AJ_C]
 Broskvička slíbila: “Fajn, až přijede,
 Peach:NOM promised:PTCP.SG.F fine when comes:PFV.PRS.3SG
 prozvoní tě na mobil.”
 calls:PFV.PRS.3SG you:ACC on mobile:ACC
 “Peach promised, ‘Fine, when he comes, he’ll call you on your mobile.’”

The reason for omission here seems to be the potential, stylistically inappropriate presence of several dependent clauses. The same applies to (64), where, in addition, two causative verbs would closely follow each other:²⁵

24 Unfortunately, potential restrictions on the use of the *have* construction itself cannot be dealt with here, not only because of the limited space we have in this chapter, but also because their systematic study would call for a different methodology; in Fillmore’s (1992, 58) terms, “there are no corpora of starred examples: a corpus cannot tell us what is not possible.” Suffice it to say that free datives are sometimes acceptable where the English *have* construction would not do: as an equivalent of *Ujel* [left:PTCP.SG.M] *mi* [me:DAT] *autobus* [bus:NOM.SG.M] the *have* construction is pre-empted by the existence of the verb *miss*, which allows the animate noun to be used as a subject (*I missed the bus*). Best (2012), the author of apt comments in the Fleet Sheet’s Final Word, sees this structure as “a sign of an unwillingness on the part of Czechs to take responsibility for their actions. A Czech who is running late for school or work doesn’t miss the bus; the bus leaves him or her behind (‘ujel mi autobus’).” Erik Best, “Church Law Leaves Klaus Behind,” *Fleet Sheet’s Final Word*, November 28, 2012, <http://www.fsfinalword.com/data/FW121128.pdf>.

25 It is not only the *have* construction that was omitted here, the reporting clause is also lost in translation. Compare the rather infelicitous literal translation:

?Ovšem on mi nařídil [ordered:PTCP.SG.M], abych se do toho nepletl. Řekl [said:PTCP.SG.M], že [that] pověřil [asked:PTCP.SG.M] Beth [ACC], aby [PURP.COND.3SG] sledovala [follow:PTCP.SG.F] policejní vyšetřování.

- (64) but Lawson ordered me not to get involved, remember? He said he'd *have* Beth keep track of the police investigation. [KJA_FA]
 Ovšem on mi nařídil, abych se do
 but he me:DAT ordered:PTCP.SG.M PURP.COND.1SG REFL to
 toho nepletl, že Beth bude
 it:GEN involved:NEG.PTCP.SG.M that Beth:NOM AUX.FUT.3SG
 sledovat policejní vyšetřování.
 follow:INF police:ADJ.ACC investigation:ACC
 “But he ordered me not to get involved, that Beth will follow the police investigation.”

Examples (65) and (66) are, however, different:

- (65) She *had* someone introduce us, (as I recall, don't even remember who). [LJ_LS]
 Někdo nás představil . . .
 Someone:NOM us:ACC introduced:PTCP.SG.M
 “Someone introduced us . . .”

- (66) I'll *have* my office contact your employer first thing in the morning. [GJ_C]
 Hned ráno z mé kanceláře zavolají
 at once morning:ADV from my office:GEN call:PFV.PRS.3PL
 vašemu zaměstnavateli.
 your:DAT employer:DAT
 “Someone from my office will call your employer first thing in the morning.”

The reason for omitting the CAUSER introducing *have* here could be the fact that the translator simply identified the CAUSER as insignificant. Although this is in agreement with the fact that the subject of *have* is usually thematic, not rhematic, it raises the question under which conditions the whole causative relation is indeed irrelevant. As our data suggest, such an omission may in fact lead to a serious shift in interpretation. According to the Czech translation of (67), for example, Lozada killed the person of his own will, while the true person behind the murder (CAUSER) disappears:

- (67) (You think this Dr. Newton hired Lozada to eliminate her competition?) Or *had* Lozada kill him out of spite? [BS_C]
 Nebo že ho Lozada zabil naschvál?
 or that him:ACC Lozada:NOM killed:PTCP.SG.M on purpose
 “Or that Lozada killed him on purpose?”

Finally, the CAUSER is often omitted in the translations of sentences with a unified reading; in (68) the speaker may not only arrange for the embassy to send someone,

but at the same time will profit from the fact that they will help them. The dative case is possible, as our translation in (69) suggests, and so is our translation with a causative verb in (70); however, picking one of the translations means committing oneself to one of the construals:

(68) (I can) . . . *have* the embassy send someone to meet us somewhere. [BD_DVC]
 oni pak někoho pošlou, aby
 they:NOM then someone:ACC send:PFV.PRS.3PL PURP.COND.3SG
 mě někde vyzvedl.
 me:ACC somewhere collected:PTCP.SG.M
 “They will then send someone to collect me.”

(69) velvyslanectví nám pak někoho pošle,
 embassy:NOM us:DAT then someone:ACC send:PFV.PRS.3SG
 aby nás někde vyzvedl.
 PURP.COND.3SG us:ACC somewhere collected:PTCP.SG.M
 “The embassy will then send us someone to collect us.”

(70) Můžu . . . požádat velvyslanectví, aby pro nás
 can:PRS.1SG ask:INF embassy:ACC PURP.COND.3PL for us:ACC
 někoho poslali.
 someone:ACC sent:PTCP.PL
 “I can ask the embassy to send someone for us.”

4. Conclusions and Future Prospects

This investigation set out to determine to what extent authentic Czech equivalents in a parallel translation corpus can shed light on the meaning of the *have* construction with the infinitive. The following conclusions can be drawn from this investigation: first, in British English, the construction is very infrequent and if used at all, the translations show that it is causative rather than not. This means a slight modification of Swan’s statement that “the infinitive structure is not common in British English with this [causative] meaning” (Swan 1996, 232); the whole structure is simply not common there. Second, the concept of causation has to be seen in the wider context of force dynamics, since translations can be found in which the subject of the secondary predication becomes the subject of the Czech sentence and is followed by a modal verb, usually of obligation. Sometimes even just a modal particle is used. Third, one perception verb was found in the translations, which suggests that there is a relation between the *have* construction and similar constructions with perception verbs. After all, the original case role assigned to the subject of verbs of inert perception was the Dative, which in later terminology was replaced by the Experiencer. Fourth, the translations

with a free dative, which would signal the experiential reading, are very infrequent. The reasons are that the verb in the secondary predication sometimes requires the affected participant to be used as its argument, often in a different case form than the dative (but sometimes even in the dative), and/or that the Czech verb is not compatible with affect-edness: the data suggest that the semantic restrictions on the use of the free dative are more strict than the restrictions on the use of the *have* construction. As a result of all of this, the Czech translation does not always disambiguate between the two readings. Not only is there a high number of zero correspondences, but very often, even if a particular reading is adopted, an alternative translation can be supplied. In other words, unified readings only allow for two different construals of the same situation.

Lastly, the high number of non-finite verb forms of *have* in the zero correspondences raises the question whether the construction is not, at least in some contexts, just a means of complex condensation. Only a future targeted empirical research study on a large enough sample of respondents could confirm that *have* cannot indeed be avoided in these contexts. And this goes far beyond the scope of the present chapter.

Chapter Three

Naděžda Kudrnáčová

Explicitation of Causality in Periphrastic Constructions with Human Causees: The Case of *Make* and *Cause*

1. Introduction

This chapter addresses certain aspects of the structuration of causative situations encoded in *cause* and *make*. It attempts to identify factors that underlie the direct causation claimed to hold for *make* and the indirect causation claimed to hold for *cause*. Given the intricacies involved in the operation of one's will, the analysis focuses on situations involving human causees. The analysis of situations with non-human (animal and inanimate) causees is left for further research.¹

2. *Cause* vs. *Make* in Relation to Iconicity and Economy in Language

The verb *cause* employed in periphrastic constructions may, in theory, be evaluated as a formal variant of *make*, owing to the simple fact that it can almost always be replaced by *make* (cf. Dixon 1991, 194). Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 1236) claim that in *This caused both of us to overlook the inconsistency* the verb *make* can substitute for *cause* “with little effect on the meaning.” This “anti-semantic” position seems to be corroborated by diachronic considerations. *Make* was for some time used both with the bare infinitive and the *to*-infinitive (Mittwoch 1990, 125). Dixon (1984, 586) thus suggests that the existence of causative verbs with bare infinitives (*make* and *have*) may be attributed to “an irregularity with a diachronic explanation.”

1 Admittedly, it may seem illogical not to analyze situations with animal causees together with human causees. The fact, however, is that animal agency differs in certain crucial respects from human agency, which has an impact on the structuring of causative situations (on animal agency see Kenny 1975, esp. 21, and Searle 1983, esp. 101).

Another factor speaking in favor of a formal account may be provided by economy in language: the causative verb with the *to*-infinitive violates Grice's Maxim of Quantity (cf. Grice 1975), hence it is less economic and thus less favored by language users. Economy as an important factor in linguistic variation is argued for in Haspelmath's (2008) frequency-based account of grammatical asymmetries across languages. Haspelmath claims, among other things, that relatively tight event integration in structures like *John made Mary quit her job* and relatively loose event integration in structures like *John caused Mary to quit her job* are not the factors that underlie their frequent occurrence and infrequent occurrence, respectively. In other words, iconicity of cohesion is not the factor that underlies the significantly higher occurrence of direct causatives. Instead, Haspelmath proposes that frequency phenomena can be explained by appealing to the economy of linguistic expression.

What is important for the objective of the analysis presented here is not whether the frequency of occurrence of certain linguistic forms is determined by factors pertaining to economy or to iconicity, but the fact that economy in language is taken as related to the iconicity of linguistic structure, i.e., to the way linguistic structure mirrors our experience. Iconicity in linguistic form has been extensively studied notably by Haiman (1983, 1985) and Givón (1975, 1980, 2001). Both scholars observe that the degree of the strength of the semantic bond between two events correlates with the degree of their syntactic integration. Thus *John made Mary quit her job* differs from *John caused Mary to quit her job* in that it displays stronger event integration and, accordingly, tighter syntactic integration (Givón 2001, 45). In other words, the formal difference between the less cohesive *cause* (taking the full infinitival complementation) and the more cohesive *make* (taking the bare infinitival complementation) mirrors the difference in semantic cohesion.

3. Direct vs. Indirect Causation

Comrie (1981, 172) observes that "the continuum from analytic via morphological to lexical causative correlates with the continuum from less direct to more direct causation." Causative situations expressed by means of lexical causatives are commonly labelled as expressing direct causation because the cause and the effect merge (i.e., direct causation involves unity of space and time). Periphrastic causative constructions are claimed to express indirect causation because they do not entail a spatiotemporal overlap of the causing event and the caused event. Such structuration of causative situations allows for the operation of an intermediary causal agent (see, e.g., Fodor 1970; Shibatani 1976). However, the terms "direct" vs. "indirect" causation are not used consistently. For example, Brousseau and Ritter (1992, 54–55) regard situations of the type *The trainer jumped the lions through the hoop* as involving indirect causation because the subject is a mere indirect agent.² Periphrastic constructions with *make* are sometimes

² Similarly, Halliday (1967) takes *march* as *cause to march* (this simplified account was duly criticized by Poldauf [1970, 123]).

described as involving direct causation – cf. Duffley (1992, 63–68), Dixon (1991, 194) and Givón (e.g., 1980, 335). Inoue (1992, 149) holds that *make* is closer to lexical causatives than *cause*.

Causative structures include the operation of several factors. Givón (e.g., 1975, 1980) identifies the following dimensions:

- (a) intended (controlled) vs. unintended (uncontrolled) causation
- (b) direct vs. mediated causation

Intended and direct causation is iconically reflected in the bare infinitive whereas unintended and indirect causation is iconically reflected in the full infinitive. *Make* is thus a “direct control causation” verb, whereas *cause* is a “noncontrol causation verb” (Givón 1980, 335). This distinction explains the acceptability of *John accidentally / inadvertently caused Mary to drop her books* and the unacceptability of **John accidentally / inadvertently made Mary drop her books* (Givón 1975, 66).

It needs little reflection to see that Givón’s claim is not universally valid because neither of the two verbs is restricted as to the (un)intentionality of causation. *Make* may also be used to encode events that are brought about accidentally and *cause* may also be used to encode events that are brought about intentionally (cf. also Dixon 1991, 230). Consider the non-controlled causation in example (1a) with *make* and the controlled causation in example (1b) with *cause*:

- (1) (a) Oops! I’m sorry. I just *made* you miss your bus. [BNC:HXG]³
- (b) a worker might deliberately *cause* his machine to break down [BNC:G0U]

Dixon (1991, 194) contends that *cause* encodes “indirect action, often premeditated” (*He caused Mary to crash by almost cutting through the brake cable and then sending her down the mountain road*), whereas *make* encodes “anything the Causer does to bring about something directly” (*You made me burn the toast by distracting my attention*). Dixon (1991) points out, too, that *make* is much more common than *cause* (cf. also Gilquin 2010) and can almost always substitute for *cause*. Inoue (1992, 132) holds that *make* is the least specific analytic causative because it merely encodes the fact of causation.

The question, however, is why Dixon posits *cause* as a hyponym of *make* and, at the same time, posits the (in)directness of causation as the feature that differentiates between the two verbs. This raises a question as to the nature of the structuration of causative situations encoded in these verbs, i.e., the nature of the so-called “indirect causation” involved in *cause* and “direct causation” involved in *make*.

³ All italics in the corpus examples are mine.

4. Temporal Accounts (Duffley and Givón)

Duffley (1992, esp. 63–68) sees the nature of direct causation and indirect causation in temporal sequencing: direct causation involves “concurrent causation” (the causing event and the caused event coincide in time) and indirect causation involves “antecedent causation” (the causing event precedes the caused event). The former situation is encoded in structures with *make*, the latter situation in structures with *cause*.⁴ Consider Duffley (1962, 63):

(2) (a) . . . slackness in the Eisenhower Administration had *caused* America to lag behind Russia in nuclear development.

(b) “What about Ballestre?” I had to shake her to *make* her listen.

However, Duffley’s claim that *cause* presents the cause as being prior to the effect and that *make* presents the cause and the effect as concurrent does not hold. *Cause* and *make* can both be used to encode situations in which the causing event either precedes the caused event or coincides with it.⁵

Let us first have a look at the situations in (2a) and (2b). Although it is true that (2a) invites the interpretation that the cause is prior to the effect because the causal agent is merely “the condition giving rise to a new state of affairs” (Duffley 1962, 63), the concurrent interpretation is not ruled out. Slackness in the Eisenhower Administration may be conceived as continually causing America to lag behind Russia (i.e., the cause and the effect may be co-temporaneous). Similarly in (2b): although concurrent causality is not ruled out (shaking and listening may run parallel), antecedent causality is more likely (shaking someone in order to make them listen is, under standard circumstances, relatively short – not to speak of the fact that it is questionable whether one can successfully listen when being shaken).

Situations in which the causal agent is the causee’s inner state naturally lend themselves to the co-temporaneous interpretation, owing to the simple fact that inner states are part of the causee’s inner self. But even if these situations are rendered by means of *make*, antecedent causation is not ruled out, especially if the causing event occurs suddenly and/or is punctual (*surprise* in [3a] and *bark of anger* in [3b]) and if the caused event is punctual (*jump* in example [3b]):

(3) (a) Surprise that he should know her sister so well, so soon *made* Claudia lift her head. [BNC:H8J]

(b) His bark of anger *made* her jump. “Hold your tongue, woman!” [BNC:G04]

4 Duffley’s account based on profiled temporal sequencing in *cause* echoes Mittwoch’s (1990, 103) observation that the *to*-infinitival complement may allow “independent temporal specification.”

5 Hollmann (2006, 206) also points out that in *make* the causing event and the caused event may occur with a discontinuity between them.

Consider also:

- (4) (a) Luke sipped his juice: its extreme stringency *caused* him to lift both elbows and give a single, embittered nod. [BNC:FBW]
- (b) Fonda was a very stable character, loved his wife and wanted for little, except self-fulfilment, which gnawed away at his mind and *caused* him to drink and trip occasionally on LSD. [BNC:AP0]

The situations in (4a) and (4b) do not exclude a concurrent interpretation. In (4a) Luke may feel the stringency of the juice not only prior to lifting his elbows, but also in lifting them. In (4b) the concurrent interpretation is, in fact, the preferred one because the causing event (the causee's state of mind) has a prolonged duration and the caused events (drinking and tripping on LSD) occur repeatedly.

Also Givón (2001, 46) observes that “the complements of ‘make’ seem to require co-temporality, while those of ‘cause’ do not”:

- (5) (a) *Two years ago John *made* Mary finally quit her job yesterday.
(Givón 2001, 46)
- (b) John's behavior two years ago *caused* Mary to finally quit her job yesterday.
(Givón 2001, 46)

Closer scrutiny reveals, however, that Givón's claim cannot be maintained. Notice that the two sentences do not only differ in that the first employs *make* and the second employs *cause*. Substituting *John's behavior two years ago* for *Two years ago John* would render the sentence in (6) plausible:

- (6) John's behavior two years ago *made* Mary finally quit her job yesterday.

Whether the causing event precedes the caused event or is co-temporaneous with it is not relevant. What plays a decisive role is what may be termed “the temporal locus of causation,” i.e., the moment at which John (or John's behavior) actually caused Mary's action (quitting her job). The temporal specification *two years ago* in (5a) relates to *made*, which, naturally, makes the sentence implausible because the act of causation (a single act of causation, that is) is presented as occurring at two different moments (*two years ago* and *yesterday*). In (5b), by contrast, *two years ago* does not encode the moment of causation. That is, it does not relate to *caused* but relates to *John's behavior*. The same temporal structuring (involving a single temporal locus of causation) is expressed in (6), which is plausible even though *make* is used. Therefore, the (implausible) sentence in (5a) can be paraphrased as “two years ago John caused Mary to quit

her job yesterday.” The (plausible) sentence in (5b) can be paraphrased as “two years ago John behaved in a certain way and this caused Mary to quit her job yesterday” and the (plausible) sentence in (6) offers the same paraphrase, i.e., “two years ago John behaved in a certain way and this caused Mary to quit (/ made Mary quit) her job yesterday.”

We have seen, then, that both Duffley and Givón view the nature of (in)direct causation as anchored in temporal structuring. But whereas Duffley posits his account on considerations regarding the temporal sequencing of the causing event and the caused event, Givón relates the temporal sequencing to the temporal locus of causation.

At this point in our discussion, we can state the following:

- (a) The temporal locus of causation is (or, rather, must be) the same both in structures employing *make* and in those employing *cause*.
- (b) Both *make* and *cause* may encode situations involving antecedent causality (the causing event is prior to the caused event) and concurrent causality (the two events are co-temporaneous).

5. Internalizing Structuration in *Make* vs. Externalizing Structuration in *Cause*

A good strategy for exploring differences in meaning between *cause* and *make* is to consider situational frames which include similar (or at least comparable) causing events and caused events and which are rendered by both the verbs in question. Consider:

- (7) (a) The vicious, open-handed blow landed on Isabel’s cheek before she had any warning of the Empress’s intention. It was hard enough to *make* her stagger and fall to her knees. Her eyes filled with tears of pain and shock, but Isabel refused to let them fall. [BNC:HH1]
- (b) French maintained that he thought that the safety catch was on and that he had been struck a blow on the back of the head which had *caused* him to stagger and pull the trigger. The jury accepted his version of events [BNC:FES]

Examples (7a) and (7b) include the same causing events (the blow on one’s cheek/head) and the same caused events (temporary loss of one’s balance). Nevertheless, in each situation the causation is rendered differently. In (7a) it is presented in a more internalizing, less detached way (note the specification of the causee’s inner state). *Make* points to the self of the causee owing to the fact that it renders the causee as not having control (in this respect the causee is more affected than in *cause*). As a result, *make* presents the caused event as inevitable (unavoidable). In (7b) the causation is rendered in a more externalizing (objective-like, matter-of-fact) way – note that the caused event here forms a mere

part in the chain of physical events. The situation is presented simply as a sequence of two events which are causally related and abstracts from the impact of the caused event onto the causee's self (*cause* is mute about whether the causee has control or not).⁶

Consider also example (8a) with *make* and example (8b) with *cause*. Both encode very similar causative situations:

- (8) (a) A sudden noise *made* him turn. It was Subhadra, reaching into her bag. [BNC:HH3]
- (b) A small sound *caused* him to turn his head. "What's that?" he said into the darkness. [BNC:FPK]

In view of the fact that *make* makes the causee's inner self part of the causative situation, it does not come as a surprise to learn that situations in which the causal agent is the causer's will and the locus of its operation is the causee's will (that is, a human causer coerces a human causee to do something by imposing his will onto the causee's will) cannot be plausibly rendered by *cause*. Consider:

- (9) (a) Mama *made* me go to school, but I crept back home just before noon. [BNC:G3P]
- (b) He told the terrified girl he had a knife, then *made* her walk down a river foot-path, across a bridge and into an alley. [BNC:CBF]
- (c) ?Mama *caused* me to go to school, but I crept back home just before noon. ("using the pressure of her will, she forced him to go to school")
- (d) ?He told the terrified girl he had a knife, then *caused* her to walk to the window. ("using the pressure of his will, he forced her to walk to the window")

The reason why only *make* is plausible seems to be as follows: as opposed to structures with *cause*, structures with *make* involve reference to the causee's inner self. Since the locus of the operation of one's will is one's inner self, situations in which the causer imposes his will onto the causee (onto his will) require that *make* be used.⁷ In these types of situation, the internalizing effect of *make* is more pronounced because not only the causee's inner self but also the causer's inner self is part of the scene. As Martinková

6 Not surprisingly, Gilquin (2010, 226) observes that "X *cause* Y V_{to-inf}" is the most formal causative construction, associated with scientific and technical genres (2010, 249).

7 Needless to add, imposing one's will onto someone necessarily takes the form of some action, physical and/or verbal. As Verhagen and Kemmer (1997, 71) point out, "one cannot reach into another person's mind and *directly* [emphasis in the original] cause him or her to do, feel, or think something"

(2012, 54) observes, to intentionally cause an event implies that the causer “has some interest in it, i.e., he/she actively pursues this interest” – on the concept of interest (concern in verbal action) see the pioneering studies by Poldauf (e.g., 1940, 1964b).

Sentences like *John made Mary leave the room* may, apart from encoding coercive volitive causation, also encode situations in which the causer unintentionally makes the causee do something by bringing about a certain state in him. For example, John may say or do something which causes a certain state in Mary and this state then makes her leave. These situations also imply coercion, but of a different variety: the causer “makes the causee want to do something.” “Wanting” in this type of coercive situation is thus different from “wanting” in the situations in (9a) and (9b) because *John* stands for Mary’s inner state (that which is induced in Mary by John).⁸ This type of “wanting” has a compelling character because it involves a low degree of mental processing on the part of the person, hence it verges on desire or impulse.

Consider examples in which this type of causative situation is explicitly presented as “make someone want to do something” or as “cause someone to want to do something”:

(10) (a) I felt that there were several factors that *caused* him to want to continue living, and I think they’re normal everyday factors. He had a really nice family – he had a very good relationship with his wife [BNC:ASK]

(b) and for a moment Henry was flooded by helpless rage, a feeling that *made* him want to run to the bedside table, snatch up Elinor’s nail scissors and twist them into her neck [BNC:ASS]

As is generally the case in structures with *cause* and *make*, also (10a) and (10b) differ. In (10a) the causing event and the caused event represent two self-contained units (albeit causally related). The relation between them is not coercive, which means, too, that the information about the mental processing of “wanting” is not implied. Accordingly, the components of the causative chain in which this type of “wanting” is set are, in comparison with (10b), more or less objective facts of reality. In (10b), by contrast, the coercive operation of the causal agent is accompanied by a low degree of the mental processing of the “wanting” on the part of the causee. “Wanting” here thus verges on drive or impulse. Characteristically, the causative chain includes a powerful mental cause (*helpless rage*) and the desired aim is very subjective and emotive, too.

An interpretation along similar lines obtains in situations in which the role of a causal agent is played by instinct ([11a] and [11b]) and impulse ([11c] and [11d]). These two types of causal agent also induce wanting which is underlain by a very low degree of mental processing on the part of the causee:

8 Vendler (1967) holds that only facts or factlike entities, i.e., not objects or persons, can act as causes.

- (11) (a) It was sheer, blind gut instinct that *made* her go to the porter's lodge and lie. [BNC:YB]
- (b) Instinct *caused* him to put out both hands in an attempt to break the fall, and Ellwood was on him, the rod flailing, blood rising from Carey's face [BNC:FP7]
- (c) As they joined the road, an impulse *made* Mungo look back. The large, pale, implacable face was still at the window [BNC:ACV]
- (d) I came with Matt, so I'll return with him. And then impulse *caused* her to be frank. "In any case, I've had about as much as I can take from your dear friend for today . . ." [BNC:H9B]

The internalizing effect of *make* and the externalizing effect of *cause* can clearly be seen in situations in which the caused event is an uncontrollable mental or bodily process (/state):

- (12) (a) Because Florian Jones had *made* him believe that she was innocent of all that he had accused her of [BNC:H9L]
- (b) For no earthly reason you *caused* him to believe a monstrous lie. [BNC:H7A]
- (c) "You're *making* me sneeze," he complained. [BNC:EFJ]
- (d) flour or dust on a chapati *caused* me to sneeze and I prolapsed a disc⁹

It may be of interest to note in this connection that the causative meaning of *make* in *make someone think that* (/ *know that* / *wonder why*) is semantically weaker than *cause* (which takes the full infinitival complementation). The reason seems obvious: the content of one's mental state (process) is presented as having a reason, not as having a cause. This line of reasoning receives independent support from the interpretation of the pattern "*help* + the bare infinitive," in which "*help* is semantically very weak and sort of softens the whole phrase" (Macháček 2009, 41).

The internalizing presentation of the situation in *make* carries with itself an evaluative meaning potential. Notice that the emotive *Tell me what made you do it!* reworded in the form *Tell me what caused you to do it!* loses (much of its) emotional coloring. Consider also the difference between (13a) and (13b):

9 Alan Hinkes, "The Nanga Parbat Diaries," *Blue Dome*, last modified July 4, 1997, accessed July 2, 2013, <http://www.bluedome.co.uk/challenge8000/nanga.html>.

(13) (a) . . . the surgery and rehabilitation *caused* her to miss all of her junior year.¹⁰

(b) This sad accident ended her career and *made* her miss the Nagano Olympics.¹¹

Whereas in (13a) the causation is rendered in a detached way (the causing events are presented as mere facts of reality), in (13b) it is rendered in an emotive way (as a result of a *sad accident*).

As we have seen, then, the process of causation involves more than two events which are causally related (cf. Talmy 2000, Chap. 8). What also plays a role is the type of the causer and of the causee and the nature of the relation between the causing event and the caused event.

6. Conclusions

It has been demonstrated that substituting *make* for *cause* and vice versa results in meaning differences. In comparison with *make*, *cause* implies a looser bond (greater conceptual distance) between the causing event and the caused event. This indicates that although economy in language does play a role (*cause*, taking the full infinitival complementation, is used less often than *make*), iconicity in linguistic form, i.e., the fact that “the structure of language reflects in some way the structure of experience” (Croft 2003, 102), is in operation too.

The structuration of the causative situation rendered by means of *make* can be summarized as follows. In the types of causative situations considered here (situations involving human causees), direct causation in *make* rests on the more immediate relation between the causing event and the caused event. The act of causation has a compelling character owing to the reference to the causee’s inner self. Since one’s inner self is the locus of the operation of one’s will, the causee is presented as not having control. The caused event is thus presented as an inevitable result of the causing event. The closer, more immediate relation between the causing event and the caused event means, in effect, that the caused event loses an autonomous status. (The dependent status of the caused event is the reason why it is not plausible to say **John made Mary deliberately quit her job.*)¹² *Make* presents the causative situation in a less detached way. The internalizing effect of the involvement of the causee’s inner self may be utilized for the expression of emotiveness.

The structuration of the causative situation rendered by means of *cause* can be summarized as follows. *Cause* presents the causative situation in a bare, skeletal form, i.e., as one type of situation which involves two causally related events. That is, *cause* is mute about

10 Tim Leonard, “Vajda set to give it another go,” accessed July 16, 2014, <http://www.northjersey.com/sports/high-school-sports/girls-soccer/vajda-set-to-give-it-another-go-1.989922?page=all>

11 “Nathalie Lambert,” *Wikipedia*, last modified March 34, 2014, accessed July 2, 2013, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nathalie_Lambert.

12 According to Givón (2001, 46), *deliberately* is ruled out because the causee does not retain intentionality or control.

the involvement of the causee's self in the act of causation. Both the causing event and the caused event have a relatively autonomous status. (The independent position of the caused event asserts itself in the possibility of forming sentences like *John caused Mary to deliberately quit her job.*) The indirectness of the causation as encoded in *cause* thus rests on the autonomous position of the causing event and the caused event. Since *cause* is mute about the involvement of the causee's inner self, it is devoid of an internalizing effect. *Cause* is thus predisposed to render the causative situation in a detached, matter-of-fact way.

Chapter Four

Olga Richterová

It Is Surprising: Do Participial Adjectives after Copular Verbs Form a Special Evaluative Construction? A Contrastive View

1. Introduction

The present chapter¹ aims at combining corpus linguistics, data-driven methodology and some elements of construction grammar, which sees “function and form as inseparable from each other” (Fried and Östman 2004). Furthermore, the larger perspective is that of POS-categories. Does the prevailing division of parts of speech into verbs, nouns and adjectives (as well as other categories, all of them representing highest-level semantics), remain plausible when participial forms are put under scrutiny? The author compares three languages to view the phenomenon from a contrastive perspective.

1.1 Object of Study

This study takes a close look at specific forms, the so-called present participles, also termed participle I (Partizip I) or *-ing* forms.² In general, these seem to abandon their verbal qualities and begin to behave in a noun-like way. The originally verbal stem is modified by the addition of a final morpheme allowing the occurrence of these forms in

1 The chapter was written as a part of the grant project P406/11/2021 (*Nature of Linguistic Categorization through the Study of Categorial Hybrids: Diachronic Evidence*) funded by the Czech Science Foundation (GAČR). It draws on various discussions with other project members, especially the project coordinator Mirjam Fried.

2 In Czech, they can be found in grammar books under the heading *příčestí přítomné*, or they are labelled as derivatives of the transgressive form, *přechodník*.

adnominal as well as nominal positions. Under certain conditions, these forms can even become grammaticalized as prepositions and conjunctions.³

The present chapter is not limited to investigating the topic in present-day English; to begin with, it addresses the distribution of these deverbal forms in a typologically different, highly inflected language: Czech. Following the comparison of the Czech and English material, German material is also examined in order to avoid a distortion of the view brought about by results which are contrastive, yet still language-specific.

What, then, do these individual forms look like? In Czech, the final morpheme *-ící/oucí* is added to the verbal stem in the following way:⁴ *následovat* “to follow”: *následuj + ící => následující* “following.” In German, the morpheme in question is *-end* (or *-ernd/erlnd*): *sagen + end => sagend*. Another option observed in the nominalization process is the addition of an incorporated object and the creation of forms such as *nicneříkající, nichtssagend* “*nothingsaying.” In English, the multifunctional *-ing* morpheme is, among other uses, found in progressive verbal forms (*be + V-ing*). In all these three languages, however, the resulting forms are found in the positions of adjectives (*vynikající – hervorragend – outstanding*) and nouns (*cestující – der Reisende* “traveller”; *lodging; warning*), as well as the above-mentioned grammatical words (note the similarity of the meaning of the English *concerning/regarding sth* and German *etw betreffend* with the Czech *související s / týkající se*), and also in positions which are to be classified as (still) verbal. In these, the forms in question usually appear in sentences retaining the S-V-O word order and verbal complementation (e.g., “*listopadové rozhodnutí soudu, říkající, že . . .*”: [the November court decision]S [saying]V [that . . .]O – subordinate object clause; “*Téma jistě nevšední, málo říkající střední generaci*”: [A surely extraordinary topic]S [saying]V [little]direct object [to the middle-aged]indirect object).

As far as I am aware, more specific descriptions of the participle I forms, approaching these forms from the perspective of categorial change and its implications for language use, are almost non-existent for contemporary Czech,⁵ and very rare for German as well as for English; for this reason, the present study will hopefully represent a helpful contribution to a better understanding of the ways in which people use these forms in written texts.

Given the complexity of the whole issue, and two studies preceding this one which have focused on individual aspects of the usage of these forms in synchronic written Czech (Richterová 2012) and German (Richterová 2011), a special syntactic position – the one following a copular verb⁶ and exemplified as *It is surprising* – was identified as worthy of particular investigation. This special construction seems to attract a special

3 Cf. *concerning, regarding, notwithstanding* in English – or forms such as *dementsprechend* or *betreffend* in German (Richterová 2012).

4 For a detailed description, see Fried (2008), Karlík et al. (2008), Cvrček et al. (2010), *Mluvnice češtiny* 1.

5 Cf. the diachronic studies published by Fried (2007, 2008).

6 In copular (linking) verbs, “a subject element or a predication adjunct . . . cannot be dropped without changing the meaning of the verb” (Quirk and Greenbaum 1990). In Czech, only the verb *to be* “*byť*” is unambiguously classified as a copula, since in copular constructions it can be interpreted as a purely grammatical form linking the subject to the nominal part of the predicate and not bearing any other meaning on its own.

semantic group of participial adjectives performing the language function of evaluation. Even some adjectives that may be perceived as non-evaluative at first glance (*fungující – functioning, working, operating*) were later proven to be evaluative by the analysis of their collocation paradigms.

The whole chapter is organized as follows: First, there is a discussion of the fundamental concepts underlying the study with emphasis on work by Poldauf, as well as a description of data sources and tools used. Following that comes a section on the discovery procedure, and then a section on the results including a detailed analysis of collocation paradigms of selected *-ící/oucí* forms and a re-validation of the Czech data on English and German.

1.2 Theoretical Background

The first notion to be discussed in this section is that of **parts of speech** or **word classes**. Since ancient language descriptions, fundamental categorizations have distinguished between lexical items referring to objects and to processes and actions. This is a view which still remains current, with a certain refinement of formulation, to this day:

The noun, for instance, is a category of words embodying as lexeme carriers linguistic concepts of “objects” (things, persons, animals, etc.) incl “objectifications.” The basis of this word category is the conceptual category of objectiveness (*Gegenständlichkeit*), a noun being, in principle, based on the abstraction of “concrete.”

Similarly, the verb is a category of words embodying as lexeme-carriers linguistic concepts of “actions” and “processes.” . . .

