2013 ACTA UNIVERSITATIS CAROLINAE PAG. 99–115
PHILOLOGICA 3 / PRAGUE STUDIES IN ENGLISH XXVI

COPULAR VERBS OF THE *BECOME* TYPE AND THE EXPRESSION OF 'RESULTING' MEANING IN ENGLISH AND IN CZECH: A CONTRASTIVE CORPUS-SUPPORTED VIEW

MARKÉTA MALÁ

1. Copular clauses in English and in Czech

Copular clauses, i.e. clauses with a verbo-nominal predicate, are used both in English and in Czech as a means of ascribing a quality, property or value to the subject. However, the repertoires of copular verbs available in the two languages differ significantly. In Czech, it is only the copula *být* ('be') that is generally considered a linking verb, with some grammars also accepting its resulting counterpart *stát se* ('become') as a member of the class. In English, a range of copular verbs covers the ascription of a 'current' quality (verbs of 'remaining', sensory perception, or epistemic modification) as well as the expression of the resultant state. We shall focus on the latter group, considering a) how the various types of 'becoming' differ from one another in English, b) how these differences are rendered in the Czech translation, and c) what the Czech counterparts can suggest about the ways of expressing 'resulting' meaning in English.

2. The method and material

The method can be described as a bidirectional corpus-supported[1] approach. The analysis (see Figure 1) proceeds from a grammatical and semantic description of the English resulting copular verbs in English original texts (step one) to a study of their patterns of translation correspondence in Czech (step two). It can be assumed that formally distinct constructions which share the same function or meaning will also share the same translation counterparts. Based on this assumption, in the third step a typical Czech counterpart of English resulting copulas (counterpart of the type B in Figure 1) is chosen as a marker of the particular function, and its translation correspondences in English are traced (constructions a–d in Figure 1). Generally, the use of a Czech 'marker' makes it possible to move from the function to the diverse forms of its expression in English (see Šaldová, 2009; Malá, 2007, 2010a, b). In the present paper, this step places the

[1] The term 'corpus-supported' draws on Lee (2008: 88), who uses it in reference to a way "that corpus data can be appropriated" which is both qualitative and quantitative: "the analyst comes to the task using, relying on or imposing prior linguistic intuitions or theoretical frameworks while examining the data".

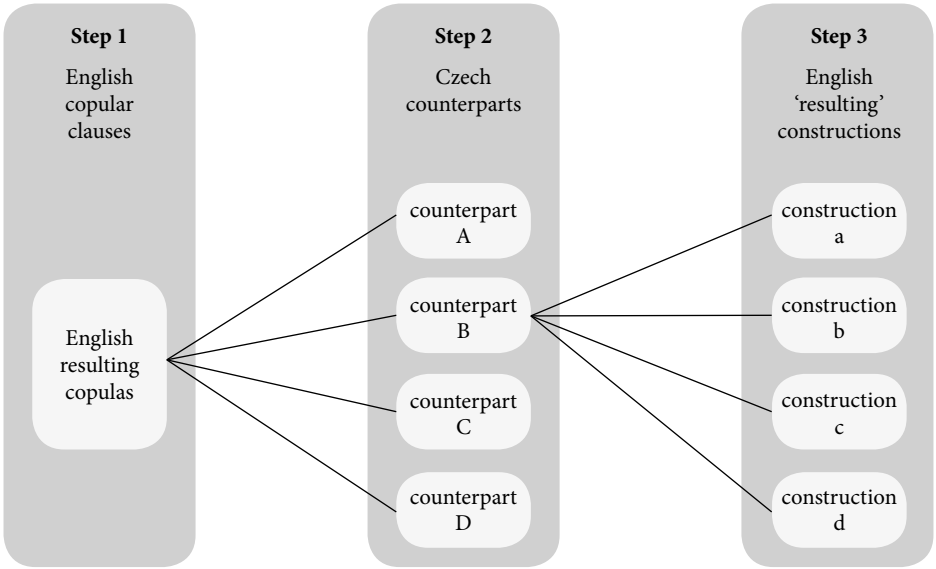

Figure 1. The methodology: a bidirectional corpus-supported approach

resulting copulas alongside other English constructions that can carry the same meaning of non-causative change.

The method relies on using a parallel translation corpus as a means which "can make meanings visible through translation patterns" (Johansson, 2007: 28). According to Teubert (2001: 151), "[i]f we assume that we may find the meaning of a textual element through its paraphrase, which is also a text, then we may describe parallel corpora as repositories for such paraphrases". The dangers of using translations for contrastive research (viz. the quality and idiosyncrasy of translation) can be reduced by the composition of the corpus, by using both directions of translation, as well as by combining the translation-based approach with other methods. "[T]ranslators can be regarded as native speaker informants whose semantic judgments are reflected in the translation choices in the target texts." (Aijmer, 2009: 65)

The approach adopted in the present paper is similar to Dyvik's semantic mirrors (Dyvik, 2002), i.e. a method for deriving lexical semantic information from translational data. Our focus, however, is more on the expression of 'becoming' in English, using Czech as an auxiliary language, or a 'repository' of translation equivalents which may serve as markers of the resulting meaning shared by a variety of English constructions.

The study draws on the English-Czech bidirectional section of the multilingual parallel translation corpus *InterCorp*.[2] Six hundred and four copular clauses comprising central linking verbs of the *become*-type (*become*, *come*, *fall*, *get*, *go*, *grow*, *turn*) were

[2] *InterCorp – Český národní korpus*. Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha. Accessed between September 2011 and February 2012. Available at http://www.korpus.cz/intercorp/.

excerpted together with their Czech counterparts. A sub-corpus of six English novels was used (with 50 clauses for each verb at most excerpted from any single book); where these yielded less than a total of fifty clauses per copula (*turn*, *grow*, *come*), additional sources were added until the number of clauses excerpted reached fifty at least for each copular verb. For step three of the analysis, a sub-corpus of three Czech novels and their English translations[3] was used. The Czech verbs with prefixes identified in step two were used to formulate a query, and the patterns of their translation correspondence in the English translations were recorded.

