
9 Czech

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1 Introduction

Czech is the official language of the Czech Republic, the western two-thirds of former Czechoslovakia. In its two provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, and the part of southern Silesia included in Moravia, it is spoken by about 9.5 million people. It is also widely understood by speakers of Slovak. There are isolated Czech-speaking communities in several nearby countries and some quite large communities overseas, especially in the Americas. Of whatever antiquity, they have arisen from a long tradition of economic or political emigration. Some cohesive communities with continuity of evolution since before the First World War are linguistically relatively undamaged, though with distinctive dialect features; younger communities are both less cohesive and less resistant to the effect of the host environment.

The standard language is based on Josef Dobrovský's early nineteenth-century codification, modelled on sixteenth-century Czech, but with some recognition of later developments. To Dobrovský Czech owes the revival of certain obsolete features, for example, the gerunds, which occur chiefly in higher registers.

The main distinguishing features of Czech date from the thirteenth century or earlier, but its modern form owes much to certain far-reaching changes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, most strikingly the umlauts. The written language came to be based on the variant spoken at the main cultural centre, Prague (where the university was founded in 1348).

Standard Czech (*spisovná čeština*) is then a semi-artificial creation, archaic in many respects, while the vernacular has continued to evolve since the norms (whether of the sixteenth or the nineteenth century) were set. There is a consequent tension between the modern literary language and the spoken Czech, usually known as Common Czech (*obecná čeština*), in which natural development has culminated. This has its own distinctive morphology, relatively impoverished syntactic variation, and a lexicon, and in part syntax, that reveals the influence of German. Between these two

poles there are transitional strata, notably Colloquial Czech (*hovorová čeština*, an informal spoken version of the standard language, whose existence is often denied) and Commonly Spoken Czech (*běžně mluvená čeština*, basically the everyday speech of the big cities). For a discussion of this stratification see Townsend (1990). The transition forms are the channel by which 'upwardly mobile' features of Common Czech may penetrate the standard language. This century has seen, for instance, the acceptance of infinitives in *-t* as colloquial alternatives to the traditional forms in *-ti*, then as free variants with those in *-ti* and finally as the neutral norm. Similarly, the status of infinitives in *-ci* has altered, with alternatives in *-ct* being admitted into the standard language as recently as the late 1970s. The codification of words or forms is not a matter of common consent, but part of the job description of the national Academy's Institute for the Czech Language; once notoriously purist, it is increasingly tolerant of change. The tension between Standard and Common Czech and recent reductions in mother-tongue teaching in schools inform the perceived need for a body to weigh the changing norms in the balance and guide the standard accordingly. The Institute publishes, *inter alia*, the journals *Naše řeč* and *Slovo a slovesnost*.

2 Phonology

2.1 Segmental phoneme inventory

Czech has a simple vowel system: five vowels, /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/, also occur in long syllables, hence the set of matching long vowels, /a:/, /e:/, /i:/, /o:/ and /u:/, written á, é, í, ó, ú, and, in the case of /u:/, also ů; /i/ and /i:/ are represented by both i, í (< PIE *i*) and y and ý (< PIE *ū*). There is one native diphthong /ou/ and two that occur in loan-words, /eu/ and /au/. Length is phonemic, hence such minimal pairs as: *dal* 'he gave' and *dál* 'further', 'come in!'; *rychle* 'quickly' and *rychlé* 'quick' (N SG *et al.*); *ryby* 'fish' and *rybi* 'fish-'; *domu* 'house' (GEN SG) and *dómu* 'cathedral' (GEN SG); *dul* 'blew' and *důl* 'mine'.

The main distributional restrictions concern /o:/, and /u:/: /o:/ occurs only in loan-words, native /o:/ having developed within the Old Czech period into /u:/, now written ů; this occurs in monosyllabic roots, alternating with o (*stůl/stolu* 'table', *sůl/soli* 'salt', *můj/moje* 'my'), and in some genitive and dative plural noun endings (*hradů, hradům* 'castle'); elsewhere /u:/, written ú, features chiefly in noun prefixes, for example, *úraz* 'injury', but *urazit* 'injure'. Other long syllables containing /u/ have developed into the diphthong /ou/, hence such oppositions as *sud* 'barrel' and *soud* 'court'.

Initial *a-*, *e-* and *i-* only occur in loan-words, the conjunctions *a* and *i* 'and', *ale* 'but', and some interjections.

There are twenty-five **consonantal phonemes** (table 9.1), and several important allophones.

Occlusives: labial /p/, /b/, /m/; dental /t/, /d/, /n/; palatal /tʃ/, /dʃ/, /ɲ/; velar: /k/, /g/.

Semi-occlusives: alveolar /c/ (= [ts]); post-alveolar /č/ (= [tʃ]).

Fricatives: labio-dental /f/, /v/; alveolar /s/, /z/; post-alveolar (formerly palatal) /š/, /ž/; palatal /j/; velar /ch/ (= [x]); voiced (!) laryngeal /h/; lateral (almost frictionless) /l/; vibrants: an alveolar roll /r/, and post-alveolar /ř/ with considerable friction.

The 'missing' velar nasal occlusive [ŋ] occurs as an allophone of /n/ before a velar (*banka* [baŋka] 'bank'); the voiced affricates [dz] and [dž] occur as positional variants of /c/ and /č/ before voiced consonants that have voiceless counterparts in the system, as in *léčba* 'therapy', pronounced [le:džba]. Homorganic renderings of /d/ + /ž/ are to be heard in loanwords such as *džudo* 'judo', in the native words *džbán* 'jug' and *džber* 'tub' (Old Czech *čbán*, *čber*), and at some morpheme boundaries, for example *od ženy* 'from a woman', also /d/ + /z/ in, say, *podzemní* 'underground'. Similar homorganic renderings as /c/ and /č/ apply in the case of /t/ + /s/ and /t/ + /š/. Another non-phonemic sound is the glottal stop, which occurs usually before morpheme-initial vowels.

Most peripheral in the consonantal systems are /g/ and /f/. Original /g/ changed regularly into voiced /h/; /g/ is now therefore restricted to borrowings and in non-standard versions of the language it often replaces

Table 9.1 Czech consonantal sounds (non-phonemic in square brackets)

	Labio-		Alveo-		Post-		Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
	Labial	dental	dental		alveolar				
Occlusive									
oral	p	b	t	d		ť	ď	k	g
nasal		m		n			ň		[ŋ]
glottal									[ʔ]
Semi-									
occlusive			ts	[dz]	tš	[dž]			
Fricative	f	v	s	z	š	ž	j	x	[ɣ]
Lateral				l					h
Roll				r					
Trill			[ř]	ř					

Note: In terms of the IPA /t/ = c, /ď/ = ɟ, /ň/ = ŋ, /š/ = ʃ, /ž/ = ʒ, /ts/ = tʃ, [dž] = dʒ, /ř/ = ʀ.

/k/ in other borrowings. /f/ is also largely confined to loans, acquired copiously since early medieval times; its first limited standing was in onomatopoeia, for example, *foukat* 'blow', and later from *pv*, for example, *upvati* > *upfati* > *úfati*, > modern *doufat* 'hope', *zoufat* 'despair'.

The treatment of the paired obstruents is important: before a pause or a glottal stop (that is, a morpheme-initial vowel), the opposition of voice is neutralized, hence *led* > [let] 'ice', *bez* > [bes] 'without', *páv* > [pa:f] 'peacock'; in these circumstances /h/ has as its voiceless counterpart /x/: *vrah* > [vrax] 'murderer'. A similar process appears as voice assimilation in consonantal clusters: in most cases where voiced and voiceless consonants meet, in either order, assimilation is regressive:

voiced + voiceless: *zpět* [spjet] 'back', *hádka* [ha:tkɑ] 'argument';
 voiceless + voiced: *sbor* [zbor] 'choir', *kde* [gde] 'where'.

In this pattern peripheral /g/ is integrated into the system. The pair /v/, /f/ is only partially integrated: /v/ is assimilated (it devoices before a voiceless consonant), but cannot itself cause voicing: *vtip* [ftip] 'joke', *vsadit* [fsadit] 'bet', but: *tvůj* [tvu:j] 'thy', *dvůr* [dvu:r] 'courtyard'. The reason is its relatively late development from bilabial /w/. On the other hand, /f/, although peripheral, is better integrated, though with few opportunities for demonstrating this: *podfuk* [potfuk] 'swindle'; *halvbeč* < *half-back*. /h/ and /ch/ are also deviant: while /h/ > /x/ before a voiceless consonant (*nehty* [nexti] 'nails'), it itself causes assimilation of a preceding voiceless consonant in the regional pronunciation of Moravia, for example, *shoda* [zhoda] 'agreement', while in Bohemia there is usually progressive assimilation, hence [sxoda]. In places where /x/ might assimilate – across word boundaries as in *kdybych byl* – it voices not to /h/, but to [ɣ]. The distribution of voiced and voiceless allophones of /ř/ is also anomalous: it assimilates both regressively: *řvát* [řva:t] 'rend', *vuřty* [vuřti] 'sausages'; and progressively: *dři* [dři] 'rub', *tři* [tři] 'three'.

Of the numerous Czech consonant clusters suffice it to say that two-consonant clusters are the most frequent syllable-initially (fricative + sonorant preferred) and word-finally (most frequent: *-st*), and that medially, at morpheme boundaries, clusters of four or more are quite common. Word-initially four consonants is the maximum, though rare (*pstruh* 'trout', *pštroš* 'ostrich', [hřmňelo] spelled *hřmělo* 'thundered'), rising to five with the phonetic word (*s pštrošem* 'with an ostrich'). Word- and syllable-finally the limit is three, but only in borrowings like [tekst] (spelled *text*), *funkč-ni* 'functional'.

Combinations of velar + /e/ are rare; originally lost in the Proto-Slavonic palatalizations, they now occur only with /e/ < /ь/: *bukem* (INST SG) 'beech'. The fourteenth-century umlauts mean that combinations of 'soft' consonant + back vowel (especially *u* and *o*) are also rare outside

'expressive' items (*d'ábel* 'devil', *řuhýk* 'shrike', *d'obat* 'peck'), loans (*žumpa* 'cess-pit', *čokoláda* 'chocolate'), and derivationally and morphologically conditioned forms of verbs and adjectives (*vyloďovat* 'disembark', *poschod'ový* 'double-decker', *mužův* 'the man's').

The Czech **alphabet** consists of: a, b, c, č, d, e, f, g, h, ch, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, ř, s, š, t, u, v, w, x, y, z, ž. Any additional graphemes (ř, đ, ň, ě, long vowels, including ů) are not alphabetized.

The relationship between phonemes and alphabet is close. A few rules govern representations of the palatal consonants (and the distribution of *ú* and *ů*, see above).

- 1 /ď/, /ř/ and /ň/ followed by /e/ are represented orthographically as *dě*, *tě* and *ně*, contrasting with /d/ + /e/ and so on as *de*, *te*, *ne*.
- 2 /ď/, /ř/ and /ň/ + /i/ are represented as *di*, *ti*, *ni*, contrasting with /d/ + /i/ and so on as *dy*, *ty*, *ny*.
- 3 /ď/, /ř/ or /ň/ + /a/, /o/, /u/, or word-finally are represented by *ď*, *ř*, *ň*; the handwriting and typing convention for *ď* and *ř* is to use the *háček*: *ḍ̌*, *ṛ̌*.
- 4 *ě* after b, p, f, v denotes not palatalized labials (lost in the fifteenth century), but a fully developed palatal element, [j], hence *oběd* /objet/ 'lunch', *pěna* /pjena/ 'foam', *věno* /vjeno/ 'dowry', *harfě* /harfje/ 'harp' (DAT/LOC SG); after bilabial /m/ nasal resonance extends over both segments, hence intervening /ň/ for /j/ in *město* 'town' = /mňesto/.

The letters *q*, *w* and *x* occur only in loan-words and are pronounced [kv], [v] and either [ks] or [gz]. German *ä*, *ö*, *ü* may occur in surnames, pronounced [e:], [e:], and [i:] respectively.

We now turn to the most interesting factors in the evolution of the Czech phonological system.

The metathesis of the liquid consonants. The chains *CorC*, *ColC*, *CerC*, *CelC* (where C represents any consonant) developed into *CraC*, *ClaC*, *CrěC*, *ClěC*, hence *gordъ* > *hrad* 'castle', *golsъ* > *hlas* 'voice', *bergъ* > *břeh* 'bank', *melko* > *mléko* 'milk'. Vowel length reflects prehistoric intonation patterns: circumflex shows as short, acute as long. In initial *orC*, *olC* groups intonation has also left its mark: where there was an acute accent the reflex is *raC*, *laC*, while a circumflex generally produced *roC*, *loC*, as in *rádlo* 'plough', *laň* 'doe', *robota* 'corvée', *lod'* 'boat'.

Czech has lost both the **nasal vowels** and the **jers** (ultra-short vowels; ѣ = *ü*, ь = *ĩ*) of Proto-Slavonic.

The nasals survived to the first half of the tenth century, after which *ǫ* developed into *u*, still surviving unaltered in hard environments, and *ę* into *ä*. Before hard consonants this later developed, as a back variant, into *a*, while before soft consonants a front variant developed into *ě*; this change,

and that of *u/ú* > *i/i* in a soft environment, coincides with those of the first two umlauts (see below). The change *ɣ* > *ä* > *ě* also occurred before *k*. Examples: *roka* > *ruka* 'hand'; *dušɔ* > *dušu* > *duši* 'soul' (ACC SG); *męso* > *mäso* > *maso* 'meat'; *svętiti* > *svätiti* > *světiti* 'consecrate'; *mękkъjъ* > *mäkký* > *měkký* 'soft'.

In long syllables *ɔ* developed via *ú* into *ou*, or *i* in soft environments, while *ɣ* gave *ä*, thence *á* or the diphthong *ie* (equivalent to long *ě*), which like *ie* from other sources then produced *í*. Examples: *mɔka* > *múka* > *mouka* 'flour'; *dušejɔ* > *dušó* > *dušu* > *duši* 'soul' (INST SG); *ɣętъjъ* > *pätý* > *pátý* 'fifth'; *zajęcъ* > *zajác* > *zajiec* > *zajíc* 'hare'; *dękъ* > *dák* > *diek* > *dík* 'thanks'.

In the treatment of the *jers* two basic patterns apply: the *jer*-like sounds that accompanied syllabic liquids were lost first, leaving pure syllabic *r* and *l*. Original *СѣrC* and *СьrC* merged as *CrC*, hence *kъrkъ* > *krk* 'neck'; *тъrgъ* > *trh* 'market'; *žьrdъ* > Old Czech *žrd* 'mast'; this situation survives, except that over the twelfth to fourteenth centuries syllabic *r* after *č* and *ž* acquired an accompanying *-e-*, hence *černý* 'black', *žerd* 'mast'. Original *СѣlC* and *СьlC* also merged, as *CluC*, except after labials, where the *СьlC* variant survived with syllabic *l*, hence: (from *СьlC*) *žlutý* 'yellow', *dlouhý* 'long'; from (*СѣlC*) *tlouci* 'beat', *slunce* 'sun'; (after labials) *mluvit* 'speak', but *mlčet* 'be silent', *vlk* 'wolf'.

The true *jers* disappeared or vocalized in the tenth century. The reflex for both *ъ* and *ь* is *e*: *днь* > *den* 'day'; *дѣнь* > *den* 'bottom' (GEN PL); *дѣньсь* > *dnes* 'today'; *сѣ рьсьтъ* > *se psem* 'with a dog'; *окъно* > *okno* 'window', *окѣнь* > *oken* (GEN PL); *сѣбрьа.и* (INF), *сѣберо* (1 SG) > *sebrati*, *sberu* 'gather'. The last example is Old Czech and illustrates the Czech tendency to adjust forms in favour of morphemic consistency, hence modern *sebrat*, *seberu*. Some new nominatives have arisen in line with oblique cases: Modern Czech *domeček* 'little house' for Old Czech *domček* < *domъцькъ* from the general oblique stem *domečk-* < *domъцьк-*.

Instances such as *oken* and *se psem* above probably gave rise to the use of *e* as a fill vowel in Czech, both in other genitive plurals (*sestrъ* > *sestr* > *sester* from *sestra* 'sister'; *mydlъ* > *mýdl* > *mýdel* from *mýdlo* 'soap'), and in vocalized prepositions which could not be of *jer* origin: before like consonants (*ke koni* 'towards the horse', *se synem* 'with his son'), and before many consonantal clusters (*ve škole* 'in school', *beze mě* = [mĕ] 'without me').

Loss of the *jers* produced a new set of syllabic liquids, as in *vitr* < *vietrъ* 'wind', *vedl* < *vedlъ* 'he led', *bratrský* < *bratr-ьský* 'fraternal', *jablko* < *jablъko* 'apple'; syllabification of the liquid was only one of a variety of solutions to the newly emerged consonantal clusters (compare *mýdel* above, and see Short 1988).

The Czech umlauts (*přehláska*). These changes contributed greatly to the split between hard and soft paradigms. They began early in the

thirteenth century with the change $a > \check{e}$ in final position after soft consonants, and between soft consonants. The change affected not only original a , but also the front variant of $\check{a} < \xi$, to which it must have been very close. The process was inhibited by a following hard consonant. Examples of original $a > \check{e}$: *duša > dušĕ > duše*; *otca > otcĕ > otcе* 'father' (GEN); *ležati > ležĕti > ležet* 'lie'. In long syllables, as in the history of the nasals, the Old Czech reflex was *ie* (Modern Czech *i*): *přítel* 'friend', *číše* 'goblet', *znamení* 'sign (GEN SG)'. About a century later a similar change affected u/\acute{u} , after any soft consonant, with i/\acute{i} as the outcome: *jug > jih* 'south'; *zem' u > zemi* 'land' (F ACC SG); *oráču > oráči* 'plough-man' (M DAT SG); *kryju/kryjú > kryji/kryjí* 'cover' (1 SG/3 PL). A third umlaut affected the mid vowels o/\acute{o} . They too produced \check{e}/ie , notably before certain inflections and suffixes; in almost every instance the effects have been reversed by analogy with hard stems: *ukřížovati > ukřížĕvati > ukřížovat* 'crucify'; *zlodějóm > zlodě-jiem > zlodějům* 'thieves' (DAT PL). Survivals occur in soft neuter dative plural: *moř'óm > mořiem > mořim* 'sea', and the isolated *koním < koniem < koňóm* 'horse' (M DAT PL).

Prosodic phenomena. Czech has fixed stress on the first syllable. A preceding preposition, especially if it is an open monosyllable, attracts the stress, hence *kĕ stolu* 'to the table'. Several word categories are stressless, chiefly past and conditional auxiliaries and weak personal pronouns, which have fixed positions in the clause (see 4.1); sentence-initially, certain weakly stressed words may lose their stress, as in *Tak pójďte!* 'Come on then!'

Czech has no tones, but their former presence is betrayed in the distribution of long and short syllables. Their history is complex, especially after the metatony which produced new acutes and new circumflexes; suffice it to note that Proto-Slavonic long syllables (those containing $i, y, \check{e}, a, u, \xi$ or ρ) survived in disyllables where they preceded the stress, for example, *tráva < trāvá* 'grass'; from long acutes in the first syllable of disyllables, for example, *zdráv < zdrávъ* 'healthy'; and from long syllables before medial stressed short syllables in trisyllabic words (*útroba < ōtrōba* 'entrail'; *zákon < zākónъ* 'law'). Most other long syllables in Czech are either the product of contraction ($VjV > \bar{V}$, compare PSI. *dobraja*, Czech *dobrá* 'good' (NOM SG FEM), PSI. *bojati se*, Czech *bát se* 'fear'), or from the new acute.

2.2 Morphophonemic alternations inherited from Proto-Slavonic or Proto-Czech

The palatalizations are reflected to varying degrees in the modern language. The first palatalization of velars involved the changes: $k > \check{c}$; $g > d\check{z} > \check{z}$; $ch > \check{s}$. Prior to the de-affrication $d\check{z} > \check{z}$ there was symmetry between k/g and $\check{c}/d\check{z}$, with ch and \check{s} standing to the side. Afterwards, however, a voiced-voiceless relationship emerged between \check{z} and \check{s} , not matched by $g:ch$. This provoked the change $g > h$ (whence Czech h for all PSI. g), leav-

ing *h:ch* as a nearly matching pair of fricatives. Before and after de-affrication the picture was therefore:

Before: k:g	ch	After: k	h:ch
č:dž	š	č	ž:š

Examples: *k/č*: *peku/peče* 'bake' (1/3 SG), *pečivo* 'cakes'; *h/ž*: *mnoho* 'many', *množství* 'multitude' (*g* in recent imports undergoes the same alternation, hence: *Olga, Olžin* 'Olga's', *chirurg/chiruržka* 'surgeon' (M/F)); *ch/š*: *hřich* 'sin', *hříšný* 'sinful'.

Second palatalization of velars: *k > c*; *h > z*; *ch > š* (NB not *s*). Here too the reflex of *g* has de-affricated from *dz* to *z*. Examples: *k/c*: *ruka/ruce* 'hand' (NOM/DAT-LOC SG); *h/z*: *neblahý* 'baneful', *neblaze* 'ill-' (also loans containing *g*: *geolog-geoložich* 'geologist' (NOM SG, LOC PL)); *ch/š*: *plachý, plaše* 'timid-ly'.

The **third palatalization of velars** shared the outcome of the second, but its effects are confined to the alternation *c/č*, regular in words with the suffix *-ec* (< *-ькѣ*) and their derivatives, sporadic elsewhere. Examples: *chlapec/chlapče/chlapeček* 'boy' (NOM SG/VOC SG/DIMIN); *ovce* (< *ovčē* < *ovc'a* < *ovьka*) 'sheep', *ovči* 'ovine'.

Since *c* is also the reflex of *kt/gt* + front vowel, and of *t+j*, these provide additional conditions for the *c/č* alternation, for example, *noc/noční* 'night/nocturnal'. Analogously *d+j > dz > z* occurred, as in **med+ja > mežē > mež*, but with little scope for *z/ž* alternation. *c* and *z* from *tj* and *dj* do produce some regular alternations with *t'* and *d'*, notably in verbal morphology:

t'/c: *platit* 'pay', *placen* 'paid', *vyplácet* 'pay out'; a minority of verbs do not have this alternation, for example, *cítit/citěn* 'feel/felt'.

d'/z: *hodit* 'throw' (PRFV), *vyhozen* 'ejected', *házet* (IMPFV), *vyhazovat* 'eject' (IMPFV); again a minority do not show the alternation, such as *zdědit/zděděn* 'inherit-ed'.

Other ancient alternations:

s/š, z/ž (< *s/z + j*): *nosit, nošen, vynášet* (from 'carry'); *vožit, vožen, vyvážet* (from 'convey');

sl/šl (< *sl + j*): *poslat/poslu* 'send/I send'; *myslet* 'think', *vymyšlený* 'fictitious' (but *kreslit/kreslen* 'draw-n').

