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## A CONTRASTIVE VIEW OF ADVERB FREQUENCY IN ENGLISH AND IN CZECH

Josef Hladký

In an earlier series of three articles, Jan Firbas discussed the role of the (English, German and Czech) verb in functional sentence perspective, the shift from verbal to nominal expression in English and the resulting weakening of the communicative value of the English verb (Firbas 1959a, 1959b, 1961). The present paper is devoted to one of the assumed consequences of the weakened character of the English verb, i.e. to the expected lower frequency of adverbs in English if compared with that in Czech and German. From the works of Poldauf (1964) and Schubiger (1965) it is known that Czech and German use adverbs more frequently as means of expressing modality. German has to resort to the use of adverbs (such as *gerade*, *schon*) when expressing actions conveyed by some English verbal forms (cf. Leisi 1967.124, 133—4); a similar situation is found in Czech, the respective adverbs being *právě*, *už*. Examples of sentences with Czech adverbs corresponding to English adjectives were given in a previous paper (Hladký 1979):

1. He was a magnificent distributor of a ball.  
Báječně rozehrával.  
[Magnificently distribute-would-he = word-to-word translation of the Czech version.]
2. But have you been a quick learner of songs?  
Ale učil jste se písničkám rychle?  
[But learned you *refl. pron.* songs-to quickly?]

From a stylistic point of view, however, the pattern exemplified by 1 and 2 is of limited applicability (1979.107).

Before trying to analyse a short text, an English original and its Czech translation, let us devote a few lines to some general remarks on the adverb as part of speech. When defining the adverb, Konečný states that its essential function is to determine (“určovat”) and to define (“vymežit”) the verb and the adjective, the adverb being a word of secondary determination (“slovo druhého určení”; in Jespersen’s terminology, it would be a “secondary” or a “tertiary” word, according to the rank of subordina-

tion — 1924.96). Kopečný says that the only formal feature unifying adverbs into a class is the fact that they are not inflected. This is not a feature limited to adverbs, though: conjunctions and prepositions are not inflected either (Kopečný 1958.84). In Jespersen's view, the absence of inflection in adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections means that they have more similarities than dissimilarities and therefore should be called particles — 1924.87.

The class of adverbs, however, is not homogenous, as it comprises both closed-system and open-system items (Quirk 1972.46–7, 267). The latter, forming a majority of all adverbs, link the class of adverbs with that of adjectives through derivation and support the classification of adverbs as an independent part of speech side by side with other open-system classes, i.e. nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

The heterogeneous character of the class of adverbs is also reflected in the fact that some adverbs are classified separately by some scholars. Iljš excludes modal adverbs and speaks of modal words as an independent class of words (1965.35, 152). He also excludes *only*, *solely*, *exclusively*, *even*, *just* and forms an independent category of particles for them. The strongest argument favouring this separation lies in the function they perform: they "may combine with practically every part of speech" as opposed to adverbs, which combine with verbs or adjectives mainly (1965.35, 33). Modal adverbs, together with emphasizing particles and adverbs ("zdůrazňovací částice a adverbia"), are also excluded from the class of adverbs by Bauer and Grepl (1972.121).

In an attempt to find out to what extent the expected differences in adverb frequency in English and Czech could be confirmed by statistical data, I have chosen C. P. Snow's novel *The Masters* and its Czech translation as a source of material for a statistical probe.<sup>1</sup> Not all "traditional" adverbs, however, have been included in the corpus: non-derived adverbs, such as *soon*, *here*, have been left out because no competition from other parts of speech is likely with them. On the other hand, the corpus includes instances where an adverbial is expressed by a substantival phrase (i.e. by a "preposition + substantive" phrase, labelled "substantive" in the statistical tables further on).

The corpus contains only 240 instances and therefore I would rather refer to it as a mini-corpus, MC in short.<sup>2</sup> As more mini-corpuses (mini-corpora) will be introduced, the first one will be referred to as MC A, the second as MC B, etc.

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<sup>1</sup> The use of an English original and its Czech translation seems to be fully justified for the present purpose because the statistical data are based on a limited number of instances. If more extensive statistical research were to be undertaken, it would be possible to use English original texts, preferably by various authors, and compare them with a similar selection of Czech original texts. The latter method has the advantage of producing results for either of the languages studied that are not dependent on the results from the other languages and yet are comparable. (For a specimen of such statistical research, see Hladký 1961.111–4.)

