Czech

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0. Socio- and geolinguistic situation

0.1 Location and number of speakers

Czech is the official language of the Czech Republic, which is bordered by Austria, Germany, Poland, and Slovakia (see map in 0.3). In 1996 the population of the Czech Republic numbered over 10.3 million, and there are significant emigre populations abroad, particularly in the USA, Canada, and Australia. The Czech Republic began its independent existence in 1993 when its separation from Slovakia broke up the former Czechoslovakia.

0.2 Relation of Czech to other languages

Genetically, Czech is a West Slavic language (West Slavic includes Czech, Slovak, Sorbian, and Polish; East Slavic includes Russian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian; South Slavic includes Slovene, Macedonian, Bulgarian, and the language traditionally known as Serbo-Croatian). The people of Moravia were the first Slavs to achieve literacy in their own tongue when, in 862, two Byzantine missionaries, St. Cyril and St. Methodius, arrived to baptize them and translate for them liturgical texts into what we now know as Old Church Slav(on)ic, a South Slavic language comprehensible to all Slavs at the time. The saints' mission was short-lived and Moravia, increasingly under Frankish control and the jurisdiction of the Pope of Rome, soon established the use of Latin and the Latin alphabet. The introduction of diacritical marks to make the Latin alphabet more versatile (s and sh could now be distinguished by s versus \check{s}), is associated with the early 15th century theologian Jan Hus. In 1526, the crowning of Ferdinand I as King of Bohemia marked the beginning of the control of the Czech lands by the Habsburg dynasty, and the pressure to enforce the use of German at the expense of Czech mounted over the following century until, after the defeat at White Mountain in 1620, the Czech language went into a period of two hundred years of decline and disuse. Not until the National Revival beginning in the early 19th century did Czech begin to reassert itself as a literary and official language.

The long period of domination by German-speaking authorities, during which Czech was eclipsed from the public arena, and the fact that much more than half of the perimeter of the nation borders on German-speaking lands, resulted in a pronounced German influence on Czech which, though particularly apparent in slang and colloquial lexicon and also manifest in calques and syntactic loan-translations, has also had a pronounced influence on the language's grammar and syntax.

Czech's closest genetic relative is Slovak, and until the 18th century Czech served as the literary language for both nations. Since 1918, up until the "Velvet Divorce" of 1993, Czech and Slovak were fairly equally represented in the Czechoslovak media, so that Czechs and Slovaks could acquire at least a passive knowledge of each other's languages. Still, Slovak was certainly influenced more by Czech than Czech by Slovak, though the former did adopt a few words from the latter's lexicon.

Between 1948 and 1989 the political dominance of the Soviet Union and years of compulsory Russian classes in Czech schools brought Russian words into Czech despite considerable resistance to this influence. At the present time, though, English is by far the largest source of borrowings into Czech.

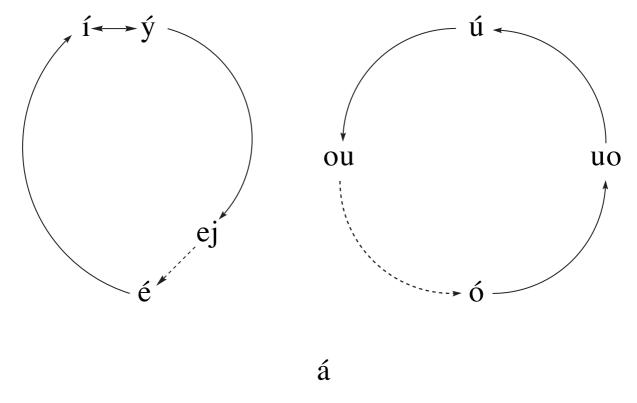
0.3 Dialectology

As will be noted from the map, most of the peripheral zones of the Czech Republic belong to no specific dialect group. These border areas (the so-called Sudeten lands; gray areas on map) were formerly inhabited by German speakers ousted at the end of World War II and then resettled by Czech speakers from various other parts of the country. Although there are many other features in the dialectal differentiation, the two largest dialect groups can be classified according to their

differing treatment of certain etymologically long vowels (length is indicated by acute accent mark) as Bohemian (the central and western dialects upon which the standard language is based) and Hanák Moravian (the eastern dialects). Both dialect groups have raised original long mid vowels, but whereas Hanák Moravian has also lowered original long high vowels, Bohemian has diphthongized these vowels:

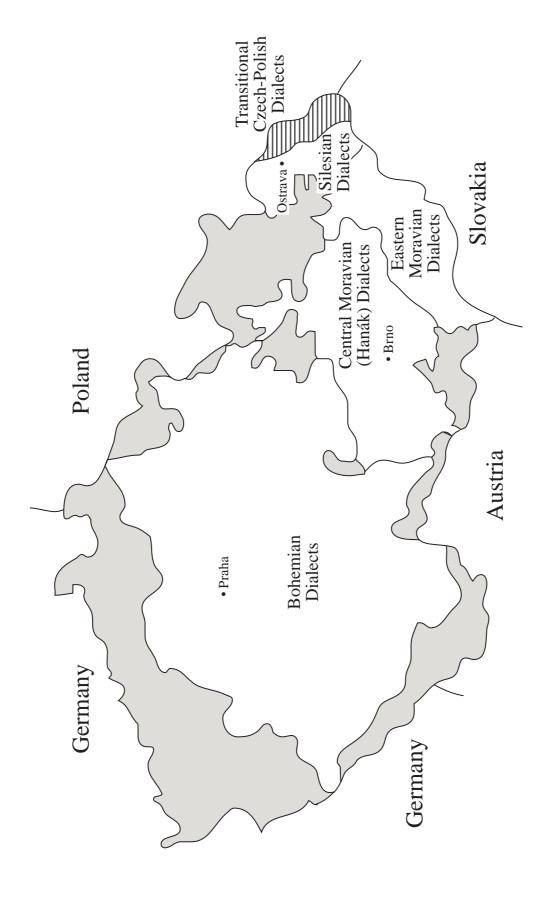
Bohemian:		Hanák Moravian:
ý > ej		ý > é
é > ý/í		$\acute{\mathrm{e}} > \acute{\mathrm{y}}/\acute{\mathrm{i}}$
ú > ou	vs.	$\acute{\mathrm{u}} > \acute{\mathrm{o}}$
ó > ú		ó > ú

These two dialects can be seen as two stages in the development of high and mid vowels, where the Moravian dialects show the more "complete" evolution:



Diphthongizations in Czech (dotted lines indicate changes completed in Hanák dialects)

The Lachian Silesian and mixed Polish-Czech dialects of the northeast serve as a transition to Polish, characterized as they are by loss of vowel length, penultimate stress and consonantism similar to Polish. The Moravian-Slovak dialects of the southeast serve as a transition to Slovak, characterized by retention of \hat{u} and of back vowels after palatal consonants.



0.4 Diglossia

After the protracted domination of Czech by German in the 17th-18th centuries, Czechs went back to their *Kralice* bible of the 16th century as a model for constructing their modern literary language in the 19th century. Vernacular Czech had, of course, continued to evolve in the intervening two centuries, and there is, hence, a pronounced gap between the spoken and literary languages in all aspects of the language: phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. In comparison with the vowel shifts experienced in the Bohemian dialects, for example, only $\delta > u(u)$ has been fully realized in the literary language; u > 0u is almost entirely restricted to non-initial positions, u = v is entirely absent. Recent orthographic manuals have suggested acceptance of certain phonological and morphological colloquial features in written texts, and a number of previously "samizdat" dictionaries of slang and colloquialisms have been published addressing lexical issues, but the gap between the two codes remains considerable. This grammar of Czech will focus primarily on Literary Czech (LCz), but will note some of the most important deviations common in Colloquial Czech (CCz).

1. Phonology

1.1 Phonemes and alphabet

Alphabet

The following table compares the forty-two Latin graphemes in the Czech alphabet with the IPA symbols that designate their sounds:

a	[a]	g	[g]	O	[o]	u	[ʊ]
á	[aː]	h	[h]	ó	[oː]	ú	[ux]
b	[b]	ch	[x]	p	[p]	ů	[uː]
c	[ts]	i	[I]	qu	[k],[kv]	V	[v]
č	[t∫]	í	[i:]	r	[r]	W	[v]
d	[ď]	j	[j]	ř	$[\widehat{r_3}]$	X	[ks]
d', ď, d	[+]	k	[k]	S	[s]	y	[1]
e	[e]	1	[1]	š	[[]]	ý	[iː]
é	[eː]	m	[m]	t	[t]	Z	$[\mathbf{z}]$
ě	[e]	n	[n]	ť, ť, t	[c]	ž	[3]
f	[f]	ň, n	[n]				

When length is present in foreign words it is not consistently indicated in the orthography, especially when it involves [oː] and [uː]: *telefon* [telefoːn]/[telefon] 'telephone', *kultura* [kUltura]/[kUltura] 'culture'.

The graphemes i, i and y, y both represent i, i, the result of a historic merger of two oncedistinct phonemes; these letters do, however, serve as diacritics for the consonant graphemes t, d, and n. Sequences of ti, di, ni indicate ici i, iji i, iji i, iji which the corresponding palatal replaces the dental, and this is true for syllables with long vowels as well. When i follows these consonant graphemes, the expected dentals are pronounced. Compare the following examples:

ty	[tɪ]	'you' N	ti	[cɪ]	'you' D
dýl	[diːl]	'longer' CCz	díl	[ɟiːl]	'part'
pány	[paːnɪ]	'men' Apl	páni	[paːɲɪ]	'men' Npl

When i appears after t, d, and n in foreign words, the shift to palatals does not take place: direktor [direktor] 'director'. In combination with other consonant letters i vs. y does not indicate any phonological distinctions:

pyl	[pɪl]	'pollen'	pil	[pɪl]	'he drank'
sýrový	[siːroviː]	'cheese' adj.	sírový	[siːroviː]	'sulphur' adj.
bílý	[biːliː]	'white'	bílí	[biːliː]	'white'
		Nsgmasc			Nplanim

The vowel letters i and i are not spelled after h, ch, k, and r; and y and y are not spelled after c, \check{c} , \check{j} , \check{r} , \check{s} , and \check{z} .

The grapheme \check{e} serves a similar diacritic purpose, but it is restricted only to short syllables, and in addition to signalling the substitution of a palatal for a dental, after the labial graphemes it signals the insertion of [j] (after b, p, v, and f) and [\mathfrak{p}] (after m). Compare the following uses of e and \check{e} :

tele	[tele]	'calf'	těle	[cele]	'body' Lsg
poklade	[poklade]	'treasure' Vsg	pokladě	[pokla j e]	'treasure' Lsg
týdne	[tiːdne]	'week' Gsg	týdně	[tiːdɲe]	'weekly'
hrabe	[hrabe]	'digs'	hrabě	[hrabje]	'count'
fez	[fez]	'fez'	harfě	[harfje]	'harp' DLsg
kape	[kape]	'drips'	kápě	[kaːpje]	'hood'
venčit	[vent∫ɪt]	'take out'	věnčit	[vjent∫ɪt]	'crown'
mech	[mex]	'moss'	měch	[mnex]	'bellows'

The graphemes t', \check{t} , d', \check{d} , and \check{n} are used to indicate [c], [\mathfrak{z}] and [\mathfrak{p}] when they appear before a back vowel, before a consonant, or in word-final position. t' and \check{t} are just two different ways of representing the same letter, depending upon what sort of font or typewriter is available; the same is true for d' and \check{d} .

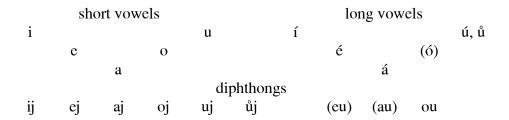
	before a back v	vowel	before consonant or word-final			
<i>t'ápat</i> or	[carpat]	'toddle'	zaplat' me or	[zaplacme]	'let's pay!'	
ťápat			zaplaťme			
t'ukat or	[cukat]	'tap'	zaplat' or	[zaplac]	'pay!'	
ťukat			zaplať			
<i>d'ábel</i> or	[ɟaːbel]	'devil'	zařiď me or	[zar͡ʒɪɟme]	'let's	
ďábel			zařiďme		organize!'	

Whereas the presence or absence of a diacritic is ignored in alphabetizing vowel letters (for instance e, \acute{e} , and \check{e} are all alphabetized as if they were a single grapheme), the presence of a diacritic gives a consonant letter its own distinct place in the alphabet, directly after the same consonant letter without the diacritic. Thus \check{e} is alphabetized after c, \check{r} is alphabetized after r, \check{s} is alphabetized after s, and \check{z} is alphabetized after s. However s, s, s, s, s, and s, and s constitute an exception to this rule, and they are alphabetized like s, s, and s.

The grapheme ch is considered for all practical purposes (alphabetization, crossword puzzles, etc.) a single letter.

The graphemes g, q, w, and x appear only in foreign words.

Vowels (foreign elements are in parentheses)



Czech has a classic five-vowel system, consisting of short a, e, i/y, o, u and $\log \acute{a}, \acute{e}, \acute{u}/\acute{y}, \acute{o}, \acute{u}/\mathring{u}$. Length is phonemic and in most instances indicated by an acute accent. Long \acute{u}/\mathring{u} can be written \acute{u} in initial position or after a prefix ($\acute{u}zk\acute{y}$ 'narrow', $za\acute{u}\check{c}tovat$ 'calculate'), but \mathring{u} elsewhere ($d\mathring{u}m$ 'house' Nsg, $dom\mathring{u}$ 'house' Gpl, where it continues Late Common Slavic o). Long \acute{o} occurs in foreign borrowings ($pr\acute{o}za$ 'prose') and sometimes in emphatic usage ($m\acute{o}r\acute{e}$ 'lots' CCz vs. $mo\check{r}e$ 'sea'). The primary (phonemic) distinction between the two vowel subsystems is one of quantity, but in the case of the high vowels short i/y vs. long \acute{u}/\acute{y} and short u vs. long \acute{u}/\mathring{u} there is a perceptible phonetic difference as well. Czech generally does not tolerate vowel chains; there are no vowel chains in native roots, and where two vowels meet at a morpheme boundary

(when a prefix ending in a vowel is added to a stem beginning with one), a glottal stop is usually inserted to separate them: *neomylně* [nesomilne] 'without error'. The diphthong *ou* is a native sequence (*náhodou* 'by chance'), and foreign borrowings have introduced *au* (*auto* 'automobile') and *eu* (*leukémie* 'leukemia'). Since the back glide [u] is restricted to diphthongs, its existence is non-distinctive and therefore sub-phonemic, acting as an allophone of *u*; it does not enjoy the status of the front glide *j*. Czech has six diphthongs ending in *j*, two of which are relatively rare, *aj* (*hraj* 'play!') and *ůj* (*můj* 'my'), plus the widespread *ej* (*dělej* 'do!'), *ij* (*šij* 'sew!'), *oj* (*dojmový* 'emotional'), and *uj* (*miluj* 'love!'). In foreign words presenting vowel chains containing *i*, if the chain begins with *i*, Czech pronunciation inserts a non-orthographic *j*: *materiál* [materija:l] 'material', *biologie* [bijologije] 'biology' Nsg, *biologii* [bijologiji] 'biology' Asg; if the chain ends with *i* followed by a consonant, it is pronounced as *j*: *detail* [detajl] 'detail', *pleistocén* [plejstotse:n] 'pleistocene'.

The liquids r and l

The liquids r and l can participate in both syllable peaks (as vowels) and slopes (as consonants). As vowels, they are only short (length is not phonemic) and occur only between non-vocalic elements (after a consonant and before another consonant or word boundary: krk 'neck', nesl 'he brought', hence there are no initial syllabic liquids). Vocalic m is possible in two words: sedm 'seven' and osm 'eight', but the usual pronunciation is [sedom], [osum].

Consonants

	lab	ials	den	tals	pala	atals	vel	ars	laryngeals
obstruents: stops fricatives affricates trill+fricative sonorants:	p f	b v	t s c	d z ř	t' š č	ď' ž	k ch	g	h
glide nasal lateral trill		m		n l r		j ň			

Stops are not aspirated.

The most pervasive type of assimilation is certainly voiced vs. voiceless (described below in 1.2). These assimilations produce voiced allophones for unpaired obstruents in the chart: [dz] for c (leckdo [ledzgdo] 'anyone'), [dʒ] for \check{c} (lec\(\delta\cdot\beta\beta\) [ledzgdo] 'cure'), and voiceless [\(\vec{r}\)] for \check{r} (ke\(\vec{r}\) [ke\(\vec{r}\)] 'bush'. The remaining two unpaired obstruents, ch and h, to some extent serve as partners, despite their disparate places of articulation. But while the devoicing of h is common and regularly produces ch [x] ($B\mathring{u}h$ [buix] 'God'), the voicing of ch is both less frequent and less clear in its result. It appears that the assimilative voicing of ch can, particularly after i, yield [\(\gamma\)] (abych byl [abr\(\gamma\beta\)] 'so that I would') as well as [h]; alternatively there may be no voicing at all. There are two more sounds which should be added to the inventory of consonants, but are clearly subphonemic: [\(\eta\)], which is purely a positional variant of n before a velar (tank [tank] 'tank'), and the glottal stop [?] which is recommended but not obligatory before word-intial vowels and between vowels at the prefix boundary, and is not indicated in the orthography.

 \check{R} (moře [mor3e] 'sea'), along with its voiceless allophone [$\widehat{\mathfrak{rf}}$] (kouř [kou $\widehat{\mathfrak{rf}}$] 'smoke') is an unusual item, and Czech is the only European language to have this sound. It is a unit phoneme,

which means that it is simultaneously a dental and a palatal. \check{R} is usually the last sound acquired by Czech children and its mispronunciation constitutes over 50% of their speech defects (Palková 1994: 347, 350). Also rather unusual in languages and very difficult for foreigners to pronounce are the palatal stops d' and t'.

F is similar to [dz] and [dʒ], in that it exists in Slavic words almost entirely as a voicing partner of v and is phonemic only in foreign borrowings. It does, though, appear in at least one native root (etymologically derived from a consonant cluster), doufat 'hope', and the number of non-native and nativized stems (as in telefonovat 'telephone', trefit 'hit') with f is vastly larger than that of [dz] and [dʒ]. In the past few centuries initial f has also figured in a number of native onomatopoetic creations, such as foukat 'blow', frčet 'buzz', and funět 'snort'. The situation of g (as a voiced variant of k and a sound found in many foreign words, such as gól 'goal in sports') is similar, and this sound is also found in borrowings involving an intervocalic k in the source language, as in plakát [plaga:t] or [plaka:t] 'poster'. S is likewise sometimes rendered [z] in borrowings, as in disertace [dizertatse] 'dissertation' (optionally spelled dizertace). The spelling of z for borrowed intervocalic s has been codified in spelling reforms for words like univerzita 'university' and filozofie 'philosophy'.

1.2 Phonological rules *Stress*

Stress is not phonemic and always falls on the first syllable of a phonological word. However, a variety of types of clitics makes the identification of a phonological word fairly complex, and there are also some exceptions to the rule, particularly when unstressed proclitics are attached to a word (e.g., the unstressed proclitic to 'that' in the single phonological word formed by To 'vim' 'I know that', which is stressed on vim).

For the purposes of stress, a phonological word consists of a stress-bearing word, plus adjacent stressless words or particles. The stress-bearing words are nouns, adjectives, verbs (except auxiliaries), most adverbs, prepositions of two or more syllables, numerals, non-clitic pronouns, and some conjunctions; these words can and normally do bear stress. There are three types of stressless words which participate with the stess-bearing words in the formation of phonological words:

- a) most conjunctions, the word *pan* 'Mr.' (e.g., *pan* 'Novák 'Mr. Novák'), some adverbs (depending on context) and some possessives and forms of the demonstrative and indefinite pronouns *ten*, *všechen* (when followed immediately by the word modified, as in *všechen* 'chléb 'all the bread') are stressless and form a phonological word with the following stressed word and whatever enclitics follow it, but remain stressless (unlike the pre-posed items in b);
- b) monosyllabic prepositions and the pre-posed negative particle *ne* are not intrinsically stress-bearing, but, when present, take over the stress of the following intrinsically stressed element, e.g., 'Znám ho 'I know him' when negated becomes 'Neznám ho 'I don't know him', and 'čtvrtek 'Thursday' in the presence of a preposition becomes 've čtvrtek 'on Thursday';
- c) enclitic pronouns, conditional and past tense auxiliary forms follow the first stress-bearing word in a clause; these act as additional unstressed syllables in the phonological word and are totally dependent (cannot appear in initial position). There are also semi-dependent enclitics, primarily to 'that', prepositional phrases and some other elements (including certain adverbs) that may attach to the first stressed phonological word in a clause; the stress of these items varies (to is usually unstressed, the remaining semi-dependent enclitics frequently bear their own stress).

Thus a phonological word contains the following maximal structure:

```
{ a)-type stressless proclitic +
b)-type stressless word receiving stress +
stress-bearing word, stressed on first syllable in absence of b) +
c)-type stressless enclitics }
```

The following phonological words illustrate the various possible combinations:

```
a) + b) + stress-bearing word + c)
a'nedala jsi mu ho
and not-gave AUX him it
'and you didn't give it to him'
```

a) + stress-bearing word + c)

pan 'Starý by Mr. Starý AUX 'Mr. Starý would'

b) + stress-bearing word + c)

'do školy bych to school AUX 'to school I would'

stress-bearing word + c)

'Dal by ti to gave AUX you it 'He would give it to you'

a) + b) + stress-bearing word

a'nevěděl and not-knew 'and he didn't know'

a) + stress-bearing word

ta 'kniha that book' 'that book'

b) + stress-bearing word

'na parkovišti
on parking-lot
'at the parking-lot'

The placement of the c)-type enclitics is governed by both phonology and syntax/semantics. The default position is immediately following the first stress-bearing word in a clause, but this rule is overridden whenever it would involve inserting an enclitic between the constituents of a syntactic/semantic unit. Thus the enclitic auxiliary *jsem* appears only after the fourth stress-bearing word in the following sentence:

Tu 'knihu 'o Čapkově 'životě a 'tvorbě jsem 'nečetl. that book about Čapek's life and work AUX not-read 'I haven't read that book about Čapek's life and work.'

Glottal stop

The glottal stop [?] marks morpheme boundaries at the beginning of words and morphemes commencing with a vowel. Though not obligatory, it can serve a distinctive function (enhancing the distinction between a diphthong and a vowel chain), as in:

```
proudiproudi[prouji:]vs.[provij:]root proud + ending iprefix pro + root ud + ending i'(s/he/it) gushes''(s/he/it) will smoke through'(adapted from Palková 1994: 192)
```

Word-internally, the glottal stop appears primarily after prefixes ending in a vowel (as in the above example) or *j*. Word-initially, the glottal stop will devoice a voiced obstruent: *v Americe* [f?amerɪtse] 'in America', *od Aleny* [?ot?alenɪ] 'from Alena'. Even speakers who do not use the glottal stop devoice these obstruents.

For speakers who use the glottal stop consistently as prescribed, all syllables have the shape of CV or CVC (where C can stand for a consonant, including the glottal stop or a consonant cluster).

Voicing phenomena

Voiced-voiceless assimilations constitute the most consistent and widespread phonotactic phenomenon in Czech, yet are not reflected in the orthography. Only obstruents participate in voicing phenomena; sonorants neither participate nor condition these assimilations (contrast: $sm\check{e}na$ [smpena] 'shift' vs. $zm\check{e}na$ [zmpena] 'change'). The exceptional obstruent phoneme v participates (can be devoiced: plavky [plafki] 'swimsuit'), but cannot condition voicing (svoje [svoje] 'own', not *[zvoje]). Voicing phenomena create positional allophones also for obstruents unpaired for voicing; e.g., h and ch act as voicing partners (cf. $sn\acute{t}h$ [spix], $sn\check{e}hu$ [speho] 'snow' Nsg, GDLsg), although the latter may be realized as [γ], as mentioned above in 1.1.

Regressive voicing takes place word-internally and across prefix/preposition boundaries when the last consonant in a cluster of obstruents is voiced: *kdo* [gdo] 'who', *léčba* [leːdʒba] 'cure', *sbalit* (prefix *s* + root *bal*) [zbalit] 'pack', *s bratrem* [zbratrem] 'with brother', *k dětem* [g-teem]'to the children'.

Devoicing takes place word-finally, and devoicing is regressive word-internally and across prefix/preposition boundaries when the last consonant in a cluster of obstruents is voiceless: sjezd [sjest] 'conference', $tv\acute{a}$ ' [tva:r] 'cheek', $podstatn\acute{y}$ (prefix pod + root stat) [potstatni:] 'essential', nad sochou [natsoxou] 'above the statue'.

Progressive devoicing involves only the following initial consonant clusters: sh- $ch\check{r}$ -, $k\check{r}$ -, $sk\check{r}$ -, $p\check{r}$ -, $sp\check{r}$ -, $t\check{r}$ -, $st\check{r}$ -. Devoicing is regular for \check{r} after word-initial voiceless obstruents (initial clusters of $c\check{r}$ - and $\check{c}\check{r}$ - do not exist): $st\check{r}ep$ [$str\mathfrak{p}$] 'shard', $k\check{r}t\check{z}$ [$kr\mathfrak{p}$] 'cross'. Although progressive devoicing is the norm for sh- ($sh\acute{a}n\check{e}t$ [sxa:net] 'seek'), there are several common words that observe the usual regressive voicing rule (shora [zhora] 'from upstairs').

Consonant clusters

In contrast to its avoidance of vowel strings, Czech has a remarkable tolerance for consonant clusters, permitting strings of four and even five distinct consonants: *nad hřbetem* [nadhrʒbetem] 'over the back', *s pštrosem* [sp[trosem] 'with the ostrich'.

Regular assimilation in place of articulation occurs in the word-internal backing of n to $[\eta]$ before velars: $sp\acute{a}nku$ [spaːŋkʊ] 'sleep' Gsg. Note also the combination of assimilation and simplification of consonant clusters that occur across the prefix-root boundary, such as rozšířit [ro[iːrʒɪt] 'spread'.

The remaining assimilations or simplifications are limited to more specific environments or lexical items, and some of these modifications (particularly the latter ones) are considered colloquial: the initial *j*- in consonant clusters is omitted (*jsem* [sem] 'I am', *jdeme* [deme] 'we are going', *jméno* [me:no] 'name'; č- dissimilates to [ʃ] in the word čtyři [ʃtɪrʒɪ] 'four'; vzp-simplifies to [sp-] in vzpomenout [spomenout] 'recall'; *jablko* 'apple' is pronounced [japko]; etc.

There is a tendency to simplify geminate consonants; this tendency is stronger root-internally and weaker across morphological boundaries: panna [pana] 'virgin', but

poddůstojník [poddu:stojni:k] 'sergeant'. This tendency is often observed in the spelling of foreign borrowings: tenis [tenis] 'tennis', komunismus [komunismus] 'communism'.

Vowel epenthesis

An epenthetic *e* can be inserted between a prefix or preposition ending in -C and a following morpheme beginning in C-, however there is no good rule for predicting this, since similar and sometimes even the same environment will show forms both with and without the vowel:

```
vejítvs.vjetprefix v + 'walk'prefix v + 'ride''enter (on foot)''enter (by conveyance)'seběhnoutvs.sběhnoutprefix s + 'run'prefix s + 'run''run down''run down'
```

Epenthesis is regular only before the oblique forms of the 1sg personal pronoun, and somewhat less regular before forms of *všechen* 'all': *nade mnou* 'above me', but *nade vším / nad vším* 'above all'.

The presence of the same consonant or a voiced/voiceless counterpart makes epenthesis mandatory: *ve frontě* 'in line', *beze slov* 'without words', *ze západu* 'from the west'. Epenthesis is optional when the prepositions *s* and *z* are followed by the similar consonants *š* and *ž*: *se školou* or *s školou* 'with the school', *se ženou* or *s ženou* 'with the wife'.

The preposition k 'toward' can have u as its epenthetic vowel in certain set expressions with nouns in initial p-: ku podivu 'to (one's) surprise'; otherwise the normal e appears: ke stolu or k stolu 'to the table', ke $mn\check{e}$ 'to me'. The regular morphophonemic alternation of e with a zero in morphemes is discussed in Chapter 2.