Alternations caused by following back/front vowel:

d/d', t/t', n/n': *mladý* 'young' (M SG), *mladí* (M PL AN), *mladě* (ADVERB), *mládi* 'youth' (ABSTRACT), *mládě* 'youngling'; *krutý* 'cruel' (M SG), *kruti* (M PL AN), *krutě* (ADVERB); *plný* 'full', *plně* (ADVERB), *plnit/plněn* 'fill-ed'.

There are also various **vocalic alternations**. Most *regular* alternations are consequences of prehistoric developments in the distribution of tones; more recent items simply behave analogously.

- diminutive formation (lengthening): *had-hádek* 'snake'; *poleva* 'sauce, icing', *polévka* 'soup'; (analogous) *telefon-telefoněk*; (with shortening) *kráva-kravka* 'cow'; *lipa-lipka* 'linden';
- past tense of most monosyllabic verbs (shortening, unless infinitive vowel is long by contraction): *dát-dal* 'give', *vést-vedl* 'lead' (but not *stát-stál* (< PSl. *stojati*) 'stand');
- genitive plural of some disyllables (shortening): *chvíle/chvil* 'moment', *žába/žab* 'frog';
- imperative formation (shortening of long present-tense stem syllables): *vrátí > vrať* 'return'; *rozpůlí > rozpuť* 'halve';
- infinitive formation of secondary imperfective verbs (usually lengthening): *utratit-utrácet* 'spend'.

For other related alternations entailing qualitative as well as quantitative differences see below.

Alternations between a vowel and \emptyset are widespread; they stem from the treatment of the *jers* and include the appearance of *e* as fill vowel. Some patterns are regular: (a) between the nominative singular (with *-e-*) and the oblique cases (with *- \emptyset -*) in nouns having the suffixes *-ek*, *-ec*, *-eň*: *doměk/domku* 'small house', *chodec/chodce* 'walker', *piseň/pisně* 'song'; and (b) between the genitive plural (with *-e-*) and other case forms of feminine and neuter nouns with stem-final consonant clusters: *her/hra* 'game', *skel/sklo* 'glass'; there are also some random survivals among monosyllables (*e*/ \emptyset alternation between nominative singular and oblique cases): *pes/psa* 'dog' (also *psi* 'canine'), *den/dne* 'day', but not, for example, *led/ledu* 'ice'. In several verbal roots a \emptyset -degree alternates with full short and long vowels: *prát* 'wash' (loss of *ь*), *peru* 'I wash', *propírat* 'rinse' (stem vowel lengthened in secondary imperfective).

2.3 Morphophonemic alternations resulting from changes after Proto-Slavonic

Consonantal alternations due to:

- 1 assibilation of soft *r'* > *ř* in selected environments (thirteenth century):
r/ř: *dobrý/dobří* 'good' (NOM SG and NOM PL AN), *dobře* 'well', *udobřit* 'reconcile';
- 2 dissimilation of *šč* (that is, *štš*) to *š'* (< *sk+j* or front vowel, or *st+j*), and of *ždž* to *žd'* (< *zd+j*) (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries):

sk/šť: *nebeský/nebeští* 'heavenly' (M NOM SG and PL AN), *nebešťan* 'heavenly being';
st/sť/šť: *čistý* 'clean', *čistit/čištěn* 'clean-ed';
zd/zď/žď: *pozdní* 'late', *opozdit se* 'be late', *opozděn* 'delayed',
opozďovat se 'be running late'.

Vocalic alternations:

ě/a/á, reflexes of the nasal vowels after their evolution under the umlaut conditions described above; there is one *regular* pattern, in the reflex of the *-t-* declension: *děvče/děvčata/děvčátko* 'little girl' (NOM SG/NOM PL/DIMIN); and some sporadic occurrences: *světit* 'consecrate', *svatý* 'holy', *svátek* 'holiday'.

u/ou, where *ou* < *ú* (late fourteenth and through the fifteenth centuries): *dub/doubek* 'oak' and diminutive; *plul/plout* 'sail' (PAST/INF); in conditions where the umlauts applied, this alternation is now *i/i*. The diphthongization *ú* > *ou* was matched by a front-vowel change *y* > *ej* in most dialects, but the literary language retains spellings with *y* and the pronunciation /i:/; Common Czech has *ej* almost consistently, hence there is an alternation *y/ej* as in *byl/bejt* 'be' (PAST/INF).

ě/i, where *i* < *ie* < long *ě* (fifteenth century): *květ/kvítek* 'flower' and diminutive; *zajíc* 'hare', *zaječí* 'hare's', *dílo/děl* 'work' (NOM SG/GEN PL).

o/ů, where *ů* < *uo* < *ó* (fifteenth century): *potok/potůček* 'stream' and diminutive; *stolu/stůl/stolek* 'table' (GEN SG/NOM SG/DIMIN).

e/i or *y*, where /i:/ < *é* (fifteenth to sixteenth centuries): *kámen/káminek* 'stone' (NOM SG/DIMIN); *pohledět/pohlížet* 'look' (PRFV/IMPFV). This alternation penetrated the literary language only partially; hence, for example, *nést/nesl* 'carry' survives as a quantitative opposition, though Common Czech has *nýst/nes(l)*; after *l* in particular the change *é* > *i/y* was inconsistent, leaving some variation in the alternants, for example, *letět-létat/liuat* 'fly'; *lepší-lépe/lip* 'better' (ADJECTIVE-ADVERB).

3 Morphology

3.1 Nominal morphology

Czech has a number of central declensional types among the nouns and adjectives and a few mixed and peripheral types. Pronoun declension is a hybrid between nouns and adjectives, while most numerals have only the most rudimentary morphology. The umlauts have contributed to a broad split between 'hard' and 'soft' versions of the main declensions. One major factor is a redistribution of the case morphemes of original masculine *o-*

and *u*-stems, which has partially affected also the masculine *a*-stems.

Number is a two-member category – singular and plural – although Old Czech shows near-complete dual morphology, in both nouns and verbs. Vestiges of the old system survive in ‘appropriate’ items (body parts, ‘two’, ‘both’), but are treated as anomalous plurals.

The full **seven cases** survive. About half the singular noun paradigms have a distinctive vocative form shared by no other case (see Short 1990); no adjectival, pronominal, numeral or plural noun paradigms have distinct vocative forms (vocative = nominative). A noteworthy development within the case system is the spread of dative–locative syncretism in singular noun classes.

There are **three genders**, the subcategory of **animacy** functioning within the masculine only. In the singular, animate accusative equals genitive, which itself, in the core (hard) masculine paradigm, differs from the inanimate genitive. Similarly, animate dative and locative usually differ from their inanimate equivalents. In the plural, the animacy opposition is expressed only in the existence of a distinctive nominative plural for animates. The morphological impact of animacy applies absolutely throughout the animal kingdom, from *prvok* ‘protozoon’ to *člověk* ‘man’, except in the masculine singular *a*-declension, which, like the feminine, has inherited unambiguous forms for nominative, genitive and accusative.

3.1.2 Noun morphology

Of the main declensional types Proto-Slavonic *o*- and *u*-stems have merged in Czech to form one class, subdivided according to animacy. Both nouns in table 9.2 are former *o*-stems, yet they employ several *u*-stem endings (DAT–LOC SG AN, GEN SG INAN, INST SG, GEN PL). The *u*-stem vocative ending also survives, chiefly as a means to avoid palatalization of velar stems, for example, *kluku* ‘boy’, *vrahu* ‘murderer’, and also as the ‘true’ vocative of the uniquely conservative former *u*-stem *syn* ‘son’. Velar-stem vocatives in *-e* (*o*-stem) with palatalization preserved are the forms

Table 9.2 ‘Hard’ masculine (former *o*- and *u*-stems)

	SG AN	SG INAN	PL
NOM	chlap ‘fellow’	hrad ‘castle’	chlapi, hrady
VOC	chlape	hrade	chlapi, hrady
ACC	chlapa	hrad	chlapy, hrady
GEN	chlapa	hradu	chlapů, hradů
DAT	chlapovi, /-u	hradu	chlapům, hradům
INST	chlapem	hradem	chlapy, hrady
LOC	chlapovi, /-u	hradě	chlapech, hradech

člověče ‘man’ and *bože* ‘God’, both used chiefly as interjections. Among non-velar stems only the case of stem-final *-r* is noteworthy: preceded by a vowel, *-r* is unchanged in the vocative, while a preceding consonant induces palatalization: *doktor–doktore*, but *Petr–Petře*. The *u*-stem locative singular ending is spreading in inanimates at the expense of (*o*-stem) *-ě*, most particularly to avoid velar stem-final palatalization: *na buku* ‘in/on the beech-tree’. Both endings occasionally exist in free variation: *v potoce/potoku* ‘in the brook’; or contribute to lexical semi-independence: *v jazyce* ‘in (a) language’, but *na jazyku* ‘on the (tip of one’s) tongue’. Among inanimates there is also variation in the genitive singular: some 235 lexical items have the *o*-stem ending *-a* (predominantly the animate ending), while some 140 have *-a* or *-u* in free variation. The *-u/-ovi* variation in the dative–locative singular animate is now almost free, but *-ovi* is commoner in personal animates. Subclasses not recorded in the tables include many formally and semantically distinctive groups with nominative plural in *-é* or *-ové*, and some variation in the locative plural endings, including penetration of the *a*-stem ending.

In the masculine soft declension (table 9.3) the areas where animates differ from inanimates replicate those under the hard declension, though there is greater overall similarity between the animate/inanimate patterns. The *-ů(m)* endings in genitive and dative plural are not only *u*-declension in origin, but stand here after ‘soft’ consonants, an atypical environment for back vowels. A variant of the class, differing chiefly by having a case marker even in the nominative singular, are animates in *-ce* (VOC SG *-ce*; NOM PL *-i*, with decreasing frequency *-ové*, or both), originally the soft counterpart of masculine *a*-stems. Colloquially, they adopt the vocative ending *-če* of the *-ec* type.

The hard (former *o*-stem) neuters are among the most conservative paradigms (table 9.4). Stem-final consonantal clusters (often, but not only, suffixal), as in *družstvo* ‘cooperative’, *číslo* ‘number’, require a fill vowel in the genitive plural, hence *družstev*, *čísel*. Suffixed nouns ending in a velar contain the main deviation from the pattern, namely locative plural in

Table 9.3 ‘Soft’ masculines (former *jo*-stems)

	SG AN	SG INAN	PL
NOM	muž ‘man’	stroj ‘machine’	muži, stroje
VOC	muži	stroji	muži, stroje
ACC	muže	stroj	muže, stroje
GEN	muže	stroje	mužů, strojů
DAT	muži/-ovi	stroji	mužům, strojům
INST	mužem	strojem	muži, stroji
LOC	muži/-ovi	stroji	mužích, strojích

Table 9.4 *o*-stems neuter

	<i>o</i> -stems	<i>jo</i> -stems	<i>ɮjo</i> -stems
SG			
NOM/VOC	město 'town'	srdce 'heart'	učení 'study'
ACC	město	srdce	učení
GEN	města	srdce	učení
DAT	městu	srdci	učení
INST	městem	srdcem	učením
LOC	městě	srdci	učení
PL			
NOM/VOC	města	srdce	učení
ACC	města	srdce	učení
GEN	měst	srdcí	učení
DAT	městům	srdcím	učením
INST	městy	srdci	učeními
LOC	městech	srdcích	učeních

(usually) *-ách*, borrowed from the *a*-stems: *kolečko/kolečkách* 'small wheel'. As with the hard masculines, there is some variation in the locative singular between *-ě* (which pre-palatalizes) and the *u*-stem ending *-u* (*v mléku/mléce* 'in the milk'). Four *o*-stems denoting body parts have residual dual forms: *oko* 'eye' and *ucho* 'ear' have a plural declension based on *oči, uši* (GEN *oči/uši*, DAT *očím/uším*, INST *očima/ušima*, LOC *očich/ušich*); *koleno* 'knee' and *rameno* 'shoulder' have genitive/locative plural *kolenou/ramenou*. The *jo*-stems are few in number. A subset in *-išťě* deviates morphologically in having \emptyset in the genitive plural: *schodiště/schodišť* 'staircase'. The *ɮjo*-stems have a high rate of case homonymy (due chiefly to the monophthongization of *ie* of various origins); the only overt case markers involve consonants.

Owing partly to sheer numbers (more than 18,000 items) the feminine *a*-stems (table 9.5) are another conservative paradigm, even retaining morphophonemic alternations in the dative-locative singular: *matka/matce* 'mother', *pata/patě* 'heel', *žába/žábě* 'frog' (/ -bj- /), *dáma/dámě* (/ -mň- /). The class includes *ruka* and *noha* ('arm' and 'leg'), whose plurals include some dual remnants: nominative-accusative plural *ruce* (*nohy* is regular), genitive-locative plural *rukou, nohou*, instrumental plural *rukama, nohama*. The masculine *a*-declension has assimilated somewhat to the central hard masculine class, especially in its plural forms (including alternation in velar stems: *sluha/sluzich* 'servant'), and in the dative-locative singular: *-ovi* is specifically associated with animates. Items with the suffixes *-ista* (*terorista* 'terrorist', *šachista* 'chess-player', *houslista* 'violinist') and *-ita* (*bandita* 'bandit', *jezuíta* 'Jesuit') have nominative plurals in *-isté* and *-ité* respectively, with *-iti* beginning to replace the latter more rapidly than *-isti*

Table 9.5 *a*-stems

	SG	PL	SG	PL
Hard				
		F		M
NOM	žena 'woman'	ženy	hrdina 'hero'	hrdinové
VOC	ženo	ženy	hrdino	hrdinové
ACC	ženu	ženy	hrdinu	hrdiny
GEN	ženy	žen	hrdiny	hrdinů
DAT	ženě	ženám	hrdinovi	hrdinům
INST	ženou	ženami	hrdinou	hrdiny
LOC	ženě	ženách	hrdinovi	hrdinech
Soft	<i>ja</i> -stems F		<i>ɨja</i> -stem (one word only)	
NOM/VOC	duše 'soul'	duše	paní 'lady'	paní
ACC	duši	duše	paní	paní
GEN	duše	duší	paní	paní
DAT	duši	duším	paní	paním
INST	duší	dušemi	paní	paními
LOC	duši	duších	paní	paních

the former. The *duše* paradigm is marked chiefly by the effects of the umlauts. It includes a large subgroup in *-(n)ice*, with a genitive plural in *-Ø* (*ulice/ulic* 'street'), a feature shared by a few other items, for example, *košile/košil* 'shirt', *lžice/lžic* 'spoon'. The paradigm is productive; many loans and neologisms based on Latin or Greek roots are assigned to it: *revoluce*, *agrese*, *eroze*, *absence*, *dyslexie*, *geologie*. Another *ja*-stem subclass includes nouns that lack an overt marker in the nominative-accusative singular and also differ by having vocative in *-i*. Most grammars give this type (*píseň* 'song') as a separate paradigm. Two additional factors make it worthy of mention: (a) it gives rise to alternating declensions of some forty or more nouns that may occur with or without final *-e/-ě*, such as *kuchyně/kuchyň* 'kitchen'; (b) it is the paradigm which is attracting more and more nouns out of the hotch-potch of subtypes that are neither fully like *píseň*, nor fully like *kost* 'bone' below (see *Mluvnice češtiny*, II:331).

Paní 'lady' is a unique item; former members of its class adapted fairly early to more central paradigms. Feminine neologisms in *-i*, like *průvodčí* 'conductress', inflect adjectivally.

The *i*-stem declension (table 9.6) consists mostly of feminine abstract nouns in *-ost*, among which it is productive, a few other items in *-st* (such as *hrst* 'palm', *čelist* 'jaw') and *řeč* 'speech' and *věc* 'thing'. All other former feminine members of the class with an unmarked nominative singular show various degrees of overlap with the *píseň* type. The only masculine *i*-stem to survive is *lidé* 'people', plural of *člověk*. The neuter consonantal-stem *dítě* 'child' has a feminine *i*-stem plural *děti*.

Table 9.6 *i*-stems

	SG	PL
NOM	kost 'bone'	kosti
VOC	kosti	kosti
ACC	kost	kosti
GEN	kosti	kostí
DAT	kosti	kostem
INST	kostí	kostmi
LOC	kosti	kostech

Consonantal stems have left few traces in Modern Czech, with one exception. All others have adapted to more central types. Modern masculines like *den* 'day' and *kořen* 'root' generally follow *stroj* in the singular and *hrady* in the plural; those formerly marked by the infix *-in-* in the singular have lost it, producing a constant (hard) stem form, hence *křesťan* 'Christian' (NOM-VOC PL in *-é*); agent nouns in *-tel* all follow *muž* (NOM-VOC PL in *-é*). Feminine *r*-stems: an archaic declension of *máti* 'mother' survives, with support from derivatives, but the neutral word is now *matka*; Proto-Czech *dci* has been replaced by (hard) *dčera* 'daughter', of which the consonantal-declension origin remains visible in the form *dceři* (DAT-LOC SG); former *ъv*-stems are now a subgroup, in final *-ev* (*mrkev* 'carrot'), of the feminine *ja*-stems (*piseň*), though there has been interaction with hard feminines in *-va*. Neuters: a handful of *n*-stems survive in an archaic declension (*simě/semene* 'seed'), but in general a new nominative singular has emerged based on the oblique stem, hence *semeno* 'seed', *rameno* 'shoulder', *vemeno* 'udder', all now hard neuter *o*-stems; likewise former *s*-stems, but with some instances of historical or neologizing independent lexicalization of the two stems (*kolo* 'wheel', *koleso* 'big wheel (at fairground or on paddle steamer)', *slovo* 'word', *sloveso* 'verb'); *nebe*, plural *nebesa* 'sky, heaven', follows the *jo*-stems in the singular.

The great consonantal-stem survivor is the descendant of the *-nt-* type (table 9.7) now marked by suffixes containing *-t-*, consisting chiefly of nouns denoting animal young. Inflection is conservative, but the thematic infix changes form between singular and plural: only in the singular were conditions met for the umlaut version of the former nasal.

The class includes several human offspring (*dvojče* 'twin', *batole* 'toddler') as well as *štěně* 'puppy', *lviče* 'lion-cub', also some adult animals (*zvíře* 'animal', *saranče* 'locust'), non-animates (*rajče* 'tomato', *koště* 'broom'), colloquial borrowings (*šuple* 'drawer', *paraple* 'brolly') and certain titles (*dóže* 'doge', *kníže* 'prince'). These last are anomalous in being masculine animate in the singular, but neuter in the plural.

Table 9.7 Neuter consonantal (-t-) stems

	SG	PL
NOM/VOC/ACC	jehně 'lamb'	jehňata
GEN	jehněte	jehňat
DAT	jehněti	jehňatům
INST	jehnětem	jehňaty
LOC	jehněti	jehňatech

3.1.3 Pronominal morphology

Genderless personal pronouns are shown in table 9.8. Of the second-person pronouns, *ty* is familiar, *vy* is polite singular (capitalized in writing) or plural.

The forms *mi*, *ti*, *si*, *tě* and *se* are enclitic only. Until recently the same applied to *mě*, which now also replaces (obsolescent, high-style) *mne*. The other 'long' forms are used only in emphasis or after prepositions, although dative *mně* is increasingly used enclitically in variation with *mi*. Where no choice of forms exists, the sole form occurs in all functions.

The stressed/unstressed opposition also applies in the nominative. Under emphasis the pronoun appears, without emphasis it will normally be absent: *udělám to* 'I'll do it', but *já to udělám* 'I'll do it'. However, colloquial registers show an almost consistent tendency for subject personal pronouns to be inserted, at least in main clauses.

The distribution of nominative endings among the third-person pronouns (table 9.9) is to be found elsewhere, for example, in the hard noun declensions. Of the other forms, *ho* and *mu* are enclitic only, *jeho* and *jemu* emphatic. Other forms are used in all functions, but any third-person pronoun following a preposition attracts an initial *n-*, hence the spellings *něho*, *němu*, *ně*. *Jej*, once the 'long' accusative masculine, is now just one of the accusative/genitive shared forms – rare in speech, and of limited incidence even in written styles, especially as genitive. By contrast, the post-prepositional form *něj* is common as both accusative and genitive. Original accusative singular neuter *je* is also rare. An interesting obsolescent survival is the old masculine accusative *jb*, embedded in the post-prepositional form *-ň*, thus *naň*, *proň*, *oň* and *zaň* for *na něj/něho* and so on.

This paradigm is shared by the high-style relative pronoun *jenž*, which only has long forms in the oblique cases, and in the nominative has *jenž* (M SG), the rare *již* (M AN PL) and *jež* (F/N SG and all other plurals).

Pronominal declensions are represented (table 9.10) by the demonstrative *ten* (hard) and the possessive *náš* 'our' (soft). Again, the umlauts have enhanced the difference between them, with the extra consequence of

Table 9.8 The genderless pronouns

NOM	já 'I'	ty 'you (SG)'	– (REFL)	my 'we'	vy 'you (PL)'
ACC	mne/mě	tebe/tě	sebe/se	nás	vás
GEN	mne/mě	tebe/tě	sebe/se	nás	vás
DAT	mně/mi	tobě/ti	sobě/si	nám	vám
INST	mnou	tebou	sebou	námi	vámi
LOC	mně	tobě	sobě	nás	vás

Table 9.9 Third-person pronouns

	M AN	M INAN	N	F	PL
NOM	on	on	ono	ona	oni, ony, ona
ACC	jeho/jej/ho	jej/ho	je/jej/ho	ji	je
GEN		jeho/jej/ho		jí	jich
DAT		jemu/mu		jí	jim
INST		jím		jí	jimi
LOC		něm		ní	nich

Table 9.10 The demonstrative pronoun *ten* < **ť*, and the possessive pronoun *naš* 'our'

	M	N	F	M	N	F
SG						
NOM	ten	to	ta	naš	naše	naše
ACC	ten/toho*	to	tu	naš/ našeho*	naše	naši
GEN	toho		té		našeho	naší
DAT	tomu		té		našemu	naší
INST	tím		tou		naším	naší
LOC	tom		té		našem	naší
PL						
NOM	ti*/ty	ta	ty	naši*/naše		naše
ACC	ty	ta	ty	naše		naše
GEN		těch			našich	
DAT		těm			naším	
INST		těmi			našimi	
LOC		těch			našich	

Note: * following words indicates animate forms.

even higher case syncretism in the feminine singular of the soft variety.

Ten is theoretically non-specific between 'this' and 'that', but in general equates to non-contrastive 'that', deictic in the context of situation and to realities outside the situation: *myslíš tu pani, kterou jsme potkali včera?* 'do you mean the/that woman we met yesterday?' Contrastive 'this' and 'that' are conveyed by addition of the suffix *-to* (more colloquially *-hle*) and the prefix *tam-* respectively. Neuter singular *to* (*toto, tamto*) is the general deictic pronoun 'it'/'they'/'this'/'these'/'that'/'those': *to je/jsou stůl/stoly* 'it/this/they/these is/are table-s'.

These paradigms are shared by the interrogatives *kdo* (M, hard; oblique-case stem *k-*) 'who' and *co* (N, soft; *č-*) 'what' and their many compounds (see table 9.13), but *kdo* has *kým* in the instrumental. The declension of *náš* is shared by *váš* 'your'.