<sup>2</sup> The three mini-corpuses are based on excerpts from Chapters 1 to 6, 10 to 19, and 23 to 45 of *The Masters*. No distinction has been made between the passages of direct speech and the narrative passages. The only part left out is a quotation from the college statutes on p. 78 of the English text.

The most frequent case in MC A is an adverb in both languages, exemplified by 3:

3. My present feeling, for what it's worth, is that we ought to think seriously about Jago. 37.  
Můj nynější pocit, ať už má jakoukoli cenu, je, že bychom měli vážně uvažovat o Jagovi. 36.  
[My present feeling, even if has-it whatever value, is, that *cond. part.* we should seriously think-to about Jago.]

The second largest group in MC A is composed of Czech adverbs opposed to English adjectives. There are several types in this group, but let us quote just two examples for the present. (A more detailed commentary on the types exemplified here below will be offered later on.)

4. He gave a hearty laugh. 41.  
Srdečně se zasmál. 40.  
[Heartily *refl. pron.* laughed-he.]
5. ..., Nightingale looked polite but strained. 41.  
Nightingale, ..., se tvářil zdvořile, ale upjatě. 40.  
[Nightingale, ..., *refl. pron.* looked-he politely, but strained-ly.]

The third largest (and the last larger) group in MC A contains English substantives opposed to Czech adverbs.

6. He did it with warmth, ... 27.  
Udělal to vřele, ... 25.  
[Did-he it warmly, ...]

The rest of MC A is composed of smaller groups, all under 10 per cent of the corpus. This percentage in a corpus of 240 instances can indicate no more than the low frequency of these types: it is too small to show the mutual relations between the types with any great precision.

The first of the smaller groups is based on the opposition of a Czech adverb to an English verb. The verb in all seven cases is a modal verb.

7. She must have known something of his reputation, ... 49.  
Určitě něco věděla o jeho reputaci, ... 49.  
[Certainly something knew-she about his reputation, ...]

The second of the smaller groups is labelled "lexical" because the difference between the English and the Czech versions is not based on differences in grammatical structure. Each of the following examples represents one of the sub-types comprising this group.

8. ..., she retorted. 59.  
..., odpověděla břitce. 59.  
[..., answered-she sharply.]
9. They put a tube down him this morning and sent him home. 13.  
Dnes ráno ho interně vyšetřili a poslali domů. 11.  
[Today morning him internally examined-they and sent-they home.]
10. He was half-delighted, ... and also so much outraged that he intended to speak out. 187.  
Měl zčásti radost, ... – ale zároveň mu to tak pohnulo žlučí, že se k tomu hodlá veřejně vyslovit. 192.  
[Had-he partly pleasure, ... – but at-the-same-time him that so moved-it gall-bladder-with, that *refl. pron.* on that intends-he publicly speak-to.]

The third of the smaller groups contains 15 instances of substantival phrases serving as adverbials in both versions:

11. A little later, in a sharp staccato manner, he said: . . . 16.  
 O chvílku později řekl ostrým a úsečným tónem: . . . 14.  
 [By moment later said-he sharp-with and curt-with tone-with: . . .]

The remaining smaller groups have one thing in common: they all contain the exact opposite of what we are looking for — there is an adverb in English and an adjective, or a substantive, or a lexical counterpart in Czech. Let us adduce three examples, one of each type:

12. . . . business he's really interested in. 32.  
 . . . záležitost, na které má opravdový zájem. 31.  
 [. . . business, on which has-he real interest.]
13. He blushed again cheerfully. 26.  
 Zase se radostí začervenal. 24.  
 [Again *refl. pron.* joy-with blushed-he.]
14. . . ., said Brown consolingly. 44.  
 . . ., těšil ho Brown. 44.  
 [. . ., comforted-he him Brown.]

To show the statistical relations between the individual groups exemplified by 3 to 14, Table 1 summarizes the number of instances found for each type in MC A.