Phonology of Colloquial Czech

The primary phonological difference between literary and colloquial Czech is that the former has more fully realized the vowel changes of the Bohemian dialects presented in 0.3, producing a more balanced system for long vowels and diphthongs. Whereas Literary Czech has shifted only its long back vowels ($\dot{o} > \dot{u}/\dot{u}$ and $\dot{u} > ou$), Colloquial Czech has carried out the corresponding changes in its long front vowels as well, producing $\dot{e} > i/\dot{y}$ and $\dot{y} > ej$. Since both etymological \dot{e} and \dot{y} figure as essential components in the inflectional (and to a lesser extent derivational) morphology of Czech, these vowel changes also play a prominent role in differentiating the morphologies of the two registers of Czech. The following is an inventory of these and other significant phonological features of the spoken language. For more details, the reader is referred to Townsend 1990: 23-47 and Sgall&Hronek 1992: 30-37.

- 1) $\acute{e} > \acute{t}/\acute{y}$. The result is usually spelled \acute{y} after velars and r (see spelling rules above) and after t, d, n (since it does not condition the shift to palatals), but i, \acute{t} elsewhere (though spellings vary after l). This change is quite consistent, regardless of position: LCz $ml\acute{e}ko$: CCz $ml\acute{e}ko$ 'milk'; LCz $n\acute{e}st$: CCz $n\acute{y}st$ 'carry'; LCz $dobr\acute{e}$: CCz $dobr\acute{y}$ 'good' Nsgn. This vowel change is resisted in foreign borrowings and also a few native roots, which retain \acute{e} even in the spoken language: $mal\acute{e}r$ 'misfortune' (cf. French malheur), $l\acute{e}k$ 'medicine'.
- 2) $\circ j > ej$. Although the vast majority of examples involve $\circ j$ as the etymological source, after c, l, s, z, and $\check z$ this change can include $\circ j > ej$: LCz $\circ i$ tit: CCz $\circ i$ tit: CCz $\circ i$ tit: CCz $\circ i$ tomorrow'; LCz $\circ i$ tomorrow'; LCz $\circ i$ to $\circ i$ sieve'. This change is also reasonably consistent: LCz $\circ i$ tomorrow'; LCz $\circ i$ soap'; LCz $\circ i$ tomorrow'; although it is resisted in most nouns prefixed in $\circ i$ and some others: $\circ i$ this change is also reasonably consistent: LCz $\circ i$ tomorrow prefixed in $\circ i$ tomorrow is a sin \circ

- 'glasses' (cf. German *Brille*) and LCz *rýže*: CCz *rejže* 'rice'(cf. older German *riss*, modern German *Reis*); however, the paucity of examples makes it hard to state this as a rule.
- 3) $\acute{u} > ou$ in initial position. Whereas literary Czech avoids this change in initial position, it is occasionally implemented in the spoken language: LCz $\acute{u}rad$: CCz ourad 'office'; LCz $\acute{u}zk\acute{y}$: CCz $ouzk\acute{y}$ 'narrow'. This change, however, is stylistically marked, inconsistently realized, and is gradually dying out.
- 4) *V*-prothesis before initial *o*-. Initial *o* tends to develop a prothetic back glide in the spoken language, maximally realized as *v*, although this is sometimes avoided when a *v* follows the initial *o*: LCz *ocas*: CCz *vocas* 'tail', but only *ovoce* 'fruit' and *ovšem* 'of course' (and note also the LCz word *otec* 'father' which is replaced in CCz by *tatínek* or *táta* rather than receiving prothetic *v*-). Although not entirely consistent, *v*-prothesis is very common and can even include some foreign words: LCz *olej*: CCz *volej* 'oil'. It can also occur at the preposition/prefix boundary: LCz *do očí*: CCz *do vočí* 'into eyes', LCz *poodejít*: CCz *povodejít* 'step aside'. In contrast, the (etymologically) prothetic *j* in initial *je* is dropped in colloquial Czech in the LCz word *ještě*: CCz *eště* 'still', but this is an isolated example.
- 5) Length adjustments. The spoken register can both shorten vowels that are long in literary Czech, and lengthen vowels that are short. Shortening of long vowels is fairly common when it involves i > i and u > u in desinences: LCz prosim: CCz prosim 'I ask; please', LCz stolu: CCz stolu 'tables' Gpl; however shortening of other vowels and outside of desinences is sporadic and optional: LCz rikat: CCz rikat/rikat 'say', LCz spolehat: CCz spolehat/spolehat. Note that shortening can also take place after e > i/y, producing e = i/y. LCz e = i/y. CCz e = i/y. Vowel lengthening is less common and largely restricted to particular words and expressive contexts: LCz e = i/y. CCz e = i/y. LCz e = i/y. LCz e = i/y. CCz e = i/y. LCz e = i/y. CCz e = i/y. CCz
- 6) Consonant adjustments. Consonants in certain clusters tend to be deleted both word-initially and word-internally, particularly in high-frequency words: LCz když: CCz dyž 'when; if', LCz džbán: CCz žbán 'pitcher', LCz který: CCz kerej 'which', LCz vezmu: CCz vemu 'I take', LCz zvláštní: CCz zvláštní or zláštní 'peculiar'. On occasion more drastic truncations are observed: LCz nějaký: CCz ňákej 'some', LCz člověk: CCz čék 'person'. Word-finally spoken Czech regularly drops the final l in masculine past forms: LCz vedl: CCz ved [vet] 'he led'. Initial s followed by a stop may appear as š in foreign words: LCz student: CCz študent. Other consonantal adjustments are restricted to specific lexical items: LCz ženská: CCz ženská: CCz ženská 'female', LCz sahat: CCz šahat 'touch'. The status of most of these consonant adjustments is less a reflection of the norms of CCz than a result of the dynamics of rapid and repeated pronunciation.

2. Morphology

2.1 Inflectional morphology

Inflectional morphology is expressed in terms of synthetic terminal desinences which are added to the stems of inflected parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, verbs, and most pronouns. Inflectional desinences conflate all relevant categories (gender, number, and case for nouns and adjectives; person and number for non-past conjugations; and gender, person, and number for past conjugations) and consist of from zero to three morphemes. All native autosemantic stems are inflected, as are the vast majority of foreign borrowings, sometimes with the help of a native suffix which gives them a stem characteristic of the part of speech they belong to. Uninflected borrowings, some of which are cited below, are rare.

2.1.0 Morphophonemic alternations in inflection

Vowel-zero alternations

Roots, suffixes, and (as mentioned in 1.2) prefixes and prepositions can all produce alternations of *e* with a zero; this alternation, particularly in roots and suffixes, is identified with specific morphemes: *beru* 'I take': *brát* 'take (infinitive)', *pes* 'dog' Nsg: *psi* 'dogs' Npl, *otec* 'father' Nsg: *otce* 'father' Gsg, *deska* 'board' Nsg: *desek* 'boards' Gpl. On rare occasions there may be two vowel-zero alternations operative in consecutive syllables: *švec* 'cobbler' Nsg: *ševce* 'cobbler' Gsg.

Qualitative vowel alternations

These alternations are evident in comparison of historically "hard-stem" (ending in b, d, f, g, h, ch, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, v, z) and "soft-stem" (ending in b, c, \check{c} , d/d', j, l, m, n/\check{n} , p, \check{r} , s, \check{s} , t/t', v, z, \check{z}) paradigms (note that b, d, m, l, s, t, v, z appear on both lists and are associated with both hard and soft-stems). This distinction is active in all classes of inflected words. Where the hard-stem and soft-stem paradigms differ, the hard stems will combine with desinences starting with a back vowel, whereas the soft stems will combine with desinences commencing in a corresponding front vowel . Despite the fact that they are phonologically indistinguishable, y/\check{y} counts as a back vowel, and i/\acute{t} as a front vowel. Hard stems can combine with both e and e/\check{e} (note that e/\check{e} is spelled \check{e} after b, d, f, m, n, p, t, v, but e elsewhere):

a vs. e/\check{e}	moucha 'fly' Nsg vs. práce 'work' Nsg
	nesa 'carrying' pres gerund vs. děkuje 'thanking' pres gerund
	ta 'that' Nsgf vs. naše Nsgf
á vs. í	druhá 'second' Nsgf vs. první 'first' Nsgf
e/ě vs. i	mouše 'fly' DLsg vs. práci 'work' DLsg
o vs. e/\check{e}	moucho 'fly' Vsg vs. práce 'work' Vsg
u vs. i	<i>nes</i> u 'I carry' vs. <i>děkuj</i> i 'I thank'
	mouch u 'fly' Asg vs. prác i 'work' Asg
	tu 'that' Asgf vs. naši 'our' Asgf
ou vs. í	mouchou 'fly' Isg vs. prací 'work' Isg
y vs. i	výbory 'committee' Ipl vs. koši 'basket' Ipl
	stoly 'tables' Npl vs. psi 'dogs' Npl
ý vs. í	druhý 'second' Nsgm vs. první 'first' Nsgm

Quantitative vowel alternations

Due to historical factors, some of these alternations also involve qualitative shifts. The last two alternations are rare in inflection, limited primarily to stem shortening in imperatives:

```
á vs. a práce vs. prací 'work' Nsg vs. Isg
```

```
é vs. e
í vs. e/ě
ů vs. sněhu 'snow' Nsg vs. Gsg
ů vs. o
hůl vs. hole 'cane' Nsg vs. Gsg
ou vs. u
koupit 'buy' vs. kup 'buy!'
ý vs. y
mýlit se 'err' vs. myl se 'err!'
í vs. i
navštívit 'visit' vs. navštiv 'visit!'
ů vs. u
rozpůlit 'split' vs. rozpul 'split!'
```

Type 1 ("half-softening") consonant alternations

Type 1 alternations are characteristic of declension and appear primarily in the Nplanim of nouns and adjectives, the Dsg, Lsg, and Lpl of nouns, and the formation of adverbs and comparatives from adjectives. They are also encountered in past passive participles of verbs in -it and in imperatives. In this alternation, labials add j or n, dentals shift to palatals, and velars shift to dentals or palatals:

```
hloupý 'stupid' vs. hloupě 'stupidly'
p vs. pj
b vs. bj
                  skladba vs. skladbě 'composition' Nsg vs. DLsg
                  harfa vs. harfě 'harp' Nsg vs. DLsg
f vs. fj
                  kráva vs. krávě 'cow' Nsg vs. DLsg
v vs. vj
                  strmý 'steep' vs. strmější 'steeper'
m vs. mň
t vs. t'
                  studenty vs. studenti 'student' Apl vs. Npl
d vs. d'
                  hrdý 'proud' vs. hrdě 'proudly'
n vs. ň
                  královna vs. královně 'queen' Nsg vs. DLsg
r vs. ř
                  sestra vs. sestře 'sister' Nsg vs. DLsg
                  kluk vs. kluci, klucích 'boy' Nsg vs. Npl, Lpl
k vs. c
h vs. z
                  drahý 'dear' vs. draze 'dearly'
                  Olga vs. Olze 'Olga' Nsg vs. DLsg
g vs. z
ch vs. š
                  tichý 'quiet' vs. tiše 'quietly'
sk vs. šť
                  ruský vs. ruští 'Russian' Nsgm vs. Nplanim
ck vs. čť
                  anglický vs. angličtí 'English' Nsgm vs. Nplanim
```

Type 2 ("full-softening") consonant alternations

In Type 2, the dental/palatal stops lenite partially (t/t') vs. (t

```
t/t' vs. c
                   platit 'pay' vs. placen 'paid'
d/d' vs. z
                   hodit 'throw' vs. hozen 'thrown'
s vs. š
                   vysoký 'high' vs. vyšší 'higher'
z vs. \check{z}
                   mazat 'smear' vs. mažu 'I smear'
                   Hana 'Hana' vs. Hanin 'Hana's' Nsgm
n vs. ň
r vs. ř
                   mistr vs. mistře 'master' Nsg vs. Vsg
sl vs. šl
                   poslat 'send' vs. pošlu 'I send' (rare)
st/st' vs. št'
                   čistit 'clean' vs. čištěn 'cleaned'
zd/zď vs. žď
                   jezdit 'ride' vs. ježdění 'riding'
k vs. č
                   hezký 'pretty' vs. hezčí 'prettier'
c vs. č
                   chlapec vs. chlapče 'boy' Nsg vs. Vsg
h vs. ž
                   lhát 'lie' vs. lžu 'I lie'
g vs. ž
                   Olga 'Olga' vs. Olžin 'Olga's' Nsgm
ch vs. š
                   suchý 'dry' vs. sušší 'drier'
```

Isolated and suppletive types

Some more drastic morphophonemic alternations exhibiting vowel-zero or consonant alternations or both involve small classes of words or single lexical items; these are much more frequent among verbs than nouns.

```
švec vs. ševce 'cobbler' Nsg vs. Gsg
                                               čest vs. cti 'honor' NAsg vs. GDLsg
psát 'write' vs. píšu 'I write'
                                               hnát 'chase' vs. ženu 'I chase'
vzít 'take' vs. vezmu 'I take'
                                               krýt 'cover' vs. kryji 'I cover'
                                                  vs. kryl 'covered'
   vs. vzal 'took'
žít 'live' vs. žiji 'I live' vs. žil 'lived'
                                               začít 'begin' vs. začnu 'I begin' vs. začal
                                               'began'
                                               péci 'bake' vs. pekl 'baked' vs.
moci 'be able' vs. mohl 'could' vs.
   můžeš 'you can'
                                                  pečeš 'you bake'
                                              jíst 'eat' vs. jím 'I eat' vs. jedl 'ate'
mést 'sweep' vs. metu 'I sweep'
```

2.1.1 Noun morphology

All nouns have grammatical gender (masculine, feminine, or neuter), and with very few exceptions (a handful of undeclinable borrowed words) all are declined for both number (singular, plural; though some words occur only in one of the numbers, e.g., nužky 'scissors', which is plural only) and case (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, vocative, locative, and instrumental). Each gender has its own set of characteristic paradigms, including hard-stem types, soft-stem types, and special types. Masculine paradigms in addition regularly signal animacy. The vocative is formally distinct only in the singular. Below we discuss the paradigms for masculine, neuter, and feminine adding notes on case/number endings which require commentary. The paradigms below are intended to be representative, but there is considerable variation in many paradigms, and it is often hard to establish a definitive norm.

Inanimate: rozbor 'analysis'

2.1.1.1 Masculine paradigms

Hard stems

	1114111111414	arrary 515
	sg	pl
N	rozbor	rozbor y
G	rozbor u	$rozbor \mathring{f u}$
D	rozbor u	rozborům
A	rozbor	rozbor y
V	rozbor e	
L	rozbor u	rozborech
I	<i>rozbor</i> em	rozbor y
	Animate: <i>bratr</i> sg	'brother' pl
NT	•	
N	bratr	bratř i
G	bratr a	<i>bratr</i> ů
D	bratr ovi /- u	<i>bratr</i> ům
A	bratr a	<i>bratr</i> y
V	bratř e	
L	bratr ovi /- u	bratrech
I	<i>bratr</i> em	<i>bratr</i> y

Animacy

Masculine paradigms distinguish animate from inanimate in the singular through nominativeaccusative syncretism for inanimates, as opposed to genitive-accusative syncretism for animates, and in the plural through special Npl endings $(-i, -\acute{e}, -ov\acute{e})$ for animate nouns. Variant endings in the Gsg, Dsg, and Lsg also contribute to readings of animacy vs. inanimacy, although the implementation of these endings does not always follow the exact parameters of the distinction and may involve other factors. Simply stated, the class of animates includes all male (or grammatically masculine) living creatures capable of motion (i.e., non-vegetable). In the case of very small creatures, such as bacil 'bacillus', mikrob 'microbe' animacy is open to interpretation. There are additionally several classes of facultative animates, nouns which refer to inanimate objects but display animate endings. Animal names used to refer to inanimates regularly produce this phenomenon: koníček 'little horse; hobby' is animate in both meanings. Most other facultative animates show some close connection to human males, in terms of appearance (sněhulák 'snowman', maňásek 'puppet'), existence of homonyms referring to male humans (talián 'Italian; Italian sausage', which motivates facultative animacy for other sausages, such as vuřt 'wurst'), and stereotypes of male-pattern behavior (drinking of alcohol: panák 'shot'; smoking of cigarettes: *čmoud* 'drag from a cigarette'; card-playing: *ferbl* 'name of a card game'; sports: kraul 'crawl (swimming)'; and mathematics: násobenec 'multiplicand'). Facultative animacy primarily involves the GAsg and to a lesser extent the Npl, but does not always extend to the DLsg.

Gsg: about 97% of inanimate masculine hard stem nouns have -u, 2% have -a, and 1% permit both endings (Janda 1996: 128). Nouns with -a include, obviously, all facultative animates, plus an assortment of common everyday words (zákon 'law', oběd 'lunch'), including, particularly, those designating buildings (kostel 'church'), locations (Jičín, Tachov), time periods (dnešek 'today', leden 'January'), and shapes (trojúhelník 'triangle').

DLsg: most animate nouns in this paradigm admit both endings. -ovi tends to be favored for viriles (male human referents), with rare but notable exceptions (člověk, člověku 'person', Bůh, Bohu 'God'), and can be used for most animals. In concatenations of titles and names, the last word will have -ovi, but all others will have -u: panu doktoru Janu Novákovi 'Mr. Dr. Jan Novák'.

Lsg: 90% of inanimate masculine hard stem nouns have -u, less than 1% have $-e/\check{e}$, and about 9% permit both endings (Janda 1996: 148-9). Where $-e/\check{e}$ appears it conditions Type 1 alternations for velars and r, but stems ending in these consonants strongly prefer -u. More than half of the stems that permit both desinences end in -s, and others end in -z, -k, -l, -r, -ch, or -n. According to Bermel (1993), among nouns that permit both desinences $-e/\check{e}$ is typical in the expression of familiar, predictable concrete locations, whereas -u is the default for all other uses.

Vsg: the -e desinence conditions the Type 2 alternation for stems ending in tr and c: mistr, mistře! 'master', otec, otče! 'father'. Velar stems have -u instead (kluk, kluku! 'boy'), thus avoiding Type 2 alternation (but note: Bůh, Bože! 'God'; člověk, člověče! 'person').

Npl: -i is by far the most common ending for animates and conditions the Type 1 alternation: student, studenti 'student'; $Pol\acute{a}k$, $Pol\acute{a}ci$ 'Pole'. The endings $-\acute{e}$ $-ov\acute{e}$ are used primarily with certain viriles: soused, $soused\acute{e}$ 'neighbor'; syn, $synov\acute{e}$ 'son'.

Lpl: in addition to -ech, the Lpl has the variants -ich (used with some stems ending in velars, labials, -s, -z, and -l) and -ach (used with some stems ending in velars). With velars -ich conditions the Type 1 alternation, although the tendency is to replace -ich with -ach, which obviates alternation. Compare the following Nsg and Lpl forms: prah, prazich 'threshold'; les, lesich 'forest'; hotel, hotelich 'hotel'; plech, plechach 'metal plate'.

Soft stems

	Inanimate: <i>koš</i>	'basket'
	sg	pl
N	koš	koš e
G	koš e	<i>koš</i> ů
D	koši	<i>koš</i> ům
A	koš	koš e
V	koš i	
L	koši	<i>koš</i> ích
I	<i>koš</i> em	koši

	Animate: ma	díř 'painter'
	sg	pl
N	malíř	malíř i
G	malíř e	malířů
D	malíř ovi /-i	<i>malíř</i> ů m
A	malíř e	malíř e
V	malíř i	
L	malíř ovi /-i	<i>malířích</i>
I	malíř em	malíř i

DLsg: the distribution of -ovi vs. -i is similar to that of -ovi vs. -u in the animate hard stems, although -i is somewhat more frequent in the soft paradigm than -u is in the hard paradigm.

Lpl: some nouns in this paradigm have the desinence -ech: cíl, cílech 'goal'.

Stems alternating between hard and soft

	sg	pl
N	kotel	kotl e/-y
G	kotl u/-e	kotlů
D	kotlu/-i	<i>kotl</i> ům
A	kotel	kotl e /-y
V	<i>kotl</i> i	
L	kotlu/-i	kotl ech/-ích
I	<i>kotl</i> em	kotl i/-v

Nearly all stems of this type end in l or n ($\check{r}emen$ 'strap', pramen 'source', $k\check{a}men$ 'stone'); one ends in t (loket 'elbow').

Special types

There are two masculine paradigms with a vocalic desinence in the Nsg: the hard -a paradigm and the soft -e paradigm. Both are exclusively virile (designate male humans) and therefore animate.

	-a virile: přednos	ta 'chief, head'
	sg	pl
N	přednost a	přednost ové
G	přednost y	přednost ů
D	přednost ovi	přednost ům
A	přednost u	přednost y
V	přednost o	
L	přednost ovi	přednost ech
I	přednost ou	přednosty

Aside from the masculine DLsg -ovi, this paradigm has feminine endings in the singular, but masculine endings in the plural.

Gsg, Apl, and Ipl: some stems in this paradigm end in consonant letters that do not combine with y; these forms are then spelled with i, as in nicknames such as Miša, Miši 'Mike'.

Npl: although most nouns in this paradigm use -ové, those ending in -ita and -ista use -é (husita, husité 'Hussite', houslista, houslisté 'violinist').

Lpl: stems ending in a velar will have -*ich* and the concomitant Type 1 alternation: *sluha*, *sluzích* 'servant'.

	-e virile: zachránce 'savior'		
	sg	pl	
N	zachránc e	zachránc i	
G	zachránc e	$zachránc \r{\mathbf{u}}$	
D	zachránc ovi/-i	zachránc ům	
A	zachránc e	zachránc e	
V	zachránc e		
L	zachránc ovi/-i	zachránc ích	
I	zachránc em	zachránc i	

DLsg: variation here parallels that of soft stem animate nouns. Npl: some nouns also admit *-ové* (*soudce*, *soudci/-ové* 'judge').

Although a few borrowings are indeclinable (atašé 'attaché', zebu 'zebu', tangens 'tangent'), most foreign words decline even if their stems are incongruous with the stem shape of native masculine nouns. Nouns ending in a vowel other than i/y will drop that vowel in all forms other than the Nsg (and Asg for inanimates) and treat the preceding consonant as stem final; maestro thus has a stem of maestr- to which desinences are added: GAsg maestra, DLsg maestrovi, Vsg maestro, Isg maestrem, Npl maestrové, Gpl maestrů, Dpl maestrům, Alpl maestry, Lpl maestrech. Following a similar strategy, foreign nouns ending in -us, -es, and -os usually drop those segments for all other forms in the paradigm (NAsg komunismus, GDLsg komunismu, Vsg komunisme, Isg komunismem; NAsg hádes, GDLsg hádu, Isg hádem; NAsg kosmos, GDLsg kosmu, Isg kosmem). Foreign nouns and names ending in i/y (kuli 'coolie', pony 'pony', Billy) have a mixed declension, with adjective type endings (with short vowels) in the singular (GAsg kuliho, Dsg kulimu, LIsg kulim), but primarily noun-type endings in the plural (Npl kuliové, Gpl kuliů, Dpl kuliům, Apl kulie, Lpl kuliech/-ích/-ch, Ipl kulii/-mi).

2.1.1.2 Neuter paradigms

Aside from the nominative and accusative forms, the neuter paradigms have the same endings as masculine paradigms.

Hard stems

	<i>město</i> 'city'		
	sg	pl	
N	měst o	měst a	
G	měst a	měst	
D	měst u	<i>měst</i> ům	
A	měst o	měst a	
V	měst o		
L	<i>měst</i> ě/-u	<i>měst</i> ech	
I	<i>měst</i> em	městy	

Nsg: a few nouns with stems ending in -en have a bookish variant Nsg form with an abbreviated stem: břemeno/břímě 'burden'; these nouns also have alternate endings Gsg břemeno/břemene, Dsg břemenu/břemeni, and Lsg břemenu/břemeni/břemeně (similar to the masculine kotel type above).

Lsg: many nouns use only -e/ě (which conditions Type 1 alternations): okno, okně 'window'; some only -u (stems ending in velars always use -u): středisko, středisku 'center'.

Lpl: as in masculine nouns, -*ich* can appear after velars (with Type 1 alternations), and is frequently replaced by -*ách*.

Nouns referring to paired body parts, such as *rameno/rámě* 'shoulder', *koleno* 'knee', and *prsa* 'chest, breasts' have GLpl forms *ramenou/ramen*, *kolenou/kolen*, and *prsou*.

lýtko 'calf (leg)' and *bedro* 'hip' and some plural-only nouns (*vrátka* 'gate') admit both neuter and feminine forms in the plural.

Soft stems

There are two types of neuter soft stems. One type involves a very small number of nouns with a paradigm of: NGAVsg/NApl moře 'sea', DLsg/Ipl moři, Isg mořem, Gpl moří, Dpl mořím, Lpl mořích. The other type involves a large number of nouns all of which are derived with -iště and designate places, such as: NGAVsg/NApl letiště 'airport', DLsg/Ipl letišti, Isg letištěm, Gpl letiští, Dpl letištím, Lpl letištích.

Special types

-ět-/-at- type: slůn	<i>ně</i> 'baby elephant'
sg	pl
slůn ě	slůň ata
slůn ěte	slůň at
slůn ěti	<i>slůň</i> atům
slůn ě	slůň ata
slůn ě	
slůn ěti	slůňatech
<i>slůn</i> ětem	slůň aty
	sg slůn ě slůn ěte slůn ěti slůn ě slůn ě

The -ět-/-at- type is primarily associated with names of offspring (štěně 'puppy', nemluvně 'infant'), although this paradigm is used for some inanimates (koště 'broom') and at least one virile (kníže 'prince').

	-í type: <i>nábře</i>	ží 'waterfont'
	sg	pl
N	nábřež í	nábřež í
G	nábřež í	nábřež í
D	nábřež í	nábřež ím
A	nábřež í	nábřež í
V	nábřež í	
L	nábřež í	nábřež ích
I	nábřež ím	nábřež ími

The -*i* type paradigm includes many deverbal nouns (*placeni* 'paying') and is otherwise often associated with collectives (*křovi* 'bushes') and nouns with abstract meaning (*zdravi* 'health'); a particularly common source of neuter -*i* nouns are prepositional phrases (the head noun here, *nábřeži* is derived from the prepositional phrase *na břehu* 'on the bank').

Latin and Greek borrowings into the Czech neuter continue some aspects of their original declensions in Czech. Nouns ending in -o, -on, and -um drop those final segments in all forms but the NAsg and follow the standard hard declension (but those with a new "stem" ending in a vowel have soft endings in the plural oblique cases): NAVsg enklitikon, Gsg/NApl enklitika, DLsg enklitiku, Isg enklitikem, Gpl enklitik, Dpl enklitikům, Lpl enklitikách, Ipl enklitiky; NAVsg rádio, Gsg/NApl rádia, DLsg rádiu, Isg rádiem, Gpl rádií, Dpl rádiím, Lpl rádiích, Ipl rádii; NAVsg muzeum, Gsg/NApl muzea, DLsg muzeu, Isg muzeem, Gpl muzeí, Dpl muzeím, Lpl muzeích, Ipl muzei. Neuter nouns ending in -ma add t to form their stem: NAVsg drama, GDLsg dramatu, Isg dramatem, NApl dramata, Gpl dramat, Dpl dramatům, Lpl dramatech, Ipl dramaty. Some neuter borrowings do not decline: klišé, taxi, tabu.

2.1.1.3 Feminine paradigms *Hard stems*

	žena	'woman'
	sg	pl
N	žen a	žen y
G	žen y	žen
D	žen ě	<i>žen</i> ám
A	žen u	žen y
V	ženo	-
L	žen ě	<i>žen</i> ách
I	<i>žen</i> ou	<i>žen</i> ami

DLsg: the $-e/\check{e}$ ending conditions the Type 1 alternation.

ruka 'arm/hand' has deviant NApl ruce and shares with noha 'leg' special oblique plural forms: GLpl rukou, nohou (but note also variants Gpl noh and Lpl rukách, nohách); Ipl rukama, nohama.