The pronoun *všechn* 'all' (see table 9.11): the only non-oblique case survival of the short historic *vъsъ* (except in *vesmír* 'universe') is the neuter general quantifier *vše* 'everything'; referential 'everyone' is the masculine plural animate form *všichni*. Non-referential 'everyone', 'all' is usually expressed by *každý* 'each; any'.

Other semi-anomalous prepositional types: *sám* '-self' (emphatic) or 'alone' has hard adjectival endings in the oblique cases, but short, pronominal forms in the nominative and accusative.

Můj 'my', also *tvůj* 'your' (familiar) and *svůj*, the reflexive possessive

Table 9.11 The pronoun 'all' (mixed hard-soft declension)

	M	N	F
SG			
NOM	všechn, všecek	všechno, všecko, vše	všechna, všecka
ACC	všechn, všecek	všechno, všecko, vše	všechnu, všecku
GEN	všeho		vší
DAT	všem		vší
INST	vším		vší
LOC	všem		vší
PL			
NOM	{ všichni*, všicci* všechny, všecky	všechna, všecka	všechny, všecky
ACC	všechny, všecky	všechna, všecka	všechny, všecky
GEN		všech	
DAT		všem	
INST		všemi	
LOC		všech	

Note: * animate forms.

pronoun, decline as hard adjectives (*má, mého, mými*, etc.), but most nominative and accusative forms and the feminine singular throughout also have alternative non-contracted endings which comport with the soft pronominal declension, hence *moje* is nominative singular neuter and feminine, accusative singular neuter and nominative-accusative plural in all genders except nominative plural masculine animate, which is *moji*; also the forms *moji* (ACC SG F) and *moji* (F SG oblique cases).

Other possessive pronouns: *jeho* 'his' and *jejich* 'their' are uninflected, as are the equivalent relative possessive pronouns *jehož* and *jejichž*; *jeji* 'her' and its relative possessive counterpart *jejíž* decline like soft adjectives, that is, their origins in a genitive of the personal pronoun have been submerged by syntactic and morphological similarities to adjectives. *Či?* 'whose?' follows the soft adjectival declension.

Týž/tentýž 'the same (*sensu stricto*)' (table 9.12) declines in its shorter form exactly like the hard adjectives, with the addition of the suffix *-ž*. The compound form follows, in cases where the reduplication has asserted itself, a hybrid pattern in which the second element sometimes inflects by gender and sometimes remains a genderless suffix *-též*. Reduplicated oblique-case forms are more recent variants. Existing variations in the declension of *týž* and widespread native-speaker uncertainty about the current standard have given rise to several non-standard forms which bring it closer to the pronominal declensions proper, for example *těchže* (GEN

Table 9.12 The pronoun 'the same'

	M	N	F
SG			
NOM	týž/tentýž	totěž	táž/tatáž
ACC	{ téhož* týž/tentýž	totěž	touž/tutéž
GEN		téhož	téže
DAT		témuž	téže
INST		týmž/tímtěž	touž/toutěž
LOC		témž(e)/tomtěž	téže
PL			
NOM	{ tíž*/titiž* tytěž	táž/tatáž	tytěž
ACC	tytěž	táž/tatáž	tytěž
GEN		týchž	
DAT		týmž	
INST		týmiž	
LOC		týchž	

Note: * animate forms.

PL), *těmže* (DAT PL), *těmiže* (INST PL) and *títěž* (NOM PL M AN). There is a gap in the paradigm where one would expect neuter nominative-accusative singular **těž*; the form exists, but as the adverb 'also' in stylistically higher registers. The sole neuter form *totěž* has both bound and free functions: *kluk rozbil totěž okno dvakrát* 'the boy broke the same window twice', and *ráno umyla podlahu a večer aby udělala totěž!* 'she washed the floor this morning, and now she'll have to do the same thing this evening!', or *Petr udělal totěž, co Pavel* 'Peter did the same (thing) as Paul'. *Týž* is often replaced by *stejný*, strictly meaning identity as to quality, or by *ten samý*, probably a colloquial calque on German.

Kdo 'who' and *co* 'what' lie at the heart of a complex range of **indefinite pronouns and pronoun adverbs**. Table 9.13 lists those that may claim to be

Table 9.13 Indefinite pronouns and pronoun adverbs

	1 <i>ně-</i>	2 <i>ni-</i>	3 <i>-si</i>	4 <i>-koli</i>	5 <i>málo-</i>	6 <i>mnoh-</i>	7 <i>lec-</i>
(a) kdo	někdo	nikdo	kdosi	kdokoli	málokdo	MNOHÝ	leckdo
(b) co	něco	nic	cosi	cokoli	máloco	MNOHO	lecco
(c) čím	něčím	ničím	čísí	čfkoli	máločím		lecčím
(d) kdy	někdy	nikdy	(kdysi)	kdykoli	málokdy	mnohdy	leckdy
(e) kde	někde	nikde	kdesi	kdekoli	málokde	mnohde	leckde
(f) kam	někam	nikam	kamsi	kamkoli	málokam		leckam
(g) odkud	odněkud	odnikud	odkudsi	odkudkoli	málookud		lecodkud
(h) kudy	někudy	nikudy	kudysi	kudykoli			
(i) jak	nějak	nijak	(jaksi)	jakkoli			lecjak
(j) kolik	několik	ŽÁDNÝ					
(k) jaký	nějaký	nijaký	jakýsi	jakýkoli			lecjaký
(l) který	některý	ŽÁDNÝ	kterýsi	kterýkoli	málokterý		leckterý
(m) kolikterý	několikterý						

8 <i>leda-</i>	9 <i>kde-</i>	10 <i>vš-</i>	11 <i>všeli-</i>	12 <i>jin-</i>	13 <i>t-</i>	14 <i>s-</i>	15 <i>on-</i>
ledakdo	kdeko	VŠICHNI	všelikdo		ten	TENTO	onen
ledaco	kdeco	vše[chno]	všelico		to	TOTO	ono
ledačím							
ledakdy		vždy		jindy	tehdy	TEĎ	(onehdy)
ledakde		všude		jinde	TAM	Zde	*onde
ledakam		VŠUDE		jinam	tam	sem	*onam
ledaodkud		odevšAd		odjinud	odtud	odsud	
				jinudy	tudy	TADYTUDY	
ledajak		(však)	všelijak	jinak	tak	TAKTO	*onak
					tolik	TOLIK	
ledajaký	kdejaký		všelijaký	jinačím	takový	TAKOVÝ	*onaký
ledakterý	kdeakterý	KAŽDÝ		JINÝ	ten	TENTO	onen
					tolikerý		

in regular use and together constitute the Czech system of reference, co-reference, quantification, etc., devices. The lines are based on the interrogatives: (a) 'who', (b) 'what', (c) 'whose', (d) 'when', (e) 'where', (f) 'whither', (g) 'whence', (h) 'which way', (i) 'how', (j) 'how many', (k) 'what (like)', (l) 'which', (m) 'of how many kinds'; the columns: (1) 'some-', or 'any-' in questions, (2) 'no-; not any-', (3) 'some- or other', (4) 'any-; -ever', (5) 'hardly any-', (6) 'many a', (7-8) 'all manner of' (often disparaging), '(not) just any' after negative, (9) 'all/every- (conceivable/applicable)', (10) 'all; every-', (11) 'all sorts of; any old'. Thus, for example, (g/4) *odkudkoli* combines the meanings of 'from a place' and 'randomness' and hence translates 'from anywhere; from wherever'. Many suggested 'meanings' of the column headings are only approximate, since much depends on syntax or the availability of suitable English equivalents. Columns (12) 'else' and (13)-(15), deictic elements, are included since several of the entries relate well to items to their left; they are a residue of the ancient tripartite system of 'this-here-now-closer to *ego*', 'that-there-then-further from *ego*', and 'yon'; they are clearly defective and almost each item under (15) would merit its own discussion.

The conventions adopted in table 9.13 signify as follows: square brackets indicate potential alternative; parentheses, an expression fitting the slot formally exists, but not in the meaning predictable at the given line-column intersection, hence (a/3) *kdysi* does not mean 'at some time or other and I cannot (be bothered to) specify just when', but 'once, long ago', (a/15) *onehdy* does not mean 'on that earlier/earliest occasion', but 'the other day', (i/3) *jaksi* does not mean 'somehow or other and I'm not terribly sure how', but is more of a semi-apologetic, defensive particle like English *I mean, you see* or just *er*; (i/10) *však* is not 'in every manner', but an enclitic conjunction 'but, however, though'; small capitals, the meaning appropriate to the particular slot is expressible, but by a (part-)suppletive form from outside the system; an asterisk shows that the form is alive, but exists in solely idiomatic uses. Some of the blanks can be filled by analytic constructions (as in (a/12) *někdo jiný*, (b/12) *něco jiného*); the remaining blanks are accounted for by various constraints. Many of the items under *lec-* and *leda-* also occur with an additional suffixed or infix *s*, such as *ledakam/ledaskam/ledakams*.

3.1.4 Adjectival morphology

Czech has three adjectival declensions: long hard, long soft and possessive, a 'short' type. The 'long' types arose out of contraction of original VjV chains in the endings. In most circumstances, the two vowels contracted, losing the *j*, to produce a single long vowel. As elsewhere in morphology (the *učení* and *paní* noun types) the umlauts have caused widespread case homonymy and syncretism in the soft declension, the only surface distinctions being those carried by consonantal elements. Table 9.14 shows the

Table 9.14 Long adjectival declension

	Hard			Soft		
	M	N	F	M	N	F
SG						
NOM	nový	nové	nová 'new'	cizí	cizí	cizí 'alien'
ACC	{nový nového*	nové	novou	{cizí cizího*		cizí
GEN		nového	nové		cizího	cizí
DAT		novému	nové		cizímu	cizí
INST		novým	novou		cizím	cizí
LOC		novém	nové		cizím	cizí
PL						
NOM	{noví* nové	nová	nové		cizí	
ACC	nové	nová	nové		cizí	
GEN		nových			cizích	
DAT		novým			cizím	
INST		novými			cizími	
LOC		nových			cizích	

Note: * animate forms.

adjectival declensions. Before the *-í* (NOM PL M AN) ending the palatalizations of velars and dentals are observed: *jaký* > *jací* 'what', *mladý* > *mladí* (= [mlaďí]) 'young', *dobry* > *dobří* 'good', and the special case of stems in *-sk* and *-ck*: *irský* > *irští* 'Irish' and *anglický* > *angličti* 'English'. Common Czech dispenses with all nominative-accusative plural oppositions, showing both morphemic consistency and but one ending [-i:] for all genders.

Despite its morphological opacity, the soft class is very strong, for in addition to a number of primary adjectives it includes, *inter alia*: all present active participles in *-oucí* and *-ící*; verbal adjectives denoting purpose such as *psací* 'writing', *sklápěcí* 'tipping, folding'; comparatives and superlatives; the ordinals *první* 'first', *třetí* 'third' and *tisící* 'thousandth'; adjectives formed from animal names: *paví* < *páv* 'peacock', *žirafí* < *žirafa*; and countless items with the suffix *-ní*, like *jarní* 'spring', *zubní* 'dental' and many 'internationalisms': *termální* 'thermal', *obézní* 'obese'.

The adjectival declensions are shared by many noun types, denoting callings (*krejčí* 'tailor'), games (*schovávaná* 'hide-and-seek'), payments (*výkupné* 'ransom'), meats (*vepřové* 'pork'), surnames (*Novotný/-á*, *Lepší/-i*), the feminine form of other surnames, (*Nováková* < *Novák*), many toponyms (*Deštná* 'a mountain', *Deštné* 'the ski-resort nearby', *Teplá* 'a river'), and other Slav adjectival surnames (*Tolstoj*, genitive *Tolstého*;

Jaruzelski, genitive *Jaruzelského*; *Krupskaja*, genitive *Krupské*) and toponyms (*Mirnyj–Mirného*, *Černaja–Černé*).

The short declension is confined to the widely used possessive adjectives, formed from common or proper nouns. Two suffixes depend on the gender of the possessor, masculine possessors taking *-ův*, *-ova*, *-ovo*, feminines *-in*, *-ina*, *-ino*, which induces stem-final consonant alternations: *matka* + *-in* > *matčín* ‘mother’s’, *Milada* + *-in* > *Miladin* (that is, *milačín*), *dcera* + *-in* > *dceřin* ‘daughter’s’. Table 9.15 shows that this paradigm is ‘short’ only in part, since the instrumental singular and all plural oblique cases share the endings of the ‘long’ declension.

Table 9.15 Possessive adjectives

	M	SG N	F	M	PL N	F
NOM	Petrův	Petrovo	Petrova	{Petrovi* {Petrovy	Petrova	Petrovy
ACC	{Petrův {Petrova*	Petrovo	Petrovu	Petrovy	Petrova	Petrovy
GEN		Petrova	Petrovy		Petrových	
DAT		Petrovu	Petrově		Petrovým	
INST		Petrovým	Petrovou		Petrovými	
LOC		Petrově/-u	Petrově		Petrových	

Note: * animate forms.

About a dozen short adjectives proper survive in active everyday use (see 4.3 below). (A systematic opposition between long and short forms occurs only in the passive participles; see 3.2.) Occurring in the predicate, they have nominative forms only, bearing the regular gender/number markers. Some disyllables show stem-vowel lengthening in the short form, for example, *zdravý* > *zdráv* ‘healthy’. The ‘adjective’ *rád* exists only in short forms; unlike the others, it can occur with almost any verb: *být rád* ‘be glad’, *mít rád* ‘love’, *zpívat rád* ‘like singing’; the negative is *nerád*, as in *nerád obtěžuji, ale ...* ‘I’m loth to disturb you, but ...’. Some short neuters survive, but in new functions: thus *málo* ‘few’, *daleko* ‘far’, chiefly as adverbs, but also some abstract nouns: *nekonečno* ‘infinity’.

Comparison of adjectives uses the basic suffix *-ejší/-ější*, or *-ší* or *-čí* in several smallish subclasses. The superlative is formed by prefixing *nej-* to the comparative:

rychlý – *rychlejší* – *nejrychlejší* ‘quick’
pracovitý – *pracovitější* – *nejpracovitější* ‘hard-working’
záviděníhodný – *záviděníhodnější* – *nejzáviděníhodnější* ‘enviable’

drahý – dražší – nejdražší ‘dear’
 hezký – hezcí – nejhezčí ‘good-looking’

There are just a few suppletive forms:

dobrý – lepší – nejlepší ‘good’
 špatný – horší – nejhorší ‘bad’
 velký – větší – největší ‘big, great’
 malý – menší – nejmenší ‘small’

Analytical constructions using *vic(e)* ‘more’, *nejvic(e)* ‘most’ are rare, but necessary with items that are present participles in origin (*vic(e) vyhovující* ‘more suitable’), or with the few indeclinables (*vic blond* ‘blonder’); negative comparison uses only analytical forms, with *méně* ‘less’, *nejméně* ‘least’.

The basic **adverbial** ending is *-ě/-e*: *nový* > *nově* ‘new-ly’, *rychlý* > *rychle* ‘quick-ly’; as with *-ě* in the locative of nouns (these adverbs were originally locative singulars of short adjectives) dental and velar stem-final consonants palatalize: *tichý* > *tiše* ‘quiet-ly’, *těsný* > *těsně* ‘tight-ly’, *starý* > *staře* ‘old’. The basic comparative adverbial suffix is *-ěji/-ěji*, hence *těsněji*, *tišeji*, but items where the comparative adjective follows one of the minor patterns have a shorter comparative adverb: *dráž(e)*, *hůř(e)* ‘worse’. Some monosyllabic forms entail a vowel change: *miň/méně* ‘less’, *lip/lépe* ‘better’; they are used in less formal registers.

The few irregular adverbs include *pomalů* < *pomalý* ‘slow’ and *hezky* < *hezký* ‘nice’, and forms in *-sky* and *-cky* from adjectives in *-ský* and *-cký*, many denoting a language spoken or written: *mluvit anglicky* ‘speak English’. Adverbs required to convey ‘in an English manner’ and so on are analytical: *zmizet po anglicku* ‘take French leave’.

In competition with abstract adverbs in *-ě* are a set in *-o*, chiefly concerned with time and space, such as *mluvit dlouho* ‘talk for a long time’, *mluvit dlouze* ‘talk at great length’; *ležet hluboko* ‘lie deep (in water)’, *být hluboce dojat* ‘be deeply touched’; *stát blízko* ‘stand nearby’, *být blízce příbuzný* ‘be closely related’.

3.1.5 Numeral morphology

Among the **cardinal numerals**, only ‘1’, ‘2’, ‘3’ and ‘4’ function adjectivally and retain the morphology of case. *Jeden/jedna* and so on ‘1’ inflects like the demonstrative *ten*. *Dva* ‘2’ (table 9.16) and *oba* ‘both; the two’ also retain some gender distinctions; these two words alone maintain almost intact the old dual declension. *Tři* and *čtyři* (see table 9.16) approximate closely to the plural *i*-stem substantival declension. The form *čtyřma* is used in agreement with nouns which retain dual forms in the instrumental plural: *mezi čtyřma očima* ‘tête-à-tête’. Genitive *třech* and *čtyřech* are

Table 9.16 Declension of *dva* 'two', *tři* 'three' and *čtyři* 'four'

	M	F/N			
NOM-ACC	<i>dva</i>	<i>dvě</i>	NOM-ACC	<i>tři</i>	<i>čtyři</i>
GEN-LOC	<i>dvou</i>		GEN	<i>tří/třech</i>	<i>čtyř/čtyřech</i>
DAT-INS	<i>dvěma</i>		DAT	<i>třem</i>	<i>čtyřem</i>
			INST	<i>třemi</i>	<i>čtyřmi/čtyřma</i>
			LOC	<i>třech</i>	<i>čtyřech</i>

colloquial; their coincidence with the locative shows a shift by this declension towards pronominal and adjectival types, as well as being parallel to the case syncretism of *dva*.

The other cardinal numerals are given in table 9.17. Their inflection is limited to the oblique-case ending *-i*: *pětí*, *třiceti sedmi* and so on; '9' is further marked by an internal alternation *ě > í*: *devíti* (rarely also applying to '10', '20', etc., that is, *desíti* for the commoner *deseti*).

Numerals between '20' and '30' and similar are expressed analytically, for example *dvacet pět*, or as single words with the digits inverted, that is, *pětdvacet*. The old agreement patterns with numerals ending in '1' to '4', matching those with the single digits, as in *dvacet jeden student*, *dvacet jedna žena*, *dvacet dva studenti*, *dvacet dvě ženy*, are increasingly being replaced by 'genderless' forms in *jedna* and *dva*, followed by the genitive plural: *dvacet jedna studentů/žen*, *dvacet dva studentů/žen*. Similarly *dvacet tři studenti/ženy* is giving way to *dvacet tři studentů/žen*.

Sto is declined as a hard neuter noun (*bez sta* 'minus 100', *pět set* '500'; note the dual survival in *dvě stě*), though in many contexts it is left undeclined: *se sto lidmi* 'with 100 people-INST' has generally replaced *se stem lidí* 'with 100-INST people-GEN'. The reverse is true of the hard masculine *milión*: *s miliónem lidí* is the preferred form in non-colloquial usage. *Miliarda* is a hard feminine noun. *Tisíc* is declined as a soft masculine noun, but in compounds (after '5' and above) it shows a rare survival of a masculine genitive plural in *-ø*, *pět tisíc* '5,000'.

Ordinal numerals are given in table 9.18. Those between tens or from multidigit numerals have all digits in the ordinal form: *dvacátý pátý*, *pětitisící sedmístý čtyřicátý třetí* '5,743rd', and fully declining: *bez pětitisícího sedmístého čtyřicátého třetího* and so on. Two-digit numerals between whole tens may have an inverted one-word form: *pětdvacátý* '25th', *v osmašedesátém* 'in (19)68'. In the formation of '200th' and similar forms, the first half is the genitive form of the relevant numeral, a pattern replicated in other compounds such as *dvounohý* 'two-legged', *čtyřkolý* 'four-wheeled'.

Table 9.17 Cardinal numerals

pět	'5'	třináct	'13'	třicet	'30'	sto	'100'
šest	'6'	čtrnáct	'14'	čtyřicet	'40'	dvě stě	'200'
sedm	'7'	patnáct	'15'	padesát	'50'	tři sta	'300'
osm	'8'	šestnáct	'16'	šedesát	'60'	tisíc	'1,000'
devět	'9'	sedmnáct	'17'	sedmdesát	'70'	milión	'1 million'
deset	'10'	osmnáct	'18'	osmdesát	'80'	miliarda	'1,000 million'
jedenáct	'11'	devatenáct	'19'	devadesát	'90'	nula	'zero'
dvanáct	'12'	dvacet	'20'				

Table 9.18 Ordinal numerals

první/prvý '1st'	jedenáctý '11th'	třístý '300th'
druhý '2nd'	dvanáctý '12th'	čtyřstý '400th'
třetí '3rd'	třináctý '13th'	pětistý '500th'
čtvrtý '4th'	...	tisíci '1,000th'
pátý '5th'	dvacátý '20th'	milióntý 'millionth'
šestý '6th'	třicátý '30th'	<i>note also:</i>
sedmý '7th'	...	nultý 'zero'th'
osmý '8th'	devadesátý '90th'	n-tý, x-tý [enti:], [iksti:] 'n-th', 'x-th'
devátý '9th'	stý '100th'	
desátý '10th'	dvoustý '200th'	

3.2 Verbal morphology

3.2.1 Categories expressed

Person is expressed primarily in inflections and secondarily, for emphasis or in colloquial registers, by personal pronouns. Third persons are marked by vocalic endings; these differ between singular and plural, but coincide in most of the *i*-conjugation. Second persons carry universal markers in *-š* (SG, except in *být* below), and *-te* (PL), while first person plural is universally in *-me* (*-chom* in COND AUX). First person singular is marked in four different ways: *-m* (*i*- and *á*-conjugations), *-u* and/or *-i* (*e*-conjugations) and *-ch* (COND AUX). In the past tense and conditional only first and second persons are marked, by auxiliaries. The only finite forms marked for gender are in the past tense and conditional, namely the 'participles' that carry the lexical meaning. Explicit representation of gender, person and number in the past tense is maximally exploited in the second person, where the sex of an addressee, plurality of addressees and the familiar-polite distinction are all expressed: *byl jsi* (M SG familiar), *byla jsi* (F SG familiar), *byl jste* (M SG polite), *byla jste* (F SG polite), *byli jste* (M or mixed PL), *byly jste* (F PL); in speech the distinction between the last two is

lost. Number and gender are rudimentarily expressed even in gerunds.

Three tenses are recognized, a superficially simple system refined by the Slavonic aspects. Present time meanings are expressed by the basic conjugated forms. The past consists, for both aspects, of the 'l-participle' with auxiliaries (present-tense forms of *být* 'be'). The future perfective is expressed by present-tense forms of the perfective verb, and the imperfective by the future tense of *být* as auxiliary with the imperfective infinitive. Many tenses have been lost since Old Czech times.