3. Step one: English copular verbs of the *become*-type

While all the copulas in the group 'import' resultative meaning into the predicate phrases in which they are contained (Pustet, 2005 [2003]: 5–6), there are differences between the kinds of change indicated by the individual verbs. To distinguish between the copulas, the following characteristics of the resulting copular clauses were studied in our sample: a) the ratio of finite progressive forms of the copula, b) the form of the subject complement, c) the use of degree modification and/or comparative forms of adjectives in the complement, and d) the semantic predictability of the subject complement. A summary of the results is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. A summary of the characteristics of resulting copular predicates. The rightmost column gives the values calculated for all the 604 copular clauses. For each parameter, the percentages significantly exceeding the value calculated for the whole sample are marked in grey, e.g. while 9.1% of resulting copular verbs occurred in the progressive finite form, the verbs *get*, *go*, and *grow* were attested in the progressive more frequently (in 20.0%, 12.5%, and 12.0% of the *get*-, *go*-, and *grow*-clauses, respectively), and are therefore highlighted in the Table.

			become	***come***	***fall***	***get***	***go***	***grow***	***turn***	**Total**
Total number of clauses (= 100.0%)			210	50	59	115	64	50	56	**604**
V	progressive forms		5.7%	8.0%	0.0%	20.0%	12.5%	12.0%	3.6%	**9.1%**
Cs	form	AdjP	71.0%	24.0%	62.7%	99.1%	95.3%	96.0%	53.6%	**74.7%**
		NP	28.6%	2.0%	1.7%	0.0%	4.7%	0.0%	14.3%	**12.1%**
		PrepP	0.5%	74.0%	35.6%	0.9%	0.0%	4.0%	32.1%	**13.3%**
		comparative Adj / degree modifier	31.5%	0.0%	0.0%	37.7%	11.5%	68.7%	16.7%	**29.5%**
		lexico-semantic predictability	lowest	highest		low	very high			

[3] The size of the six-novel English-Czech sub-corpus is 369 thousand tokens in Czech and 444 thousand in English; the size of the three-novel Czech-English sub-corpus is 176 thousand tokens in Czech and 229 thousand in English. The sub-corpora comprise the following texts: D. Adams, *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*; K. Amis, *Lucky Jim*; A. C. Clarke, *Rendezvous with Rama*; K. Ishiguro, *An Artist of the Floating World*; M. Ondaatje, *The English Patient*; J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*; I. Klíma, *Láska a smetí*; M. Kundera, *Nesnesitelná lehkost bytí*; M. Viewegh, *Výchova dívek v Čechách*.

Copular verbs generally display a preference for simple finite forms (76.5% copular clauses in the sample). Three resulting copulas, however, admit progressive finite forms more readily, viz. *get*, *go*, and *grow*. These verbs also stand out with respect to the dominant form of their complement: they are virtually restricted to adjective phrase complementation. All these verbs can be seen as capable of expressing a gradual or incomplete development or change in quality. The expression of an increase in quality is further supported by the use of comparative forms of adjectives and/or the presence of a degree modifier in the adjectival subject complement. The copula *grow* appears to be linked with this function most tightly since 68.7% of its adjectival complements express some degree by the form of the adjective and/or by a modifier. Moreover, the increase in quality expressed by *grow*-predications is frequently intensified by reduplication (ex. 1).[4]

(1) I had the distinct feeling the space between the ditches was growing more and more narrow, until it was as though we were balancing along a fallen tree trunk. (Ishiguro)
… a ve mně sílil pocit, že se prostor mezi stokami zužuje, jako bychom se snažili přejít po skáceném kmeni stromu.

On the other hand, *come* and *fall* do not combine with adjective phrases marked for degree, and they rarely (four *come*-clauses) or never occur in the progressive. They are typically complemented by ungradable adjectives: *come alive*/*awake*/*clean*[5]/*true*, *fall asleep*/*open*/*silent*. Where the complement takes the form of a prepositional phrase, the resultant state is often indicated by a de-verbal noun, e.g. *fall in love*/*into sleep*, *come to a boil*/*a close*/*a halt*/*a stop*/*life*/*rest*, *come under control*. *Come* and *fall* thus indicate a change from one polar state to the opposite one, without any apparent transitional stage in between.

Turn and *go* never combined with adjectives in the comparative form, and rarely with degree modifiers. Even where *go* and *turn* were used in the progressive, they indicated a gradual approach to a final state rather than a gradual increase in the quality indicated by the complement (ex. 2).

(2) … you're turning into a penguin. (Adams)
Stává se z tebe tučňák.

The copular verbs of the *become*-type differ not only in their grammatical behaviour and colligations, but also in their collocations and semantic preference. In Table 2, the most frequent right collocates of the copular verbs (i.e. those expressions which occurred in at least 4% of complements of the particular copula) are listed. The 'predictability degree' gives the percentage of clauses in which the copular verb was complemented

[4] Example (1) is, in fact, unusual in combining the progressive with the expression of degree in the subject complement. Generally, the gradual change is indicated either by the verb form or by the form of the complement.

[5] The two examples of *come clean* are considered ungradable since *clean* refers to 'not having taken any drugs' here.

by an expression listed in the angle brackets. The percentage actually indicates to what extent the particular copula is restricted in its choice of complements (with *come* and *go* being most restricted, and the complementation of *become* being quite unpredictable).