Thus, the sovereign position of the word category “verb” is indicated by its non-participation in the (direct) expression of any other concept than one subsumable under “action” or “process”, or “anything viewed as being in progress or valid in time.” (Poldauf 1967, 9–10)

On reading Poldauf’s definition, a number of questions arise: Does this purely semantic definition hold? In other words: can a verb be understood as a lexical item containing the semantic features of “action” or “process/progress” only? And how to deal with situations which blur the distinction between nouns and verbs and seem to transgress the boundaries of the above-mentioned definition?⁷

Of course, the situation of adjectives as attributes is slightly different. Yet I propose that the syntactic criterion (i.e., the item is classified as *x* or *z* both on the basis of its semantics

⁷ Poldauf was not unaware of this issue. To quote his own work: “The most frequently adduced examples of ‘transgressions’ of categorial boundaries are the concepts given verbal expression in such nouns as arrival, growth, goodness, maternity, strictly not subsumable under the abstraction of ‘objective’ or ‘material’, but, rather, under ‘what is progressing in time’ (arrive, grow) and ‘what it is possible to notice in persons and things, though not as progressing in time’ (good, [being] mother). These concepts, however, are frequently little more than abbreviations – compressed expressions of the simplest communications, a kind of ‘phrasograms’, or ‘transforms’ – of the communications which we are used to call simple predications: arrival ‘the fact that x arrives/arrived/will arrive’, growth ‘the circumstance that x grows/grew/will grow’, goodness ‘the fact that x is . . . good’, maternity ‘the circumstance that x is . . . mother’” (Poldauf 1967, 10).

and its distributional and syntactic behavior), mentioned in most grammar books, be applied here – although it is semantics that precedes (and supersedes) the formal behavior of lexical items (but once again, semantics is difficult to access and syntax can be, at certain times at least, taken as its proxy or visible representation).

The second concept to be addressed relates to the terminology connected to the many ways of referring to the phenomenon we are interested in: **-ing forms, gerunds, present participles, verbal nouns or participial adjectives (PAs)** – to mention at least some of them. Again, we can find in Poldauf (1955) the acknowledgement that no definition can ensure a 100 % distinction between participial forms and gerunds. What Poldauf considers a significantly easier procedure is the identification of verbal nouns, which in his view are comparable to action nouns.⁸ Interestingly, other authors suggest not using the term *gerund* at all (cf. Quirk and Greenbaum 1990). Since the present analysis does not aim to focus on terminology, its main object of study being participial forms becoming adjectives (i.e., participial adjectives), the descriptive term *-ing* form will be used (or the *-ící/oucí* form and the *-end* form for Czech and German, respectively).

The third theoretical notion that is fundamental to the present analysis is that of **construction**, understood in line with the definition found in Fried and Östman (2004): “Grammatical constructions are symbolic signs and represent the basic building blocks of a linguistic analysis. . . . A construction is an *abstract*, representational entity, . . . the actually occurring linguistic expressions, such as sentences and phrases, are not constructions, but constructs.” Such an understanding of constructions enables us to capture the interplay of semantics and syntax/grammar, which is exactly what the topic of this study requires.

In this respect, it is interesting to quote Poldauf (1967, 21) once again: “In language, lexicon and grammar may also sometimes act against each other and reveal similitude or at least features in common, since basically the same abstractions may underlie lexical and grammatical categories.” Unfortunately, we cannot ask the author for further clarification on the expression “act against each other,” but it is possible to deduce that he wanted to stress the competition between word forms such as “repeatedly” or “again” and the grammatical category of aspect (realized, e.g., in Slavic imperfective verbs) which both bear basically the same meaning.⁹

For the sake of clarity, other terms referring to possibly very similar phenomena to the terms *construction* and *construct* (e.g., patterns, structures, syntagms, etc.) will not be applied throughout the present study.

8 “Following the identification of verbal nouns (VN), one can talk of the gerund only (G). The participle, then, becomes simply a G which operates in the sentence outside the framework of sentence constituents primarily taken by nouns and which does not depend on the preposition (Gp)” (Poldauf 1955, 204; my translation). Original: “Je proto výhodné po vydělení verbálních substantiv (VN) mluvit jen o gerundu (G). Participium je pak prostě G, který funguje ve větě mimo větné členy primárně obhospodařované substantivy a nezávisí na předložce (Gp).”

9 Credit for this comment goes to the author’s colleague Václav Cvrček, with whom this section was discussed when under preparation.

The penultimate concept requiring our attention in this section is that of **evaluation or evaluativeness**. Again, a quote from Poldauf (1968, 2) will clarify the issue: “The general idea of evaluation is *y strikes x as being so-and-so*.” What matters in this approach is how (if at all) the difference between evaluation and “delimitation” is defined, i.e., how to classify predications such as *The wall is astonishing* and *The wall is white*, to use Poldauf’s (and Weinreich’s) example sentences. Poldauf admits that the boundaries are blurred:

owing to the fact that similar forms are employed to introduce both the evaluator and the standard. – Since evaluation implies some sort of effect upon an evaluator, the best criterion seems to be the possibility of interpreting the predication as containing the semantic feature of immediate, necessarily apprehended, not merely sensuous, positive or negative, effect on man. (Poldauf 1968, 4)

Poldauf describes variations on either copulative constructions or constructions using verbs expressing personal attitude (evaluation) – *find sth xy, strike as xy, sth feels/seems xy* – and concedes that “the form does not guarantee that we have to do with an evaluation” (1968, 5). Furthermore, he admits the scalability of the phenomenon: “Apparently, the expression of evaluation tends to be minimal,” and gives an example of such low-level evaluativeness: “for instance the *feel* employed in (*it feels pleasant*) can never be expanded (*be feeling*)” (Poldauf 1968, 5).

All in all, we can draw the conclusion that Poldauf views evaluation as a subset of qualification (or quality attribution, or delimitation):

The attribution of qualities (evaluation, in particular) is implicit for instance in *I admire her singing* (that is I consider her singing to be beautiful). In *the city’s growth was surprising*, the difference lies in the lexical value of *surprising*: (1) causing surprise, (2) so great or so intensive as to cause surprise (evaluation). (Poldauf, 1967, 10)

For the purposes of this study, the most important thing about evaluation is the explicit presence of subjective perspective.¹⁰ Furthermore, I understand evaluation as a scalable phenomenon (bordering on delimitation or qualification) that expresses both “striking” personal standpoints, views or similar notions that are clearly distinguishable from those of other evaluators, as well as predications that could be agreed upon by a large group of others – up to being on the verge of a mere description.¹¹ Most importantly, the ultimate decision on whether an expression or construct is evaluative

10 Other definitions, such as that evaluation is “the subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate,” could be cited at this point (Martin and White 2005), but it is not necessary to delve further into the topic here as it is not crucial to this study.

11 Cf. the notorious definition of an optimist / a pessimist – describing a glass as half-empty or half-full – is an act of low-level evaluativeness, to apply Poldauf’s above-cited term.

or not has to be based on the immediate context – it is the intra- and extratextual environment which disambiguates meaning (including also the categorial structure of the environment).

Finally, the notion of **collocation** needs mentioning, though it does not allow for an in-depth discussion, given its complexity and the lack of agreement among linguists on a single definition as well as on the best use of the term.¹² Let it suffice to say that a collocation is a frequent co-occurrence of words having one meaning as a syntagm, with the addition that it is often identified with the help of association measures. In addition, the famous quote by J.R. Firth, “You shall know a word by the company it keeps,” expresses the idea that words (collocations – or the word’s company) grouped around another word (the central word, or node) enable access to the node’s meaning by forming its **collocation paradigm**; this is the last term to be mentioned in this introductory section (given that the term **copular verb** was addressed in footnote 6).

1.3 Data Sources and Tools

For Czech, the most recent referential corpus of synchronous Czech available was used, SYN2010, comprising 100 million words taken from three large text type groups: journalism, fiction, and professional texts. The corpus is a balanced representation of contemporary written Czech (mostly dating from 2004–9) and considered standard by editors and proofreaders.

For English, the BNC (now more than 20 years old) was used as a balanced referential corpus of 100 million words (although another drawback to the comparability of the two corpora was the fact that the BNC has a spoken component). For purposes of double-checking, the very large ukWaC corpus (with two billion words) was utilized.

For German, the Tagged-T component of DeReKo (the largest German corpus) was accessed, comprising about 1.2 billion words taken mostly from journalistic texts, though also containing a smaller component of fictional texts (precise numbers are very difficult to obtain from the website.)¹³

And which tools were applied to query and analyze these corpora? For the Czech and English corpora, a proximity-based tool for discovering collocations was utilized. The tool is still under development and has been beta-tested at the Institute of the Czech National Corpus; it was presented at the conference Corpus Linguistics 2013 in Lancaster (Cvrček et al. 2013).

For these two languages, the study also used a statistics-based method of discovering collocation paradigms. The same association measures (logDice, MI-score, and t-score) with the same settings (windows of -3 to 3 words; search for lemmata) were

12 Cf. the recent article by Gries (2013): “50-Something Years of Work on Collocations: What Is or Should Be Next.”

13 Institut für Deutsche Sprache, *Cosmas 2 Korpora*, Institut für Deutsche Sprache, last modified September 9, 2012, <http://www.ids-mannheim.de/cosmas2/projekt/referenz/archive.html>.

utilized both with the newly developed KonText corpus workbench¹⁴ as well as with the so-called NoSketch Engine.

For German, the features available in the IDS-corpus workbench allow the use of the same statistics-based measures; only the name given to the tool is different (Kookkurrenzen).

2. Discovery Procedure

Preliminary proximity- and statistics-based analysis of *-ing* forms showed the tendency of some to co-occur with the verb *to be*, particularly in the construction *It/that + is + -ing form*. The initial hypothesis stated that these forms might show semantic distinctiveness when compared to other *-ing* (*-ící/oucí, -end*) forms (Section 1.1).

2.1 Czech as the Starting Point

The highly distinctive *-ící/oucí* final morpheme in Czech was chosen as the starting point of the analysis. The hypothesis stating that the semantics of *-ící/oucí* PAs in copular predicates differs from the semantics of PAs in other syntactic positions can only be proven for copular constructs identifiable via the corpus queries used. Due to an awareness of the fact that the elements forming the construct can occur in various syntactic positions (especially in Czech), a large number of options need to be looked into. Following an analysis of a number of frequent constructions containing a copula and a PA, results concerning Czech were retrieved (Section 3).

2.2 English for Comparison

The situation in English is completely different: the *-ing* end morpheme is multifunctional and any automatic distinction of word classes is bound to have very low precision. However, querying the BNC for the construction *It is + any adjective ending in -ing* followed by a punctuation mark shows constructs sharing certain semantic features.

This leaves us with the hypothesis formed on the basis of the Czech data and not rejected by the English data.

2.3 German as a Corrective

While being aware of the fact that German is typologically much closer to English than Czech, I still consider a re-evaluation of the hypothesis on large German data to be useful. It will provide another insight into the behavior of *-end/ -ing* forms and will show whether my interpretation of the suggested construction holds or not.

¹⁴ Based on the Sketch Engine, further modified at the Institute of the Czech National Corpus.

3. The Results

First, the results for Czech will be given, including a description of the entire discovery procedure. They will then be followed by a comparison with their English counterparts. Finally, I will perform a re-validation using the German data.

3.1 Most Frequent Participle I Forms

The form-driven querying for *-ící/oucí* forms¹⁵ delivered 350,126 hits for SYN2010, i.e., 2,877.7 instances per million, not excluding any matches. The following most frequent forms were obtained:

Rank	Most frequent <i>-ící/oucí</i> forms in written Czech	Tokens (SYN2010)	i.p.m.
1	<i>vedoucí</i> (N – leader, V possible) [Mov]	14 967	123
2	<i>následující</i> (Adj – following, V possible) [Mov]	13 290	109
3	<i>budoucí</i> (Adj – future) [Exist]	8 225	68
4	<i>cestující</i> (N – traveler, V possible) [Mov]	5 457	45
5	<i>vynikající</i> (Adj – outstanding, V possible)	5 437	45
6	<i>rozhodující</i> (Adj – decisive, deciding, V possible)	4 993	41
7	<i>rostoucí</i> (Adj – rising, growing, V possible) [Mov]	4 731	39
8	<i>odpovídající</i> (Adj – fitting, adequate, answering, V possible)	4 244	35
9	<i>stávající</i> (Adj – current, V possible) [Exist]	4 180	34
10	<i>žijící</i> (Adj – living, V possible) [Exist]	3 714	31

Table 1. An overview of ten most frequent Czech *-ící/oucí* forms in SYN2010. N: noun, Adj: adjective, V: verb

Table 1 shows that the form-driven query delivers both deverbal nouns and adjectives (mostly originating from verbs of movement – indicated by [Mov] – and synchronically referring either to temporal development or to physical movement; some verbs also denote existentiality, here indicated by [Exist]). At first glance, only two forms seem to explicitly express the attitude of the speaker (*outstanding*, *decisive*), and only one appears to retain its verbal features and a concrete meaning of “answering.” However, this form also shows a clear tendency to adjectival usage (with the meaning “adequate”); that is why I consider it worth highlighting and looking into as another assumed evaluative.

All in all, the most frequent *-ící/oucí* 80 forms were analyzed for the purpose of the present study. To access their semantics, their collocation paradigms were created and shared semantic features were identified (if present).

¹⁵ Given the unreliability of the way these forms are tagged (due to their inherently transient character), I avoided tags in the query and only searched for [lemma = “.*[íu]cí”].

3.2 Collocates of Participle I Forms

First, the proximity-based approach was applied. It proved useful in revealing prominent syntactic constructions and highlighting the absolutely central collocates. For the word *odpovídající* (literally meaning “answering”), it singled out the conjunction *a* “and,” the verb *být* “to be,” the preposition *v* “in,” and the noun *způsob* “way, form.” The last collocate is very straightforward given the semantics of the form: *odpovídající způsob* is actually an evaluative expression for denoting an “adequate way” (of doing something). Another example is the collocation paradigm of *fungující* “operating, functioning, working,” which occurs among the first 80 *-ící/oucí* forms analyzed: the proximity-based approach highlights three collocates: *být* “to be,” *a* “and,” and *dobře* “well.”

For English, the query [lemma = “*.ing”] was not comparable with the Czech one, due to the productivity of the polyfunctional morpheme *-ing*. Given the necessity to restrict the query, the following option was chosen: [lemma = “*.ing” & tag = “A.*”] enables us to match both adjectives and adverbs (which helps in cases of mistaken tagging) and contains in the first 20 places the following forms: *following, interesting, existing, leading, working, growing, increasing, remaining, willing, living, surprising, continuing, exciting, developing, fucking, outstanding, changing, ruling, managing, underlying* (in that order).

As for the forms collocating with *být* or *to be*, the following forms were identified, neither fully supporting nor rejecting the original hypothesis that *být / to be* + participle is a semantically distinctive construction. The main focus of the study being on Czech, 80 forms were thoroughly investigated for this language. For English, the analyzed group was restricted to 20 forms:

English and Czech word forms which frequently occur in copular position	
English (out of the first 20 adjectival <i>-ing</i> forms)	Czech (out of the first 80 <i>-ící/oucí</i> forms)
interesting	vynikající (outstanding)
surprising	rozhodující (decisive/deciding)
exciting	odpovídající (fitting, adequate, answering)
fucking ¹⁶	stávající (current)
outstanding	věřící (believing/believer)
	žádoucí (welcome)

Table 2. Proximity-based collocational paradigms with *to be / být*

¹⁶ What appears here are sentences such as “You know that there is a fucking war on?” or “Don’t be fucking stupid.”

In the next step, the association measures implemented in the KonText workbench were utilized, with the main emphasis on LogDice. Five semantic groups were identified for Czech. Besides the above-mentioned tendency for the *-ící/oucí* forms to express more abstract semantics with respect to (i) temporal development and (ii) existentiality, the movement away from concreteness was confirmed by forms expressing (iii) relations: *týkající se* or *související s* can be translated as *concerning* or *regarding* and are representatives of possible categorial change from verbs to prepositions and conjunctions. Of course, certain forms keep (iv) their original concrete meaning. But there is also the last group of (v) evaluative forms, comprising up to one eighth of the investigated sample. Their collocates are briefly summarized in Table 3 to illustrate the evaluativeness of the node form:

Czech evaluative forms	Selected collocates of these forms based predominantly on LogDice, results for SYN2010
vynikající “outstanding”	Abstract nouns modified by this form refer to “influenceable” phenomena which usually underlie assessment procedures: <i>vlastnost</i> “characteristics, feature, quality,” <i>výkon</i> “performance,” <i>pověst</i> “reputation,” <i>výsledek</i> “result,” <i>kvalita</i> “quality,” <i>nápad</i> “idea,” or refer to an artist (i.e., the creator of something which has an aesthetic, debatable value): “actor,” “singer,” or “musician”: <i>herec</i> , <i>zpěvák</i> , <i>muzikant</i>
rozhodující “decisive, deciding”	Copular in about half the cases: <i>To je rozhodující</i> “It is decisive.” <i>To have</i> + nouns: <i>mít</i> + <i>rozhodující</i> + <i>úlohu/rolí</i> “role,” <i>hlas</i> “voice,” <i>slovo</i> “word,” <i>význam</i> “meaning, importance,” <i>vliv</i> “influence.” Nominal collocates: <i>faktor</i> “factor,” <i>kritérium</i> “criterion,” <i>okamžik/moment</i> “moment” further stress the meaning of a crucial point in time or in a social hierarchy.
odpovídající “fitting, adequate, answering”	This form is mostly used in the context of legal terms left at the discretion of a judge or another decision-maker: <i>věcné břemeno</i> “easement,” <i>náhrada</i> “compensation,” <i>částka</i> “amount,” <i>zajištění</i> “securing, ensuring sth.” Other nominal collocates are: <i>kvalifikace</i> “qualification,” <i>způsob</i> “way,” <i>hodnota</i> “value” – the last one is typical of technical/non-fictional texts and refers to various benchmarks, thus clearly exposing that in non-technical contexts, the form <i>odpovídající</i> also refers to standards or norms, but that these are implied and non-explicit.
žádoucí “welcome”	The collocates of the affirmative and negative form (<i>nežádoucí</i> “unwelcome”) differ as to the coordinated adjectives: <i>škodlivý</i> “harmful,” <i>nebezpečný</i> “dangerous”; but they are shared for the nouns: <i>účinek</i> , <i>efekt</i> “effect,” <i>jev</i> “phenomenon.”
vzrušující “exciting”	Adverbial intensifying collocates: <i>úžasně</i> , <i>nesmírně</i> , <i>ohromně</i> “terribly, immensely, vastly”; nominal: <i>dobrodružství</i> “adventure,” <i>zážitek</i> “adventure, experience,” <i>podívaná</i> “spectacle, performance, show”

Czech evaluative forms	Selected collocates of these forms based predominantly on LogDice, results for SYN2010
fungující “functioning, working, operating”	Adverbial collocates: <i>dobře</i> “well,” <i>dokonale</i> “perfectly,” <i>normálně</i> “normally,” <i>perfektně</i> “perfectly,” <i>skvěle</i> “excellently,” <i>spolehlivě</i> “reliably,” <i>správně</i> “correctly,” <i>špatně</i> “in a wrong way” are 100% evaluative.
vyhovující “adequate, fitting, appropriate”	The collocates of the affirmative and negative form (<i>nevyhovující</i> “inadequate”) differ: <i>nevyhovující hygienické podmínky</i> “inadequate hygienic conditions” and <i>nevyhovující technický stav</i> “inadequate technical condition” are the most prominent; an analysis of intensifying adverbs: <i>plně vyhovující</i> “fully in compliance,” <i>absolutně nevyhovující</i> “fully, absolutely inadequate” further shows that with some adverbs (<i>naprosto, zcela</i> – also meaning “fully”) the negative form <i>nevyhovující</i> prevails, but is not the only option.
okouzlující “charming”	Modifies nouns referring to positively perceived female figures: <i>hostitelka</i> “hostess,” <i>ženuška</i> “wifey” (NB the diminutive form!), <i>krasavice, kráska</i> “beauty”; co-occurs with nouns of well-liked physical appearance: <i>šarm</i> “charm, grace,” <i>úsměv</i> “smile”; or with adjectives describing generally amiable people: <i>vtipný</i> “witty,” <i>zdvořilý</i> “polite,” <i>elegantní</i> “elegant,” <i>pohledný</i> “handsome.”
hrozící “threatening”	This form paints an even bleaker picture of various abstract nouns of destruction: <i>nebezpečí</i> “danger,” <i>úpadek</i> “decline,” <i>pandemie</i> “pandemic,” <i>recese</i> “recession”; and co-occurs with verbs that bear the semantics of dealing with danger or threat: <i>zažehnat, odvrátit, odvracet</i> “avert, combat.”
fascinující “fascinating”	Nouns: <i>podívaná</i> “view,” <i>scenerie, krajina</i> “scenery, landscape,” <i>zážitek</i> “adventure, experience,” <i>příběh</i> “story.” Coordinated adjectives reveal the ambivalent nature of human fascination: <i>úžasný, děsivý, tajemný</i> “astonishing, terrifying, mysterious” and the linking of fascination to being beyond the grasp of human intellect (i.e., impenetrable and slightly eerie – cf. the nominal collocates above).

Table 3. Collocational paradigms of evaluative *-ící/oucí* forms (SYN2010, first 80 forms)

The close analysis summarized in Table 3 reveals, among other things, the significant – and sometimes negative – impact of lemmatization that automatically combines affirmative and negative forms (e.g., *vyhovující* and *nevyhovující* “in/adequate”) irrespective of potentially strongly diverging collocation paradigms (indicative of meaning change).

All in all, Table 3 comprises various ways in which evaluation is realized in the forms identified: either by prominent adverbial collocates (*well functioning*) or by the specific semantics of the collocation paradigm (e.g., “the meaning of a crucial point in time or in a social hierarchy” for *rozhodující* “decisive”). This analysis provides support for the

otherwise somewhat “daring” claim that, e.g., the form *fungující* is used in an evaluative way to such an extent that it has become an evaluative form itself, or that the form *rozhodující* is not (at least not frequently) used in a verbal way.

3.3 Constructions Identified

Both the proximity-based and association measure-based procedures revealed the prominence of the copular use of *to be* and the need for its further investigation. In addition, a significant percentage of frequent *-ící/oucí* forms was identified as expressing the language function of evaluation. These two observations could be combined into a query for copularly occurring evaluative forms. After some initial queries, the following one was used:

[lemma = "být"] [lemma = ".*[íu]cí"] [tag = "Z.*"]
lemma *to be* + *-ící/oucí form* + punctuation mark

For these cases in which the copula immediately precedes the PA within the same sentence and a punctuation mark follows, highly interesting results were initially obtained. The query delivered 2,737 instances (22.5 i.p.m.) in SYN2010. Out of the first 50 PAs, only 10 can occur in a non-evaluative function; that is to say, four fifths of the investigated forms in the analyzed construction are evaluative.

An analysis of the frequency distribution of tags revealed the most frequent realization of the verb *to be* the 3rd person singular in the present tense (VB-S---3P.*), i.e., *je* “is.” Then, in each case the subject of this verb was looked for, and it emerged that this subject is often a pronoun that performs the function of reference to the whole context or situation. Following this discovery, an even more precise query could be formulated, with the aim of increasing the precision of the results and taking into consideration word order changes:

ten “the/that” + *být* “to be” + *-ící/oucí form* // *být* “to be” + *ten* “the/that” + *-ící/oucí form*

[a vague and general subject: reference to prior discourse, whole context or situation] [3rd-person singular pronoun mostly at sentence/clause-initial position]
[3rd-person singular verb in present tense] [an evaluative PA *-ící/oucí form*]

The results for Czech (*rozhodující*, *vynikající*, *žádoucí*, *dostačující*, *vzrušující*, *alarmující*, *fascinující*, *vyhovující*, *vedoucí*, *znepokojující*, *potěšující*, *stresující*, *zkreslující*, *zavádějící*, *zarážející*) feature a long list of purely evaluative forms, thus fully supporting the hypothesis. Given the limitations of this study with respect to its length, let it suffice to say that the same query that substituted *-ící/oucí* forms with regular adjectives confirmed the need for a PA to be present for the construction to be clearly and predominantly evaluative. Typical constructs represented in the corpus investigated here are: “To je rozhodující/alarmující/osvěžující . . .” (It is decisive/alarming/refreshing . . .)

Only the results for the construction identified above were looked into for English; the query *it/that + is + Adj-*.ing + punctuation*¹⁷ delivers 206 hits in the BNC, covering 80 types, of which only 11 are non-evaluative and occur only once.¹⁸ The results are summarized in Table 4:

Rank	Most frequent <i>-ing</i> forms in English (BNC) in the construction <i>It + is + -ing</i>	Fq
1	interesting	30
2	surprising	16
3	disgusting	12
4	appalling	7
5	misleading	6
6	exciting	6
7	tempting	5
8	striking	5
9	frightening	5
10	encouraging	5

Table 4. Ten most frequent *-ing* forms in *It/that + is + -ing + punctuation* construction in the BNC

An analysis of ukWaC data lacks the option to use tags, so the 7,038 hits matching the query contain many progressive forms of verbs (*doing, happening, going, working, raining, running, growing, moving, changing, operating*). Following an exclusion of these 10 forms, the 20 most frequent hits further contain these words (in declining order of frequency): *interesting, amazing, surprising, exciting, missing, boring, tempting, disappointing, frustrating*. (The last form to be mentioned is *nothing*, not belonging to any of these groups given its word-formation basis.) So can we proclaim the hypothesis to be most probably valid (or, scientifically speaking, not rejected)?

3.4 Re-validation on German Data

The German data were utilized to perform another contrastive analysis and show whether the hypothesis holds for another language too. The Tagged-T component of DeReko and the *das/es/dies + ist + -end Adj + clause-final position* query confirms the

¹⁷ [word = "[Ii]t|[Tt]hat"] [word = "is"] [word = ".*ing & tag = "A.*"] [word = "\.|\,|;|,|\:|\?|\!"]

¹⁸ Single-instance types: *fast-drying, wide-ranging, simmering, self-renovating, self-reinforcing, nose-rubbing, driving, fast growing/moving, blow-drying, law-making* contain several lowly evaluative expressions, especially when the adverb *fast* is present.

evaluativeness of the *-end*-form: *erschreckend* “terrifying,” *frustrierend* “frustrating,” *spannend* “exciting,” *überwältigend* “overwhelming,” *anstrengend* “exhausting,” *beschämend* “embarrassing” are only a few examples of the 53 evaluative forms, all of them “fully in compliance” with the test of collocation paradigms. The three single-instance non-evaluative forms (*bindend* “binding,” *umweltschonend* “environmentally friendly,” *wärmeregulierend* “regulating warmth”) do not reject the hypothesis, although the low frequency of the construction should be acknowledged.¹⁹

What is very illustrative is the collocation paradigm of *funktionierend*, a near equivalent of *fungující* “functioning, working, operating.” Again, the group of its adverbial modifiers is as follows: *reibungslos* “smooth,” *einwandfrei* “faultless,” *gut* “good,” *effizient* “efficient,” *ordnungsgemäß* “proper, according to the rules,” etc., thus confirming the evaluative nature of this form.

4. Conclusions and Discussion

The present study shows how a specific participial (*-ing* or *-ící/oucí*) form contributes to the evaluativeness of a construction which refers to a vague subject that is immediately present in the given context. The form, which is otherwise used to perform a number of functions, tends to be focused on expressing the stance of the speaker when part of the construction identified in this paper. Individual constructs were explored in Czech, English and German, and collocational paradigms were used as another way of validating the hypothesis.

Other questions asked at the beginning of this study were as follows: Does the prevailing division of parts of speech into verbs, nouns and adjectives (as well as other categories, all of them representing highest-level semantics), remain plausible when participial forms are put under scrutiny? This question has to remain open, as this study did not allow for an in-depth analysis of more than one specific construction; however, the forms used as syntactic adjectives seem to abandon their verbal qualities and begin to behave like attributes; expressing qualities and modifying the characteristics of the nominal heads of the phrases in which they occur or of the subjects to which they are related. By doing so, their description as adjectives appears to be beneficial and appropriate.

Given the aim of contributing to a better understanding of the ways in which people perform evaluation in written texts, the above-mentioned idea of competing (or mutually complementary?) lexical items and (grammatical) constructions seems to correspond with the language data observed.

Overall, it can be said that syntax can, at least at certain times, be taken as the proxy or visible representation of semantics, which is exemplified in the construction [clause-initial position] [*It* / referent to a situation] [*is*] [evaluative PA-form] [clause-final

¹⁹ The query in Tagged-T, (& das oder & es oder & dies) ist (*end /w0 MORPH(ADJ d)) /w0 <se>, delivered 123 hits, i.e., 0.015 i.p.m.

position]. In this construction, where participial adjectives follow copular verbs and refer to a usually vague context/situation, these PAs share a common semantic feature of evaluation. My preliminary research has shown that a similar construction can be found in both German and English, where the tendency still needs to be more thoroughly investigated – along with the differences in the usage of this construction in various genres and text types.

Avenues for further research lie both in the analysis of other modifications of the above-identified construction (especially with respect to the mood and tense of the copula and with respect to word order) and in analyzing frequent PA-forms such as *týkající se* “concerning” or *související s* “regarding” which are representatives of possible categorial change from verbs to conjunctions.

Chapter Five

Jarmila Tárnyiková

Clines of Categoriality in Ivan Poldauf's Theoretical Framework

Problems of categorization are still very much with us.
(Enkvist 1994, 43)

1. Background

Poldauf's scientific research extends over a number of linguistic domains, which he approached not only as an Anglicist, but also as a Bohemist, a contrastive and general linguist, and last but not least, a university teacher who was interested in educational linguistics and ELT methodology. This multifaceted perspective enabled him (1) to penetrate more deeply into what Halliday and Webster (2009, 231) refer to as the *architecture of language*; (2) to identify networks of mutual relations; and (3) to foresee processes and results which fully emerged decades later, from large language corpora, as relevant contributions to a more *delicate* taxonomy of language entities – cf. Halliday and Webster's (2009, 231) *cline of delicacy*.

Although his articles and studies do not allow for casual reading, after a second or a third reading we cannot but envy him his wealth of knowledge and experience, and hypothesize how he, with his great erudition and distinguished scholarship, would have benefited from the data obtained nowadays from language corpora – most probably in the role identified by Fillmore (1992) as that of a “computer aided armchair linguist,” nodding in agreement to Sinclair's (1991, 100) observation that “the language looks rather different when you look at a lot of it at once,” but also sharing Enkvist's (1994, 43) reservations about computers, which “in their present-day form are indeed epistemic tyrants insisting on clear, discrete classification.”

If Poldauf had had access to concordance versions of language corpora, he would have benefited from the large amount of items contained in them, insights into the variability of constructions in which they can occur, and knowledge of their authentic

contextual settings, on which, e.g., Michael Hoey (2007) – four decades later – based his concept of *lexical priming*, i.e., the fact that “we subconsciously keep a record of the context and co-text of the word so that cumulatively as we re-encounter the word (or combination of words) we build up a record of its collocations.” (For details see Hoey 2007, 7–8.)

But instead of meditating about what Poldauf could have done if . . . , let us turn to his scholarly achievements and focus on what he was capable of doing within the limited possibilities of manually compiled excerpts of language data (prototypically rather written than spoken at that time) – but with his unmatched ability of precise thinking. There is no doubt that this is the reason why his ideas from the mid-1960s, discussed in the sections below, have remained a challenge for both quantitative and qualitative updating even to this day.

The following mutually interlinked research questions will be addressed: (1) how compatible Poldauf’s theoretical findings and proposed taxonomies of medio-passives and the third syntactical plan are within the framework of recent theories; (2) to what extent his findings from the late 1960s are suitable to become a possible theoretical basis on which to build a corpus-assisted analysis today; (3) how sound Poldauf’s proposals are in the context of present-day studies dealing with these two thematic domains. The responses will be partly explicit from my concluding remarks, and partly recoverable from my stance taken during the discussion.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: the introductory Section 1, simply entitled “Background,” is followed by a theoretical Section 2, “Dichotomies and Clines in Language Modelling,” clarifying the terminological apparatus, elucidating the need for both dichotomies and clines in language data taxonomies, and creating a framework of reference into which Poldauf’s two clines of categoriality (i.e., the gradient of passivization and the gradient of “levelling in syntax”) will be projected. *Cline of passivization: active – medio-passive – passive*, based on Poldauf’s 1969 study, deals with formal and functional properties of medio-passives and advocates their status of a medial member of the gradient of passivization. Section 3 – “A Scalar Approach to Syntax: Three Levels of Syntactic Representation,” based on Poldauf’s 1964 study “The Third Syntactical Plan” – aims to briefly outline his proposal for a new syntactic stratification or levelling, to project his findings onto recent theories, and to consider his share in anticipating the pragmatic perspective – a dimension which in the 1960s was still largely unknown, only just beginning to “creep” into linguistic description (Verschueren 1999). In Sections 2 and 3 the theoretical parts are illustrated by samples of authentic data, partly borrowed from Poldauf’s and other authors’ studies of the topic (Bakir 1996; Rosta 1992) and partly obtained from other internet sources (specified where relevant). The aim is to marshal evidence for a variety of structural configurations. Closing the whole chapter (Section 4) is a brief survey of Poldauf’s achievements based on my responses to the research questions raised in Section 1.

2. Dichotomies and Clines in Language Modeling

The gradual shift in linguistic thinking during the mid-1970s from prescriptivism to descriptivism, and the consequent shift of interest from prefabricated or intuition-based illustrative examples to authentic language data, both spoken and written, have given rise to a range of studies on various aspects of discourse, its types, properties, units, etc.

One of the findings emergent from data analysis was that a natural language, though mostly liable to regularities (on which to base taxonomies), has a peripheral domain consisting of irregularities of various kinds, manifested at various levels of language representation. In order to grasp the *fuzzy edges* of human interaction, the descriptive apparatus should be sensitive to a certain amount of *fuzziness* (*vagueness*), allowing for scales which do not force the analyst into simplifications or the exclusion of “problematic cases,” e.g., by sweeping them under the carpet.

As Enkvist (1994, 44) put it, “the Aristotelian tradition of binarism has left deep imprints amplified by the Jakobsonian (Jakobson [1959] 2004) conception of grammar as ‘real ars obligatoria’ that ‘imposes upon the speaker its yes-no decisions.’”

The existence of continua or gradients has been acknowledged in the conceptions of various linguistic schools or approaches to language. (For a brief survey of various terms used to grasp notionally perceived continua, see Tárnyiková 2000, 55–58).

For the purposes of this chapter, the terms *cline* and *scale* will be used interchangeably (cf. also Berry 1975, 26).

2.1 Cline of Passivization

In this section I will discuss what Mathesius (1975, 75) calls the *categorical transition of the verb in English*, i.e., a three-member cline of passivization, represented by the sequence: active – medio-passive – passive. My focus is on the intermediate member of the cline, i.e., the medio-passive (henceforth also abbreviated as MP), and on the way in which Poldauf approaches it and deals with its formal, functional and distributional properties in his seminal study from 1969 – “The So-Called Medio-passive in English.”

To exemplify the case, I will borrow Sweet’s example from (1891), quoted in Poldauf (1969, 15):

- (1) The book sells well.

It used to mean, in Sweet’s view: *They are selling the book well*.

Focusing on the nature of the verb, Sweet argued that *sell* is a passival verb; he pointed out, as Poldauf (1969, 15) echoes in his study, that transitive verbs are “sometimes used without an object because the subject is logically their direct object (goal, acted upon).” The reason why the subject of the active clause (i.e., *they*) is not being expressed is, in

Sweet's view, its *indefiniteness*. The activity (cf. *sell* in the sample above) is almost exclusively associated with a human being.