The Slavonic aspects survive in the basic imperfective/perfective opposition. The perfective typically specifies completion of an act, which is usually relevant in terms of the (con-)sequentiality of acts. On the other hand, while the imperfective expresses the verbal action in general terms, as a process, it often highlights failure to achieve the goal, as in

Vnucovali jsme (IMPFV) mu předsednictví, ale on se nedal.
'We (tried to) thrust the chairmanship on him, but he wasn't having it.'

This is a type where duration is frequently explicit:

Celý den jsem kupoval (IMPFV) kravatu, ale nekoupil (PFV).
'I spent the whole day buying a tie but didn't get one.'

On the other hand, in certain context types a 'perfective' meaning may be expressed by an imperfective form, as in:

Tu knihu jsem četl dávno.
'I read that book ages ago.'

Aspectual pairs are of two main types:

- 1 Perfectives are formed from imperfectives by prefixation, for example, *u-/vařit* 'boil, cook', *pře-/číst* 'read', *o-/loupat* 'peal'; the semantic correspondence between the members of a pair is only approximate, but close enough for them to operate analogously to type 2 below. The reason is that each prefix which may act as a simple perfectivizer may be a lexical prefix elsewhere.
- 2 Imperfectives are formed from perfectives by suffixation, whether the motivating member is a primary verb (primary perfectives are rare), as in *dát* 'give' or *koupit* 'buy', or a prefixed verb, for example, *vymyslet* 'think up' or *slepít* 'stick/paste together'; many of the varied processes involved can be seen from the respective imperfectives: *dávat*, *kupovat*, *vymýšlet*, *slepovat*.

Two ranges of prefixes never act as purely perfectivizing:

- 1 Those with a concrete, especially local meaning, for example, *před-* 'pre-', *nad-* 'super-' *pod-* 'sub-', *v-* 'in-', *od-* 'away from'; they do perfectivize, but only to produce new lexical items (*vy-* 'ex-; out of; up' is, however, common as both a neutral and a lexical perfectivizer).
- 2 Those containing a long vowel; these never perfectivize at all and form only a very limited number of verbs: *závidět* 'envy', *nenávidět* 'hate', *příslušet* 'appertain'. Also the rare *pa-*, as in *padělat* 'counterfeit'.

Besides the main patterns of aspectual pairing, there are a few suppletive pairs, notably *brát/vzít* 'take', *klást/položit* 'lay', compounds of the latter, like *nakládat/naložit* 'load', and, ignoring a complex etymology, compounds of *jít* 'go on foot' such as *vycházet/vyjít* 'come out'.

Perfective-only verbs include: various prefixed reflexives (*rozpršet se* 'start to rain', *uběhat se* 'run one's feet off', *naplakat se* 'have cried and cried'); transitives with the prefix *na-* and the object-complement in the genitive (*navarřit knedlíků* 'have done loads of dumplings', *nasekat dříví* 'have chopped heaps of firewood'); the verbs *uvidět* 'catch sight of' and *uslyšet* 'catch the sound of' (sometimes also true perfectives of *vidět* 'see' and *slyšet* 'hear'); and verbs marked by the modality of possibility, including *dokázat* and *dovést* 'be (cap-)able', 'know how', 'manage', *dát se* + infinitive 'can be -ed', *vydržet* '(with-)stand', *vejít se* 'fit (can go in)', *obejít se* 'do without'.

In addition to processual or stative verbs, **imperfective-only verbs** are: modal verbs: *muset* 'must', *mocť* 'can', *smět* 'may', *mít* 'be (supposed) to', *chtít* 'want', 'will'; and frequentatives such as *dělávat* 'be wont to do', *chodívat* 'go quite often'.

A few native Czech verbs are **bi-aspectual**; they include *jmenovat* 'name', 'appoint', *zvěstovat* 'bring tidings; foretell', *věnovat* 'devote; dedicate', *obětovat* 'sacrifice', *žluknout* 'go rancid'. On the other hand, countless loan-neologisms in the most productive verb class, those in *-ovat*, like *absorbovat*, *havarovat* 'crash; break down', *informovat*, *kontejnerizovat*, *organizovat*, are bi-aspectual according to the most recent Czech dictionary (*SSČ*), though the position is by no means clear and many acquire explicit perfectives by prefixation.

Aspectually unique are the 'verbs of motion' (table 9.19). These determinate/non-determinate pairs are comparable to, but not quite co-extensive with, similar verbs in other Slavonic languages. The last three in the table are imperfect members of the system: there are various circumstances where they can be interchanged, which never applies in the remainder, and the features given below for the determinates do not all hold with the same rigidity.

The determinate members are durative (linear, goal-oriented), the non-determinates either iterative and goal-oriented (for regularly repeated events) or lacking any goal. An irregularly repeated event, however, uses

Table 9.19 The 'verbs of motion'

jít	chodit	'go; walk'
jet	jezdit	'go; ride; drive'
běžet	běhat	'run'
letět	létat	'fly'
nést	nosit	'carry; bear'
vést	vodit	'lead'
vézt	vozit	'convey'
hnát	honit	'chase'
táhnout	tahat	'pull'
vléci/vléct	vláčet	'drag'
valit	válet	'roll'

the determinate, for example, *někdy tam jedu autem* 'I sometimes go there by car'. For the expression of a single round-trip Czech prefers 'be': *byl jsem loni v Praze* 'I went to Prague last year'.

Both sets are traditionally described as imperfective, though a case can be made for calling the determinates bi-aspectual. The morphology of the determinates presents a number of interesting features:

- 1 The future is formed by the prefix *po-* (*pů-* with *jít*), uniquely so in the case of *jít* and *jet*, and as the preferred form for the rest.
- 2 There is only one past-tense form, that is, forms such as **pojel* are absent; similarly there are no infinitives prefixed with *po-* (*pojít* exists, but means 'die', of animals).
- 3 There are two imperatives, with and without *po-*, those with *po-* bidding movement towards or with the speaker, as in *jdi!* 'go!', *pojď (sem)!* 'come (here)!', *pojď s námi* 'come with us'.
- 4 Reduplicated, the prefix *po-* produces full (perfective) paradigms of verbs meaning 'advance a short way', hence *popojít* 'take a few steps forward', *kufř poponesl* 'he carried the suitcase a few steps'.

Other prefixes produce new, perfective verbs, secondary imperfectives being formed from mutations of the stems of the non-determinates (table 9.20). Such pairings are entirely analogous to any other aspect pairs.

Morphologically and aspectually, the non-determinates are uncontroversial. As imperfectives they produce perfectives on prefixation. Relatively few verbs result from this process, and they are often unrelated in meaning to the similarly prefixed determinates and many have no imperfective; compare:

procházet/projít 'go through' (a gate, for example); *prochodit* 'go through' (the soles of one's shoes, perhaps);

obcházet/obejít 'go round (an obstacle); circumvent'; *obchodit* 'do the rounds';
donášet/donést 'bring', also 'tell tales'; *donosit* 'finish carrying; carry (a foetus) the full term'.

Table 9.20 Prefixed 'verbs of motion', illustrated by the prefix *vy-* 'out, up'

<i>vycházet/vyjít</i>	'go/come out/up'
<i>vyjíždět/vyjet</i>	'ride/drive/go/come out/up'
<i>vybíhat/vyběhnout</i>	'run out/up'
<i>vylétat, vyletovat, vylítat/vyletět, vylétnout, vylítnout</i>	'fly up/out'
<i>vynášet/vynést</i>	'bring/take out/up'
<i>vyvádět/vyvést</i>	'lead/take out/up'
<i>vyvážet/vyvézt</i>	'carry/convey/take out/up, export'
<i>vyhánět/vyhnat</i>	'drive out/into exile, outlaw'
<i>vytahovat/vytáhnout</i>	'pull/drag out/up'
<i>vyvlékat, vyvlíkat/vyvléci, vyvléknout, vyvlíknout</i>	'pull/draw out'
<i>vyvalovat/vyvalit</i>	'roll out/up'

Mood: The **imperative** is expressed morphologically in the second persons and first person plural, and analytically in others. The endings for the morphological imperative are, irrespective of conjugation, either $-(\cdot)\text{-}\emptyset$, $-(\cdot)\text{-me}$, $-(\cdot)\text{-te}$, or $-i$, $-(\dot{\epsilon})\text{me}$, $-(\dot{\epsilon})\text{te}$; the choice depends on there being one or two consonants respectively in the third person plural after removal of the final vowel (not necessarily the whole ending): *nes, nesme, neste; veď, veďme, veďte; lež, ležme, ležte; choď, choďme, choďte; sázej, sázejme, sázejte; kupuj, kupujme, kupujte; myslí, myslíme, myslíte; zajdi, zajďeme, zajďete*. Two other factors apply in imperative formation: first, in the *a*-conjugation the change $a > e$, as in third person plural *dají*, stem *daj-*, imperative *dej/-me/-te*; and second, shortening of stem-final syllable, for example, *koupí, koup-*, imperative *kup/-me/-te*; *chválí, chvál-*, imperative *chval/-me/-te*; *navštíví, navštív-*, imperative *navštív*; *pospíší, pospíš-*, imperative *pospěš*; *rozpůlí, rozpúl-*, imperative *rozpul*. There are relatively few exceptions in imperative formation, and some formal variety in the *i*-conjugation (see *Mluvnice češtiny*, II: 471–3). Anomalous in the modern language are the endings $-c$ and $-z$ in *e*-conjugation verbs with velar stems (products of the second palatalization). The latter survives in *pomoz* 'help' (colloquial *pomož*), while the former, as in *pec* 'bake', is obsolescent and has been replaced by $-\dot{\epsilon}$: *peč*. The former athematic verbs *vědět* (and *povědět* 'tell' and *odpovědět* 'reply') and *jíst* 'eat' also retain their ancient imperatives in $-z$: *od-po-věz/-me/-te, jez*. For non-morphological 'imperatives' see 4.2.2.

The **conditional** is expressed by a combination of the conjugated enclitic auxiliary *by*, derived from the aorist of *být* (see table 9.25, p. 491), and the

l-participle: *řekl bych, že ...* 'I would say that ...', *Petr by nám pomohl* 'Peter would help us', *kdo by to řekl!?* 'who would say that?' (who would have guessed?). This unmarked version serves primarily for the present conditional, but may also occur in the past if appropriate time indicators are present: *Včera by nám Petr pomohl* 'yesterday Peter would have helped us'. The marked version of the past conditional requires the insertion of the *l*-participle of *být*, hence, adapting the previous examples: *byl bych řekl, že, ...*, *Petr by nám byl pomohl, kdo by to byl řekl!?, včera by nám byl Petr pomohl*.

Voice is a two-member verbal category, active and passive, though some types have led to periodic discussion of a possible middle voice in Czech.

There are two forms of passive:

- 1 using a passive participle (in the short form) of a transitive verb with *být* as auxiliary, hence from the active *hosté vypili všechnen čaj* 'the guests drank all the tea', the passive *všechnen čaj byl vypit (hosty)*, where the agent may be suppressed but can be expressed if required;
- 2 using a reflexive transformation: *všechnen čaj se vypil* (all tea-NOM REFL drank-PRFV); here the agent is suppressed completely.

With verbs complemented by an oblique case both a participial and a reflexive construction are possible, but best interpreted as impersonal constructions (based on the third person singular neuter); they retain the original case form of the complement, hence (*Petr*) *hnul stolem* (INST) 'Peter moved the table' has partial passive counterparts in *bylo hnuto stolem* and *hnulo se stolem*. The same considerations apply to prepositional complements: *výbor jednal o minulé schůzi* 'the committee discussed the previous meeting' again has versions *bylo jednáno o minulé schůzi* and *jednalo se o minulé schůzi*, in which no agent can be expressed. These are comparable to similar impersonal ('de-agentized' is the Czech term) constructions based on intransitive verbs proper, for example, active *celý večer jsme tancovali a domů jsme šli až po půlnoci* 'we danced all evening and didn't go home until after midnight' has as its counterpart with the agent suppressed: *celý večer se tancovalo a domů se šlo až po půlnoci*; however, these have no participial counterparts.

The participial passive can be used in all persons; both the subject and the agent may or may not be human, and the agent can be expressed, if known or required, in the instrumental. By contrast, the reflexive passive is confined to third-person forms. Also, while the anonymous agent will usually be marked 'human', the grammatical subject of a reflexive-passive sentence usually cannot be. A major limitation to reflexive passives is that they would clash with some of the countless other functions of formally reflexive verbal expressions. For example, *zabil se* (< *zabít* 'kill') cannot mean 'he was killed' by some anonymous agent, but merely 'he got killed,

he perished' (besides meaning 'he killed himself'); *skupina se vrátila od hranic* cannot mean 'the group was turned back from the frontier', since *vrátit se* is the (formally reflexive) intransitive verb 'return'.

Reflexive passive and impersonal constructions are stylistically neutral, while participial passive constructions, though available for the entire paradigm of their main exponents (transitives with accusative object), are limited to more formal written registers.

Non-finite forms: The basic infinitive marker is *-t*, although throughout most of the century forms in *-ti* were the norm (including entries in *SSJČ*). The only exceptions have been *e*-conjugation verbs with velar stems (like **mog-ti* and **pek-ti*), the infinitives of which have until quite recently had *-ci* (*moci* 'can', *péci* 'bake') as the norm, with *-ct* evaluated as non-standard. Since the 1970s, the latter have been admitted to the standard language as informal alternatives to *-ci*. Thus *-t* is now universal. Well into the twentieth century grammars held a competing *supine* to be alive as well, though the only example widely quoted was *spat* from *spát* 'sleep', used after verbs of motion (*jít spat* 'go to bed').

Participles and gerunds: the imperfective ('present') gerund is formed from imperfective verbs only. Two sets of forms exist, derived from the third person plural of the present by removal of the final vowel (not necessarily the full personal ending) and addition of *-ě/e* (M), *-ic* (F/N) and *-ice* (PL) for the *i*-conjugation or wherever the stem-final consonant is 'soft', and *-a*, *-ouc* and *-ouce* for the remainder. Gender-number agreement is with the subject of the main clause. The far rarer perfective ('past') gerund is formed from perfective verbs; here two sets of endings depend on whether the past-tense stem ends in a vowel or consonant. For consonantal stems the endings are *-ø*, *-ši*, *-še*; for vocalic stems *-v*, *-vši*, *-vše*. The same genders and agreement rules apply as above.

Use of the gerunds is confined to the higher styles, especially in official-ese and texts with an archaic flavour, but they are exploited to good effect as a condensing device by a number of modern writers. Examples of forms:

	<i>Imperfective gerund</i>	<i>Perfective gerund</i>
nést	nes-a/-ouc/-ouce	vynes/-ši/-še
brát	ber-a/-ouc/-ouce	vybra-v/-vši/-vše
plakat	pláč-e/-íc/-íce	zaplaka-v/vši/-vše
tisknout	tiskna/-ouc/-ouce	vytisk/-ši/-še
kupovat	kupuj-e/-íc/-íce	koupi-v/vši/-vše
vracet	vracej-e/-íc/-íce	vráti-v/-vši/-vše

Adjectivalizations of the past gerund, ending in *-ši*, are an even rarer, artificial creation: *pominuvši nebezpečí* 'the danger that had passed', *vrátivši se emigrant* 'the returned émigré'.

The present active participle is formed from the feminine/neuter imperfective gerund by the addition of *-i* (or from the stem of the third

person plural present by the addition of *-ici* for soft stems and *-ouci* for hard). It is formed only from imperfective verbs. Unremarkably, many have evolved into adjectives: *polehčující* 'mitigating', *vedoucí* 'leading', or even nouns: *cestující* 'passenger', *vedoucí* 'manager(ess)', but their main function is to condense relative clauses (see 4.5 below).

The '*l*-participle', used in forming the past tense, should perhaps not be called a participle now at all. However, it still retains gender-number markers, and, outside the third persons, requires auxiliary verbs. It is based on the infinitive stem (infinitive minus *-t*), with various patterns of stem-vowel shortening, hence, from vocalic stems: *být* > *byl/-a/-o/-i/-y/-a*; *bdít* 'keep vigil' > *bděl/-a* and so on; *zout* 'remove shoes' > *zul*; *chodit* 'go' > *chodil, kupovat* 'buy' > *kupoval*; from consonantal stems: *vést* 'lead' > *vedl*; *řici/řict* 'tell' > *řekl*; *tisknout* 'print' > *tiskl* (colloquial *tisknul*). Some *l*-participles may become lexical adjectives, but non-systematically. Most have meanings deducible from the underlying verb: *došlá* (*korespondence*) 'incoming (post)' < *dojít* 'arrive', *zbylý* 'remaining' < *zbýt* 'remain', but others are further removed from their source: *umělý* 'artificial' < *umět* 'know how', *bdělý* 'vigilant' < *bdít* 'keep vigil'.

Passive participles are based on *-n-* (the majority) or *-t-* (most monosyllabic verbs and many in *-nout*). The morphological variety is distributed as follows in short forms:

- án, -ána, -áno; -áni, -ány, -ána* – from verbs whose infinitives end in *-at*;
- en, -ena, -eno; -eni, -eny, -ena* – from verbs whose infinitives end in *-it, -ět, -et*, or consonantal stem;
- t, -ta, -to; -ti, -ty, -ta* – from mostly monosyllabic verbs (+ their compounds).

Equivalent long forms, declined as long adjectives, end in *aný, -ený, -tý* and so on. Note the length difference between long and short forms in the *a*-theme type. Short forms are predicative only, typically in passive verb phrases; long forms may be predicative or attributive. Short forms, with or without *jsa* and so on (gerunds of *být*), function as passive gerunds: *postaven znova, dům vypadal lépe než předtím* 'rebuilt, the house looked better than before'. Short forms may still be found in the accusative as second complements: *mít knihu rozečtenu* (or *rozečtenou*) 'have a book half-read', *vidět se utopena* (or *utopeného*) 'see oneself drowned'. Passive participles are formed from both aspects, hence *přestavěný dům* 'a rebuilt house', *přestavovaný dům* 'a house under reconstruction'; *koupený chléb* 'the bread bought', *kupovaný chléb* 'shop bread'. Lexicalized forms are not uncommon, as shown by adjectives like *neslýchaný* 'unheard-of', *oblíbený* 'favourite', many even without a motivating verb: *pruhovaný* 'striped', *pihovaný* 'freckled'; or nouns: *představená* 'mother-superior', *obžalovaný* 'the accused'.

3.2.2 Conjugation

Five main conjugational types are recognized. They are discriminated on the basis of the third person singular, marked by the endings: (I) *-e*; (II) *-n-e*; (III) *-j-e*; (IV) *-i*; (V) *-á*. Class V is an historic innovation, born of the contraction of once disyllabic endings and assimilation to the athematic verb *dát*. Table 9.21 shows the relationships in contemporary Czech among the form or forms of the infinitive stem and the first and third persons singular present tense of verbs selected for reference throughout this volume. Some alternatives are supplied for those that have not survived. Some have relocated. The full extent of interference, merger and evolution among the conjugational types is revealed by table 9.22.

Most anomalies occur in former athematic verbs and *chtít* 'want' (table 9.23). Specimen conjugations are given in tables 9.24a–c. Table 9.25 gives the present and future tenses of *být* and the conjugation of the conditional auxiliary, a unique and little-changed survival of the aorist conjugation of the same verb.

3.3 Derivational morphology

3.3.1 Major patterns of noun derivation

All methods of word formation applicable in Czech apply *par excellence* to noun derivation, chief among them **suffixation**. Some suffixes have a near-constant function, like agentive *-tel* (M), *-telka* (F) (*učí-tel-ka* 'teach-er'); abstract *-ost* (F), or *-ství* (N) (*schopnost* < *schopný* 'ability'); instrumental *-dlo* (N) (*měřidlo* 'gauge' < *měřit* 'measure'), while others have an impressive range of functions, notably *-ek*, *-(n)ík*, (M), *-ka*, *-(n)ice* (F) and *-ko* (N), and the highly productive *-ák* (M AN and INAN) and *-ár/-ář* (M AN). The complete set of patterns of suffixation according to classes of source words, gender and other semantic considerations is described in *Mluvnice češtiny* (I: 235–312). A widespread concomitant feature of suffixation is quantitative and/or qualitative alternations in root syllables, with shortening far exceeding lengthening: *létat* > *letadlo* 'fly' > 'airplane', *vůl* > *volek* 'ox' > diminutive, *hrad* > *hrádek* 'castle' > diminutive. Many suffixes cause palatalization of stem-final consonants: *býk* 'bull' > *býček* (DIMIN), *chirurg* 'surgeon' (M) > *chirurgka* (F), *Persie* 'Persia' > *Peršan* 'Persian' (*peršan* 'Persian carpet or cat').

Prefixation is limited to (a) a half-dozen non-prepositional prefixes: *ne-smysl* 'non-sense', *pra-člověk* 'primeval man'; (b) a dozen prepositional prefixes used in calquing: *přes-čas* 'over-time', *misto-král* 'vice-roy'; and a dozen loan-prefixes: *arci-vévoda* 'arch-duke', *kvazi-věda* 'pseudo-science' (the hyphens here are not part of the orthography).

Combined **prefixation-suffixation** occurs in several types, usually reflecting an underlying prepositional phrase, hence *ná-den-ik* 'journeyman' is hired *na den* 'for a day', *bez-domov-ec* 'homeless person' is *bez*

Table 9.21 Key verbs, showing types of stem variations

<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Past tense</i>	1 SG PRS	3 SG PRS
Theme in <i>-e</i>			
nést 'carry'	nesl	nesu	nese
vést 'lead'	vedl	vedu	vede
číst 'read'	četl	čtu	čte
jít 'go, walk'	šel ¹	jdu	jde
jet 'go, ride'	jel	jedu	jede
zábst ² 'freeze'	zábl	zebu	zebe
péci 'bake'	pekl	peku/peču	peče
umřít 'die'	umřel	umřu ³	umře
zvat 'invite'	zval	zvu ⁴	zve ⁴
brát 'take'	bral	beru	bere
mazat 'smear'	mazal	maži/-u	maže
mlet 'grind'	mlel	melu	mele
psát 'write'	psal	píši/-u	píše
Theme in <i>-ne</i>			
zdvihnout 'lift'	zdvihl ⁵	zdvihnu	zdvihne
minout 'pass'	minul	minu	mine
za-čít ⁶ 'begin'	začal	začnu	začne
říci/říct 'tell'	řekl	řeknu	řekne
Theme in <i>-je</i>			
čítí ⁷ 'sense'	čil ⁸	čiji ⁸	čije ⁸
pět 'sing'	pěl	pěji ⁹	pěje
kryt 'conceal'	kryl	kryji ⁹	kryje
bít 'strike'	bil	biji ⁹	bije
zout 'remove' ¹⁰	zul	zuji ⁹	zuje
hrát 'play'	hrál	hraji ⁹	hraje
přát 'wish' ¹¹	přál	přeji ⁹	přeje
darovat 'donate'	daroval	daruji ⁹	daruje
set 'sow'	sel	seji ⁹	seje
Theme in <i>-i</i>			
modlit se 'pray'	modlil se	modlím se	modlí se
chodit 'walk'	chodil	choďím	choďí
velet 'command'	velel	velím	velí
slyšet 'hear'	slyšel	slyším	slyší
trpět 'suffer'	trpěl	trpím	trpí
spát 'sleep'	spal	spím	spí
umět 'know how'	uměl	umím	umí
sázet 'plant'	sázel	sázím	sází ¹²
Theme in <i>-a</i>			
dělat 'do, make'	dělal	dělám	dělá

Notes: ¹past gerund *šed*; ²Old Czech *ziebsti*; ³Old Czech *umru*; ⁴Old Czech *zovu*, *zove*; ⁵colloquial *zdvihnul*; ⁶< **-čen-ti*; ⁷obsolete form < *čúti*; ⁸Common Czech *čil*, *čuju*, *čuje*; ⁹Common Czech *pěju*, in so far as this verb ever penetrates that register; similarly the forms *kryju*, *biju*, *zuju*, *hraju*, *přeju*, *daruju*, *seju*; ¹⁰shoes only; ¹¹Old Czech *přieti*; ¹²It applies in general of this class that the third singular and plural are identical, but in the case of the two types the third plural is *umějí*, *sázejí*.