Table 2. Most frequent complements of resulting copular verbs

Copula	Copula – total number	Most frequent complements (> 4%) – total numbers	Most frequent complements – predictability degree
become	210	<aware 10>	4.8%
come	50	<alive 4, awake 2, clean 2, true 2, to a close 2, to a halt 7, to an end 9, to rest 5, to life 5, to terms 3>	82.0%
fall	59	<asleep 21, silent 12, open 3, in love 19>	55.0%
get	115	<drunk 12, married 7, used to 6>	21.7%
go	64	<bad 3, crazy 3, mad 12, pink 3, red 7, wrong 16>	68.8%
grow	50	<accustomed 5, aware 2, intimate 2, loud 3, old 4, strong 2>	36.0%
turn	56	<green 5, red 3, white 4, a shade of [colour] 3>	26.8%

If semantic, rather than lexical, sequences (Hunston, 2008) are considered, the predictability of the semantic class of the complement may increase, as shown in the case of *turn*. The predictability of the subject complement of *turn* comprising a colour term rises to 44.6% (Table 3). The copula *turn* usually (in 64.0% of clauses with colour term complements) ascribes the change in colour to non-personal subjects (ex. 3).

(3) The beach turned an eggshell-brown color, the ocean gray. (Irving)
Pláž se zbarvila jako hnědé skořápky od vajec a oceán zešedivěl.

Table 3. Colour terms as complements of the copula *turn*

	Total	Complements – total numbers	Predictability
turn	**56**	<bluish-black 1, brown 2, green 5, grey 2, grey-green 1, pink 1, red 3, scarlet 1, white 4, [modifier] colour 2, a shade of [colour] 3>	44.6%

Colour terms also appear among the most frequent complements of the verb *go* (*go pink/red/purple/scarlet/pale/white*). However, with *go* the change in colour is typically ascribed to an animate subject, and is to be understood as indicative of a (negative) change in mental state (shame, anger, fear, etc.) (ex. 4). As the other frequent complements of *go* suggest, the verb displays a general semantic preference for adjectives (such

as *mad, crazy, bad, wrong*) which are "typically used to describe a change towards some undesirable state". (Biber et al., 1999: 445)

(4) Mrs Welch began to go red again. (Amis)
Paní Welchová opět začala rudnout.

The complements of *come* appear the most predictable of all the copulas in the *become*-group. Quirk et al. (1985: 1174) note that

> [*c*]*ome* is very restricted as a copular verb, but it makes an interesting contrast with *go* […]. The association of *go* with deterioration (*go rotten*, etc.) is complemented by the association of *come* with improvement in *come true*, etc. These associations may be connected with the positive and negative direction (from the speaker's viewpoint) of *come* and *go* as verbs of motion.

This applies to the dominant adjectival complements of *come*: <*alive* 4, *awake* 2, *clean* 2, *true* 2>. The range of highly predictable complements of *come*, however, is broader, also comprising prepositional phrases <*to a close* 2, *to a halt* 7, *to an end* 9, *to rest* 5, *to life* 5, *to terms* 3>.[6] With prepositional phrase complements, *come* typically expresses the final, terminal stage of a process or event (ex. 5). For *come*, the lexical and semantic predictability, therefore, is further restricted by the form of the complement (Table 4).

Table 4. Most frequent complements of the copula *come*

	Total	**Most frequent complements – total numbers**	**Predictability**
come + AdjP	**12**	<alive 4, awake 2, clean 2, true 2>	83.3%
come + PrepP	**37**	<to a close 2, to a halt 7, to an end 9, to rest 5, to life 5, to terms 3>	83.8%

(5) In 1939 the great decade of Libyan Desert expeditions came to an end, and this vast and silent pocket of the earth became one of the theatres of war. (Ondaatje)
Velká dekáda výprav do Libyjské pouště v roce 1939 skončila a tenhle velký a rozlehlý kus země se stal jedním z válečných dějišť.

The most frequent copular verbs, *become* and *get*, have the least predictable complements. While *get* combines almost exclusively with adjectival complements (27% of

[6] As shown in Table 1, *come* is the only copula in the group which displays a preference for PrepP rather than AdjP complementation (74% of its complements are PrepPs).

them de-participial),[7] *become* is not colligationally restricted in the choice of complement, admitting – besides adjective phrases – also noun phrases (in 28.6% of clauses). The two verbs thus seem well suited for the expression of any kind of change; the character and circumstances of the process of change may then be expressed by adverbials – compare the difference between *becoming aware* and *growing aware* in the following examples, also reflected in the translation. While *become* indicates merely the resultant state of awareness, with the sudden realisation of being watched expressed by the adverbial *at one point* (ex. 6, *vycítil jsem*), the awareness expressed by *grow* is a gradual process, with the character of the change indicated by the copula itself (ex. 7, *začala si uvědomovat*).

(6) Then at one point, after my back had been turned to the path for some time, I became aware that someone was standing behind me, apparently to watch me work. (Ishiguro)
Pracoval jsem chvíli zády k chodníku, když jsem vycítil, že za mnou někdo stojí a zřejmě mě pozoruje. (Ishiguro)

(7) She remembers when she had first grown aware of it, somewhere in her teens – it seemed a place rather than a time – kissing her forearm to practise kissing, smelling her wrist or bending down to her thigh. (Ondaatje)
Vzpomíná si, kdy si to poprvé začala uvědomovat, bylo jí už přes deset – vnímá to spíš jako místo než čas – líbala si předloktí, aby si zkusila líbání, čichala si k zápěstí, anebo se shýbala ke svým stehnům.