It emerges from the data samples discussed by Poldauf that Sweet's generalization, based on limited samples of an equally limited number of specific verbs, can hardly become a prototype on which to base the conception of a medio-passive. Neither, in Poldauf's view, is the suppression of the "indefinite" subject (*they*) the reason for suppressing the agent. In sentences similar to (1) above, the focus might be on the (permanent) property (quality) of the book rather than on its potential seller.

Before discussing Poldauf's approach, let us first clarify the terminological apparatus that was used prior to Poldauf and that has since been used in more recent studies.

Poldauf's term *medio-passive* is not the only term we can encounter in linguistic discussions, both past and present. Preceding Poldauf was Jespersen (1927) with his *passivo-active*, or, e.g., Lyons (1968) with his *pseudo-intransitive structures*, explicitly foregrounding the role of the in/transitive nature of the predicate V – which, if manifested as a pseudo-intransitive structure, can have an impact on the preferences in the category of verbal voice. O'Grady's (1980) proposal was to approach active forms with passive interpretations as *derived transitives*, while Fagan (1988) speaks about *the English middle*, and Bakir (1996) treats constructions comparable to Poldauf's illustrative samples under the heading (slightly modifying Lyons) of *pseudo-intransitive constructions*. Rosta (1992), though neither quoting Poldauf nor referring to him, closes this cursory terminological selection by simply calling the structures *mediopassives*. Stalmaszczyk's (1993, 133) *middle construction*, and Kemmer's (1993) *middle voice*, are two frequent terms used in recent studies (cf. below).

Dušková (1994, 255) uses a trio of terms used to refer to what she considers a special case of the English active voice, i.e., *mediopasivum*, *aktivum s pasívním významem* [active with a passive meaning], and *bezpříznakové pasívum* [unmarked passive] – reminding us of Mathesius' (1975, 75) idea of *neutralization*, within a scale of action verbs, ranging from *action* to its opposite pole, i.e., *suffering*, via an immediate member, i.e., *experiencing*.

Quirk et al. (1985, 167) speak about the *passive gradient*, while Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 307) – though admitting the existence of the term "middle," primarily used within the system of verbal voice – somewhat surprisingly state that "the term is certainly not applicable to English in this sense: there are just two categories in the syntactic system of voice in English, active and passive." In their treatment, the structures like *She does not frighten easily*, however, are said to have some semantic affinity with the passive (cf. their term *intransitives* used to describe such cases). What is interesting, however, is their specification of the distinction between such pairs as *The shirt irons well*. [informing us about the property of the shirt], vs. *The shirt was ironed well*. [informing us about the skill of the ironer].

Internet sources nowadays flourish with such terminological innovations as *anti-transitive verbs* or *middle verbs*, characterized as verbs that are “grammatically active though the meaning is closer to the passive,” as in *Porcelain breaks easily*.¹

Since the discussion here is based on Poldauf's study, his term *medio-passive*, or the acronym *MP*, will be used consistently throughout the rest of this chapter.

2.2 The Essence of Poldauf's Approach

Poldauf's (1969) term *medio-passive* explicitly evokes a linguistic mongrel, i.e., something “in between,” sharing the properties resulting from the process of passivization (de-agentization of the subject, prototypical of passive constructions) but preserving the active form of the predicative verb, prototypical of active voice manifestations, as in the modification of the example quoted above, *The book reads well*. Semantically, the asymmetry of the active form and its passive interpretation is associated with the incompatibility of the semantic features associated with the [-human] subject (*the book*) and the [+human] predicate (*reads*). This discrepancy results in an interpretative shift from active predications to formally active but functionally passive constructions, re-evaluated in Poldauf's view into an intermediate member of the category of verbal voice.

Unlike his predecessors, Poldauf does not generalize the incompatibility principle, since there are manifestations of MPs in which incompatibility does not hold – e.g., *Gold does not corrode. Sugar dissolves in water. Their flesh assimilates more finely.* – in which “there is no evident human agent” (29). Related to this, in a way, are also expressions of *suitability*, as in *They do not group (well) together with . . . They can (not) compare with . . .* (29).

Here is a random selection of Poldauf's (1969) illustrative samples with bracketed references to the respective pages:

- (2) Fresh-water fish do not smoke easily. (15)
- (3) Alabaster cuts smooth and easy. (33)
- (4) The dirt rubs off. (26)
- (5) The rule reads both ways. (29)
- (6) The paper sells 100 000 copies a day. (30)
- (7) The wine drank too flat. (31)
- (8) Will the clothes wash? (27)

¹ For details see “Term: Middle Verbs,” *Using English*, accessed October 20, 2013 <http://www.usingenglish.com/glossary/middle-verb.html#8lOJKBC04hWPYGL6.99>.

In order to understand Poldauf's treatment of MPs, it is essential to consider his study on medio-passives within the broader context of his conceptual network which emerged from his prior studies on the essence of the English passive and constructions of concern (1940), and on evaluative predications (1968). These studies appear to hold the key to our understanding of why Poldauf, unlike his predecessors, could disclose that the use of MPs is not exclusively determined by the nature of the subject-predicate nexus, moreover restricted to a relatively close set of verbs (i.e., a lexical matter), as claimed by Jespersen (1927), but that there are in fact other structural and contextual factors which have to be taken into consideration (cf. his view that "an explanation of the medio-passive has to be looked for in the structure of the respective sentences, while the classes of meanings of the verbs only serve to disambiguate them" (Poldauf 1969, 17).

Poldauf's thorough analysis of evaluative constructions in his 1968 study emphasized the fact that many evaluative predications result from transformations of their respective underlying clauses (cf. his example of object-raising: *It is easy to open the box.* > *The box is easy to open.* [27]). From here it was just a step to his identification of a significant group of medio-passives with *evaluative* adverbial paraphrases (*The box opens easily.*), representing a significantly large group of medio-passives of the "easiness type." The study of evaluative predications also enabled Poldauf to reveal a very frequent (and hence prototypical) structural component of medio-passive (MP) transformations, the *resistance modifier* (easily, with difficulty, with ease, badly, worse) (24). Its presence in medio-passive constructions is said to support habitual, permanent, and resistant properties associated with many MPs; cf. *The cloths are easy to wash. The cloths refuse to wash.* – having parallels "of limited occurrence" (25) in such constructions as *The cloth makes an easy washing. The book makes an interesting reading.* – or *Swallows' nests make a good meal.* (25)

There are two types of MPs in Poldauf's "easiness-type": with resistance modifiers present (*The cloths wash easily.*), or with resistance modifiers omitted (*The dirt rubs off.*) but recoverable on a pragmatic basis.

Poldauf, having compiled examples with a spectrum of MP-constructions, reached the conclusion that "[T]here is no monolithic phenomenon which should deserve the term active-passive or medio-passive verbs or predications" (1969, 34). As a result, he proposed approaching medio-passives as *a set of constructions* divided into three larger groups and a rather heterogeneous group of professional innovations (in which new senses were given to old verbs). His function-based taxonomy was as follows:

- (a) The resistance type (*Gold does not corrode.*)
- (b) The easiness type (*The clothes wash easily.*)
- (c) The becoming type (*The shirts wash clean.*)
- (d) Professional innovations (*Foreign tissue does not transplant.*)

After identifying various structural and functional types of MPs, Poldauf focused on the properties of individual constituents within the structures, such as the frequent occurrence of generic subjects, as in *Science fiction sells fast.*; or the association of a permanent property (or inclination) with affected subjects, supported by the simple present tense (*The door locks securely.*) – less frequently by the present continuous (*The fish is frying.*), and occasionally by the simple past (*The wine drank too flat.*). The existence of such constructions as *Filter-tipped cigarettes smoke delicious.* or *They handle moist and clammy.* inspired Poldauf to the conclusion that “activities connected with sensual perception” take the place of the linking verb BE (i.e., *smoke delicious < are delicious*). Their most natural occurrence is, in Poldauf’s view, in advertisements, such as *Sunkist drinks Delicious.* (31).

Once familiar with the essence of Poldauf’s sensitive (and, in the Hallidayan sense of the word, “delicate”) analysis of the phenomenon known as the medio-passive, we cannot but agree that “there is no monolithic phenomenon which should deserve the term active-passive or medio-passive verbs or predications” (34) – and envy him the strength of arguments by which he was capable of advocating his standpoints and opening up new vistas.

2.3 Extension of Poldauf’s Taxonomy in Recent (or More Recent) Proposals

Almost three decades later, Bakir (1996, 39, 41), having based his taxonomy on different data, identified as prototypical the role of MPs in signaling some *permanent property* associated with the affected subject, as in

- (9) The door locks securely.
- (10) Cotton shirts wash easier than others.
- (11) Lamb usually cooks well.
- (12) Science fiction sells fast.
- (13) The soup is cooking.

In (9) the permanent property is specified as the “lockability” of the door, in (10) the “washability” of the shirt, in (11) the “cookability” of a certain kind of meat, etc. However, as is obvious from (11), the criterion of permanent property can hardly be applied here, since the permanent property is relativized by the presence of the adverb *usually*. Bakir’s conception of “permanent property” is very close to Poldauf’s degrees of resistance (cf. Poldauf’s example *The clothes wash easily.* (26) – with a lexical counterpart in adjectives in *-ble* derived from transitive verbs, such as *The clothes are washable.*).

A rich spectrum of structural and functional varieties of medio-passives can be found in Rosta (1992).

Some recent studies have revitalized the approach criticized by Poldauf in connection with Anderson's (1968) article, i.e., the tendency to treat medio-passives within a framework of ergative verbs, by means of which the action is not looked upon from the point of view of a doer, but rather from the point of view of the object affected by the action (Poldauf 1969, 18).

2.4 Concluding Remarks

Though known under various labels, the phenomenon of a medio-passive has remained a consistent topic of discussion by cognitive linguists, lexico-semanticists, researchers on grammaticalization, functional linguists focusing on scalarity and gradients in language categorization, and perhaps many more, since even nowadays no general consensus has yet been reached with regard to the conceptualization of the essence of the "middle."

Even after more than four decades, Poldauf's approach to medio-passives gives evidence of a thorough and sophisticated analysis, valid in its essence and applicable to authentic language data.

A slight updating might increase the vitality of Poldauf's conception by introducing three refinements. Firstly, there is the existence of *reflexive medio-passives* (Rosta 1992, 327), particularly in the language of advertising (cf. *The books [practically] sell THEMSELVES. or The car virtually drives ITSELF. The plates practically wash THEMSELVES up.* – Rosta 1992, 340ff.), with a "characteristic stress on the reflexive pronoun" (340). Secondly, there is the existence of *prepositional medio-passives*, as documented by Rosta (1992, 328): *The chair sits on easily. The bed hid under easily.* It is obvious, however, that there are limitations with this use, since in all of Rosta's examples the subject in the MPs is locative (cf. *to sit on the chair, to hide under the bed*).

Thirdly, there is the spread of *deictic pronouns* in medio-passive constructions used in advertising, as in *This scotch drinks easily.* (Rosta 1992, 346).

These refinements, however, do not diminish the pioneering role of Poldauf's systemic and functional approach and its explicatory power.

Medio-passives, though peripheral in their status (being a mongrel combination of the active and passive) have become effective attention-getting tools in marketing in general and advertising in particular, as can be illustrated by a random set of the following samples (all accessed on October 20, 2013):

(14) Yellow houses sell faster than any other colour.²

(15) When Sin Doesn't Wash Away So Easily.³

2 "Yellow Houses Just Plain Sell Faster," *The Courant*, March 23, 2008, http://articles.courant.com/2008-03-23/business/0803253801225_1_open-house-mortgage-fraud-new-bath.

3 "When Sin Doesn't Wash Away So Easily," *Unlocking the Bible*, last modified May 3, 2013, <https://www.unlockingthebible.org/when-sin-doesnt-wash-away-so-easily/>.

- (16) Chrome extension: page loads faster than extension code.⁴
- (17) This book reads like a stereo instructions. Listen.⁵
- (18) James Patterson explains why his books sell like crazy.⁶
- (19) A dress that zips up the back will bring a husband and wife together. – James H. Boren.⁷
- (20) Nissan pledge: A car that drives itself by 2020⁸

Returning to my original questions, it can be stated that Poldauf's theory of medio-passives has proved to be valid for those who acknowledge the co-existence of binarity and scalarity in categorizing natural language data. His theory, if sensitively refined to cope with new configurations emergent from corpus data, would make a solid basis for researching both the formal and functional properties of medio-passives and their productivity in various genres of present-day discourse.

In spite of its significant value and applicability, Poldauf's first cline of categoriality has remained locked, as it were, within the community of Czech Anglicists, as can be documented by the absence of references to his article on the medio-passive in international linguistic journals.

In this respect, the present chapter is a modest contribution to spreading the news about his unique achievements.

3. A Scalar Approach to Syntax: Three Levels of Syntactic Representation

In this section, which is conceived rather as an invitation to "read Poldauf," a three-level approach to syntax will be briefly outlined and contextualized into recent theories addressing the domain delimited by Poldauf as "the third syntactical plan." "The Third Syntactical Plan" (1964) is in fact Poldauf's pioneering plea for a more delicate taxonomy in syntax – with the first syntactical plan containing structurally indispensable elements

4 "Chrome Extension: Page Loads Faster than Extension Code," *Stack Overflow*, accessed October 20, 2013, <http://stackoverflow.com/questions/19377629/chrome-extension-page-loads-faster-than-extension-code>.

5 "Beetle Juice (1988): Reading the Book for Explanations," *Meta Cafe*, last modified April 28, 2013, http://www.metacafe.com/watch/an-ck3zt2bnh2uj/beetle_juice_1988_reading_the_book_for_explanations/.

6 Lauren Schuker Blum, "James Patterson Explains Why His Books Sell like Crazy," *Speakeasy*, last modified March 30, 2012, <http://blogs.wsj.com/speakeasy/2012/03/30/james-patterson-explains-his-why-his-books-sell-like-crazy/>.

7 "A Dress That Zips Up the Back . . ." *Pinterest*, accessed October 20, 2013, <http://www.pinterest.com/nikaga/a-dress-that-zips-up-the-back-will-bring-a-husband/>.

8 Philip Lebeau, "Nissan Pledge: A Car That Drives Itself by 2020," *NBC News*, August 27, 2013, <http://www.nbcnews.com/business/autos/nissan-pledge-car-drives-itself-2020-f8C11015079>.

of sentence shaping (i.e., the structure of the core), the second containing the elements that are structurally dispensable but semantically indispensable, and the third containing structurally diversified but functionally comparable expressions of *concern*, *judgments*, and *attitudes*, into which the units of the lower plans are, as it were, embedded.

In his own words, “the third syntactic plan has in its components which place the content of the sentence in relation to the individual and his special ability to perceive, judge and assess” (Poldauf 1964b, 242).

While with the medio-passive (discussed in Section 3) the cline emerges from the identification of a transitional element inserted between the active and passive poles of the category of verbal voice, in the third syntactical plan the cline emerges from the *extension* of the original binarity of syntactic stratification to include an additional “plan,” which is not embedded between the first and the second plan, but rather is attached to them, subsuming linguistic means (lexical items, constructions) expressing various facets of the individual’s concern in the content of the communication. Three such facets may be said to pave the road from syntax to the text/discourse level of analysis and Halliday’s conception of the *interpersonal metafunction* (Halliday and Webster 2009, surveyed in Tárnyiková 2012). These include the *unattached dative*, *clauses of the “I suppose” type*, and *expressions of the “unfortunately” type*.

3.1 Unattached Dative

In his cross-language comparison based on English and Czech, Poldauf characterizes the unattached dative (prototypical of Czech) as a means of introducing “a person who has some sort of concern in the matter communicated” (Poldauf 1964b, 242), as in *Natrhla jí na louce květiny*. – with Poldauf’s literal wording [he-picked-her_{dat}-in-the-meadow-flowers] and his explanation that “the structurally dispensable jí = her_{dat} introduces a person interested in the result of the action owing to a possessive relationship (expressible by *have*) arising through action.” Various nuances of expressing concern may be expressed in English by introductory signals (cf. *find*-constructions, as in *He found time pass too slowly*. [Poldauf 1964b, 249], *have*-constructions of concern, as in *He had his horse shot under him*. [Poldauf 1964b, 250], or other means signaling possessiveness, e.g., possessive pronouns, as in *He felt his heart beating with joy*. [Srdce mu bušilo radostí.]). This sketchy introduction may suffice to indicate the correspondence of Poldauf’s conception with Halliday’s (1979) interpersonal involvement in interaction.

3.2 Clauses of the “I Suppose” Type

The second facet is represented by introductory signals of interpersonal involvement, as manifested by inserted clauses of the “I suppose” type (Poldauf 1964b, 244).

Their common role is to subjectivize the validity of the content of the utterance by expressing various shades of the speaker/writer’s standpoints.

Their spectrum (cf. *I think, mean, know, suppose, hope, believe, expect, doubt, guess, fear*, etc.), and their frequency of occurrence in present-day interactions, prompt the vitality

of Poldauf's (1964b) decision to treat such clauses as devices of personal involvement, belonging to a different level of syntactic representation. What has, however, changed over the years following Poldauf's 1964 proposal is their status. Similarly to other facets of the third syntactical plan, they have been re-evaluated as discourse/textual devices, treated in recent theories under new labels – such as *assertive predicates* (Hooper 1975), *epistemic phrases* (Kärkkäinen 2003), or *comment clauses* (Quirk et al. 1985), with each name capturing a “different pragmatic or syntactic property” (Schneider 2007). Some of them (cf. *I think, I mean*) acquired their status as discourse markers as early as the late 1970s and 1980s (Schiffrin 1987); others are said to be on their way to pragmaticalization.

3.3 Expressions of the “Unfortunately” Type

Evaluative expressions of the “unfortunately” type are not attached to any particular element of the sentence, but instead relate to the proposition as a whole; cf. Poldauf's “cult” example *He unfortunately played at Monte Carlo*. (1964b, 244) – with *unfortunately* introducing into the sentence the judgment “I consider it unfortunate” (1964b, 244). In Poldauf's view there is a partial overlapping of evaluative and modal meaning in some adverbials of the “unfortunately” type, as in *naturally* or *apparently*.

Poldauf's discussion of these adverbials reminds us again of paving the road for the pragmaticalization of adverbials to become various hedges and discourse markers, for which Válková (2012) uses the superordinate term *discourse signposts*.

Summing up: at the time of its publication, Poldauf's study on the third syntactical plan did not generate a wide response (which can be said of many pioneering studies). It was only with the increased interest in pragmatic dimension of language, and the consequent discourse practices focusing on the role of various communicatively-regulative means of language (Leech 1983), that Poldauf's third syntactic plan began to attract attention from Czech scholars of English, and was found to correspond roughly with Halliday's interpersonal metafunction. The attempts to revitalize Poldauf's innovative achievements have been reflected in presentations at international conferences, publications in international journals, and occasionally as topics of diploma theses (Stehlíková 2012). See also the modest contribution of the present author to this revitalization in Tárnyiková (2012, 35).

4. Conclusions

Though both of Poldauf's studies discussed in this chapter belong among his lesser-known publications, their innovative contribution to linguistic thinking in the mid-1970s and onwards is beyond any doubt.

Poldauf's clines of categoriality, i.e., his cline of passivization and the cline of syntactic levelling, did not share the same fate in the course of development. While the former has remained a parallel part of present-day linguistic thinking (parallel because it is “locked

away” within a narrow domestic context), the latter paved the road for future developments, to be swallowed up by pragmatically oriented discourse studies and to appear under new labels such as discourse markers/particles, parenthetical clauses (or simply parentheticals), discourse adjuncts, etc.

With a plethora of studies on discourse functions, strategies, genres, and practices (very often based on atomic analyses of individual items), it is useful from time to time to go back to the roots and “ecologize” the linguistic landscape.

This chapter is a modest invitation to undertake one such journey.

Section Two

**On the Categories of Tense, Aspect, and
Modality**

Chapter Six

Markéta Janebová

Between Modality and Futurity: *Will* and *Be Going to* through Their Czech Translation Equivalents

1. Introduction

The answer to the question of how many tenses there are in English is by no means straightforward, as Bernard Comrie (1985, 8) puts it: “Thus English, for instance, has at most the following grammaticalised expressions of location in time: present, past, future, pluperfect, future perfect, and many linguists would even question the inclusion of the future (and, presumably, the future perfect) in this list.” The linguists who doubt or deny the existence of the future tense in English include, e.g., Quirk et al. (1999, 176), who argue that unlike the present and the past, the future is not a tense because it is “not realized by verb inflection.” The same position is adopted by Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 56), who say that “[c]ontrary to what is traditionally assumed, English . . . has no future tense. It does have several ways of talking about future time, and the most basic one does involve the auxiliary *will*. Nonetheless, *will* belongs grammatically and semantically with the auxiliaries that mark mood rather than with the various markers of tense.”

On the other hand, in his paper “Strukturální pohled na *shall* a *will*” (A structural view of *shall* and *will*, 1947) Ivan Poldauf states categorically that “to doubt the existence of the future tense in English because it is marked by signals which also mark another function is just as absurd as to doubt whether there is a difference in English between a statement (*Ill.*) and a question (*Ill?*) because the signal used for a question is identical to the one used for a surprise” (1947, 44).¹ Using what he calls “supplementary signals” (*dodatkové signály*), i.e., “circumstances which select the contextual function of a potential signal” (201), he provides a thorough analysis of *will* and *shall* in different settings in order to describe their

1 All translations from Poldauf’s papers written in Czech are mine.

contextual functions and changes in their usage. The circumstances Poldauf regards as the most important ones include the relationship between the speaker and the addressee; as he puts it in his paper *The Third Syntactical Plan*: “In language, the relation of an individual and his communication to the smallest community of those involved in the given communication is always present even if not always formally expressed. Those involved in a communication as well as the moment of a communication are natural points of linguistic reference” (1964b, 241).

Apart from the status of the future tense, another unresolved issue is the competition between *will* and *be going to* today, and the ambiguity of these forms. When discussing the competition between *shall* and *will*, Poldauf argues that if a member of a category is to be preserved, it tends to gain unambiguous features: “In English, this tendency is manifested in the generalization of *will* as a signal of futurity” (1947, 200). This generalization has an effect on the other function of *will*, i.e., the modal – volitional – function, in which, according to Poldauf, *will* is gradually being replaced by various periphrastic expressions such as *be willing* and *be going to* (200–201). This raises the question as to what is the status of *will* and *be going to* more than sixty-five years after Poldauf’s paper “Strukturální pohled na *shall* a *will*” was published – because in present-day English, *be going to* seems to be undergoing the same change as *will* in the way that Poldauf described it in his paper, i.e., generalization as a signal of futurity (see, e.g., Biber et al. 1999, 490, and Leech 2004, 60).

However, because the categories of futurity and modality are notoriously difficult to distinguish (see below), I address this issue using the English-Czech section of the multilingual translation corpus InterCorp. As Stig Johansson puts it, “One of the most fascinating aspects of multilingual corpora is that they can make meanings visible through translation” (2007, 28). I want to show to what extent the translational equivalents of *will* and *be going to* reflect their function as signals of futurity and modality (more specifically, volition). I will focus on the inclusion and exclusion of the present moment in the translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* and on such translation equivalents of both forms which express volition explicitly. I will also try to identify the “supplementary signals” which might reduce their (arguable) ambiguity. The chapter is structured as follows: In Section 2, structural and pragmatic views of *will* and *be going to* are presented, and possible Czech translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* are discussed against a backdrop of the Czech categorial system of tense and aspect. Section 3 deals with translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in different contexts, and the results are discussed in Section 4.

2. Structural and Pragmatic Views of *Will* and *Be Going to*

According to Biber et al. (1999, 453), “[f]rom a structural point of view, English verbs are inflected for only two tenses: present and past.” However, they go on to say: “As noted above, there is no formal future tense in English. Instead, future time is typically marked in the verb phrase by modal or semi-modal verbs such as *will*, *shall*, *be going to*” (1999, 456). This raises the question as to what Biber et al. actually mean by “a structural

point of view.” They treat *will*, *would*, *shall*, and *be going to* as members of the volition/prediction category, one of the three main semantic categories of modals and semi-modals (1999, 485). Although they regard prediction (extrinsic modality) and volition (intrinsic modality) as one category, they also, similarly to Poldauf, speak of “structural correlates” which make it possible to distinguish between the two meanings:

There are two typical structural correlates of modal verbs with intrinsic meanings: (a) the subject of the verb phrase usually refers to a human being (as agent of the main verb), and (b) the main verb is usually a dynamic verb, describing an activity or event that can be controlled. In contrast, modal verbs with extrinsic meanings usually occur with non-human subjects and/or with main verbs having stative meanings. (Biber et al. 1999, 485)

On the basis of these correlates, Biber et al. provide a register analysis of the verbs – admitting, however, that the “distinction between volition and prediction is often blurred. In conversation, *will* and *would* are commonly used to mark logical (extrinsic) prediction as well as personal volition (and prediction of one’s own future actions). . . . The semi-modal *be going to* in conversation is noteworthy because it is quite common but used mainly for marking personal volition” (1999, 496). Therefore, in their frequency chart the modals are sorted into cases of volition, prediction and ambiguous modals, the last category prevailing with *will* in conversation: *will* is “also common with both meanings (and is often ambiguous)” (495–96). There are several problems here. First of all, some of the statements are somewhat confusing: for example, it is also argued that *be going to* is “used primarily to mark time distinctions rather than personal stance” and it is “a common way of marking future time in conversation (and fictional dialog)” (490). In the register analysis mentioned above, however, it is said that *be going to* “is particularly common marking volition but less commonly used to mark prediction” (495). It is not quite clear what the criteria of the classification were. Biber et al. give (1) and (2) as markers of future time, (3) as a case of personal volition, and (4) is said to mark prediction. It is then hard to say what the difference is between the categories, especially with human subjects:

- (1) *We’re going to* wait. (Biber et al. 1999, 490)²
- (2) I think *I’m going to* die. (Biber et al. 1999, 490)
- (3) I *won’t* be here early enough to show you before school. (Biber et al. 1999, 496)
- (4) It *won’t* be that difficult to do. (Biber et al. 1999, 496)

2 Unless noted otherwise, all italics in the examples are mine.

In Poldauf (1947), too, structural correlates – “supplementary signals” (*dodatkové signály*) – are discussed. The identification of these signals is the task of the structural approach:

In structural grammar, the issue of the usage of *shall* and *will* is part of the question as to which signals are used in English to indicate that the situation is included in the sphere of future time. It will also be necessary to determine which supplementary signals indicate that we are dealing with *will* and *shall* as signals of the three-member category of tense or with *will* and *shall* with a different function. (Poldauf 1947, 44)

In the structural approach, says Poldauf, “the question ‘Does English have the future tense?’ must be replaced by the following ones: ‘Does the English verb have the category of verbal tense?’ and ‘If it does, is it a two-member, or three-member category?’” (1947, 44) In other words, the structural approach entails that even the discussion of such a partial issue as the usage of *shall* and *will* begins against a backdrop of grammatical categories. According to Poldauf, grammatical categories (including tense) may be expressed by special signals or by signals which they share with other categories, or they may even exist if they have no signals at all (40). The sharing of signals – “the potentiality of signals” – is also the case with *will*, which may express both volition and futurity; in other words, “the signals of futurity [i.e., *will* and *shall*] are potential and they also have the volitional and obligative functions” (200). In Poldauf’s opinion, however, the sharing of signals does not usually result in ambiguity because that would breach the communicative function of language (41): instead, there are “supplementary signals” such as intonation, stress, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, and the context of the speech situation, which select the most plausible contextual function of *will* and *shall* and thus narrow down their potential ambiguity.

In this respect, Poldauf’s approach could be compared to that of Liliane Haegeman in her paper “*Be Going to* and *Will*: A Pragmatic Account” (1989). Unlike Biber et al. (1999) and others, who speak of different “meanings” and the ambiguity of *will* and *be going to*, Haegeman argues that on the sentence-based, grammatical level, the two expressions are equivalent; the difference is to be found in the context of the utterance in which they occur: “One can arrive at a systematic description of the use of sentences with *will* or *be going to* only in a framework that permits individual sentences to be related to sets of background propositions, that is to say to a context” (1989, 309). In other words, the difference is not semantic, but pragmatic.³

³ As Haegeman remarks, an inappropriate choice between *be going to* and *will* “cannot usually be said to lead to ungrammaticality” (1989, 292). The only exception seems to be conditional clauses, as in, e.g., **If you accept that job, you’re never going to regret it* (Leech 1971, 56, qtd. in Haegeman 1989, 299). However, unlike Leech, Haegeman does not regard it as ungrammatical, but as “inappropriate” if both events are set in the future (1989, 299).

2.1 The Czech (Im)perfective Aspect vs *Be Going to*

One of the categories Poldauf distinguishes is linearity, which makes it possible to draw a distinction between two main categories of verbs, namely states (non-linear) and activities (linear). Unlike linear activities, non-linear states cannot be condensed – i.e., perfectivized – and they do not allow actualization (1947, 29). These facts play a role as far as the signals of future time in Czech are concerned. First of all, Poldauf says, perfectiveness is incompatible with the notion of the present: in other words, it rules it out (33). In Czech, the category of verbal aspect conventionally takes priority over the category of verbal tense: linear progress cannot be condensed (perfectivized) and, at the same time, be included in the present (33). Thus in the case of perfective verbs (e.g., *udělám* do:PFV.PRS.1SG “I will do”⁴) a formally present-tense form is a signal of future time, and it does not include the present moment.⁵

This has interesting consequences for the analysis of the translation equivalents of *be going to*. There seems to be a general agreement that the difference between *will* and *be going to* consists in the inclusion of the present moment in *be going to*, which is not the case with *will* (e.g., Palmer 1979; Haegeman 1989; Nicolle 1997, 1998; Biber et. al 1999; Leech 2004). In her 1989 paper, Haegeman deals with various facets of what it means for the future event to be embedded in the present: *be going to* could be analyzed in the Reichenbachian framework as having its reference points in the present, while *will* has its reference point in the future (1989, 298). Haegeman concludes:

Be going to is like the present perfect in that it imposes a constraint on the processing of the proposition with which it is associated. It signals that this proposition is relevant in a context including at least some present tense propositions, or, in other words, it guarantees a contextual effect if the utterance is processed against a present context. *Will*, on the other hand, signals that the hearer should extend the immediately accessible (present) context for the processing of the proposition and should process the utterance against future propositions. (1989, 305)⁶

On the other hand, as has already been mentioned, the Czech perfective aspect is incompatible with the present: this raises the question of whether the Czech translation equivalents of *be going to* will include verbs in the perfective aspect as much as the

4 The notation system of the glosses and abbreviations adheres to the “Leipzig Glossing Rules” (2008).

5 On the other hand, Czech imperfective verbs distinguish between the present tense and the future tense, which is an analytical form consisting of the auxiliary verb *být* “be” in the future tense and the infinitive of the imperfective verb; see, e.g., *Mluvnice češtiny* 2, 164–5.

6 Nicolle (1997) also adopts a monosemous approach to the semantics of *will*; however, following Klinge (1993), he maintains that *will* does not encode futurity, but potentiality. The problem here is that the modal *will* does not refer to a future event (as in [*Knock knock*] *That will be the postman.*), and futurity – Nicolle concludes – thus cannot be regarded as part of the semantics of *will* (1997, 358). Although it is true that *will* in *That will be the postman* does not refer to the future, it does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that *will* is not connected with futurity at all: as Poldauf (1947, 36) maintains, even in this case the future is involved in the utterance: the speaker focuses on future verification of his or her assumption (Poldauf calls it the “verificatory” future [*“důkazové” futurum*]).

equivalents of *will*, especially when we take into consideration further parallels between *be going to* and the Czech imperfective aspect. First of all, it is the notion of progression, which is included in both of them: as e.g. Nicolle (1997, 367), who also deals with the difference between *be going to* and *will*, mentions: “the progressive aspect is inherent in the semantics of the *be going to* construction, as its etymology suggests.” In his 1964 paper on aspect, Poldauf describes the Czech imperfective verb as a verb which expresses “a *progression* of one single event or a *progression* of an event through a chain of its partial realizations” (1964a, 52; my italics).

As for the difference between the Czech imperfective and perfective verbs, Poldauf says it consists in different mental frames (*mentální rámce*): the imperfective aspect implies a limited range of choice, while the perfective only points to the result of the action (1964a, 52). In other words, the perfective aspect “condenses the linear activity into a mere point, a fact” (1947, 35). This feature of the Czech perfective aspect, again, is in contrast with *be going to*, which, as Haegeman puts it, “is used to refer to a future event that is not mentioned for its own sake but for the sake of its causes” (1989, 300). In other words, we could say, using Poldauf’s terms, that with *be going to*, the mental frame is an opposite of condensation because it implies both the (present) causes of a future event and the event. From this perspective, *be going to* can be compared to the Czech imperfective verbs, the present tense of which may refer – under certain circumstances⁷ – to future events and thus include both the present and the future (unlike the perfective verbs, which always exclude the present moment). As Poldauf says, the imperfective verb allows for this because “it is *now* we visualize vividly what will be; *now* we can see the symptoms of the future; *now* we have *plans and schedules*” (1964a, 49–50; my italics).

As far as the intentionality of the action is concerned, Poldauf argues that while the Czech perfective verb can be regarded as the stylistically unmarked form or neutral form (1964a, 52) – as in (5a), where the action of revealing something could have been unintentional – with the imperfective verb (5b) the intention of revealing is taken for granted:

(5) (a) Proč *jsi* [be:AUX.PRS.2SG] mu to *řekl* [say:PFV.PST.PTCP.SG.M]? (Poldauf 1964a, 53)⁸

“Why did you tell him?”

(b) Proč *jsi* [be:AUX.PRS.2SG] mu to *říkal* [say:IPFV.PST.PTCP.SG.M]? (Poldauf 1964a, 53)

“Why did you tell him?”

⁷ For more details, see Poldauf (1964a, 49–50).

⁸ As for the past tense, there is no formal difference between the perfective and imperfective verbs in Czech: in the first and second person, the preterite is an analytical form consisting of the present tense auxiliary *být* (“be”), and the *-l* participle, which is not marked for person, but only for number and gender; in the third person, there is zero auxiliary (see *Mluvnice češtiny 2*, 164–5).

In his 1964 paper on aspect, Poldauf does not discuss the future tense; however, I would like to show that it too can be described in terms of the mental frame mentioned above. While (6a) with a formally present perfective verb is a question about the future event itself and its result, question (6b) with an imperfective verb in the future tense aims to establish whether the action will take place; it is concerned with the addressee's involvement in the action, i.e., his or her intention (which includes the fact that the addressee has a choice). Only (6a) can normally be used as a request, and could thus be translated into English as *Will you make some tea?* On the other hand, (6b) could be translated as *Are you going to make tea?*⁹

(6) (a) *Uvaříš* [cook:PFV.PRS.2SG] čaj?¹⁰

(b) *Budeš* [be:AUX.FUT.2SG] *vařit* [cook:INF] čaj?