Table 9.22 Evolution of Czech verb classes and subclasses

	Old Church Slavonic (1 SG)	Old Czech (1 SG)	Modern Czech (3 SG)	
I	Aa	vedo vesti	vede věst	
		peko pešti	bere brát	
		mьro mřeti	peče péci/péct	
		pьno pęti	u-mře u-mřít	
			maže mazat	
			pláče plakat	
	b	plovō pluti	plouvu plúti	
	Ba	berō bьrati	beru bráti	
	b	zovu zьvati	zovu zváti	
	II	A	dvignō dvignōti	pne se pnout se zdvihne zdvihnout
B		minō minōti	mine minout začne začít	
III	Aa	dělajō dělati		
		kryjō kryti	pluje plout kryje kryt	
		saždajō saždati	laje lát	
		umějō uměti		
	b	borjō brati		
	Ba	lajō lajati		
		kupujō kupovati	kupuje kupovat	
IV		plačō plakati		
		prošō prositi	prosí prosit	
		trьrljō trьpěti	trpí trpět spí spát	
		sьrljō sьrpati	sází sázet umí umět	
V		dělajō dělati	dělá dělat	
		sázějō sázěti		

Source: Adapted from Lamprecht, Šlosar and Bauer (1977: 184).

Table 9.23 The former athematic verbs and *chtít*

být 'be'	byl	jsem	je	jsou
jíst 'eat'	jedl	jím	jí	jedí
dát 'give'	dal	dám	dá	dají
vědět 'know'	věděl	vím	ví	vědí
mít 'have'	měl	mám	má	mají
chtít 'want'	chtěl	chci	chce	chtějí

Note: *dát* and *mít* are entirely regular *a*-conjugation verbs; *jíst* and *vědět* are essentially *i*-conjugation and *chtít* is *e*-conjugation.

Table 9.24 Specimen conjugations

(a) <i>e</i> -theme	(b) <i>i</i> -theme	(c) <i>á</i> -theme
vedu 'lead'	prosím 'request'	dělám 'do, make'
vedeš	prosíš	děláš
vede	prosí	dělá
vedeme	prosíme	děláme
vedete	prosíte	děláte
vedou	prosí	dělají

Note: the *e*-theme paradigm is shared by the *-ne* and *-je* types; the main deviations are in most *-je* types, which have had, and in higher styles still retain, first person singular in *-i* and third plural in *-i* (a product of the *u* > *i* umlaut); conversely, in lower registers the endings *-u* and *-ou* have replaced them, borrowed from the hard-stem version of the paradigm. The *i*-theme paradigm has a large subgroup with the third person plural in *-ějí/-ejí*, chiefly soft-stem counterparts to the innovated *á*-conjugation, but altered beyond recognition by the *a* > *ě* and *á* > *ie* > *i* umlauts.

Table 9.25 být

Present	Future	Conditional auxiliary
jsem	budu	bych
jsi	budeš	bys
je	bude	by
jsme	budeme	bychom
jste	budete	byste
jsou	budou	by

domova 'without a home', and, a productive neuter type, *bez-větr-i* 'calm' is a state *bez větru* 'without wind'.

Affixless derivation is one of the simplest forms of conversion, chiefly from verbs: *plazit* 'crawl' > *plaz* 'reptile', *obvázat* 'bind' > *obvaz* 'bandage'; in combination with **composition** many technical terms are so produced: *teplo-měr* 'thermo-meter' (< *měřit* 'measure'), *perlo-rodka* 'pearl oyster' (< *rodit* 'give birth').

3.3.2 Major patterns of adjective formation

Adjectives formed from verbs chiefly express: (a) purpose, by the suffix *-cí*, attached to the infinitive stem, a type common in forming technical terms: *sací (bagr)* 'suction (dredger)' (< *sát* 'suck'), *holící (strojek)* 'shaver' (< *holit* 'shave'); (b) passive potential, by *-itelný* and non-productive *-ný*: *obyvatelný* 'habitable' (< *obývat* 'inhabit'), *pitný* 'drinkable' (< *pít* 'drink');

(c) propensity, by various suffixes ending in *-vý*: *hravý* 'playful' (< *hrát* 'play'), *citlivý* 'sensitive' (< *citit* 'feel').

Relational adjectives are formed from nouns by four main suffixes: *-ový*, *-ní*, *-ný*, in descending order of productivity, and polyfunctional *-ský/-cký*. Source nouns are semantically too heterogeneous to provide a detailed survey; a few examples must suffice: *hrtanový* < *hrtan* 'larynx', *vinový* 'burgundy' (colour) < *vino* 'wine'; *výroční* < *výročí* 'anniversary' (*-ní* is strongly associated with times and places); *výzkumný* < *výzkum* 'research' – *-ný* is often used where there is an underlying verb (here *vyzkoumat* 'discover') or with material nouns: *senný* < *seno* 'hay'; *londýnský* < *Londýn* 'London', *vesnický* < *vesnice* 'village', *knihovnický* < *knihovnik* 'librarian' or < *knihovnictví* 'librarianship', and in loans: *energický* 'energetic' (< *energie*), *energetický* < *energetika* 'energy (industry)', *luteránský*, *dogmatický*. A special class of relational adjectives from the names of animals uses the suffix *-í*: *pes* 'dog' > *psí*, *tygr* 'tiger' > *tygří*, *čáp* 'stork' > *čapí*.

Qualitative adjectives derived from abstracts usually take *-ný*, while those from concrete nouns have suffixes based on *-t-*: *obyčejný* 'customary', *nuda* > *nudný* 'boredom'–'boring'; *roh-atý* 'horn-ed', *vejce* > *vejčitý* 'ovoid'.

From existing adjectives suffixation produces augmentatives: *široký* > *širokánský* 'wide', and de-intensification of a quality: *bílý* > *bělavý* 'whitish', including cases of simultaneous prefixation from associated verbs: *nazelenalý* 'greenish' < *zelenat se* < *zelený* 'green'.

Adjectives are readily formed from adverbs (*dole* > *dolní* 'down'–'lower', *loni* > *loňský* 'last year'–'s'), including numerous prepositional phrases: *mezi žebry* 'between the ribs' > *mezižební* 'intercostal'.

Many types of composition are represented: *tmavomodrý* 'dark blue', *barvoslepý* 'colour-blind', *motýlokvětý* 'papilionaceous' (< *motýl* 'butterfly', *květ* 'flower'), *dvounohý* 'two-legged', *samojízdný* 'self-propelled' (< *samo* + *jezdit* 'go'); there are also cases of syntactic juxtaposition: *chvályhodný* 'laudable' (= of-praise-worthy), *ohnivzdorný* 'fire-resistant' (= to-fire-resistant), *protijedoucí* 'oncoming' (= opposite going).

3.3.3 Major patterns of verb derivation

Verbs are derived by prefixation, prefixation + reflexivization, suffixation, suffixation + reflexivization, prefixation + suffixation, prefixation + suffixation + reflexivization and reflexivization. They are commonly derived from nouns, other verbs and adjectives. From nouns, of whatever semantic class, the suffixes *-ovat* and *-it* predominate, with immense variety in the semantics of the resultant verbs: *bláznit* 'go crazy' < *blázen* 'madman'; *papouškovat* 'repeat parrot-fashion' < *papoušek* 'parrot'; *vlnit* 'undulate' < *vlna* 'wave'; *formovat* 'shape' < *forma* 'shape, mould'; *bagrovat* 'dredge' < *bagr* 'dredger'; *brousit* 'whet' < *brus* 'whetstone'; *hřešit* 'sin' < *hřích* 'sin'.

The two main ranges of verbs from adjectives denote changes of state.

Intransitives have the suffixes *-ět/-et* or *-nout* (*šedivět* < *šedivý* 'grey'; *blednout* < *bledý* 'pale'), and usually perfectivize by the 'empty' prefix *z-*. Many exist solely as perfectives (*zprísňět* 'become severe' < *prísňý* 'strict', *otěhotnět* 'become pregnant'). Transitives take the suffix *-it* and are perfectivized by a variety of often contributory prefixes (*vyčistit* < *čistý* 'clean'; *zahladit* < *hladký* 'smooth'). Spatial meanings tend to produce intransitive reflexives (*přiblížit se* 'approach' < *blízký* 'near'). Many items are derived only by simultaneous prefixation (*umožnit* 'facilitate' < *možný* 'possible'), are therefore perfective and regularly imperfectivize by means of *-ovat* (*umožňovat*).

The main source of verbs derived from verbs is prefixation (see the discussion of aspect above, pp. 481–4). Among the often polysemic prefixes in use the semantically most opaque is *z-*, rapidly becoming the neutral perfectivizer *par excellence*.

Secondary prefixation merely exploits one or other meaning of existing prefixes, tacked on to an already prefixed verb, as shown by distributive *po-* in *po-z-hasínat* 'put the lights out one by one' or additive *při-* in *přibob-jednat* 'order extra'. Double prefixation is limited to *popo-* with verbs of motion (see above) and *vyna-* + reflexivization, usually in negative contexts (very few verbs can take this): *nemůže si ho vynachválit* 'he can't speak highly enough of him'.

Derivation by suffixation is preeminently the domain of secondary imperfectivization, the patterns of which are many and various, partially illustrated in section 3.2.1 above. Frequentatives are also formed by suffixation, namely by the suffix *-vat* with lengthening of a preceding vowel, hence *psát* > *psávat* 'write', *bolet* > *bolívat* 'ache', *chodit* > *chodívat* 'go'. Reduplication of the suffix, as in *chodívávat*, suggests repetition of the act either at a remoter time or over a longer period. The suffix *-nout* is used to form semelfactives: *padat/padnout* 'fall', *bouchat/bouchnout* 'bang', *pipat/pipnout* 'tweet'.

4 Syntax

4.1 Element order in declarative sentences

Czech is traditionally, if as an oversimplification, described as a language with free word order. This merely means that its inflectional system is so highly developed that there is little scope for ambiguity, and syntactic relations are practically always transparent. Many factors determine word order in real contexts, chief among them being the relative 'communicative dynamism' of constituents. In a neutral sentence the least communicatively dynamic element stands at the beginning and dynamism builds up from left to right until the final constituent, with the highest degree of communicative dynamism; 'subjectively' ordered sentences, with the order reversed

completely, are also to be encountered. In consequence, any constituent may find itself anywhere in the sentence: 'pragmatic word order' takes precedence over syntax and is the main determinant of functional sentence perspective. To take a simple SVO sentence: *Petr zabil Pavla* 'Peter killed Paul' – traditionally regarded as the neutral order – has the subject *Petr* as theme and *zabil Pavla* as rheme. In fact, it is no more neutral than *Pavla zabil Petr* 'Paul was killed by Peter', with 'Paul's being killed' as theme and 'Peter' as rheme, or 'Paul' as theme and his 'being killed by Peter' as rheme. Both stand in opposition to *Petr Pavla zabil* and *Pavla Petr zabil*, which are less neutral, less likely to be unlinked contextually, and have the rhematic part occupied by the verb, that is 'Peter killed Paul', or 'Paul was killed by Peter'. (This flexibility of word order compensates for the relatively low incidence of passive constructions in Czech.)

The pressure of syntax may add to the stability of word order overall, but rarely to the extent that a given order is rigid. Relatively rigid is the position of adjectives before the nouns they qualify, or of dependent infinitives following the verbs on which they depend; reverse orderings are marked (and are due to convention – noun–adjective inversion in abuse or terminology: *husa pitomá* 'stupid cow', *kyselina octová* 'acetic acid' – or to the stronger pressure of functional sentence perspective). Most rigid is the postpositioning of attributes in the genitive (the type *žena středních let* 'a woman of middle age').

Another influence on word order is the placing of enclitics, elements lacking word stress, which generally follow the first stressed constituent in the clause. Czech enclitics are: the past and conditional auxiliaries, the atonic ('short', 'weak') forms of the personal pronouns (for example, *mi, se, ho* as opposed to *mně, sebe, jeho*), analogous uses of other personal pronouns lacking distinctive atonic forms, the conjunction *-li* (always hyphenated to the first word in the clause, usually the verb), and a small number of particles (*ale* 'though', *teda/tedy* 'so', *však* 'however, though', sometimes *asi* and *snad* – conjectural particles roughly denoting 'probably' and 'possibly'); the last have various other non-enclitic functions.

The rules for enclitic ordering are basically straightforward:

- I indirect question marker *-li* takes precedence overall; followed by
- II any past or conditional auxiliary;
- III any reflexive pronoun, even as particle;
- IV any non-reflexive dative pronoun;
- V other pronouns;
- VI and, finally, any particles present.

Example:

Ptali se, nemělo-li by se mu/jim to tedy říct.
 asked-3.PL NEG-had-N.SG-if COND REFL he/they-DAT it-NOM SO tell-INF
 'They asked whether he/they ought not then to be told.'

(The example is, frankly, cumbersome; the probability that all the subsidiary slots would be filled in reality is low.) In the example, *mu* and *se* are enclitic forms of the respective pronouns, while *to* and *jim* are enclitic uses of the single available forms. Compare for non-enclitic forms and uses in such sentences as

Dali jsme to *jemu/jim*.
 'We gave it to *him/them*.'
Jemu/jim jsme to dali.
 'It was *him/them* we gave it to.'
 To jsme mu neřekli.
 'That isn't what we told *him*.'

Just as pronouns with only one form are also used enclitically, so too in large measure are the 'prepositional cases' of pronouns, which also have only a single form, hence

Šli jsme *s ním* tam včera.
 'We went there with *him* yesterday.'

although the pressure of the communicative dynamism of other elements may often leave such phrases with no other choice:

Tam by *bez něho* nešli.
 'They wouldn't go there without *him*.'

Contrast: *bez něho by tam nešli*, which picks up the previously mentioned possibility of going without him, while *nešli by tam bez něho* emphasizes the (in)conceivability of going *without* him, or indeed without *him*. Rules are impossible to give in this area of considerable subtlety.

Since the fixed position of the enclitics after the first stressed constituent often leaves them at the end of a (short) sentence, rhythmical pressures clearly outweigh communicative dynamism: in a cross-referential function these pronouns represent 'old' information and 'ought' therefore to be closer to the beginning of the sentence. Particularly in subordinate clauses, enclitics, especially *se*, may slip into the third slot if preceded by a (relatively) stressed thematic element:

Jistě namítnete, . . . , že¹ něco podobného¹¹ se¹¹¹ může stát jen v Americe. (press)
 'You will certainly note that something similar can happen only in America.'

Such 'slippage' is increasingly common in spoken registers, even without the feature of stress. The language is clearly developing in this area.

4.2 Non-declarative sentence types

Interrogative expressions for **WH questions** are listed in table 9.13: they are supplemented by a number of others, chiefly relating to time and reason, such as *dokdy* 'until when'; *odkdy* 'since when'; *co...za* (+ ACC) 'what kind of'; *proč* 'why'. Intonation in WH questions is generally similar to that of declarative sentences. In marked variants the interrogative word may move away from the beginning of the sentence to the middle: *a do divadla kdy tedy půjdeš?* 'so *when* are you going to the theatre?', or to the end: *a do divadla půjdeš tedy kdy?* 'So *when* are you going to the theatre?'. Such variants have a rising-falling intonation contour, peaking on *kdy*.

Yes-no questions have distinctive cadences – rising or falling – to distinguish them unambiguously from statements, often as the only mark of the interrogative function, for example:

Přijde

'He's coming': – _

Přijde?

'Is he coming?': – – or – –

In longer sentences the cadence extends over the rhematic element only: *Koupila sis ty hodinky?* 'Did you buy that watch?': ... _ – –

More visibly marked as interrogative are sentences with the subject preceding the verb:

Zabil Petr Pavla?

'Did Peter kill Paul?' or:

Zabil Pavla Petr?

'Was it Peter who killed Paul?'

although SVO order and other permutations with interrogative intonation are equally possible.

Many yes-no questions may be formulated as negative or positive, that is, without any presupposition as to the likely answer; the difference may be neutralized, especially with the verb initially or finally:

Ne-/byli sousedé doma?

Sousedé doma ne-/byli?

'Were the neighbours in? (or not).'

In the medial position the choice of negative or positive tends to imply the particular presupposition:

Sousedé byli doma?

'The neighbours were in?' (I gather they were since you have obviously returned their screwdriver)

Sousedé nebyli doma?

'The neighbours weren't in?' (I thought they were).

That is the position as cautiously described in *Mluvnice češtiny* (III: 325), but informants' responses suggest that the permutations of negative and positive with various intonation contours may or need not produce neutralization practically irrespective of verb position.

The difference is not neutralized in questions conveying hope, fear or a desire for reassurance, confirmation and so on:

Vzala sis ten prášek?

'Have you taken that pill?' (I hope you have)

Nerozbije to takhle?

'Won't he break it like that?' (I'm afraid he might)

Neřekneš to na nás?

'You won't tell on us?' (Please don't)

Yes-no questions may open with the interrogative particles *zdalipak* or *jestlipak*, comparable to English sentences with 'I wonder if ...'. Their affinity with WH questions gives them the neutral falling intonation.

Presumptive yes-no questions may be introduced by the particle *že*, which also carries the intonation peak (*že přišla zase pozdě?* 'she came late again, didn't she?'), or terminated by tag questions having the forms: *že ano* after a positive statement, *že ne* after a negative statement, more colloquially just *že* for either, or *vid'* or *vid'te*, depending on whether the interlocutors are on *ty* or *vy* terms:

V Oxfordu jsme byli ve čtvrtek, že (ano)?

'We were in Oxford on Thursday, weren't we?'

Nerada by s námi mluvili beze svědků, že (ne)?

'She wouldn't like to speak to us without witnesses, would she?'

Půjdeš/půjde tam, vid'?

'You (SG)/he will go there, won't you/he?'

Polite requests, cautious advice and so on can often be expressed in question form, in which case the positive-negative difference is again largely neutralized, as is that between indicative and conditional, hence:

Bude vám vadit, když otevřu okno?

Nebude vám vadit, když otevřu okno?

Vadilo by vám, kdybych otevřel okno?

Nevadilo by vám, kdybych otevřel okno?

all versions of 'Do/would you mind if I open/ed the window', sometimes described as ascending in order of relative politeness and/or uncertainty as to the response. Modal verbs figure to a huge extent in this type:

Můžeš/nemůžeš/mohl bys/nemohl bys mu to půjčit?

'Could you lend it to him?'

Neměli byste se mu omluvit? (NEG and COND only)
 'Oughtn't you to apologize to him?' etc.

Responses to questions: *Ano* and *ne* ('yes' and 'no') are used according to the truth value of the reply, independently of that implied by the form of the question, hence both:

Máš pro mě moment? 'Can you spare me a moment?'
 Nemáš pro mě moment?

will be answered *Ano* if a moment is available and *Ne* in the reverse case. It is, however, common for a positive answer to a negative question to be supported by *ale* 'but':

Neudělá to? Ale ano
 'Won't he do it?' 'Yes, he will.'

Short answers requiring more than 'yes' or 'no' repeat the finite verb of the question, or any future or modal auxiliary present, adjusted for person. For the past and conditional the *l*-participles serve this function (the auxiliaries, as enclitics, are precluded):

Přijdeš v úterý? – Přijdu
 'Are you coming on Tuesday?' 'Yes, I am.'
 Nechce si ji vzít? – Nechce
 'Doesn't he want to marry her?' 'No, he doesn't.'
 Budeme malovat? – Budeme
 'Are we going to paint the house?' 'Yes, we are.'
 Udělal by nám to? – Udělal
 'Would he do it for us?' 'Yes, he would.'

Similarly for a positive response to a negative question, in which *ale* is also fairly common:

Nešel by tam? – Ale šel
 'Wouldn't he go there?' 'Yes ('But') he would'

Indirect WH questions use the same inventory as direct questions; **indirect yes-no questions** are introduced by *jestli* or, more formally, *zda*. *Zdali* in the same function is on the decline, while *-li*, if attached to the clause-initial verb, is stylistically neutral. Attachment of *-li* to other constituents is an archaic poetic device only.

The unmarked form for **commands** is the morphological imperative of the verb. Non-morphological 'imperatives', that is, desideratives and optatives, are formed by means of the particles *ať* or *necht'* 'let' combined with the indicative, or *kéž* 'would that' with the indicative or conditional. The former come closest to true imperatives in utterances such as *ať to*

koupi Petr 'let Peter buy it', *necht' ABC je trojuhelnik takový, že ...* 'let ABC be a triangle such that ...' (compare also *mějme trojuhelnik ABC ...* 'let us take a triangle ABC ...'), while *ať mi už nechodí na oči* 'let him not come to my eyes any more' ('I don't want to see him again') is just one example of the many emotional shades which the construction may convey, in all persons, moreover: *pozor, ať ho tím žebříkem neprašti/š* 'look out, mind he doesn't/you don't bash him with that ladder'.

In the imperative, aspect operates as elsewhere in the verb system: a positive command seeking an outcome, a new state of affairs, will be perfective; a positive command enjoining a principle, or the continuance of an existing state of affairs, or the onset of an action, will be imperfective. A negative command proper will be imperfective, while one that embodies a warning will be perfective, hence:

Napiš dopisy a pošli je.

'Write the letters and post them.'

Piš!

'Carry on writing.' or 'Start writing.'

Dopisy nepiš v ruce, ale na stroji!

'Don't write (the) letters by hand, but type them.'

Nenapiš nějakou blbost!

'Mind you don't go and write anything stupid.'

Similarly in constructions with *ať*:

Ať jí o tom nenapíše/-š!

'Mind he doesn't/you don't write to her about it'

Commands with *ať* range from the gentle admonition:

Ať slušně poděkuje/š!

'Make sure he says/you say thankyou nicely'

to the categorical imperative:

Ať to tu máte/mají pěkně uklizeno, než přijde šéf!

'Make sure you/they have the place properly tidied up before the boss gets here!'

Even the most categorical or aggressive type of imperative, the infinitive, as in *sednout!* 'siddown!', *snožit!* 'legs together!', may be used to formulate an ordinary request, as in the dentist's *pusu otevřít* 'mouth open, please'.

Optative sentences, when not expressed as questions (requests) or commands, or by lexical means, may be introduced by *kéž* with the conditional, or more rarely with the indicative:

Kéž přijde/by sem přišel včas.

'I hope he gets here in time.'