For some verbo-nominal predications, however, the co-selection of the verb and the complement is a matter of lexical choice rather than a choice motivated by the kind of change, e.g., the noun *victim* co-occurs with a form of the verb *fall* in 70.8% of instances of the sequence 'VERB + *victim*' in the *British National Corpus*.[8] Such preferences may be linked to the individual forms of the complement adjective, e.g., things usually *go bad* (the adjective takes the base form in 89.1% of clauses where a form of *bad* complements a form of *go*) but *get worse* (the comparative form complements *get* in 91.4% of verbo-nominal predications comprising *get* + *bad*). Nevertheless, "[in] many cases, more than one [resulting copular] verb can occur with the same adjective, and it is difficult to give precise conditions for selecting one rather than another". (Quirk et al., 1986: 1174)

---

[7] The boundary between the *get*-copular clause and the *get*-passive is hard to delimit. The approach adopted here is rather unrestrictive, including among copular predications also the constructions termed 'pseudo-passives' by Quirk et al. (1985: 160–171). The verb *get* "may be best analysed as such [i.e. a copular verb] in sentences which look superficially like passives, but which could not be expanded by an agent" (*ibid*.: 161). Nor do they have "an active transform" (*ibid*.: 169). The adjectival reading may be supported by the presence of intensifiers, e.g. *I got very bored and depressed, so I went and plugged myself in to its external computer feed.* (Adams) – *Nudil jsem se, byl jsem depresivní, a tak jsem se napojil na její počítač.*

[8] Since the evidence provided by our data is insufficient here, we give the numbers from the *British National Corpus*, accessed through the *BNCweb* (CQP-edition) available from http://bncweb.lancs.ac.uk/.

4. Step two: Czech counterparts of English resulting copulas

4.1 Types of correspondence

The translation equivalents can be described on the basis of the formal type of correspondence between the English verbo-nominal construction and its translation, and the semantic characteristics of the copular verb counterpart. Generally, four formal types of correspondence can be distinguished:

a) 'One-to-one' correspondence, where both the English copular verb and its complement have a separate Czech counterpart. The copula can be paralleled by a verb (ex. 8) or by an adverbial, e.g. *My grandson had become very quiet.* (Ishiguro) – *Vnouček náhle seděl tiše jako pěna.* ('My grandson suddenly sat very quietly.')
b) Analytic correspondence, where the meaning of the English copular verb is dissociated into two components in the Czech translation, such as a phase-marking verb and a lexical verb or *být* ('be'), e.g. … *it became clear to me that* … (Rowling) – … *začalo mi být jasné, že* … ('… it started to be clear to me that …'), or a verb accompanied by an adverbial of time or degree indicating a development or a particular stage of the change, e.g. *The mountains around the school became icy grey* … (Rowling) – *Hory kolem školy byly teď ledově šedé* … ('The mountains … were now icy grey …').
c) Synthetic correspondence, where the meaning of the English copula and its complement merge into a single clause element in Czech, typically a verb with a prefix indicating a change (ex. 9).
d) Zero correspondence, where the copular verb does not have a recoverable counterpart in the Czech translation, but the meaning of the complement (and the clause) is retained, e.g. *Business too has become increasingly difficult for her* … (Ishiguro) – *A navíc podnik příliš neprosperuje* ('Business does not really prosper'). The resulting meaning, however, is lost in the translation. The copulas most likely to disappear are those with the least specific meaning – *become* and *get.* It is also these two verbs that are most frequently translated by the copula *být* ('be'), which performs the linking function but does not convey the conclusive meaning.

Table 5. Translation counterparts of resulting copular verbs. The two most frequent types of counterparts for each copula are highlighted in (two shades of) grey.

Corr. type	Counterparts of copula	*become*	*turn*	*fall*	*go*	*grow*	*get*	*come*	Total	
									Σ	%
One-to-one correspondence	A-degree	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.0	0.9	0.0	**238**	**39.4**
	A-time	2.9	1.8	3.4	0.0	0.0	1.7	2.0		
	V-*být*	8.1	3.6	0.0	4.7	4.0	9.6	4.0		
	V-causative	1.4	5.4	0.0	1.6	2.0	3.5	0.0		
	V-inchoative	28.1	39.3	11.9	26.6	20.0	7.8	16.0		
	V-phase	3.8	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.5	20.0		
	V-other	3.3	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.3	4.0		

Corr. type	Counterparts of copula	*become*	*turn*	*fall*	*go*	*grow*	*get*	*come*	Total	
									Σ	%
Analytic correspondence	A+V	5.7	1.8	0.0	3.1	6.0	8.7	0.0	**57**	**9.4**
	V-caus/ inch+O	0.0	5.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	V-phase + V	6.7	3.6	0.0	0.0	4.0	7.0	0.0		
Synthetic correspondence	V-causative	5.7	1.8	0.0	0.0	2.0	3.5	6.0	**281**	**46.5**
	V-inchoative	27.6	32.1	81.4	57.8	54.0	40.0	46.0		
	V-other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0		
Zero counterpart		5.7	1.8	3.4	6.3	0.0	7.0	2.0	28	**4.6**
Total %		**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**–**	**100.0**
Total number		**210**	**56**	**59**	**64**	**50**	**115**	**50**	**604**	**–**

4.2 Inchoative verbs

As shown in Table 5, all the copular verbs in the *become*-group display particular preference for inchoative verbs as counterparts, either in the direct one-to-one correspondence (ex. 8) or as a result of a merger of the copular verb and its complement in the translation (the synthetic type of correspondence, ex. 9).

(8) Using a dark brown crayon, he drew on the lower part of the sheet a row of boxes – which soon became a skyline of city buildings. (Ishiguro)
Tmavě hnědou pastelkou načrtl na dolní část listu řadu krabic – zanedlouho se proměnily v panoráma města.