Table 1

Example No	English	Czech	MC A	
			No of instances	Per cent
3	adverb	adverb	98	40.8
4, 5	adjective	adverb	58	24.2
6	substantive	adverb	24	10.0
7	verb	adverb	7	3.0
8 to 10	lexical means	adverb	21	8.8
11	substantive	substantive	15	6.2
12	adverb	adjective	10	4.1
13	adverb	substantive	5	2.1
14	adverb	lexical means	2	0.8
Total			240	100.0

For the sake of clarity, the detailed data of Table 1 have been summarized in Table 2 in such a way that the basic differences between the English and the Czech texts are more obvious. The first line of Table 2 gives the percentage of instances with no difference between the two texts, the second line gives the percentage of English non-adverbial counterparts to Czech adverbs and the third line gives the percentage of English adverbs with no adverbial counterpart in Czech.

Table 2

Example No	English	Czech	MC A			
			No of instances	Per cent		
3	adverb	adverb	98	} 113	40.8	} 47.0
11	substantive	substantive	15		6.2	
4 to 10	not an adverb	adverb		110		46.0
12 to 14	adverb	not an adverb		17		7.0
Total				240		100.0

Tables 1 and 2 may be said to confirm that the expectations stated in the opening paragraphs of the present contribution were correct: there are cases where a Czech adverb has no adverb as counterpart in the English version. It seems worth while to try to arrive at a more exact picture of the situation in this sphere. This can be achieved by concentrating on a smaller number of types while at the same time leaving the size of the corpus unchanged. The main object of our attention being the adverbs, the second corpus, mini-corpus B, will then not include instances of the type where there is a substantive in both versions and which represents 6.2 per cent of MC A. Nor will any further discussion be devoted to the "reversed" type, represented by 7.0 per cent of MC A. Both these groups fulfilled their task, which was to indicate the relative percentages of the main groups, in MC A.

MC B differs from MC A in yet another way. MC B concentrates solely on adverbs functioning in predication or qualifying the whole clause (the latter case covering modal adverbs). This means that adverbs qualifying an adjective or a noun outside the predicate have not been included.

The results of the statistical analysis of MC B are given in the following table:

Table 3

English	Czech	No of instances		Per cent	
		MC B	MC AA	MC B	MC AA
adverb	adverb	120	98	50.0	47.1
adjective	adverb	51	58	21.25	27.9
lexical means	adverb	38	21	15.8	10.1
substantive	adverb	27	24	11.25	11.5
verb	adverb	4	7	1.7	3.4
Total		240	208	100.0	100.0

To make the results of MC A and MC B comparable, the data from Tables 1 and 2 have been transferred to Table 3 (and Table 4 below) with the following adjustment: 15 instances of substantives in both languages and 17 instances of an English adverb opposed to a non-adverbial expression in Czech have been left out (they are not covered by MC B either) and the remaining 208 instances, forming 86.8 per cent of MC A, are regarded as mini-corpus AA (100 per cent of it). Thus the results of the two mini-corpuses are easy to compare.

As in the case of Tables 1 and 2, the results of Table 3 are summarized in Table 4:

Table 4

English	Czech	No of instances		Per cent	
		MC B	MC AA	MC B	MC AA
adverb	adverb	120	98	50.0	47.1
not an adverb	adverb	120	110	50.0	52.9
Total		240	208	100.0	100.0

The results for MC B and MC AA are roughly the same and may be interpreted as proving, at least for my text, that every second derived Czech adverb has a non-adverbial counterpart in English. As for any more detailed analysis, the two mini-corpuses seem to be still too small to be reliable. Therefore the results of another mini-corpus have been added to the results of MC B and MC AA. The third mini-corpus, called MC C, is of the same quantitative range as MC B and MC A (240 instances), but differs in its qualitative scope. It will be recalled that MC A covered all cases where there was an adverb in either of the two languages (plus cases of adverbials expressed by means of substantives), while MC B narrowed the covered area to cases where there was an "English adverb - Czech adverb" or an "English non-adverb - Czech adverb" correspondence in the text. The third mini-corpus represents a further narrowing of the investigated field to cases where non-adverbial means in English correspond to Czech adverbs. (Instances of adverbs in both versions have been left out.) The results for MC C are given in Table 5.

For the sake of comparison, the instances of the same types from MC B and MC A have been included in Table 5, the process being the same as in the case of Tables 1, 2 and 3, 4: derived mini-corpuses BB (representing 50 per cent of the original MC B) and AAA (representing 52.9 per cent of MC AA and 46.0 per cent of the original MC A) are fully comparable with MC C.