A more frequent construction in Modern Czech uses *jen aby* or *jen ať*:

Jen aby přišel včas.

'I hope he gets here in time.'

Jen ať přijde včas.

'I just hope/Just as long as he gets here in time!'

The past conditional *kéž* construction is used to convey wishes that are beyond fulfilment, that is, expressing regret:

Kéž bychom tam byli nešli!

'If only we hadn't gone there!'

while *jen aby* becomes in these contexts (*jen*) *kdyby*:

(Jen) kdyby toho tolik nenasliboval!

'If only he didn't make so many promises!'

Wishes may also be expressed by the infinitive:

Umět zpívat tak hezky jako Jana!

'If only I could sing as well as Jana!'

4.3 Copular sentences

The main copular verb is *být* and its frequentative *bývat*; it can never be omitted. It is in strong competition with *mít* 'have' as a semantically largely empty verb in several types of clause: *her eyes were blue* (preferred in English over the equally correct *she had blue eyes*) has as the preferred counterpart *oči měla modré*, as against the equally possible *její oči byly modré*.

Instrumental-case complementation after copular *stát se* 'become' is obligatory, for nouns or adjectives, but after *zdát se* 'seem' as a quasi-copula such complementation is obsolete; it may still be encountered in literature round the turn of the century (compare the example from Zeyer in *SSJČ*: *Vltava zdála se řekou z temného jantaru* 'the Moldau seemed (like) a river of dark amber'). Adjectival complements after *zdát se* are common in the nominative, but obsolescent in the instrumental.

After *být*, competition between instrumental and nominative in noun predicates is governed perhaps more by tendencies than rules. Uličný's extensive discussion of the topic (1984: 152–94) provides a complex sentence-semantic analysis of the opposition. However, 'In choosing between them [nominative and instrumental] the variation stems from semantic, period, stylistic and individual differences' (*Mluvnice češtiny*, III: 221). The prevailing distinction is for 'permanent attributes' to be expressed by nominative, transient, temporary, acquired (that is, pro-

fessions and callings) or randomly distributed properties by instrumental; in less formal contexts nominative predominates:

Lev je kočkovitá šelma.

'The lion is a feline beast of prey.'

Tamta žena je moje sestra/Francouzka.

'That woman is my sister/French', but:

Náš nový soused je bankéřem/bankéř.

'Our new neighbour is a banker.' (Note here how one asks after a person's calling:

Čím je? 'What (INST) is (he/she).')

Rozumné zacházení s penězi je jedinou zárukou/jediná záruka úspěchu.

'The wise handling of money is the only guarantee of success.'

With subject and predicate inverted, instrumental becomes obligatory (as in this version of the previous example):

Jedinou zárukou úspěchu je rozumné zacházení s penězi.

Expressions normally associated with permanency of the attribute tend to switch to instrumental in various unreal context types:

Kdybych byl tvým otcem já, ...

'If I were your father, ...'

Additional qualifiers may induce a (non-obligatory) switch from nominative to instrumental:

Praha je město v Čechách.

'Prague is a city in Bohemia', but:

Praha je hlavním městem/hlavní město České republiky.

'Prague is the capital of the Czech Republic', or

Petr byl jeho syn.

'Peter was his son', but:

Petr byl synem tehdy nejznámějšího českého houslisty.

'Peter was the son of the then best-known Czech violinist.'

In adjectival predicates there is no nominative–instrumental opposition equivalent to that in noun types (dictionary citations are marked 'obsolete'). As an equally peripheral alternative to the instrumental, contemporary standard Czech uses short forms of adjectives (Uličný 1984: 180). About a dozen 'short' adjectives proper are alive and in use after the copula, usually in meanings distinct from those of the long forms, for example, *být zvědavý* 'be inquisitive' (by nature), *být zvědav* 'wonder (whether)'; *být spokojený* 'be contented' (by nature), *být spokojen s* 'be satisfied with (something)'; *vědomý* 'conscious, deliberate', *být si vědom, že* 'be aware that'; *schopný* 'able', *schopen* + genitive 'capable of'. Many more short adjectives were used in nineteenth-century literature and still

have a tenuous existence, exploited either for fun or as a conspicuous marker of the grander styles.

4.4 Coordination and comitativity

The simple coordinating conjunctions in Czech are: copulative: *a* 'and', *i* emphatic 'and', *ani* 'neither, nor, and not, not even'; adversative: *ale* 'but', *avšak* 'however'; disjunctive: *nebo* 'or', *či* 'or'. Emphatic variants consist of more than one word:

Má psa, ba i kočku.

'He has a dog, and even a cat.'

Nemá psa, ba ani kočku.

'He doesn't have a dog, or even a cat.'

Yoked conjunctions use the pairs *i – i*, *jak – tak i*, *nejen – ale i/nýbrž i/nýbrž také* 'both – and; not only – but also', *jednak – jednak* 'on the one hand – on the other', *ani – ani* 'neither – nor', *bud' – nebo* 'either – or'; of most interest is the often enclitic *sice* followed by *ale/avšak* 'while – nevertheless':

Má jak psa, tak i kočku.

'He has both a dog and a cat.'

Má sice psa, ale také kočku.

'He does have a dog, but a cat as well.'

Copulative coordination occurs at all levels of syntax, using the neutral conjunctions *a* (positive) and *ani* (negative). While *i* reinforces the link between items, its use between clauses may entail ambiguities which are overcome by resort to other devices (*a ještě*, *a dokonce*):

Petr řekl, že přijde, a přišel.

'Peter said he would come, and he did.'

Petr řekl, že přijde, i přišel.

'Peter said he would come, and indeed he came.'

Umyla nádobí i (a ještě) podlahu utřela.

'She washed the dishes and also wiped the floor.'

The conjunctions *a* and *i* provide a useful device for hierarchizing copulative constructions:

Slunce pozlacovalo bílou haciendu i zeleň trávníků a běl stromů i keřů.

'The sun gilded the white hacienda and the green of the lawns, and the white of the trees and shrubs.'

(*Mluvnice češtiny*, III: 339)

Of the other conjunctions mentioned above, the expression of 'not only – but also' with clauses takes the form *nejenže – nýbrž/ale*:

Nejenže přišel pozdě, nýbrž se také neomluvil.

'Not only did he arrive late, but he also didn't apologize.' or:

Nejenže přišel pozdě, ale ani se neomluvil.

'Not only did he arrive late, but he didn't even apologize.'

When noun phrases are conjoined, the question of agreement arises. With noun phrases to the left of the verb, the latter will almost invariably be in the plural. Agreement with mixed-gender noun phrases (for past tenses and conditional) is dominated in turn by any masculine-animate, masculine-inanimate and feminine, for example:

Pes a kočka seděli (M AN PL) na rohožce.

'The dog and the cat were sitting on the mat.'

Dům/Domy (M INAN) i stáda (N PL) byly (M INAN PL) zničeny.

'The house/houses and flocks were destroyed.'

Kočka (F) a kotě (N) seděly (F PL) ...

'The cat and the kitten were sitting ...'

Anomalous agreement occurs with neuters: with a subject consisting solely of neuters, any one of which is singular, the verb agrees as for feminines:

Kotě (N SG) a štěňata (N PL) seděly (F PL) ...

'The kitten and puppies sat ...'

though with all elements neuter plural both feminine and neuter plural agreement are possible:

Kořata a štěňata seděly/seděla ...

'The kittens and puppies were sitting ...'

With the noun phrases following the verb, agreement is usually with the nearest conjunct:

Na rohožce seděl pes a kočka.

Na rohožce seděla kočka a pes.

However, the plurality of a complex subject can be anticipated:

Na rohožce seděli pes a kočka.

We now turn to **comitativity**. The only common hypotactic device expressing coordination is the preposition *s* 'with'; it can only be used where there is close lexico-semantic equivalence between the joined constituents:

Marie s bratrem (rodiči, *psem) šli (M AN PL) za bývalou učitelkou.

'Mary and her brother (parents, *dog) went to see her former teacher.'

The construction is widely used where the left-hand member of the pairing is not expressed directly; given that a non-emphatic personal pronoun subject is represented by zero, a coordinated construction would be impossible, hence:

Kde je Petr? Jeli (PL) se s Marií podívat za její učitelkou.
 'Where's Peter? He and Mary (with Mary they) have gone to see her teacher.'
 S Marií půjdete (2 PL) do krámu a koupíš (2 SG) jí tužku.
 'You and Mary will go to the shop and you'll buy her a pencil.'

If circumstances require insertion of the pronoun, it will be plural:

My s bratrem jsme to neviděli.
 'My brother and I (we with brother) haven't seen it.'

Generally speaking, the chain $N+s+N$ forms a close unit and will be not interrupted by other constituents; thus in the last example it is not split by the enclitics, as in

My jsme to s bratrem neviděli.

which will usually mean 'We (others) did not see it with our brother', but, given the closeness between the two variants and the form lacking the subject pronoun:

S bratrem jsme to neviděli.

it is inevitably ambiguous.

Comitative constructions outside the subject are all potentially ambiguous and *and*-coordination is unquestionably preferred.

As follows from the examples, plural agreement in the verb ensures that the $N+s+N$ phrase is comitative, even if the subject has the form ($N=\emptyset$) $+s+N$; there is no need to interpret $s+N$ as an adverbial phrase. Were the verb in the singular, there is inevitable ambiguity, but a comitative interpretation may apply in some circumstances:

Marie s bratrem jela za bývalou učitelkou.
 'Mary and her brother went to see her former teacher.'

Despite the potential ambiguities, comitative constructions are common in Czech and rarely genuinely ambiguous in context.

4.5 Subordination

Simple 'that'-subordination is expressed by the conjunction *že*, which, like all subordinating conjunctions, must be preceded by a comma:

Řekl, že přijde.
'He said he would come.'

The basic conjunction for **time-clauses** in *past and present* is *když*, in most senses of 'when':

Když hledal ponožky, našel pod postelí stovku.
'When/As he was looking for his sock he found a 100-crown note under the bed.'

In the present the main use is to express simultaneous and habitual events:

Když jde na nákup, bere s sebou čtyři tašky.
'When he goes shopping he takes four bags with him.'

A single event in the present requires the support of *teď* 'now':

Teď když o tom vím, mohu jim to říct.
'Now that I know, I can tell them.'

For future events *když* is replaced by *až*, in all types:

Až půjdeš kolem divadla, podívej se, co dávají.
'When you go past the theatre, have a look what's on.'

Simultaneity can be expressed explicitly by *zatímco*:

Já jsem opakoval dějepis, zatímco sestra dělala fyziku.
'I was revising my history, while my sister was doing her physics.'

However, the same conjunction may express a contrast between actions not necessarily simultaneous:

Já jsem studoval dějepis, zatímco sestra se dala na přírodovědu.
'I studied history, while my sister has gone in for science.'

Simultaneity with a conditional end-point to parallel states of affairs is expressed by *dokud*:

Dokud byl chudý, na auto ani nepomýšlel.
'While he was poor, he didn't even contemplate a car.'

Posteriority of the time clause is expressed by *než*:

Došli jsme tam, než přišel doktor.
'We got there before the doctor arrived.'

Recurrent events are introduced by *kdykoli* 'whenever' or *pokaždé když*

'each time that'; in present contexts such singularized repeated events are expressed by the 'perfective present':

Kdykoli ho potkala/potká, začala/začne na něj štěkat.

'Whenever she met/meets him she started/starts to snap at him.'

Pokaždé když ho potká, začne na něj štěkat.

'Whenever she meets him ...'

Other time conjunctions include *jakmile* 'as soon as', *dokud ... ne-* 'until' and *od té doby, co* 'since'.

The primary conjunction of **causality** is *protože*, which may also occur in correlative subordination as *proto, že*; compare:

Zemřel, protože ho špatně krmili.

'He died because they didn't feed him properly.'

Zemřel proto, že ho špatně krmili.

'The reason he died was that they didn't feed him properly.'

Other conjunctions include *poněvadž* and *jelikož* 'since', obsolescent *ježto* and numerous secondary conjunctions: *díky tomu, že* 'thanks to the fact that', *vzhledem k tomu, že* 'in view of the fact that', *v důsledku toho, že* 'in consequence of the fact that', *z toho, že* 'as a result of the fact that', *za to, že* 'on the grounds that'.

Explanation is introduced by *neboť* 'for'; the clause introduced by it, unlike all the foregoing, must follow the main clause.

Consequence is expressed paratactically by *a proto, a tedy, a tudíž, a z toho důvodu, a následkem toho*, and hypotactically by *takže*:

Nemá peníze, a proto si auto nekoupí.

'He hasn't any money, so he's not going to buy a car.'

Staniční rozhlas strašně chrastil, takže jsem hlášení pořádně neslyšel.

'The station loudspeaker was terribly crackly, so I didn't hear the announcement properly.'

Real conditions are introduced by *jestli* (informal), *jestliže, když, jak* or *-li*, all 'if', and *v případě, že* 'in the event that':

Už nikdy s tebou nebudu mluvit, jestliže hned neodejdeš.

'I'll never speak to you again if you don't go away at once.'

Když nevíš, o čem mluvíš, mlč!

'If you don't know what you're talking about, keep quiet!'

Counterfactual conditional clauses require the conjunction *kdyby*, which contains the conditional auxiliary and conjugates accordingly:

Kdybych věděl, že přijdeš, upekl bych dort.

'If I were to know you were coming, I would bake a cake.'

Similarly for a past unreal condition:

Kdybych byl věděl, že přijdeš, byl bych upekli dort.
'If I'd known you were coming I'd have baked a cake.'

In informal discourse the second part of the auxiliary (*byl*) may be deleted from either clause, or, if the time-plane is obvious, from both.

For **concessive** clauses the main conjunctions are *ačkoli*, *třebaže* and *i když*:

Ačkoli ví velmi dobře, co se od něho chce, dělá, že neví.
'Although he knows full well what is expected of him, he pretends not to know.'

A common device is the particle *sice*: translatable sometimes as a concessive conjunction, it actually anticipates an adversative clause:

^{2W n.}
Anglicky sice neuměl, ale dobře pochopil, o co jí jde.
'(While) He didn't speak English, but he well understood what was on her mind.'

Clauses denoting **purpose** are introduced primarily by the conjunction *aby*, which conjugates like the conditional auxiliary from which it derives; it is accompanied by the *l*-participle, never an infinitive. After main clauses containing verbs of motion, *aby*-clauses are frequently replaced by an infinitive. Some of the types below are more likely to be encountered in colloquial registers only (while not being deemed non-standard):

1 Subjects of both clauses (or whole verb phrase) are identical:

Jel jsem k nim, abych se podíval na novou kočku. 'I went to see their new cat.'
Jel jsem se k nim podívat na novou kočku.

For a single round trip, provided no adverbs of direction are required, an infinitive construction with *být* is used:

Byl jsem se podívat na jejich novou kočku.

2 Subjects of the two verbs differ; in many of these cases the infinitive construction is preferred:

Nechal auto stát (aby stálo) před domem.
'He left his car standing outside the house.'
Pošleme Petra koupit (aby koupil) mléko.
'We'll send Peter to buy milk.'

3 A type that is colloquial only, and therefore not mentioned in the Academy grammar, is the context-bound:

Kam chceš ten žebřík postavit?
'Where do you want the ladder put?'

Context-free, the meaning is unambiguously 'Where do you want to put the ladder?', but the same clause may imply a subject of *postavít* not even mentioned and is equivalent to the equally colloquial

Kam chceš, abych ten žebřík postavít?
'Where do you want me to put the ladder?'

a rare instance where (here) an adverb is extracted from the subordinate clause predicate (*postavít někam*).

Certain types of questions (direct or indirect) containing modality may also be replaced by an infinitive construction:

Nemá, komu by to řekl / Nemá to komu říct.

'He has nobody to tell it to.'

Neví, komu by to řekl / Neví komu to říct.

'He doesn't know who to tell.'

Není, komu by to řekl / Není komu to říct.

'There isn't anyone (for him) to tell.'

Where the agent need not be expressed, the infinitive construction is preferred.

The **relative** pronoun for a substantival antecedent is *který* (more formally *jenž*), which must be preceded by a comma. There is then no device for distinguishing restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. However, their participial counterparts can discriminate, by the same punctuation rules as in English, between the two types:

Nejstarší člen, který sedí/seděl v první řadě, je/byl můj strýc.

'The oldest member(,) who is/was sitting in the front row(,) is/was my uncle.'

Nejstarší člen sedící v první řadě je/byl můj strýc.

'The oldest member sitting in the front row is/was my uncle.' (there may be older members elsewhere)

Nejstarší člen, sedící v první řadě, je/byl můj strýc.

'The oldest member, sitting in the front row, is/was my uncle.' (the oldest member, my uncle, was sitting in the front row)

Other relative pronouns depend on the nature of the antecedent, with which they correlate: *to, co* 'that which', *cokoli, co* 'anything that', *tam, kde* 'the place where', *každý, kdo* 'anyone who', etc.

In addition to the infinitive and participial phrases, **gerundial phrases** may be used as a condensing device. They replace clauses of time or cause/reason expressing events simultaneous with (imperfective, 'present' gerund) or anterior to (perfective, 'past' gerund) those conveyed by the main clause, irrespective of the tense of the latter:

Proplývala celý den, nemajíc co dělat.

'She squandered the entire day, having nothing to do.'

přišedši domů, hned zatopila, aby starý dům ožil.

'Having arrived home, she lit a fire at once so that the old house would come back to life.'

Use of the gerunds is governed by several factors: (a) they are confined, with the exception of a few idiomatic fossils (*chtě nechtě* 'willy-nilly'), to higher, written styles; some writers exploit them to great effect; (b) they can only be used where the subjects of the main clause and gerundial phrase are identical; (c) they must agree with the main-clause subject in gender and number, but, unlike morphological errors in, say, declension, errors here are common and rarely provoke any corrective response in an interlocutor – a side-effect of the retention of an obsolete feature only imperfectly mastered at school; (d) the imperfective gerund is relatively more widely used than the perfective.

Constraints on extraction out of subordinate clauses are very strong in Czech, and it is difficult to gain clear evidence of actual extractions from informants. Nor is it described in grammars, and mutations of such English types as *the man that I think that you saw* or *the man who you said saw you* produce uncertain responses and/or their blunt rejection as gross, uneducated, colloquial or calquing distortions. There are always other means to express the same ideas, namely adverbials or particles such as *podle mě*, for 'I think', or *prý*, for 'you (or anyone else!) said', or full clauses. Nevertheless, some types *are* to be heard, in one of the following forms:

?muž, kterého si myslím, že viděl
man-NOM who-ACC REFL.DAT think-1.SG that+AUX.2.SG saw-M.SG

?muž, co si myslím, že ho viděl
man what REFL.DAT think-1.SG that+AUX.2.SG him-ACC saw-M.SG

?muž, cos řekl, že tě viděl
man what+AUX.2.SG said-M.SG that thou-ACC saw-M.SG

None of these examples is authentic, but informants concede they could occur. If clauses, rather than adverbials, were to be used to 'rectify' them, the (variously acceptable) replacements could be, for example:

muž, o kterém si myslím, že ho viděl 'the man of whom I think that you saw him'
muž, o kterém jsi řekl, že tě viděl 'the man of whom you said that he saw you'

or

muž, kterého jsi(,) myslím(,) viděl (with *myslím* as a weak parenthesis)
muž, který tě, jak říkáš, viděl (with parenthetical 'as you say')

4.6 Negation

Sentence negation is expressed by the prefix *ne-* attached to the verb:

Petr neplave.
'Peter doesn't swim.'

This produces a single word, so the negator attracts the stress. In the past tense and conditional it is attached to the *l*-participle:

Na Madagaskaru ještě nebyl.
'He hasn't been to Madagascar yet.'
Na Madagaskar bych nechtěl jet.
'I wouldn't like to go to Madagascar.'

Only in the past conditional is there a choice of position:

Nebyli byste jí to řekli. / Byli byste jí to neřekli.
'You wouldn't have told her.'

In the imperfective future, *ne-* is attached to the auxiliary:

Petr se nebude učit.
'Peter won't study.'

Similarly, it is attached to the modal auxiliaries, which are therefore what it negates; hence, for example:

Petr se musí učit.
'Peter must (has to) study.'
Petr se nemusí učit.
'Peter needn't (doesn't have to) study.'
Petr smí přijít.
'Peter may (is allowed to) come.'
Petr nesmí přijít.
'Peter must not (is not allowed to) come.'

The difference between subjective (deontic) and objective (epistemic) modality has no effect on the location of the negator, though out of context certain potential ambiguities arise:

Petr nemusí přijít.
'Peter needn't come.' / 'Peter may not turn up.'
Petr to nemohl vypít
'Peter couldn't drink it.' / 'Peter can't have drunk it.'

Constituent negation is expressed by the free negative particle *ne*, or, more emphatically, *nikoli*; when constituent negation is associated with adversativity, a common concomitant element is the particle *však*:

Byl jsem všude, nikoli však v Římě.
 'I've been everywhere, but not to Rome.'

Quantifiers can be negated:

Ne všichni tomu věří.
 'Not all of them believe it.'
 Ne každý by si to koupil.
 'Not everyone would buy that.'

but they are very commonly replaced by apparent sentence negation:

Všichni tomu nevěří or Každý by si to nekoupil

the literal meanings of which, 'They all (don't believe) it', that is, 'No one believes it', or 'Everyone would (not buy) it', that is, 'No one would buy it', are more theoretical than probable.

With total negation, negative elements accumulate; any negative subject or object pronoun or pronoun-adverb is reinforced by *ne-* in the verb:

Nikdo to nekoupil.
 'No one bought it.'
 Petr nekoupil nic.
 'Peter didn't buy anything.'
 Nemohli to koupit nikde.
 'They couldn't buy it anywhere.'
 Nikdy nikde nekupovali nic.
 'They never ever bought anything anywhere.'

Two negatives with a (restricted) positive meaning are possible where one of them is lexical, or in verbal phrases containing infinitives:

On není nešikovný.
 'He isn't useless.' (he's potentially quite handy)
 Nechce kvůli tomu nespát.
 'He doesn't want to lose sleep over it.' (he doesn't want because of that not to sleep)

The direct object after a negative is in the accusative. The negative genitive object survives as a feature of archaizing styles only. In Old Czech it was practically regular, and in the seventeenth century it was encouraged as a purist attack on the 'Latin' accusative that had begun to prevail; even in this century, however, some writers have still used it in free variation with the accusative. Survivals in modern standard Czech are semi-idiomatic phrases, mostly involving mass nouns or abstracts and the verb *mít* 'have' with the expression of quantity as the underlying motivating factor, for example, *nemít peněz/ani halěře/naděje/sil/nejmenší příčiny* 'not have

money/a single penny/hope/the strength/the slightest grounds'; in all these the accusative is now preferred. Similarly *neznat mezi* 'know no bounds' is yielding to *neznat meze*. In one (?) case only do both forms continue to compete, namely *nezamhouřit oka* 'not get a wink of sleep', *nezamhouřit oko* 'not shut one's eye'.

The subject genitive is equally restricted; it occurs chiefly with *být* (always neuter singular), but also *zůstat* 'remain' and *zbýt* 'be left':

Není důvodu si domnívat, že ...