(9) Now, let's keep quiet for a while and see if you fall asleep. (Ishiguro)
A teď už budeme chvíli zticha, abych zjistil, jestli dokážeš usnout.

Inchoative verbs are simple mutation verbs (*Příruční mluvnice češtiny*: 374ff.; *Mluvnice češtiny* 3: 32–33), i.e. verbs which contain a transition from an initial situation to a final (resulting) one in their semantic structure. The verbs are intransitive and there is no external causer of the change implied. The counterparts of the English resulting copulas include several structural types of Czech inchoative verbs: the mutation can be indicated a) by a mutation aspectual affix, e.g. *zrudnout*, *opít se*, *sílit* ('go red, get drunk, grow stronger'), b) by the reflexive formant *se*/*si*, e.g. *ochladit se*, *otevřít se* ('become cold, fall open'), c) by a change in the stem of the word (compared to the corresponding non-inchoative verb), e.g. *usnout* ('fall asleep'), d) by the lexical meaning of the verb, e.g. *měnit se*, *růst* ('change, increase'), or by a combination of these means. The most frequent inchoative counterpart was the Czech verb *stát se*/*stávat se* ('become'),[9] which occurred 55 times in our corpus, functioning as the translation equivalent of all the resulting

[9] Since the description of the counterparts is based on their meaning, the question of whether to consider *stát se* a copular verb or not will be left aside.

copular verbs. It was, however, most frequently used as a translation of *become*, constituting 19.1% of its counterparts. It occurred typically where the subject complement of the English copula was formed by a noun phrase. The universality of *stát se*, however, appears to hinder its use as a counterpart of verbs other than *become*. These verbs, as we have seen, refer to a specific type of change – and *stát se* seems too general an equivalent to render these modifications. They have to be conveyed by other means: for instance, *stát se* was used as a counterpart of *grow* only when the English subject complement had the form of an adjective in the comparative. In addition, the gradual increase in the quality indicated by the adjective was usually expressed in Czech by adverbials (together with reduplication in ex. 10).

(10) All the while the sound grew louder – and more hauntingly familiar. (Clarke)
Zvuk se stával stále silnější a silnější – a důvěrněji známý.

As a translation counterpart of *become*, *stát se* is virtually restricted to clauses with a noun phrase complement. These predications are classifying or qualifying; identification does not occur. The focus is on acquiring a quality or function associated with the subject complement noun (ex. 11).

(11) A small bolt from a cockpit became jewellery. (Ondaatje)
Matice z pilotní kabiny se stala šperkem.

Become and *stát se* are similar in that their most frequent noun collocates tend to denote a function or quality rather than a specific referent.[10] *Stát se*, therefore, seems a suitable translation counterpart of *become* where *become* is complemented by a noun phrase. Nevertheless, in 45% of counterparts of *become* + noun phrase a different translation counterpart was chosen – another inchoative verb (*rozvinout se v*, (*pro*)*měnit se v* – 'develop into, change into'), the copula *být* ('be'), or a phase verb (*začít* – 'start'). When complemented by an AdjP, *become* was translated by *stát se* only in 4.7% of the instances, reflecting the reluctance of *stát se* to occur with adjectival complementation.

4.3 Non-inchoative counterparts

Apart from inchoative verbs, another translation strategy attested among the equivalents of resulting copular predications was to focus explicitly on a particular stage or on

[10] Compare the first fifteen noun collocates of *stát se* in the *Czech National Corpus – Syn2010* and *become* in the *British National Corpus* (span [1,3], ranked by log-likelihood): *stát se* <*součástí, obětí, členem, terčem, symbolem, předmětem, základem, prezidentem, místem, ředitelem, svědkem, tváří, vítězem, hrdinou, předsedou*> ('part, victim, member, target, symbol, object, basis, president, place, director, witness, face, winner, hero, chairman'); *become* <*member, minister, friends, director, focus, law, president, chairman, feature, king, leader, chief, symbol, assistant, secretary*>. (*Český národní korpus – SYN2010.* Ústav Českého národního korpusu FF UK, Praha 2010. Available from http://www.korpus.cz.)

the gradual development of the change. This can be achieved using either phase-marking verbs or adverbials of time or degree.

The adverbials comprise: *brzy, čím dál*, *den ze dne, docela, konečně, náhle*, *najednou*, *nakonec*, *pomalu, stále*, *teď*, *už*, *víc a víc, zničehonic* ('soon, the more … the …, day by day, completely, finally, suddenly, all of a sudden, in the end, slowly, increasingly, now, already, more and more, unexpectedly'). Generally a marginal type of counterpart, adverbials of time and degree are most frequently found with the copular verbs *get* and *grow*, typically in the analytic construction combining the adverbial with the copula *být* ('be') (ex. 12). The choice of the type of adverbial modification appears consistent with the overall kind of change associated with the two verbs: *get* prefers the indication of the final stage of the change (i.e. *už*, *najednou* – 'already, suddenly', ex. 13, although adverbials indicating development do occur as well), while *grow* refers to gradual changes and tends to be translated by degree adverbials accordingly (*stále* – 'increasingly', ex. 12)

(12) Madox listened as the sermon grew more impassioned. (Ondaatje)
Madox naslouchal, jak je kázání stále ohnivější.
(13) Seamus got so impatient that he prodded it with his wand … (Rowling)
Seamus už byl tak netrpělivý, že do něj šťouchl hůlkou …

The phase verbs found among the translation counterparts of copular verbs comprise *začít*, *chystat se, zůstat (stát/ležet), přestat* ('start, be about to, remain seated/lying, stop'). The explicit expression of the initial phase of the action by the verb *začít* ('start') (or a gradual beginning *začínat*) is the most frequent and least restricted in combinability. It was used as a counterpart of *become, come, get, grow* and *turn*, both in one-to-one correspondence (ex. 14) and in the analytic construction.