Soft stems

	rй	йže 'rose'		
	sg	pl		
N	růž e	růž e		
G	růž e	růží		
D	růž i	<i>růž</i> ím		
A	růž i	růž e		
V	růž e			
L	růž i	<i>růž</i> ích		
I	růž í	<i>růž</i> emi		

Gpl: as a rule, stems ending in -ic have a zero ending instead of -i: ulice, ulic 'street'. Variation between zero and -i is not uncommon, particularly among nouns in -yně; přítelkyně 'girlfriend' admits both Gpl forms: přítelkyň/přítelkyní.

Feminine nouns ending in a consonant

There are two paradigms of feminine nouns with a zero ending in the Nsg; all such nouns end in a historically soft consonant.

Nsg in zero, -e/ĕ type: dlaň 'palm of hand'

	sg	pl
N	dlaň	dlan ě
G	dlan ě	dlan í
D	dlan i	<i>dlaním</i>
A	dlaň	dlan ě
V	dlan i	
L	dlan i	dlan ích
I	dlan í	dlan ěmi
-	01101112	

Nsg in zero, -i type: kost 'bone'

	sg	pl
N	kost	kosti
G	kosti	kostí
D	kosti	kost em
A	kost	kosti
V	kosti	
L	kosti	kostech
I	kostí	<i>kost</i> mi

The -e/ĕ type and -i type paradigms are converging, resulting in frequent variations for words of both paradigms in the desinences that do not match, cf. lod' 'boat', which admits all of the following forms Gsg lodi/-ĕ, NApl lodi/-ĕ, Ipl lodĕmi/lod'mi.

paní 'Mrs.' is indeclinable in the singular and has the following plural forms: NGApl paní, Dpl paním, Lpl paních, Ipl paními.

Borrowed words ending in a vowel or j + a follow a mixed hard/soft declension, e.g.: Nsg idea, Gsg idey/-je, DLsg ideji, Asg ideo, Isg ideou/-ji, NApl idey/-je, Gpl ideji, Dpl ideám/-jim, Lpl ideách-jich, Ipl ideami/-jemi. There are a few borrowed feminine indeclinable nouns: whisky, party.

2.1.1.4 Nouns of variable or indeterminate gender

Three neuter nouns do not have neuter endings in the plural:

dítě 'child': NAVsg dítě, Gsg dítěte, DLsg dítěti, Isg dítětem, NApl děti, Gpl dětí, Dpl dětem, Lpl dětech, Ipl dětmi

oko 'eye' and ucho 'ear': both have a neuter hard stem singular (with Lsg -u) and the following plural: NApl oči uši, Gpl oči uši, Dpl očim ušim, Ipl očima ušima.

Three pluralia tantum nouns naming holiday seasons, *letnice* 'Whitsunday', *vánoce* 'Christmas', and *velikonoce* 'Easter', are listed in dictionaries as feminine pluralia tantum, although they have Dpl -um, which is characteristic of masculine and neuter paradigms: NApl *vánoce*, Gpl *vánoc*, Dpl *vánocům*, Lpl *vánocemi*.

Although the vast majority of names for people and animals have separate feminine and masculine forms, there are some words that vary in gender and paradigm depending upon the given referent: *chot*' 'spouse' declines as a soft stem masculine animate when referring to a husband, but as a feminine type ending in a consonant when referring to a wife; *nešika* 'clumsy person' is an -a virile in reference to a male, but a hard stem feminine in reference to a female. Most other common gender words, such as *člověk* 'person' (masculine hard stem animate) and *osoba* 'person' (hard stem feminine) retain their paradigm and syntactic gender no matter whom they refer to. *Rukojmí* 'hostage' can be a substantivized adjective or an -*i* type neuter (Gsg *rukojmího/-i*). A few inanimate nouns have more than one paradigm: 'potato' exists as both *brambor* (hard stem masculine) and *brambora* (hard stem feminine), and *esej* 'essay' can be declined as either masculine or feminine.

2.1.2 Adjectival morphology

Adjectives are declined to match the gender, case, and number of the nouns they modify. Participles are declined like adjectives. The vast majority of adjectives occur only long, although short forms do exist for a few common adjectives and are the norm for predicative past passive participles. Adjectives can be qualitative (describing a quality, like *chytrý* 'smart', *tvrdý* 'hard') or relational (describing a relationship to something, like *Pražský* 'Prague', as in *Pražský hrad* 'Prague Castle', or *místní* 'local', as in *místní správa* 'local government'). Comparative and superlative forms and adverbs can be formed from adjectival stems; qualitative adjectives are more likely to have these forms than are relational adjectives.

2.1.2.1 Long form adjectives

Like nouns, adjectives have both hard and soft stem paradigms. Soft stem adjectives are primarily relational adjectives in -ní (večerní 'evening'), where softness is imposed by the suffix. Unlike nouns, adjectives do not have vocative case forms; when an adjective appears with a noun in the vocative, the adjective is in the nominative. In combination with the Ipl of feminine and variable gender nouns having a nominal desinence in -ma, the ending for demonstratives and adjectives is also -ma rather than the customary -mi: těma špinavýma rukama 'with those dirty hands'. There are a few foreign borrowings that do not decline, such as fajn 'fine', but these are considered colloquial, and can have nativized declinable variants, such as fajnový 'fine'.

druhý	6	second;	other'
$\alpha_I u_{II} v$		second.	Ouici

		singular			plural	
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	druh ý	druh á	druh é	druh é	druh é	druh á
(anim:)				druz í		
G	druh ého	druh é	<i>druh</i> ého	druh ých		
D	<i>druh</i> ému	druh é	<i>druh</i> ému	druh ý m		
A	druh ý	druh ou	druh é	druh é	druh é	druh á
(anim:)	<i>druh</i> ého					
L	<i>druh</i> ém	druh é	<i>druh</i> ém	druh ých		
I	druh ým	druh ou	druh ým	<i>druh</i> ými		

The Nplmasc animate conditions Type 1 alternations.

masculine & neuter

první

Soft stems

N

singular		plural	
r	feminine	(all genders)	
	prvn í	prvn í	
	prvn í	<i>prvn</i> ích	
	prvn í	<i>prvn</i> ím	

G	prvn iho	prvnı	prvnich
D	<i>prvn</i> ímu	prvn í	prvn ím
A	prvn í	prvn í	<i>prvn</i> í
(anim:)	<i>prvn</i> ího		
L	prvn ím	prvn í	prvn ích
I	<i>prvn</i> ím	prvn í	<i>prvn</i> ími

Possessive-relational adjectives are formed from nouns designating animals and God, and all are soft stem adjectives: $B\mathring{u}h$ 'God', $Bo\check{z}i$ 'God's'; ryba 'fish', rybi 'a fish's'.

první 'first'

2.1.2.2 Short form adjectives and possessive adjectives

Short form adjectives

Short form adjectives are built from the same stems as long form adjectives but have nominal instead of adjectival endings. Any short forms that do exist in Czech are used only predicatively. There is only one adjective with only short forms: $r\acute{a}d$ 'glad'. Only a few other adjectives permit short forms and these are used only predicatively in the nominative. For passive participles, as stated above, short forms are the norm in the predicate: $dopis\ byl\ naps\acute{a}n$ 'the letter was written' vs. $napsan\acute{y}\ dopis$ 'the written letter'.

			nemocný 'il	1'		
	sin	gular short fo	orms	plural short forms		
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	nemocen	nemocn a	nemocn o	nemocn y	nemocn y	nemocn a
(anim:)				nemocn i		

As with long form adjectives, the Npl masculine animate ending triggers the Type 1 alternation.

Possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives formed from names of human males (with suffix $-\mathring{u}v$) and females (with suffix -in) have a distinct paradigm that mixes short and long types:

bratrův 'brother's'

		singular			plural	
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	bratrův	bratrov a	bratrov o	<i>bratrov</i> y	bratrov y	bratrov a
(anim:)				bratrov i		
G	bratrov a	<i>bratrov</i> y	bratrov a	bratrov ých		
D	bratrov u	<i>bratrov</i> ě	bratrov u	<i>bratrov</i> ým		
A	bratrův	<i>bratrov</i> u	bratrov o	bratrov y	bratrov y	bratrov a
(anim:)	bratrov a					
L	bratrov ě /	<i>bratrov</i> ě	bratrov ě / -	bratrov ých		
	-u		u			
I	<i>bratrov</i> ým	<i>bratrov</i> ou	<i>bratrov</i> ým	<i>bratrov</i> ými		

2.1.2.3 Comparatives and superlatives

Comparative adjectives

All comparative adjectives end in $-\check{s}i$ and, hence, decline like soft stem adjectives. The regular formant for deriving comparatives from adjectival stems is $-\check{e}j\check{s}i/-ej\check{s}i$, which conditions the Type 2 alternation for velars, but the Type 1 alternation of all other stem final consonants:

adjective	gloss	comparative	adjective	gloss	comparative
chytrý	'clever'	chytřejší	divoký	'wild'	divočejší
logický	'logical'	logičtější	jistý	'certain'	jistější
blbý	'stupid'	blbější	inteligentní	'intelligent'	inteligentnější

Two adjectives have a vowel alternation in the stem: bílý 'white' bělejší, svatý 'holy' světější.

Some adjectives form the comparative with the formant -si, which often (though not always) conditions Type 2 alternations; some adjectives can employ both -ejsi/-ejsi and -si. Adjectives with stems ending in -k or -ok typically drop those segments, and occasionally stemfinal -n is lost as well. Stem vowels in the comparatives are always short regardless of length in the positive form:

adjective	gloss	comparative	adjective	gloss	comparative
snadný	'easy'	snazší/	mladý	'young'	mladší
		snadnější			
suchý	'dry'	sušší	čistý	'clean'	čist(ěj)ší
krotký	'tame'	krotší/	krátký	'short'	kratší
		krotčejší			
hluboký	'deep'	hlubší	blízký	'near'	bližší

Some stems ending in -k drop the final consonant and use the formant $-\check{c}i$:

adjective	gloss	comparative	adjective	gloss	comparative
křehký	'fragile'	křehčí/	hebký	'supple'	hebčí/
		křehčejší			hebčejší

A number of common adjectives have irregular or suppletive comparative forms:

adjective	gloss	comparative	adjective	gloss	comparative
daleký	'far'	další 'next'	dlouhý	'long'	delší

dobrý	'good'	lepší	špatný	'bad'	horší
vel(i)ký	'big'	větší	malý	'small'	menší

Adjectives that do not commonly form comparatives (particularly relational adjectives) frequently resort to an analytic paraphrase using *více* 'more': *dřevěný* 'wooden' would thus yield the comparative *více dřevěný*.

Superlative adjectives

All superlative adjectives are created by adding the prefix *nej*- to the comparative form: *nejchytřejší* 'cleverest', *nejsnazší* / *nejsnadnější* 'easiest', *nejkřehčí* / *nejkřehčejší* 'most fragile', *nejhorší* 'worst', *nejvíce dřevěný* 'most wooden'. An alternative superlative prefix *sebe*- is less frequent and more emphatic: *sebelepší* 'best', *sebemenší* 'smallest'.

2.1.2.4 Deadjectival adverbs

Adverbs formed from adjectives

Deadjectival adverbs can be formed from most qualitative adjectives and most of these adverbs admit comparative forms as well.

Adjectives ending in -ský, -cký, and -zký form the adverb in -y: -sky and -cky can be used with adjectives naming languages to describe language use: český 'Czech' yields česky 'in a Czech way', as in Mluvím česky 'I speak Czech'.

The majority of adverbs formed from adjectives are formed with -e/ĕ (which conditions Type 1 alternations): divoký 'wild' yields divoce, blbý 'stupid', yields blbĕ, and dlouhý 'long' yields dlouze, as in Tato samohláska se vyslovuje dlouze 'That vowel is pronounced long'.

Comparative adverbs

Only adverbs formed from adjectives have comparative forms, and most of these are created with the $-eji/-\check{e}ji$ formant. In the case of adjectival stems ending in a velar, this produces Type 2 alternations; for other stems the Type 1 alternation triggered in the $-e/\check{e}$ adverbial form remains:

adjective	gloss	adverb	comparative
divoký	'wild'	divoce	divočeji
logický	'logical'	logicky	logičtěji
suchý	'dry'	suše	sušeji
blbý	'stupid'	blbě	blběji

Alternative comparative endings are -e (conditioning Type 2 alternations) and zero; some adverbs admit all three formants, and many admit two. Note that in comparative adverbs in -e the stem vowel is always long, regardless of the length in the base adjective.

adjective	gloss	adverb	comparatives
snadný	'easy'	snadně/snadno	snadněji, snáze,
			snáz
hluboký	'deep'	hluboce	hlouběji, hloub
úzký	'narrow'	úzce	úže, úžeji
drahý	'dear'	draze	dráže, dráž

The irregular comparative adverbs correspond to the adjectives with irregular comparative formations:

adjective	gloss	adverbs	comparatives
daleký	'far'	dalece, daleko	dále, dál
dlouhý	'long'	dlouze, dlouho	déle
dobrý	'good'	dobře	lépe, líp
špatný	'bad'	špatně	hůře, hůř
vel(i)ký	'big'	velice, mnoho	více, víc
malý	'small'	málo	méně, míň

Superlative adverbs

Like adjectives, adverbs form the superlative degree by prefixing comparative forms with *nej*-and occasionally *sebe-*: *nejlogičtěji* 'most logically', *nejblběji* 'most stupidly', *nejhloubéji/nejhloub* 'most deeply', *nejlépe/nejlíp*, *sebelépe* 'best', *nejméně* 'least'. Adverbs that do not form comparatives and superlatives can achieve these degrees by means of paraphrase with *více* 'more' and *nejvíce* 'most' or *méně* 'less' and *nejméně* 'least'.

2.1.3 Pronominal morphology

Rather than constituting an independent declensional type, Czech pronouns use endings from both noun and adjective pardigms, and often can be said to have a mixed declensional type.

Personal, reflexive, and interrogative pronouns

All pronouns are inflected for case. Personal pronouns distinguish person and number and, in the third person, gender as well. Personal and reflexive pronouns can occur as enclitics, and the singular and reflexive pronouns have for the genitive, dative, and accusative cases two forms, a "long" one restricted to non-enclitic uses, and a "short" stressless enclitic one.

	singu	ılar	plural
	"long" non-enclitic	"short" enclitic	
N	já		my
G	mne	mě	nás
D	mně	mi	nám
A	mne	mě	nás
L	mn	ě	nás
I	mno	ри	námi

Second person

	singu	ılar	plural
	"long" non-enclitic	"short" enclitic	
N	ty		vy
G	tebe	tě	vás
D	tobě	ti	vám
A	tebe	tě	vás
L	tob	ě	vás
I	tebo	ри	vámi

Ty and its forms are used only in addressing a single intimate friend, relation, or a child; vy is used both for singular as well as for plural formal address.

Third person

	singular					plural
	masc	culine	nei	uter	feminine	
	"long"	"short"	"long"	"short"		
N	0	n	01	no	ona	oni, ony, ona
G	jeho	ho	jeho	ho	jí	jich
D	jemu	mu	jemu	mu	jí	jim
A	jeho, jej	jej, ho, -ň	j	ie	ji	je
L	ně	ém	ne	žm	ní	nich
I	jí	m	jí	ím	jí	jimi

The initial j- of the genitive, dative, accusative, and instrumental is replaced by n- ([\mathfrak{p}]) whenever a pronoun is preceded by a preposition; because the locative case appears only with prepositions, pronouns are cited only in their n- forms. Masculine accusative jej can serve in both enclitic and non-enclitic roles; $-\check{n}$ is uncommon and restricted only to position after prepositions ending in a vowel: $na\check{n}$ 'onto him/it'. In the plural, gender is distinguished only in the nominative case: oni masculine animate, ony masculine inanimate + feminine, ona neuter.

Reflexive pronoun

	"long"	"short"
G	sebe	sebe
D	sobě	si
A	sebe	se
L	sobě	sobě
I	sebou	sebou

Because the reflexive pronoun typically refers to a nominative subject, it does not have a nominative (or vocative) form.

Interrogative pronouns: *kdo* 'who' and *co* 'what'

N	kdo	co
G	koho	čeho
D	komu	čemu
A	koho	co, -č
L	kom	čem
I	kým	čím

Like $-\check{n}$, $-\check{c}$ appears only after prepositions ending in a vowel: *Není zač* 'Don't mention it (lit: Not for what)'. Syntactically *kdo* is always masculine animate singular and *co* is neuter singular, regardless of the gender and number of actual referents.

Possessive pronouns

Possessives exist for all persons, numbers, and genders represented by personal pronouns and the personal interrogative. $M\mathring{u}j$ 'my' and $tv\mathring{u}j$ 'thy, your' share one declension type, and $n\acute{a}\check{s}$ 'our' and $v\acute{a}\check{s}$ 'your' share another declension type. Jeho 'his/its' and jejich 'their' are indeclinable. $Jej\acute{i}$ 'her' and $\check{c}\acute{i}$ 'whose' decline like soft stem adjectives.

<i>můj</i> 'my' (<i>tvůj</i> 'thy, your' has the same endings)							
		singular			plural		
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter	
N	m ůj	má, moje	mé, moje	mé, moje	mé, moje	má, moje	
(anim:)				mí, moji			
G	mého	т é	mého		m ých		
D	<i>m</i> ému	т é	m ému		m ým		
A	m ůj	mou, moji	mé, moje	mé, moje	mé, moje	má, moje	
(anim:)	mého						
L	<i>m</i> ém	т é	<i>m</i> ém		m ých		
I	mý m	mou	mý m		m ými		

In the nominative and accusative cases for feminine and neuter in the singular and all genders in the plural, there are variant contracted (consisting of a single long vowel) and uncontracted (consisting of oj + short vowel) forms; these forms are in free variation, although the contracted forms are more frequent in writing and uncontracted ones are encountered more often in speech. Note the length of the root vowel \mathring{u} in the masculine singular $m\mathring{u}j$, $tv\mathring{u}j$, which is short o in all other uncontracted forms.

náš	'our'	(váš	'your'	has	the	same	dec	lension))
	ain	21100							

	singular			plural		
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	náš	naš e	naš e	naš e	naš e	naš e
(anim:)				naš i		
G	<i>naš</i> eho	naš í	naš eho		našich	
D	<i>naš</i> emu	naš í	<i>naš</i> emu		<i>naš</i> im	
A	náš	naš i	naš e		naš e	
(anim:)	<i>naš</i> eho					
L	<i>naš</i> em	naš í	<i>naš</i> em		našich	
I	naším	naš í	naším		<i>naš</i> imi	

Note that $n\acute{a}$ s, $v\acute{a}$ s as well as the following demonstrative and other pronouns (and numerals jeden 'one' and $v\check{s}echen$ 'all') show a mixed declensional type, with both short (for direct cases) and long (for oblique cases) endings. This type has nominal endings for the nominative and accusative cases (with the exception of the masculine animate Asg, which follows the genitive), and adjectival endings for the remaining cases. Additionally it is characteristic that endings for masculine/neuter singular NGDAL, feminine singular NA, and all plural cases use short vowels; but endings for masculine/neuter singular I and feminine singular GDLI follow the long adjectival pattern. Note also the length of the root vowel in masculine singular N $n\acute{a}$ s, $v\acute{a}$ s, which is short in all other forms ($s\acute{a}$ m 'oneself', presented below, shows the same shortening).

ten 'this, that, th	e'
---------------------	----

		singular		plural			
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter	
N	ten	t a	to	$t\mathbf{y}$	$t\mathbf{y}$	ta	
(anim:)				ti			
G	toho	té	toho		<i>t</i> ěch		
D	tomu	té	tomu		<i>t</i> ěm		
A	ten	t u	to	$t\mathbf{y}$	$t\mathbf{y}$	ta	
(anim:)	toho						
L	tom	té	tom		<i>t</i> ěch		
I	<i>t</i> ím	tou	<i>t</i> ím		<i>t</i> ěmi		

Ten participates in various compounds with affixed -to 'here', tam- 'there', -hle 'look' (emphatic), in which ten is declined as expected, among them: tento 'this (...here)', tamten 'that (...there)', tenhle 'this/that', tamhleten 'that (there emphatic)'. Ten can also be reduplicated (in which case it is declined in both positions), as in tenhleten 'this/that (emphatic)'.

Relative and other pronouns

Jenž is a bookish relative pronoun which is declined like náš with the final -ž appearing after the desinences. The adjective který 'which, that, who' is usually used in place of jenž. Sám 'oneself' is declined as a hard stem adjective (with a stem of sam-) in all oblique cases and has the following endings in the nominative and accusative:

	singular			plural			
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter	
N	sám	sam a	samo	sam y	sam y	sam a	
(anim:)				sam i			
A	sám	sam u	samo	sam y	sam y	sama	
(anim:)	sam a /						
	-ého						

Všechen 'all' has a larger and unique paradigm (note the e > i vowel shift in the Nplmasc animate):

		singular			plural	
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	všechen	vš echna	vš echno /	vš echny	vš echny	všechna
(anim:)			vš e	všichni		
G	vš eho	vší	vš eho		vš ech	
D	vš emu	vší	vš emu		vš em	
A	vš echen	vš echnu /	vš echno /	vš e c	chny	vš echna
		vši	vš e			
L	vš em	vší	vš em		vš ech	
I	vš ím	vší	vším		vš emi	

In the singular *všechen* combines with mass nouns, in the plural with count nouns. The neuter singular *všechno/vše* (and its case forms) is used impersonally to mean 'everything'; the

masculine animate plural *všichni* (and its case forms) has a similar force, invoking 'everybody'. The following forms in the paradigm have alternates (used more frequently in speech) in *-cek*, *-ck-*: *všechen* > *všecek*, *všechna* > *všecka*, *všechno* > *všecko*, *všechnu* > *všecku*, *všechny* > *všecky*, *všichni* > *všicci*.

2.1.4 Numeral morphology

The following table provides a representative sample of cardinal and ordinal numerals.

	ordinal	cardinal
'first', 'one'	první	jeden, jedna, jedno
'second', 'two'	druhý	dva, dvě
'third', 'three'	třetí	tři
'fourth', 'four'	čtvrtý	čtyři
'fifth', 'five'	pátý	pět
'sixth', 'six'	šestý	šest
'seventh', 'seven'	sedmý	sedm
'eighth', 'eight'	osmý	osm
'ninth', 'nine'	devátý	devět
'tenth', 'ten'	desátý	deset
'eleventh', 'eleven'	jedenáctý	jedenáct
all other teens	-áctý	-áct
'twentieth', 'twenty'	dvacátý	dvacet
'thirtieth', 'thirty'	třicátý	třicet
'fortieth', 'forty'	čtyřicátý	čtyřicet
'fiftieth', 'fifty'	padesátý	padesát
all other tens	-átý	-át
'hundredth', 'hundred'	stý	sto
'two hundredth', 'two hundred'	dvoustý	dvě stě
'three hundredth', 'three hundred'	třístý	tři sta
'four hundredth', 'four hundred'	čtyřstý	čtyři sta
'five hundredth', 'five hundred'	pětistý	pět set
all other hundredths, hundreds	-istý	set
'thousandth', 'thousand'	tisící	tisíc
'millionth', 'million'	milióntý	milión
'billionth', 'billion'	miliardový	miliarda

Cardinal numerals

All cardinal numerals are inflected for case, 'one' and 'two' additionally distinguish gender, and 'one' further distinguishes number formally as well (with a meaning 'one pair or set of').

			<i>jeden</i> 'one'			
		singular			plural	
	masculine	feminine	neuter	masculine	feminine	neuter
N	jeden	jedn a	jedn o	jedn y	jedn y	jedn a
(anim:)				jedn i		
G	<i>jedn</i> oho	jedn é	<i>jedn</i> oho		<i>jedn</i> ěch	
D	<i>jedn</i> omu	jedn é	<i>jedn</i> omu		<i>jedn</i> ěm	
A	jeden	jedn u	jedn o	jedn y	jedn y	jedn a
(anim:)	<i>jedn</i> oho					
L	jedn om	jedn é	<i>jedn</i> om		<i>jedn</i> ěch	
I	jedn ím	<i>jedn</i> ou	jedn ím		<i>jedn</i> ěmi	
			dva 'two'			
		ma	asculine	feminine +		
				neuter		
]	NA	$dv\mathbf{a}$	$dv\check{\mathbf{e}}$		
	(GL	dvou	l		

dvěma

Oba 'both' shares this paradigm.

DI

	<i>tři</i> 'three' and <i>čtyři</i> 'four'		
NA	<i>tř</i> i	čtyř i	
G	<i>tř</i> í	čtyř	
D	<i>tř</i> em	<i>čtyř</i> em	
L	<i>tř</i> ech	<i>čtyř</i> ech	
I	<i>tř</i> emi	<i>čtyř</i> mi	

The numerals 'five'- 'nineteen'; the eight multiples of 'ten', 'twenty' - 'ninety' and all inverted (one-word) numerals have zero-ending in the NA and -*i* for all oblique cases (GDLI). Non-inverted (two-word) numerals ending in -1, -2, -3, and -4 have the same endings as the numerals would have individually. Two-digit numerals above the teens can be expressed either by listing the tens (twenties, etc.) plus ones (twos, etc.) or by use of an inverted compound consisting of 'one' through 'nine' + -*a*- + 'twenty' through 'ninety'; thus 'twenty-three' can be realized as *dvacet tři* or *třiadvacet*.

	NA	GDLI
'five'	pět	pěti
'eight'	osm	osmi
'nine'	devět	devíti
'ten'	deset	deseti/desíti
'eleven'	jedenáct	jedenácti
'eighteen'	osmnáct	osmnácti
'twenty'	dvacet	dvaceti
'eighty'	osmdesát	osmdesáti
'twenty-five' (inverted)	pětadvacet	pětadvaceti

	NA	GDLI
'twenty-five'	dvacet pět	dvaceti pěti
'eighty-six' (inverted)	šestaosmdesát	šestaosmdesáti
'eighty-six'	osmdesát šest	osmdesáti šesti
'twenty-one' (inverted)	jednadvacet	jednadvaceti
'twenty-one'	dvacet jedna	dvaceti jedn- (endings as
		above)
'thirty-two' (inverted)	dvaatřicet	dvaatřiceti
'thirty-two'	třicet dva	<i>třiceti dv</i> - (endings as
-		above)

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The following four numerals have other declensions:

sto 'hundred' is a hard stem neuter noun; note dvě stě 'two hundred'; tisíc 'thousand' is a soft stem masculine noun with alternate Gpl forms tisíc and tisíců; milión 'million' is a hard stem masculine noun; miliarda 'billion' is a hard stem feminine noun.

All four of these numerals observe the syntax of numeral phrases when combined with other numerals: *pět set* 'five hundred', *tři tisíce* 'three thousand', *šest miliónů* 'six million' (see section 3.2 for an explanation of numeral syntax).

Ordinal numerals

All ordinal numerals are declined like adjectives; three are of the soft stem type: první 'first', třetí 'third', and tisící 'thousandth'. Aside from the suppletive první 'first' and druhý 'second', all cardinals are formed by adding -ý, but cardinals in -e/ět have ordinals in -átý. With compound numerals all items are ordinal: stý sedmdesátý pátý 'one hundred seventy fifth', however this usage is quite bookish and it is more normal to use cardinal forms for numerals above ninety, followed by ordinal forms for the final two digits: sto sedmdesátý pátý. As with cardinal numerals, two-digit numerals between 21 and 99 (excluding the even tens, which consist of only one word) have two possibilities: both dvacátý třetí and třiadvacátý express 'twenty-third'.

Indefinite numerals

Kolik 'how many', *několik* 'several', *tolik* 'so many', and *mnoho* 'much, many' all follow the same paradigm, with the desinence -a in all oblique cases. Other indefinite numerals, such as *málo* 'little, few', *trochu* 'some', *hodně* 'a lot', are adverbial and uninflected.

Other numerals

Collectives tend to be limited to numerals five or lower. There are three common types, all of which are most frequently used with groups of people: *dvoje* 'two', *troje* 'three'; *čtvero* 'four', *patero* 'five'; *dvojice* 'two', *trojice* 'three', *čtveřice* 'four', *pětice* 'five'. Collections of types of substances can be named by *dvojí* 'two types of' and *trojí* 'three types of' (both declined as soft stem adjectives).