'There is no reason to suppose that ...'

Po sněhu nezbylo/nezůstalo ani památky/stopy.

'There wasn't a hint/trace of the snow remaining.'

In most cases a nominative subject is now preferred, as also in the isolated idiom, from *minout* 'pass':

nemine dne (GEN)/den (NOM) (, aby ... ne-).

'Not a day passes (without -ing)'.

Most surviving phrases containing subject genitive bear other marks of their idiomatic quality, which helps to sustain them. The more complex an idiomatic or phrasal unit, the greater the resistance to the switch from genitive to nominative, hence in the rhyming proverb:

Není šprochu, aby na něm nebylo pravdy trochu.

'There's no smoke without fire.' (literally 'There's no rumour that doesn't have a bit of truth in it.')

šprochu (GEN) is supported by the rhyme and cannot be replaced by *šproch* (NOM).

4.7 Anaphora and pronouns

Czech normally requires subject personal pronouns only for emphasis, contrast and so on:

Kdo by řekl, že to udělá?!

'Who would have thought (= 'said') he'd do it?'

Kdo by řekl, že to udělá on?!

'Who would have thought *he* would do it?'

On by to udělal, ale ona nechce.

'He would do it, but she doesn't want to.'

Kdo to udělá? On, nebo ona?

'Who'll do it? He or she?'

Identity of subjects in two successive clauses is typically expressed by congruency between the finite verbs, the second subject being deleted:

V samoobsluze narazila Marie_a na bývalou spolužačku_b. Deset let ji_b neviděla, ale hned ji poznala.

'Mary bumped into an old classmate in the supermarket. She hadn't seen her for ten years, but she recognized her at once.'

However, a change of subject in the second clause produces ambiguity in the third, which need not be resolved even by insertion of an additional pronoun:

Marie_a byla na nákupu. U pokladny na ni_a narazila bývalá spolužačka_b, a hned ji_a poznala.

'Mary was out shopping. Her former classmate bumped into her at the check-out and she recognized her at once.'

To ensure that *Marie* is the subject of *poznala*, *Marie* would have to be repeated in the third clause; there is no device, except a relative clause, to ensure that 'classmate' is the subject.

To achieve a change of subject Czech typically uses the demonstrative (not personal) pronoun:

V samoobsluze narazila Marie_a na bývalou spolužačku_b. Ta_b ji_a deset let neviděla, ale hned ji_a poznala.

Any theoretical ambiguity about the third clause is eliminated by semantic and pragmatic considerations. Obviously, with a gender difference between the two denotates no ambiguity can arise – where the predicate relies on past-tense forms. In other instances the scope for ambiguity is broader:

Marie s ním měla mluvit doma, ale nevěděla, kdy tam vlastně bude.

'She was to speak to him at home, but she didn't know when he/she would actually be there.'

The ambiguity, which would apply equally with *nevěděl* ('he didn't know'), can be eliminated by the use of various classes of pronoun:

... nevěděla, kdy tam vlastně sama bude

'when she would be there herself'

... nevěděla, kdy tam vlastně on bude

'when he would be there'

While a common subject in two successive clauses is not repeated, a common object is identified by means of a personal pronoun:

Jan potkal cizince a pozval ho k sobě domů.

'John met a foreigner and invited him home.'

Subsequent common objects may, however, be deleted:

Potkal cizince, pozval ho k sobě domů a představil rodičům.
 'He met a foreigner, invited him home and introduced (him) to his parents.'

Cataphoric cross-reference is rare. The only standard occurrences are where the first member is in parenthesis:

Řekni to Pavlovi a, potkáš-li ho_a, taky Petrovi_a.
 'Tell Paul, and, if you meet him, Peter as well.'

4.8 Reflexives and reciprocals

Reflexivity is expressed primarily by the free morpheme *se*. It is often described as a particle rather than a pronoun on the grounds of the many functions in which it is referentially empty (in passive and/or impersonal constructions, in the wide range of verbs that are *reflexiva tantum* and so on), and because under emphasis or where agreement might be required it behaves differently from other pronoun objects, even with such quintessentially reflexive verbs as *mýt se* 'wash':

Umyl ho. / Jeho umyl.
 'He washed him.' / 'He washed *him*.'
 Umyl se. / Sám se umyl.
 'He washed.' / 'He washed *himself*.' (not *umyl sebe*)
 Umyl ho(ACC) celého(ACC).
 'He gave him a thorough wash', but
 Umyl se celý(NOM).
 'He had a thorough wash.'

Similarly, there is no accusative-to-genitive transformation with the verbal noun, in those instances where the reflexive morpheme is preserved, for example, *učení se cizím jazykům* 'learning foreign languages'; where there is no risk of ambiguity it is simply dropped; compare the following:

mýt auto 'wash the car' > *mytí auta* 'car-washing'
mýt se 'have a wash' > *myti* 'ablutions', or
učit dítě 'teach a child' > *učení dítěte* 'the teaching of a child'
učit se 'study' > *učení* 'studying, apprenticeship, revision'

The morpheme *se* does express reflexivity to the extent that it may alternate paradigmatically with other nouns in analogous functions, irrespective of case, and guarantees that the action affects the subject:

hnout stolem 'move the table' / *hnout sebou* 'get a move on'
kupovat Petrovi aktovku 'buy Peter a briefcase' / *kupovat si aktovku*

Many uses of *si* (DAT) border closely on *reflexiva tantum* even as

indirect objects; *kupovat* 'buy' is almost automatically accompanied by *si* in the absence of another intended recipient (*Petrovi* above); its omission signals that the purchaser is *not* the beneficiary. *Dát si* 'have', followed by names of food and drink, or, similarly, *vzít si* 'help oneself to', also 'marry', require explicit reference to the beneficiary (the grammatical subject) through the pronoun-particle *si*.

A reflexive verb can only denote actions affecting the subject; to the extent that embedding of various types occurs, any reflexive expression in an underlying clause (usually reduced to a dependent infinitive) will normally apply to the deleted subject of that clause, hence

doporučil jim se umýt. (◁ aby se umyli)
 recommended-M them-DAT REFL wash-INF
 'He recommended them to wash.' (themselves, not him)

Note the special case of the verbs *dávat/dát* and *nechávat/nechat* 'have' and 'let':

si
 Dal *si* udělat nový plot. (◁ někdo *mu* udělal nový plot)
 had-M REFL.DAT make-INF new fence-ACC
 'He had a new fence made (for himself).'

Dává *se* ostříhat v podniku za rohem. (◁ někdo ho ostříhá)
 has REFL.ACC cut-INF in enterprise-LOC behind corner-INST
 'He has his hair cut at the place round the corner.'

Nechává *sebou* snadno manipulovat. (◁ lidé *jim* snadno manipulují)
 lets self-INST easily manipulate-INF
 'He lets himself be manipulated easily.'

Another area in which the object of an underlying clause may become a reflexive complement of the main verb is after *slyšet* 'hear':

Slyšel o sobě vykládat všelijaké hlouposti. (◁ x o něm vykládá hlouposti)
 heard-M about self tell-INF sundry nonsenses
 'He heard a lot of nonsense talked about himself.'

But there are some rather opaque constraints; for example:

*Slyšel *si* připisovat různé nepravdy.
 'He heard various untruths ascribed to him.'

ought to be from *x mu připisuje různé nepravdy*, yet it is not possible.

There are a few idioms where the morpheme *se* refers to an object, rather than subject. In one, *dát někomu něco na sebe* 'dress someone', *na sebe* 'onto self' is an adverbialization of its proper reflexive use in *mít něco na sebe* 'have something to wear' or *vzít si něco na sebe* 'put something on'. Similarly, *vzít něco s sebou* 'take something with one' may yield the

transitive *dát někomu něco s sebou* 'give someone something (to take) with him'.

The reflexive possessive pronoun *svůj* is also restricted to cross-referring to a nominative subject as possessor. It is therefore possible to say:

Má rád svoje nové auto.
'He's fond of his (own) new car.'

but not

*Líbí se mu svoje nové auto.
Like REFL him-DAT REFL.POSS new car-NOM
'He likes his (own) new car.'

since the grammatical subject is the car.

The precise co-referent of *svůj* may be undeterminable in certain infinitive phrases or phrases involving verbal nouns, as in:

Slyším tě zpívat svou píseň
hear-1.SG thou-ACC sing-INF POSS song-ACC
'I hear you singing your/my song.'

Such ambiguities are fairly common, and authoritative sources advise that person-specific possessives are preferable.

In isolated instances, as with *se* above, *svůj* may enter into adverbials in which cross-reference to the subject is precluded:

Dej ten hrnec na své místo.
put-IMP DEM pot-ACC on REFL.POSS place-ACC
'Put that pan back in its place.'

Evidence of the idiomatic quality of this occurrence is the impossibility of replacing *své* here by the more colloquial *svoje*.

Reciprocity is also expressed primarily by *se/si*:

Mají se rádi.
'They love each other.'
Už dlouho si dopisují.
'They've been writing to one another for a long time.'

With verbs requiring complementation other than accusative or dative, the preferred expression of reciprocity is *jeden druhého* 'one-NOM another-ACC', the second element carrying relevant case markers; for example:

Opovrhují jeden druhým.
'They despise one another.'

Dívali se jeden na druhého.
‘They looked at each other.’

A third device is *navzájem* ‘mutually’, often present semi-redundantly:

Rádi si navzájem pomáhají.
glad-PL REFL.DAT mutually help-3.PL
‘They enjoy helping one another.’

or to eliminate ambiguity between reciprocity and reflexivity:

Kupují si navzájem dárky.
‘They’re buying each other presents.’

Reciprocity may be expressed from the perspective of both participants, that is, with a plural subject, or of one, with the subject in the singular and a ‘with’-construction:

Slušně se pozdravili.
‘They exchanged polite greetings.’
Slušně se s ním pozdravil.
‘He exchanged a polite greeting with him.’
Dopisují si už léta.
‘They’ve been corresponding for years.’
Dopisuje si s ní už léta.
‘He’s been corresponding with her for years.’

Adverbialized constructions where reciprocal *se* does not cross-refer to the subject may occur after verbs of putting:

Musíte cihly klást přes sebe.
‘You must put the bricks across each other.’

A permutation of *jeden druhého* eliminates any ambiguity, as in:

Musíte cihly klást jednu na druhou

4.9 Possession

Possession, in all shades of appurtenance, is expressed primarily by *mít* ‘have’: *vůz má čtyři kola* ‘a cart has four wheels’, and other lexical items such as *vlastnit* ‘possess’ or, inversely, *přítit* + dative ‘belong’.

The possessive dative (often close to *dativus (in-)commodi*) is almost obligatory in co-occurrence with the names of body parts:

Rozbil si nohu.
‘He broke his (own, hence REFL) leg.’

Umyla *mu* vlasy.
 'She washed his hair.'
 Díval se *mu* do očí.
 'He was looking into his eyes.'
 Podlamovaly se *mu* nohy.
 'His legs were giving way.'

but also with intimate possessions:

Strčil *ji* bonbony do kapsy kabátu.
 'He popped the sweets in her coat pocket.'
 vloupat se *někomu* do domu
 'to burgle someone's house'
 Rozpáraly se *ti* kalhoty.
 'Your trousers have split.'
 Unesli *mu* dceru.
 'They kidnapped his daughter.'

In other contexts the usual means is the possessive pronoun: *můj, tvůj, jeho* (indeclinable), *jeji* (declined as a 'soft' adjective), *náš, váš, jejich* (indeclinable), or, when a (human) possessor is denoted by a one-word expression, the **possessive adjective**, formed from almost all masculine and feminine noun classes, for example, *synův, otcův, starostův, matčin, neteřin, Stěpánův, Milošův, Annin, Venušín, Shakespearův*, '(my/his) son's, father's, the mayor's, mother's, niece's, Stephen's, Miloš's, Anne's, Venus's, Shakespeare's'. Such adjectives cannot be formed from morphologically adjectival names, hence 'George's', 'Tolstoy's' are the (usually) antepositioned genitives *Jiřího, Tolstého*, or from feminine surnames, which usually use the postpositioned genitive: *rozhodnutí Thatcherové* '(Mrs) Thatcher's decision'.

If the possessor phrase consists of more than one word, possession is expressed by the genitive, which in the unmarked form follows the head:

syn starého pána
 'the old gentleman's son'

though in context, inversion, the marked form, may be required and is not unusual.

4.10 Quantification

The main **indefinite quantifiers** are *málo* 'few, little', *mnoho* 'much, many', *nemálo* 'not a little/few', *nemnoho* 'not much/many', *trochu* 'a little', *několik* 'several', interrogative *kolik?* 'how much/many?' and anaphoric *tolik* 'so much/many'. (Secondary items include *pár* 'a few', *hrstka* 'a (mere) handful', *hromada* 'heaps', *spousta/spousty* 'lots', and others.)

In any nominative or accusative function a quantified noun is always in

the genitive: *málo mouky* 'little flour', *trochu času* 'a little time', *mnoho lidí* 'many people', *několik dotazů* 'several questions'. Oblique-case functions are marked in the quantifiers (except *málo*, *nemálo* and *trochu*) by the general ending *-a*, unambiguous case markers being carried by the noun:

Šli jsme tam s několika cizinci (INST).
'We went there with several foreigners.'
Napsali mnoha bývalým žákům (DAT).
'They wrote to many former pupils.'

Málo and *nemálo* carry the *-a* marker only in genitive functions:

s málo žáky (INST) / jeden z mála žáků
'with few pupils / one of the few pupils'

Trochu, a fossilized accusative of *trocha*, usually reverts to its substantival status in oblique cases, the quantified expression remaining in the genitive:

Vystačili si s trochou (INST) mouky.
'They made do with a little flour.'
Udělal z trochy (GEN) mouky knedlíky.
'They made dumplings out of a little flour.'

Other substantival items generally retain their morphological attributes.

As the grammatical subject, a noun phrase containing a quantifier requires the verb in the third person singular, neuter in the past and conditional:

Přijde několik hostů.
'Several guests are coming.'
Zbylo mu trochu času.
'He had a little time left.'
Tu zkoušku udělá málo z nás/z kluků.
'Few of us/the boys will pass the exam.'

Note the preposition *z* used where the quantifier denotes a subset of the referent in the noun phrase.

The interrogative pronoun *co* and its compounds, including *nic*, constitute a separate set of quantifiers. Some may quantify substantival items in certain styles and contexts:

Ještě máme něco peněz.
'We still have a little money.' ('something of money')
Co tam bylo dnes cizinců!
'The number of foreigners there were there today!'

However, their important function is to quantify qualities, adjectival mean-

ings. If the whole phrase is in a nominative or accusative slot the adjective is in the genitive, otherwise both constituents agree:

Co (je) nového?

'What's new?'

Ten se nezastaví před něčím takovým.

'He won't stop at something like that.'

Similar rules to the above also apply to the numerals '5' to '99'. Here the oblique case marker is *-i*:

přišlo (N.SG) pět studentů (GEN.PL)

'Five students came.'

s pěti studenty (INST)

'with five students'

The two key rules (noun and modifiers in the genitive and verb in the neuter singular) hold whatever word order may apply:

několik/deset dobrých jablek

'several/ten good apples'

dobrých deset jablek

'a good ten apples'

dobrých pár let

'a good few years'

dobrých jablek bylo několik/deset

'there were several/ten good apples'

z patnácti bylo dobrých jablek deset

'out of fifteen, ten apples were good'

pět jich bylo červivých

'five of them were maggotty'

The numerals '1' to '4' are 'adjectival', hence there is agreement in number, case and, where available, gender:

jedna studentka se ztratila

'one student has gone missing'

jedny nůžky se ztratily (PL)

'one pair of scissors has gone missing'

The numerals '21'-'24' and '31'-'34' may show agreement patterns based on the final digit:

dvacet jeden student (SG)

'twenty-one students (M)'

dvacet dvě studentky (PL)

'twenty-two students (F)'

but this is now obsolescent and the preferred forms are:

dvacet jedna (!) studentů
dvacet dva (!) studentek

or the non-problematic inversions:

jednadvacet/dvaadvacet studentů/studentek (GEN.PL)

The latter are preferred in oblique cases because of the simpler morphology, compare the now almost hypercorrect:

s dvaceti jedním studentem
'with twenty-one students (M)'
s dvaceti dvěma studentkami
'with twenty-two students (F)'

and the current

s jednadvaceti studenty/studentkami

Longer numerals may (but need not) decline in all their parts: *bez* (+ GEN) *dvou miliónů sedm(i) set padesát(i) osm(i) tisíc pět(i) set třiceti čtyř* 'minus 2,758,534'.

A special set of **collective numerals** is used with *pluralia tantum*: *jedny/dvoje/troje/čtvery/patery dveře* '1/2/3/4/5 doors', *jedna/dvoje/troje/čtvera/patera kamna* '... stoves', showing rudimentary gender agreement in the nominative and accusative and sharing their oblique-case forms with a set denoting the number of kinds of objects named, for example *dvoji/troji/čtveré*, etc. *kalhoty* '2/3/4 etc. kinds of trousers', which decline like adjectives. Another set denotes collectivities of like items: *čtvero (ročních dob)* '(the) four (seasons)', *desatero* 'the decalogue'; they decline like hard neuter nouns. These once clearly distinct types are prey to much morphological interference.

Of the **fractions**, the quantifier 'half' is expressed by indeclinable *půl*, followed by the genitive: *půl šesté* 'half past five' (half of the sixth hour), *půl pinty* 'half a pint', or the appropriate case if the entire phrase is in an oblique case: *před půl šestou* 'before five-thirty', *po půl roce* 'after six months'; *čtvrt* 'quarter', *tříčtvrtě* 'three-quarters', and *půldruha* 'one and a half' behave similarly, but the last declines more frequently these days as an adjective: *půldruha roku* > *půldruhý rok*, *před půldruha rokem* > *před půldruhým rokem* 'eighteen months ago'.

As nouns, fractions are derived from ordinals, hence *třetina* 'one-third', *čtvrtina* 'quarter', *tisícina* 'thousandth', *milióntina* 'millionth', or from the oblique-case stem of cardinals, hence *pětina* 'one-fifth', *sedmina* 'one-seventh', *devítina* 'one-ninth', *desetina* 'one-tenth', *devadesátina* 'one-ninetieth', *setina* 'one-hundredth'; 'half' is usually *polovina* and 'most (= majority)' is *většina*.

5 Lexis

5.1 General composition of the word-stock

The core of the word-stock is firmly Slavonic, with about 2,000 items shared with all or most of the other Slavonic languages. Borrowings are increasing rapidly, chiefly by adoption of Greco-Latin or English internationalisms. The relative share of Slavonic and non-Slavonic in the lexicon overall is hard to determine, but on average every seventh word in use is said to be a borrowing.

5.2 Patterns of borrowing

The first of many outside influences on Czech came from Old Church Slavonic, in the stabilization of religious terminology, as in *modlit se* 'pray', *mučedník* 'martyr'. (Forms and meanings quoted here and below apply to contemporary Czech; for the development of individual items see the standard reference works: Machek 1968; Holub and Lyer 1967; Gebauer 1970–; Klimeš 1981.) Some shared Czech/Old Church Slavonic items had already come from elsewhere: from German *půst* 'fast', Greek *pop* 'priest' (now 'Russian Orthodox priest' only), *sobota* 'sabbath, Saturday', from Latin, via other Romance languages, *koleda* 'carol', *kříž* 'cross', *papež* 'pope', *pohan* 'pagan'. Other early loans in this register include direct loans (from Latin *apoštol* 'apostle', *kostel* 'church', *anděl* 'angel'; from German *hřbitov* 'cemetery', *vánoce* 'Christmas'), Latin and Greek terms mediated by German (*almužna* 'alms', *biřmovat* 'confirm', *jeptiška* 'nun', *kalich* 'chalice') and calques (*svědomí* 'conscience', *prvorozenec* 'first-born son'). The strength of Latin is due to pre-Methodian missionary activity, and, from the eleventh century, to its role as the language of religion (replacing Old Church Slavonic) and administration.

From the twelfth century onwards, ecclesiastical and administrative functions were taken over by Czech, which was also widely used in literature. The fourteenth century saw the completion of the Old Czech Bible translation and the appearance of the first dictionaries. As society advanced new terminology was needed. Calquing (from Latin: *podstata* < *substantia* 'essence', *jakost* (Old Czech still *kakost*) < *qualitas*) and borrowing (from Latin: *majestát*, *figura*, *karta*, and again from German: *léno* 'feoff', *hrabě* 'count', *říše* 'realm, empire', *rytiř* 'knight', *škoda* 'shame; damage', *ortel* 'verdict', *děkovat* 'thank', *musit* 'must', *barva* 'colour', *klenot* 'gem', *halda* '(slag-)heap') were widespread and all the items quoted survive. Many others did not.

During the period of Humanism (mid-fifteenth to sixteenth centuries) more borrowings appeared, despite the efforts of some early grammarians who railed against German and Latin loans in Czech. Latin terminology was partly tolerated in education, medicine and the law, where the users would understand the terms. Survivals from this period include *puls*, *pilule*,

mutovat, *proces*. Hapsburg military activities led to some early loans from French and Spanish (*armáda*, *kapitán*, *kurýr*; also the modern colloquial survivals *oficír*, *kvartýr*). German continued to penetrate, but permanently only in the jargons/terminologies of crafts; few items have become standard terms (*verpánek* < *Werkbank* 'cobbler's bench', *hoblík* 'plane').

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the period of the major Baroque grammarians, who preferred neologizing from Czech roots; relatively few items survive, but Rosa's *příslovce* < *adverbium* is one calque that has stood the test first of inclusion in Jungmann's dictionary, then of time. Most borrowings of the period merely reflected contemporary fashions and have largely disappeared, but *kavalír*, *lokaj* 'footman', *galán* 'gallant', *fraucimor* (< *Frauenzimmer*) 'my lady's chamber', then 'ladies-in-waiting', later colloquial for one's 'woman' or 'women' in general) survive.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries are marked by the National Revival, which for lexical development is almost synonymous with the work of Josef Jungmann, culminating in his five-volume Czech-German dictionary (1834-9), in which he sought to demonstrate the vast wealth of the Czech word-stock. The dictionary incorporates not only the living standard language, but countless archaisms, also some dialectisms and many new technical terms. He excluded contemporary and even well-established colloquial Germanisms (such as *hausmistr*, *rynk*, *pucovat* 'clean'). Terminologies were hugely important in the Revival in order to render Czech serviceable in all domains. However, it has been suggested that the National Revival was so language-centred that scholarship was pursued for what it might contribute to the language, rather than the language's being put at the service of learning. Jungmann created a literary terminology, while others worked on logic and semiotics, obstetrics, geometry and physics, psychology and the natural sciences. J.V.Presl, whose work in the last-named area has been studied the most widely, while drawing many new words from native resources, drew heavily on other Slavonic languages; these borrowings, together with some of his neologisms, have been the most durable. In a major study, Kolari (1981) shows that Presl's botanical innovations included 107 items from Polish, 104 from Russian, 73 from South Slavonic and even two from Sorbian. Not all Presl's terms have survived.