(14) The sappers became permanently suspicious of any object placed casually in a room. (Ondaatje)
Ženisté začali podezírat každý náhodně umístěný předmět v místnosti.

Zůstat ('remain') occurred only as a counterpart of the *come*-copular predications *come to a halt*/*to rest* – *zůstat ležet*/*stát*. Although *přestat* ('stop') seems to indicate the final stage of an event or state, it is used rather to mark a transition from one state to another. In English the change is expressed by negating the original state using a negative affix (*become careless, become inhuman*).

(15) "I think you have become inhuman," she said to me. (Ondaatje)
Řekla mi: „Ty už jsi myslím přestal být lidský."

It is perhaps interesting to note that the verbs *fall* and *go* were never translated by phase verbs. This may be linked to the fact that the change indicated by *fall* and *go* is not a gradual one. As a consequence, there is no time for the initial or final phase of the change. The verbs introduce the result of the change; the process of the change seems irrelevant.

5. Step three: Czech counterparts as markers of resulting meaning in English

As shown above, the most frequent type of Czech counterpart of the resulting copulas is the inchoative verb. The 'resulting' meaning of the verbs in Czech was typically indicated by an aspectual prefix, often in combination with the reflexive formant *se*/*si*. The resulting prefixes attested in our data comprise *na-* (*naučit se* – 'get used to'),[11] *o-*/*ob-*/*od-* (*ožít, obživnout, odcizit se* – 'come alive, come to life, become estranged'), *po-* (*polekat se, potemnět* – 'get scared, go dark'), *roz-* (*rozzlobit se, rozšířit se, rozžhavit se* – 'become annoyed, grow wider, become incandescent'), *s-* (*sblížit se, setmít se, skončit* – 'become familiar, become dark, come to an end'), *u-* (*udělat se teplo* etc., *upadnout do spánku, uzavřít se* – 'turn hot, fall into sleep, come full circle'), *vy-* (*vynořit se, vycítit* – 'become visible, become aware'), *za-* (*zabloudit, začervenat se, zahořknout* – 'get lost, go pink, grow bitter'), and *z-* (*zklidnit se, zbělet, zestárnout* – 'become calmer, turn white, grow old').

Not all the prefixes convey purely aspectual meaning, e.g. *po-* in *potemnět* ('go dark' expresses degree, and *roz-* directional or phase modification (*Příruční mluvnice češtiny*: 197–216). Nevertheless, where indicating intransitive mutation, the above prefixes may be assumed to serve as translation equivalents not only of resulting copular verbs but also of other, structurally diverse, English constructions which share the same conclusive meaning. The prefixes can therefore be used as 'markers' or 'indicators' of inchoative function.

The English equivalents of Czech resulting verbs with the above prefixes[12] were found to include, besides lexical verbs – such as *change* or *perish* – which carry the conclusive meaning in their semantic structure, the following constructions (the occurrence and functions of the constructions which had been identified in translations into English as counterparts of Czech inchoative prefixes were subsequently checked in original English texts):

I. Verbo-nominal constructions:

i. copular predications with resulting copulas (e.g. *go quieter* in ex. 22) or *be*;
ii. other verbo-nominal constructions whose verbs can be characterized as categorial, conveying the meaning of (the onset of) change (exx. 16, 17)[13]

(16) Zničehonic se rozplakala. (Klíma)
All of a sudden she burst into tears.

(17) Kdyby na ni promluvil tichým, hlubokým hlasem, duše by se osmělila vystoupit na povrch těla a ona by se rozplakala. (Kundera)
If he spoke to her in a soft, deep voice, her soul would take courage and rise to the surface of her body, and she would burst out crying.

[11] Typical examples are listed in the brackets.

[12] The results of the query mapping the English equivalents of the Czech verbs with the prefixes *o-*, *po-*, *roz-*, *s-*, *u-*, *vy-*, *z(a)-* had to be checked manually since these verb-initial sequences are not always prefixes, nor do they always mark a 'mutation'.

[13] The categorial verb may be accompanied by an adverbial particle; the idiomatic expression *make up one's mind* ('rozhodnout se, odhodlat se') can thus be included here as well.

As also shown by examples from original English texts (exx. 18–20), the resultant state is indicated by the obligatory complement of the categorial verb: a prepositional phrase (*burst into din/flames/foam/laughter/song/tears*), an *-ing* form (*burst out crying/laughing*)[14], an adjective (*burst open*) or an eventive de-verbal object typically comprising premodification (*take a bite/breath/drink/gulp/leak/listen/look/piss/slurp/swallow/whiff*). The analytical expression of a change in these verbo-nominal predications – with the verb carrying the grammatical categories and aspectual modification, and the complement of the verb conveying the lexical meaning – corresponds to that in copular clauses; the constructions with eventive objects have indeed been considered copular (Dušková, 2006: 207). The distinction between copular and full lexical verbs is not a clear-cut one: it can rather be described as a cline with the centre of the copular category defined both semantically and syntactically. The inchoative verbo-nominal constructions can be seen as departing from the centre of the category in formal terms while retaining the same semantic pattern.

(18) Suddenly, he burst into laughter … (Ishiguro)
Náhle se rozesmál …
(19) The door to the bathroom burst open. (Cook)
Najednou se rozlétly dveře.
(20) She took a wary glance around. (Brown)
Opatrně se rozhlédla.