Multiples have four types of expression. Both -krát (an adverb indicating repetition) and -násobný (an adjective with corresponding adverb in -ě with nuances of intensity) yield 'times', and both can combine with definite and indefinite numerals: třikrát 'three times', mnohokrát 'many times'; trojnásobný 'three times', kolikanásobný 'how many times'. Dvojitý 'double' and trojitý 'triple' (both adjectives) are isolates with no correlates for higher numerals. 'For the Xth time' is an adverb formed from the ordinal prefixed in po- with an ending of -é/í: podruhé 'for the second time', potřetí 'for the third time'.

Aside from 'half', fractions are formed by adding -ina to the stem (sometimes modified) of the cardinal numeral in the denominator: sedmina 'seventh', desetina 'tenth', setina 'one-hundredth' (but note třetina 'third', which is formed from the ordinal stem). The resulting feminine hard stem noun is then modified by the cardinal numeral of the numerator according to the customary rules of numeral syntax. 'Half' has a variety of realizations, among them: půl, půlka, polovina, polovice, polovic; 'fourth' has alternative forms: čtvrtina, čtvrt, čtvrtka.

2.1.5 Verbal morphology

The categories expressed by verbal morphology include aspect (perfective, imperfective), mood (indicative, imperative, conditional), voice (active, passive), tense (non-past, past), person (first, second, third), gender (masculine animate and inanimate, feminine, neuter), and number (singular, plural); motion verbs additionally distinguish the sub-aspect of directionality (unidirectional/temporal, non-unidirectional/non-temporal). The maximum paradigm of a typical verb contains the following forms, all of which are marked for aspect (and directionality, if a motion verb) and the indicated categories:

```
an infinitive
a non-past conjugation (person and number)
a past conjugation (person, gender, and number)
a conditional conjugation (person, gender, and number)
an imperative conjugation (person and number)
participles (active and passive, further declined as adjectives)
gerunds (tense, gender, and number)
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A deverbal noun can be formed quite regularly from the passive participle by adding -*i*, creating an -*i* type neuter noun (compare the passive participle *pit* 'drunk' and the noun *piti* 'drinking').

The verb $b\acute{y}t$ 'be' is both highly irregular and essential to the paradigms of all other verbs, since many of its forms serve as auxiliary forms. Here are the forms of $b\acute{y}t$:

	Present	Past	Future	Conditional
1sg	jsem	byl/-a/-o jsem	budu	byl/-a/-o bych
2sg	jsi	byl/-a/-o jsi/s	budeš	byl/-a/-o bys
3sg	je	byl/-a/-o	bude	byl/-a/-o by
1pl	jsme	byli/-y/-a jsme	budeme	byli/-y/-a bychom
2pl	jste	byl/-a/-i/-y/-a jste	budete	byl/-a/-i/-y/-a byste
3pl	jsou	byli/-y/-a	budou	byli/-y/-a by

The past tense of all verbs is formed by using first- and second- person present tense forms of $b\acute{y}t$ (jsem, jsi -- sometimes reduced to just s, jsme, and jste) as enclitic auxiliary forms, in combination with the -l forms of a verb. The -l forms of the main verb (for example, byl/-al-ol-il-y) indicate number and gender, specifically: masculine and feminine for 1sg and 2sg; masculine, feminine, and neuter for 3sg; masculine animate and masculine inanimate/feminine for 1pl; masculine singular (formal address), feminine singular (formal address), masculine animate and masculine inanimate/feminine plural for 2pl; and masculine animate, masculine inanimate/feminine, and neuter for 3pl. The future tense of $b\acute{y}t$ is used as an auxiliary verb to form the future tense with imperfective infinitive verb forms. Like the past tense, the conditional uses the -l forms of the main verb in combination with an enclitic auxiliary which is part of the $b\acute{y}t$ paradigm: bych, bys, by, bychom, byste, by.

Except for the biaspectual verbs (such as *jmenovat* 'name', *organizovat* 'organize'), all verb forms unambiguously express aspect, and this has a direct influence on tense. Perfective verbs always denote some change of state. Very often, they designate an accomplishment which has been carried out. The process of carrying out this accomplishment is expressed by an imperfective verb (almost always with the same stem) which then forms an aspectual pair with

its corresponding perfective. But imperfective verbs also frequently designate an unchanging or static state, or an activity (which may consist of repeated acts) which does not move toward an implicit goal. These imperfectives do not enter into aspectual pairs with perfectives; they are imperfectives tantum. On the other hand, perfectives which designate only change of state and involve no particular carrying out of an accomplishment do not enter into aspectual pairs with imperfectives; they are perfectives tantum.

Tense is formally limited to a binary opposition of non-past vs. past, and the imperfective additionally forms a future with the future tense of the verb $b\acute{y}t$ 'be' used as an auxiliary.

	Past	Present	Future
perfective	past conjugation:	non-past conjugation:	non-past conjugation:
verb:	Zavolal.	Zavolá.	Zavolá.
zavolat	'He called.'	'He calls.'	'He will call.'
	(discrete past act)	(discrete narrated act)	(discrete future act)
imperfective	past conjugation:	non-past conjugation:	future auxiliary +
verb:	Volal.	Volá.	infinitive:
volat	'He was calling/called.'	'He is calling/calls.'	Bude volat.
	(durative or repeated	(durative or repeated	'He will be calling/will
	past act)	present act)	call.'
			(durative or repeated
			future act)

Perfective verbs are incompatible with the future auxiliary. The prefective present has a restricted range of uses, and appears most often in the narration of a past event in the historical present, in stage directions, and in instructions.

2.1.5.1 Conjugation classes

Czech verbal inflection is rife with morphophonemic alternation, analyzable in terms of stem types (cf. Townsend 2000 & 1990). All verbs are either suffixed or non-suffixed and are identified by suffix or final root segments. For each subtype an example verb is cited in its basic stem form (which is either the infinitive or the 3pl non-past, whichever presents a longer stem after the desinence is removed), and the corresponding form is also given (the 3pl if the infinitive is basic, the infinitive if the 3pl is basic). The basic stem form identifies the subtype of the verb, thus providing the information necessary to generate the entire inflectional paradigm. Notes on the pecularities of each paradigm type are provided. "PPP" refers to passive participle. In the remainder of 2.1, all regular verbs are cited in their basic form only.

Czech verbs can be divided into three general categories:

Type I: Suffixed verbs with 1sg -ám

Type II: Suffixed verbs with 1sg -im

Type III: Suffixed and non-suffixed verbs with 1 sg -u/-i, which are further divided according to the final segment of the stem into stems ending in a nasal, j, or obstruent.

The following is a list of the types of verbs with an example for each type. The example verb is listed in both its infinitive and 3pl forms; the form that is listed first is the basic form. The conjugation lists: all forms of the non-past; the masculine singular past (-*l* form); the masculine singular past passive participle (or verbal noun if there is no past passive participle); and the singular imperative. Variant forms are listed where they exist. C indicates "consonant"; V indicates "vowel", and n/s indicates "non-syllabic". A hyphen indicates that a given form does not exist without a prefix. For a detailed description of special features of the verb types, see Townsend 2000.

TYPE I - SUFFIXED with 1sg -ám

Subtype Example Verb Conjugation

aj dělají, dělat dělám, děláš, děláne, děláte, dělají; dělal; dělán; 'do. make' dělei

TYPE II - SUFFIXED with 1sg -im

'know how'

i soudit, soudí
 soudím, soudíš, soudíme, soudíte, soudí; soudil;
 judge' souzen; sud'
 trpět, trpí trpím, trpíš, trpí, trpíme, trpíte, trpí; trpěl; trpěn; trp
 'suffer'
 umějí, umět umím, umíš, umí, umíme, umíte, umějí; uměl; umění; uměj

TYPE III - SUFFIXED with 1sg -u/-i

Subtype Example Verb Conjugation

ova sledovat, sledují sleduješ, sleduje, sledujeme, sledujete, sledují; 'follow' sledoval; sledován; sleduj

a non- mazat, mažou mažu/maži, mažeš, maže, mažeme, mažete, mažou/maží;

labial 'smear' mazal; mazán; maž

a labial sypat, sypou/sypají sypu/sypám, sypeš/sypáš, sype/sypá, sypeme/sypáme,

'strew' sypete/sypáte, sypou/sypají; sypal; sypán; syp/sypej zvát, zvou zvu, zveš, zve, zveme, zvete, zvou; zval; zván; zvi

n/V/s a brát, berou beru, bereš, bere, bereme, berete, berou; bral; brán; ber

'take'

'invite'

n/s a

ř třít, třou/trou třu/tru, třeš, tře, třeme, třete, třou/trou; třel; třen; tři

'rub'

Cnou tisknout, tisknou tisknu, tiskneš, tiskne, tiskneme, tisknete, tisknou; tiskl;

'press, print' tištěn/tisknut; tiskni

Vnou minout, minou minu, mineš, mine, mineme, minete, minou; minul; -minut;

'pass' -miň

TYPE III - NONSUFFIXED with 1sg -u/-i

Subtype Example Verb Conjugation Nonsuffixed Stems Ending in a Nasal

n 1 začnou, začít začnu, začneš, začne, začneme, začnete, začnou; začal; 'begin' začat; začni

n 2 tnou, tít/tnout tnu, tneš, tne, tneme, tnete, tnou; t'al; t'at; tni

'chop'

jm 1 zajmou, zajmout zajmu, zajmeš, zajme, zajmeme, zajmete, zajmou; zajal;

'capture' zajat; zajmi

jm 2 sejmou,sejmout/ sejmu, sejmeš, sejme, sejmeme, sejmete, sejmou; snít(i) 'take off' sejmul/sňal; sejmut/sňat; sejmi

Nonsuffixed Stems Ending in a j

уj	kryjí, krýt	kryji, kryješ, kryje, kryjeme, kryjete, kryjí; kryl; kryt; kryj
	'cover'	
ij	pijí, pít	piji, piješ, pije, pijeme, pijete, pijí; pil; pit; pij
	'drink'	
uj	plují, plout	pluji, pluješ, pluje, plujeme, plujete, plují; plul; plutí; pluj
	'float, sail'	
aj	hrají, hrát	hraji, hraješ, hraje, hrajeme, hrajete, hrají; hrál; hrán;
	'play'	hraj/hrej
ěj (í)	klejí, klít	kleji, kleješ, kleje, klejeme, klejete, klejí; klel; -klet; klej
	'swear'	
ěj (á)	hřejí, hřát	hřeji, hřeješ, hřeje, hřejeme, hřejete, hřejí; hřál; hřát/hřán;
	'heat'	hřej

Nonsuffixed Stems Ending in an Obstruent

d/t	vedou, vést	vedu, vedeš, vede, vedeme, vedete, vedou; vedl; veden; ved'
	'lead'	
\mathbf{z}/\mathbf{s}	nesou, nést	nesu, neseš, nese, neseme, nesete, nesou; nesl; nesen; nes
	'carry'	
h/k	pečou, péci	peču/peku, pečeš, peče, pečeme, pečete, pečou/pekou; pekl;
	'bake'	pečen; pec/peč

Irregular verbs:

spát; spím, spíš, spí, spíme, spíte, spí; spal; spaní; spi 'sleep'.

chtít; chci, chceš, chce, chceme, chcete, chtějí; chtěl; chtěn, chtěj 'want' has a stem alternation of chc-vs. cht'-.

jít; jdu, jdeš, jdeme, jdete, jdou; šel; -jití; jdi 'walk' has a non-past stem of *jd*- and a suppletive past stem: m sg *šel*, f sg & n pl *šla*, n sg *šlo*, etc.

jet; jedu, jedeš, jede, jedeme, jedete, jedou; jel; -jetí; jeď 'ride' is a **d/t** subtype which truncates the stem in infinitive and past forms.

číst; čtu, čteš, čte, čteme, čtete, čtou; četl; čten; čti 'read' is a **d/t** subtype with a mobile vowel.

bát se; bojím se, bojís se, bojíme se, bojíte se, bojíte se, bojí se; bál se; --; boj se 'fear' and stát; stojím, stojíš, stojíme, stojíte, stojí; stál; stání; stůj 'stand' are suffixed ě subtype verbs with contracted infinitive and past forms.

stát se; stanu se, staneš se, stane se, staneme se, stanete se, stanou se; stal se; -stání; staň se 'become' is a non-suffixed verb with an n in the non-past forms.

mít; mám, máš, má, máme, máte, mají; měl; mání; měj 'have' has variations in the vowel of the stem.

mlít; melu, meleš, mele, meleme, melete, melou; mlel; mlet; mel 'grind' is an unusual non-suffixed stem.

moci; můžu/mohu, můžeš, může, můžeme, můžete, můžu/mohou; mohl; -možen; -- is most similar to the h/k subtype with a short infinitve and unusual stem alternations.

jíst; jím, jíš, jí, jíme, jíte, jedí; jedení; jez 'eat' and vědět; vím, víš, ví, víme, víte, vědí; věděl; vědění, věz 'know' share irregularities in the non-past and imperative.

hnát; ženu, ženeš, žene, ženeme, ženete, ženou; hnal; hnán; žeň 'chase' is a **n**/**s** a type with a non-past stem of žen- and a past stem of hna-.

vzít; vezmu, vezmeš, vezme, vezmeme, vezmete, vezmou; vzal; vzat; vezmi 'take' is a nasal type with unusual stem alternations.

Imperative formation

Synthetic imperatives (2sg, 1pl, 2pl) are derivable from the non-past conjugation via the following algorithm:

- I. for Type I verbs, the imperatives are -ej, -ejme, -ejte (cf. dělej, dělejme, dělejte 'do')
- II. for other verbs, take the 3pl non-past form and remove the final -ou or -i.

A. if the resulting form ends in a single consonant, the imperative endings are -0 (zero), -me, -te: (cf. sleduj, sledujme, sledujte 'follow'; trp, trpme, trpte 'suffer'

- i. if the final consonant is t, d, n, k, or h, it undergoes Type 1 alternation: imperatives ved', ved'me, ved'te 'lead'; the velars have alternate forms with Type 2 alternations as well, cf. $pec/pe\check{c}$, $pecme/pe\check{c}me$, $pecte/pe\check{c}te$ 'bake'.
- ii. if the stem vowel is long, shorten it: *vrátit* 'return' has *vrat*', *vrat*' *me*, *vrat*' *te*; *koupit* 'buy' has *kup*, *kupte*; *přiblížit* 'approach' has *přibliž*, *přibližme*, *přibližte*.
- B. if the resulting form ends in a consonant cluster, the imperative endings are -i, -ěme, -ěte, which condition Type 1 alternations (cf. zvi, zvěme, zvěte 'call').

Third person imperatives consist of the particle *at'* or *necht'* and the appropriate non-past form: *at'*/*necht'* píšou 'let them write!'. The particles *at'*/*necht'* can also be used with first and second person non-past forms: *At'* neuděláš žádné chyby! 'Don't make any mistakes!', *At'* ho už víckrát neuvidím! 'May I never see him again!'.

Gerunds and active participles

In addition to the forms cited above, the paradigm of a verb may include a present gerund, a past gerund, and both present and past active participles.

The present gerund is formed using the following endings, depending upon the conjugation type and the gender and number:

Ту	pe I and T	Type II verbs		Type	III verbs
m: - <i>e</i>	dělaje		m: - <i>a</i>	veda	
f or n: - <i>íc</i>	dělajíc	'while doing'	f or n: -ouc	vedouc	'while leading'
pl: - <i>íce</i>	dělajíce		pl: -ouce	vedouce	

The present active participle is formed by adding the soft adjectival ending -i to the feminine/neuter form of the present gerund: $d\check{e}laj\acute{e}c\acute{i}$ '(the one who is) doing'; $vedouc\acute{i}$ '(the one who is) leading, boss'.

The past gerund is formed by removing the -*l* of the past tense and adding these endings: m -*v*, f or n -*vši*, pl -*vše*; the past active participle is formed by adding -*vši*. This yields forms like *dělav*, *dělavši*, *dělavše* 'having done', *dělavši* '(the one who has) done'. The -*v* in these forms is omitted for obstruent stems: *přived*, *přivedši*, *přivedše* 'having led (to a place)', *přivedši* '(the one who has) led (to a place)'.

2.1.5.2 Negation

Verbs are negated by prefixing *ne*- to the non-past or past conjugated form: *volám*, *volat*, *volal* 'call' > *nevolám*, *nevolat*, *nevolal* 'not call'. In the imperfective future the *ne*- is prefixed to the future auxiliary: *budu volat* 'I will be calling' > *nebudu volat* 'I won't be calling'. Otherwise *ne*- is never prefixed to auxiliaries. The verb *být* 'be' has an irregular negative 3sg form: *není* 'is not'.

2.1.5.3 Aspectual derivation

Most simplex verbs are imperfective (*volají* 'call'), but some are perfective (*dají* 'give'). Aspectual derivation is achieved by means of both prefixation and suffixation. Prefixation may additionally modify lexical meaning.

Formation of perfectives

Perfectives can be formed by adding a prefix (do-, na-, nad-, o-, ob-, od-, po-, pod-, pro-, pře-, před-, při-, roz-, s-, u-, v-, vy-, vz-, z-, za-) or the suffix -nou-/-nu- to a verbal stem:

```
volají > zavolají 'call'
děkovat > poděkovat 'thank'
dají 'give' > přidají 'add to'
křičet > křiknout > vykřiknout 'yell'.
```

Note, however, that there are many verbs suffixed in -nou-/-nu- that are imperfective (therefore the presence of this suffix does not necessarily predict that a verb will be perfective): táhnout 'pull, drag' and tisknout 'press' are both imperfective.

Formation of imperfectives

There are four imperfectivizing suffixes which are added to the stem of a prefixed or simplex perfective stem: -aj-, -vaj-, -ova-, and $-\check{e}j$ -. The first three are associated with stem vowel lengthening (vowel lengthening often occurs, but is not entirely predictable), the fourth with stem vowel shortening. The -nou-/-nu- suffix is dropped in imperfective derivation.

Suffix -aj- produces Type I **aj** imperfectives from the following verb subtypes and is associated with lengthening of the preceding vowel for Type III obstruents $(e > \acute{e}, o > \acute{a})$:

Base Type	Example Verb	Derived Imperfective
Type III: ending in obstrents	vylezou 'crawl out'	vylézají
	pomohou 'help'	pomáhají
Type III: $\mathbf{n/s}$ \mathbf{a} , $\check{\mathbf{r}}$ (insert i/\acute{y})	vyberou 'choose'	vybírají
Type III: ending in nasals	začnou 'begin'	začínají
(insert \hat{i})	-	
Type II: nou	podniknout 'undertake'	podnikají

Suffix -vaj- produces Type I aj imperfectives from the following verb subtypes and is associated with lengthening of preceding vowels $(a > \acute{a}, \check{e} > \acute{i}, i > \acute{i}, y > \acute{y}, u > ou)$:

Suffix $-\dot{e}j$ - produces Type II $\dot{e}j$ imperfectives from the following verb subtypes and is associated with Type 2 consonant alternations and the lengthening of preceding vowels $(a > \dot{a}, o > \dot{a}, i > i, u > ou)$:

```
Base Type Example Verb Derived Imperfective Type II: i odpustit 'forgive' odpouštějí Type III: ij propijí 'squander on drink' propíjejí
```

Suffix -ova- produces Type III **ova** imperfectives from the following verb subtypes, and is associated with Type 2 consonant alternations (for Type I verbs) and shortening of root vowels (for verbs of all Types):

Base Type Example Verb Derived Imperfective Type II: i, ě odsoudit 'sentence' odsuzovat Type III: nou přetáhnout 'extend' přetahovat Type III: a dokázat 'prove' dokazovat

A few aspectual pairs are suppletive or display unusual variations:

Gloss	Imperfective verb	Perfective verb
'take'	brát, berou	vezmou, vzít
'put, lay	(prefix)-kládají	(prefix)-ložit
down'		
'tell'	říkají	říci, řeknou
'write'	-pisovat	-psat, -píší
'eat'	-jídají	-jedí, -jíst

Prefixed motion verbs use specialized variants of their roots when deriving imperfectives; this is discussed in 2.1.5.4.

A frequentative suffix -vaj- can be added to some imperfective stems; it lengthens the vowel in the preceding syllable (or replaces it with \acute{a}) and forms Type I aj verbs with a frequentative meaning.

Imperfective Verb

chodit 'walk'

sedět 'sit'

nosit 'carry'

být 'be'

Frequentative Verb

chodívají 'walk habitually'

sedávají 'sit habitually'

nosívají 'carry habitually'

bývají 'be habitually'

The verb *být* 'be' can take the reduplicated form of the frequentative suffix, producing *bývávat*, as in *Bývávalo dobře* 'Things used to be good'.

2.1.5.4 Motion verbs

A small group of verbs involving physical movement through space exhibit a further aspectual distinction within the imperfective catgeory, distinguishing between motion along a route at a given time (expressed with the determined stem, which signals unidirectionality and unitemporality) and motion that is random or habitual (expressed with the non-determined stem, which signals non-unidirectionality and non-unitemporality). This distinction is crisper for prototypical motion verbs ('walk', 'lead', 'carry', 'ride', etc.) than for less prototypical verbs ('flow', 'roll', 'pull', 'drag'). A salient morphological characteristic of motion verbs is their tendency to use specialized variants of their roots when forming derived imperfectives. A perfectivizing prefix can be added to the determined stem, creating a perfective verb with no marking for the determined/non-determined distinction (since this exists only for imperfective verbs). The corresponding imperfective is typically formed from the non-determined (instead of the determined) stem, often derived by -ĕj-, with the expected mutation of final consonant and lengthening of root vowel. Thus, for example, the prefix při- can be added to the determined stem jdou, jít 'walk' to create the perfective verb přijdou, přijít 'arrive (on foot)'. The

corresponding imperfective is the derived imperfective stem: *přicházejí*, *přicházet* (derived from *chodí*, *chodit* instead of *jdou*, *jít*). Three verbs (marked with asterisks in the table) do not form the prefixed perfective directly from the determined stem, but use a related stem in *-nout* for this purpose. Thus 'arrive (running)' is: perfective *přiběhnout* and imperfective *přibíhají* (but note that 'fly' can append prefixes to either *-letět* or *-létnout*).

Gloss	Determined Stem	Non-Determined	Derived
		Stem	Imperfective
'walk'	jdou, jít	chodit	-cházejí
'ride'	jedou, jet	jezdit	-jíždějí
'lead'	vedou	vodit	-vádějí
'carry (on foot)'	nesou	nosit	-nášejí
'carry (b	y vezou	vozit	-vážejí
conveyance)'			
'drive, chase'	hnát, ženou	honit	-hánějí
'fly'	letět, *-létnout	létají	-létají or -letovat
'run'	běžet, *-běhnout	běhají	-bíhají
'drag'	vlečou, *-vléknout	vláčet	-vlékají
'flow, run'	tečou	těkají	-tíkají
'roll'	valit	válet	-valovat
'pull'	táhnout	tahají	-tahovat

2.1.6 Uninflected parts of speech

Czech has several classes of words that are not inflected. These include all adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, particles, and interjections. We begin with a table of the prepositions and the cases they use (an explanation of the syntactic use of case both with and without prepositions appears in Chapter 3), followed by examples from each of the latter three categories.

Prepositions and the Cases They Govern (Note that prepositions ending in a consonant may add -e (less frequently -u); this phenomenon is described under Vowel Epenthesis in section 1.2.):

	Genitive	Dative	Accusative	Locative	Instrumental
během	'during'				
bez	'without'				
blízko	'near'				
daleko	'far'				
dle	'according to'				
do	'(in)to, before'				
k		'to, toward'			
kolem	ʻaround, past'				
kromě	'except'				
mezi			'between'		'between'
			(motion)		(rest)
mimo	·	·	hecidec	·	·

	Genitive	Dative	Accusative	Locative	Instrumental
			past'		
místo	'instead of'				
na			'to, for'	'on, at'	
nad			'above'		'above'
			(motion)		(rest)
naproti		'opposite'			
navzdory		'in spite of'		4.1.4.4	
0			'for, against,	'about, at,	
a h			by' 'every other'	during'	
ob od	'from'		every offici		
okolo	'around'				
	around		'up to, all	'after, along,	
po			through'	over (a	
			unougn	surface),	
				each, by'	
poblíž	'near'			7 2	
pod			'under'		'under' (rest)
1			(motion)		,
podél	'along'				
podle	'according				
	to, along,				
	alongside'				
pro			'for, because		
			of'		
proti		'against,			
V 1		compared to'	44 41 6 4		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
před			'to the front		'in front of'
n ¥0.5			of' (motion)		(rest)
přes			'across, over, in spite		
			of'		
při			OI .	'at, near,	
<i>P</i> · · ·				with, in view	
				of'	
S	'off of,		'capable of'		'with'
	down'		-		
skrz			'through'		
и	'near, by, at'				
uprostřed	in the				
	middle of'				
uvnitř	'inside'				
v			'into'	'in'	
	(* 1 1 ,				
včetně	'including'				

	Genitive	Dative	Accusative	Locative	Instrumental
	next to'				
vně	'outside'				
vůči		'towards, in the face of'			
vyjma	'except'		'except'		
Z	'out of, from'				
za	'during'		'behind, beyond (motion), by, for'		'behind' (rest)
zpod	'from beneath'				

Conjunctions: a 'and', ačkoliv '(al)though', ale 'but', ani(ž) 'not even', až 'when, up until', bud'...(a)nebo 'either...or', i 'and (even)', dokud 'until', jak 'how', jelikož 'since', jestli(že) 'if, whether', kdežto 'whereas', když 'when, if', nebo 'or', nebot' 'since', než 'than, until', nýbrž 'rather, instead', pokud 'to the extent that, if', poněvadž 'since', protože 'because', přestože '(al)though', zda(li) 'whether', že 'that'.

Particles: *ale* 'well', *copak* 'how can it be?', *hele* 'hey, look!', *kéž* 'if only', *konečně* 'ultimately', *no* 'well', *nu*(*že*) 'well', *přece* 'nevertheless, after all', *tedy/teda* 'well, then', *třeba* 'perhaps, for example', *vždyt*' 'after all'.

Interjections: bác 'boom', cák 'drip', frr 'zoom', fuj 'yuck', hepčí 'achoo', hurá 'hooray', chřup 'crunch', křáp 'crash', mňam 'yum', prásk 'slam', tú, tú 'honk', vid' 'right?', vrz 'squeak', žbluňk 'splash', žuch 'kaboom'.

2.2 Derivational morphology

Derivational morphology in Czech is accomplished by means of prefixation and suffixation of roots. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs share an often overlapping set of prefixes, though each class of words has its own characteristic suffixes. For these main inflectional classes of words, prefixes largely serve to augment or supplement the meaning of the lexical item, and any suffix is additionally an identifier of what part of speech the item belongs to. Compounding and univerbization are also observed, mainly in the derivation of nouns. Interrogative pronouns and adverbs share a special set of prefixes and suffixes. It should be noted that derivation is of course a much less regular, predictable, and specifiable phenomenon than inflection. Derivation, unlike inflection, is not simply a matter of combining elements according to fixed and predictable patterns; it is subject to various conventionalizations, complexities, and gaps. The component roots do not always exist as independent words, and the meanings of derived words can often not be directly predicted from the meanings of the components. The following sections make often tenuous assumptions about the provenience of words (derivation cannot always be definitively resolved), and provide overly simplified and vague glosses for the elements of derived words.

2.2.1 Derivational morphology of nouns, adjectives, and verbs

2.2.1.1 Prefixes for nouns, adjectives, and verbs The following table lists the native Czech prefixes.

Prefix	Noun	Adjective	Verb
bez(e)- 'without'	bezvědomí 'unconsciousness'	<i>bezohledný</i> 'inconsiderate'	
do-, dů- '(in)to, finish, add'	doslov 'epilog', důvod 'reason'	meonsiderate	dojít 'go to', dodělat 'finish', dodat 'add'
mezi- 'inter-'	<i>mezipatro</i> 'mezzanine'	<i>mezinárnodní</i> 'international'	
na-, ná- 'on, fill, quantity'	nábřeží 'waterfront'	nahořklý 'rather bitter'	najít 'find (come on)', nalepit 'glue on', naplnit 'fill', napéci 'bake a quantity of'
nad(e)- 'above'	nadvláda 'supremacy'	nadpřirozený 'supernatural'	nadzvednout 'lift up'
ne- 'not'	nepohoda 'discomfort'	nespolečenský 'antisocial'	nedbat 'neglect'
o-, ob(e)- 'around, subject to (factitive), become, copy'	opar 'haze; sore', obnitka 'end-stitch'	obtloustlý 'obese'	obejít 'go around', obvázat 'tie up', oloupat 'peel', obnosit 'wear out', onemocnět 'get sick', opsat 'copy'
od(e)- 'from, back, cancel, remove'	odznak 'badge'	odvěký 'longstanding'	odejít 'go away', odpovědět 'answer', odmrazit 'defrost', odzbrojit 'disarm'
pa- (pejorative)	pachut' 'aftertaste'		padělat 'counterfeit'
po- 'along, after, cover, for a while, start off, become'	<i>pobřeží</i> 'coast'	<i>poválečný</i> 'post- war'	pokrýt 'cover', popovídat si 'talk a while', poblednout 'get pale', pojít 'die (of animals) (=start off to another land)'
pod(e)- 'below,	podzemí	podprůměrný	podcenit
under-' polo- 'half-, semi-, hemi-'	'underground' polokruh 'semicircle', polokoule 'hemisphere'	'below average' poloprázdný 'half- empty'	'underestimate'
pra- 'prior, original'	prababička 'great- grandmother', pravlast 'original homeland'	prahloupý 'asinine'	

Prefix	Noun	Adjective	Verb
pro-, prů- 'through, loss'	pronárod 'breed', průzkum 'survey'	prorezavělý 'rusted through'	<pre>projít 'go through', prosekat 'cut through', prohrát 'lose'</pre>
proti- 'against, anti-'	<i>protilátka</i> 'antidote'	<i>protismyslný</i> 'paradoxical'	
<i>pře</i> - 'over, trans-, interrupt, superior, miss, re-'	<i>přesila</i> 'superior force'	<i>překrásn</i> ý 'very beautiful'	přejít 'traverse', přerušit 'interrupt', přemoci 'overcome', přehlédnout 'miss', předělat 'redo'
<i>před(e)</i> - 'before, pre-'	<i>předměstí</i> 'suburb'	<i>předválečný</i> 'prewar'	<i>předejít</i> 'anticipate, precede', <i>předběhnout</i> 'outrun'
přes- 'across, excess'	<i>přesčas</i> 'overtime'	přespočetný 'excess'	
<i>při-, pří-</i> 'at, add, a bit '	<i>přízemí</i> 'ground floor'	<i>přitvrdlý</i> 'rather hard'	<i>přijít</i> 'come, arrive', <i>přidat</i> 'add', <i>přitopit</i> 'heat a bit'
roz(e)- 'apart, dis-, annul, excite, get started'	rozcestí 'crossroads'	rozmilý 'amiable'	rozejít se 'separate', rozzlobit 'enrage', rozjet 'set in motion'
s(e)- 'together; down'	sloh 'style'	svrchní 'upper'	<i>sejít se</i> 'meet'; <i>sejít</i> 'go down'
sou- 'with, con-'	souhláska 'consonant'	současný 'contemporary'	soustředit se 'concentrate'
u-, ú- 'at, from, fix, complete, make successfully (factitive)'	údolí 'valley'	úplný 'complete'	ujít 'escape', utéci 'run away', upevnit 'fasten', umučit 'torture to death', urychlit 'accelerate'
<i>v(e)</i> - 'in'			<i>vejít</i> 'enter', <i>vložit</i> 'insert'
vy-, vý- 'out/up, succeed, use up'	východ 'exit; east'	vychudlý 'scant'	vyjít 'exit, go up', vyhrát 'win', vypít 'drink up'
<i>vz(e)</i> - 'up'	vzestup 'ascent'		vzejít 'go up', vzlétnout 'fly up'
z(e)- 'exhaust, make (factitive), become'	zmatek 'confusion'	zbledlý 'turned pale'	zbít 'beat up', zpomalit 'slow down', zkamenět 'turn to stone'

za-, zá- 'beyond, to, cover, fix, away, begin, for a while'	zahraničí 'foreign lands'; záhuba 'destruction'	záslužný 'deserving'	zajít 'go beyond, drop in', zamilovat se 'fall in love', zahojit 'heal up', zapamatovat 'fix in memory', zahnat
			'drive away', zazvonit 'begin to
			ring', zatančit si 'do some dancing'

Czech has borrowed a number of foreign prefixes, primarily from Latin. This table presents the prefixes that are most common and/or used productively, though in many cases these prefixes are simply part of a borrowed word rather than actually being a part of productive Czech derivation:

Prefix	Noun	Adjective	Verb
a-, an- 'a-, non-, without'	asymetrie 'asymmetry', analfabet 'illiterate person'	apolitický 'apolitical'	
anti- 'anti-'	antitalent 'person with hopeless lack of talent'	<i>antisemitský</i> 'anti- Semitic'	
arci- 'arch-'	<i>arcinepřítel</i> 'arch- enemy'		
auto- 'auto-, self-	<i>autoportrét</i> 'self portrait'	autokritický 'self- critical', autobiografický 'autobiographical'	
<i>de-, dez-, dis-</i> 'de-, di-, dis-, un-'	decentralizace 'decentralization', deziluze 'disillusionment', disharmonie 'lack of harmony'	degenerační 'degenerative'	demaskovat 'unmask', dekódovat 'decode'
ex- 'ex-, former'	exministr 'former minister'		
<i>hyper</i> - 'hyper-, ultra-'	hyperkriticismus 'hypercriticism'	hypermoderní 'ultramodern'	
<i>i-, im-</i> 'i-, im-, un-'	imobilizace 'immobilization'	ireální 'unreal'	imobilizovat 'immobilize'
infra- 'infra-'		<i>infračervený</i> 'infrared'	
kontra- 'counter-'	kontrašpionáž 'counter- intelligence'	kontrarevoluční 'counter- revolutionary'	kontrasignovat 'countersign'

Prefix	Noun	Adjective	Verb
kvazi- 'quasi-'		kvazivědecký 'quasi- scientific'	
makro- 'macro-'	<i>makromolekula</i> 'macromolecule'	makroekonomický 'macroeconomic'	
maxi- 'maxi-'	maxikabát 'long coat'		
mikro- 'micro-'	<i>mikrovlna</i> 'microwave'	mikroekonomický 'microeconomic'	
mini- 'mini-'	<i>minisukně</i> 'miniskirt'		
post- 'post-'	postmodernismus 'postmodernism'	postkomunistický 'postcommunist'	
pro- 'pro-, vice'	prorektor 'vice rector'	<i>proněmecký</i> 'pro- German'	
pseudo- 'pseudo-'	pseudoumění 'pseudo-art'	pseudogotický 'pseudo-Gothic'	
re- 're-'	rekvalifikace 'requalification'	•	rekonstruovat 'reconstruct, rebuild'
super- 'super-'	supervelmoc 'superpower'		
tele- 'tele-'	telekomunikace 'telecommunication'		
termo- 'thermo-'	termoplast 'thermoplastic'	<i>termonukleární</i> 'thermonuclear'	
trans- 'trans-'		transatlantický 'trans-Atlantic'	transformovat 'transform'
ultra- 'ultra'	<i>ultrazvuk</i> 'ultrasound'	<i>ultrafialový</i> 'ultraviolet'	

2.2.1.2 Derivation of nouns

Derivation of nouns from nouns, adjectives, and verbs

Most derived nouns are formed from other nouns or adjectives or verbs, as demonstrated in the following table, which lists suffix-ending combinations for deriving nouns of each gender, along with broad categories of meaning ('bearer' indicates that the noun refers to a person or thing that bears a given characteristic). As the examples illustrate, some derivations involve mutations or truncations of consonants or variations in vowel length, as well as vowel-zero alternations. Some suffixes and endings consist of a zero (i.e. , they contain no phonemes); zero suffixes and endings are represented by 0.

Suffixes and Endings for Masculine Nouns

Suffix + Ending	Associated with	Associated with	Associated with
Sullix + Eliullig	Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
-0+0 'action'		,	dopad [dopadat 'strike ground'] 'impact', vjezd [vjíždět 'drive in'] 'driveway', návrh [navrhnout 'propose'] 'proposal'
-0+a 'person'		mizera [mizerný 'wretch'	popleta [poplést 'confuse'] 'muddler'
-áč+0, -ač+0 'place, bearer, agent, means'	květináč [květ 'flower']'flower pot'	<i>břicháč</i> [<i>břichatý</i> 'pot-bellied'] 'pot- bellied person'	prodavač [prodávat 'sell'] 'salesman', vypínač [vypínat 'turn off'] 'off- switch'
-ák+0 'agent, group member, male, bearer, means'	voják [voj 'war'] 'warrior', žabák [žába 'frog'] 'male frog'	chudák [chudý 'poor'] 'poor thing'	žebrák [žebrat 'beg'] 'beggar', padák [padat 'fall'] 'parachute'
- $(\check{c})an+0$, - $(i)\acute{a}n+0$ 'inhabitant, bearer, agent'	Evropan [Evropa 'Europe'] 'European', Angličan [Anglie 'England'] 'Englishman'	dlouhán [dlouhý 'long'] 'long legged person', hrubián [hrubý 'coarse'] 'uncouth person'	trhan [trhat 'tear'] 'ragamuffin'
-ař+0, -(k)ář+0, -ionář+0 'agent, group member, place'	zubař [zub 'tooth'] 'dentist', rybář [ryba 'fish'] 'fisherman', revolucionář [revoluce 'revolution'] 'revolutionary', odbíjenkář [odbíjená 'volleyball'] 'volleyball player', snář [sen 'dream'] 'dream-diary'		pekař [péci 'bake'] 'baker', čtenář [císt 'read'] 'reader'
-as+0 'bearer'	klid' as [klid 'calm'] 'calm person'	krut' as [krutý 'cruel'] 'cruel person'	
-c+e 'agent'			vůdce [vodit 'lead'] 'leader'

Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
-č+í 'agent'	INOUIIS	Aujectives	rozhodčí [rozhodovat 'decide'] 'referee'
-ec+0, -(ob)(in)ec+0, -ovec+0 'agent, inhabitant, group member, place, object, bearer'	bohoslovec [bohosloví 'theology'] 'theologian', Makedonec [Makedonie 'Macedonia'] 'Macedonian', hitlerovec [Hitler] 'follower of Hitler', chudobinec [chudoba 'poverty'] 'poor house', dílec [díl 'part'] 'section'	blbec [blbý 'foolish'] 'fool', kravinec [kraví 'cow's'] 'cow manure'	herec [hrát 'play'] 'actor', sportovec [sportovat 'do sports'] 'athlete'
-ek+0, -ásek+0 'bearer, result'		svátek [svatý 'holy'] 'holiday', bělásek [bílý 'white'] 'white cabbage, white butterfly'	výrobek [vyrobit 'produce'] 'product
-(n)éř+0 'agent'	bankéř [banka 'bank'] 'banker', žoldnéř [žold 'soldier's pay'] 'mercenary'		
-(ov)(n)ík+0 'agent, group member, place, bearer, means'	kouzelník [kouzlo 'magic'] 'magician', plukovník [pluk 'regiment'] 'colonel', straník [strana 'party'] 'party member', rybník [ryba 'fish'] '(fish)pond'	parník [parní 'steam'] 'steamboat', mladík [mladý 'young'] 'young person', čajovník [čajový 'tea'] 'tea bush'	úderník [udeřit 'strike'] 'shockworker', budík [budit 'wake' 'alarm clock'
- <i>in</i> +0 'place, group member'	kravín [kráva 'cow'] 'cowbarn', čeledín [čeled' 'domestic helpers'] 'farmhand'		
-íř+0 'agent'	hrnčíř [hrnec 'pot'] 'potter'		
-i(s)t+a 'agent, group member'	klavírista [klavír 'piano'] 'pianist', rasista [rasa 'race']		

	Suffixes and Endings	s for Masculine Nouns	
Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
	'racist', husita [Hus] 'Hussite'	,	
-k+a 'agent'			mluvka [mluvit 'talk'] 'blabberer'
-l+0 'agent'			hrabal [hrabat 'rake'] 'greedy person'
-och+0 'bearer'		lenoch [lenivý 'lazy'] 'lazybones'	
-ot+0 'action'			<pre>dupot [dupat 'stamp'] 'stamping'</pre>
-(l)oun+0, -ouš+0, -out+0 'bearer, agent'		hezoun [hezký 'handsome'] 'handsome fellow', chytrouš [chytrý 'smart'] 'smart-alec'	bručoun [bručet 'grumble'] 'grumbler', křikloun [křičet 'scream'] 'screamer', žrout [žrát 'devour'] 'glutton'
-t+0 'action'			dřevoryt [rýt 'carve'] 'woodcarving'
-(i)tel+0 'agent'			cestovatel [cestovat 'travel'] 'traveler', majitel [mít 'have'] 'owner'
	Suffixes and Endin	gs for Neuter Nouns	
Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
$-0+\check{e}$, $-\check{c}+e$ 'young creature, bearer'	slůně [slon 'elephant'] 'baby elephant'	mládě [mladý 'young'] 'baby'	padavče [padat 'fall'] 'faller, fallen fruit'
-0+o 'abstraction'		zlo [zlý 'evil'] 'evil'	
-átk+o 'bearer'		neviňátko [nevinný 'innocent'] 'innocent babe'	
-0+ <i>i</i> , -ov+ <i>i</i> 'collective, abstraction'	listí [list 'leaf'] 'leaves', křoví [keř 'bush'] 'bushes'	zdraví [zdravý 'healthy'] 'health'	
-(ov)isk+o 'place'	středisko [střed 'center'] 'center', letovisko [léto 'summer'] 'summer resort'		hledisko [hledat 'look'] 'point of view'

Suffixes and Endings for Neuter Nouns

G 66; E 1;		gs for Neuter Nouris	
Suffix + Ending	Associated with	Associated with	Associated with Verbs
-išt+ě, -ovišt+ě, -lišt+ě 'place,	Nouns řečiště [řeka 'river'] 'river bed',	Adjectives	hřiště [hrát 'play'] 'playing field',
handle'	pískoviště [písek 'sand'] 'sand box', hrabiště [hrábě		parkoviště [parkovat 'park'] 'parking lot', koupaliště [koupat
	'rake'] 'rake-handle'		se 'swim'] 'swimming pool'
-iv+o 'material'			učivo [učit se 'study'] 'study materials', palivo [pálit 'burn'] 'fuel'
-(d)l+o 'agent, place, means'			mýdlo [mýt 'wash'] 'soap', divadlo [dívat se 'look'] 'theater', strašidlo [strašit 'scare'] 'ghost', zlobidlo [zlobit 'be naughty'] 'naughty person', sedlo [sedět 'sit'] 'saddle'
-(ov)n+é 'money'	kapesné [kapsa 'pocket'] 'pocket- money', školné [škola 'school'] 'tuition', poštovné [pošta 'mail'] 'postage'		vstupné [vstoupit 'enter'] 'entrance fee', jízdné [jezdit 'ride'] 'fare'
-(č)n+o 'abstraction'	розшдо	tragično [tragický 'tragic'] 'the tragic', jsoucno [jsoucí 'existing'] 'existence, essence'	
-stv+í, -ctv+í 'abstraction'	členství [člen 'member'] 'membership', otroctví [otrok 'slave'] 'slavery', češství [Čech 'Czech'] 'Czechness', letectví [letec 'pilot'] 'aeronautics'	těhotenství [těhotný 'pregnant'] 'pregnancy'	

Suffixes and Endings for Neuter Nouns

Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
-tk+o 'means'	TYOURS	rajectives	sluchátko [poslouchat 'listen'] 'telephone receiver', vodítko [vodit 'lead'] 'leash'
-(ov)(s)tv+o 'collective, groups of people, abstraction'	žactvo [žák 'pupil'] 'school children', obyvatelstvo [obyvatel 'inhabitant'] 'population', Židovstvo [Žid 'Jew'] 'Jewry', svinstvo [svině 'swine'] 'filthiness', letectvo [letec 'pilot'] 'air force', členstvo [člen 'member'] 'membership (people)'		
	Suffixes and Ending	s for Feminine Nouns	_
Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
-0+0 'abstraction,		zeleň [zelený	řeč [říci 'say']
action, place'		'green'] 'green color', <i>šíř(e)</i> [<i>široký</i> 'wide'] 'width'	'speech', výdrž [vydržet 'endure'] 'endurance', pomoc [pomoci 'help'] 'help', pec [péci 'bake'] 'furnace'
-0+a 'action'			výroba [vyrobit 'produce'] 'production', útěcha [utěšit 'comfort'] 'comfort'
-0+á 'action'			odbíjená [odbíjet 'strike off'] 'volleyball', dovolená [dovolit 'allow'] 'vacation'; formed via

participles

Suffixes and Endings for Feminine Nouns

Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with Adjectives	Associated with Verbs
-(o)b+a, -(i)tb+a 'abstraction, action'	1104110	chudoba [chudý 'poor'] 'poverty'	léčba [léčit 'treat'] 'treatment', modlitba [modlit se 'pray'] 'prayer'
-0+ě 'abstraction, action'		výše [vysoký 'high'] 'height'	koupě [koupit 'buy'] 'purchase', schůze [scházet se 'meet'] 'meeting'
-en+a 'agent'	<i>pradlena [prádlo</i> 'laundry'] 'laundress'		
-(e)(n)ic+e 'place, female, object, bearer, action'	vinice [víno 'grapes'] 'vineyard', lednice [led 'ice'] 'refrigerator', hudebnice [hudebník 'musician'] 'female musician', hadice [had 'snake'] 'hose'	levice [levý 'left'] 'left hand', šachovnice [šachový 'chess'] 'chessboard'	strkanice [strkat 'jostle'] 'jostling', chumelenice [chumelit 'snow heavily'] 'blizzard'
-(ov)in+a, -štin+a 'place, unit, language, collective, material, abstraction, result'	březina [bříza 'birch'] 'birch grove', bažina [bahno 'mud'] 'marsh', křovina [křoví 'bushes'] 'shrubbery', švejkovina [Švejk] 'Švejk-like behavior', oblomovština [Oblomov] 'Oblomov-like behavior'	čeština [český 'Czech'] 'Czech language', medvědina [medvědí 'bear's'] 'bearskin', bílkovina [bílkový 'protein'] 'protein', trhavina [trhavý 'explosive'] 'explosive', nížina [nízký 'low'] 'lowlands', blbovina [blbý 'foolish'] 'nonsense'	vidina [vidět 'see'] 'vision', piliny (pl.) [pilovat 'file'] 'sawdust'

Suffixes and Endings for Feminine Nouns

Cuffin Ending		Associated with	A aggregate of sectors
Suffix + Ending	Associated with Nouns	Associated with	Associated with
-(ĕn)k+a, -(en)k+a, -nk+a, -vk+a, - čk+a, -ink+a, - ovk+a 'place, female, unit, object, bearer, abstraction, means, result, action'	cukřenka [cukr 'sugar'] 'sugar bowl', prodavačka [prodavač 'salesman'] 'saleswoman', Židovka [Žid 'Jew'] 'Jewish woman', jízdenka [jízda 'ride'] 'transportation ticket'	Adjectives sodovka [sodový 'soda'] 'soda water', voňavka [voňavý 'aromatic'] 'perfume', plavovláska [plavovlasý 'blonde'] 'blonde', šířka [široký 'wide'] 'width'	Verbs pračka [prát 'launder'] 'washing machine', sponka [spojit 'join'] 'barrette', odměrka [odměřit 'measure'] 'measuring cup', sbírka [sbírat 'collect'] 'collection', výjimka [vyjímat 'take out'] 'exception', ukolébavka [ukolébat 'sing to sleep'] 'lullaby', zabijačka [zabíjet 'slaughter'] 'pig slaughtering', potvrzenka [potvrdit 'confirm'] 'receipt'
-(ov)n+a, -árn+a, -írn+a, -teln+a 'place, female, agent' -oň+0, -eň+0 'fruit	tělocvična [tělocvik 'exercise'] 'gymnasium', knihovna [kniha 'book'] 'library', konírna [kůň 'horse'] 'stable', kněžna [kníže 'prince'] 'princess', královna [král 'king'] 'queen', drbna [drby 'gossip'] 'gossiper', jabloň [jablko		čistírna [čistit 'clean'] 'dry cleaning shop', spořitelna [spořit 'save'] 'savings bank', plovárna [plovat (plavat) 'swim'] 'swimming pool'
or nut tree'	'apple'] 'apple tree', hrušeň [hruška 'pear'] 'pear tree'		
-(n)ost+0 'abstraction'		blbost [blbý 'foolish'] 'foolishness', kritičnost [kritický	
		'critical'] 'critical attitude'	
-ot+a 'abstraction'		teplota [teplý 'warm'] 'temperature'	

Verbs nenávist [nenávidět
nanávist [nanávidět
nenavisi [nenaviaei
'hate'] 'hatred',
výduť [vydout
'swell'] 'bulge,
dilation'
bitva [bít 'beat']
'battle'

Suffixes and Endings for Feminine Nouns

Derivation of nouns from adverbs, prepositional phrases, and numerals

Some nouns are derived from adverbs, prepositional phrases, and numerals; in all cases this involves suffix-ending combinations that are also used for derivation from nouns, adjectives, and verbs.

The formant $-le/k+\theta$ creates nouns from adverbs and prepositional phrases: $dne\check{s}ek$ [dnes 'today'] 'today', pohlavek [pohlave 'along head'] 'slap'. $-nik+\theta$ forms nouns from prepositional phrases, such as $n\acute{a}t\check{e}ln\acute{k}$ [$nat\check{e}lo$ 'for the body'] 'undershirt', and also produces names for coins from numerals, such as $p\check{e}tn\acute{k}$ [$p\check{e}t$ 'five'] 'five-crown piece'. Masculine nouns in $-\acute{a}k+\theta$ are formed from ordinal numerals, yielding $\check{c}tvrt$ ' $\acute{a}k$ [$\check{c}tvrt\acute{y}$ 'fourth'] 'fourth-grader; quarter-liter; quarter (coin)'.

Feminine nouns with -(n)k+a are formed from prepositional phrases, giving příručka [při ruce 'at hand'] 'handbook' and podprsenka [pod prsy 'under breasts'] 'brassiere', and providing names for numbered items such as buses, highways and money, as in sedmička [sedm 'seven'] 'the number seven (a bus, a highway, etc.)', patnáctka [patnáct 'fifteen'] 'the number fifteen', and stovka [sto 'hundred'] 'the number one hundred; one hundred crown note'. -(n)ic+e likewise forms nouns from prepositional phrases, naušnice [na uších 'on ears'] 'earring', and from numerals, in this case creating names for groups according to the number of members they contain: dvojice [dvě 'two'] 'pair', pětice [pět 'five'] 'quintet'. Fractions are formed with -in+a, šestina [šest 'six'] 'sixth', and plurals with this suffix are used to indicate anniversaries: padesátiny [padesát 'fifty'] 'fiftieth anniversary/birthday'.

Neuter nouns expressing locations, times and abstractions are very copiously formed from prepositional phrases using -0+i producing words like zákulisí [za kulisami 'behind the

wings'] 'backstage', *předjaří* [*před jarem* 'before spring'] 'early spring' and *bezvětří* [*bez větru* 'without wind'] 'windlessness', *zátiší* [*za tichem* 'while quiet'] 'still life'. Names for multiple offspring are formed from numerals with -č+e: *dvojče* [*dvě* 'two'] 'twin', *šesterče* [*šest* 'six'] 'sextuplet'.

Derivation of nouns via compounding

Pairs of stems (or roots) can be strung together to form nouns designating agents, means, places, actions, bearers of characteristics, and abstractions. Compounds can be formed either by simply adding two stems or by linking them with the connecting vowel -o-. The resulting compounds often belong to the realm of specialized terminology. Here are some examples.

No connecting vowel: kovkop [kov + kopat 'metal + dig'] 'metal miner', strašpytel [strašit + pytel 'scare + bag'] 'scaredy-cat', okamžik [oka + mžik 'blink of eye'] 'instant' (probably inspried as a loan translation of German Augenblick), čtvrthodina [čvrt + hodina 'quarter + hour'] 'quarter of an hour'.

Connecting vowel -o-: zvěrolékař [zvěř + lékař 'animals + doctor'] 'veterinarian', horolezec [hora + lezec 'mountain + climber'] 'mountain climber', zákonodárce [zákon + dárce 'law + giver'] 'legislator', severovýchod [sever + východ 'north + east'] 'northeast', novomanžel [nový + manžel 'new + spouse'] 'newlywed', kulomet [kul(ička) + met 'bullet + throw'] 'machine gun'.

A number of components occur in compounds with particular frequency. These formations often involve bare roots (as in *plynoměr* 'gas meter') rather than actual words. Here are some examples of these components and the words they form. Note that vowels e and i can also serve as connecting vowels, as in *velezrada* 'treason' and *vlastivěda* 'social studies'.

sam- 'self': samohláska [sam + hláska 'self + sound'] 'vowel', samopal [sam + pal 'self + fire'] 'automatic submachine gun'.