The comparison of MC C, MC BB and MC AAA in Table 5 shows some differences in the percentage of the English counterparts to Czech adverbs: 28.7 per cent of substantives in MC C compared to 21.8 per cent in MC BB

Table 5

English	Czech	No of instances			Per cent		
		MC C	MC BB	MC AAA	MC C	MC BB	MC AAA
adjective	adverb	115	51	58	47.9	42.5	52.7
substantive	adverb	69	27	24	28.7	22.5	21.8
lexical means	adverb	48	38	21	20.0	31.6	19.1
verb	adverb	8	4	7	3.4	3.4	6.4
Total		240	120	110	100.0	100.00	100.0

or the reversed order of frequency of substantives and of lexical means in MC BB and MC AAA. The three MC's having been taken from the same text, the explanation of the difference is to be sought in the overall small number of instances — 27 and 38 in MC BB, 24 and 21 in MC AAA, etc. (cf. Table 5). In order to be able to operate with a larger number of instances, the three mini-corpus have been merged into a new corpus, midicorpus D. The distribution of types is shown in Table 6.

Table 6

Mini-corpus	Verb	Lexical means	Substantive	Adjective	Total
AAA	7	21	24	58	110
BB	4	38	27	51	120
C	8	48	69	115	240
Total (= MC D)	19	107	120	224	470

The total number of instances in MC D is 470 and even the numbers of cases in three of the four categories are high enough to indicate some more general tendencies. The following paragraphs are devoted to a more detailed description of the four main categories.

Let us first devote our attention to the markedly less frequent category of verbs. In opposition to English modal and phasal verbs we find Czech modal or temporal adverbs, e.g. *she must have known* — *určitě věděla* [surely knew-she], *he was likely to...* — *pravděpodobně* [likely, adv.], *you're bound* — *rozhodně* [certainly], *she kept calling* — *soustavně nazývala* [continually called-she], etc.

The smallest of the three more frequent groups is rather loosely called "lexical means". Table 7 shows that within it there are two larger groups, each representing more than a third of all the instances, while the rest of the instances is split between two smaller groups.

The largest group within the "lexical means" is labelled "phrases". This



group is rather varied but the common denominator is seen in the fixed, sometimes lexicalized character of the English counterparts (idioms, sayings, etc.) to the Czech “verb + adverb” combinations. Let us adduce some examples: *cut and dried* – *prakticky odbyto* [actually settled], *he did not give a foot* – *stál tvrdě na svém* [stood-he firmly on his (position)], *it did come* – *skutečně došlo* [really came-it], etc.

In the second largest group we find a verb in English opposed to the “verb + adverb” combination in Czech. To Example 8 may be added further instances from MC D: *articulate* – *jasně vyslovit* [clearly express-to], *caressed* – *mazlivě hladil* [caressingly stroked-he], *chuckled* – *pobaveně zasmál* [amusingly laughed-he], *craved* – *vášnivě toužil* [passionately yearned-he], *defined* – *blíže objasnil* [further-more made-he-clear], *grinned* – *potouchle šklíbil* [deceitfully grinned-he], *gripping* – *pevně uchopil* [firmly grasped-he], *impressed* – *hluboce zapůsobilo* [deeply impressed-it], *overhauled* – *důkladně prohlédli* [thoroughly inspected-they], *persisted* – *vytrvale odmítal* [persistently refused-he], *resolved* – *pevně se rozhodl* [firmly refl. pron. decided-he], *rooted* – *pevně zakotvený* [firmly fixed], *share* – *společně sdílet* [commonly share-to], *stared* – *upřeně dívala* [fixedly looked-she], *studying* – *zkoumavě prohlíží* [searchingly examines], etc. Were there more examples, detailed discussion could be revealing. With the present small number we may say that in some cases the Czech translation is more specific (e.g. *root*, *share*), but in most cases there does not seem to be a proper Czech univocal expression. This is supported by the fact that even outside any context, i.e. in a dictionary, most of the Czech translations of the English verbs in question resort to a “verb + adverb/substantive” combination.<sup>3</sup>