II. Verbal constructions:

i. lexical verbs + adverbial particles, adverbials or object complements:
   a. lexical verbs + adverbial particles *over, down, up, out, away, along, off, about, in* (exx. 21–23).

The particles convey the meaning of completion and/or the specific modification expressed by the Czech prefix in addition to the aspectual function. Verbs with perfective particles also abound in original English texts (ex. 24).

(21) Vždy znovu však prohledal (sic), ustrnul, znehybněl v trýzni. (Klíma)
Every time, however, he saw through the illusion, he froze up, and stopped motionless in torment.
(22) Dech se jí ztišil, její duch se zklidnil. (Klíma)
Her breath has gone quieter, her spirit has calmed down.
(23) … a kromě toho se vám v lednici zkazí maso. (Viewegh)
… besides which, the meat in the fridge goes off.
(24) The voice snapped off. (Adams)
Hlas zmlkl.

[14] The collocations of *burst out* are restricted: *crying* and *laughing* occurred in original English texts in *InterCorp*, the *BNC* widens the scope only by *sobbing*, *singing*, *giggling*. The resulting adjectives co-occurring with *burst* in the *BNC* comprise *open*, *free*, *clear*, *alive*, *yellow*.

b. lexical verbs + adverbials of result (e.g., *stop motionless* in ex. 21 above) or resulting object complements (clause pattern SVOCo with a reflexive object, ex. 25)

(25) Kdo to byl ten divný chlapec, který se opil v hospodě naproti a vyznával jí lásku? (Kundera)
And who was that strange boy who drank himself silly and told her he loved her?

Since a single participant is involved in the inchoative change, the English verb is either intransitive (*stop*/*drop dead*, *slide*/*flow open*, *break free*) or complemented by an object co-referential with the subject (*work*/*tear*/*cut oneself free*/*loose*, *seal oneself tight*, *run oneself ragged*, *towel oneself pink*, *rub oneself warm*, *wipe oneself dry*, *strip oneself naked*). These constructions resemble copular clauses in the resultant state being expressed by an adjective phrase. The verbs, however, carry full lexical meaning. It may be noted though that some of the verbs occur in the complex transitive construction merely with reflexive objects and resulting complements (*run*, *drink*). Both constructions can also be illustrated by examples from original English texts (exx. 26, 27).

(26) Suddenly it slid open. (Adams)
Dveře se náhle otevřely jako po másle.
(27) When you were horsing around in the rain, running yourself ragged … (Franzen)
Když jsi tam venku pobíhala v dešti a mohla se uhnat …

ii. Verbs with mutation marked by affixes
a. verbs with reversative prefixes[15] (*dis-*, *de-*, *un-*) (exx. 28, 29)

(28) … život, který zmizí jednou provždy … (Kundera)
… a life which disappears once and for all …
(29) Když se Židé svlékli, šli do plynové komory … (Klíma)
When the Jews had undressed they stepped into the gas chamber …

Other examples of intransitive (uses of) verbs include *disintegrate*, *dismount*, *dissolve*, *degenerate*, *decompress*, *decelerate*, *unfold*, *unwind*. With transitive verbs these prefixes indicate causative mutation.

b. verbs derived by suffixes from adjectival or nominal bases (ex. 30)

(30) Tváře kolegyň známým způsobem potemněly a jejich gesta zvláčněla. (Viewegh)
The faces of the female colleagues darkened in typical fashion and their gestures softened.

[15] Quirk et al., 1985: 1540.

The class includes, e.g., the intransitive verbs *broaden*, *flatten out*, *quicken*, *sharpen*, *stiffen, straighten*, *caramelize*, *crystallize*, *materialize*, *vaporize*.

c. Phase verbs indicating the onset of the change: *begin*, *start* (ex. 31)

(31) … právě rozkvétají trnky. (Klíma)
… the wild roses are beginning to bloom.

The third step of the analysis can serve as a starting point for various types of 'step four', such as a frequency and distribution analysis of the inchoative constructions in English, or a study of the possible translation bias due to the different representation of the inchoative constructions in Czech and in English.

6. Conclusion

As has been shown, various kinds of resulting meaning expressed by copular verbs can be identified if the analysis of their colligational and lexico-semantic preferences is combined with the examination of the patterns of their translation correspondence. This can be illustrated, for instance, by the copula *grow*: it is typically complemented by gradable adjectives, the adjectives often occur in the comparative or with a degree modifier, and the verb itself takes the finite progressive form more frequently than most resulting copulas do. The translation counterparts of *grow*-predications include adverbials of degree and verbs marking a particular phase in the gradual development of the change. In all these aspects the verb *grow* contrasts with *fall*, *go* or *come*, where the focus is on the result of the change, the process being irrelevant. Other kinds of mutation are associated with semantic preference, positive (*come*) or negative (*go*) evaluation of the change, or with involving impersonal (*turn*) or personal (*go*) subjects. Two copulas – *become* and *get* – can be regarded as means of expressing further unspecified change. The expression of various kinds of 'becoming' by English copular verbs can be seen as parallel to the expression of the same meaning by prefixes in Czech.[16] Apart from indicating a change, they are capable of expressing various modifications of the process. These Czech prefixes can therefore be used as 'markers', which make a useful starting point for the identification of a range of structurally diverse constructions available in English for the expression of resulting meaning.