sebe- 'self': sebevražda [sebe + vražda 'self + murder'] 'suicide', sebeobrana [sebe + obrana 'self + defense'] 'self defense'.

vše- 'all, omni': *všežravec* [*vše* + *žravec* 'all + eater'] 'omnivore', *vševěd* [*vše* + *věd* 'all + knower'] 'omniscient person'.

vel(e)- 'big': *velezrada* [*vele + zrada* 'big + betrayal'] 'treason', *velryba* [*vel + ryba* 'big + fish'] 'whale'.

-letí 'number of years': století [sto + letí 'hundred + years'] 'century', tisíciletí [tisíc + letí 'thousand + years'] 'millenium'.

-měr 'measure' vodoměr [voda + měr 'water + measure'] 'water meter', plynoměr [plyn + měr 'gas + measure'] 'gas meter'.

-met 'thrower': světlomet [světlo + met 'light + thrower'] 'searchlight', kulomet [kul(ička) + met 'bullet + thrower'] 'machine gun'.

-pis 'write': zeměpis [země + pis 'land + write'] 'geography', životopis [život + pis 'life + write'] 'biography'.

-slovi 'word': $b\acute{a}jeslovi$ [$b\acute{a}j+slovi$ 'myth + words'] 'mythology', bohoslovi [$b\mathring{u}h+slovi$ 'god + words'] 'theology'.

-tisk 'print': barvotisk [barva + tisk 'color + print'] 'color printing', knihtisk [kniha + tisk 'book + print'] 'typography'.

-var 'cooking place': pivovar [pivo + var 'beer + boiler'] 'brewery', cukrovar [cukr + var 'sugar + boiler'] 'sugar refinery'.

-věda 'science': jazykověda [jazyk + věda 'language + science'] 'linguistics', vlastivěda [vlast + věda 'homeland + science'] 'social studies'.

Derivation of diminutive and augmentative nouns

The phoneme k plays a prominent role in the derivation of diminutives, and is frequently used in combination with \check{c} or n to create suffix-ending sequences for each of the three genders. Diminutives will often have lengthened or shortened stem vowels and Type 2 consonant alternations, but in general they are subject to complex phonological rules that cannot be reliably predicted. Diminutives often double as terms of endearment or emotional involvement, although they can occasionally be used pejoratively. Their affective meaning is in most cases more significant than any indication of relative size. In some instances the meaning of the diminutive has been emancipated from the meaning of the noun from which it is derived, for example $koli\check{c}ek$ 'clothespin' is technically a diminutive of $k\mathring{u}l$ 'stake', but for all practical purposes $koli\check{c}ek$ is now a separate lexical item.

Suffix	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
-(V)k-	-ek+0, -ík+0: potůček [potok 'stream'] 'little stream', domek [dům 'house'] 'little house', vozík [vůz 'vehicle'] 'cart', hadřík [hadr 'rag'] 'little rag' extension -oušek: dědoušek [děd 'forefather'] 'little grandfather'	-k+o: bříško [břicho 'belly'] 'little belly', mlíčko [mléko 'milk'] 'little milk' extension -átko: zvířátko [zvíře 'animal'] 'little animal'	-k+a: myška [myš 'mouse'] 'little mouse', knížka [kniha' 'book'] 'little book', žabka [žába 'frog'] 'little frog' extension -uška: dceruška [dcera 'daughter'] 'little daughter'
- $V\check{c}(e)k$ - note: this suffix has a stronger diminutive force than - $(V)k$ -	-eček+0, -íček+0, -áček+0: domeček [dům 'house'] 'little house', bratříček [bratr 'brother'] 'little brother', synáček [syn 'son'] 'little son'	-ečk+o, -íčk+o: městečko [město 'city'] 'little city', autíčko [auto 'car'] 'little car'	-ečk+a, -ičk+a: knížečka [kniha 'book'] 'little book', rybička [ryba 'fish'] 'little fish'
-Vn(e)k-	-ánek+0, -ínek+0: nosánek [nos 'nose'] 'little nose', tatínek [táta 'dad'] 'daddy'		-ink+a: tyčinka [tyč 'pole'] 'stick'

Augmentatives are less common than diminutives and are usually associated with pejorative connotations. -isko can be used to form augmentatives from nouns of all three genders: psisko [pes 'dog'] 'big dog', ušisko [ucho 'ear'] 'big ear', babisko [baba 'old woman (pejorative)'] 'big old woman'. -ák forms augmentatives from masculine nouns: chlapák [chlap 'fellow'] 'big fellow'. -izna/-ajzna forms augmentatives from feminine nouns: babizna [baba 'old woman'] 'big old woman', tlamajzna [tlama 'mouth (of animals)'] 'big maw'.

2.2.1.3 Derivation of adjectives

Like nouns, adjectives can be derived from nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and prepositional phrases. There are four multipurpose suffixes (plus their extensions) that derive adjectives from a variety of sources and for a variety of uses; these suffixes will be presented in the table. Suffixes used for only one type of derivation will be handled separately; this includes suffixes that create possessive adjectives, as well as suffixes and prefix-suffix combinations that derive adjectives from adjectives. Relational adjectives relate an item to another item or substance, denoting that the item they modify is connected with or made from the item the adjective is derived from. Qualitative adjectives describe a quality of the item they modify. Relational adjectives are formed much more productively than qualitative adjectives.

Suffix + Ending	Relational Adjectives Associated with Nouns	Qualitative Adjectives Associated with Nouns	Adjectives Associated with Verbs	Adjectives from Other Sources
-n+ý, -ěn+ý, -čn+ý, -cn+ý	ovocný [ovoce 'fruit'] 'fruit', dřevěný [dřevo 'wood'] 'wooden'	klidný [klid 'calm'] 'calm'	vychloubačný [vychloubat se 'boast'] 'boastful', kajícný [kát se 'repent'] 'repentant'	přílišný [příliš 'excessively'] 'excessive', mezibuněčný [mezi buňkami 'between cells'] 'intercellular'
-n+í, -ovn+í	místní [místo 'place'] 'local', hudební [hudba 'music'] 'musical'	hlavní [hlava 'head'] 'main'		zvláštní [zvlášť 'particularly'] 'peculiar', protivládní [proti vládě 'against government'] 'anti- governmental', mezibankovní [mezi bankami 'between banks'] 'interbank'
-ov+ý	čokoládový [čokoláda 'chocolate'] 'chocolate'	růžový [růže 'rose'] 'pink'		opravdový [opravdu 'really'] 'real', nadzvukový [nad zvukem 'above sound'] 'supersonic'
-sk+ý, - ovsk+ý , -k+ý,	městský [město 'city'] 'municipal', vesnický [vesnice 'village'] 'village'	kafkovský [Kafka] 'Kafkaesque'		loňský [loni 'last year'] 'last year's', meziměstský [mezi městy 'between cities'] 'intercity'

The remaining suffixes that are used to create adjectives have a much more specific function, for example:

Qualitative adjectives can also be formed using $-at+\acute{y}$, $-nat+\acute{y}$, $-it+\acute{y}$, $-ovit+\acute{y}$, $-ovan+\acute{y}$, $-iv+\acute{y}$: $chlupat\acute{y}$ [chlup 'hair'] 'hairy', $skalnat\acute{y}$ [$sk\acute{a}la$ 'rock'] 'rocky', $p\acute{s}\acute{c}it\acute{y}$ [$p\acute{s}ek$ 'sandy', $kopcovit\acute{y}$ [kopec 'hill'] 'hilly', $pruhovan\acute{y}$ [pruh 'stripe'] 'striped', $plesniv\acute{y}$ [$pl\acute{s}e\acute{n}$ 'mould'] 'mouldy'.

Adjectives from verbs can be formed using -l+ý, -il+ý, -av+ý, -lav+ý, -iv+ý, -liv+ý, -at+ý, -ut+ý, -utn+ý, -teln+ý, -iteln+ý: shnilý [shnít 'rot'] 'rotten', změkčilý [změknout 'soften'] 'softened', váhavý [váhat 'hesitate'] 'hesitant', pichlavý [píchat 'prick'] 'prickly', sedavý [sedět 'sit'] 'sedentary', dychtivý [dychtit 'crave'] 'eager', škodlivý [škodit 'harm'] 'harmful', stojatý [stát 'stand'] 'standing', tekutý [téci 'flow'] 'liquid', mohutný [moci 'able'] 'powerful', srovnatelný [srovnat 'compare'] 'comparable', viditelný [vidět 'see'] 'visible'.

Foreign borrowings can be integrated into Czech adjectival morphology using -n+i, $-(i)ck+\acute{y}$, or $-ov+\acute{y}$: extrémní 'extreme', toxický 'toxic', golfový 'golf'.

Derivation of diminutive, augmentative, and attenuative adjectives

When adjectives are derived from adjectives, the result is always an adjective with a diminutive, augmentative, or attenuative meaning. There are nearly a dozen diminutive suffixes; here are some examples formed from the adjectives *malý* 'small' and *slabý* 'weak': *maličký*, *malinký*, *malinký*, *malinký*, *malinký*, *malinká*, *slaboučký*, *slabounký*, *slabounký*

Derivation of possessive adjectives

Possessive adjectives can be formed from person's names and kinship terms using -uv for male possessors and -in for female possessors (the later causes Type 2 consonant alternations): Martinuv 'Martin's', bratruv [bratr 'brother'] 'brother's', Alenin 'Alena's', matčin [matka 'mother'] 'mother's'. Possessives can be formed from the names of animals using -i and its variants -ci and -či: kravi [kráva 'cow'] 'cow's', býči [býk 'bull'] 'bull's', teleci [tele 'calf'] 'calf's', praseči [prase 'pig'] 'pig's'.

Derivation of compound adjectives

There are two common means of forming compound adjectives, either using the linking vowel -o-, *jihoevropský* [*jih* 'south'+ *evropský* 'European'] 'south European', or using the genitive form of a noun compounded with an adjective, *pozoruhodný* [*pozoru* 'attention'+ *hodný* 'worthy'] 'worthy of attention'.

2.2.1.4 Derivation of adverbs and pronouns

Adverbs can be derived from bare uses of the instrumental case, omylem [= 'error'] 'by mistake', as well as from prepositional phrases, dopředu [do 'to' + předu 'front'] 'to the front' and the suffix -mo, kradmo [krást 'steal'] 'stealthily'. There are a number of components that variously attenuate or modify the meanings of interrogatives, both adverbs and pronouns. These forms are illustrated with examples using the adverb kam 'where (direction)' and the pronoun kdo 'who' (other interrogatives that can use some or all of these components are co 'what', či

'whose', *jak* 'how', *jak*ý 'what kind of', *kde* 'where', *kdy* 'when', *kolik* 'how much/many', *kter*ý 'which', *kudy* 'by what path', and *odkud* 'from where'):

jin- 'else': jinam 'headed somewhere else'

kde- 'every/all possible': kdekdo 'everyone possible'

-koli 'any-, -ever, quite a few': kamkoli 'headed anywhere at all, headed toward quite a few places', kdokoli 'anyone at all, many a person'

lec-, leda- 'all manner of (sometimes pejorative)': leckam , ledakam 'headed just anywhere', leckdo, ledakdo 'any old person', leccos 'a thing or two'

málo- 'hardly any-': *málokam* 'headed hardly anyhwere at all, headed toward only a few places', *málokdo* 'hardly anyone at all'

ně- 'some, any (especially in interrogatives)': někam 'headed somewhere', někdo 'someone'

ni- 'no, not any': nikam 'headed nowhere', nikdo 'nobody'

-si 'some- or other (uncertainty, usually used in past tense)': kamsi 'headed somewhere or other', kdosi 'someone or other'

všeli- 'all sorts of, any old': *všelikam* 'headed toward all sorts of places', *všelikdo* 'all sorts of people'

2.2.1.5 Derivation of verbs

Verbs engage in a variety of morphological processes, some of which (prefixation, imperfective derivation, formation of frequentatives, discussed in 2.1.5.4 -2.2.1.1) can be considered at least partially inflectional (though it can be argued that all these processes are derivational as well). Other morphological adjustments are unambiguously derivational, among them the formation of reflexives, factitive verbs, "becoming" verbs, diminutives, and the integration of foreign verbs and neologisms into the Czech verbal system.

Verbs derived with the reflexives se and si

The reflexive pronouns *se* and *si* appear with many verbs, and can serve one or more of the following functions: they can derive a reflexive verb from a transitive verb; derive a reciprocal verb from a transitive verb; derive an intransitive, passive, or impersonal verb from a transitive verb; or serve as an essential component of a verb that exists only in the accompaniment of *se* or *si*.

When forming reflexive verbs, *se* (the accusative reflexive) indicates that the verbal action is performed on the self (=subject), whereas *si* (the dative reflexive) indicates that the verbal action is performed for the self (=subject):

Without se/si With se/si

česat někoho 'comb someone's hair' *česat se* 'comb one's own hair'

koupit něco 'buy something' koupit si něco 'buy something for oneself'

Reciprocal actions can also be signalled by *se* and *si*; the reciprocal meaning is valid only when the subject is plural:

Without se/si With se/si znát někoho 'know someone' znát se 'know each other'

milovat někoho 'love someone' milovat se 'love each other' důvěřovat někomu 'trust someone' důvěřovat si 'trust each other'

tykat někomu 'say ty to someone' tykat si 'say ty to each other (be on a first-

name basis with someone)'

Se can be used to create a variety of intransitive, passive, and impersonal verbs. The impersonal verbs are integral to impersonal constructions and are used only in 3sg neuter forms. Overall, se has a general intransitivizing function that it does not share with si.

Without se	With se
nacházet 'find'	nacházet se 'be located' Kde se nachází
	letiště? 'Where is the airport located?'
vyřešit 'solve'	vyřešit se 'be solved', cf. To se vyřeší 'A
	solution will be found'
dělat 'do'	dělat se 'be done', cf. Jak se to dělá? 'How
	is that done?'
chtít 'want'	chtít se 'feel like' To se mi nechce 'I don't
	feel like doing that'
pracovat 'work'	pracovat se 'work (as experience)' Tady se
	mi pracuje dobře 'I can work well here'
jíst 'eat'	jíst se 'eat (as experience)' Jí se tam dobře
	'That's a good place to eat'

Finally, there are a number of verbs that simply require se or si. Many of these verbs have uses or meanings that overlap with one or more of the three categories above:

Some Verbs That Require se	Some Verbs That Require si
smát se 'laugh'	sednout si 'sit down'
bát se 'be afraid'	lehnout si 'lie down'
dívat se 'look'	odpočinout si 'rest'
ptát se 'ask'	zvyknout si 'get used to'
setkat se 'meet'	vážit si 'appreciate, respect'
	všímat si 'notice'

The pronouns se and si also combine with prefixes to create derived verbs, often with nuances of doing things on a large or excessive scale, or to satisfaction. Here are a few examples: naplakat se [plakat 'cry'] 'do a lot of crying', začíst se [číst 'read'] 'get all involved in reading', upít se [pít 'drink'] 'drink oneself to ruin', vytancovat se [tancovat 'dance'] 'get one's fill of dancing', zazpívat si [zpívat 'sing'] 'enjoy some singing', pospat si [spát 'sleep'] 'get a good sleep'.

Factitives in -it

Factitives are transitive verbs formed from adjectives that denote 'make X Y(adj)'. These verbs are often formed with -it, sometimes in combination with prefixes: chladit [chladný 'cool'] 'make cool', ostřit [ostrý 'sharp'] 'sharpen', zjednodušit [jednoduchý 'simple'] 'simplify', obnažit [nahý 'naked'] 'expose'. Factitives can also be transitive verbs formed from nouns denoting 'subject X to Y (noun)': hnojit [hnůj 'fertilizer'] 'fertilize', solit [sůl 'salt'] 'salt', usmrtit [smrt 'death'] 'kill'.

Verbs with the meaning of "becoming" and "being" are formed primarily from adjectives and denote taking on a characteristic. With adjectival roots describing colors and the formant -at, the

[&]quot;Becoming" and "being" verbs in -at, -it, -et, -nout

reflexive se can be optionally added to suggest appearance or looking like a given color: teplat [teplý 'warm'] 'get warm', červenat (se) [červený 'red'] 'turn red (appear red)'. Nouns (usually denoting professions) can serve as source material for verbs in -it meaning 'be an X': pytlačit [pytlák 'poacher'] 'be a poacher, do some poaching', zedničit [zedník 'mason'] 'be a mason, do some masonry'. The formant -ět is more versatile, creating verbs meaning 'become', sometimes in combination with prefixes (tmavět [tmavý 'dark'] 'get dark', oněmět [němý 'deaf'] 'go deaf'), and also providing verbs for making sounds (kňučet [kňu 'whining noise'] 'whine', bzučet [bz 'buzz'] 'buzz'). Finally, -nout produces imperfective verbs from many adjectives, such as: blbnout [blbý 'stupid'] 'be/act stupid', mládnout [mladý 'young'] 'grow younger', měknout [měkký 'soft'] 'soften up'.

Diminutive verbs

Diminutive verbs are used almost exclusively in speaking with or about children and end in *-inkat*. The most common are *spinkat* [*spát* 'sleep'] 'sleep' and *blinkat* [*blít* 'vomit'] 'spit up'.

Foreign borrowings and neologisms with -ovat

Most new verbs entering the lexicon, whether from foreign languages or from neologisms based on native morphology, do so by adding -ovat: fotografovat 'photograph', inspirovat 'inspire', číslovat [číslo 'number'] 'number'.

2.3 Morphology of Colloquial Czech

The aim of this section is to present only the most obvious examples and patterns of Colloquial Czech inflection. Colloquial Czech derivation uses the same inventory of morphemes as the literary language, albeit with certain differences in the distribution of frequency, which will not be addressed in this section. It should be understood that Literary and Colloquial Czech are not two distinct and separate registers, but rather constitute a continuum of grammatical as well as lexical features. Most grammatical features are shared across the continuum, and the remainder show a hierarchy of representation (some are relatively neutral, others relatively marked as either literary or colloquial variants). Some of the features identified as Colloquial Czech (CCz) below may be virtually universal for all speakers, whereas others are less frequent and or stylistically marked. Readers who desire greater detail on this topic are referred to Townsend 1990.

2.3.1 Inflection of nouns

The single most pervasive feature of Colloquial Czech nominal inflection is an Ipl ending of -ama/-ěma for all three genders (replacing masculine and neuter endings in -y/-i, feminine endings in -ami/-ěmi, and yielding -ma for the kost type of feminine nouns). Compare the literary and Colloquial Czech Ipl forms for our head nouns: LCz bratry vs. CCz bratrama 'brothers', LCz koši vs. CCz košema 'baskets', LCz maliři vs. CCz maliřema 'painters', LCz kotly/-i vs. CCz kotlama/-ema 'cauldrons', LCz přednosty vs. CCz přednostama 'chiefs', LCz prednostama 'chiefs', LCz prednostama 'vs. CCz prednostama 'chiefs', LCz prednostama 'vs. CCz prednostama 'vomen', LCz prednostama

Masculine nouns ending in a velar that undergoes a Type 1 alternation before the Lpl -ich in Literary Czech may receive -ich instead with no alternation in Colloquial Czech: LCz o vojácích vs. CCz vo vojákách 'about the soldiers'. With some masculine hard stem nouns the expected Lpl -ich is regularized to -ech: LCz v lesích vs. CCz v lesech 'in the forests'. In Colloquial Czech there is some preference for DLsg -ovi over -i: LCz holiči/-ovi vs. CCz holičovi/-i

'barber'. The CCz forms *chleba* 'bread' and *sejra* 'cheese', equivalent to the Gsg partitive forms LCz *chleba*, *sýra*, have spread to the NAsg, eclipsing the functions of LCz NAsg *chléb*, *sýr*. CCz is also characterized by sporadic differences in vowel length, particularly shortening of \mathring{u} and $\acute{\iota}$ in desinences. The neuter $-\acute{\iota}$ paradigm (see head noun $n\acute{a}b\check{r}e\check{z}\acute{\iota}$ 'waterfront') tends to acquire adjectival endings in Colloquial Czech, creating forms such as CCz Gsg $n\acute{a}b\check{r}e\check{z}\acute{\iota}$ ho, Dsg $n\acute{a}b\check{r}e\check{z}\acute{\iota}$ mu, Gpl $n\acute{a}b\check{r}e\check{z}\acute{\iota}$ ch, all of which are represented by LCz $n\acute{a}b\check{r}e\check{z}\acute{\iota}$. The two feminine paradigms with Nsg ending in a consonant, the -e/e type (head noun: *dlaň* 'palm of hand') and the -i type (head noun: *kost* 'bone') have become to some degree intermingled in CCz, which tends to prefer the $-e/-\check{e}$ type endings for all nouns of both types, creating CCz forms such as *kost* **'ch** vs. LCz *kostech* 'bones' and CCz *lodě* vs. LCz *lodě/lodi* 'boat'.

2.3.2 Inflection of adjectives and adverbs

The two vowels that produce the most characteristic phonological features of Colloquial Czech, \acute{e} (which shifts to \acute{y}/\acute{i}) and \acute{y} (which shifts to ej), figure prominently in adjectival morphology, accounting for most of the differences between the LCz and CCz hard-stem paradigm below. Other distinctions include the replacement of LCz Ipl -mi with CCz -ma (cf. the above discussion of nouns), and the removal of gender distinctions in the Npl (including the Type 1 alternations for masculine animates, i.e., CCz does not have the masculine animate Npl $druz\acute{i}$ in the paradigm below), yielding a single genderless CCz NApl in - \acute{y} . The table below shows the CCz desinences that differ from their LCz equivalents in bold face:

		druhej 'second;	other'	
		singular		
	masculine	feminine	neuter	(all genders)
N	druh ej	druhá	$druh\mathbf{\acute{y}}$	druh ý
G	druh ýho	$druh\mathbf{\acute{y}}$	druh ýho	<i>druh</i> ejch
D	druh ýmu	$druh\mathbf{\acute{y}}$	druh ýmu	<i>druhejm</i>
A	druh ej /- ýho	druhou	$druh\mathbf{\acute{y}}$	druh ý
L	druh ým	$druh\mathbf{\acute{y}}$	druh ým	<i>druh</i> ejch
I	druhým	druhou	druhým	druh ejma

The CCz forms listed in this paradigm are not equally marked stylistically. In general, forms involving the shift of $\acute{e} > \acute{y}$, particularly in the feminine paradigm, are less marked and more pervasive than the forms exhibiting $\acute{y} > ej$. The soft stem adjectival paradigm distingishes CCz from LCz forms only in the Ipl, where CCz prvníma corresponds to LCz prvními 'first'. There is, however, one soft adjective that exhibits the change of $\acute{i} > ej$, CCz cizej 'foreign, strange', with plural forms GLpl cizejch, Dpl cizejm and Ipl cizejma corresponding to LCz Nsg masc cizí, GLpl cizích, Dpl cizím, Ipl cizími.

CCz avoids short form adjectives (except *rád* 'glad'), using only long forms for adjectives and passive participles, and appending long form endings to all but the Nsg masc and neut forms of the possessive adjectives. Thus LCz *nemocen* 'ill' has the CCz counterpart CCz *nemocne*j, with a paradigm like *druhe*j above, and the same goes for passive participles, e.g., LC *napsán*, *napsan*ý vs. CCz *napsane*j 'written'. Aside from Nsg masc *bratrův* 'brother's' (sometimes shortened in CCz to *bratruv* and occasionally realized as *bratrove*j) and neut *bratrovo* (sometimes CCz *bratrov*ý), which are the same in both registers, CCz adds the endings from the *druhe*j paradigm to *bratrov*- 'brother's' and *sestřin*- 'sister's'.

CCz tends to generalize the productive comparative adjectival formant -*ější* to many stems that use -*ší* in LCz, for example CCz *čist*ě**jší** 'cleaner' as opposed to LCz *čistší*/*čistější*.

The regular comparative adverb formant LCz -*ěji* can be replaced by -*ějc* in CCz, yielding CCz *čast***ějc** vs. LCz *častěji* 'more often' and CCz *rychl***ejc** vs. LCz *rychleji* 'faster', though this is a rather marked feature. A relatively neutral feature of CCz is the exclusive preference of forms truncating final -*ě* for irregular comparative adjectives where LCz admits both forms in free variation: CCz *hůř* vs. LCz *hůře/hůř* 'worse'; CCz *v***ej**š vs. LCz *výše/ výš* 'higher'.

2.3.4 Inflection of pronouns

The paradigm of the 1sg pronoun is considerably simpler in CCz, since all forms except the N $j\acute{a}$ and I mnou can be realized as GDAL $mn\check{e}$, with no distinction between enclitic and stressed forms (though the D enclitic form mi, standard for LCz, also appears frequently in CCz). The CCz replacement of Ipl -mi by -ma is carried out in all three persons, yielding CCz Ipl forms $n\acute{a}ma$ 'us', $v\acute{a}ma$ 'you' and jima 'them'. The nominative forms of 3rd person pronouns gain the CCz prothetic v- and the plural (as in the adjectival paradigm) shows no gender distinctions: von 'he', vono 'it', vona 'she', voni 'they'. Aside from the distinction in the N, the 3sg masculine and neuter pronouns share a collapsed and simplified CCz paradigm of GA jeho/ho, D jemu/mu, L $n\check{e}m$, I $j\acute{e}m$ (where this last form can also be shortened to jim). After a preposition, CCz uses only GA $n\check{e}j$ (never $n\check{e}ho$), and uses only the accusative enclitic pronoun ho (never jej), although all variants coexist in LCz. CCz frequently lengthens the feminine accusative 3sg pronoun to CCz $j\acute{e}$ (cf. LCz $j\acute{e}$), yielding a single form (alternating with $n\acute{e}$) for the entire paradigm (except the N vona 'she').

Possessive pronouns and the demonstrative ten 'this' display the same CCz correspondences characteristic of adjectival paradigms, with $\acute{e} > \acute{y}$, $\acute{y} > ej$ (except in the Isg), loss of gender distinctions in the plural, and replacement of Ipl -mi with -ma. For the pronouns $m\mathring{u}j$ 'my', $tv\mathring{u}j$ 'your', and $sv\mathring{u}j$ 'one's own' there is a strong CCz preference for uncontracted over contracted forms; thus CCz uses moje for Nsg neut/fem, Asg neut, Npl, Asg masc, and Apl, and $moj\acute{t}$ for Isg fem. The sole CCz NApl form for 'these' is ty; note also the CCz GDLsg fem $t\acute{y}$ and Ipl $t\check{e}ma$. The LCz pronouns $t\acute{y}$ \check{z} , $tent\acute{y}$ \check{z} 'the same' are not used at all in CCz (where they are replaced by ten same**j**).

2.3.5 Inflection of numerals

Jeden 'one' is declined in CCz like ten, indicated above, however in counting and in compound numerals, it most frequently appears as CCz jedna: CCz jednadvacet let, dvacet jedna let vs. LCz jed(e)nadvacet let, dvacet jeden rok. CCz has a tendency to spread the ou diphthong throughout the paradigm of dva/dvě 'two', yielding GL dvouch, D dvoum, and Idvouma as alternates to LCz forms GL dvou and DI dvěma. The replacement of Ipl -mi by -ma motivates CCz třema 'three' and štyřma 'four', and there is a tendency to merge the genitive and locative forms of these two numerals, yielding GL třech, štyřech. Ordinal numerals exhibit the same variations in CCz that are characteristic of adjectives.

2.3.6 Inflection of verbs

The CCz vowel shifts that are so prominent in the adjectival declension play almost no role in verbal paradigms, with the exception of a few monosyllabic infinitives which display $\acute{e} > \acute{y}/\emph{i}$ (or simply shorten): LCz $\emph{mést}$ vs. CCz $\emph{mést}$ /mest 'sweep', LCz $\emph{nést}$ vs. CCz $\emph{nýst/nest}$ 'carry'.

CCz replaces LCz 1sg -i with -u and 3pl -i with -ou: CCz sleduju 'I follow' (cf. LCz sleduji), CCz sledujou 'they follow' (cf. LCz sledujî). The final -e in the LCz 1pl -eme ending is frequently truncated in all Type III conjugations in CCz: CCz zvem 'we call' (cf. LCz zveme), CCz sledujem 'we follow' (cf. LCz sledujeme). CCz shows a tendency to align the Type I and Type II conjugations by implementing parallel 3pl forms -aj and -ěj: CCz dělaj 'they do' (cf.

LCz dělají), CCz souděj 'they judge' (cf. LCz soudí), CCz trpěj (cf. LCz trpí) 'they suffer', CCz uměj (cf. LCz umějí) 'they know how'. Even irregular verbs conform, yielding CCz spěj 'they sleep', chtěj 'they want', jeděj 'they eat', věděj 'they know'. Outside of fixed phrases, CCz uses no gerunds whatsoever, and no participles save the past passive (predominantly with long forms). The remaining differences between LCz and CCz verb systems are limited to relatively small groups of verbs. Here is a selection of the most salient features:

Type III non-suffixed stems ending in an obstruent and suffixed stems ending in a consonant suffixed with *nou* show truncation of the final -*l* in the masc sg past form; with *nou* verbs an alternative ending is -*nul*: CCz *ved* vs. LCz *vedl* 'he led', CCz *nes* vs. LCz *nesl* 'he carried', CCz *pek* vs. LCz *pekl* 'he baked', CCz *tisk/tisk***nul** vs. LCz *tiskl* 'he pressed, printed'.

Type III non-suffixed obstruent stems in h/k have a CCz infinitive form in -ct corresponding to LCz -ci: CCz píct/pect vs. LCz péci 'bake'.

Three Type III nonsuffixed *ij* verbs show a vowel shift in CCz: CCz *kreju*, *meju*, *reju* vs. LCz *kryji*, *myji*, *ryji* 'I cover, I wash, I dig'.

Certain Type III suffixed a verbs can have imperative forms in -ej (like the Type I aj suffixed class): CCz mazej(coll: 'get going!')/maž vs. LCz maž 'smear'.

The two verbs CCz *moct* vs. LCz *moci* 'be able' and CCz *pomoct* vs. LCz *pomoci* 'help' have the stem *můž*- throughout their non-past conjugations: CCz *po-můžu*, *po-můžeš*, *po-může*, *po-můžem*, *po-můžete*, *po-můžete*

The verb *vzít* 'take' deletes the *z* in non-past and imperative forms in CCz: CCz *vemu*, *vemeš*, *veme*, *vemem*, *vemete*, *vemou*, *vem!* vs. LCz *vezmu*, *vezmeš*, *vezme*, *vezmeme*, *vezmeme*, *vezmete*, *vezmou*, *vezmi!*

3. Syntax

3.1 Syntax of noun phrases

Czech syntax at the level of both the noun phrase and the clause is dominated by case. Within a noun phrase, a noun (or pronoun) and all its modifiers show agreement for case, as well as gender and number. Here are some examples of agreement in noun phrases:

Npl masc anim: všichni dobří rodáci 'all good countrymen'

Gsg fem: své milé ženy 'his dear wife'

Dpl masc: *našim starým přátelům* 'our old friends' Asg fem: *tu důležitou práci* 'that important work' Isg neut: *kterým českým městem* 'which Czech city'