The remaining groups are less numerous, but can be defined quite well. The first of them is very similar to the preceding group: we have an English adjective opposed to a Czech “adverb + adjective” combination, e.g. *essential* – *krajně důležitý* [extremely important], *absurd* – *hrozně legrační* [terribly funny], *vital* – *životně důležitý* [vitally important], *ornate* – *umně vyzdobený* [ingeniously decorated], etc. The second of the smaller groups contains English phrasal verbs, such as *he broke out* – *prudce se zeptat* [abruptly refl. pron. asked-he], *he's moving about* – *po-hybuje volně* [moves-he freely], *he was set on* – *pevně se rozhodl* [firmly refl. pron. decided-he], *to sit by* – *nečinně přihlížet* [idly watch-to], etc. With this group, the objection may be raised by those who regard the element after the verb as an adverb that there are adverbs in both languages. The objection may be tempered by the fact that – for the purpose of the present paper at least – the second part of the phrasal verb is not a derived adverb (if an adverb at all) and no competition can be expected from any other part of speech.

The distribution of the above groups in MC D is shown in Table 7. Even

<sup>3</sup> Let us quote some of the entries from Osička, Poldauf: *articulate* – *zřetelně vyslovovati* [clearly pronounce-to], *chuckle* – *smáti se pod pokličkou* [laugh-to refl. pron. under cover]; *crave* – *pokorně prositi* [humbly ask-to], *horoucně si přát* [ardently refl. pron. wish-to]; *define* – *blíže určití, ...* [more-closely specify-to]; *grip* – *pevně uchopití, ...* [firmly grasp-to]; *overhaul* – *provésti generální prohlídku* [make-to overall inspection]; etc.

after the merging of the three mini-corpuses the number of instances excerpted from the text is still rather low and so the value of the data in the table is mainly in the distinction between "larger" and "smaller" groups.

Table 7

English	Czech	No of instances	Per cent
'phrase' <i>cut and dried</i>	adverb + verb <i>prakticky odbyto</i>	45	42.1
verb <i>grinned</i>	adverb + verb <i>potouchle šklebil</i>	40	37.4
adjective <i>ornate</i>	adverb + adjective <i>umně vyzdobený</i>	15	14.0
phrasal verb	adverb + verb	7	6.5
Total		107	100.0

The next category to be discussed is the opposition "English substantive - Czech adverb". Its proportion in MC D is roughly the same as that of the "lexical" types (cf. Table 6): there are 120 cases in MC D where we have the same finite verb form in English and in Czech while the Czech adverb is opposed to a "preposition + substantive" phrase in English. The category was exemplified above - *He did it with warmth* (Ex 6). Further examples (as the Czech translations are of the same pattern as in Ex 6, we do not quote them here): *he said with scorn, they thought in cold blood, we chatted with comfort, he showed ... in confidence, he spoke with friendliness, he listened with attention, he exclaimed with violence, telling at some length, he greeted with effusiveness, he added in a hurry, he*

Table 8

English adjectives	No of instances	Per cent
after 'current' and 'resulting' copulas	67	29.9
verbo-nominal phrase <i>he gave a... smile</i>	57	25.4
substantive + to be + adjective <i>his grin was sardonic</i>	A 30 B 22	52 23.2
after to be <i>she was contemptuous</i>	29	12.9
in detached qualification	12	5.4
other means	7	3.1
Total	224	100.0

looked with love, drinking in secret, he glanced with a secretive grin, they settled in private, he moved with light steps, he murmured in support, he cursed with a virulence, he stared with bold eyes, etc. The clauses containing instances of this type are quite often reporting clauses and the finite verb forms describe the manner of speech or the non-verbal expression of some attitude.

Finally we come to the most numerous category of English counterpart to the Czech adverb, the adjective. The proportion of the individual types is shown in Table 8.

The largest type here is connected with verbs called "current" and "resulting" copulas by Quirk (1972:821), e.g. *Nightingale looked polite* (Ex 5), *that doesn't sound inviting* — *nezní to vábně* [not-sounds it invitingly], *the flowers smelt sweet* — *kvítí sladce vonělo* [flowers sweetly smelt], *he seemed tired* — *vypadal unaveně* [seemed-he tiredly], *he lay silent* — *ležel tiše* [lay-he silently], *they made it clear* — *vyslovili se jasně* [expressed themselves clearly], etc. In English, the verbs are followed by adjectives<sup>4</sup> performing the function of the complement, while the corresponding Czech adverbs perform the function of an adverbial.<sup>5</sup>