This might suggest that there is a near-perfect correspondence between *be going to* and the Czech imperfective aspect on one hand and *will* and Czech the perfective aspect on the other. However, this is not so straightforward. Apart from “aspectual pairs” (*vidové dvojice*), i.e., verbs which only differ in aspect, but do not differ in meaning (e.g., *dát*_{PFV}–*dávat*_{IPFV} “to give” or *vařit*_{IPFV}–*uvařit*_{PFV} “to cook”), there are also pairs whose lexical meaning is different (e.g., *vařit*_{IPFV}–*rozvařit*_{PFV} “to cook”–“to overcook”; see *Mluvnice* 2, 179–185). Moreover, not all Czech verbs enter the perfective–imperfective opposition, e.g., modal verbs such as *moci* (“may/can”) and others (see *Mluvnice* 2, 183).

In other words, simply comparing the frequency of the Czech perfective and imperfective verbs as translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to*, respectively, would be misleading: it is not always the case that the translator has a complete aspectual pair to choose from. For this reason, the main focus is not the perfective–imperfective contrast in general, but the extent to which the inclusion or exclusion of the present moment is manifested in the translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to*. In other words, if *be going to* – unlike *will* – is a present context indicator, we might expect that it will favor as its translation equivalent the form that does not exclude the present moment, i.e., the present imperfective verb, more than *will*. This is also closely related to the category of modality: because Czech modal verbs are imperfective, it is worth examining what proportion of the present-tense imperfective translation equivalents is actually represented by modal verbs.

9 Sentence (6a) can be easily used as a request with *prosím* (“please”). Even though (6b) can also be used with *prosím*, the meaning would be iterative – the addressee is asked to make coffee on a number of future occasions.

10 Cvrček et al. (2010, 246) mention the interaction of the imperative and the aspect: the negative perfective verb is only used as a warning against an involuntary or accidental action: *Nesedni si na ten klobouk* (Don't sit:PFV on the hat) as opposed to *Nesedej si na tu židli* (Don't sit:IPFV on the chair), which implies an intention.

2.2 Supplementary Signals of Volition and Futurity

Although there has been an ongoing discussion as to whether there is a semantic difference between the futurate and volitional (modal) readings of *will* and *going to* or whether these are just (pragmatic) overtones, the distinction between volition (also called intention, see, e.g., Leech 2004) and futurity (or prediction, as Biber et al. call it) – regardless of the status of their difference – is generally accepted. When discussing the repertory of signals of volition, Poldauf (1947, 116–8) mentions their relationship to an absence, e.g., an absence of a whole, a standard, perfection, etc. Such an absence, in turn, may give rise to a feeling of lack, and a volitional reaction to it. The reaction can be divided into several categories according to the characteristic expressions (Poldauf's own Czech and English terms): requirement (*potřeba*), desire (*prání*), intention and willingness (*úmysl; ochota*), and determination and insistence (*rozhodnutí; naléhání*).

Unlike requirement (or need) and desire (or a wish), the other expressions relate to a desirable result whose achievement can be controlled by the subject. According to Poldauf (1947, 118), there are two broad verbs expressing volition: *want* and *will*. *Want* expresses a wish, need, lack, or incompleteness, the core being a wish.¹¹ As for *will* in present-day English, Poldauf argues that it cannot express a need, and a wish is not at the core of today's meaning of the verb either. Instead, its core consists of intention and willingness (119). What both verbs share, on the other hand, is their location in time: every instance of volition is prospective, and as such, expressions of volition are generally very convenient signals of future time (32–33). As has already been mentioned, Poldauf argues that such signals for expressing futurity are only potential, and the ambiguity of volition and futurity signals is reduced by means of supplementary signals.

Like Biber et al. (1999), Poldauf regards the rationality of the subject and control over the activity as supplementary signals of volition. Unlike Biber et al., however, Poldauf points out that it is virtually only the third person in which the difference between the futurate and volitional *will* requires contextual resolution (1947, 119).¹² Moreover, because any future activity of a living creature, according to Poldauf, always depends on a previous volitional impulse, it often does not matter at all whether we are speaking about the activity or the previous impulse (as in *You never know what he'll do next*; 120). In other cases, the supplementary signals – the most important being the speech situation, more specifically the relationship between the speaker and the addressee (closely related to communicative functions of sentence types) – select one or the other function.

It is natural, says Poldauf (119), that we rarely speak of the intention and willingness of other people in their presence because it is usually unnecessary to announce to the addressees what they certainly know, i.e., their own intention (today we might

11 For a discussion of *wish* in English, see Martinková (2011).

12 In the following passages, I will mostly focus on *will*, leaving *shall* aside because of its marginality in present-day English (cf. Biber et al. 1999, 486).

call this pragmatic infelicity). That is why *will* virtually lacks the volitional function in declarative sentences with *you* as the subject: *you will* is thus mostly futurate (according to Poldauf, *you shall* does express volition, but it is the will of the speaker [193–5]). In the conditional clause, however, *you will* is a signal of volition because uncertainty is the inherent part of the conditional (120). As for *will* with the first person subject, it becomes an auxiliary which makes the utterance dependent on the speaker (“=so far it depends on me/us” [120]) unless the personal subject is connected with a goal whose achievement the subject cannot influence. In the interrogative sentence, on the other hand, the situation is reversed: while a question regarding someone else’s will is quite natural, a question regarding one’s own will is highly improbable (nobody knows it better than the speaker [121]). However, a question regarding the addressee’s willingness has been re-evaluated and is now used as a polite request (121).

The next section focuses on the extent to which *will* and *be going to* are differentiated in translation: according to Poldauf, *be going to* should gradually replace *will* in its volitional functions. Therefore, the section is concerned with the way in which volition is rendered in the translations. More specifically, the main focus is on the verbs *chtít* “to want” and *hodlat* “to intend.” These express an intention and are traditionally classified as “modal verbs proper” in Czech (*Mluvnice češtiny* 3, 281) together with *muset* “must,” *moci* “may/can,” *mít* “to be to/to be supposed to,” *smět* “to be allowed to,” and *umět* “can/to be able to.” These modal verbs proper express necessity, possibility, or intention, and they are imperfective. Because *be going to* is said to include the present moment, another question – yet closely related to the previous one – is whether the present tense (i.e., the present tense of imperfective verbs, because it is only the imperfective verb in which there is a match between the form and temporal function) will be a more frequent translation equivalent of *be going to* than *will*. The hypothesis is that if *going to* replaces *will* in its volitional function and if it includes the present moment, there should be more explicit volitional equivalents and more present-tense imperfective equivalents of *be going to* than of *will*. Finally, I will deal with the supplementary signals as discussed by Poldauf in order to examine their relevance for establishing the distinction between *will* and *be going to*.

3. Translation Equivalents of *Will* and *Be Going to*

3.1 Data and Method

The corpus used is InterCorp, a multilingual parallel corpus comprising 31 languages with Czech as the pivot language, i.e., for every text there is an aligned Czech version.¹³ Although the core of the InterCorp corpus consists of fiction, not all the texts in the English-Czech section could be used because not all the texts are English originals. Therefore, a subcorpus of English original fiction texts published after 1950 was created for the purpose of this study (41 texts by British, American and Canadian authors;

¹³ As of August 2013; for more details, see <http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp/?lang=en>.

the subcorpus contains 5,100,821 positions out of the total of 64,587,782 tokens in the English section as of August 2013.¹⁴⁾

Among supplementary signals, Poldauf mentions the role of assertive as opposed to non-assertive contexts. For this reason, *will* and *be going to* were analyzed in different environments: declarative sentences – both positive and negative – and interrogative sentences (positive only because negative sentences turned out to be very marginal). Another important factor, according to Poldauf, is represented by the speech event participants, especially the speaker-addressee relationship. Therefore, the data were further divided into three groups according to the category of person: sentences with first-person, second-person, and third-person subjects. The first-person subject only includes *I*; the pronoun *we* was excluded for the purpose of this study because it can be inclusive or exclusive, i.e., it may include or exclude the addressee (and include or exclude other participants), which is very often impossible to determine from the limited context the InterCorp provides.

With the exception of *I will* and *you will*, which exceeded 1,000 tokens each¹⁵ and for which random samples of 500 tokens were chosen for the analysis and then sorted manually, the total numbers in the tables correspond to all relevant occurrences in the subcorpus after manual sorting. During the manual sorting, those sentences were discarded whose Czech equivalent did not match the source sentence in the subject¹⁶ or which were improperly aligned. The total numbers also include contracted forms of *will* and *be* in the present tense in both positive and negative forms, and both *be going to* and *gonna*. Non-present forms of *be*, the future progressive and future perfective forms and *would* were excluded from the research.

Finally, the Czech translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* were sorted into six categories: apart from the categories connected with the research questions, i.e., PRESENT IMPERFECTIVE verb, PRESENT PERFECTIVE verb, and FUTURE imperfective verb, two more categories turned out to be of importance during the sorting process: verb in the CONDITIONAL mood and verb in the IMPERATIVE mood. The last category, OTHER, contains translation equivalents which were included in the list because the subject of the source sentence corresponds to the subject of the target sentence, but where the verb form does not fall into any of the other five categories and is marginal; for example, it is in the past tense, as in (7):

(7) By tomorrow morning she *won't* even *remember* what Caroline Fletcher looked like, crying in the back of the courtroom. [FJ_P]

Už teď si [REFL] jen stěží *vzpomínala* [remember:IPFV.PST.PTCP.3SG.F], jak vypadala Caroline Fletcherová, když brečela vzadu v soudní síni.

14 In the NoSketch Engine interface, positions are the basic units; a position is an individual occurrence of a word form, digit or a punctuation mark. The texts had to be selected manually because the corpus metadata do not provide the information about the year of publication in a systematic way. For the list of the InterCorp texts quoted in this book and the abbreviations, see Appendix 1.

15 There were 2,821 tokens of *will* with *I* as the subject and 1,176 tokens of *will* with *you* as the subject.

16 E.g., *Will you get fired, Mom?* [G]_C] – *Vyhodí tě z práce, mami?* (lit. “Will they fire you, Mom?”)

Within the category of the present imperfective verb, special attention will be paid to explicit expressions of what Poldauf calls a volitional reaction, namely desire, intention and willingness, which in Czech can mainly be expressed by means of the modal verbs *chtít* “to want” and *hodlat* “to intend.”

3.2 Positive Declarative Sentences

3.2.1 First-Person Subjects

Table 1 shows that 20% of all occurrences of *be going to* with *I* as the subject of a positive declarative sentence in the subcorpus are translated into Czech by means of an imperfective verb in the present tense, as in (8). As for the explicit expressions of volition, the imperfective verbs in the present tense included seven cases of *hodlat* “to intend,” seven cases of *chtít* “to want,” as in example (9), and three occurrences of *chystat se* “be about to”; in nine cases, *be going to* was translated literally by the imperfective verb *jít* “to go” in the present tense, as in (10). Modal verbs other than *chtít* and *hodlat* in the present tense are also quite frequent (eleven tokens), as in (11), where *be going to* is translated as *muset* “must”:

- (8) I’m your friend, and your lawyer, and I’m going to help you see Terrence. [GJ_C]
 Jsem váš přítel a právník a *snažím* [try:IPFV.PRS.1SG] se [REFL] vám ze všech sil *pomocť* [help:INF], abyste se mohla vidět s Terrencem.
- (9) I’m going to talk to Chip. [FJ_C]
 Já *si* [REFL] tu *chci* [want:IPFV.PRS.1SG] *popovídat* [talk:INF] s Chipem.
- (10) I’m going to call the police and the fire department. [HT_SL]
 Já *du* [go:IPFV.PRS.1SG] teď *zavolat* [call:INF] policii a hasiče.
- (11) “I’m going to finish these dishes,” she said. [FJ_C]
 „*Musím* [must:IPFV.PRS.1SG] tady *domýt* [wash:INF] nádobí,“ švitořila.

On the other hand, *will* was translated into Czech by an imperfective verb in the present tense only in six per cent of cases (from a sample of 500 tokens¹⁷); there was no occurrence of the volitional modal verbs *chtít* or *hodlat* in the present tense in the sample.

- (12) “I’ll take the physics, the geometry,” he said. [SAR_TH]
 „Já *beru* [take:IPFV.PRS.1SG] fyziku a geometrii,“ prohlásil.

¹⁷ The random sample of 500 tokens of *will* was manually checked. 116 tokens had to be discarded for the reasons given in the chapter on data and methodology: either they were improperly aligned, or the subjects in the source and target texts did not correspond. The total number of *I am going to* includes all relevant occurrences in the subcorpus.

Czech translation equivalents	<i>Will</i>			<i>Be going to</i>		
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	22	6	–	54	21	10.6
Present PFV	284	74	–	154	58	30.2
Future IPFV	64	17	–	43	16	8.4
Conditional	14	3	–	8	3	1.6
Imperative	0	0	–	0	0	0
Other	0	0	–	6	2	0
TOTAL	384	100	–	265	100	50.8

Table 1: Czech translation equivalents of *will* (from a random sample of 500 tokens) and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive declarative sentences with *I* as the subject

3.2.2 Second-Person Subjects

As Table 2 shows, the percentages of the present-tense equivalents of *will* and *be going to* with *you* as the subject correspond to those with *I* in the chapter above: 23% of instances of *be going to* are translated into Czech by means of the imperfective verb in the present tense; these include twelve cases of *chtít* “to want,” four cases of *hodlat* “to intend,” and four cases of *chystat se* “be about to.” There are only seven per cent of the imperfective present-tense forms in the 500-token sample¹⁸ of *you will*, and no occurrence of the volitional verbs such as *chtít* or *hodlat*.

In this environment, according to Poldauf, *will* does not express volition of the addressee, with the exception of conditional clauses. In the subcorpus, the *if*-clause with *you will* appeared 23 times, and the imperative and conditional forms expressing volition were used as the translation equivalents of the *if*-clause in five and four cases, respectively; see (13). However, unlike *be going to*, *will* was also translated by means of the imperative even outside the context of conditional sentences, as in (14). This is evidence that *you will* does express volition, but it is the volition of the speaker (which at the time when Poldauf published his “Strukturální pohled na *shall a will*” was frequently expressed by *shall*).

- (13) “If you *will write* your full name and address on a piece of paper,” she said, “I’ll send you the money right away.” [MA_R]
 „Napište [write:IMP.2PL] mi celé jméno a adresu na kousek papíru,“ řekla, „a já vám hned pošlu ty peníze.“

¹⁸ The random sample of 500 tokens of *will* was manually checked. 164 tokens had to be discarded for the reasons given in the chapter on data and methodology: either they were improperly aligned, or the subjects in the source and target texts did not correspond. The total number of *I am going to* includes all relevant occurrences in the subcorpus.

- (14) “You’ll keep that information quiet.” [FJ_C]
 „Tu informaci si [REFL] nech [keep:IMP.2SG] pro sebe.“

The question arises, however, as to why *be going to* is so frequently translated by means of the present tense when it is not supposed to be volitional in this context (for the same reason as *you will*, namely pragmatic infelicity: there is no reason to announce to the addressees what their own volitional reaction is). A closer analysis reveals that the majority of the clauses with *be going to* are non-assertive: they are either declarative questions (seven tokens), *if*-clauses (eleven tokens) as in example (15), or appear in the scope of negation (three tokens), as in (16). In other words, in these cases *you are going to* is not used to declare the addressee’s intention, but to question it:

- (15) “If you’re going to be a writer, you need something to write about,” Hannah had told her friend. [IJ_WY]
 „Jestli [if] se [REFL] chceš [want:IPFV.PRS.2SG] stát [become:INF] spisovatelkou, budeš potřebovat mít o čem psát,“ tvrdila Hana přítelkyni.

- (16) They had almost reached the portrait hole when a voice spoke from the chair nearest them, “I can’t believe you’re going to do this, Harry.” [RJK_HPPS]
 Byli už málem u průchodu zakrytého obrazem, když se z nejbližšího křesla ozval něčí hlas: „Nechce se mi věřit [I can’t believe], že to opravdu chceš [want:IPFV.PRS.2SG] udělat [do:INF], Harry.“

Czech translation equivalents	Will			Be going to		
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	22	7	–	29	23	5.7
Present PFV	170	50	–	59	46	11.6
Future IPFV	108	32	–	33	26	6.5
Conditional	16	5	–	7	5	1.4
Imperative	14	4	–	0	0	0
Other	6	2	–	0	0	0
TOTAL	336	100	–	128	100	25.2

Table 2: Czech translation equivalents of *will* (from a random sample of 500 tokens) and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive declarative sentences with *you* as the subject

3.2.3 Third-Person Subjects

Table 3 indicates that the total numbers of both forms with third-person subjects¹⁹ in positive declarative sentences are quite comparable, while in almost all of the other environments (i.e., with all subjects and including negative declarative sentences and questions, as we will see) *will* is the more frequent form. As regards the frequency of the imperfective verb in the present tense as a translation equivalent, the difference between *will* and *be going to* is less marked than in the previous two environments. Table 3 also shows that the ratios of animate and inanimate subjects are quite comparable with both forms; even though animate subjects prevail, inanimate subjects (which exclude the volitional reading of *will* and *be going to*) are also quite frequent.

As for *will* and its explicit Czech equivalents expressing volition, the verb *chtít* “to want” was not used at all; in two cases, the modal verb *moci* “may/can” in the present tense was used in the translations; cf. example (17):

- (17) There are fundamental reasons why hibernation techniques *will* only *work* for a very few centuries – and we’re dealing with time spans a thousand-fold longer.
[CAC_RR]
Existují zásadní důvody, proč *se* [REFL] hibernační technika *může* [can:IPFV.PRS.3SG] *uplatnit* [work:INF] jenom po dobu několika málo století – a my máme co dělat s rozpětím tisíckrát delším.

As for *be going to* and its present-tense imperfective equivalents, it was translated as *chtít* “to want” in five cases (only with animate subjects); *hodlat* “to intend” was used once. The most frequent equivalent was the modal verb *mít* “to be to/to be supposed to,” which was used in ten cases (five with animate subjects, five with the inanimate ones); cf. (18):

- (18) “I know where the first killing *is going to happen*.” [BD_AD]
„Už vím, kde *má* [to be to:IPFV.PRS.3SG] *dojít* [happen:INF] k první vraždě.“

According to Poldauf, as has already been mentioned, the only genuine competition between the futurate and volitional functions of *will* occurs in the declarative sentences with third-person subjects in which the supplementary signals, namely the roles of the speech participants, are by default not strong enough to rule out or support either of the functions. As follows from Table 3, the same can be said about *will* and *be going to*: the difference between *will* and *going to* in terms of both the total numbers and percentages of the translation equivalents is less marked than in any other environment.

¹⁹ The subjects looked up in the subcorpus included the pronouns *he, she, it, this, that, and they*. The query used for non-pronominal subjects was as follows: [tag="N.*|DT"] followed by *will* with up to two intervening positions. All subjects were sorted manually into animate and inanimate ones.

Czech translation equivalents	<i>Will</i>						<i>Be going to</i>					
	Animate subject			Inanimate subject			Animate subject			Inanimate subject		
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	19	10	3.7	11	9	2.2	20	15	3.9	14	15	2.7
Present PFV	97	52	19	44	37	8.6	64	46	12.5	27	29	5.3
Future IPFV	54	29	10.6	55	46	10.8	45	33	8.8	45	49	8.8
Conditional	14	8	2.7	9	7	1.8	5	3	1	5	5	1
Imperative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	1	0.2	1	1	0.5	4	3	0.8	2	2	0.4
TOTAL	185	100	36.2	120	100	23.9	138	100	27	93	100	18.2

Table 3: Czech translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive declarative sentences with third-person subjects

3.3 Interrogative Sentences

3.3.1 First-Person Subjects

Will and *be going to* used in questions with *I* as the subject represent the least frequent pattern in the whole subcorpus (see Table 4). As has already been mentioned, according to Poldauf, *will I . . . ?* is futurate because you do not ask the addressee about your own intention (such a question would normally be pragmatically infelicitous), and the events depicted cannot be controlled by the speaker. This is attested by the corpus data: the verbs in the subcorpus include *feel*, *see*, *understand*, or *lose* (19). For the same pragmatic reasons, futurity also prevails with the verb phrases with *be going to*. The verbs in the original texts include *live* and *die* (20), and as Table 4 reveals, the present tense of imperfective verbs as a translation equivalent is hardly ever used.

(19) “*Will I lose my job?*” [GJ_SL]
 „Takže *přijdu* [lose:PFV.PRS.1SG] o místo?“

(20) “*Am I going to die?*” [IJ_WY]
 „To *umřu* [die:PFV.PRS.1SG]?“

Out of the twenty cases of *be going to*, fourteen appeared in *wh*-questions. Nine out of these fourteen verb phrases included the verb *do*, as in sentence (21), where the speaker indicates a lack of control over what is happening:

- (21) “What *am I going to do* without you?” [SD_JA]
 „Co jen si [REFL] bez tebe počnu [do:PFV.PRS.1SG]?”

As follows from the pragmatic function of the first-person question, there is no control of the speaker over the event. Both *be going to* and *will* are thus markers of futurity, and the present-tense verbs are almost never used in Czech translations; verbs of volition do not appear at all.

Czech translation equivalents	<i>Will</i>		<i>Be going to</i>	
	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	1	0.2	3	0.6
Present PFV	12	2.4	10	2.0
Future IPFV	7	1.4	5	1.0
Conditional	1	0.2	1	0.2
Imperative	0	0	0	0
Other	2	0.4	1	0.2
TOTAL	23	4.6	20	4

Table 4: Czech translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive interrogative sentences with *I* as the subject²⁰

3.3.2 Second-Person Subjects

As Table 5 shows, the most frequent pattern of all questions in the whole subcorpus is a *yes–no* (polar) question with *will* and *you* as the subject (168 occurrences; in an additional 40 cases, *will you . . . ?* was used as a tag question). The interrogative sentence with *will* and *you* as the subject is the only one which shows a difference between polar and *wh*-questions in the distribution of the translation equivalents: a polar question with *will you . . . ?* – unlike all other questions – is frequently translated into Czech by means of the conditional, as in (22); moreover, it is this type of question where the highest number of imperatives as translation equivalents can be found, cf. (23).

- (22) “*Will you take an O2 reading?*” [CAC_RR]
 „Nezměřili [take:NEG.PFV.PTCP.2PL.M] byste [AUX.COND.2PL] obsah O2?“
 lit. “Would you not take an O2 reading?”

²⁰ In an additional three cases, *will I?* was used as a tag question.

- (23) “Will you try?” [HA_FD]
 „Pokuste [try:IMP.PFV.2PL] se [REFL]!“

In the translations of *wh*-questions with *will you . . . ?*, however, the imperatives and conditionals are much less frequent. The present tense of imperfective verbs, on the other hand, is quite equally distributed in both types of questions with *will*: in both cases it is quite marginal.

Be going to, unlike *will*, shows no marked difference between the *yes–no* question and the *wh*-question, and the imperfective present-tense verb as a translation equivalent is more frequent than with *will you . . . ?* (see Table 5). In 22 cases out of the total of 37 present-tense forms, *be going to* was translated by means of *chtít* “to want,” as in example (24), in comparison with only four occurrences of *chtít* in the present tense as translations of *will you . . . ?*. The other translations of *are you going to . . . ?* included *hodlat* “to intend” (six cases), as in sentence (25), and *chystat se* “to be about to” (five cases).

- (24) “Are you going to tell me,” said Arthur, “that I shouldn’t have green salad?” [AD_REU]

„Chcete [want:IPFV.PRS.2PL] snad říct [say:INF], že bych si neměl dávat salát?“

- (25) “How are you going to get me into Mercer Meats?” [CR_T]

„Jak mě hodláte [intend:IPFV.PRS.2PL] propašovat [smuggle:INF] dovnitř?“ zep-
tal se jí.

Czech translation equivalents	Yes-No question					Wh-question			
	Will			Be going to		Will		Be going to	
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	10	6	2	15	2.9	6	1.2	22	4.3
Present PFV	88	52	17.3	21	4.1	37	7.3	17	3.3
Future IPFV	26	15	5.1	6	1.2	22	4.3	11	2.2
Conditional	25	15	4.9	0	0	3	0.6	0	0
Imperative	18	11	3.5	0	0	1	0.2	0	0
Other	1	1	0.2	1	0.2	1	0.2	1	0.2
TOTAL	168	100	33	43	8.4	70	13.7	51	10

Table 5: Czech translation equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive interrogative sentences with *you* as the subject

As for *wh*-questions with both *will* and *be going to*, neither of them has the imperative form as a frequent translation equivalent, and the conditional is likewise very marginal. *Yes–no* questions with *will* and *you* as the subject thus stand out in the corpus data; moreover, unlike all other questions, polar *will you . . . ?* is frequently used with *please*, as in (26).²¹

- (26) “*Will you make your call later please.*” [HA_FD]
 „Zavolala [call:PFV.PTCP.2PL.F] byste [AUX.COND.2PL] laskavě [kindly] později?“
 lit. “Would you kindly call later?”

As Searle (1979, 40) says, “When ‘please’ is added . . . , it explicitly and literally marks the primary illocutionary point of the utterance as directive, even though the literal meaning of the rest of the sentence is not directive.” In other words, it can be regarded as what Searle calls an “illocutionary force indicator” or “illocutionary force indicating device” (IFID) (1969, 30, 62).²² Interestingly, in the Czech translation equivalents – which include *prosím* “please,” *laskavě* “kindly,” and *být laskavý/hodný* “to be kind/nice” – the IFIDs are overrepresented: 31 Czech tokens as opposed to 15 English IFIDs in the originals. This is especially prominent with *will you* as a positive tag question used with the imperatives: while there was only one IFID in the original texts, there were eleven such expressions in the translations; see (27).²³ *Please* and other IFIDs appear only marginally with other questions with *will* and do not appear at all with *be going to*. Moreover, as far as the Czech IFIDs as translation equivalents are concerned, they predominantly co-occur with the imperatives and conditionals; only in one case did an IFID co-occur with a future imperfective verb (28), and there was no co-occurrence with the perfective form.

- (27) “*Bring it in, will you, Daneel?*” [AI_CS]
 „Vezměte [bring:IMP.2PL] ji laskavě [kindly] dovnitř, Daneeli.“

21 In the *yes–no* questions with *will you*, there was one occurrence of *be kind enough*; in the rest of the cases, *please* was used.

22 As Searle (1969, 30) puts it, “The force indicator shows how the proposition is to be taken, . . . what illocutionary force the utterance is to have.”

23 Cf. Quirk et al. (1985, 813): “The tag is a persuasive softener of the imperative.” According to Holmes (1990, 187), this type of tag question is a hedge, or an “attenuator of illocutionary force”; in our case, the tag question attenuates the imperative. *Prosím* (“please”) and the other Czech IFIDs can be thus regarded as functional equivalents of the English tag question.

- (28) “Will you at least *think* about it?” [FJ_P]
 „Budeš [be:FUT.2SG] o tom, *prosím* [please], aspoň trochu *přemýšlet*
 [think:INF]?”

The pragmatic felicity of questions enquiring about the addressee’s volition makes it possible to conclude, as Poldauf did, that polar *will you . . . ?* is primarily used as a marker of volition; the translation equivalents also confirm that it is the volition of the speaker. The fact that a polar question with *will you . . . ?* is often translated into Czech by means of imperatives, conditionals and IFIDs reveals its illocutionary force as that of a request. The translation equivalents of *are you going to . . . ?* reveal that *be going to* in this environment is also a marker of volition, but the volition is the addressee’s. Although it is possible to find cases of *are you going to . . . ?* which could be regarded as requests, see (29), this usage is a more indirect way of requesting something from the addressee since the volition remains with the subject, i.e., the addressee (more indirect, however, does not always mean more polite).

- (29) “Are you *going to drive* me to Westport?” Melissa said. [Answer: “I’ll drive you to Westport,” he said.] [FJ_C]
 „Tak [so] *hodíš* [drive:PFV.PRS.2SG] mě do Westportu?“ zeptala se Melissa.

3.3.3 Third-Person Subjects

In comparison with questions with *you* as the subject, questions with third-person subjects are less frequent and show no marked difference between the polar question and the *wh*-question, which is why the distinction was not included in the analysis. Instead, the (in)animacy of the subject was taken into consideration.

Questions with third-person subjects differ from the declarative sentences with the same type of subjects: while there were no significant differences between *will* and *be going to* in declarative sentences in terms of the total numbers or the distribution of tenses, the situation is rather different here. As Table 6 shows, *be going to* in questions with third-person subjects is about six times less frequent than *will*. As for *will*, the percentage of the imperfective present-tense equivalents is among the lowest in the whole subcorpus. As far as the subjects are concerned, inanimate subjects do appear with *will*, as in (30), but do not appear with *be going to*; this suggests that this environment does not support the volitional reading, and *will* is a marker of futurity rather than volition. In other words, futurity is the default reading, which corresponds to the Czech translations, in which all forms with non-futurate reference are marginal: there were only three volitional equivalents of *be going to*, and none for *will*.

- (30) “Will it *be safe*?” [GJ_SL]
 „Bude [be:AUX.FUT.3SG] to bezpečné?“

Czech translation equivalents	<i>Will</i>				<i>Be going to</i>			
	Animate subject		Inanimate subject		Animate subject		Inanimate subject	
	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	2	0.4	1	0.2	6	1.2	0	0
Present PFV	50	9.8	9	1.8	6	1.2	0	0
Future IPFV	27	5.3	22	4.3	4	0.8	2	0.4
Conditional	5	1.0	3	0.6	1	0.2	0	0
Imperative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	0.2	1	0.2	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	85	16.7	36	7.1	17	3.4	2	0.4

Table 6: Czech equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: positive interrogative sentences with third-person subjects

3.4 Negation

3.4.1 First-Person Subjects

In the subcorpus, *I will not* is almost three times more frequent than *I am not going to* (see Table 7), but the total numbers of the present-tense imperfective equivalents are comparable. A non-modal present-tense translation equivalent of *be going to* is given in (31); nevertheless, with *be going to*, the volitional present-tense equivalents prevail: there are eleven cases of the imperfective *hodlat* “to intend” in the present tense and eight cases of *chtít* “to want,” as in (32). Interestingly, however, the volitional *chtít* was most frequently used as a present-tense translation equivalent of *I will not* (fifteen occurrences), as in (33); *hodlat* in the present tense was used three times as an equivalent of *will*.

(31) *I'm not going to play any longer.* [GW_LF]

Já ale už *nehraju* [play:NEG.IPFV.PRS.1SG].

(32) *I'm not going to talk about this, Dean.* [BS_HD]

Nechci [want:NEG.IPFV.PRS.1SG] o tom *mluvit* [talk:INF], Deane.

(33) *I won't listen to another one if you don't call the doctor this minute.* [KJA_FA]

Víckrát *nechci* [want:NEG.IPFV.PRS.1SG] *slyšet* [hear:INF], co se ti zdálo, pokud na místě nezavoláš doktorovi.

In comparison with the positive declarative sentences with *I* as the subject, it turns out that verbs of volition in the present tense as equivalents of *will* are more frequent in the negative environment: translation equivalents of *will* in the positive declarative sentences did not contain any case of *chtít*, and the present tense in general was used only in about six per cent of the tokens of *I will*. While the data with the positive declarative sentences suggest that *be going to* takes over the volitional function of *will*, in the negative environment the volitional function of *will* still seems to be preserved.

Czech translation equivalents	Will			Be going to		
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	33	14	6.5	26	29	5.1
Present PFV	106	45	20.8	31	35	6.1
Future IPFV	91	38	17.8	32	36	6.3
Conditional	8	3	1.6	0	0	0
Imperative	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	238	100	46.7	89	100	17.5

Table 7: Czech equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: negative declarative sentences with *I* as the subject

3.4.2 Second-Person Subjects

With *you* as the subject, the difference in the frequency of both forms is again prominent: *you will not* is over five times more frequent than its counterpart with *be going to* (see Table 8), which is the first indication that this environment is not by default volitional (if it were, we could expect more tokens of *going to*) – cf. (34). However, unlike its positive counterpart, *will* in negative sentences with second-person subjects is translated by means of volitional verbs in the present tense: there are eight tokens of *chtít* “to want,” three of which are used in conditional clauses as in (35); *hodlat* “to intend” was used once.

(34) You *won't* starve. [AI_CS]

Hlady neumřete [die of hunger:NEG.PFV.PRS.2PL]!

(35) “If you *won't* talk about it like an adult, I’ll make my own decision.” [FJ_C]

„Pokud [if] se [REFL] o tom *nechceš* [want:NEG.IPFV.PRS.2SG] *bavit* [talk:INF], jako dospělý člověk, vezmu to do svých rukou a rozhodnu to sám.“

Be going to has only five translation equivalents in the present tense (including two tokens of *chtít*, one token of *hodlat* and one token of *mít v úmyslu* “to have the intention”), which means that the proportion of present-tense imperfective equivalents of *you are not going to* is similar to its positive declarative counterpart (where the majority of tokens turned out to be non-assertive). In fact, 13 out of the total 33 sentences with *be going to* are declarative questions or contain a tag question, as in (36); in other words, the speakers express their uncertainty about the addressee’s intention, which enables the volitional reading.

(36) *You aren’t going to arrest him, are you, Lije?*[AI_CS]

Nechcete [want:NEG.IPFV.PRS.2PL] *ho zadržít* [arrest:INF], *že ne, Lije?*

On the other hand, *be going to* in (37) is not concerned with the addressee’s intention. This corresponds to Poldauf’s argument that in declarative sentences (either positive or negative) with second-person subjects, willingness and intention are not the default interpretation because it is communicatively dubious to inform the addressees about something they themselves must know. In this context, both *will* and *be going to* are thus to be regarded as primarily futurate – as in (34) and (37) – unless there are more supplementary signals, such as the conditional clause given above in (35) or declarative questions as in (36) above.

(37) *You’re not going to look like that forever.* [SD_SC]

Takhle *nebudeš* [be:AUX.NEG.FUT.2SG] *vypadat* [look:INF] věčně.

Czech translation equivalents	Will			Be going to	
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	21	14	4.1	5	1.0
Present PFV	70	45	13.7	14	2.8
Future IPFV	55	35	10.8	12	2.4
Conditional	6	4	1.2	0	0
Imperative	2	1	0.4	1	0.2
Other	1	1	0.2	1	0.2
TOTAL	155	100	30.4	33	6.6

Table 8: Czech equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: negative declarative sentences with second-person subjects

3.4.3 Third-Person Subjects

As Table 9 shows, *be going to* in negative declarative sentences with third-person subjects is again much less frequent than *will*. There is also a striking difference between the numbers of the present-tense imperfective equivalents: in this environment, they are very marginal with *be going to*. By contrast, *will* was translated by means of the present-tense imperfective verb in 20 per cent of cases with animate subjects, which is the highest percentage from all types of sentences with *will*; the verbs included negative forms of *chtít* “want to” (22 tokens) and *dát se/nechat se* “allow” (five tokens), and *odmítat* “to refuse” (one token).

In other words, Poldauf’s proposition that the volitional usage of *will* is being taken over by *be going to* does not seem to apply in negative sentences with third-person subjects: in one half of the sentences with *will* and an animate subject which were rendered into Czech by means of a present-tense imperfective verb, the translation equivalent was an explicit expression of volition, while with *be going to* there was no occurrence of *chtít* “to want” in this environment. For this reason, *be going to* cannot be regarded as a volitional counterpart of *will* here. On the other hand, it confirms Poldauf’s argument that real competition between futurity and volition takes place in the third person with *will*: *will* can be both futurate, especially with inanimate subjects, as in (38), or it can be volitional, as in (39).