Case indicates the syntactic function of a given noun phrase, the relationship it bears to the verb and to other noun phrases, the latter often augmented by a preposition. Sometimes case (particularly the vocative and occasionally the dative) can also indicate pragmatic relationships between participants in the speech event. The specific syntactic functions of the cases will now be taken up in turn. In the examples below, the noun phrase in question will appear in bold face. This survey will also present sample lists of prepositions, verbs, and other words that trigger the use of various cases. When dealing with case it is important to note that Czech employs an abstract yet complex system of concepts that do not neatly match any English equivalents. There is therefore often no consistent correspondence between a given case meaning or preposition and its English gloss. The various uses of a given case are not independent of each other, but collectively represent a coherent network of meanings, and frequently overlap.

3.1.1 The nominative case

3.1.1.1 Naming functions

The nominative serves as the default case when there is no syntactic context, as when it names or labels items, and it is also the case used in dictionary entries. Although the vocative case is normally used when calling someone by first name or title, the nominative can also be used, particularly when the last name is preceded by the Vsg form *pane* 'Sir!', as in *pane Novák* 'Mr. Novák!'.

3.1.1.2 The subject of a clause

The grammatical subject of a clause is always marked in the nominative case (and constructions lacking a grammatical subject are relatively rare in Czech, though some will be noted under the dative and instrumental cases below). Here are some nominative subjects: *Dnes děti nemají školu* 'The children don't have school today'; *My taky nejdeme do práce* 'We are also not going to work'; *Co se tady děje?* 'What is going on here?'.

Unless special emphasis is needed, subject pronouns are usually omitted in Czech. Here are some examples of sentences without and with subject pronouns.

Neutral clauses showing omission

Dokážeme to

'We will manage it'

Jsem tady

'I'm here'

Nevěděla, kdo to je

'She didn't know who it was'

Emphatic clauses with pronouns

Mv to dokážeme

'We (are the ones who) will manage it'

Já jsem tady

'(Well, at least) I am here'

Ona nevěděla, kdo to je

'(But) She didn't know who it was'

In the foregoing examples the speaker has a concrete person or persons in mind. *Oni* is also omitted when it corresponds to English *they* indicating no one in particular, just people in general: *Říkají*, *že zítra bude pršet* '**They** say it's going to rain tomorrow (general statement, reporting what some people say or what was heard in a broadcast)'. A few verbs can be constructed without any subject at all, such as *Prší* 'It is raining' and *Sněží* 'It is snowing'.

3.1.1.3 The predicate of copula sentences

In addition to the nominative subject, verbs meaning 'be' can contain a nominative predicate identifying a category that the subject belongs in or a modifier that applies to it, especially when the statement has general applicability. Here are some examples: Soused je učitel '(Our) neighbor is a teacher'; Alkohol je jed 'Alcohol is a poison'; Byl jsem spokojený 'I was content'; Musíš být zdvořilý 'You have to be polite'. However, whenever the category or modifier is particularly relevant to a given temporal, spatial or other context (such as 'in our town' or 'when we go to visit auntie'), the instrumental case is frequently used instead for this purpose; compare: Soused je učitelem '(Our) neighbor is a teacher'; Musíš být zdvořilým 'You have to be polite'. Note also that it is possible to use the instrumental even for general statements, such as Nejzákeřnějším jedem ze všech je alkohol 'Alcohol is the most sinister poison of all'.

3.1.1.4 Comparison and apposition

The comparative construction in Czech parallels the English x is y-er than z, where than is represented by $ne\check{z}$ and z is marked with the nominative case, as in Praha je $hez\check{c}i$ $ne\check{z}$ Bratislava 'Prague is prettier than Bratislava'.

When a category or title is followed by a proper name, it is sometimes possible to leave the proper name in the nominative (though sometimes it is necessary to put it in the case that the category or title is in, and sometimes both variants are acceptable). The nominative is acceptable for *v okrese Vyškov* 'in Vyškov county'; only the locative can be used in *v řece Vltavě* 'in the Vltava river'; but both the nominative and the genitive can be used in *do banky Bohemia/Bohemie* 'to the Bohemia Bank'.

3.1.2 The genitive case

The genitive case serves as a landmark that something departs from, approaches, belongs to, or is located near. This discussion of genitive syntax is organized on the basis of these four general concepts which we designate, respectively, by "source", "goal", "whole", and "reference".

3.1.2.1 "Source" meanings involving 'from'

There are several prepositions that can be translated by English 'from', all of which use the genitive case. Z 'from' is perhaps the most versatile, and is used for departure from most physical (and metaphorical) locations: Sestra přijela z Prahy '(Our) sister has arrived from Prague', Kniha byla přeložena z francouzštiny 'The book was translated from French'. This preposition is associated with some verbs, such as po-těšit se z 'derive pleasure from', zotavit/zotavovat se z 'recover from', vyloučit/vylučovat z 'exclude, remove from'. Z also serves as the foundation for complex prepositions zpod 'from beneath' and zpoza 'from behind'. The preposition s 'off of, down from' is rather marginal; it specifies removal from a flat surface, and can always be replaced by z: Lampa spadla se/ze stolu 'The lamp fell from the table'. When human beings serve as a point of departure, the preposition od is required: Dostala jsem dopis od bratra 'I received a letter from (my) brother.' Od can mark other departure points as well, as we see in phrases like Šli jsme směrem od věže 'We walked in the direction away from the tower' and Od neděle stále prší 'It has been raining constantly from Sunday on'.

In addition to prepositions, the genitive case is used in constructions with many verbs that express withdrawal from things, be it physical or emotional. Here are some such verbs:

bát se	'be afraid of'	vy-varovat/ vyvarovávat se	'escape from, avoid'
leknout/lekat se nabažit se	'be frightened of' 'get tired of'	vzdát/vzdávat se za-nechat/ zanechávat	'give up' 'relinquish'
obávat se ostýchat se po-/vy-děsit se pozbýt/pozbývat pustit/pouštět se štítit se	'be apprehensive of' 'be shy of' 'be terrified of' 'lose' 'let go of' 'shun'	za-stydět se zbavit/zbavovat (se) zdržet/zdržovat se z-hrozit se zříci/zříkat se	'be ashamed of' 'rid (self) of' 'abstain from' 'be horrified at' 'renounce'

3.1.2.2 "Goal" meanings involving 'to'

The preposition do 'to' is used for arrival at various destinations as well as in temporal and other metaphorical uses: Pojedeme do Prahy 'We are going to Prague'; Do Vánoc budu doma 'I'll be home before Christmas'; Všichni se zamilovali do naší učitelky 'Everyone fell in love with our teacher'. Two groups of verbs denote various kinds of approach and are associated with the genitive case. For one group the use of the genitive is mandatory, but for the other the accusative is preferred, whereas the genitive is a somewhat literary or archaic-sounding variant. Note that in both groups a significant number of verbs are prefixed with do-, indicating approach, and that the presence of the intransitivizing se also plays a role in triggering the genitive (since a verb with se is nearly always intransitive, the destination is therefore not expressible as an accusative direct object, and the genitive "goal" meaning serves this purpose instead).

Verbs that Req	uire the Genitive	
'wait for'	týkat se	'concern, pertain to'
'commit (a bad act)'	ujmout/ujímat se	'take up, assume'
'touch'	všimnout/všímat si	'notice'
'invoke, call'	vyčkat /vyčkávat	'wait for'
'beg for, demand'	zastat/zastávat se	'stand up for, advocate'
'take hold of, seize'	zeptat/ptát se	'ask, inquire'
'refrain from, avoid'	zmocnit/zmocňovat	'seize, take
	se	possession of'
'get caught on, cling to'	zúčastnit/ zúčastňovat se	'participate in'
	'wait for' 'commit (a bad act)' 'touch' 'invoke, call' 'beg for, demand' 'take hold of, seize' 'refrain from, avoid' 'get caught on, cling	'touch' 'touch' 'invoke, call' 'beg for, demand' 'take hold of, seize' 'refrain from, avoid' 'get caught on, cling' 'ujmout/ujímat se všimnout/všímat si vyčkat /vyčkávat zastat/zastávat se zeptat/ptát se zmocnit/zmocňovat se zúčastnit/

In addition to these verbs, there are some adjectives, such as *hodný* 'worthy of', *schopný* 'capable' and *žádostivý* 'greedy, eager for' (which commonly appear in their short forms with the genitive) that trigger the genitive in a parallel meaning, identifying the target of a person's capability or greed in the genitive: *Takový člověk je schopen čehokoliv*/*žádostiv slávy* 'A person like that is capable of **anything**/eager for **fame**'.

Verbs that Can Govern the Genitive or the Accusative

dobýt/dobývat	'gain, get'	po-/vy-užít/	'use, enjoy'
		po-/vy-užívat	
dosáhnout/ dosahovat	'reach, gain'	za-žádat	'desire, demand'
po-přát	'wish'	zneužít/zneužívat	'abuse'
potřebovat	'need'		

3.1.2.3 "Whole" meanings involving 'of', possession, and category membership

The genitive case can be used for many of the purposes that English of serves, including the marking of part-whole relationships, possession, etc.: střecha domu 'the roof of the house', členové naší organizace 'the members of our organization', žena souseda 'the neighbor's wife', trest smrti 'the death penalty', člověk nesmírného bohatství 'a person of vast wealth'. Also like English of, the Czech genitive case is used to reduce clauses by linking agents, events, and patients:

Full Clause	Reduction	Reduced Version
Dívka bledla	event of agent	blednutí dívky
'The girl was turning pale'	C	'the girl's turning pale'
Smetana složil operu	patient of agent	opera Smetany
'Smetana composed an		'Smetana's opera'
opera'		_
Člověk (něco) dělá	agent of event	člověk akce
'A man does (something)'		'a man of action '
Výbor vyjednal výsledek	patient of event	výsledek jednání
'The committee negotiated a	_	'the result of the
result'		negotiation'
Člověk ztratil doklady	event of patient	ztráta dokladů
'A person lost the	•	'the loss of the documents'
documents'		

Because some items can potentially serve as both agents and patients, this use of the adnominal genitive is occasionally ambiguous, as in: $kr\acute{a}de\check{z}$ $d\check{e}t\acute{t}$ 'the theft of the children (someone kidnapped them)' or 'the children's theft (they stole something)'.

The genitive expresses this meaning similar to *of* in conjunction with numerous prepositions, prepositional phrases, and other words, among them:

na dně	'on the bottom of'	pomocí	'with the help of'
na pokraji	'on the brink of'	prostřednictvím	'by means of'
na účet	'on the account of'	škoda	'a waste of'
na úkor	'to the detriment of'	uprostřed	'in the middle of'
na vrcholu	'at the height of'	v duchu	'in the spirit of'
na základě	'on the basis of'	v oblasti	'in the field of'
následkem	'as a result of'	v roli	'in the role of'
po stránce	'with respect to'	včetně	'including'
pod jménem	'under the name of'	ve formě	'in the form of'

Amounts of things and substances are handled using the genitive to mark whatever is being counted or measured. The genitive is used after integers above five (see more on the syntax of numerals below), fractions, and indefinite numerals such as *mnoho* 'much/many', *málo* 'little/few', *několik* 'several', *tolik* 'this much/many', *kolik* 'how much/many', *trochu* 'some': *šest slovníků* 'six dictionaries', *desetina vteřiny* 'a tenth of a second', *mnoho studentů* 'many students', *málo vody* 'little water'. This "partitive" meaning of the genitive was originally used even in the absence of a quantifier, e.g., *Dej mi vody* 'Give me some water' (now replaced by the accusative *vodu* or the use of a quantifier *trochu vody*). Unspecified quanitification can be associated with certain verbs; small quantities are indicated by the genitive with *dodat/dodávat* 'add', *přidat/přidávat* 'add', *přibýt/přibývat* 'increase', *ubrat/ubírat* 'reduce', *ubýt/ubývat* 'decrease'; whereas large quantities can be indicated by the genitive with verbs in *na-(se)* and *pře-se: Matce přibylo vrásek* 'Mother has gotten some more wrinkles', *Napila jsem se vody* 'I drank my fill of water'. The adjective *plný* uses the genitive for a similar purpose: *Dcera je plna naděje* 'Our daughter is full of hope'.

3.1.2.4 "Reference" meanings involving 'at' with dates and other reference points

Calendar dates always appear in the genitive case, and the genitive can appear in certain other time expressions as well: *Dnes je osmého února* 'Today is **the eighth** of February', *Přijedu třiadvacátého listopadu* 'I will arrive **on the twenty-third** of November', *Úroky se učtují každého čtvrtroku* 'Interest is calculated **quarterly**'. The preposition *za* uses the genitive case to express time periods demarcated by other events, such as *za války* 'during the war', *za komunismu* 'during **communism**'; this meaning parallels the preposition *během* 'during', which likewise governs the genitive.

Other prepositions that indicate reference points in various domains are associated with the genitive:

blízko	'near'	okolo	'around'
daleko	'far from'	poblíž	'near'
dle	'according to'	podél	'along'
kolem	'around'	podle	'according to'
kromě	'except'	и	'near, by, at'
místo	'instead of'	vedle	'next to'
nedaleko	'not far from'	vně	'outside of'

Some of these prepositions (especially *kromě* 'except' and *vně* 'outside of') emphasize the mutually exclusive relationship between the reference point given by the genitive and another object. Taken to its extreme, absolute exclusion would imply absolute separation and inaccessibility. This extreme meaning is manifested in the genitive-governing preposition *bez* 'without' and in the genitive of negation which is quite archaic in Czech, surviving primarily in fixed phrases, such as: *Nemám slov* 'I don't have **any words** (I am tongue-tied)', *Nemohl dechu popadnout* 'He couldn't catch **his breath**'. This exclusionary aspect of the "reference" meaning overlaps somewhat with the avoidance aspect of the "source" meaning of the genitive discussed above.

3.1.3 The dative case

The dative case marks an entity that is capable of serving as the subject of a further action, or one that can guide or otherwise affect an event. There are basically two kinds of dative uses in Czech, both of which entail experiences or actions directed toward the dative entity. One involves experiences of various sorts, such as receiving or losing something, appreciating

kindness, suffering from ill treatment, or simply enduring the passing of time and various environmental factors. The dative as an experiencer yields the indirect object, many instances of dative government, the use of the dative clitic pronoun *si* to indicate self-indulgence, as well as possessive and ethical uses. The other dative uses cluster around a competition that the dative entity is engaged in with the nominative entity. The competition can be a tie, in which case we see expressions of matching forces, or either the nominative or the dative entity can emerge as the victor. If the dative is the stronger competitor, expressions of submission (to the dative) are motivated. If the dative is the weaker competitor, we find expressions of domination.

3.1.3.1 "Experiencer" meanings involving 'to' and 'for'

In this meaning, the dative marks the experiencer of giving and taking, good, evil, and other external factors; each of these uses will be discussed in turn.

In addition to the classic context for the indirect object, namely the verb *dávat/dát* 'give', as in *Advokát dal pacientovi svou vizitku* 'The lawyer gave **the patient** his card', there are many synonyms or near-synonyms to 'give' associated with this dative construction.

	Synonyms and Nea	r-Synonyms of 'give'	
darovat	'give as a gift'	prodat/prodávat	'sell'
dedikovat	'dedicate'	předat/předávat	'hand over'
dodat/dodávat	'add, deliver'	předložit/předkládat	'present'
doručit/doručovat	'deliver'	přihrát/přihrávat	'pass (in sports)'
koupit/kupovat	'buy'	přinést/přinášet	'bring'
nabídnout/nabízet	'offer'	půjčit/půjčovat	'lend'
nechat/nechávat	'leave (for)'	sehnat/shánět	'get'
obětovat (se)	'sacrifice (oneself)	svěřit/svěřovat	'entrust'
	to/for'		
obstarat/obstarávat	'find, obtain, get	udělit/udělovat	'bestow'
	(for)'		
odevzdat/odevzdávat	'hand in'	ukázat/ukazovat	'show'
odnést/odnášet	'take to'	umožnit/umožňovat	'make possible'
opatřit/opatřovat	'obtain, get (for)'	věnovat	'give as a gift'
podat/podávat	'hand, serve'	v-nutit	'force upon'
po-přát	'wish'	vrátit/vracet	'return'
poskytnout/	'provide'	vydat/vydávat	'surrender'
poskytovat	_		
poslat/posílat	'send'	vysvětlit/vysvětlovat	'explain'
prezentovat	'present'	zařídit/zařizovat	'arrange'

Some related nouns, such as *dárek* 'gift' and *obět*' 'sacrifice'can also trigger the dative in this way: *Tady je dárek tobě* 'Here is a gift for you'; *Jde o obět' rodině* 'This is a sacrifice for the family'.

If the subject of a sentence gets something for him/herself, the use of the dative reflexive pronoun *si* is motivated, yielding constructions like *Koupím si nový počítač* 'I will buy **myself** a new computer', *Už jsme si opatřili nutné dokumenty* 'We have already obtained the documents we need'. This use of *si* also appears in idioms, such as

dát si (literally 'give to oneself') which means 'order (food)', as in Dám si rybu 'I'll have the fish', and vzít si (literally 'take to oneself'), which means 'marry', as in Alena si vezme Richarda 'Alena will marry Richard', or simply 'take', as in Vezmi si deštník, bude pršet 'Take your/an umbrella, it's going to rain'. Furthermore, verbs that denote the creation of things or ideas can be associated with the dative, since the act of creation makes items available to dative experiencers. This accounts for sentences like Babička nám upekla dort 'Grandmother baked us a cake'.

A number of verbs regularly use *si* to indicate that a fact or possibility has become available to the subject, among them *všimnout/všímat si* 'notice', *uvědomit/uvědomovat si* 'become aware of', *připustit/připouštět si* 'allow'. Note also the use of *myslet si* 'think, have opinion' (as opposed to *myslet* 'think, engage in thinking' or *myslet na* + accusative 'think about, recollect').

Czech treats the act of taking something from someone as analogous to giving something to someone, using the dative to mark the experiencer of loss just as Czech uses the dative to mark the experiencer of gain. Thus the verb *vzít/brát* 'take' and its synonyms appear with the dative in sentences like *Bratr mu vzal poslední korunu* 'His brother took **his** last crown'.

Synonyms and Near-Synonyms of 'take'			
čmajznout	'swipe'	u-krást	'steal'
odcizit/odcizovat	'misappropriate'	vyfouknout	'snatch away'
odebrat/odebírat	'take away'	vyrvat/rvát	'wrest from'
odejmout/odnímat	'take away'	vy-trhat	'yank away'
odstranit/	'remove'	vyvlastnit/	'expropriate'
odstraňovat		vyvlastňovat	
šlohnout	'pinch'	zabavit/zabavovat	'seize'
štípnout	'pinch'	zcizit/zcizovat	'appropriate'

The use of the pronoun *si* is less common with these verbs, since rarely does one take something from oneself, but it is possible to say things like *Konečně jsem si odstranil tu třísku* 'I've finally gotten that sliver out (**of my body**)'. Just as verbs of creation can facilitate giving, verbs of destruction entail de facto removal, motivating sentences like *Záplava nám zničila dům* 'The flood destroyed **our** house'.

A subject may merely present itself, rather than some other item, to a dative experiencer, and this use is instantiated by a variety of verbs entailing physical or imagined approach, as well as stative verbs involving belonging or accessibility.

Words Meaning 'give self to'			
na-rodit se	'be born'	příslušet	'be owed, belong to, pertain'
nadběhnout/ nadbíhat	'overtake, outrun'	stačit	'be enough'
obětovat se	'sacrifice self'	stát/stávat se	'happen'
oddat/oddávat se	'devote self'	svěřit/svěřovat (se)	'entrust (self)'
patřit	'belong'	věnovat se	'dedicate self'
pro-jevit se	'appear'	vnutit/vnucovat se	'force self on'
představit/	'introduce self'	zaprodat/zaprodáva	'be traitor, sell
představovat se		t (se)	(self)'
přihodit/přiházet se	'happen'	zbýt/zbývat	'be left for'
přiblížit/přibližovat	'approach'	zdát se	'seem'
(se)			
připadnout/připadat	'accrue; happen; seem'		

A number of adjectives trigger use of the dative motivated by the same semantics of 'bring the self to', among them *dostupný* 'accessible', *jasný* 'clear', *přístupný* 'accessible', *srozumitelný* 'understandable', *zjevný* 'obvious', *známý* 'known', *zvyklý* 'customary': *Jeho dům je všem dostupný* 'His house is accessible to everyone'; *Jeho cíl je všem známý* 'His goal is known to everyone'; etc. Occasionally this use of the dative is found in idioms, such as *jít/jet někomu naproti* 'go to meet someone (who is arriving)'.

Just as both giving and taking items can involve dative experiencers, both giving the self to and taking the self away can trigger the dative, motivating the association of the dative with various words, such as the following:

	Words Meaning	g 'take self from'	
chybět	'be missing'	umřít/umírat	'die on'
odcizit/odcizovat se, cizí	'be(come) alienated'	uniknout/unikat	'leak, escape'
odporučit/ odporoučet se	'take one's leave of'	uprchnout/uprchat	'flee'
odrodit/odrozovat se	'defect'	utéci/utíkat	'run away'
odrůst/odrůstat	'outgrow'	vyhnout/vyhýbat se	'avoid; steer clear of'
scházet	'be missing'	vymknout/vymykat se	'wrench loose'
ujet/ujíždět	'ride away (causing one to miss a train, bus, etc.)'	vzdálit/vzdalovat se	'become estranged from'
ujít/ucházet	'escape'	ztratit/ztrácet se	'get lost on'

A number of verbs in Czech express the giving of messages, money, or gifts without requiring that these items appear as accusative direct objects. These words are associated with the dative case, creating constructions like *Děkuji vám za pomoc* 'I thank **you** for your help', *Musíme zaplatit číšníkovi* 'We have to pay the **waiter**'.

Words Expressing the Giving of Messages, Money, Gifts

dopsat/dopisovat	'write letters'	ig of Wiessages, Wioney, přikývnout/	'nod'
1 1		přikyvovat	
kondolovat	'give condolences'	připít/připíjet	'drink to'
mávnout/mávat	'wave'	připomenout/	'remind'
		připomínat	
napsat/psát	'write'	přispět/přispívat	'contribute'
nařídit/nařizovat	'command'	přisvědčit/	'consent'
		přisvědčovat	
obětovat	'contribute'	přitakat/přitakávat	'say yes'
odmlouvat	'talk back to'	přizvukovat	'second'
odpovědět/odpovídat	'answer, correspond	říci/říkat	'say'
	to'		
odzvonit/odzvánět	'toll a bell for'	signalizovat	'signal'
po-blahopřát	'congratulate'	slíbit/slibovat	'promise'
po-děkovat	'thank'	tykat	'say ty to'
po-gratulovat	'congratulate'	u-/za-smát se	'laugh at'
po-hrozit	'threaten'	vykat	'say vy to'
pochlebovat	'fawn upon'	vy-nadat	'insult'
po-chlubit se	'boast'	zalhat/lhát	'lie'
po-kynout	'nod, wave'	za-platit	'pay'
po-lichotit	'flatter'	za-rouhat se	'blaspheme'
po-modlit se	'pray'	za-salutovat	'salute'
po-radit	'advise'	za-spílat	'curse at'
poručit/poroučet	'command'	za-telefonovat	'telephone'
po-stěžovat si	'complain'	za-telegrafovat	'send telegraph'
povědět/povídat	'tell'	za-tleskat	'applaud'
po-žehnat	'bless'	za-volat	'call, telephone'
prominout/promíjet	'forgive'	za-zlořečit	'curse'
		žalovat	'complain'

Many of these verbs can be used with the dative reflexive pronoun si in its reciprocal meaning, such as tykat si' say ty/vy to each other' and dopisovat si' write letters to each other'. Related words, such as diky 'thanks to' and slib' 'promise', often exhibit the same dative syntax as these verbs: Diky své neobvyklé inteligenci, nikdy nemusel mnoho studovat' 'Thanks to his unusual intelligence, he never had to study much'.

Thus far we have seen the dative as the entity that experiences some gain or loss. In a more abstract realm, the dative can experience benefit or harm, and many words denoting benefit and harm are associated with the dative. This group of words overlaps with groups denoting 'giving' and 'giving messages'.

Verbs Expressing Benefit

	V CI OB LIA	Veros Expressing Benefit	
asistovat	'assist'	prospět/prospívat	'benefit'
hodit se	'suit'	slušet	'suit'
líbit se	'appeal to'	svědčit	'be good for'
po-lahodit	'please'	vyhovět/vyhovovat	'satisfy'
pomoci/pomáhat	'help'	za-chutnat	'taste good'
po-přát	'wish (well), be		
	kind'		

In addition to these verbs, a great number of adjectives expressing positive qualities can be used with the dative in a similar fashion, among them *milý* 'nice, pleasant', *nápomocný* 'helpful', *příjemný* 'pleasant' *vzácný* 'precious'.

The fact that people often do things for their enjoyment provides further occasions to use dative si, as in hrát si 'play', h'azet si 'throw', and kopat si 'kick', all of which entail playing for fun. A great variety of action verbs can be prefixed in za- or po- with si to signify self-indulgence, such as zacvi'cit si 'do some exercising for fun', popov'idat si 'enjoy a chat'. There are also verbs that require si, such as d'epnout si 'squat', po-hov'et si 'indulge oneself', lehnout/lehat si 'lie down', oddechnout si 'take a breather', odpo'cinout/odpo'civat si 'rest', odsko'cit si 'relieve oneself', sednout/sedat si 'sit down', po-st'e'zovat si 'complain', stoupnout si 'stand up'. Note also the idiom $\'evac{r}{si}$ 'say so', as in $\revac{Jestli}{sude\'s}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ opo $\revac{r}{si}$ 'say so', as in $\revac{Jestli}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'say so', as in $\revac{Jestli}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ opo $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'say so', as in $\revac{Jestli}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'say so', as in $\revac{Jestli}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ $\revac{r}{si}$ opo $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ opo $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ opo $\revac{r}{si}$ 'setovat, $\revac{r}{si}$ 'set

	Verbs Expressing Harm		
hnusit se	'be disgusting'	u-škodit	'harm'
nesedět	'bother'	vadit	'bother'
překážet	'be in the way'	znechutit/	'make (be)
ublížit/ubližovat	'hurt'	znechucovat (se)	disgusting'

In addition to the verbs of harm listed in the table, it is possible to create dative-governing verbs meaning 'hurt, punish' by prefixing *na*- to verbs meaning 'hit, beat, whip, etc.', as in *nafackovat* 'slap', *naplácat* 'spank'. As we saw above with adjectives denoting positive qualities, adjectives denoting negative qualities can also trigger this use of the dative, among them *nepříjemný* 'unpleasant', *odporný* 'repulsive', and *protivný* 'adverse'.

The verbs of taking above assumed that the object being taken was somehow possessed by the dative experiencer. The dative can be used to express possession in other contexts as well, particularly in relation to inalienable possessions, namely body parts and family members, as in Zlomil jí ruku 'He broke her arm', Dítě nám pláče v noci 'Our child cries at night'. This possessive meaning also motivates the use of si in expressions like umýt si ruce 'wash one's hands', vyčistit si zuby 'brush one's teeth'.

The dative is furthermore an experiencer of various temporal, environmental, and affective factors, yielding impersonal expressions of age, comfort, and emotion, such as *Je mi 40 let* 'I am 40 years old', *Bude nám zima* 'We will be cold', and *Bylo mu smutno* 'He was sad'. It is also possible to take an action and view it from the perspective of a dative experiencer by adding the reflexive se to verbs, as in: *Jak se ti chodí v těch nových botách?* 'How does it feel (to you) to walk in those new shoes?', *Pacientovi se už lépe dýchá* 'The patient is breathing better now'. Note that this use extends to the idiom *jít o* 'concern': *Jde nám o život* 'Our life is at stake'.

Feeling like doing something and succeeding at something are likewise expressible with the dative: *Když je nemocný*, *nechce se mu hrát* 'He doesn't feel like playing when/since he's sick', *To se ti nepovedlo/nepodařilo* 'You didn't succeed with that'.

The dative can be used for pragmatic purposes in clauses where it is not grammatically required, to suggest that the dative entity is experiencing the event, in order to capture the hearer's attention or to express aggression or solidarity. This use of the dative is often called the "ethical dative", and here are some examples:

To capture the hearer's attention: *Včera jsem ti měla silnou horečku* 'Yesterday I had a high fever (you should care)'.

Aggression: Co jste nám tu ukradli? 'What did you steal here (on us, we're in charge and we're angry)?'

Solidarity: Ty zlé děti nám rozbily hračky, vid'? 'Those naughty children broke our toys, didn't they? (I sympathize with you; said by an adult who is not a co-owner of the toys)'.

3.1.3.2 "Competitor" meanings involving 'against' and 'to'