The second type comprises the well-known verbo-nominal phrases in English with the verbs *to have*, *to take*, *to give*, *to make*, etc.: *they had a quiet word*, *he gave a malicious chuckle*, *he have his tough smile*, *to take a grave view*, etc. (for the Czech pattern of expression see Ex 4). Other nouns found in MC D are the following: *glance*, *grin*, *gulp*, *laugh*, *prod*, *sigh*, *sip*, *smile*, *whistle*, etc. These constructions have been discussed by many authors and therefore only a brief summary of the main points is necessary here: they correspond to aspectual forms in Czech and other languages; they are one of the basic types where nominal tendencies in English predication manifest themselves; from the point of view of FSP, they reflect the basic distribution of CD — the transitional finite verb form is followed by the rhematic nominal element.<sup>6</sup>

The basis of the third type in the category of adjectives is formed by the English structure of "substantive + *to be* + adjective". Depending on the Czech equivalents we distinguish two sub-types here: sub-type A has a verb and an adverb in Czech (*his grin was sardonic* — *sardonicky se ušklíbl* [sardonically refl. pron. grinned-he]), while sub-type B has a Czech sequence of "substantive + verb. + adverb" (*his eyes were sharp* — *oči se divaly bystře* [eyes refl. pron. looked-they sharply]). Sub-type A comprises clauses with nouns like *expression*, *face*, *grin*, *laugh*, *smile*, *tone*, *tongue*, *words*, etc., e.g. *his tone was affectionate* — *mluvil laskavě* [spoke-he af-

<sup>4</sup> It is sometimes argued that the forms following the "current" and "resulting" copulas are not adjectives, but adverbs (as in many other languages) or some forms between the two. As is well known, the boundary between adjectives and adverbs is not encroached upon in English without formal indications (with a few exceptions), while the boundaries between other parts of speech are much less definite. Another argument in favour of regarding the discussed forms as adjectives rests on the character of the preceding verbs: if they are considered copulas, they should not be linked with adverbs.

<sup>5</sup> They could also be viewed as non-congruent complements in Czech because they tell us something about the subject.

<sup>6</sup> Abundant arguments supporting this may be found in Firbas 1959a, 1959b, 1961.

fectionately], *his face was sombre* — *tvářil se chmurně* [looked-he refl. pron. sombrily], *his voice was clear* — *mluvil jasně* [spoke-he clearly], etc. Sub-type B includes similar nouns (*eyes, face, sound, tone, etc.*), e.g. *the question was kind* — *otázka vyzněla laskavě* [question sounded-she kindly], *his voice was deadened* — *hlas zněl dutě* [voice sounded-he deadened-ly], etc.

The fourth largest type in the category of adjectives shares the use of the verb *to be* with the preceding third type. Let us quote a few examples: *she was contemptuous* — *vyjádřila se opovržlivě* [expressed-she refl. pron. contemptuously], *he was triumphant* — *tvářil se vítězoslavně* [looked-he refl. pron. triumphantly], *they are explicit* — *hovoří zcela jasně* [talk-they quite clearly] *he has been objective* — *vyličil objektivně* [described-he objectively]. Further instances contain *comfortable, cosy, eager, easy, firm, happy, kind, loud, miserable, scrupulous, soothing, warm*. Some of the instances quoted here may come near to the lexical types discussed above, but that does not seem to be an explanation of the difference between the English and the Czech versions. The use of the notional verb in Czech opposed to the English *to be* reflects, in my view, the well-known tendency of English to make the verb a carrier of grammatical functions and to shift the notional functions on to the nominal elements in the clause. (Another difference between English and the Czech here is in the fact that it would not be possible to use the Czech verb *býti* [to be] in the translation.)

There is a minor type recorded in Table 8, which for want of a better term is tentatively labelled "detached qualification". Let us first quote a few examples: ... *said Chrystal, curt but delighted* — ... *odvětil úsečně, ale polichocené Ch.* [replied-he curtly, but delightedly], ... *asked Brown, quick and suspicious* — *zeptal se rychle a podezřívavě Brown* [asked-he refl. pron. quickly and suspiciously Brown], ... *said Winslow, unperturbed* — *pozdravil Winslow nevzrušeně* [greeted-he Winslow unperturbedly], etc. Most of the instances are to be found in reporting sentences, after direct speech. The finite verb then serves as a link between the direct speech and the name of the speaker and carries a very low degree of communicative dynamism. The name of the speaker does not convey completely new information because the speaker is one of the persons known to be on the scene. The detached qualification conveys important information, carries a high degree of CD and, owing to the detachment, occupies the final position in the clause.