Early nineteenth-century borrowings were not solely from Slavonic, though the Slavonic languages were a preferred source. Latin, Greek and German input is concealed beneath another wave of calques: *zeměpis* 'geography', *krasopis* 'calligraphy'; *jazykozpyt* 'linguistics' < *Sprachkunde*; *přirodověda* 'natural science' have survived, but many other similar items were later ousted by the more recognizable internationalisms. The cosmopolitanization of European society of the day brought yet other borrowings into literature, like *cyklon*, *splin* (then written *spleen*), *nostalgie* and *non-šalantní*.

Inter-war terminological innovation was almost consistently based on Czech roots, but with many 'hidden Germanisms', as calques were fearfully described by the purists. Since the war, by contrast, resistance to internationalisms, at least, has gone, purism is dying out and a vast increase in technical loan-words, often, but not solely, from English continues. Names for many (sub-)cultural and other innovations are instant borrowings, again largely from English, for example, *mejkap* (or *make-up*), *lančmít* 'pork luncheon meat', *džinsy* 'jeans', to add to such earlier loans as *džez* 'jazz', *žokej* 'jockey', *buldok*, *mohér*, *ofsajd* 'off-side' (a noun), *sajdkar*.

The post-war period has led to a new influx of loans from or through Russian, such as *prověrka* 'screening', *pětiletka* 'five-year plan', *stachanovec* 'Stakhanovite'; *kombajn* 'combine', *dispečer* 'despatcher'.

Perhaps the subtlest problem of other-Slavonic loans in Czech relates to Slovak. Such items as *zástava* 'banner', *znoj* 'great heat', *zbojník* 'brigand', *výdobytek* 'gain, achievement', *namyšlený* 'conceited' and *nárokovat* 'claim, demand' are of mixed antiquity and frequency. *Namyšlený*, first recorded about 1945, had by the late 1980s almost replaced *domyšlivý* and *nafoukaný*, allegedly for its stylistic neutrality. On the whole, pressure from Slovak is slight, but insidious, as witness the recent ousting of informal *kafičko* 'coffee', in the register of waiters, by Slovak *kávička*, isomorphic with what would have been the Czech diminutive of *káva* if it were used. Slovak-Czech interference is strongest among mobile social groups (such as the army, students, the pop-music world) and produces some magnificent hybrid slangs. Slovak is also the medium by which some Hungarian and Rumanian loans reached Czech, many of them exoticisms more than true loans.

5.3 Incorporation of borrowings

Borrowings generally adapt well to Czech morphological patterns. Difficulties arise chiefly out of conflict between gender and outward form, or, sometimes, because of pronunciation problems.

Nouns borrowed from the classical languages are adapted on the basis of the original stem, thus any final *-us*, *-um*, *-os*, *-on*, *-is* and so on is treated as an ending, alternating paradigmatically with Czech case morphemes: masculine *dinosaurus* has genitive *dinosauria*, nominative plural *dinosauri*; similarly *génus*, *génia*, *géniové*, accusative plural *génie* (the plural is adapted to the soft declension on account of the *-j-* glide in the ending); *papyros*, *papyru*; *diabetes*, *diabetu*; feminine *synopsis*, *synopse*; neuter *vizum*, *viza*; *kritérion*, *kritéria* (with 'soft' endings in the plural oblique cases). Many such items have entered the general word-stock, adapting so completely as to keep the full citation form of the word as the morphological base, hence *kaktus*, *kaktusu*; *epos*, *eposu*; *digitális*, *digitálisu*. Occasionally, a \emptyset -ending nominative singular is back-formed by analogy with the oblique cases, as with *tyfus*, *tyfu* > *tyf*. Instances of free variation also

occur: *glóbus*, *glóbu/glóbusu*, *album*, *alba/albumu* (only *alba* sanctioned for the standard language), or separate lexicalization: *fikus*, *fiku* 'rubber-plant', *fik*, *fiku* 'fig'. Awareness of the form of an alien stem governs the treatment of other classical loan-words; a few examples will show the procedure: *panorama* (N), genitive (!), dative and locative singular *panoramatu*; *farao/Cicero*, *faraona/Cicerona*; *ion*, *iontu*; *falanx*, *falangy* (also back-formed nominative *falanga*); *larynx*, *laryngu* and so on.

Masculine animate borrowings ending in any short vowel adapt to declensional classes on the basis of the stem-final consonant, hence *gigolo*, *gigola*; *signore*, *signora*; *gaučo*, *gauča* (!), *gauče* (ACC PL). Those ending in [i] or [í] adapt in the singular to the declension of *ten*, hence *kuli*, *kuliho*, *mahdí*, *mahdího*, and in the plural to *muž* (*kuliové*, *kuliů*, instrumental *kulii*, but *mahdimi*). Similar treatments apply to many foreign surnames in *-i*, *-ey* and so on. Some nouns evolve new nominatives: *kolibri* > *kolibričik*, *pony* > *poník*, which then present no declensional problems (similarly inanimate *taxi* > *taxík*). Nouns in *-u* either remain indeclinable (*zebu*) or add case morphemes to the entire word (*marabu*, *marabua*), but note the surname *Ceaușescu*, genitive *Ceaușeska*.

Among feminine and neuter borrowings problems arise with items which end in *-a* or *-o* preceded by another vowel. They produce various hybrid declensions; basically 'hard' *boa* or *rodeo* have genitive plural *boi* and *rodei*. Nouns in *-ia* (*tibia*) decline as soft feminines, while those in *-yo* (*embryo*) and *-io* (*rádio*) decline as soft neuters in the plural oblique cases only. Nouns in *-ea* have parallel sets of hard and soft endings (*idea*, genitive *ideje/idey* and so on).

Other vocalic endings create their own problems, for example, *-é* in animates, which either produces indeclinables (*atašé* 'attaché') or, occasionally, words which borrow pronominal endings (*abbé-ho*); inanimates are usually indeclinable neuters (*dražé* 'dragée', *froté*, *pyré* 'purée'). Non-inflection and neuter gender is the most widespread solution for inanimates with phonetic/orthographic anomalies (*menu*, *interview*, *mini*, *ragby*), especially those items with an adaptive orthography (*angažmá*, *filé*), although non-adapted spellings can lead to a different gender and inflection (*interview* (M) genitive *interviewu*, pronounced [intervjúvu]). There are few indeclinable masculines (*buklé* 'bouclé', *para* 'Brasil nut') and feminines (*okapi*, *džentry*). Oddly, some neuters are indeclinable despite the ease with which they might have adapted: *faksimile*, *finale*, *konkláve*, *aloe*, *kánoe*, *skóre* 'score', *andante*, *purgans*, *reagens*, *copyright*, *jidiš*, *rekviem*.

With few exceptions, **adjectival loans** attract one of the productive Czech suffixes, especially *-ický*, *-ální*, *-ový*; unadapted words are peripheral or colloquial: colour terms: *khaki*, *běž* 'beige', *lila* 'lilac'; the well-established terms *brutto* and *netto*; one or two terms from mathematical theory and/or computerspeak like *fuzzy* (*množina*) 'fuzzy (set)';

and colloquial *fajn* 'great, okay', *prima* 'great', *fér* 'fair, sporting'.

Verbal borrowings appear almost daily and all adopt the suffix *-(iz)ovat*. If denoting acts subject to aspectual interpretations, they are bi-aspectual, that is, present-tense forms can acquire future meanings. Examples are *absorbovat*, *havarovat* 'crash; break down', *informovat*, *organizovat*. Some of these verbs acquire explicit perfectives by prefixation, most widely by the most nearly neutral prefix *z-*, as in *zkonfiskovat*, *zorganizovat*, but also others, for example, *poinformovat*, *vydezinfikovat*, *okomentovat*, *nakoncipovat*, generally by analogy with native near-synonyms.

5.4 Lexical fields

5.4.1 Colour terms

white	<i>bílá</i>	(as a noun)	<i>běl</i>
black	<i>černá</i>		<i>čern</i>
red	<i>červená</i> (politically <i>rudá</i>)		<i>červeň</i>
green	<i>zelená</i>		<i>zelen</i> (also 'greenery')
yellow	<i>žlutá</i>		<i>žlut</i>
blue	<i>modrá</i>		<i>modř</i>
brown	<i>hnědá</i>		<i>hněď</i>
purple	<i>fialová</i> (< <i>fialka</i> 'violet')		
	<i>purpurová</i> is only for kings and cardinals		
pink	<i>růžová</i> (< <i>růže</i> 'rose')		
orange	<i>oranžová</i>		<i>oranž</i> (rare)
grey	<i>šedá, šedivá</i>		<i>šed</i>

Note: colours are usually quoted as feminine adjectives, by association with *barva* 'colour'

All the above terms are 'felt' to be basic; *růžová* and *fialová* might be deemed non-basic by Berlin and Kay's (1969) criterion vi (name transference from objects), and *oranžová* by their criterion vii (fairly recent loan). From the rest of the evidence we might conclude that a Czech colour term is basic if it exists separately as both adjective and noun; however, *oranž* as a rare item *and* recent loan lacks the strength to support the claim of *oranžová* to be 'basic' in the strict sense.

5.4.2 Body parts

head	<i>hlava</i>
eye	<i>oko</i> (anomalous plural <i>oči</i>)
nose	<i>nos</i>
ear	<i>ucho</i> (anomalous plural <i>uši</i>)
mouth	<i>ústa</i> (N pluralia tantum); informally also <i>rty</i> 'lips' or <i>pusa</i> 'kiss'

hair	<i>vlasy</i> (collective PL); single 'head-hair': <i>vlas</i> , otherwise <i>chlup</i>
neck	<i>krk</i> (also 'throat'), <i>šije</i> (strictly: 'back of the neck')
arm/hand	<i>ruka</i> (anomalous plural <i>ruce</i>); explicit 'not-hand' <i>paže</i>
finger	<i>prst</i>
leg/foot	<i>noha</i> ; <i>chodidlo</i> 'sole' occasionally used for 'foot'
toe	<i>prst na noze</i> ('thumb' and 'big toe' = <i>palec</i>)
chest	<i>hrud'</i> , <i>prsa</i>
heart	<i>srdce</i>

hrud' is formal and anatomical, but by no means as restricted as 'thorax'; *prsa* (pluralia tantum), 'chest' or 'breast' (non-countable) is the common word, despite partial overlap with *prs-y* 'breast-s' (countable, female). Strictly, *prsa* retains (like *oči*, *uši*, *ruce*, *nohy*) residues of the dual declension, while *prsy* declines as a regular plural.

5.4.3 Kinship terms

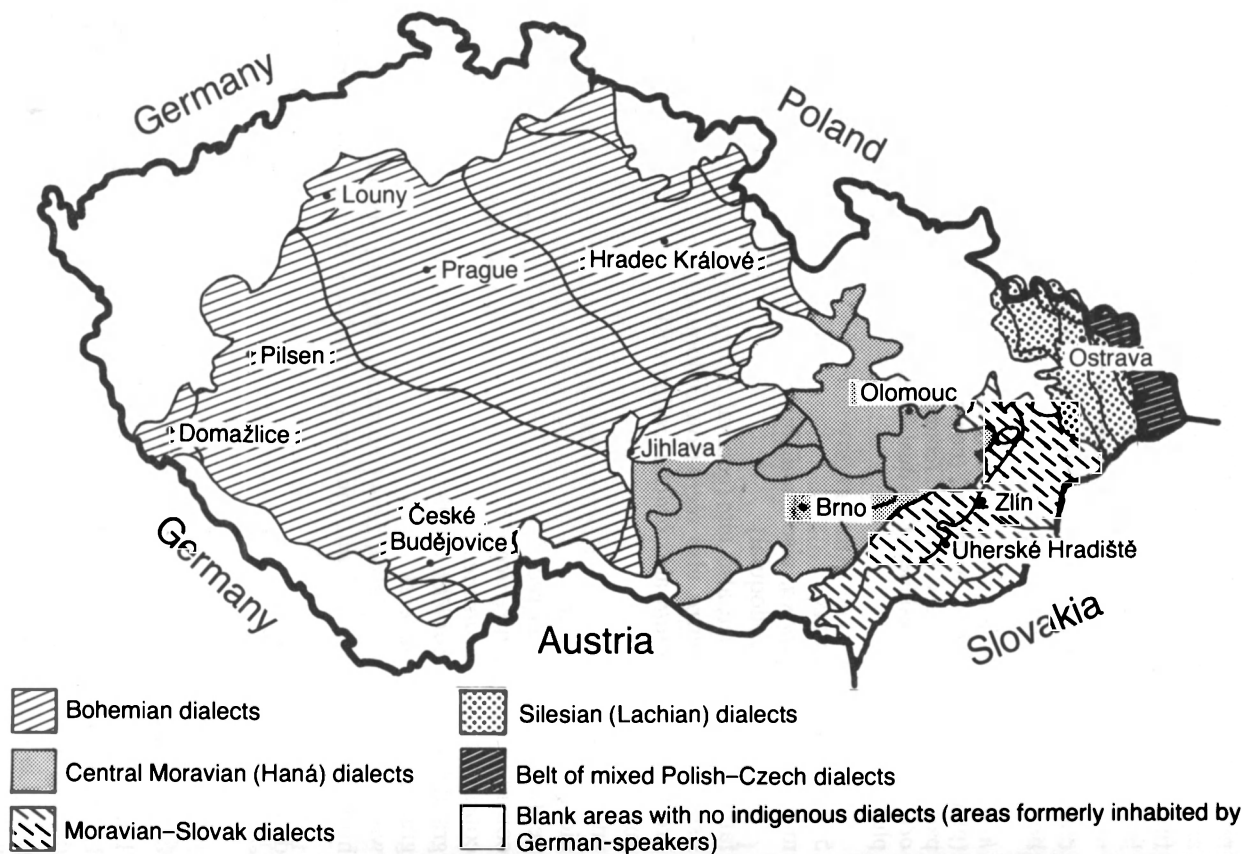
mother	<i>matka</i> , also <i>máti</i> (high style and low colloquial), <i>máma</i> (colloquial)
father	<i>otec</i> , also <i>táta</i> (general colloquial)
sister	<i>sestra</i> , also <i>ségra</i> (low colloquial)
brother	<i>bratr</i> , also <i>brácha</i> (colloquial)
aunt	<i>teta</i>
uncle	<i>strýc</i>
niece	<i>neteř</i>
nephew	<i>synovec</i>
cousin (F)	<i>sestřenice</i>
cousin (M)	<i>bratranec</i>
grandmother	<i>babička</i>
grandfather	<i>dědeček</i>
wife	<i>manželka</i> , <i>žena</i> (informal); <i>choť</i> (F) 'spouse'
husband	<i>manžel</i> , <i>muž</i> (informal); <i>choť</i> (M) 'spouse'; plural <i>manželé</i> 'Mr and Mrs'
daughter	<i>dcera</i>
son	<i>syn</i>

6 Dialects

The Czech dialects divide into four main groups: Bohemian, Haná, Lachian (Silesian) and Moravian-Slovak (south-east Moravia). In addition there is a belt of mixed Czech-Polish dialects in north-east Moravia. Each group is further subdivided, only the main divisions being identified on map 9.1.

The main features of the **Bohemian** dialects, not shared by the standard language, but including Common Czech, are:

Map 9.1 The main Czech dialect divisions



- 1 *ej* < *y* (and some *i*): *mlejn* 'mill', *dobrej* 'good', *cejtit* 'feel';
- 2 /*í*/ < /*é*/: *dobry mlíko* 'good milk', *dobry vody/vodě* 'good water' (GEN/DAT);
- 3 prothetic *v-* before *o-* (except in borrowings or words not occurring outside the standard literary language; also absent from the Doudleby subdialect): *vokno* 'window', *von* 'he', *vocet* 'vinegar' (but not **volovo* 'lead', **votec* 'father');
- 4 nominative-accusative plural in /*í*/ for all adjectives: *dobri lidi/školy/jidla* 'good people/schools/meals';
- 5 instrumental plural universally in *-ma*: *těma našima dobrejma lidma/školama/jidlama/chlapcema* 'those our good people/schools/meals/boys'/*šicima strojema* 'sewing-machines'/*polema* 'fields'/*telatama* 'calves' and so on;
- 6 *-aj*, *-ej* in the third person plural of *a-* and *i-* conjugation verbs: *dělaj/choděj/sázej* '(they) do, walk, plant';
- 7 loss of *-l* from the masculine past tense of consonantal stem verbs: *přines* 'brought', *vytisk* 'printed', *vypad* 'fell out', *upek* 'baked', *řek* 'said'.

The **Haná** dialects occupy much of central Moravia and share the following main features:

- 1 *é* < *y*: *bék* 'bull', *dobré* 'good (M NOM SG)'; also < *i* after sibilants and certain other consonants: *nožék* 'knife' (DIMIN), *i-* conjugation verbs: *nosém* 'carry (1 SG)', and so on, *veševat* (= *vyšivat* 'embroider'), *blésko* (= *blízko* 'near'); and < *ej*: *dě* 'give (IMP)', *nělepsi* 'best', even across morpheme boundary: *něde* (that is, *ne-jde* 'isn't going');
- 2 *ó* < *ú* (standard Czech *ou*): *móka* 'flour', *ribó* 'fish (F INST SG)', including positions after soft consonants, since the umlauts were not effective here, hence: *dělajó* 'do', *pláčó* 'weep (3 PL)', *klóč* (= *klič* 'key'), and in soft nouns: *ulicó* (= *ulici* 'street (INST SG)');
- 3 *e* < *a* by the first umlaut *internally*: *ležet* 'lie', but not in soft inflections: *duša* 'soul (NOM SG)', *otca* 'father (GEN SG)';
- 4 *i/i* < *u/ú* by the second umlaut *internally*: *jih* 'south', *cizi* 'alien', but not in endings: *piju/pijo* 'drink (1 SG)', *ulicu/ulico* 'street (ACC SG)';
- 5 *ú/u* < *ó*, *i/i* < *ie*, *i/i* < *é*: *kůň/kuň* 'horse', *písek/pisek* 'sand', *mlíko/mlíko* 'milk' (that is to say, results similar to Bohemian, but with local tendency to vowel shortening);
- 6 short vowels in many types of disyllables (or former disyllables), where Bohemian (and standard Czech) has long vowels: *vrana* 'crow', *blato* 'mud', *mak* 'poppy', *pit* 'drink', *jest* 'eat';
- 7 divergent patterns of voice assimilation: [*zh*] < *sh*: [*nazhledanó*] (= *na shledanou* 'good-bye'); across morpheme boundaries with non-paired consonants: [*gmostu*] (= *k mostu* 'towards bridge');

- 8 *šč* preserved: *šťasný* (= *šťastný* 'happy');
- 9 animacy marked in nominative plural adjectival endings: *dobří lidi*;
- 10 third person plural of *i*-conjugation verbs in *-ijó*: *chodijó*, even *vijó* (= *vědi* 'know');
- 11 imperatives in *-i/-ite* after stem-final consonantal cluster: *mesli, meslite* (that is, *mysli, myslite* 'think');
- 12 first person singular of *byt* (= *být*) is *su*.

The **Lachian** dialects share a number of features (numbers 3, 5, 7, 8) with the previous group. Feature 5 above applies in the short-vowel version, since of the two most conspicuous features of the Lachian dialects one is loss of vowel length. The other is the emergence of word stress on the penultimate. Additional features are as follows:

- 1 *aj* is preserved in closed syllables: *daj, vajco* (= *dej* 'give', *vejce* 'egg');
- 2 no syllabic liquids; accompanying vowels vary in quality and position: *pylný* (= *plný* 'full'), *mysel* (= *mysl* 'mind'), *vjeter* (= *vitr* 'wind'), *kryk* or *kyrk* (= *krk* 'neck');
- 3 /d/, /t/, /n/ are palatalized before *e*, hence /veďeře, něšeře/ for *vedete* 'lead', *nesete* 'carry (2 PL)';
- 4 /č, dž/ < *č, d'*: *čicho* 'quiet'; *pič* 'drink', *chodžić* 'walk';
- 5 palatal /š/, /ž/ before front vowels and (historic) /j/: *šiň* 'hall', *prošić* 'request', *žima* 'winter', *vžac* 'take';
- 6 *dz* < *d+j*, chiefly in passive participles: *vysvobodzeny* 'liberated';
- 7 non-merger of two original *l*-phonemes: *lipa / byť* 'linden', 'was';
- 8 non-merger of *i* and *y*: *lipa / byl* (recall that in standard Czech the spellings *lipa* and *byl* and so on are historic; there is no qualitative difference in the sounds represented);
- 9 absence of both prothetic *v-* (compare the Bohemian group) and prothetic *j-* before *i* (compare the standard language): *oko* 'eye', *oheň* 'fire'; *iskra* 'spark', *inačy* 'different';
- 10 genitive plural of masculine nouns in *-uv*;
- 11 the animate accusative plural is identical to the genitive: *ma dobrych sušeduv* (= *má dobré susedy* 'has good neighbours').

Moravian–Slovak dialects – spoken largely in *Slovácko*, not to be confused with neighbouring Slovakia (*Slovensko*) – share some features with the Haná group, namely 7 and 8, and with the Lachian group, namely 7 (in the form *lipa, byl* (or *byw*)), 9 and 11 (in the form *má dobrych susedů*). Other main features not shared with the standard language are as follows:

- 1 preservation of *ú*: *múka, nesú* (= *mouka* 'flour', *nesou* 'they carry');
- 2 preservation of *aj* in closed syllables (compare the Lachian dialects, point 1);

- 3 short vowels as in the Haná dialects, point 6;
- 4 few traces of the first umlaut: only medial ϵ > *je*: *pjet* 'five'; however, in long syllables \acute{a} > *ie* > *i*: *starší* 'older' (FEM), and even *smít sa* (contrast standard *smát se* 'laugh');
- 5 no traces of the second umlaut, hence *cuzí* 'alien', *piju* 'drink (1 SG)', *klúč* 'key';
- 6 syllabic *r* even after *ž, ě*: *žrd* (standard *žerd* 'mast'), *ščrk* (*štěrck* 'gravel'); syllabic *l* > *u*: *žutý* 'yellow', but in final position also *ěť, eť, éw* or *ew*, hence *spadu/spadět/spadéw* 'fell' and *vědu/vědet/védew* 'led';
- 7 preservation of *é*: *řéct* 'say', *zelé* 'cabbage';
- 8 dative and locative plural of masculine and neuter nouns in *-om/och*: *chlapom/-och* 'fellow', *kolenom/-och* 'knee'.

The Czech dialects have been well recorded and samples are available in such collections as Lamprecht, Michálková, *et al.* (1976) or Bělič's standard handbook (1972), incorporating detailed maps of isoglosses. Of late, attention has turned to the speech of individual urban centres and resulting studies show the extent to which Common Czech has spread out from Central Bohemia, but also how it is coloured both by the original local urban dialect and by the influence of incoming speakers of other dialects. Common Czech itself, with its core in the speech of Prague, reflects all the phonological features of Central Bohemian mentioned above, and has a consequentially distinctive morphology. As an inter-dialect subject to local influences, it is now often divided into Common Bohemian Czech and Common Moravian Czech. The urban speech of Prague, with a discussion of Common Czech and the relation of both to standard Czech, is described in Townsend (1990).

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