(38) “A locked door *won’t stop* him,” Rennie said. [BS_C]

„Zamčené dveře ho *nezastaví* [stop:NEG.PFV.PRS.3SG],“ řekla Rennie.

(39) Now he’s holed up in a Tuscan villa and the girl *won’t leave* him. [OM_EP]

No a on teď leží v toskánské panské vile, a to děvče ho *nechce* [want:NEG.IPFV.PRS.3SG] *opustit* [leave:INF].

Czech translation equivalents	Will						Be going to			
	Animate			Inanimate			Animate		Inanimate	
	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	%	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.	Σ	i.p.m.
Present IPFV	58	20	11.4	24	13	4.7	0	0	3	0.6
Present PFV	135	47	26.5	76	41	14.9	33	6.5	16	3.1
Future IPFV	78	27	15.3	67	36	13.1	9	1.8	4	0.8
Conditional	13	4	2.5	18	10	3.5	0	0	0	0
Imperative	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other	5	2	1.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL	289	100	56.7	185	100	36.2	42	8.3	23	4.5

Table 9: Czech equivalents of *will* and *be going to* in the subcorpus: negative declarative sentences with third-person subjects

4. Discussion of the Results

Unlike *will*, *be going to* is described as a present context indicator. The question of whether there is a difference in the frequency of the present tense of Czech imperfective verbs as a translation equivalent of *will* and *be going to* is closely related to the remaining issues, namely whether the corpus data can tell us something about *will* being replaced by *be going to* in its volitional functions (if that is the case, there should be more present-tense equivalents and more explicit volitional equivalents of *be going to* than with *will*), and whether this is happening in all contexts.

Tables 10–12 give an overview of the numbers and percentages of present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents of both *will* and *be going to* based on the results presented in Section 3.

In the **ASSERTIVE CONTEXT** (see Table 10), i.e., in **positive declarative sentences**, there is a difference between *will* and *be going to* in sentences with ***I* as the subject**: although *will* is more frequent than *be going to* in absolute numbers, *be going to* is more often translated by means of the present tense than *will* (54 and 22 tokens, respectively). Poldauf states that the volitional function of *will* is being taken over by *be going to*. As the translation equivalents show, *be going to* – unlike *will* – is indeed often rendered into Czech as an explicit expression of the speaker’s present volition (17 tokens out of 54 were volitional). On the contrary, the vast majority of the translation equivalents of *will* with *I* as the subject have future reference, i.e., they exclude the present moment, and they are not volitional; the present-tense form of the imperfective modal verb *chtít* “to want,” expressing desire, together with *hodlat* “to intend,” is among the most frequent translation equivalents of *be going to*, but not of *will*.

Due to pragmatic reasons, it can be presumed that with the **second-person subject**, both *will* and *be going to* will express futurity by default, while the volitional reading can only be expected in non-assertive contexts, e.g., in conditional sentences. In other words, the percentage of the imperfective present-tense translation equivalents of *be going to* should be smaller than in sentences with *I* as the subject because *be going to* is supposed to be mainly volitional. However, as the data in Table 10 show, the percentage of present-tense equivalents of *will* and *be going to* corresponds to the first-person environment; in other words, there is again a higher percentage of imperfective present-tense equivalents with *be going to* than *will*. Nevertheless, as a closer analysis reveals, the majority of these equivalents of *be going to* do indeed appear in non-assertive contexts and they express volition (20 out of 29 present-tense imperfective tokens were volitional). In other words, in these cases *you are going to* is not used to declare the addressee’s intention, but to question it.

As for **third-person subjects** in declarative sentences, Poldauf maintains that this is the environment in which there is true competition between *will* and *shall*. This turns out also to be true for the competition between *will* and *be going to*. Table 10 indicates that the total numbers of both forms with third-person subjects are quite comparable, while in almost all the other environments *will* is the more frequent form. As for the frequency of the present

tense as a translation equivalent, the difference between *will* and *be going to* is less marked than in the previous two environments. The ratios of animate and inanimate subjects are likewise quite comparable; even though animate subjects prevail, inanimate subjects are also quite frequent, which is an indication that the futurate function of both *will* and *be going to* competes with the volitional one.

Positive declarative sentences		<i>Will</i>				<i>Be going to</i>			
		Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs			TEs in total	Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs			TEs in total
		Σ	i.p.m.	%		Σ	i.p.m.	%	
1st person subject (<i>I</i>)		22*/0	–	6	384*	54/17	10.6	21	265
2nd person subject		22*/0	–	7	336*	29/20	5.7	23	128
3rd person subject	anim.	19/0	3.7	10	185	20/6	3.9	15	138
	inanim.	11/0	2.2	9	120	14/0	2.7	15	93

Table 10: An overview of present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents (TEs) of *will* and *be going to* in positive declarative sentences with different subjects: data from the Inter-Corp subcorpus (*sample 500)

As far as the **NON-ASSERTIVE CONTEXT** is concerned, the focus was on positive interrogative and negative declarative sentences. In **interrogative sentences**, several pragmatic constraints apply: it can be predicted, following Poldauf (1947), that **questions with the first-person subjects** will be rare and mainly futurate. This was confirmed by the corpus data: as Table 11 shows, *will* and *be going to* used in questions with *I* as the subject represent the least frequent patterns in the whole subcorpus, and present-tense and explicit volitional equivalents are marginal with both *will* and *be going to*.

On the other hand, following Poldauf (1947) it can be predicted that **questions with second-person subjects** will be very frequent. Indeed, as the results in Table 5 in Section 3 above show, a polar (*yes–no*) question with *will* and *you* as the subject is the most frequent pattern of all questions in the whole subcorpus. The pragmatic function of questions makes it possible to conclude, as Poldauf (1947) did, that the polar question with *will you* is primarily used as a marker of volition, and the translation equivalents confirm that it is the volition of the speaker: unlike *be going to* (in both types of questions) and *will* in *wh*-questions, *will you* in polar questions is frequently translated by means of the imperative and the conditional form; it is also used with IFIDs such as *please*. This reveals that the illocutionary force of a polar question with *will you* is a request, and it is further supported by the fact that its present-tense

equivalents are much less frequent than with *be going to* (see Table 11): because it is a request, it must refer to a future event. On the other hand, the translation equivalents of *are you going to* reveal that although it is also a marker of volition, the volition is the addressee's: the Czech imperfective present tense as a translation equivalent is more frequently found with *be going to* than with *will* in terms of both the absolute numbers and the percentages, and the vast majority of the present-tense equivalents of *be going to* are modal volitional verbs.

While there were no significant differences between *will* and *be going to* in the distribution of tenses in declarative sentences with third-person subjects, the situation is rather different in **interrogative sentences with third-person subjects** (see again Table 11). As for *will*, the number of the present-tense imperfective equivalents is among the lowest from all environments; and because inanimate subjects do appear with *will*, this suggests that *will* in this environment is a marker of futurity rather than volition. In other words, futurity is the default reading, which corresponds to the Czech translations, in which all forms with non-futurate reference are marginal, and it is also supported by the fact that *be going to* is quite rare in this environment in general, and so are inanimate subjects with *be going to*.

Interrogative sentences		Will			TEs in total	Be going to			TEs in total
		Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs				Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs			
		Σ	i.p.m.	%		Σ	i.p.m.	%	
1st person subject (<i>I</i>)		1/0	0.2	–	23	3/0	0.6	–	20
2nd person subject		16/4	3.2	7	238	37/33	7.2	39	94
3rd person subject	anim.	2/0	0.4	2	85	6/3	1.2	–	17
	inanim.	1/0	0.2	–	36	0/0	0	–	2

Table 11: An overview of present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents (TEs) of *will* and *be going to* in interrogative sentences with different subjects: data from the InterCorp subcorpus

From the three environments discussed here (positive declarative sentences, positive interrogative sentences, and negative declarative sentences), **negative declarative sentences** show the highest percentage of both present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents of *will* (see Table 12). *Be going to* is very rare with all subjects with the exception of *I*. In other words, *will* can be regarded as the default marker of volition in negative declarative sentences; one can find true competition between the two verbs only in sentences ***I* as the subject**. More specifically, in these sentences *will not* was rendered into Czech by means of a volitional verb in the present tense in 18 cases, while there were 19 such equivalents

with *be going to*. In comparison with the positive declarative sentences with *I* as the subject, the present tense and explicit verbs of volition in the present tense as equivalents of *will* turn out to be more frequent in the negative environment: translation equivalents of *will* in the positive declarative sentences did not contain any case of a volitional verb, and the percentage of the imperfective present-tense verbs was about six per cent. While the data with the positive declarative sentence suggest that *be going to* takes over the volitional function of *will*, in the negative environment the volitional function of *will* is still preserved.

Poldauf (1947) argues that in declarative sentences with **second-person subjects**, willingness and intention are not the default interpretation because it is communicatively dubious to inform the addressee about something they themselves must know. This applies both to positive and negative sentences: the environment of negative declarative sentences with *you* as the subject thus supports the futurate reading, which explains why *be going to* appears only rarely here (see Table 12). The volitional reading is induced if there is another supplementary signal which expresses the uncertainty about the addressee's intention, e.g., a conditional clause.

As far as **negative declarative sentences with third-person subjects** are concerned, Poldauf's (1947) proposition that the volitional usage of *will* is being taken over by *be going to* does not seem to apply universally: as far as the explicit volitional translation equivalents are concerned, in 23 cases *will* was translated by means of a volitional verb in the negative present-tense form, while there was no occurrence of a volitional verb with *be going to* in this environment (see again Table 12). On the other hand, this confirms Poldauf's argument that real competition between futurity and volition takes place in the third person: as the corpus data show, *will* appears both with animate subjects (which allow for both the volitional and futurate functions) and inanimate (i.e., volition excluding) subjects.

Negative declarative sentences		<i>Will</i>				<i>Be going to</i>			
		Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs			TEs in total	Czech present-tense imperfective/volitional TEs			TEs in total
		Σ	i.p.m.	%		Σ	i.p.m.	%	
1st person subject (<i>I</i>)		33/18	6.5	14	238	26/19	5.1	29	89
2nd person subject		21/9	4.1	14	155	5/4	1	-	33
3rd person subject	anim.	58/23	11.4	20	289	0/0	0	-	42
	inanim.	24/0	4.7	13	185	3/0	0.6	-	23

Table 12: An overview of present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents (TEs) of *will* and *be going to* in negative declarative sentences with different subjects: data from the InterCorp subcorpus

5. Conclusions

In this chapter, I focused on the categories of futurity and modality (or volition, to be more specific); because these are notoriously difficult to distinguish, I tackled the problem using parallel translation corpus data from the multilingual translation corpus InterCorp. Specifically, I dealt with the extent to which *will* and *be going to* are differentiated in translation: according to Poldauf (1947), *be going to* should gradually replace *will* in its volitional functions. Because *be going to* is often regarded as a present-context indicator, the question was whether in Czech the present tense – i.e., the present tense of imperfective verbs, because it is only the imperfective verb in which there is a match between the form and temporal function – would turn out to be a more frequent translation equivalent of *be going to* than *will*. It was hypothesized that if *going to* replaces *will* in its volitional function and if it includes the present moment, there should be more present-tense imperfective equivalents and more explicit volitional equivalents of *be going to* than of *will*.

According to the InterCorp data, *be going to* replaces *will* in its volitional function in assertive contexts. In non-assertive contexts, however, this only applies to questions with second-person subjects and negative declarative sentences with first-person subjects; in the latter environment, however, we can see almost identical results for both *will* and *be going to* in terms of the absolute numbers of present-tense imperfective and volitional translation equivalents. In the other non-assertive environments, there were not enough tokens of *be going to*; this is partly due to pragmatic reasons (some contexts are pragmatically infelicitous for the volitional function) as well as methodological ones (a larger corpus might provide more tokens). Therefore, especially in negative sentences, *will* can be a signal of both the futurate and volitional functions, as the numbers of its volitional translation equivalents in Table 12 show.

As for the question whether *be going to* is more frequently translated by the present tense, the answer mirrors the issue of *be going to* as a volitional counterpart of *will*: it is in the assertive context, in questions with second-person subjects and in negative declarative sentences with first-person subjects (at the same time, it must be pointed out that the present-tense imperfective translation equivalents do not comprise solely modal, i.e., imperfective, verbs expressing volition, as Tables 10–12 show). In the other contexts, there are not enough data to draw any authoritative conclusions, and it must be kept in mind that the data are based on one genre and written texts only. This is also a direction in which future research should go: a wider variety of genres, more recent texts and spoken language are the areas with which the results presented above can be contrasted.

Chapter Seven

Lucie Černá

Re-evaluating the Progressive Form: The Case of English Verbs of Attitude

1. Introduction

In English, the combination of the verb *be* and a verb in the *-ing* form, called the progressive aspect (Biber et al. 1999; Leech 2004; Quirk et al. 1985), the progressive (Hatcher 1951; Huddleston and Pullum 2003; Leech 2004; Quirk et al. 1985), or the *be -ing* periphrasis (Poldauf 1982), is in general less frequently used than the simple verbal form.¹ In Quirk et al.'s terms (1985, 198), “[t]he progressive aspect is infrequent compared with the nonprogressive.”²

It is sometimes stated that “[t]he progressive aspect is used to describe activities or events that are in progress at a particular time, usually for a limited duration.” (Biber et al. 1999, 470). Examples (1)–(3) illustrate what Leech calls “the most salient function of the Progressive Aspect” (2004, 19), i.e., reference “to temporary situations, activities or goings-on” (Leech 2004, 19).

- (1) ‘Where’s Joan?’ ‘She’s *cooking* the dinner.’ (Leech 2004, 19)³
- (2) ‘What on earth *are you doing*?’ ‘I’m *trying* to play the violin.’ (Leech 2004, 19)
- (3) ‘What’s *happening*?’ ‘The river’s *overflowing* its banks.’ (Leech 2004, 19)

1 This chapter is based on a previous study on the topic of state verbs in the progressive form (Černá 2013). Some of the material presented in the previous study appears in the present chapter, however, here attention is focused exclusively on all the verbs of attitude and their translation equivalents found in the corpus.

2 They go on to say that “[a] count of a large number of verb constructions has indicated that less than 5 per cent of verb phrases are progressive, whereas more than 95 per cent are nonprogressive” (Quirk et al. 1985, 198).

3 With the exception of corpus examples, all italics are in the original unless noted otherwise.

When Poldauf (1982) discusses the “*be -ing* periphrasis,” he sees analogies with the process of filming, while the simple form can be compared more to a photographic depiction of an action. He says that “[t]he *be-ing* periphrasis presents a verb content in vivid continuity, the vividness coming to the fore in the *just now / just then* presentation, and the continuity in the background presentation” (1982, 310). Similarly to Poldauf, Leech also notes that “[i]n the most general terms, the Progressive aspect (as it is called) is said to give us an ‘inside view’ of a happening, rather than an ‘outside view,’ seeing the happening as a single whole” (2004, 18). Huddleston and Pullum, too, argue that “[t]he progressive takes an internal view, looking at it [the situation] from the inside, as it were, as something going on, in progress” (2003, 117).

De Wit and Brisard, on the other hand, suggest that the progressive form evokes “a connotation of intensification” (2009, 15). In (4), for example, “the speaker refers to a habitual action by means of a present progressive instead of a simple present, so as to stress its actual nature. . . . this example prominently features a connotation of intensification” (2009, 15):

- (4) I always have somebody that really knows what they’re doing, for the horses *that I’m really really using*. (De Wit and Brisard 2009, 15)

In addition, De Wit and Brisard also argue that the use of the progressive form stresses “the personal involvement and active investment on the part of the subject to keep the event going” (2009, 16). They add that “[s]uch active investment is not necessary with states, which maintain themselves, so to speak” (2009, 16).

Everything that has been written above implies that the progressive form is encountered more often with verbs that express an activity, an event, or a process than with other verbs. However, there are also verbs which express other things than activities, events, or processes. These so-called “state verbs” (Leech 2004) or “stative verbs” (Quirk et al. 1985) are said to be “anti-progressive” (Leech 2004).

State verbs can be further divided into smaller groups according to the state that they depict. Leech (2004) differentiates between “verbs of inert cognition,” “verbs of inert perception,” “verbs of attitude,” “verbs of having and being,” and “verbs of bodily sensation.” It is Leech’s division of state verbs that I will adopt. In the theoretical part of the chapter, I will pay attention to the verbs that belong to the “verbs of attitude” (e.g., *hope, love, want*, etc.) and the “verbs of inert cognition” (e.g., *think, know, suppose*, etc.). I will then concentrate on the verbs of attitude *hope, enjoy, want, love, wish*, and *like* and investigate their usage in the progressive form and their Czech translation equivalents in the InterCorp parallel translation corpus.

1.1 State Verbs and the Progressive

Huddleston and Pullum state that the “[p]rogressive aspect . . . does not normally occur with expressions denoting states, **The flag is being red*. (state), *He is playing tennis*. (occurrence)” (2003, 119). Along the same lines, Quirk et al. argue that “stative verb

meanings are inimical to the idea that some phenomenon is ‘in progress.’ States are ‘like-parted’ in that every segment of a state has the same character as any other segment: no progress is made” (1985, 198).

Leech calls state verbs “ANTI-PROGRESSIVE verbs, because of their ‘unfriendliness’ to the Progressive” (2004, 25), but he admits at the same time that “[i]t seems as if usage in this area is not always logical and systematic, because the language itself is gradually extending the use of the Progressive. There are also dialect differences”⁴ (2004, 25). Quirk et al. note that “[a]lthough verbs with stative meaning have sometimes been called ‘nonprogressive’; when they are combined with the progressive, some change of interpretation other than the addition of the ‘temporary’ meaning of the progressive aspect is required” (1985, 202). More specifically, an originally stative verb becomes dynamic.

Even state verbs can thus occur in the progressive form.⁵ Biber et al. state that verbs like *hope*, *think*, *wonder* can be used in reference to a process having limited duration, which makes them common in the progressive form, and they go on to say: “In contrast, verbs such as *believe*, *know*, *like*, and *want* are regarded as denoting mental states rather than processes, and thus they rarely occur with the progressive” (1999, 474). In other words, there is a higher frequency for *hope*, *think*, *wonder* (10 i.p.m. or more) while the remaining verbs *know*, *like*, *want* appear in the progressive form only rarely, less than 2% of the time (1999, 472). Apart from this, Biber et al. also note that “[t]he particular frequency of the verbs *saying* and *thinking* with the past progressive is puzzling. It seems that the use of the past progressive with these verbs (as in *She was saying . . .*, *I was thinking . . .*) conveys more vivid imagery and a greater sense of involvement than the simple past tense” (1999, 475).

1.2 Verbs of Attitude and the Progressive

There seem to be two main uses of the progressive form with the verbs of attitude. The progressive form of a state verb conveys either **tentativeness** (or **politeness**) or **growing dynamism**. Quirk et al. state that the progressive form as it appears in (5) below “[m]akes the speaker’s attitude more *tentative* and perhaps more *polite*” (1985, 202; my italics):

(5) *I am hoping* you will come. (Quirk et al. 1985, 202)

Similarly, Huddleston and Pullum notice that in (6) “the progressive adds an element of *tentativeness*” (2003, 170; my italics):

(6) *I’m hoping* you can help me. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 170)

In their interpretation “[6] avoids any danger of apparent brusqueness that might attach to *I hope you can help me*. The effect is similar to that of the preterite for diffidence/

4 According to Dennis, the Irish dialect in particular is rich in the use of the progressive (1940, 865).

5 Hatcher mentions that the state verbs *remember*, *love*, and *think* allow for alternation of construction with great ease (1951, 267).

politeness” (2002, 170). However, they admit that “[i]t is not clear how the politeness derives from the progressive. One factor is no doubt length/complexity: polite formulations are often more complex than ordinary ones (compare *I wonder whether you'd mind opening the door* with *Open the door*). Another may be the restricted duration feature, the temporariness of the hoping acknowledges that you may not want to help me” (2002, 170).

Leech, too, talks about a “special *polite use* of the Progressive” (7) with certain verbs of “inert cognition” and “attitude” (2004, 29; my italics). According to him, “[i]n idiomatic colloquial speech, this apparently unaccountable usage is often preferred to the regular Simple Present form” (2004, 29):

(7) *I'm hoping* you'll give us some advice. (Leech 2004, 29)

Leech observes that the “form of verb, for politeness, must be matched against the favour requested. The Past Progressive (most tentative) is more appropriate to a request that will put the listener to considerable risk or inconvenience [8]. The Simple Present (most direct) is more appropriate when the listener is invited to do something to his/her own advantage [9]” (2004, 30).

(8) *I was hoping* you'd look after the children. (Leech 2004, 30)

(9) *I hope* you'll come and have dinner with us when you're in London next. (Leech 2004, 30)

The second type of use of a state verb in the progressive form, i.e., to express **growing dynamism**, is exemplified in (10) and (11). Arguably, “the progressive yields an activity reading: we interpret *think* and *love* here as equivalent to dynamic *cogitate* and *enjoy*” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 170):

(10) Don't interrupt me when *I'm thinking*. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 170)

(11) They're *loving* every minute of it. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 170)

In sentences similar to (10) and (11), Leech talks about the “activation or arousal of the thought processes” (Leech 2004, 29). This happens, however, only with the “verbs of inert cognition”: “verbs normally of Class F [i.e., verbs of inert cognition] seem to function, unusually, as ‘activity verbs’” (2004, 29):

(12) *I'm thinking* for the moment in plain economic terms. (Leech 2004, 29)

Furthermore, some state verbs are used in the progressive form if they are followed by a comparative construction. This is the case of the verb *resemble* (13). Quirk et al. note

that “[w]ith the comparative construction, the progressive turns the stative meaning into a process meaning” (1985, 202):

(13) *Tina is resembling her sister more and more.* (Quirk et al. 1985, 202)

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 170), the usage of the verb *know* in the progressive form is restricted exactly to these “waxing/waning situations”:

(14) He claims that *fewer and fewer* students *are knowing* how to write English when they come up to university. (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 170)

When the literature was reviewed, several brief comments on the possibility of the progressive form expressing a greater level of *intensity*⁶ were encountered. Hatcher (1951) notes that there is a changing degree of intensity in situations where there is alternation between the simple and the progressive form. She claims that every verb has a form in which it usually appears, depending on the semantics of the verb. For state verbs the usual form would be the simple form. If a state verb occurs in the progressive form, it seems that it “thereby becomes more warmly felt, more personal, more spontaneous (*I hope ~ I’m hoping*)” (1951, 272). This is in agreement with what De Wit and Brisard state about the progressive form in general (see Section 1).

2. Methodology

The aim of this chapter is to examine how the progressive form of the verbs of attitude is reflected in their Czech translation equivalents. I used the data available in InterCorp, a multilingual translation corpus that contains a large number of different texts, both fiction and non-fiction, in 31 different languages; the texts are translations either from or into Czech. My subcorpus consisted of 41 works of British and American fiction (3,972,815 words in total) and their Czech translations.⁷

At the beginning I adopted a corpus-driven approach: to get a list of English verbs of attitude used in the progressive form, I first searched for all progressive forms ([lemma=“be”] [tag=“VBG”])⁸ and only then selected the verbs of attitude manually. Sentences such as (15), where the verb *be* is followed by a gerund, were excluded.

(15) “The only thing I’m guilty of *is wanting* to learn to do what you do.”

6 Cruse (2011) considers intensity as one of the parameters of descriptive meaning.

7 For the list of the InterCorp texts quoted in this book and the abbreviations, see Appendix 1.

8 The most frequent activity verb found in the progressive form was *go*, with an absolute frequency of 1,956 and i.p.m. 492.35.

The verb *hope* turns out to be the most frequent verb of attitude to appear in the progressive form in my data, and the verb *like* the least frequent. The absolute frequencies, as well as the relative frequencies (instances per million words or i.p.m.) and the ranks among all progressive forms, are shown in Table 1 below.

	[lemma="be"] [word=" . . ing"]	absolute frequency / i.p.m.	rank among all progressive forms
Verbs of attitude	[lemma="be"] [word="hoping"]	50 / 12.59	58
	[lemma="be"] [word="enjoying"]	43 / 10.82	66
	[lemma="be"] [word="wanting"]	18 / 4.53	105
	[lemma="be"] [word="loving"]	8 / 2.01	284
	[lemma="be"] [word="wishing"]	6 / 1.51	303
	[lemma="be"] [word="liking"]	5 / 1.26	366

Table 1. Frequencies and rank of the verbs of attitude (*hope*, *enjoy*, *want*, *love*, *wish*, and *like*) in the subcorpus

The occurrences of the verbs of attitude *hope*, *enjoy*, *want*, *love*, *wish*, and *like* were then subjected to a thorough analysis.

3. Data Analysis

First, it must be admitted that the use of the progressive form is often not reflected at all in the Czech translations. Most typically, a basic Czech dictionary equivalent is used, e.g., *chtít* “want” in (16):

- (16) I believe she *was wanting* us all to go to the deer park. [IK_AFW]
 Myslím, že nás *chce* [want:IPFV.PRS.3SG] všechny vzít do jelení obory.
 “I think that she wants to take us all to the deer park.”

In some sentences even the whole verb in the progressive form is omitted, as in (17):

- (17) Or else we'll *be wanting* to start checking on you too. [IK_AFW]
 Jinak si začneme prověřovat i vás.
 “Otherwise we'll start checking up on you too.”

Cases similar to (16) or (17) will not be discussed in more detail here. In the rest of this chapter I will focus on the translations which do reflect the use of the progressive form and the ways they do it.

3.1 Politeness

In two cases the progressive form of the verb of attitude was translated into Czech by a verb in the **conditional mood**, which can, according to Czech grammar books (Cvrček et al. 2010, 242; Grepl et al. 1995, 593), express politeness.⁹ The verb *hope* in (18) is translated by *rád bych* (“I would like”) and the verb *want* (19) is translated by *potřeboval byste* (“you would need”).

(18) I was *hoping* to show it to you later. [LJ_LS]

Rád [gladly] *bych* [AUX.COND.1SG] ti ji ukázal [showed:PTCP.SG.M].
“I would like to show it to you.”

(19) Well, you’ll *be wanting* more definite information than that, won’t you. [KA_LJ]

Potřeboval [need:PST.PTCP.SG.M] *byste* [AUX.COND.2PL] ale nějaké
přesnější vyjádření.
“But you would need some more accurate information.”

Generally speaking, however, the Czech translation equivalents do not reflect any of the potential politeness of the progressive form of an English verb of attitude.

3.2 Dynamism

In contrast to the “polite use” of the progressive form (for which the Czech translations did not, however, provide much evidence), the tendency for a verb of attitude to become dynamic if used in the progressive form (see Section 1.2) was confirmed by the Czech translations. This is the case of (20), (21), and (22), where the verb *want* is translated by a Czech **action verb**: *volat* “call,” *hledat* “look for,” and *chystat se* “get ready for,” respectively:

(20) The children *have been wanting* me this half hour. [AJ_PP]

Musím končit, děti mě *volají* [call:IPFV.PRS.3PL] už dobré půl hodiny.
“I have to finish, the children have been calling me for a good half an hour.”

(21) It’s a decent job I’m *wanting*, and ye will give me one. [LJ_LS]

Já *hledám* [look.for:IPFV.PRS.1SG] poctivou práci a ty mi nějakou dáš.
“I’m looking for a fair job and you’ll give me one.”

⁹ “Kromě podmínky nebo možnosti vyjadřuje kondicionál v různých kontextech i jiné významy. Jedním z nich je např. vyjádření nerozhodnosti . . . , zdvořilosti nebo skromnosti . . . a nebo prosby . . .” (Cvrček et al. 2010, 242) (“Apart from expressing condition or possibility . . . , the conditional mood may express other meanings. One of them is the expression of indecisiveness . . . , politeness or modesty . . . or request . . .” [my translation]).

- (22) We told him he could have the business right away. *We've been wanting* to retire early anyway. [DC_CW]
 Řekli jsme Ethanovi, že může podnik převzít okamžitě, protože *se* [REFL] stejně *chystáme* [get.ready:IPFV.PRS.1PL] na odpočinek.
 “We told Ethan that he could take over the company immediately because we were getting ready for retirement anyway.”

Also, in (23) and (24) the Czech verb *chtít* (“want”) used in the translation of the verb *hope* seems to show “more active involvement of the subject with the activity” (Hatcher 1951, 279) than its direct dictionary equivalent *doufat* (“hope”):

- (23) *She'd been hoping* to get used to her job before she had to deal with him again. [LJ_LS]
Chtěla [want:IPFV.PST.PTCP.3SG.F] si napřed zvyknout na svou práci, než s ním bude muset znovu jednat.
 “She wanted to get used to her job before she would have to negotiate with him again.”
- (24) So anyway, one night I had a date, some guy *I'd been hoping* to impress, and I'd invited him over for dinner. [FJ_P]
 No, ale jednou jsem měla rande s klukem, na kterého *jsem* [AUX.PRS.1SG] *chtěla* [want:PST.PTCP.SG.F] udělat dojem, a pozvala jsem ho k sobě domů na večeři.
 “Well, but once I had a date with a boy whom I wanted to impress and I invited him to my place for dinner.”

Similarly, in (25) and (26) the reflexive verb *těšit se na* (“look forward to”) implies a greater personal interest or involvement in the activity than *doufat* (“hope”):

- (25) “And I think Dad *was hoping* to see your desk at the Wall Sweet [*sic*] Journal.” (She raised her voice.) [FJ_C]
 A táta *se* [REFL] podle mě *těšil* [look.forward.to:PST.PTCP.SG.M], že se podívá na tvůj stůl ve Wall Street Journal.
 “And in my opinion Dad was looking forward to seeing your table in the Wall Street [*sic*] Journal.”
- (26) “I *was hoping* you'd tell me,” said Mrs. Manresa. [WV_BA]
 “*Těšila* [look.forward.to:PST.PTCP.SG.F] *jsem* [AUX.PRS.1SG] *se* [REFL], že mi to povíte,” řekla paní Manresová.
 “I was looking forward to hearing about that from you,” Mrs. Manresa said.”

3.3 Higher Degree of Intensity or Expressivity

In 18 tokens (13.84%) a verb with a higher degree of intensity or expressivity was used in the translation. The verb *toužit* (“long for”) is the most intensive of the verbs used for the translation of the verbs *hope* and *wish* in the progressive form:

(27) Just the man I’ve been hoping to see. [CR_T]

Přesně ten člověk, po kterém *toužím* [long.for:IPFV.PRS.1SG].

“Exactly the (kind of) man I long for.”

(28) I believed you to be wishing, expecting my addresses. [AJ_PP]

Věřil jsem, že čekáte, že *toužíte* [long.for:IPFV.PRS.2PL], abych se vám vyznal.

“I believed that you were expecting, that you were longing for me to confess my love to you.”

The verb *toužit* (“long for”) was also used as a translation equivalent of the much less strong verb *want*. In (29) a similar change in intensity is also reflected in the translation equivalent of the verb *say*, where a much stronger verb was used – the verb *vykřičet* (“shout out”):

(29) She stopped to draw a deep breath and then went ranting on. It seemed she had been wanting to say all this for years. [RJK_HPPS]

Zarazila se jen na tak dlouho, aby se zhluboka nadechla, a pak soptila dál, jako kdyby to všechno *toužila* [long.for:PST.PTCP.SG.F] *vykřičet* [shout.out:INF] už kolik let.

“She broke off only to take a deep breath and then she went on fuming with rage as if she had been longing to shout it out for several years.”

The Czech verb *vychutnávat si* (“glory in something, enjoy”) in (30) is also much stronger than its English source:

(30) They were an extraordinary gift, and she was loving every minute of it. [SD_JA]

Dostala tak mimořádný dar a *vychutnávala* [glory.in.something:PST.PTCP.SG.F] *si* [REFL.DAT] každou minutu v synově blízkosti.

“She got such a special present and she was enjoying every minute near her son.”

In (31) and (32) the verb *zamlouvat se* “to appeal” appears in the translation of the progressive form of the verb *like* accompanied by a comparative construction. The verb *zamlouvat se* (“to appeal”) is, at least according to Filipec (2005, 544), “informal”:

(31) He was liking the boy less and less every second. [RJK_HPPS]

Cizí chlapec se [REFL] mu *zamlouval* [appeal:PST.PTCP.SG.M] *čím dál méně* [less and less].

“The strange boy appealed to him less and less.”

- (31) She *was liking* Homicide *less and less*, but it wasn't because of Cahill's unnecessary remarks. [IJ_WY]
 Práce v oddělení vražd *se* [REFL] jí *zamlouvala* [appeal:PST.PTCP.SG.F] *méně a méně* [less and less], ale nebylo to kvůli Cahillovým zbytečným poznámkám.
 “The work in the Homicide Department was appealing to her less and less but it wasn't because of Cahill's useless remarks.”

In the translation of (33) the expression *upřímně* (“sincerely”) was used, though it does not appear in the English source text. The same applies to *v hloubi srdce* (“deep in my heart”) in (34). Arguably, they also add intensity to the verb *doufat* (“hope”):

- (33) And then of course there were the dreaded and de rigeur [*sic*] garter belt and stockings; I *was hoping* that I'd not have to use them too frequently. [AJ_C]
 A pak samozřejmě došlo i na obávaný de rigeur podvazkový pás a punčochy, i když *jsem* [AUX.PRS.1SG] *upřímně* [sincerely] *doufala* [hope:PST.PTCP.SG.F], že zrovna tyhle rekvizity nebudu muset nosit moc často.
 “And then of course there were the dreaded de rigeur garter and stockings, even though I was hoping sincerely that I wouldn't have to wear these stage properties very often.”
- (34) “My dear madam,” he replied, “this invitation is particularly gratifying, because it is what I have *been hoping* to receive; and you may be very certain that I shall avail myself of it as soon as possible.” [AJ_PP]
 “Drahá madam,” pravil, “přijímám vděčně vaše pozvání. *V hloubi srdce* [deep in my heart] *jsem* [AUX.PRS.1SG] *doufal* [hope:PST.PTCP.SG.M], že se mi ho dostane, a budete ujištěna, že ho využiji, jak nejdříve budu moci.”
 “‘Dear madam,’ he said, ‘I accept your invitation gratefully. Deep in my heart I was hoping that I would get one and I assure you that I will make use of it as soon as I can.’”

In (35) and (36) the intensity of the verb *líbit se* (“to appeal”) is again emphasized by an adverb, *úžasně* (“fantastically”) and *moc* (“a lot”), respectively:

- (35) I'm *enjoying* this. [KA_LJ]
 Ale mně *se* [REFL] tu *úžasně* [fantastically] *líbí* [appeal:IPFV.PRS.3SG].
 “But I like it so much here.”
- (36) “I'm *loving* this book,” Jonah reported. [FJ_C]
 “Zatím *se* [REFL] mi ta kniha *moc* [a lot] *líbí* [appeal:IPFV.PRS.3SG],” hlásil Jonah.
 “‘For the moment I like the book a lot,’ Jonah announced.”