From the methodological point of view, the study shows that parallel corpora can serve not only as "a means of empirically testing one's intuitions (or hypotheses) about the semantics of linguistic forms that is complementary to the systematic exploitation of the circumstantial evidence provided by monolingual corpora" (Noël, 2003: 759), but also as a means offering an alternative to the 'form-to-function' corpus-driven approach

[16] On Hopper and Traugott's cline of grammaticality, however, affixes represent a more grammaticalized means of expression than copular verbs (Hopper, Traugott, 1993: 7).

by providing a way of proceeding the other way round, from a particular meaning to its various formal realizations in the target language.[17]

REFERENCES

Aijmer, K. (2008) Parallel and comparable corpora. In A. Lüdeling, M. Kytö (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics. An International Handbook* 1: 275–292. Berlin/New York, Walter de Gruyter.

Aijmer, K. (2009) *Seem* and evidentiality. *Functions of Language* 16, 1: 63–88.

Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S., Finegan, E. (1999) *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London, Longman.

Čechová, M. et al. (2011) *Čeština – řeč a jazyk* [Czech – speech and language]. Praha, SPN.

Dušková, L. (2005) Syntaktická konstantnost mezi jazyky [Syntactic constancy between languages]. *Slovo a slovesnost* 66: 243–260.

Dušková, L. et al. (2006 [1988]) *Mluvnice současné angličtiny na pozadí češtiny* [A grammar of contemporary English against the background of Czech]. Praha, Academia.

Dyvik, H. (2002) Translations as semantic mirrors: from parallel corpus to wordnet. *Language and Computers* 49, 1: 311–326.

Hopper, P. J., Traugott, E. C. (1993) *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hunston, S. (2008) Starting with the small words. Patterns, lexis and semantic sequences. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 13, 3: 271–295.

Johansson, S. (2007) *Seeing through Multilingual Corpora*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia, John Benjamins PC.

Lee, D. Y. W. (2008) Corpora and discourse analysis. In V. K. Bhatia et al. (eds.), *Advances in Discourse Studies*: 86–99. London/New York, Routledge.

Malá, M. (2007) Negative polar questions in English and Czech. In *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2007*. University of Birmingham. Available from http://www.corpus.bham.ac.uk/corplingproceedings07.

Malá, M. (2010a) English declarative *yes*/*no* questions as seen through their Czech counterparts. *Acta Universitatis Carolinae*, *Philologica* 1/2008, *Prague Studies in English* XXV: 141–151.

Malá, M. (2010b) Copular verbs *sound* and *look* and their Czech counterparts. In M. Malá, P. Šaldová (eds.), *… for Thy Speech Bewrayeth Thee. A Festschrift for Libuše Dušková*: 169–187. Praha, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, Filozofická fakulta.

Mluvnice češtiny 3 – *Skladba* (1987). Praha, Academia.

Mathesius, V. (1936) On some problems of the systematic analysis of grammar. *Travaux du Cercle linguistique de Prague* VI: 95–107.

Noël, D. (2003) Translations as evidence for semantics: an illustration. *Linguistics* 41, 4: 757–785.

Příruční mluvnice češtiny (1995). Praha, Nakladatelství Lidové noviny.

Pustet, R. (2005 [2003]) *Copulas: Universals in the Categorization of the Lexicon*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

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

Šaldová, P. (2009) Identifying discourse functions through parallel text corpora. In M. Mahlberg et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2009*. Liverpool. Available from http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/cl2009.

[17] The importance of the 'function-to-form' approach was already highlighted by Mathesius (1936: 95): "the only way of approach to different languages as strictly comparable systems is the functional point of view, since general needs of expression and communication, common to all mankind, are the only common denominators to which means of expression and communication, varying from language to language, can reasonably be brought."

Stubbs, M. (2002) *Words and Phrases. Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Oxford, Blackwell.
Teubert, W. (2001) Corpus linguistics and lexicography. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 6: 125–153.

SPONOVÁ SLOVESA TYPU *BECOME* A ZPŮSOBY VYJADŘOVÁNÍ REZULTATIVNOSTI V ANGLIČTINĚ A ČEŠTINĚ

Resumé

Článek zkoumá různé odstíny rezultativnosti vyjadřované anglickými sponovými slovesy. Opírá se přitom o paralelní anglicko-český a česko-anglický překladový korpus, součást korpusu *InterCorp*. Na základě popisu gramatického chování, kolokací a sémantických preferencí jednotlivých sloves a identifikace jejich českých překladových protějšků je možné rozlišit mezi sponovými slovesy, která popisují průběh změny (*grow*), výsledek změny bez ohledu na její průběh (*fall*, *go*, *come*), pozitivní (*come*) nebo negativní (*go*) vnímání změny, či mutaci zahrnující osobní (*go*) nebo neosobní (*turn*) účastníky. Slovesa *get* a *become* fungují jako obecné prostředky vyjádření blíže nespecifikované rezultativnosti. Funkce anglických sponových sloves je tedy obdobou funkce českých rezultativních prefixů (*na-*, *o -*, *po-*, *roz-*, *s-*, *u-*, *vy-*, *za-*, *z-*), které jsou nejčastějšími překladovými protějšky zkoumaných anglických sponových predikací. Studie popisuje, jak je inchoativních sloves s těmito prefixy možné využít jako indikátorů rezultativnosti: jejich anglické překladové protějšky zahrnují vedle neodvozených sloves, která obsahují prvek mutace ve své sémantické struktuře, formálně rozmanité konstrukce, jichž se v angličtině používá k vyjádření rezultativního významu (verbo-nominální konstrukce typu *take courage*, slovesa s perfektivizující adverbiální částicí, např. *freeze up*, komplexně tranzitivní slovesa s rezultativním doplňkem předmětu, např. *drink oneself silly*, a další).

Článek ukazuje, že oproti jednojazyčným korpusům přinášejí paralelní korpusy nejen zpřesnění popisu významu zkoumaných konstrukcí, ale nabízejí také možnost, jak postupovat od dané funkce k různým formám jejího vyjádření v cílovém jazyce.