Finally there are seven cases called "other means". These constructions, an adjective and a substantive, could not be classified under any of the preceding types in the category of adjectives, but on the other hand the English and the Czech version do not differ to a degree justifying their inclusion in the "lexical means". Let us quote two examples:

15. ...; he could still feel passionately about his deepest concerns; ... 221.  
Stále ještě dovedl vášnivě prožívat to, co se ho dotýkalo nejhluběji. 229.  
[Still yet could-he passionately feel-to that, which refl. pron. him concerned most deeply.]
16. ... he was looking forward to a good long night. 221.  
... se těší, jak se dnes pořádně vyspí. 230.  
[... refl. pron. is-looking-forward, how refl. pron. today thoroughly will-sleep.]

At the conclusion of the discussion of MC D, mention should be made of an important aspect of the method of classification. As the aim of the present remarks is to compare English and Czech, it was necessary to confront English and Czech versions of the same text. The detailed classification, however, led, in some cases at least, to the same or similar English patterns being split under various headings. This shortcoming can be easily made up by summarizing the English instances along slightly different lines. In this way we get three main groups: the first corresponds to the lexical types in Table 7, the second includes the substantival constructions and the third the larger adjectival types, which all have one feature in common, i.e. a communicatively weak verb — either to *be*, or a type of copula, or a weakened verb such as *to take*, *to give*. The table (No. 9) is made complete to cover the whole MC D (470 instances) by the inclusion of minor verbal and adjectival types.

Table 9

English counterparts to Czech adverbs	MC D	
	No of instances	Per cent
lexical types	107	22.8
substantives	120	25.5
"weakened-verb" types	205	43.6
minor verbal and adjectival types	38	8.1
Total	470	100.0

Let us now sum up the whole discussion.

The aim of the present paper was to indicate a statistical method suitable for showing the differences in adverb frequency in English and Czech. An analysis of three shorter passages from an English original and its Czech translation has shown that there are more adverbs in Czech than in English.<sup>7</sup> In the analysed passages, roughly every second derived Czech adverb has a non-adverbial counterpart in English (a "non-adverbial" counterpart being a substantive, an adjective, a verb, or some different lexical item). The lower percentage of derived adverbs in English is connected with the more frequent use of "weakened" verbs. All this is part of the nominal tendencies in English and is closely bound to functional sentence perspective, the weakened verb usually functioning as transition and the nominal part as rheme of the sentence.

<sup>7</sup> From Krámský's figures (1975) it can be seen that derived adverbs represent 8.36 per cent of all adverbs in colloquial English, 14.81 per cent in works of fiction and 21.08 per cent in specialized (scientific) texts.

A comparison of his data with those of Jelínek, Bečka, Těšitelová (1961) shows that the frequency of all adverbs is higher in Czech than in English, the proportion being 10.97 per cent of adverbs (from all words) in Czech to 8.06 per cent in English for works of fiction, 12.95 to 11.31 per cent for colloquial texts (dramas) and 9.02 to 5.85 per cent for scientific texts.

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## KONFRONTAČNÍ POHLED NA FREKVENCI ADVERBIÍ V ANGLIČTINĚ A ČEŠTINĚ

Cílem příspěvku bylo naznačit statistickou metodu vhodnou pro vyjádření rozdílů ve frekvenci adverbii v angličtině a češtině. Analýza tří kratších úryvků z anglického originálu a českého překladu ukázala, že adverbia jsou častější v češtině než v angličtině. V analyzovaných úryvcích mělo přibližně každé druhé odvozené české adverbium ne-adverbiální protějšek v angličtině (ne-adverbiální protějšky jsou substantiva, adjektiva, slovesa a některé odlišné lexikální jednotky). Nižší procento odvozených adverbii v angličtině je spojeno s častějším užíváním oslabených sloves. To vše je součástí nominálních tendencí v angličtině a je úzce spojeno s funkční perspektivou větnou, v níž oslabené sloveso funguje jako složka přechodová a nominální výraz jako složka rematická.