In (37) the Czech equivalent of the phrase *can't wait* is used in the Czech translation of a sentence with the progressive form of the verb *want*. Arguably, it again adds expressivity:¹⁰

(37) *She's been wanting* to meet Ichiro. [IK_AFW]

Nemůže [can:NEG.IPFV.PRS.3SG] *se* [REFL] *dočkat* [wait.to.do.something:INF],
až Ičira uvidí.

“She can't wait to see Ichiro.”

Finally, expressions of “emotional evaluation” (Poldauf 1964b) also seem to add intensity to the Czech verb. This was the case of the translation equivalents of the verb *hope*: the dictionary equivalent *doufat* (used 40 times out of 50) is supported by an adverb in three cases: *očividně* (“obviously”) in (38) and *jen* (“just”) in (39) and (40):

(38) Certainly not what the other woman *was hoping* to hear, Amanda knows, holding her breath (and saying a silent prayer that Jennifer will be curious enough to listen to his request). [FJ_P]

Ale zřejmě ne tu, v níž Jennifer *očividně* [obviously] *doufala* [hope:PST.PTCP.SG.F], pomyslela si Amanda a zadržela dech.

“But probably not the one in which Jennifer was hoping, obviously, thought Amanda and held her breath.”

(39) I *was hoping* that by chance he had called in to report everything was proceeding smoothly. [GJ_SL]

Jen [just] *jsem* [AUX.PRS.1SG] *doufal* [hope:PST.PTCP.SG.M], že se třeba Mordecai dostane k telefonu, aby zavolał, že všechno probíhá hladce.

“I was just hoping that Mordecai would get to the phone to call and say that everything was running smoothly.”

(40) I'm *hoping* Colin wins. [SAR_TH]

Doufám [hope:IPFV.PRS.1SG] *jen* [just], že vyhraje Colin.

“I just hope that Colin wins.”

The same applies to (41), where a modal particle was added:

(41) (Denise had expected Robin's disapproval and could handle it), but from Brian she *was hoping for* a word of understanding. [FJ_C]

ale pokud šlo o Briana, *čekala* [expect:PST.PTCP.SG.F] od něj alespoň [at least] slůvko porozumění.

“but when it came to Brian she was expecting at least a word of understanding.”

10 In Čermák (1997, 321), expressivity, the pragmatic component of the meaning of a lexeme, is defined as a deviation from the expected form in a specific context. For a thorough discussion of “expressivity” see Zima (1961).

4. Conclusions

The use of the progressive form is not typical of state verbs since usually the progressive form “indicates a happening in progress at a given time” (Quirk et al. 1985, 197) and state verbs are generally described as “ANTI-PROGRESSIVE” (Leech 2004) or “inimical to the idea that some phenomenon is ‘in progress’” (Quirk et al. 1985, 198–99). However, grammarians give examples of the polite use of the progressive form and also of a change toward a more dynamic meaning.

The study of the verbs of attitude (*hope, enjoy, want, love, wish*, and like) in the InterCorp parallel translation corpus has shown that the Czech translation equivalents of the English verbs of attitude in the progressive form do not seem to reflect the feature of politeness (as discussed by Quirk et al. 1985, Leech 2004, or Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Nonetheless, the fact that in certain cases the Czech translation equivalent is an action verb confirms that what was originally a state verb may become dynamic (Huddleston and Pullum 2002). Furthermore, in some of the Czech translations verbs with a higher degree of intensity or expressivity are found. Finally, an intensifying adverbial or expressions of “emotional evaluation” (Poldauf 1964b) are added to make the sentence sound less neutral.

Chapter Eight

Jaroslav Macháček

On the Status of *Begin* and *Start* in Constructions with the Verb *Be*

1. The Status of the Aspectual Verbs *Start* and *Begin* with *to V* and *V_{ING}* in the Literature

Aspectual verbs are, according to some linguistic accounts, lexical verbs (Freed 1979, 144), but according to others they are “partially, or perhaps completely, grammaticalized forms” (Brinton 1988, 59). The latter interpretation is discussed further in Duffley (1999, 296ff) and Leech et al. (2009, 197). Brinton argues that though syntactically English aspectualizers do not qualify as auxiliaries on the grounds of the NICE properties (cf. e.g., Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 92), they are nonetheless “functionally different” from main verbs (cf. *She started driving* as opposed to *She started the car*) (83); “like auxiliaries, they are definable without recourse to lexical notions” (81),¹ and “meet semantic criteria for auxiliary membership.” More specifically, there are certain aspects of their grammatical behavior that make them different from lexical verbs. First, “passivization ‘applies over’ aspectualizers, as it does over modals, auxiliary *have* and *be*, and a limited set of lexical verbs, such as *seem*, *happen*, *chance*” (Brinton 1988, 64) but it does not apply over most lexical verbs:

- (1) John began/continued to address the crowd = The crowd began/continued to be addressed by John. (64)
- (2) Bill has eaten the cake = The cake has been eaten by Bill. (64)

1 For example, according to Leech et al. (2009, 197), the earliest attested meaning of *start* in English was narrowly lexical – “leap, jump.” This meaning is not compatible with any type of non-finite clausal complement; *start* in the sense of “begin” emerged in the 18th century.

- (3) John wanted to see a movie tonight \neq A movie wanted to be seen by John tonight. (64)

Second, “aspectualizers appear to be transparent to certain verbal restrictions . . . For example, the verb *ask* imposes a restriction on the complement verb that it express a voluntary action; while a verb such as *try* can satisfy this condition, aspectualizers cannot. The constraint ‘skips over’ the *begin*-class verb, and the next lower verb must be agentive” (Brinton 1988, 64–65):

- (4) Ask him to listen [+VOL] vs *Ask him to hear [-VOL]. (65)
- (5) Ask him to try to hear vs *Ask him to begin/continue/cease to hear. (65)
- (6) Ask him to begin/continue/cease to listen. (65)²

As Brinton sums up, “transparency and active/passive synonymy both suggest that aspectualizers are semantically similar to auxiliaries, functioning not as full verbs, but as operators on the next lower, or complement, verb” (65). It seems to follow from her account that this applies to aspectualizers with both complement structures, *to* V and V_{ING}.

The difference between *to* V and V_{ING} in the complementation of aspectual verbs has often been attributed to other factors. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 1192), for example, “there is no observable difference of meaning,” but sometimes “a contrast between ‘potentiality’ and ‘performance’ may influence the choice”:

- (7) He *started to speak*, but stopped because she objected. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1192)³
- (8) He *started speaking*, and kept on for more than an hour. (Quirk et al. 1985, 1192)

This seems to be in agreement with Bolinger (1968, 124), who argues that V_{ING} expresses “reification” and V_{INF} “hypothesis” or “potentiality.” Drawing on this, Egan argues that “[w]hereas an ingressive *to infinitive* construction may merely mark the starting point of a process, the *-ing* form constructions imply that the process continues unfolding” (Egan 2008, 265).

According to Poldauf (1955, 221), the infinitive has a general meaning (“je výrazem obecným”), while V_{ING} comes into play when, in his terms, “jde o objektivně pojatý předmět záměru” (objectively conceived object of purpose). The subject of such

² Brinton argues that “like aspectualizers, auxiliaries are also transparent” (65).

³ With the exception of corpus examples, all italics are in the original unless noted otherwise.

constructions refers to a person, organization, or institution (“osobu, organizaci nebo orgán”). This is in agreement with Egan (2008, 262), who states that both *-ing* constructions occur with Agent subjects (*start* more often than *begin*). Brinton draws on Freed (1979), who sees the difference between the *to* infinitive and *-ing* complements of verbs as being that the complement *to V* has a generic (or serial) reading, while *V-ing* has a durative (or iterative) reading (Brinton 1988, 92).⁴ On the basis of her equating “the *V-ing* complement with *be*-progressive . . . expressing durative aspect” (Brinton 1988, 92), Brinton concludes that *to V* complements are *perfective*, whereas V_{ING} complements are *imperfective*.⁵

Now, the question is whether the auxiliary status can indeed be argued for both *start* and *begin* and/or whether the type of complementation (*to V* or V_{ING}) matters. Poldauf tentatively suggests grammatical status only for the matrix verbs complemented by the infinitive; according to him (Poldauf 1955, 221), the semantic weight shifts from the governing verb (as in *like to*) onto the infinitive: “Řídící sloveso se tu blíží ke gramatickým zařízením” (the licensing verb here comes close to grammatical devices; my translation). In no way does this mean, however, that the aspectual verb is a feature of an incipient grammatical category:

It might be requisite to state whether the “quantity” of a verbal notion is large or small, continuous or scattered, interrupted, whether it is thought of in its beginning or in its end or in the middle of its course. Unless it were an obligatory classification, this would not be a grammatical category. Latin inchoatives (*coalesco*) can find mention in semantics and in onomasiology, but not in grammar, since we are not obliged with every Latin verb employed in a sentence to state whether what it expresses is thought of in its beginning, middle or end. (Poldauf 1948, 266–67)

Brinton, on the other hand, does not posit any statement regarding a different level of auxiliary status between the verbs when used with different non-finite complements.

4 Generic means the “repetition of events of the same kind on different occasions over an unspecified period of time; the temporal nature of a serial situation is intermittent or sporadic” (Brinton 1988, 92); durative or iterative is defined as “the duration of a single event or the repetition of an event within a single period of time” (92).

5 The general difference between the usage of the *to V* and V_{ING} in the complementation of verbs is sometimes also attributed to concreteness and specificity; the infinitive complements allegedly denote a disposition, while *-ing* forms refer to concrete events (Conrad 1982, 146). Then there is the question of generic versus specific: the infinitive is to denote generic predication and the *-ing* form specific predication (Freed 1979, 185; Egan 2008, 264). Here we feel obliged to add the generally and undeservedly ignored analysis of these two verbal forms and of their competition given by Poldauf as early as 1955 (203). For him, the infinitive is an expression for a verbal event conceived as abstract (“neskutečnostně pojatý děj”), while what he calls a gerund-participle (GP) focuses on this event itself. This he compares with a similar difference between a photograph and a film.

The same view was also adopted for the syntactic annotation of the British Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB), where *start* and *begin* are both annotated as auxiliaries (AUX) in the function of an operator (OP) when followed by both V_{ING} and *to V* (in which case *to* is annotated as part of the AUX). Leech et al. (2009, 196) note an increase in the “frequency of catenative uses of these verbs as a whole,” which allows them to argue that “with catenative uses conveying very general actional concepts such as the inception or termination of activities, we are looking at a process of ongoing grammaticalization not entirely unrelated to the one discussed for help.”⁶ Later in the chapter, however, they only focus on *start* and *stop*, noting that “as gerundial complements generally increased in frequency from the 18th century onwards, it is not surprising that an antonymic pattern of the type *start/stop* + gerund should have emerged as a candidate for rapid grammaticalization, all the more so as this pattern could be extended to include transitive uses of the two verbs” (197). The fact that in the spoken parts of the BNC (BNC-demog) and ANC *start* is more common with V_{ING} than with *to V* also confirms, as they argue, that “it is indeed the historically younger *stop/start* + gerund option which is currently undergoing grammaticalization” (198).

2. *Start to Be/Being, or Begin to Be/Being:* BNC and COCA

Instances of the constructions to be analyzed, i.e., *begin to be/being* and *start to be/being*, were retrieved from the BNC-XML version of the British National Corpus (BNC) via the XAIRA software, and from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) via the Brigham Young University (BYU) interface. The material was counted and the numbers representing individual types of patterns organized into tables. This overall quantitative picture is then followed by a qualitative analysis of the BNC data: first, I was interested to see if Egan’s statement (2008, 262) that the subjects of the matrix verbs complemented by *to V* and V_{ING} are agents holds good for our data, and second, if what follows the verb *be* in the complementing verb phrase plays a role in attributing auxiliary status to the matrix verb.

2.1 Data Analysis

The absolute and relative frequencies of the verbs *begin* and *start* followed by *to be* or *being* are given in Table 1:

6 Brinton accepts that there is a “continuum from verb to auxiliary,” arguing that “the acquisition of the syntactic features of auxiliary-hood in English is slow and arbitrary, while the semantic change is instantaneous; thus, at any synchronic stage, one would expect such a continuum” (1988, 73).

	BNC		COCA	
	absolute freq.	relative freq. (per 10 mil. words)	absolute freq.	relative freq. (per 10 mil. words)
begin BE	666	66.6	1,580	35.1
start BE	114	11.4	683	15.2

Table 1. *Begin* and *start* complemented by the verb *be* in BNC and COCA⁷

Table 2 presents the distribution of *to V* and V_{ING} of the verb *be* in the complementation of the two verbs:

	BNC		COCA	
	absolute freq.	relative freq. (per 10 mil. words)	absolute freq.	relative freq. (per 10 mil. words)
begin to be	662	66.2	1,547	34.4
start to be	65	6.5	422	9.4
begin being	4	0.4	33	0.73
start being	49	5	261	5.8

Table 2. *Begin* and *start* complemented by *to be* or *being* in the BNC and the COCA

As is evident from Table 2, a huge majority of all ***begin + be* constructions** have the verb *be* in the infinitive; *being* is rare. This agrees with what was found for *begin* and *start* followed by full verbs, e.g., by Biber et al. (1999, 746). In the BNC *to be* covers 662 tokens (99.4%) out of the total of 666 and *begin being* only four tokens (0.6%). The respective figures for the COCA are *begin to be* 1,547 times out of the total of 1,580 (97.9%), with *begin being* representing only 33 instances (2.1%). With ***start + be*** things are different: in the BNC *start to be* was found 65 times out of 114 (57%) and *start being* 49 times (43%). The respective figures for the COCA were *start to be*

⁷ The COCA data were accessed on January 26, 2014. On this date the COCA had 450 million words in total.

422 times out of the total of 683 instances (61.8%), while with *start being* it was 261 (38.2%). If we compare the relative frequencies in British and American English, it becomes obvious that *begin to be* is almost twice as frequent in British as in American English (66.2 and 34.4 respectively), while the relative frequency of *start to be* is slightly higher in American than in British English (9.4 and 6.5, respectively), and in general much lower than the frequency of *begin to be*. *Begin being* is practically nonexistent; in the BNC there are only four tokens and in the COCA 33, which gives us a relative frequency below one per 10 million words. *Start being* has approximately the same relative frequencies in both the BNC and the COCA (5 and 5.8 respectively). What this means is that in fact we have here two kinds of competing verb phrases: a) *begin to be* versus *start to be*; b) *start to be* versus *start being*.

Not much can be said here about the difference between *begin to be* and *start to be*. In the latter case the high number of examples of *start being* (as against the almost nonexistent cases of *begin being*) seems to support the advancing tendency for the matrix verb *start* to get closer to an auxiliary here and for the whole *start being* phrase to become more or less equivalent to the progressive form of *be being*. This new “inchoative” progressive not only complements the pattern with the egressive aspectual *stop V_{ING}*, but along with *keep being* (33 tokens in the BNC, 161 in the COCA) it completes the aspectual series to *start/keep/stop being*; after all, “*ing* complement clauses . . . are used most commonly in conjunction with an aspectual verb in the main clause (e.g. *begin, start, stop*)” (Biber et al. 1999, 739), and *start* is the second most frequent verb complemented with *V_{ING}*, after *keep* (741). This is in agreement with the above-mentioned claim by Leech et al. (2009, 197), who consider the construction *start/stop V_{ING}* “a candidate for rapid grammaticalization.” In our opinion what is happening here reflects a shift of the semantic weight from the matrix verb *start* to the following *V_{ING}*. This is related to the undisputed dynamic character of the *V_{ING}* form itself: compared with the neutral *to* infinitive it adds this kind of dimension to the whole complementing phrase, making it more vivid. No similar paradigm develops for *to V* after aspectuals, and so there is no evidence for a shift of semantic weight from *start* to the following infinitive, as postulated by Poldauf.

3. Qualitative Analysis of the BNC Data

According to Egan (2008, 262), agents occur in the subject of *start* more often than in the subjects of *begin*, and more often if *start* is complemented by *V_{ING}*. This statement was not confirmed by our data because with both *begin* and *start* a great majority of *be* + complements are passives and their subjects cannot by definition be agents. Instead, they carry the affected roles:

- (9) something needs to be done as the travellers are *starting to be harassed* and recently one of their caravans was set on fire [BNC HPG 1161]

(10) It was when they *started being invited* out for dinner, or going to restaurants for special occasions, that she remembered he knew about different kinds of food. [BNC HJH 3274]

It is, however, obvious that passives do always imply agents, be they left unexpressed or excluded from the construction, as in (11), or introduced by the preposition *by*, in which case they become rhematic, as in (12):

(11) the district auditor is *beginning to be presented* as a bogie man [BNC SPOK JJG 426]

(12) But their magnetism was *beginning to be challenged* as early as 1953 by Marilyn Monroe, playing the busy gold-digger [BNC ACS 664]

Table 3 reveals, however, that in passive constructions with aspectual verbs, agents are left unexpressed in a great majority of tokens:

	Passives	Agent expressed
begin to be	488 (73.7%)	43 (8.8%)
start to be	37 (56.9%)	10 (27%)
begin being	4 (0.6%)	0
start being	15 (30.6%)	2 (13.3%)

Table 3. *Be* as part of a passive form in the complementation of *begin* and *start*

Table 3 suggests two things about the difference between *begin* and *start*: first, *be* after *begin* is part of a passive construction in 73.7% of tokens of *begin to be* in the BNC, while the passives cover only 56.9% of *start to be*. In absolute numbers the figures are even more striking: there are 488 tokens of *begin to be V_{en}*, as opposed to only 37 tokens of *start to be V_{en}*. Second, the progressive passive after *begin* was only found in four instances in our data (all the tokens of *begin being* in the BNC), while there are 15 tokens of *start* with a progressive passive:

(13) Along with scientific and industrial advancement, medicine increased apace -- aspirin *began being* produced in 1897. [BNC ALY 550]

- (14) The report says that the waste may *start being* moved from Sellafield in 1988. [BNC B74 92]

Progressive passives after *start*, however, represent only 30% of all the tokens of *start being* in the BNC. That is to say, in the majority of cases of *start being*, *being* is a linking verb (copula) followed by a subject complement, not by a past participle.

3.1 *Be* as a Linking Verb in the Complementation of *Start* and *Begin*

Be as a linking verb in the complementation of *start* and *begin* is typically complemented by an adjective. Nouns are far less common and adverbs are very rare.

First, it must be noted that there is a higher number of deverbal adjectives in the complementation of *begin to be* than in the complementation of *start to be*. The adjectives are created either by adding the passive suffix *-able/-ible* to the verbal stem or, as past participles, by adding the *-ed* suffix, which makes them (given the fact that agents are often not expressed in the passive construction after *begin*) not easily distinguishable from the passives.⁸ In any case, this is yet another piece of evidence that *begin* favors passive complements more than *start*.

The total number of adjectival types is 109, out of which 77 (70.6%) go only with *begin*, 26 (23.9%) only with *start*, and six (5.5%) with both *start* and *begin*: *able*, *afraid*, *angry*, *difficult*, *nice*, and *sick*. Most adjectives thus tend to favor either *begin* or *start* and choose either *to be* or *being*; cases of competition are rare in the BNC data. Since there are no cases of *begin being* + ADJ in the BNC, the competition between *to V* and *V_{ING}* is found only with *start*: *start to be* is complemented by thirteen different adjectives, *start being* by fifteen different adjectives, and 4 adjectives follow both *start to be* and *start being*: *difficult*, *honest*, *naughty*, and *sick*. Two of these adjectives (*difficult* and *sick*) are also found in the complementation of *to be* after *begin*. These two cases of competition will briefly be commented upon in section 3.1.1.

In order to see whether there are any reasons for what makes the adjectives prefer *begin* or *start* I tried to group the adjectives into classes according to their meanings. This is far from easy and so only a tentative classification can be proposed: a) adjectives associated with human subjects denoting mental and physical states or conditions, b) human behavior, c) human properties, and d) adjectives referring to properties that are not strictly human (in our data, at least, found with non-personal subjects). Tables 4 and 5 present a list of the adjectives found in the BNC in the complementation of *be* after *start* and *begin*, sorted into these four semantic fields:

⁸ Leech et al. (2009, 156) argue a similar recategorization of a participle form into a semi-adjective for *get married*.

	[start] to be	[start] being	[begin] to be
Mental and physical states or conditions	able, absorbed, higher, interested, intrigued, restive, unnerving, afraid, sick	happy, angry, sick	able , alarmed at, ashamed, aware, busy, concerned, conscious, convinced, free, frustrated, glad, restless, sorry, uncertain, uneasy, unwell, worried, afraid, angry, sick
Human behavior	careful, outrageous, naughty, honest, difficult	arbitrary, assertive, civil, funny, ingratiating, kind, mean, tidy, unwilling, naughty, honest, critical, nice, difficult	active, pleasant, unethical, pompous, reluctant, willing, critical, nice, difficult

Table 4. Adjectives in the complementation of *be* according to semantic groups I

	[start] to be	[start] being	[begin] to be
Human properties			attractive, anti-Soviet, big, confident, devout, curious, effective, flexible, forgetful, interesting, jealous, odious, plausible, pretty, prominent, receptive, reluctant, sceptical, suspicious
Non-human properties	acute, okay, payable	painful, all right	acceptable, accessible, apparent, available, complicated, convincing, difficult , discernible, clear, comprehensive, copious, effective, evident, familiar, hot, inhibitory, involved, known, large, less, likely, longer, manifest, noticeable, open, oppressive, possible, popular, present, revolutionary, runny, serious, severe, short, slight, unfinished, visible, valuable

Table 5. Adjectives in the complementation of *be* according to semantic groups II

Though it is hard to find well-defined reasons for the preferences, some tendencies are evident. *Begin* is the semantically most general, unmarked term, lacking any connotations and merely denoting the onset phase of a verbal event. It was found with adjectives from all four semantic groups, always with the equally unmarked *to* infinitive. It is the verb of choice with adjectives referring to human and non-human properties (qualities) functioning as mere labels.

The situation is more balanced in mental and physical states and conditions and turns in favor of *start* with adjectives prone to denote human behavior. Because of the dynamic character of V_{ING} the *start being* + ADJ phrases refer to human states, qualities, and behavior not understood in a static way but especially seen as momentary, actual progress. This is exemplified in (15) and (16), but also in (17), where *being happy* means “enjoy oneself”, and in (18), where *being painful* is close to *be hurting*:

- (15) We have *to start being meaner* at the back. [BNC CEP 1766]
- (16) Giles-the-murderer, who had been in the coffee shop, strolled along into the *mêlée* and *started being frightfully nice* to old ladies. [BNC BP9 149]
- (17) You must feel it deeply and not brush it aside, you must feel it right here, and then you can *start being happy* again. [BNC KS3 320]
- (18) I was so hurt it was like a serious wound, it would *start being painful* soon but in the meantime there was just an apprehensive numbness. [BNC FEE1943]

Start being + ADJ differs from the competing construction with *to* infinitive: while *start being* evokes the initial phase of the progress unfolding, *start to be* merely refers to the onset of an event:

- (19) Do you like these? We'll get some of those, I'll put them in, in the trolley, come on, now Charlotte please don't *start being naughty*, don't start. [BNC KBH 5625]
- (20) Your parents describe you to their friends as “difficult.” You *start to be naughty*. This gets a reaction. You matter now – you're getting attention and recognition. [BNC CEF 211]

It is interesting that in the BNC *pleasant* was found only with *begin to be*, not with *start being*, although *he was being pleasant* is recorded there. Admittedly, the BNC data are far from covering language material in its absolute entirety. However, its wealth of examples makes it possible for the linguist to arrive at tendencies, maybe even rules, governing the usage of some language structures. The armchair linguist can thus make predictions

based on its data. In this sense *She started being pleasant* sounds quite an expectable possibility, and one acceptable to English speakers. And indeed one can find two examples in En Ten Ten:

(21) “When is she going to start *being pleasant*?” Maybe next year.⁹

3.1.1 The Case of *Being Sick* and *Difficult*

In the BNC there are two adjectives, *sick* and *difficult*, which have all three of the competing patterns: *sick* was registered in *began to be sick* (22) / *was beginning to be sick* (23) *to be sick*, *started to be sick* (24), (25), and *started being sick* (26):

(22) A few months on in their friendship Nigel *began to be sick* of the hints of affection dropped by Eleanor. [BNC AC3709]

(23) They looked scared, and my father looked sick. Maybe he *was beginning to be sick*, but mainly I think he was distressed. [BNC ALH 2422]

(24) I developed a nasty sore throat which the doctor thought was tonsillitis. Then I *started to be sick* and my skin started to peel and drop off. You see, it turned out to be scarlet fever, which is a notifiable disease. [BNC G39 123]

(25) Anyway, one day I *started to be sick* in reaction to some drugs, and this guy jumped out of bed – the nurses were busy. He ran and got a bowl. I was sick all over him and he cleaned me up and himself up and emptied the bowl and then I did the same. [BNC K5D 8830]

(26) “Brenda doesn’t know,” said Wendy, “but apparently poor Margot *started being sick* about one o’clock in the morning and then had a most frightful pain in her tummy.” [BNC A0D 2684]

In (22), the phrase *began to be sick of* means “to be fed up with.” In *he was beginning to be sick* (23) the context shows that he just did not feel well. This leaves us only with *start*. Both *started to be* and *start being* are actual events. While *started to be sick* corresponds to “threw up,” *started being sick* corresponds to “was throwing up.” The infinitive just informs us what kind of activity started, activity conceived as a mere fact, a photograph, while the V_{ING} form focuses on the event in its progress, like a film.

The adjective *difficult* was found in *started to be* (27), *starts being* (28), *begun to be* (29) and *begins to be* (30):

⁹ EnTenTen; O Mighty Crisis, “Mockingbirds and Tortoises,” last modified April 1, 2008, <http://omightycrisis.com/?p=219>.

- (27) . . . to see how mothers use different strategies to avoid behaviour problems. Some mothers would avoid problems, distracting their child by talking to them and involving them in the shopping, while others would distract their child once they had *started to be difficult*. Another group shouted and were negative when their children began to misbehave. [BNC CGT 622]
- (28) If he *starts being really difficult* and kicking at the partitions we sometimes have to put hobbles on him. [BNC ASH 914]
- (29) She's *begun to be difficult* about going to bed, so I let her sleep there. [BNC FS8 72]
- (30) after a while it *begins to be* very difficult to write the essence of one's personality and atmosphere on paper. [BNC ASC 1032]

With personal subjects *difficult* denotes a way of acting/behaving. In (27) we have a repeated characteristic behavior in a rather formal register, a kind of detached professional statement, which favors the neutral, unmarked form, the infinitive, instead of the vivid V_{ING} form. In (28) the V_{ING} form refers to concrete situations (*if = whenever*). It concentrates on the verbal action specified as “kicking at the partitions,” so *starts being in starts being difficult* can be taken as a variant of *is being difficult*. In (29) the infinitive is in this sense unmarked; it only presents an initial phase of the expressed verbal action; *she's begun to be difficult* equals *she turned difficult*, just a change of state. When the subject is impersonal (30), there is no behavior; the verb is *begin* and the complement an infinitive.

4. Conclusions

My analysis of the aspectual verbs *begin* and *start* followed by *to be* or *being* in the BNC shows that a huge majority of all *begin + be* constructions have *be* in the infinitive, and that *begin being* is a rarity. With *start*, *being* is competing with *to be*. 73.7% of the *to be* complements of *begin* are passives, while passive constructions are less popular with *start* (56.9%). By definition, the subjects of these constructions cannot be agents: one of the default functions of passivization is to move the agent from the thematic to the rhematic position, or to eliminate the agent altogether. This is also what happens in constructions with inchoative aspectuals in the BNC; agents introduced by *by* are rare. As far as the progressive passive is concerned, it is found more frequently after *start* (15 tokens) than after *begin* (four tokens). After *start*, however, the passive progressive only covers 30% of the *start being* tokens: an overwhelming majority of them are cases of *being* as a copula followed by a subject complement. Adjectives predominate, while there are just a few nouns, adverbs and adverbial phrases. The most frequent pattern with *be* as a copula is *begin to be + ADJ*; *begin* is the verb of choice

with adjectives referring to human and non-human properties (qualities) presented as neutral facts, functioning as mere labels. *Begin to be* is also more frequent with deverbal adjectives with a passive meaning than *start to be*. On the other hand, as a result of its dynamic nature, *start being* + ADJ tends to be associated with human behavior, especially when seen from the momentary, actual state of things. The whole phrase thus gets closer to the progressive – *she starts being difficult* = *she is being difficult*, in which the verb *start* only functions as an aspectual marker. This may well correspond to another interpretation of the *start* V_{ING} construction where *start* is related to the Czech prefix *roz-* (Macháček and Martinková 2012, 109). Here, too, *start* loses its status as a governing verb and becomes a “morphological means of expressing the beginning of a verbal event.” To confirm a true tendency to grammaticalization, however, diachronic data for the *start/begin to be/being* pattern will have to be investigated.

Section Three

On Word Categories

Chapter Nine

Andrea Ryšavá

From Clauses to Words: Quotational Compounds in English and Czech

1. Quotational Compounds in the Linguistic Literature

In 1961, Mathesius (32) introduced the term “funkční” or “citátová kompozita.”¹ The English term “quotational compounds” appeared later in the English translation of his book, i.e., *A Functional Analysis of Present Day English on a General Linguistic Basis* (Mathesius 1975, 31), where the origin of quotational compounds is described as a process through which a sentence element (or phrase or even clause) becomes a “noun compound.” Dušková (2006, 20) describes the process of the formation of quotational compounds as shifting a part of a clause into a different syntactic environment,² e.g., *What you need is a pick-me-up*.

In his *Mluvnice současné angličtiny* (1951, 216), without actually using the term “quotational compound,” Poldauf explains that every word that is quoted can be understood and treated as a noun;³ his examples are *no more thank-yous, please!* and *a has been*. Similarly, Nosek (1985, 160) describes the nominal character of quotational compounds: “English quotational compounds are exclusively nominal in relation to the sentence in which they occur; they function as nominal clause elements (subjects or attributes) and have no verbal functions.”⁴

1 The literal translations of the terms are “functional” and “quotational compounds.”

2 Original: “citátové složeniny, které vznikají přenesením části věty do jiného syntaktického okolí”

3 Original: “Tak každé slovo, které je citováno, může být pojímáno jako substantivum . . . , ale i z citovaných slov mohou vznikat nová substantiva.”

4 It seems, though, that a verb does not have to be present for an expression to be classified as a quotational compound; Vachek (1961, 17) also includes expressions such as “*out-of-the-world* place,” and Nosek’s examples (1985, 159–61) are “*mother-in-law*,” “*all-or-nothing* situation,” “*frog-in-the-throat*,” “*a fish-and-chip* shop,” “*language-plus-cognition* differences,” “I had spent the *hundred-or-so* pounds.” Similar examples were also found in my corpus – see note 13 and Appendix 2 (e.g., “*a million-dollar-idea* alert” [HIMYM S08E09], or “*twenty-years-from-now* Barney” [HIMYM S08E20]), but in the present analysis they are left aside; arguably, including them would make the delimitation of quotational compounds as a category very problematic.

Czech Anglicists, anchored in contrastive linguistics, naturally look for parallels with Czech. Nosek (1985, 159) mentions the following examples of quotational compounds: *přetrhánilo* [break-a-piece⁵ = bungler], *neznáboh* [doesn't-know-God = agnostic], or *strašpytel* [haunted-sack = coward], but he also notes that Czech quotational compounds are often used as proper names, e.g., [Mr.] *Skočdopole* [Mr. Jump-into-a-field] or [Mr.] *Nevím sám* [Mr. I-do-not-know-myself]. Vachek (1961, 18) even claims that “some of the Czech compounds reveal features that make them more or less resemble the compounds of the English quotational type.” This mostly concerns technical terms regarded as single word-units, e.g., *zmrtvýchvstání* “resurrection” and *zemětřesení* “earthquake.” In general terms, however, Nosek (1985, 159) argues that quotational compounds are more frequent in English than in Czech, and that English quotational compounds often do not have Czech quotational compounds as their equivalents. One of the reasons is the analytical nature of English as opposed to the synthetic and more verbal nature of Czech (Vachek 1961, 17). This issue will be addressed below, in Section 2.

From the overview presented so far it may seem that only Czech Anglicists have paid attention to the expressions referred to here as quotational compounds. That is not entirely true. Quirk et al. (1985, 133–37) mention them in chapters on the premodification of nouns, e.g., *round-the-clock service* in the chapter on “Premodification by Adverb and Other Phrases” and *I visited his what-do-you-call-it cottage* in the chapter on “Premodification by Sentence.” According to Quirk et al., these expressions “tend to be exploited only colloquially, and most examples have (and seem deliberately to have) a flavour of originality, convention-flouting, and provisional or nonce awkwardness” (1985, 1336–37). Greenbaum (1996, 217–18) discusses similar expressions in a general chapter on “Premodifiers of Nouns.” According to him, a clause or a prepositional phrase may possibly premodify a noun, as in “Had the *what-can-you-do-? Carry-a-card?* problem again!,” and “*behind-the-scenes* negotiations.” Aarts (2011, 33) introduces the term “phrasal compound”; in *down-and-out tramp*, the “down-and-out” is a “phrasal adjectival compound,” while in the sentence *These down-and-outs are here most of the day*, “down-and-outs” is a noun.

Though concrete examples of quotational compounds are mentioned in the linguistic literature published outside the former Czechoslovakia, the term “quotational compound” is only found in the Czech linguistic tradition. English linguists do not feel a need to invent a linguistic term for these expressions at all, and neither does Poldauf. What he is interested in (Poldauf 1951, 216) is rather the process in which a whole phrase with a word originally belonging to a certain part of speech, e.g., the quoted verb in *tell him “fare well,”* turns into a noun and becomes a part of a new phrase, as in *tell/bid farewell*. It may then become marked for nominal grammatical categories, i.e., number, countability, and determination, as in *give him a farewell, to make one’s*

5 The literal translations of the Czech quotational compounds are mine.

farewells. This means that a new noun has been created: *al/the farewell*. Before I address the issue of this category change in more detail in Section 3, let me ponder the status of quotational compounds and their position in the lexicon.

2. Quotational Compounds: Words, Word Groups, or Clauses?

The status of quotational compounds as words is complicated by the lack of a precise definition of the term.⁶ Several definitions of “a word” describe it as a “sequence of letters that we write consecutively, with no spaces” or a “sequence of sounds that we pronounce consecutively, with no pauses” (Harley 2006, 2). Cruse (2011, 75) describes a prototypical word in the following way:

- It can be moved about in the sentence, or at least its position relative to other constituents can be altered by inserting new material.
- It cannot be interrupted or its parts reordered.

Though quotational compounds meet these requirements, their structure is “markedly opposed to the morphematic structural pattern of ‘normal’ derived words or ‘normal’ compounds, in both of which a regular kind of hierarchy of stems and affixes can be detected without much difficulty” (Vachek 1961, 18). For example, the verb in the quotational compound *a has-been* in example (1) still keeps the original agreement in person:

- (1) Recalling a career triumph can make you feel like *a has-been*.
[COCA:2006:MAG:PsychToday]⁷

Vachek (1961, 19) concludes that “the English quotational compounds should be classified as a transitional category” between words and word groups.⁸ The reason could be that he confronts the English language, which is analytical in nature, with Slavonic languages as examples of synthetic languages, showing that in Czech, for example, there is much less space for forming new quotational compounds than in English. The reason is that there are certain clear differences between English and Czech that stem from their different typologies. Morphologically, English quotational compounds behave like nouns, since they take the plural suffix *-s* to form the plural, and combine with determiners, i.e., they express the category of definiteness. Czech, however, has a system of seven morphological cases, which makes it more difficult

6 Martinková (2013, 22) proposes that “word” is a “family resemblance” concept.

7 All italics in the corpus examples are mine.

8 The spelling of compounds in English, including quotational compounds, varies; hyphenation is not uncommon. Greenbaum (1996, 218), for example, states that “premodifying prepositional phrases and clauses tend to be *ad hoc* and are generally hyphenated.” Apart from hyphens, quotation marks (either single or double) are used, and in many cases there are no graphic signals.

for the quotational compounds to become part of the nominal paradigm. Moreover, English bound morphemes are much looser than their Czech counterparts. Take, for example, the group genitive; the suffix *-s* is annexed to the last of two or more coordinated nouns, i.e., *my uncle and my aunt's house* (Dušková 2006, 90), which is impossible in Czech.

Last but not least, Vachek⁹ (1961, 32) points out other differences between English and Czech, stemming from the nominal character of English and verbal character of Czech. He talks about the “complex condensation phenomena,” by which he means “the introduction into the sentence of a nominal element or phrase enabling that sentence to do without a subordinate clause the use of which would otherwise be indispensable.” It is thus strongly believed that in most cases, an English quotational compound has to be translated into Czech by a subordinate clause.

2.1 Quotational Compounds: Periphery, or Core of the Vocabulary?

According to Nosek (1985, 160), “in modern English [quotational compounds] are sometimes lexicalized (see, e.g., *son-in-law*, *well-to-do* people), but many of them are formed *ad hoc*, satisfying the immediate communicative needs of a given situation.” This applies to example (2), which shows that quotational compounds can be rather long:

- (2) Wait, this isn't one of those classic *you-still-have-feelings-for-your-ex-boyfriend-who's-oddly-also-your-roommate-which-for-the-record-I'm-totally-cool-with-even-though-everybody-tells-me-I-walked-into-a-bear-trap* thing, is it? [HIMYM S07E07]

Lexicalized (i.e., “expressed by a single word” [Cruse 2011, 77]) compounds, on the other hand, belong to the core of the English vocabulary. Typical examples of lexicalized quotational compounds are *do-it-yourself*, *take-away*, *good-for-nothing*, *all-you-can-eat*, *take-it-or-leave-it*, *merry-go-round*, etc. All these quotational compounds meet Cruse's (2011, 75) definition of a word which “cannot be interrupted or its parts reordered”; it is not possible to insert any elements into the expression (**do-it-and-that-yourself*), since such an expression would lose its idiomatic character. The impossibility of reordering is seen in **leave-it-or-take-it*. Lexicalized quotational compounds may then become models for creating new expressions, which may again become frequently used and later institutionalized. During this process of institutionalization, a few expressions may even get abbreviated; in (3), for example, DIY stands for *do-it-yourself*:

- (3) Ah, some other option for some *DIY* spa at home.
[COCA:2011:SPOK:CBS_Early]

⁹ With reference to Mathesius.

Arguably, the integration of a quotational compound into the core vocabulary as a full-fledged noun is further evidenced by the fact that it also behaves like a full-fledged noun as far as its morphology and syntax are concerned. These issues will be addressed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

3. Morphological and Syntactic Properties of Quotational Compounds

According to Poldauf (1951, 19), a noun as a part of speech can be defined from three points of view. From the semantic viewpoint, it describes all the material parts of the world (objective reality) that we recognize by means of our senses and transfer into a coherent mental image during the process of thinking (subjective reality).¹⁰ Nouns are also morphologically defined, e.g., parts of speech differ formally in the sense of having different oppositions of form. If this distinction is obligatory every time a particular noun is used, a morphological category is created.¹¹ The morphological categories for nouns are number (Poldauf 1951, 26–38), countability (Poldauf 1951, 39–47), definiteness (Poldauf 1951, 48–82), and gender (Poldauf 1951, 83–86). Each of these categories is expressed in specific ways.¹²

The category of number is based on the opposition of the singular and plural forms. A typical suffix used for the plural is *-s*, which is annexed to the word stem. The fact that this suffix is annexed to a quotational compound is proof that these quotational compounds are, at least morphologically, nouns:

- (4) Cut out all the handshakes and *how-do-you-dos*. [CM S08E03]
- (5) Shyamalan's take on those pompous, misguided *know-it-alls* who gave his last film, *The Village*, bad reviews. [COCA:2006:SPOK:ABC_GMA]
- (6) Dearest Jenny, everywhere I look, the little alpine *forget-me-nots* are blooming more profusely each day. [COCA:2000:SPOK:NBC_dateline]

The category of determination is closely connected with the category of countability. Both are realized through the use of the definite or indefinite (in the case of countable nouns) article. Quotational compounds may thus be both indefinite (*a has-been* in [1])

10 Original: "Hmotné složky světa (objektivní reality), jak je poznáváme svými smysly a jak si je uvádíme v usouvztažněný celek myšlením (subjektivní realita) a jak se nám tedy podávají k ukájení našich vyjadřovacích a sdělovacích potřeb, označují se tak zvanými substantivy ("substantiva" = hmotná podstata)."

11 Original: "Je-li takové lišení v jazyce závazné (tj. provádí se kdykoliv se substantiva ve větě použije), můžeme v této závaznosti právem spatřovat jeden z charakteristických rysů určitého slovního druhu v daném jazyce. Závazné lišení uvedeného druhu vytváří mluvnické kategorie, které se zpravidla označují protikladem dvou tvarů."

12 Similarly Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 326–71).

and definite in example [7]), which, again, confirms their nominal status. In (8) both the definite article and the indefinite article are found:

- (7) What is *the take-away*, do you think, from what happened here?
[COCA:2010:SPOK:NPR_TellMore]
- (8) Nobody loves sports more than *the die-hards*, and *a Yankee die-hard* is just as valuable as *a Pirate die-hard* in my book. [COCA:2011:MAG:SportingNews]

Parts of speech are, according to Poldauf, also syntactically defined: a noun in English can be used as a subject (Poldauf 1951, 91–113), a nominal part of the predicate (Poldauf 1951, 113–22), an object (Poldauf 1951, 123–34), and also an attribute (Poldauf 1951, 193). According to Nosek (1985, 160), “English quotational compounds . . . function as nominal clause elements (subject or attributes) and have no verbal functions.”

3.1 Quotational Compounds and Their Syntactic Functions

My examples are drawn from contemporary sitcoms and TV series, in which the dialogs are supposed to imitate spontaneous everyday conversation.¹³ The BNC and COCA were only used as reference corpora; there is no systematic way in which quotational compounds can be searched for. As stated in the Introduction, only quotational compounds containing a verb (either finite or non-finite) were analyzed.

Examples are quoted with the following proviso: quotational compounds extracted from sitcoms, which were only obtained in their spoken form, are systematically transcribed with hyphens. Quotational compounds taken from the BNC and COCA are rendered in the same form in which they appeared in the corpus, i.e., with hyphens, quotation marks, or with no graphic signal (the italics are mine). Even here, however, it must be borne in mind that the spelling of examples taken from the spoken part of the corpus is a spelling convention used by the transcribers. The fact that there are many different spelling possibilities suggests that agreement has not been reached.¹⁴ Cf.:

- (9) How many of you ladies and gentlemen are *Do It Yourself* enthusiasts?
[BNC:SPOK:FUU]

13 The sitcoms and TV series include (in no particular order): *How I Met Your Mother* (8 seasons, 2005–13) – referred to as HIMYM, *Bones* (8 seasons, 2005–13) – Bones, *Criminal Minds* (8 seasons, 2005–13) – CM, *Cold Case* (7 seasons, 2003–10) – CC, *Grey’s Anatomy* (9 seasons, 2005–13) – GA, *Red Dwarf* (8 seasons, 1988–99) – RD, *Lie to Me* (3 seasons, 2009–11) – LTM. Examples from these TV series are also provided with the number of the series (S) and episode (E) in which these expressions were used. For the complete list, see Appendix 2.

14 The only thing the transcribers seem to do systematically, at least in the COCA, is to add quotation marks if a quotational compound is an inscription on a T-shirt, bumper sticker, whimsical fridge magnet, etc.: *If you spend more than \$25 on BillOReilly.com for holiday gifts, you get the “Restore the USA” bumper sticker free of charge.* [COCA:2011:SPOK:Foc_OReilly]

- (10) But I knew, it makes me laugh because when Joe used to go to these *do-it-yourself* places I used to say, oh come on Joey! [BNC:SPOK:KST]

Now, though nouns are, at least prototypically, expected in the positions of a subject and object, in my corpus of contemporary sitcoms and TV series this is not a typical syntactic position of quotational compounds that contain verbs. There was only one such example in the object position ([4], repeated here as [11]) and not a single one in the subject position:

- (11) Cut out all the handshakes and *how-do-you-dos*. [CM S08E03].

This could well be just a coincidence; after all, according to Traugott (1989, 34) “attestation is often a matter of accident” and sentence (12) was found in the BNC:

- (12) The *take-away* was served with an emergency prohibition notice. [BNC:K97]

Still, there could be explanations. First, the fact that there are no examples of quotational compounds in the subject position in my corpus can be taken as proof that the ones found there have not in fact become full-fledged nouns. This is related to another fact, namely that, perhaps as a result of their novelty and information load, they tend to be used in the focus of the sentence rather than the topic. In conclusion, it can be stated that though they might behave like nouns as far as morphology is concerned, syntactically they tend to have a different function. As my data show, they are used predominantly as modifiers: of adjectives, as in (13), (14), (15), of verbs (16), but above all nouns.

- (13) I’m talking *needing-subtitles-when-you-speak* drunk. [HIMYM S07E22]
- (14) I tried to talk her down, but it could get ugly, *mauled-by-a-lion* ugly. [GA S08E18]
- (15) When I broke it off, she was really hurt. . . . This was *I’m-gonna-run-away-to-Europe-and-stop-being-an-artist* hurt. [Bones S04E07]
- (16) If a guy’s boring you, like *you-wanna-stick-a-fork-in-your-eye* boring, a good lip lick can rattle him enough to change the conversation topic. [LTM S02E09]

The fact that the noun-modifying position is by far the most frequent one in my corpus (it covers 65% of all the quotational compounds found there) is fully in agreement with the way these expressions are categorized in major grammar books, i.e., as noun premodifiers (see Section 1). Furthermore, it appears that some nouns are modified by quotational compounds more frequently than others. A targeted search for these nouns in the BNC confirms the tendencies observed and supplies more examples.

First, it appears that quotational compounds often modify the noun *way*. In turn, the whole phrase functions as a verb modifier:

- (17) Ah, the woman I know and love – in a purely non-romantic, *happy-to-be-judged* way. [Bones S02E05]

Not infrequently, the quotational compound is hedged. This is the case of (18):

- (18) Bill was whistling in a *devil-may-care* sort of way as they sped along. [BNC:HTU]

In fact, *sort of* and *kind of* hedge 16% of the noun-premodifying quotational compounds in my data,¹⁵ most frequently the semantically empty noun *thing*:

- (19) A *man-to-man-looking-in-the-eye* **kind of** thing? [Bones S05E11]

- (20) And the *father-mother-children-aren't-we-normal?* **kind of** thing which was still the prevailing mentality. [BNC:HA1:1134]

The hedge, however, does not have to be present; the semantically empty words *thing* and *stuff* are still very frequent:

- (21) Hey, uh, Lil, feel free to disregard that *don't-tell-anyone-about-this-ever* thing. [HIMYM S08E10]

- (22) I'm not really a big fan of this . . . *barking-out-orders* stuff. [Bones S04E13]

Finally, quotational compounds often modify nouns referring to human expression (e.g., *smile, look, voice, expression*):

- (23) And Piers saw himself being seen and put on a clever sort of *don't-mind-us* smile. [BNC:G07]

- (24) That's the shape we're looking for; *the last-chicken-in-the-shop* look. [RD S04E02]

- (25) When he had finished the third page she put her head to one side and said in her *cross-but-trying-to-be-helpful* voice. [BNC:ASS]

- (26) I mean even that shocked *oh-my-god-a-nurse-just-asked-me-out-how-the-hell-do-I-get-out-of-it* expression you got on right now is pretty cute. [GA S07E10]

¹⁵ Cf. also "I am in an *I-wish-it-was-still-weekend* **kind of** mood" in a native speaker's answer to the question "How are you?"

(27) Hewlet-Packard is taking a similar “*wait-and-see*” attitude with respect to Microsoft Corp’s Windows NT. [BNC:CTS]

(28) Look, I get the chance I’ll give him the *don’t-let-your-wife-die-in-vain* speech. [Bones S01E11]

The rest of the head nouns modified by quotational compounds are hard to taxonomize:

(29) And the hair samples and prints we got, that’s *put-you-away* evidence. [CC S01E21]

(30) Because we covered it in the *getting-to-know-you* part of the relationship six years ago. [HIMYM S08E05]

(31) Not this *penny-saved-penny-earned* crap. [GA S09E13]

(32) What if our friendship doesn’t pass the *have-you-used-it-in-a-year* test? [HIMYM S08E23]

The list of nouns is not exhaustive and may be expanded as my corpus grows larger.

4. Conclusions

English quotational compounds have morphological features prototypically associated with nouns: they take inflections, e.g., *-s* for plural (*die-hards*) and they are used with articles, both definite and indefinite (*a know-it-all*). Syntactically, however, they are not often found in the functions typical of nouns: no token of a quotational compound was found in the subject position in my data. The reason might be that, as a result of their novelty and high information load, they tend to be used in the focus of the sentence rather than its topic. It might also be the case that they are not fully lexicalized and their major function is to modify: verbs, adjectives, and above all nouns. This is in agreement with the way these expressions are dealt with in major grammar books. The nouns most frequently modified by quotational compounds are the semantically empty nouns *thing* and *stuff*, the noun *way*, and nouns used in the descriptions of humans. However, the hedging phrases *sort of* and *kind of* very often intervene.

In the future it might be interesting to carry out a systematic contrastive research study, based on parallel translation corpora, to see how translators into “verbal” Czech deal with quotational compounds, and to compare their frequency in English source texts with their frequency in the target texts.

Chapter Ten

Joseph Emonds and Kateřina Havranová

Diachronic Development of English Relativizers: A Study in Grammar Competition

1. Poldauf's Historical Problem

Many Indo-European languages such as Czech, French, and Modern English have a wide variety of ways to introduce relative clauses, emphasized in (1). Thus, to modify an overt NP, Modern English uses an invariant complementizer *that* (1a), “contact relatives” where the relative clause follows the modified NP directly (1b), and a range of pronominal *wh*-words *who(m)*, *whose*, *which*, *where*, and *when* (1c). Relevant examples appear in Poldauf (1955), on the pages indicated.¹

- (1) (a) Smith is a man *that is never at a loss*. (192)
 Newton was one of the greatest men *that ever lived*. (192)
 You are the only person (*that*) *I have ever met who could do it*. (192)
 . . . like her mother *that was dead*. (192)
- (b) The man *my friend saw* looked happy.
 Where is the book *you have brought with you*? (176)
 Where is the man *you showed the book (to)*? (176)
- (c) . . . people *whom we admire*. (193)
 . . . the place *where it touched the ground*. (182)
 The day *when we arrived* was very cloudy. (193)
 Your duchess is only a flower girl *whom you taught*.
 (adapted from Shaw's *Pygmalion*, 193)
 . . . a ring *which she durst not put on her finger, but hid it in her bosom*. (182)

¹ Unless stated otherwise, all italics in the examples are our own.

Such systems contrast with systems in which relative clauses are introduced by a single invariant marker, followed by a clause with a gap for an NP with the same reference as the modified NP.² For example, Old Norse was such a language, and its relativizer was invariant *er*; the examples in (2) are from Emonds and Faarlund (forthcoming, Sec. 5.1.6).

- (2) (a) *í þau konungs herbergi er helst munu vera*
 in those king's quarters that most may be
góðir siðir í hafðir
 good customs.NOM in had
 “in those king’s quarters where good customs may be best kept up”
 (Holm-Olsen 1945, 42.22)

- (b) *þat er mér þótti engi vón í vera*
 that that me.dat seemed no hope.nom in be
 “that which I thought there was no hope in” (Rindal 1981, 101.32)

Old English, a close genealogical relative of Old Norse, also had an invariant relativizer *þe* (3): Poldauf (1955, 169–70), Strang (1970, 270), and Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 75–76).

However, Old English had an additional means of introducing restrictive relatives with a pronoun with the case required in the relative clause followed by *þe*; for more discussion, see van Kemenade (1987, Sec. 5.1.3) and Emonds and Faarlund (forthcoming, Sec. 5.2.4). Mitchell and Robinson (1992, 76) call these *se þe* relatives, giving the example (3b).

- (3) (a) *Ure Drihten arærde anes ealdormannes dohtor,*
 our Lord raised an alderman’s daughter.ACC
seo ðe læg dead.
 who.FEM, NOM that lay dead
 “Our Lord raised an alderman’s daughter who lay dead.”
 (van Kemenade 1987, 150)

- (b) *þystre genip, þam þe se þeoden self sceop nihte naman.*
 darkness.GEN cloud that.DAT that the Lord self made night name
 “The cloud of darkness, for which the Lord Himself made the name night.”

- (c) *Se mann se þe ic geliefe him.*
 the man he.NOM that I believe him
 “That’s the man whom I believe.” (Poldauf 1955, 167)

² According to Downing (1978, 395), this type of relative clause is a characteristic of several non-Indo-European languages, among them Arabic, Hausa, and Malay.

Nonetheless, the case marked Old English relativizers *se þe* died out in Middle English. Therefore, for purpose of ascertaining the historical antecedents and development of the Modern English relativizing system, Old English had only one way of introducing relative clauses that survives today and this type was like the Old Norse system. It had a single invariant relativizer *þe*.

This is the purpose that Poldauf (1955) sets himself in his long and scholarly treatise on the structures and meanings of English and Czech relative clauses. Using extensively the sources available to him, especially the studies of Jespersen (*A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles*, vol. 3; *Analytic Syntax; The Philosophy of Grammar*), Poldauf wished to understand how all three constructions in (1a)–(1c) came to enter English grammar by the time of Shakespeare (early Modern English), even though none of the three directly continues the OE *þe*.³

2. The Invariant Relativizer *That*

The first of these to enter English was the invariant relativizer *that*, which replaced the Old English counterpart *þe* in the first half of the 13th century (Strang 1970, 270). Like other authors, Poldauf (1955, 170) does not relate the change to *that*, which he dates as 1250, to any other factor in Early Middle English; i.e., it is just accidental.

Here it can be remarked that any plausible explanation of this change is better than just attributing it to chance. Here the hypothesis of Emonds and Faarlund (forthcoming) on the genesis of Middle and Modern English provides a more likely, if speculative account. These authors argue that the syntax of Middle English descends not from Old English, but from the Old Scandinavian spoken for centuries in the East Midlands in the Danish kingdoms of the Danelaw and later the whole of England.⁴

In their scenario, when the French Normans established their supremacy throughout England in the late 11th and 12th centuries, the old enmity between English Scandinavians and native English dissipated, and in its place the two subject peoples fused and set about forging a grammatical lexicon based on cognates (c. 50%) and otherwise

3 Poldauf's essay devotes almost no space to non-restrictive relative clauses, nor does the present essay treat them. The reason they are never introduced by *that* is that they do not have dependent clause structure (Ross 1967; Emonds 1979).

4 The Danish King Sweyn conquered all of England in 1002–13 (with a capital in Winchester, well outside the Danelaw), and was succeeded by his famous son Canute and his childless grandson Hathacnut, who died in 1041. Edward, son of Canute's second wife Emma of Normandy, then became king. When Edward also died childless in 1066, there was confusion and warfare, but within ten months his cousin William's army re-established (and mercilessly strengthened) Norman rule over all of England.

Though this Edward, born c. 1003, is regularly considered "the last Anglo-Saxon king of England," this honor in reality accrues to his father, whose independence from the Danish king ended in 991. After that time, England was continuously ruled by Danes and Normans, outside a few chaotic months in 1066. Edward's fully Danish mother Emma brought him up in Normandy from the age of nine, and later astutely married the Danish King Canute, completely severing any link with the Anglo-Saxons. It was no accident that Edward moved the capital from inland Winchester to the port London. Other than by paternal blood, he was in no sense Anglo-Saxon.

in almost equal shares from non-English Old Scandinavian and non-Scandinavian Old English (Emonds and Faarlund, forthcoming, Sec. 6). Thus, as tens of thousands of Old English switched their native syntactic system to that of the Anglicized Danes, they were challenged with what is called “Grammar Competition” (Kroch 2001). They continued to introduce relative clauses by transferring their own invariant *þe* and then formed the dependent relative clause itself using the unmarked Danish subordinating complementizer *at* “that.” That is, their new way to introduce relative clauses consisted of *þe+at*. And because early Middle English, like Old Norse but unlike Old English, completely lacked diphthongs with *low off-glides* (Freeborn 1998, 112–13), *þe+at* naturally came to be pronounced and written as *that*:

(4) (a) . . . þone Nazareniscan hælend *þæt* wer áfanden wæs.

“You seek Jesus of Nazareth, who was crucified.”

(from Mark’s Gospel, 16:6, in Poldauf 1955, 170)⁵

(b) Affterr þat little witt *þatt* me Min Drihhtin hafeþþ lenedd.
 after that little wit that me my Lord has lent
 þu þohhtesst tatt itt mihte wel Till mikell frame turrnenn.
 you thought that it might well till great benefit turn
 (from *The Ormulum*, c. 1180, in Poldauf 1955, 175)⁶

(c) . . . the hyll *that* we on standeth.

“ . . . the hill that we are standing on”

(Poldauf 1955, 174)

(d) . . . temptacions *þat* we er umsett with þat lettes us nyght and day.

“ . . . temptations that we are set about with that hinder us night and day.”

(from Richard Rolle, *The Form of Living*, 14th century)

(e) For in þat curt *þat* es sa clene, may na filth in dwell.

“For in that court which is so pure, no filth may dwell in.”

(from *Cursor Mundi*, c. 1325, in Denison 1993, 133)

The usual timing of the change from *þe* to *that* is 1200–50, which falls squarely in the period given in Emonds and Faarlund (forthcoming) for the switch in England to Danish syntax (Anglicized Norse) and the accompanying Grammar Competition.

5 Poldauf furnishes no glosses. The translation is Mark 16:6 (New King James Version).

6 Poldauf furnishes no glosses. The glosses provided here are ours.

3. The Emergence of Middle English Contact Relatives

A “contact relative” is a relative clause not introduced by any relativizer, pronominal or invariant, as exemplified in (1b). Though in some languages, for example standard Japanese, all relative clauses are of this type, they are not at all common in Indo-European. Thus, contact relatives are impossible in Czech, Dutch, French or German, despite the typological differences among these languages (case-inflecting or not; free or fixed word order). The following are word-for-word translations of the Modern English sentence containing a contact relative in (1b).

- (5) Czech: *Muž, můj přítel viděl, vypadal šťastně.
 Dutch: *De man mijn vriend gezien heeft leek gelukkig.
 French: *L’homme mon ami a vu paraissait heureux.
 German: *Der Mann mein Freund hat gesehen schien glücklich.

Grammatical counterparts of these examples require overt relative pronouns as follows, i.e., they are *not* examples of contact relatives:

- (6) Czech: Muž, *kerého* můj přítel viděl, vypadal šťastně.
 Dutch: De man *die* mijn vriend gezien heeft leek gelukkig.
 French: L’homme *que* mon ami a vu paraissait heureux.
 German: Der Mann *den* mein Freund hat gesehen schien glücklich.

Contact relatives were either extremely rare or non-existent in both Old Norse and Old English.⁷ They began to appear in Middle English with an early example in (7a) in Denison (1993, 132) dated c. 1200, and by 1370 they were used freely (Strang 1970, 198).

- (7) (a) Nis nan feirure wifmon þa whit sunne scined on.
 “There is no fairer woman the bright sun shines on.”

- (b) Early Middle English from Poldauf (1955, 174):⁸
 the hyll *the we hine seth*
 “the hill that we see”
 the hyll *the we fleth*
 “the hill that we flee”
 to the hyll *the we ther gath*
 “the hill that we go to”

7 For a review of sources with different conclusions about whether Old English had occasional contact relatives, see Lee (2006). No authors claim that they occur more than very rarely.

8 Poldauf furnishes no glosses. The translation provided here is ours.

(c) Modern English from Poldauf (1955, 167, 176):

That's the man *I readily believe*.
Who is the man *you are looking at*?

Contact relatives, or relatives of juxtaposition as Poldauf (1955, 174–93) terms them, are essentially unknown in related or neighboring languages. Consequently, their emergence in Middle English (7) *cannot* be due to “Grammar Competition,” because none of the potentially competing grammars in the English Middle Ages included them. Their isolated status makes it equally fruitless to attribute their increasing frequency in Middle and Modern English to any general or universal principle of interpretation.

Rather, the English contact relative seems to be a language-specific particularity, which apparently developed spontaneously, namely as an optional deletion (or alternatively optional null allomorph) of the unmarked complementizer (C) *that* used in any finite dependent clauses that lack a *wh*-word in pre-subject position.⁹

Given this fact, Poldauf (1955, 175–77) is rightly concerned with determining why this deletion is acceptable except when the relativized Noun Phrase is the highest subject in its clause.¹⁰

The signal that a dependent clause is beginning is the close contact with a new subject. Yet subject in an English sentence can be recognized by its adjacency to a finite verb. . . . Thus it is the English fixed word order which allows juxtaposition of dependent clauses. [our translation]

His hypothesis is thus that *that*-deletion (i.e., the possibility of a contact relative) depends on the following constituent being *transparently recognizable* as a full clause, with a predicate preceded by an overt subject NP. He gives the following examples (Poldauf 1955, 176):

- (8) Platonic friendship is a gun *you do not know is loaded*.
He refuses to see the holiness *there is in death*.
By the time *I had told mother* nobody knew about it except me.
In the posture *he lay* it was difficult to identify him.

9 We will say here “optional deletion” rather than “null allomorph,” though nothing in this study depends on how we formalize this idea. Similarly, the Czech finite past auxiliary in the 3rd person can be considered as either obligatorily deletion of *je/jsou* “is/ are” or as an obligatorily null allomorph of this copula.

The complementizer *that* in Modern English never appears with a fronted *wh*-phrase or with the trace of a subject phrase; the latter restriction is often termed the “*that*-trace filter.”

10 As Poldauf (1955, 179–80) notes, a very few such contact relatives with understood subjects can be found (here in italics) in Late Middle English and Early Modern English:

. . . with him ther was a ploughman *was his brother*. (Chaucer)
I have a brother *is condemned to die*. (Shakespeare)
My father had a daughter *lov'd a man*. (Shakespeare)

In the terminology of deletion, Poldauf is claiming that (9) expresses the context for *that*-deletion, i.e., for generating Modern English contact relatives, which seems to be correct:

(9) [_c *that*] ==> Ø / ___ NP, optional

He further indicates that this possibility developed in Middle English, as can be seen in his example in (1b). It thus appears that ever since *that* entered the Middle English grammatical lexicon in early Middle English, its lexical specification for almost all speakers, has included (9).

4. Grammar Competition in 14th Century England

We have seen that one type of English relative clause (1a) arose from Grammar Competition, between Old Norse and Old English, and that a second type, contact relatives, arose spontaneously in early Middle English (1b). Before we discuss how *wh*-relative clauses developed (1c), we need to understand clearly the linguistic situation of 14th century England.

Before 1300, the lexicons of Old English and Old Norse had fused to form a new lexicon for Middle English, whose syntax is unmistakably Scandinavian (North Germanic), not West Germanic, as traditionally assumed (without argument); see Emonds and Faarlund (forthcoming). On the other hand, in spite of the Norman rulers being francophone, French had until 1250 had little influence on English, mainly in certain limited areas of lexical borrowing (Baugh 1957, 201–2). But after 1250,

the upper classes carried over into English an astonishing number of common French words. In changing from French to English, they transferred . . . their ecclesiastical, legal, and military terms, their familiar words of fashion, food, and social life, the vocabulary of art, learning and medicine. . . . the French words introduced into English . . . in the century and a half following 1250, . . . were also such as people who had been accustomed to speak French would carry over with them into the language of their adoption.

As a result, in the 14th century, though England had a majority of illiterate monolingual speakers, there were significantly *many literate French speakers, who eventually all became bi-lingual*, though perhaps over several generations; see the description in Baugh (1957, 171–79).

By the end of this century, for these writers not only had English become the preferred means of writing, but increasingly French was disappearing as an alternative. Grammar schools for the education of the minority switched to English between 1349 and 1385 (by which time the change was complete), and legal proceedings started to be generally conducted in English in 1362 (Baugh, 177–79). These changes were no doubt partly responses to the national feelings strengthened during the Hundred Years' War with France, during this time a constant preoccupation.

Thus, by the late 14th century the linguistic profile of the educated had undergone a dramatic change. The class of bi-lingual French speaking writers, who basically had not written in English prior to 1300, *started writing voluminously in English*; cf. the discussion in Strang (1970, 250–54). Chaucer was the most famous among them, and writing in French became finally a purely academic exercise. By 1400, native speakers of French in England were few and far between; and famously, the King's last French address to Parliament was in 1400.

Now the new generations of bi-lingual writers were not entering a world of already literate English folk who had developed literate vocabularies. Rather, when these writers experienced a lack of vocabulary in English (largely a language of illiterates), they imported huge stores of French words from their native command of that language. As Jespersen notes, for example, most English adjectives are from French.¹¹ More generally, English writing in the 14th century was a flourishing enterprise undertaken largely by bi-lingual French speakers, whose national pride was undoubtedly piqued by the long dragged out war with France.

Consequently, there could have been no stigma among the literate against what would today be referred to as “Gallicisms.” More likely French vocabulary and turns of phrases must have been such common currency that they passed almost unnoticed among the educated, and seemed to be part and parcel of newly literate English expression.

In fact, this situation is a good example of what is today widely referred to as Grammar Competition of Kroch (2001), introduced above in Section 2. “The basic idea of Kroch's approach is that parametric change must always proceed via a stage where a speaker (or, a generation of speakers) of a language X has access to more than one internalized grammar” (Fuss and Trips 2002, 195).

However, many authors use this idea in an unconstrained way, and thereby miss exploiting its potential explanatory force. Even cursory reflection on this notion shows that in usual language contact, including stable arrangements that last centuries, no changes at all result from Grammar Competition. Largely bi-lingual and bi-dialectal communities typically endure indefinitely *without either language undergoing any significant syntactic change as a result*. In bi-lingual populations such as Berber speaking Moroccans (J. Ouhalla, pers. comm.), Czech-German bi-linguals in 19th century Moravia (L. Veselovská, pers. comm.), Hispanic bi-linguals in the American Southwest, speakers of Standard and non-Standard dialects of the same language, and in fact the world over, *language contact does not lead to Grammar Competition*. The competing syntactic systems (of living languages) stay the same.

So when does Grammar Competition in Kroch's sense actually occur? Even though he might dissent, it is plausibly subject to *a strong sociolinguistic restriction*:

(10) **Grammar Competition.** The syntactic variant arises only under conditions of a community's deliberate changing to speaking a new first language.

11 By our rough count, c. 70% of the adjectival roots, including those forming adverbs, which we have used so far in this section are from French, including of course some derived in turn from Latin.

That is, syntactic Grammar Competition in a population, e.g., in the case at hand among French first language speakers in 14th century England, invariably indicates a population that is shifting the first language they speak to a new one. From this perspective, Grammar Competition between French and English in 14th century England is entirely expected. And this competition is what brought back into Middle English the lost Indo-European use of *wh*-words to introduce relative clauses in (1c).¹²

5. The French Source of English *Wh*-relatives

Wh-pronouns begin to introduce restrictive relative clauses in the 14th century: Denison (1993) gives the examples in (11), one from a biblical work already in 1250:¹³

- (11) (a) And getenisse men ben in ebron, *quilc* men mai get wundren on.
 “and gigantic men are in Hebron, which men may yet wonder at”
 (from *Genesis and Exodus*, c. 1250, in Denison 1993, 132)
- (b) How god began þe law hym gyfe, *þe quilc* the Iuus in sul life.
 how God began the law him give the which the Jews in should live
 “How God gave him the law by which the Jews were to live.”
 (from *Cursor Mundi*, c. 1325, in Denison 1993, 132)

Strang (1970, 198) summarizes: “At the beginning of the period [1370], (*the*) *which* is just coming into use as a relative. *Who/which* are still essentially interrogative, . . . *who* [as a relative] begins to appear very gradually from the close of the 14th century.”

The timing of this innovation coincides exactly with when French influence on English is greatest, since this is when the majority of literate native speakers, whose predecessors had previously written almost exclusively in French, switched to writing in English. Since most relative clauses in French require *wh*-pronouns (Modern *qui* “who,” *quoi* “what,” *où* “where, when,” *quel* “which,” etc.), it is not surprising that the 14th century English relative clauses of French-speaking bi-linguals began to be transposed into their English *wh*-counterparts. The Grammar Competition in the minds of literate bi-lingual community, in the period when they were switching their first language from French to English, is summarized in the following table. The table represents the situation before *wh*-words were used to introduce English relative clauses.

12 Poldauf is not immune to the ever recurring tendency to attribute characteristics of European languages, such as the *wh*-relatives of Late Middle English, to (contemporary) “Latin influence.” It seems strange to attribute such linguistic powers to scholars who could read but not speak Latin. Analogously, could today’s scholars who can read but not speak Middle English influence Modern English to reintroduce medievalisms such as a present plural finite inflection *-en* or inversion of the main verb in questions? Expecten we to speak like the Hobbits?

13 Denison’s examples are extremely interesting, (i) because *which* is spelled *quilc/k*, indicating that the author is French speaking and thinking of the French *wh*-relative pronoun *quell*, and (ii) like the French relative *quel*, this relative pronoun is preceded by the definite article. We return to these points below.

(12) 14th century Grammar Competition as bi-lingual French speakers change to English

	French grammar	Modified English grammar
Question words: the basic use dating from Indo-European	<i>quel</i> , ±ANIMATE, can be a pronoun or a modifying DET	<i>which</i> , ±ANIMATE, can be a pronoun or a modifying DET
	<i>qui</i> , +HUMAN, subject/objects, can only be a pronoun, not DET	<i>who(m)</i> , +HUMAN, subject/objects, can only be a pronoun, not DET
	<i>où</i> , +LOC, can only be a pronoun	<i>where</i> , +LOC, can only be a pronoun
Relative clause introducers ¹⁴	Extends the above forms to relative clauses, adding <i>le/la/les</i> to <i>quel</i> .	No extension to relative clauses.

The left column of Table (12) illustrates aspects of the internalized grammar of native speakers of French, and the right column shows what they have to learn to become bi-lingual. Obviously, they need only set up some simple correspondences on the basis of the question words:

(13) French:		English:
<i>quel/quelle</i>	=>	<i>which</i>
<i>le/la/les</i>	=>	<i>the</i>
<i>qui</i>	=>	<i>who(m)</i> ¹⁵
<i>où</i>	=>	<i>where</i>

It then seems pretty natural that as this community of bi-linguals switched their first language to English, Grammar Competition (10) set in, leading them to overgeneralize the use of the *wh*-words in (13), and internalize Table (14) as their modified English grammar:

14 In Modern relative clauses, *que* rather than *qui* is used as the object of a verb, and *où* can also be temporal.

15 Poldauf and other authors observe that English *who* begins to be used as a relative pronoun considerably later than *which*.

(14) English grammar as modified by French speakers switching to English

	French grammar	Modified English grammar
Question words: the basic use dating from Indo-European	<i>quel</i> , ±ANIMATE, can be a pronoun <i>or</i> a modifying DET	<i>which</i> , ±ANIMATE, can be a pronoun <i>or</i> a modifying DET
	<i>qui</i> , +HUMAN, subject/objects, can only be a pronoun, not DET	<i>who(m)</i> , +HUMAN, subject/objects, can only be a pronoun, not DET
	<i>où</i> , +LOC, can only be a pronoun	<i>where</i> , +LOC, can only be a pronoun
Relative clause introducers	Extends the above forms to relative clauses, adding <i>le/la/les</i> to <i>quel</i> .	Extends the above forms to relative clauses, using the equivalences in (13).

Besides the simplicity of the transfers in (13), an additional telling piece of evidence for this scenario is the fact, quoted from Strang (1970) earlier in this section, that the earliest English relative clauses using *which* were in fact introduced by *the which*, a direct transliteration of the French *lequel* (Poldauf 1955, 187). This sequence has since become ungrammatical in English, showing that these *wh*-words in relative clauses have been fully integrated into the English grammatical lexicon.

Ordinarily, when new speakers of a language import a new tongue some syntactic characteristic of a language they are abandoning, an existing native speaking community challenges them and does not readily accept any modifications. But when the new native speakers are a numerous and literate elite, and socially dominate the long time native speakers, then changes in a grammatical lexicon wrought by Grammar Competition, such as those underlined in Table (14), have a good chance of surviving. In fact, it is highly unlikely that English commoners in the 14th and 15th century, mostly illiterate, could have successfully challenged the writers of documents, sermons and literature for using “non-English” phrasing in their relative clauses. Any “negative evidence” they might have offered in the face of these Gallicisms would doubtless have been ridiculed and dismissed. Concretely, how could the servants of Geoffrey Chaucer instruct him how to write in his native tongue?

As a result, *wh*-relative pronouns not only survived into Modern English, but as Poldauf (1955, 187) observed, this French-influenced change became more than ever a common device, especially in written or “bookish” language.

Like Poldauf, we have now reviewed and analyzed the three novel ways of introducing restrictive relative clauses that have entered English since the early Middle Ages. Two of the three are due to Grammar Competition, once between Old Norse and Old English, and once between English and French. A third (contact relatives) arose spontaneously without such an impetus.

Conclusions

Ivan Poldauf's introduction of the third syntactical plan into the linguistic description in the 1960s anticipated the birth of a whole new discipline, and his subtle investigations of linguistic categories have been recently rediscovered by linguists working in the field of cognitive linguistics (e.g., Gilquin 2010; Fried 1999 and 2011). The purpose of this monograph has been to contribute to the study of linguistic categories of Poldauf's academic interest and their changing functions by showing how new linguistics methods and frameworks, namely methods of corpus linguistics and cognitive linguistic frameworks, can increase our understanding of how categories change their functions, and/or new categories are created.

Five chapters in Section 1 dealt with constructional categories, namely causative constructions and the medio-passive, but also concern/interest-expressing constructions as well as constructions with interactional datives. In Chapter 1, Fried noted that “[i]n dealing with the categorial and functional gradience displayed by I-Ds, we need an analytic approach that looks beyond a narrowly understood relationship between form and meaning, allows systematic reference to contextual motivations in grammatical descriptions, and considers non-propositional meanings as part of grammatical organization” (20). Construction grammar, a cognitively grounded framework which holds that there are “form-meaning configurations larger than morphemes and words which are conventionally conceptualized as wholes” (Östman and Fried 2005, 1) was referred to in Chapter 2 and explicitly mentioned as a theoretical framework adopted for the analysis presented in Chapter 4, which argued for a newly emerging evaluative construction. Section 2, which dealt with the semantic categories of tense, aspect, and modality as well as the ways of their expression, investigated the competition of the futurity markers *be going to* and *will*, of the infinitive and gerundial complements of aspectual verbs, and the function of the progressive form with “anti-progressive” verbs. Chapters in Section 3 tested the “nounhood” of expressions referred to as “quotational compounds” and presented an analysis of the rise of the relativizer *which* in the history of English.

Since in most of the chapters, English and Czech data are contrasted, the book can be seen as a substantial contribution to the contemporary contrastive linguistic research. Chapters 2, 6, and 7, which make use of the parallel translation corpus Intercorp, open ground for statistical testing of the association (dependence) between a certain variable (Poldauf's supplementary signal) and the presence/absence of a certain translation equivalent.

Appendix 1: InterCorp texts

Where the bibliography of the books cited in the monograph is incomplete in the InterCorp metadata, we provide, for the sake of orientation, their first English and Czech editions.

- [AD_HHGG] Adam, Douglas. *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*. 1979. Translated by Jana Hollanová as *Stopařův průvodce po Galaxii*. 1991. Praha: Odeon.
- [AD_REU] Adam, Douglas. *The Restaurant at the End of the Universe*. 1980. Translated by Jana Hollanová as *Restaurant na konci vesmíru*. 1991. Praha: Odeon.
- [AK_LJ] Amis, Kingsley. *Lucky Jim*. 1954. Translated by Jiří Mucha as *Šťastný Jim*. 1959. Praha: SNKLHU.
- [AJ_C] Angell, Jeannette. *Callgirl: Confessions of an Ivy League Lady of Pleasure*. 2004. Translated by anonymous as *Dvojí život: Když se den změní v noc*. 2006. Praha: Ikar.
- [AI_CS] Asimov, Isaac. *The Caves of Steel*. 1953. Translated by Zdeněk Lorenc as *Ocelové jeskyně*. 1970. Praha: Mladá fronta.
- [AJ_PP] Austen, Jane. *Pride and Prejudice*. 1813. Translated by Eva Kondrysová as *Pýcha a předsudek*. 2006. 6. vyd. Praha: Akademia.
- [BD_AD] Brown, Dan. *Angels & Demons*. 2000. Translated by Lubomír Kotačka as *Andělé a démoni*. 2003. Praha: Metafora.
- [BD_DVC] Brown, Dan. *The Da Vinci Code*. 2003. Translated by Zdík Dušek as *Šifra mistra Leonarda*. 2008. Praha: Argo.
- [BS_C] Brown, Sandra. *The Crush*. 2002. Translated by Marie Válková as *Chut lasky*. 2006. Praha: Ikar.
- [BS_HD] Brown, Sandra. *Hello, Darkness*. 2001. Translated by Marie Válková as *Zdravím tě, temnoto*. 2005. Praha: Ikar.
- [CT_GPE] Chevalier, Tracy. *Girl with a Pearl Earring*. 1999. Translated by Ivana Breznenová as *Dívka s perlou*. 2000. Praha: Brána.
- [CAC_RR] Clarke, Arthur C. *Rendezvous with Rama*. 1972. Translated by Zdeněk Volný as *Setkání s Rámou*. 1984. Praha: Svoboda.
- [CR_T] Cook, Robin. *Toxin*. 1998. Translated by Veronika Bártová as *Toxin*. 1998. Praha: Ikar / Knižní klub.
- [DC_CW] Day, Cathy. *The Circus in Winter*. 2004. Translated by Milena Pellarová and Šimon Pellar as *Cirkus v zimě*. 2005. Praha: Ikar.

- [FJ_P] Fielding, Joy. *Puppet*. 2005. Translated by Jana Jašová as *Panenka*. 2005. Praha: Ikar.
- [FFS_GG] Fitzgerald, F. Scott. *The Great Gatsby*. 1925. Translated by Lubomír Dorůžka as *Velký Gatsby*. 1960. Praha: SNKLHU.
- [FJ_C] Franzen, Jonathan. *The Corrections*. 2001. Translated by Jan Jirák as *Rozhřešení*. 2004. Praha: Ikar.
- [FM_LS] Frost, Mark. *The List of Seven*. 1993. Translated by Jiří Rambousek as *Seznam 7*. 1995. Brno: Jota.
- [GW_LF] Golding, William. *Lord of the Flies*. 1954. Translated by Heda Kovályová as *Pán much*. 1968. Praha: Naše vojsko.
- [GJ_B] Grisham, John. *The Brethren*. 2000. Translated by Richard Podaný as *Bratrstvo*. 2000. Praha: Ikar / Knižní klub.
- [GJ_C] Grisham, John. *The Client*. 1993. Translated by Josef Orel and Marie Orlová as *Klient*. 1995. Praha: Ikar / Knižní klub.
- [GJ_SL] Grisham, John. *The Street Lawyer*. 1998. Translated by Jan Jirák as *Advokát chudých*. 1998. Praha: Ikar / Knižní klub.
- [HA_FD] Hailey, Arthur. *The Final Diagnosis*. 1959. Translated by Drahomíra Hlínková as *Konečná diagnóza*. 1976. Praha: Československý spisovatel.
- [HT_SL] Harris, Thomas. *The Silence of the Lambs*. 1988. Translated by Jana Odehnalová as *Mlčení jehňátek*. 1992. Praha: Cinema.
- [IJ_WY] Irving, John. *A Widow for One Year*. 1998. Translated by Milada Nováková as *Rok vdovou*. 2000. Praha: Euromedia / Knižní klub.
- [IK_AFW] Ishiguro, Kazuo. *An Artist of the Floating World*. 1986. Translated by Jiří Hanuš as *Malíř pomíjivého světa*. 1999. Praha: Argo.
- [KJA_FA] Krentz, Jayne Ann. *Falling Awake*. 2004. Translated by Hana Krejčí as *Zajatci snů*. 2006. Praha: Ikar.
- [LJ_LS] Lindsey, Johanna. *A Loving Scoundrel*. 2004. Translated by Renáta Tetřevová as *Zamilovaný ničema*. 2005. Praha: Ikar.
- [MA_R] Munro, Alice. *Runaway*. 2004. Translated by Alena Jindrová-Špilaorvá as *Útěk*. 2011. Praha: Paseka.
- [OM_EP] Ondaatje, Michael. *The English Patient*. 1992. Translated by Eva Masnerová as *Anglický pacient*. 1997. Praha: Argo.
- [RJK_PS] Rowling, J. K. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. 1997. Translated by Vladimír Medek as *Harry Potter a kámen mudrců*. 2000. Praha: Albatros.

- [SAR_TH] Siddons, Anne Rivers. *Hill Towns*. 1993. Translated by Hana Parkánová-Whitton as *Bezpečné výšiny*. 2004. Praha: Ikar.
- [SD_JA] Steel, Danielle. *Johnny Angel*. 2003. Translated by Zdeňka Zvěřinová as *Strážný anděl*. 2004. Praha: Ikar.
- [SD_SC] Steel, Danielle. *Second Chance*. 2004. Translated by Dana Lagronová as *Druhá šance*. 2005. Praha: Ikar.
- [SJ_GW] Steinbeck, John. *The Grapes of Wrath*. 1939. Translated by Vladimír Procházka as *Hrozny hněvu*. 1941. Praha: Družstevní práce.
- [WV_BA] Woolf, Virginia. *Between the Acts*. 1941. Translated by Hana Skoumalová as *Mezi akty*. 1968. Praha: Odeon.

Appendix 2: Subcorpus of TV series (Chapter 9)

- [Bones S01E11] “The Woman in the Car.” 2006. *Bones*. TV series episode, 20th Century Fox.
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- [Bones S04E07] “The Skull in the Sculpture.” 2008. *Bones*. TV series episode, 20th Century Fox.
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Index of Authors

- Aarts, Bas, 7, 8, 13, 40, 141
Anderson, John, 80
Austin, Frances, 22
Authier, J.-Marc, 12
Bakir, Murtadha J., 74, 76, 79
Baugh, Albert, 155
Berman, Ruth A., 12
Berry, Margaret, 75
Best, Erik, 43
Biber, Douglas, 87–90, 93, 114, 116, 130, 131
Bolinger, Dwight, 127
Borer, Hagit, 12, 14
Brinton, Laurel J., 126–29
Brisard, Frank, 115, 118
Brousseau, Anne-Marie, 48
Čermák, František, 124
Černá, Lucie, 114
Comrie, Bernard, 48, 86
Conrad, Bent, 128
Croft, William, 56
Cruse, D. Alan, 7, 118, 142, 143
Crystal, David, 7
Cvrček, Václav, 59, 61, 63, 92, 120
Dąbrowska, Ewa, 12
Daneš, František, 8
Denison, David, 152, 153, 157
Dennis, Leah, 116
De Wit, Astrid, 115, 118
Dixon, Robert, M. W. 47, 49
Downing, Bruce, 150
Duffley, Patrick J., 49, 50, 52, 126
Dušková, Libuše, 76, 140, 143
Egan, Thomas, 127–29, 131
Emonds, Joseph, 10, 150–52, 155
Enkvist, Erik Nils, 73, 75
Evola, Vito, 12, 14
Faarlund, Jan Terje, 150–52, 155
Fagan, Sarah, 76
Filipec, Josef, 122
Fillmore, Charles J., 40, 43, 73
Fodor, Jerry A., 48
Freeborn, Dennis, 152
Freed, Alice F., 126, 128
Fried, Mirjam, 12, 13, 15, 17, 23, 29, 43, 58, 59, 61
Fuss, Eric, 156
Gilquin, Gaëtanelle, 24–28, 42, 49, 53
Givón, Talmy, 48–52, 56
Greenbaum, Sidney, 59, 61, 141, 142
Grepl, Miroslav, 120
Grice, H. Paul, 48
Gries, Stefan Th., 63
Grodzinsky, Yosef, 12, 14
Haegeman, Liliane, 89–91
Haiman, John, 48
Halliday, M.A.K., 48, 73, 79, 82, 83
Harley, Heidi, 142
Haspelmath, Martin, 48
Hatcher, Anna Granville, 114, 116, 118, 121
Heine, Bernd, 23
Hoey, Michael, 74
Hollmann, Willem, 50
Holmes, Janet, 103
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig, 150
Hooper, Joan B., 83
Huddleston, Rodney D., 21, 24, 47, 76, 86, 114–18, 125, 126, 144
Inoue, Kazuko, 22, 49
Jakobson, Roman, 75
Janda, Laura A., 12
Jespersen, Otto, 7, 76, 78, 151, 156
Johansson, Stig, 22, 26, 87
Kärkkäinen, Elise, 83
Karlík, Petr, 23, 27, 36, 59
Kemenade, Ans van, 150
Kemmer, Suzanne, 53, 76

Kenny, Anthony, 47
 Klinge, Alex, 90
 Kroch, Anthony, 152, 156
 Labov, William, 7
 Lakoff, George, 7
 Lee, Soojin, 153
 Leech, Geoffrey, 83, 87, 89, 90, 93, 114–17,
 125, 126, 129, 131, 133
 Lopatková, Markéta, 38
 Lyons, John, 76
 Macháček, Jaroslav, 40, 55, 138
 Maldonado, Ricardo, 12
 Martin, J.R., 62
 Martinková, Michaela, 24, 26, 53, 93, 138,
 142
 Mathesius, Vilém, 75, 76, 140, 143
 Michelioudakis, Dimitris, 12, 14
 Mitchell, Bruce, 150
 Mittwoch, Anita, 47, 50
 Molochieva, Zarina, 12, 14
 Nicolle, Steve, 90, 91
 Nosek, Jiří, 140, 141, 143, 145
 O'Grady, William, 76
 Osolsobě, Klára, 36
 Östman, Jan-Ola, 58, 61
 Palmer, F.R., 90
 Poldauf, Ivan, 8–10, 12, 15, 22, 23, 28,
 38, 40, 43, 48, 54, 60, 61, 62, 73–83,
 86–97, 99, 100, 104, 107–110, 112,
 113, 114, 115, 124, 125, 127, 128, 131,
 140, 141, 144, 145, 149–55, 157–59
 Pullum, Geoffrey K., 21, 24, 47, 76, 86,
 114–18, 125, 126, 144
 Quirk, Randolph, 21, 22, 28, 41, 59, 61, 76,
 83, 86, 103, 114–18, 125, 127, 141
 Raineri, Sophie, 12, 14
 Reed, Lisa, 12
 Richterová, Olga, 9, 10, 59
 Rindal, Magnus, 150
 Ritter, Elizabeth, 48
 Robinson, Fred, 150
 Ross, John, 151
 Rosta, Andrew, 74, 76, 79, 80
 Schiffrin, Deborah, 83
 Schneider, Stefan, 83
 Searle, John R., 47, 103
 Shibatani, Masayoshi, 12, 48
 Sinclair, John, 73
 Sitaridou, Ioanna, 12, 14
 Stalmaszczyk, Piotr, 76
 Stehlíková, Nikol, 83
 Strang, Barbara, 150, 151, 153, 156, 157,
 159
 Svozilová, Naďa, 38
 Swan, Michael, 23, 25, 45
 Sweet, Henry, 75, 76, 121
 Sweetser, Eve, 33, 34
 Talmy, Leonard, 33, 34, 56
 Tárnyiková, Jarmila, 10, 75, 82, 83
 Taylor, John R., 23
 Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, 13, 146
 Trips, Carola, 156
 Vachek, Josef, 140–43
 Válková, Silvie, 83
 Vendler, Zeno, 54
 Verhagen, Arie, 53
 Verschueren, Jef, 74
 Webster, Johathan J., 73, 82
 White, P.R.R., 62
 Zima, Jaroslav, 124
 Zimek, Rudolf, 12

Subject Index

- adjective, 8, 58–61, 65–69, 71, 79, 133–38, 146, 148, 156
 - participial ~ (PA), 9, 58, 60, 61, 64, 69, 72
- adverb, 66, 68, 70, 79, 123, 124, 133, 137, 141, 156
 - modal ~, 32, 34, 37
 - epistemic ~, 34
- affectedness, 15, 19, 23, 43, 46
- affected participant, 25, 28, 29, 46
- agent, 48, 50, 53, 54, 76, 77, 88, 128, 129, 131–33, 137
- allomorph
 - null ~, 154
- argument, 8, 12, 29, 38, 41, 46, 79, 155
- aspect, 10, 61, 87, 90–92, 114–16, 128
 - imperfective ~ in Czech, 90–92 (*see also* verb)
 - perfective ~ in Czech, 90–92 (*see also* verb)
- atonic personal pronoun. *See* pronoun
- auxiliary. *See* verb
- be* 10, 59, 64, 66, 114, 118, 126, 129, 130
- be going to*, 10, 35, 86–92, 94–113
- benefactive meaning. *See* meaning
- bi-lingual, 155–58
- British National Corpus (BNC). *See* corpus
- category, 7–10, 12–14, 18, 19, 33, 36, 37, 58, 60, 61, 71, 76, 77, 82, 87–90, 92, 93, 95, 96, 113, 128, 140–42, 144
 - grammatical ~, 10, 13, 36, 61, 89, 90, 128, 141
 - morphological ~, 144
 - semantic ~, 33, 37, 88
 - syntactic ~, 33
 - word ~, 10, 60
- categorial
 - ~ change (*see* change)
 - ~ status, 10, 12, 14, 15
- categoriality, 10, 73, 74, 81, 83
- causation, 9, 24, 33, 37, 40, 45, 49, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57
 - antecedent ~, 50
 - coercive ~, 54
 - concurrent ~, 50, 52
 - direct ~, 47–50, 52, 56
 - indirect ~, 33, 47–50, 52
- cause, 9, 21, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55, 91

cause, 9, 47–57
causee, 9, 24, 33, 36, 47, 50–54, 56, 57
causer, 24, 25, 44, 49, 53, 54, 56
change, 8, 10, 13, 68, 69, 87, 116, 122, 125, 129, 137, 142, 151, 152, 155, 156, 159
 categorial ~, 19, 59, 67, 72
 syntactic ~, 9, 19, 156
chtít [to want], 27, 31, 34, 35, 37, 94, 96, 97, 99, 102, 105–109, 119, 121
clause, 7, 10, 14, 17, 18, 30, 36, 39, 43, 59, 75, 78, 82–84, 89, 94, 97, 98, 106, 107, 112, 131,
 140–43, 145, 149–55, 157–59
 conditional (if-) ~, 89, 94, 97, 98, 106, 107, 112
 dependent ~, 30, 36, 43, 151, 154
 relative ~, 10, 149–53, 155, 157–59
 reporting ~, 43
cline, 10, 73–75, 81–83
clitic, 17, 18
collocation, 15, 18, 42, 63, 74
 ~ paradigm, 60, 63, 65, 66, 68, 71
complementation, 9, 21, 28, 29, 38, 41, 43, 48, 55, 56, 59, 127, 128, 130, 132–34
 ~ of a verb, 42
compound, 140–43
 quotational ~, 10, 140–48
concern, 9, 21–23, 28, 29, 38, 42, 43, 54, 78, 82
condensation, 91
 complex ~, 41, 46, 143
conditional mood. *See mood*
construal, 39, 45, 46
construction, 9, 10, 21–26, 28, 30–33, 37, 38, 40, 42, 45, 46, 48, 53, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64, 66,
 69–72, 73, 76–80, 82, 91, 114, 116–18, 122, 126–33, 135, 137, 138, 151
 evaluative ~, 9, 10, 58, 78 (*see also evaluation and function*)
 have ~, 9, 21–24, 26, 30–34, 37, 40–43, 45, 46, 82
 ~ of concerned participation, 22
 periphrastic causative ~, 9, 47, 48
contact relative. *See relative*
context, 10, 13, 15, 17, 18, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 63, 67, 69, 71, 72, 74, 78, 84, 87, 89, 90, 95,
 97, 109, 113, 124, 136, 155
 assertive/non-assertive ~, 95, 109, 110, 113
 present context indicator, 92, 109, 113
contextual factor, 78
contrastive linguistics. *See linguistics*
conversational discourse. *See discourse*
copula. *See verb*

corpus, 9, 13, 22–24, 26, 30, 43, 45, 58, 63, 64, 69, 74, 94, 114, 129, 145, 146, 148
 Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA), 24, 30, 129–31, 142–45
 Czech National Corpus (ČNK), 13, 63, 64
 InterCorp parallel translation corpus, 9, 30, 31, 37, 39, 87, 94, 95, 111–13, 115, 118, 125
 DeReKo (German Reference Corpus), 63, 70
 ukWaC (British English web corpus), 63, 70
 corpus linguistics. *See* linguistics
 corpus-based research, 22, 23
 corpus-driven research, 9, 118
 Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA). *See* corpus
 correspondence. *See* zero correspondence
 Czech. *See* language
 Czech National Corpus (ČNK). *See* corpus
 dative, 8, 9, 12, 14, 17, 18, 22, 23, 27–29, 32, 38, 39, 41–43, 45, 46, 82
 dativus commodi/incommodi, 15, 22
 ethical ~, 12, 23
 interactional ~ (I-D), 9, 12–20, 23
 ~ of interest, 9, 15, 18, 19, 23
 propositional ~, 18, 19 (*see also* semantic ~)
 semantic ~, 13, 14, 17, 19
 de-agentization, 77
 DeReKo (German Reference Corpus). *See* corpus
 dichotomy, 8, 10, 74, 75
 disambiguation, 22, 30, 46, 63, 78
 discourse, 10, 12–15, 19, 69, 75, 81–84
 conversational ~, 9, 13, 19
 ~ participant, 9, 14, 19
 dynamism, 116, 117
 economy (in language), 47, 48, 56
 evaluation, 10, 60, 62, 68, 69, 71, 72, 124, 125. *See also* construction *and* function
 event integration, 48
 experiencer, 28, 29, 40, 45
 expresivity, 10, 122, 124, 125
 force
 ~ dynamics, 33, 34, 37, 45
 illocutionary ~, 103, 104, 110 (*see also* IFID)
 frame (frame semantics), 16, 24, 38, 40, 52, 91, 92
 French relative. *See* relative
 function, 8–10, 12–14, 17, 19, 20, 37, 41, 42, 58, 69, 71, 84, 86, 87, 89, 93, 99, 114, 117, 129, 137, 138, 140, 145, 146, 148

communicative ~, 89, 93
 contextual ~, 10, 86, 87
 evaluative ~ (~ of evaluation), 60, 69 (*see also* construction *and* evaluation)
 futurate ~, 99, 110, 112
 generic ~, 17
 intersubjective ~, 19
 non-evaluative ~, 60, 69
 obligative ~, 89
 pragmatic ~, 14, 101, 110
 structuring ~, 13
 syntactic ~, 145
 tempoal ~, 94, 113
 volitional ~, 89, 94, 99, 106, 109, 112, 113
 futurity, 10, 86, 87, 89, 90, 93, 100, 101, 104, 108, 109, 111–13
 gradience, 8, 13
 grammar competition, 10, 149, 152, 154–59
 grammaticalization, 80, 129, 131, 138
have. *See have* construction
hodlat [to intend], 94, 96, 97, 99, 102, 105–9
 iconicity in language, 47, 48, 56
 IFID “illocutionary force indicating device,” 103, 104, 110
 illocutionary force. *See force*
 incompatibility principle, 77
 infinitive, 9, 10, 21, 23–25, 30, 32, 36, 38, 41, 45, 49, 90, 127, 128, 130, 131, 135–37
 bare ~, 47, 49, 55
 to~, 40, 47, 48
 -*ing* form/participle. *See participle*
 intensity, 10, 118, 122–25
 InterCorp parallel translation corpus. *See corpus*
 interest, 9, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 28, 29, 54, 121. *See also* dative of interest
 interpersonal metafunction. *See metafunction*
 intersubjectivity. *See function*
 involvement, 9, 14, 16, 21, 22, 25, 28, 56, 57, 82, 92, 116, 121
 personal ~, 83, 115
 language
 Czech, 8, 10, 12–14, 17–19, 22, 29, 30, 37, 38, 43, 58, 59, 61, 63, 64–67, 69, 71, 82, 90, 91, 94, 96, 97, 101, 104, 108, 109, 111, 113, 118, 120, 140–43, 149, 153
 English, 9, 10, 17, 22, 23, 25, 30–33, 37, 38, 40, 45, 59, 60, 63, 64, 66, 70–72, 75, 82, 83, 86, 87, 89, 92, 93, 114, 126, 127, 131, 140–45, 149, 151, 153–59
 French, 13, 149, 153, 155–59
 German, 59–61, 63, 64, 71, 72, 153

Middle English, 10, 151–55, 157
 Old English, 150–53, 155, 159
 Old Scandinavian, 151, 152
 Scandinavian, 155

lexical

- ~ priming, 74
- ~ verb (*see* verb)

lexicalized compounds, 28, 143, 148

linearization, 14, 17, 18

linguistics

- contrastive ~, 141
- corpus ~, 58, 63

make, 9, 33, 36, 40, 47–56, 78, 141

meaning, 7, 9, 10, 12–15, 19–23, 25, 26, 45, 47, 52, 55, 56, 59, 63, 65, 67, 68, 76–78, 83, 88, 89, 92, 116, 118, 125, 127, 138, 151

- benefactive ~, 12
- mirative ~, 15, 16
- non-propositional ~, 13, 18–20
- propositional ~, 12, 13, 19

medio-passive. *See* voice

metafunction

- interpersonal ~, 82, 83

Middle English. *See* language

mirative meaning/interpretation. *See* meaning

mirativity, 9, 15, 19

morphological

- ~ category, 144
- ~ properties/features, 10, 144, 148
- ~ annotation, 23

mood, 72, 86, 95, 147

- conditional ~, 42, 95, 120

modality, 10, 33, 86–88, 92, 113. *See also* volition *and* obligation

- epistemic ~, 34, 83
- root ~, 33

modal verb. *See* verb

modifier, 71, 78, 141, 146, 147

Norman(s), 151, 155

non-finite (verb form), 24, 27, 31, 46. *See also* participle *and* infinitive

noun 8, 39, 43, 58–61, 65, 67, 68, 71, 133, 137, 140–48

null

- ~ allomorph. *See* allomorph

object, 8, 9, 25, 29, 38, 59, 60, 75, 80, 145, 146, 158, 159
 raised ~, 24, 78
 obligation, 32, 39, 45. *See also* modality
 Old English. *See* language
 particle
 discourse ~, 84
 modal ~, 45, 124
 optative ~, 32, 36, 37
 pragmatic ~, 9, 13, 14, 18, 19
 participle, 21, 58, 59, 61, 65, 66, 91, 133
 participial (*see* adjective)
 present ~, 58, 61
 -ing form/~, 58, 61, 64, 66, 70, 128
 passive. *See* voice
 passivization, 10, 74, 75, 77, 83, 126, 137
 periphrastic causative construction. *See* construction
 plan. *See* syntactic(al) plan
 personal involvement. *See* involvement
 politeness, 116, 117, 120, 125
 possessor, 23, 29
 possessum, 29
 pragmatic, 10, 14, 18, 23, 74, 78, 83, 87, 89, 94, 98, 100, 101, 104, 109, 110, 113, 124
 ~ function (*see* function)
 ~ particle (*see* particle)
 ~ property (*see* property)
 ~ strengthening, 13
 pragmaticalization, 14, 83
 predication, 59, 60, 62, 77–79, 128
 secondary ~, 22, 24, 25, 28–35, 41, 42, 45, 46
 prediction, 88, 93, 135
 premodification, 141
 present participle. *See* participle
 progressive form, 10, 22, 70, 114–20, 122, 124, 125, 131. *See also* participle *and* aspect
 pronoun, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 27, 28, 30, 33, 38, 41, 43, 69, 80, 82, 95, 99, 142, 150, 153,
 157–59
 atonic personal ~, 14, 17, 18
 property
 human/non-human ~, 133–35, 138
 permanent ~, 76, 78, 79
 pragmatic ~, 14, 23, 83
 semantic ~ /feature, 12, 13, 14, 15, 23, 60, 62, 64, 65, 72, 77,

syntactic ~, 10, 17, 23, 83, 144
 propositional meaning. *See* meaning
 quotational compound. *See* compound
 raised object. *See* object
 recategorization, 133
 relative

- ~ clause (*see* clause)
- contact ~, 149, 153–55, 159
- French ~, 157
- wh*-~, 155, 157, 159

 relativizer, 10, 149, 151, 153
 invariant ~, 150, 151
 rhematic marker, 18
 Scandinavian. *See* language
 semantic

- ~ category (*see* category)
- ~ group, 60, 67, 133–35,
- ~ dative (*see* dative)
- ~ property/feature (*see* property)
- ~ restriction, 43, 46
- ~ shift, 9, 19
- ~ weight, 10, 128, 131

 semantics, 15, 33, 58, 60, 61, 64–68, 71, 90, 91, 118, 128

- frame ~ (*see* frame)

 simple form, 115, 118
 structural correlate, 88, 89
 subject, 8, 9, 21–23, 27–35, 38, 40–45, 48, 59, 69, 71, 75–80, 88, 93–113, 115, 119, 121, 127–29, 131, 133, 137, 140, 145, 146, 151, 154, 158, 159
 syntactic, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 33, 48, 59–61, 64, 66, 71, 76, 129, 140, 152, 157, 159

- ~ category (*see* category)
- ~ change (*see* change)
- ~ function (*see* function)
- syntactical plan, 8–10, 22, 38, 74, 81–3, 87
- ~ property (*see* property)
- ~ stratification, 74, 82

 tense, 72, 86, 87, 89, 90, 104, 111

- past ~, 87, 91, 95, 116
- present ~, 69, 79, 87, 90–92, 94–102, 104–13
- future ~, 86, 87, 89, 90, 92

 tentativeness, 116
 (the) third syntactical plan, 9, 10, 22, 74, 81–83, 87

translation, 10, 18, 22, 26, 27, 29–46, 87, 94, 99, 101–4, 111, 113, 119–24
 ~ equivalent, 9, 10, 21, 23, 26–28, 35, 37, 86, 87, 90, 92, 94, 95, 97–113, 114, 115, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125

ukWaC British English web corpus. *See* corpus

verb, 8–10, 23–25, 28, 29, 34–38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 52, 58–60, 65, 67–72, 75–79, 87–93, 95, 100–2, 108, 111–13, 114–25, 126–31, 135, 137, 138, 140–42, 145–48, 154, 157, 158

action ~, 76, 120, 125

aspectual ~, 10, 126–28, 131, 132, 137

~ of attitude, 10, 42, 62, 114–20, 125

auxiliary ~, 86, 90, 91, 94, 126, 128, 129, 131, 154

causative ~, 22, 26–28, 31, 32, 35–37, 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 49

copular (linking) ~, 8–10, 58, 59, 63, 64, 69, 72, 79, 133, 137, 154

dynamic ~, 88

ergative ~, 80

imperfective ~ (in Czech), 61, 90–92, 94–97, 99, 100, 102, 103, 108, 109, 113 (*see also* aspect)

inchoative ~, 128, 131, 137

lexical ~, 31, 126

matrix ~, 128, 129, 131

modal ~, 27, 31–35, 37, 39, 45, 88, 92, 94, 96, 99, 109, 111, 126

perception ~, 39, 40, 45

perfective ~ (in Czech), 90–92, 95 (*see also* aspect)

state (stative) ~, 115–18, 125

transitive ~, 75, 77

~ of inert cognition, 115, 117

verbal complementation. *See* complementation

voice, 76, 77, 82

active ~, 76, 77

passive ~, 10, 22, 35, 36, 40, 41, 74–80, 82, 127, 131–33, 137, 138

medio-passive, 10, 74–82

volition, 87–89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, 106, 108–13. *See also* modality

wh-relative. *See* relative

will, 10, 31, 35, 60, 86–113

word, 7, 10, 23, 59, 60, 63, 64, 66, 70, 74, 124, 140–43, 147, 153, 155, 156, 158, 159

~ category (*see* category)

~ formation, 70

~ group, 142

~ order, 9, 17–19, 59, 69, 72, 153, 154

zero correspondence, 31, 32, 40, 46

Résumé

This monograph is an output of the IGA research project FF 2012_30, *Lingvista Ivan Poldauf, zakladatel olomoucké anglistiky* (Ivan Poldauf, Founder of English Studies in Olomouc). With the help of new methodologies, both in the form of systematically assembled linguistic corpora (BNC, COCA, InterCorp, CNC) and the theoretical apparatus of the now well-established theoretical frameworks within the field of cognitive syntax and pragmatics (whose birth Poldauf truly anticipated), the authors investigate various aspects of linguistic categorization, a theme central to Poldauf's research. In the first section, attention is paid to syntactic constructions and their functions; in the second section to the semantic categories of time, aspect and modality. Wordhood and word categories are in the focus of our attention in the last section of the book.

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The Third Syntactical Plan and Beyond**

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