The dative can mark a competitor that another item can be matched against, submit to, or be dominated by. These uses of the dative do not focus on a capacity to experience events, but are motivated instead by a comparison of the dative's potential to act as a subject with the actual subjecthood of a nominative entity. As in any competition, there are three possible outcomes: a draw, the submission of the nominative to the dative (i.e., the dative "wins"), or the domination of the dative by the nominative (i.e., the nominative "wins"). All three possibilities are realized in the gramar of Czech, and will be taken up in turn.

The following table lists words expressing matched forces associated with the dative case involving concepts such as equality, competition, retaliation, and resistance.

	Words Express	ing Matched Forces	
kompenzovat	'compensate'	překážet	'be in the way'
konkurovat	'compete against'	rovnat se	'equal'
na odpor	'in resistance to'	rovný	'equal'
naproti	'opposite'	úměrně (k)	'proportionately to'
napříč	'athwart,	v tvář	'to face'
	transversely'		
navzdory	'in spite of'	vstříc	'meeting'
ob-hájit se proti	'defend oneself	vyrovnat/vyrovnávat	'match, be able to
	from'	se	compete'
odolat/odolávat	'resist'	vzdor	'in spite of'
odplatit/odplácet	'repay, retaliate'	vzdorovat	'defy'
odpovědět/	'correspond to;	vzepřít/vzpírat se	'oppose'
odpovídat	answer'		
oproti	'as opposed to'	za-bránit se	'resist'
podobat se	'be similar'	za-odporovat	'oppose'
podobný	'similar'	za-oponovat	'oppose'
po-mstít se	'take revenge on'	z-protovit se	'oppose'
proti	'against'		

This meaning of the dative lends itself particularly well to the formation of reciprocal expressions with *si*, such as *odporovat si* 'oppose **one another**', *překážet si* 'get in **each other**'s way'.

When the dative entity imposes its parameters on the nominative, we see the use of the dative with words expressing various kinds of inclination, tendency, and submission, as summarized in the following table. There is considerable overlap between this group of words meaning 'yield to', and the words meaning 'give oneself to' mentioned in section 3.1.3.1, such as *obětovat se* 'sacrifice self to', *věnovat se* 'dedicate self to'. Note that many of these words denote yielding in intellectual or emotional terms, such as those with meanings like 'be surprised at', 'believe', 'understand', and 'envy'.

	Words Expressing Ir	nclination, Submission	
dostát/dostávat	'be true to, honor'	podřídit/podřizovat	'subordinate self to'
		se	
důvěřovat	'trust'	po-rozumět	'understand'
dvořit se	'woo, court'	povolit/povolovat	'give in to, indulge'
hovět	'give in to, indulge'	propadnout/	'become obsessed
		propadat (se)	with, addicted to'
klanět se	'bow to'	přizpůsobit/	'adapt to'
		přizpůsobovat se	
kvůli	'due to, for the sake	sloužit	'serve'
	of'		
náležet	'belong, be proper	stranit	'side with someone'
	to'		
na-učit se	'learn'	ustoupit/ustupovat	'yield to'
obdiv	'admiration'	u-věřit	'believe'
obdivovat se	'admire'	vděčit	'be indebted to'
otročit	'slave for'	vděčný	'grateful'
poddat/poddávat se	'submit to'	věrný	ʻloyal'
po-divit se	'be surprised'	vzdát/vzdávat se	'surrender to'
podkuřovat	'toady to'	za-holdovat	'pay homage to'
podlehnout/podléhat	'succumb to'	zavděčit/zavděčovat	'be obliging to'
		se	
podlézat	'kowtow to'	závidět	'envy'
podrobit/podrobovat	'submit, conform to'		
se			

Reciprocal uses are fairly common with this set of verbs, particularly *rozumět si* 'believe each other'.

The use of the dative to mark an entity dominated by a nominative entity is relatively infrequent, but there are a few verbs associated with this meaning.

	Words Expres	ssing Domination	
dominovat	'dominate'	vévodit	'rule over'
předsedat	'preside over'	vládnout	'govern'
těšit se	'have at one's disposal'	za-imponovat	'impress'
učarovat/učarovávat	'enchant, bewitch'		

3.1.4 The accusative case

The accusative case is the case of destinations, marking the entity that something or someone arrives at or goes through. In an abstract sense the direct object of a verb is the destination of the verbal energy created by the subject of a sentence. Motion can bring items to a physical destination, and if the path is specified in any particular way (as a path to a place above, beyond, or in front of an item, for example), it will be expressed as a preposition plus the accusative case (see the list of prepositions below). A change of state is understood as moving into a place, and v + A can perform this task (also possible for do + G). The accusative is also implemented in other domains, such as time and purpose, and there are numerous words that are associated with the use of a preposition + A. The accusative case can alternatively signal a dimension of something that is measured or passed through. This dimensional meaning can be used for

expanses of time, but is applied to various physical and other domains by means of prepositions.

3.1.4.1 "Destination" meanings involving 'to, for' and the direct object

The accusative case can present destinations for action, motion, time, or purpose. The direct object is the target of the verbal action, rendered in the accusative case, as in *Sousedé otevřeli novou restauraci* v centru 'Our neighbors opened a new restaurant downtown'. Bodily pain is expressed by putting the sufferer in the accusative case, as in *Sestru bolela hlava* 'My sister had a headache'. The accusative case appears in elliptical constructions where the verb has been omitted, such as *Vodu!* '(Bring some) water!', *Dobrou chut'* 'Bon appetit'. An infinitive verb form can motivate the accusative, as in *Je vidět horu* 'The mountain is visible' (but note that the nominative case, *hora*, is also permissible here).

As mentioned above, aside from the use of do + G 'to' and the use of k + D for human destinations, all other destinations use a preposition + A. Note that events have a temporal destination, the time at which they take place, often expressed by v + A 'on', za + A 'in (after time elapses)', or ob + A 'every other', as in *Přijede za dva dny*, ve *středu*; k *nám přijíždí ob týden* 'He'll come in **two days**, on **Wednesday**; he comes to visit us every other **week**'. The following table lists the destinational prepositions and indicates some of the other domains they commonly refer to. Five of these prepositions (na, o, po, přes, za) also express dimensional meanings of the accusative, which will be handled together with other dimensional prepositions in the next subsection.

Prepositions	Glosses	Primary Domains
mezi	'among, between'	space, categorization
Kdo dal tu lžičku mezi v	<i>idličky</i> ? 'Who put this spoon amor	ng the forks?
Paleontologové zařazují	<i>dinosaury mezi ptáky.</i> 'Paleontolo	ogists classify dinosaurs among
birds.'		
mimo	'past, outside of, besides,	space, lists
	except; outside of'	
<i>Žijou mimo Prahu.</i> 'The	ey live outside of Prague .'	
-	n mimo neděli . 'The buses run ever	ry day except Sunday .'
na	'(on)to; for; at; toward'	space, purpose
Zítra půjdeme na konce .	rt. 'Tomorrow we are going to a co	oncert.'
Musím si koupit šaty na	všední den. 'I need to buy everyda	ay clothes (clothes for
everyday).'		
nad	'to a place above, beyond'	space, measurement
Pověsili obraz nad krb .	'They hung the picture over the fir	eplace.'
To je nad lidské síly . 'T	hat's beyond human capacities (to	oo hard to do).'
0	'against; (thing desired or	space, endeavors
	taken)'	
Vzal vázu a mrštil jí o ze	em. 'He took the vase and smashed	it against the ground.'
Odevzdali jsme žádost o	byt. 'We submitted a request for a	n apartment.'
ob	'every other, one away'	space, time
Pište ob řádek . 'Skip lir	nes (write every other line).'	
Ob den pracuji doma. 'I	Every other day I work at home.'	

'up to; for' space, time, scales, lists po Začervenala se až po uši. 'She blushed up to her ears.' Budeme studovat dějiny umění až po **novověk**. 'We will study art history up to the modern age.' Všichni důstojníci od kapitána po **plukovníka** chtějí lepší podmínky. 'All officers from the rank of captain to **colonel** want better conditions.' 'to a place under, below; pod space, jurisdiction, amounts less than' Zameteme ten prach pod koberec. 'We will sweep that dust under the rug.' Tato otázka nespadá pod **mou kompetenci**. 'That question does not fall within (under) my competence.' Neprodá chalupu pod sto tisíc. 'He won't sell the cottage for less than a hundred thousand.' 'for, due to, because of' pro purpose, cause Jdu pro vodu. 'I am going for water.' Strýc je oblíben pro svou dobrotu. 'Our uncle is loved because of his kindness.' 'to a place in front of, space, legal responsibility před before' Vyšli jsme před **dům** a dívali jsme se na ohňostroj. 'We walked out in front of **the house** and watched the fireworks.' Zločinec byl předvolán před soud. 'The criminal was summoned to (before) the court.' 'across; more than; ignoring, space, time, amounts, přes avoiding' relationships *Jeli jsme přes most.* 'We rode across the bridge.' Je mu přes padesát. 'He is over fifty.' Křičeli jeden přes druhého. 'They outshouted each other.' 'to, in, into' space, time, states of being, purpose Gorila se bila v prsa. 'The gorilla beat its chest (itself in the chest).' Zavolám v jednu hodinu. 'I will call at one o'clock.' Pavel všechno obrátí v **žert**. 'Pavel turns everything into **a joke**.' Naše organizace pracuje ve **prospěch** lidstva. 'Our organization works for **the benefit** of humankind.' 'to a place behind, beyond; space, time, purpose, za (catching) on, by; for' priorities, replacements Slunce zašlo za hory. 'The sun went behind the mountains.' Vzal ji za **ruku**. 'He took her by **the hand**.' Za **týden** přijedou domů. 'In **a week** they will come home.' Všechno kupuje za hotové. 'S/He buys everything for cash.'

Many words are associated with these destinational prepositions, such as *zlobit se na* 'be angry at', *pokuta za* 'fine for', *boj o* 'struggle for', *starat se o* 'take care of', *dárek pro* 'present for', *dík za* 'thanks for'.

Chceme vyměnit byt za dům. 'We want to exchange our apartment for a house.'

3.1.4.2 "Dimension" meanings involving 'through, during'

Whereas the destinational use of the accusative treats the accusative entity as a simple point or undifferentiated object, the dimensional use focuses on some feature of the accusative entity that

is extended in a domain such as that of size, duration, or capacity. In this use, the meaning of the accusative is similar to the English preposition through. When used without prepositions, the dimensional accusative usually signals distances or durations through which an action takes place, as in Malé dítě ušlo celý kilometr 'The small child went a whole kilometer', Plakal celou noc 'He cried all night', although cost and weight can also be expressed this way, as in Jogurt stojí jednu korunu 'Jogurt costs one crown', Takový slon váží tunu 'An elephant like that weighs a ton'. With prepositions, the dimensional accusative can mark extensions and comparisons in a variety of domains, the most important of which are listed in the following table:

Prepositions	Glosses	Primary Domains
na	'to, at, for, approximately'	space, time
0	'by (amount of difference)'	space, time, size, amounts, comparison
po	'all through'	time
přes	'across, all through, in spite of'	space, time, barriers
S	'measuring up to, capable of'	capacity, comparison
skrz	'through'	space
za	'in, during'	time

Here are some example sentences to illustrate dimensional prepositional uses: *Přijela na týden, ale zůstala jen přes noc, a po celou dobu byla nervózní* 'She came for **a week**, but stayed only over**night**, and she was nervous **the whole time**', *Naše miminko je o měsíc starší než vaše, ale stále nás probouzí dvakrát za noc* 'Our baby is **a month** older than yours, but it still wakes us up two times a **night**', *Mohl se dostat skrz všelijaké potíže*, ale nebyl s **to** jí říci pravdu 'He could get through **all kinds of difficulties**, but he was not capable of telling her the truth'.

3.1.5 The vocative case

The vocative case does not serve any syntactic purpose within Czech sentences. Its role is extrasentential and pragmatic, indicating that the speaker is addressing the hearer. Note that the hearer will be referenced with second person verbal and pronominal morphology in any sentence that is adjacent to a vocative, as in: *Míšo*, *prosím tě*, *pojd' sem!* 'Míša, please come here!'

3.1.6 The locative case and "place" meanings involving 'in, on, at'

The locative case is always triggered by a preposition. Of the five prepositions associated with the locative case, four are also associated with the accusative, and there is some contiguity between meanings of destination and location (cf. na + A '(on)to' vs. na + L 'on', o + A 'against' vs. o + L 'leaning on, against', po + A 'up to' vs. po + L 'along', v + A 'in(to)' vs. v + L 'in'). All of the locative prepositions can indicate spatial relationships of immediate or proximal location, and all of these prepositions can be deployed in other domains as well, as indicated in the table:

Prepositions	Glosses	Primary Domains
na	'on'	space
	ani pořádný obchod. 'There isn't ev	
Co dnes máme na poi	ř adě ? 'What do we have on our age	enda today?'
0	'about; leaning on; during; with'	space, time, measurement, knowledge/communication
Nic mi o tom neřekl;n	nic o tom nevím. 'He didn't tell me a	•
anything about it.'		,
, ,	The old man walks leaning on a cane	<u>.</u> ,
	pryč. 'We will be gone during Chris	
-	vou pokojích. 'They have just a sma	
two rooms).	7 0 3	
ро	'after; along, around; for;	space, time, endeavors,
	each'	distribution
Po dešti všichni chodi	í po lese a hledají houby. 'After <mark>a ra</mark>	in everyone walks around the
forest and looks for n		•
Vyšetřovatelé pátrají j	po pachateli. 'The investigators are	searching for the culprit .'
	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three	
Jablka jsou po třech l	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three	
Jablka jsou po třech l Je po dvou . 'It's two-	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).'	crowns a kilo.'
Jablka jsou po třech l Je po dvou . 'It's two- při	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).'	crowns a kilo.' space, time, states,
Jablka jsou po třech l Je po dvou . 'It's two- při Klavír stojí při zdi . 'T	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).' 'by, near; during; with' The piano stands by the wall.'	space, time, states, accompaniment
Jablka jsou po třech l <u>Je po dvou. 'It's two-</u> při Klavír stojí při zdi . 'T Nemusíte asistovat při	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).' 'by, near; during; with'	space, time, states, accompaniment
Jablka jsou po třech l <u>Je po dvou</u> . 'It's two- při Klavír stojí při zdi . 'T Nemusíte asistovat při during the operation	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).' 'by, near; during; with' The piano stands by the wall.' i operaci pacient už není při život the patient is no longer alive.'	space, time, states, accompaniment tě. 'You don't have to assist
Jablka jsou po třech l <u>Je po dvou</u> . 'It's two- při Klavír stojí při zdi . 'T Nemusíte asistovat při during the operation	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).' 'by, near; during; with' The piano stands by the wall.' i operaci pacient už není při živol	space, time, states, accompaniment tě. 'You don't have to assist
Jablka jsou po třech l <u>Je po dvou</u> . 'It's two- při Klavír stojí při zdi . 'T Nemusíte asistovat při during the operation Skutečný malíř nemůž	korunách za kilo. 'Apples are three all (tennis).' 'by, near; during; with' The piano stands by the wall.' i operaci pacient už není při život the patient is no longer alive.'	space, time, states, accompaniment tě. 'You don't have to assist

V zimě jsem ráda v teple v bytě. 'In the winter I like to be inside where it's warm (in the warmth in the apartment).'

Odborník ve **fyzice** vysvětloval ten jev v **televizi**. 'An expert in **physics** explained the phenomenon on **television**.'

By far the most important prepositions for spatial locations are na and v. Na + L is used for locations that are conceived of as surfaces (e.g., islands, open spaces), along with events and a collection of words that simply require na, whereas v + L is used with locations that are conceived of as enclosed containers (e.g., buildings, cities). Proximal location is the primary task of $p\check{r}i + L$, though it can also express continguity of time, space, or circumstance. O + L is most commonly used to signal the object of thought or communication, and po + L is most frequently deployed in the domain of time, where it means 'after'. Various words are associated with these locative prepositions, such as $u\check{c}ast na/p\check{r}i/v$ 'participation in', $uva\check{z}ovat o$ 'consider', $tou\check{z}it po$ 'long for', $p\check{r}isahat p\check{r}i$ 'swear by', pokroky v 'progress in'.

3.1.7 The instrumental case

The instrumental case puts an entity into a peripheral relationship with either an event or another entity. An instrumental entity serves as a conduit for an event, realized as a path, a way or means to do something, an instrument, or a passive agent. In relation to another entity, the instrumental entity can be a label for it, an accompanying entity, or a nearby landmark (these latter two uses require prepositions).

3.1.7.1 "Means" meanings involving 'through, by'

The most elementary kind of conduit for action is a path or opening along or through which something moves, as in the folk verse Kočka leze dírou, pes oknem 'The cat crawls through the hole, the dog through the window'. This use can be extended to the domain of time in expressions such as Tou dobou vůbec nevěděl, co má dělat 'At that time he had no idea what he should do', Zákon vstupuje v platnost **dnem** podpisu 'The law goes into effect **the day** it is signed'. Discontinuous paths through both space and time are also encountered: Misty stále ležel sníh 'Snow still lay in places', Chvílemi se zdálo, že je vše ztraceno 'From time to time it seemed that all was lost'. Just as the words path and way are synonymous in English, the instrumental can be used to indicate ways to do things as well as paths, as in this sentence conflating the concepts of path and way: Spory se řešily cestou trpělivého jednání 'Arguments were being solved via patient negotiation'; compare also Žil životem vyhnance 'He lived the life of an exile'. A way to do something facilitates an action; likewise an instrument serves as both a means and a facilitator of an action, motivating uses like Myla si ruce mýdlem 'She washed her hands with soap'. A prominent use of this meaning of the instrumental is with means of transportation, as in Jezdíme metrem a tramvají 'We ride the subway and the tram'. In addition to instruments, there are some means that we would think of as causes, such as **Bolestí** a strachem nevěděl, co dělá 'Due to pain and fear he did not know what he was doing'. The following table lists some verbs associated with the various "means" uses of the instrumental:

disponovat	'have at one's	pohrdat	'despise'
	disposal'		
hospodařit	'manage'	pyšnit se	'be proud'
chlubit se	'boast of'	šetřit	'save'
kochat se	'enjoy'	trpět	'suffer'
obchodovat	'trade in'	vládnout	'use masterfully'
opovrhovat	'despise	zabývat se	'be interested in'
plýtvat	'waste'	zaměnit (co)	'replace
			(something)'

The adjective $jist(\acute{y})$ 'certain of' likewise triggers the use of the "means" instrumental: *Není si jist životem* 'His life is in danger (he isn't sure of his life)'.

Note also that a number of prepositions that govern the genitive are themselves instrumental entities, such as *prostřednictvím* 'through the mediation of', *vinou* 'due to', *vlivem* 'under the influence of', *zásluhou* 'because of', *následkem* 'as a consequence of'.

Sensations are often expressed by means of the instrumental, as in *Sál zněl zpěvem* 'The hall resounded with song', *Jídlo chutnalo česnekem* 'The food tasted of garlic', *Tady to smrdí rybinou* 'It stinks of fish here'.

Many words denoting movements require the body part or object moved to be in the instrumental, like the examples in the following table:

házet oštěpem	'throw a javelin '	hodit kamenem	'throw a stone'
hýbat rukama	'move one's hands'	kynout hlavou	'nod one's head'
lomit rukama	'wring one's	mávat rukou	'wave one's hand'
	hands'		
mrkat očima	'blink one's eyes'	mrštit novinami	'whack with a
			newspaper'
točit klikou	'turn a doorknob'	třást hlavou	'shake one's head'
vrhat koulí	'put the shot (track		
	& field)'		

It is possible for a whole person to be subjected to this kind of movement, expressed in a subjectless sentence like *Petrem škublo* 'Peter shuddered' (although note that when a body part is involved, it is instrumental and the person is marked with the dative: *Škublo mu rukou* 'His arm twitched').

In the presence of passive participles, the instrumental can be used to express the agent of an action, as in *Studenti budou z biologie zkoušeni prof. Novákem* 'The students will be tested in biology by **Prof. Novák**', *Petr byl mučen pochybnostmi* 'Petr was tormented by doubts'.

3.1.7.2 "Label" meanings involving 'like, as'

With forms of the verb být 'be' the instrumental can be used to express a category that an item belongs in, giving it a label, such as: Velryba je savcem 'The whale is a mammal', Velbloud je na poušti dopravním prostředkem 'In the desert the camel is a means of transport'. This kind of categorization can also be accomplished by adjectives, as in Není podstatnou namítka, že o tom nevěděl 'The objection that he did not know about it is not a substantial one'. Because the verb stát se'become' indicates change in the state expressed by být 'be', the instrumental can be used to categorize the results of becoming as well, yielding new labels, as in: Otec se stal ředitelem 'Father became the director'. There are several verbs that are semantically contiguous with 'becoming', expressing concepts like 'study (to become)', 'elect', 'announce', as in: Učí se zedníkem 'He's studying to become a mason', Zvolili ho prezidentem 'He was elected president', Bude prohlášena doktorem věd 'She will be declared to be a doctor of sciences'. In a less common use, the instrumental can indicate that something takes on the role of the labeled category. In all such instances, the instrumental noun phrase can be replaced by jako 'like, as' + N: Cítím se Čechem (jako Čech) 'I feel that I am a Czech (like a Czech)', Sestra sedávala modelem (jako model) adeptům umění malířského 'My sister used to sit as a model for beginning artists studying painting', Tu chalupu jsem dostala **věnem** (jako věno) od babičky 'I got this cottage from my grandmother as a dowry'.

3.1.7.3 "Accompaniment" meanings involving 'with'

The Czech preposition s + I roughly corresponds to English with when it means 'together with', as in: Jela jsem domů s tetou 'I rode home with my aunt'. This preposition is associated with a number of verbs, some of which are gathered in this table:

bavit se s	'talk with'	sblížit/sbližovat se s	'come together with'
bojovat s	'fight with'	souhlasit s	'agree with'
dohodnout/	'make an agreement	sousedit s	'be neighbors with'
dohadovat se s	with'		
obchodovat s	'trade with'	spřátelit se s	'make friends with'
o-ženit se s	'get married to'	stýkat se s	'meet with'

počítat s	'reckon with'	tahat se s	'wrangle with'
po-hádat se s	'argue with'	trápit se s	'suffer with'
políbit/líbat se s	'exchange kisses with'	vycházet s	'get along with'
po-radit se s	'consult with'	začít/začínat s	'start with'
pro-mluvit s	'talk with'	za-váhat s	'hesitate with'
rozejít/rozcházet se	'part ways with'	zůstat/zůstávat s	'stay with'
S			
roz-loučit se s	'say goodbye to, part with'		

Nouns and prepositional phrases with related meanings are often associated with s + I as well, among them:

konflikt s	'conflict with'	v souhlase s	'in agreement with'
spojení s	'connection with'	v souladu s	'in harmony with'
spokojen s	'satisfied with'	v souvislosti s	'in connection with'
v rozporu s	'in conflict with'	ve srovnání s	'in comparison with'

Feelings can accompany actions, and it is possible in Czech (as in English) to say *dělat s* radostí, láskou, odporem, chutí 'do with joy, love, disgust, gusto'. A disease can be a fellow-traveler in this way as well: ležet v nemocnici s tyfem 'be in the hospital with typhus'. Also similar to English are the common phrases vzít s sebou 'take with oneself' and mít s sebou 'have with oneself'. The preposition s also appears in various idiomatic phrases, such as dát si s něčím práci 'take pains with, trouble oneself with something', obrátit se s prosbou/žádostí na někoho 'turn to someone with a request/demand', S dovolením! 'Please allow me!'. Infrequently s is used in time expressions, such as: S pondělkem vyrazíme na pláž 'Come Monday, we'll take off for the beach'.

There is considerable evidence that the preposition s + I is encroaching upon the semantic territory of the prepositionless "means" instrumental. Dictionaries list numerous words associated with the instrumental both with and without s, such as *chlubit se* (s) 'boast', *obchodovat* (s) 'trade in', $trp\check{e}t$ (s) 'suffer', $zab\check{y}vat$ se (s) 'be interested in'. The presence or absence of the preposition s does not correlate with any appreciable difference in meaning for these words. In CCz the preposition s is often inserted when the instrumental case marks instruments, as in $P\check{r}ijeli$ jsme s autem, cf. LCz $P\check{r}ijeli$ jsme autem 'We came by car'.

3.1.7.4 "Proximal landmark" meanings involving 'before, behind, above, under, between' The instrumental case is associated with five prepositions that locate an item relative to an object or place. Two prepositions operate in terms of horizontal displacement, *před* 'in front of' and *za* 'behind'; two prepositions denote vertical displacement, *nad* 'above' and *pod* 'under'; and one preposition provides multiple reference points, *mezi* 'between, among'. Most of these prepositions can also be deployed in domains other than space and participate in idomatic expressions. The following table contains examples to illustrate the use of these prepositions:

Prepositions	Glosses	Primary Domains
před	'before, in front of'	space, relationships,
		preferences, time

Učitel stojí před tabulí. 'The teacher is standing in front of the blackboard.'

Žáci mají před **ním** respekt. 'The pupils respect him.'

Všichni mají rovnost před zákonem. 'Everyone is equal before the law.'

Nesmíte dávat jednomu přednost před druhými. 'You mustn't prefer one over the others.'

Dostala jsem od něho před **týdnem** dopis. 'I got a letter from him **a week** ago.'

za 'behind' space, idioms

Zasadili jsme stromy za domem. 'We planted trees behind the house.'

Ten politik má něco za **lubem**. 'That politician has a **hidden** agenda (something behind **a strip of wood**).'

Děti byly za školou. 'The children were playing hooky (were behind the school).'

Už mám zkoušky za sebou. 'I'm already done with exams (have the exams behind me).'

nad 'above' space, relationships, emotions

Erb visí nad krbem. 'The coat of arms hangs above the fireplace.'

Oslavujeme vítězství nad nepřítelem. 'We are celebrating our victory over the enemy.'

Zamyslela jsem se nad **problémem**. 'I fell into thought over **the problem**.'

pod 'under' space, relationships, idioms

Zajíc má své doupě pod dubem. 'The hare has its den under the oak tree.'

Zločinec vystupoval pod cizím jménem. 'The criminal went under a false name.'

Udělám to pod podmínkou, *že mi pomůžeš*. 'I'll do it under **the condition** that you help me.'

mezi 'between, among'

space, time, relationships, amounts

Muzeum stojí mezi kostelem a divadlem. 'The museum is between the church and the theater.'

Přijdu mezi šestou a sedmou. 'I'll come between six and seven.'

Byl vždy mezi nejlepšími žáky. 'He was always among the best students.'

Dohoda mezi **velmocemi** je už podepsána. 'The agreement between **the superpowers** has already been signed.'

Cena je mezi pěti až šesti korunami. 'The price is between five and six crowns.'

3.2 Numeral syntax

3.2.1 The syntax of cardinal numerals

The numeral *jeden* 'one' is an adjective, and agrees in number, case and gender with the noun it modifies. Usually the number is singular, as in *jeden chlapec* 'one boy', but it can be plural with pluralia tantum nouns, such as *jedny nůžky* 'one pair of scissors'. *Dva* 'two', *tři* 'three', and *čtyři* 'four' are likewise adjectives, and they agree in case with their nouns (in the nominative and accusative masculine *dva* s ditinguished from feminine and neuter *dvě*): *dva chytří kluci* 'two smart boys', dvě *chytré dívky* 'two smart girls', *dvě krásná města* 'two beautiful cities', *tři šikovní chlapci* 'three clever fellows', *čtyři otevřená okna* 'four open windows'. *Pět* 'five' and higher numerals, as well as indefinite numerals (*mnoho* 'many', *několik* 'several', and the like), when in the nominative or accusative case govern the genitive plural of the count nouns they quantify. When in subject position, these numeral + noun phrase combinations trigger default

neuter singular verbal agreement. Elsewhere, in oblique cases, both the numeral and the noun phrase appear in the oblique case. Compare the following sentences:

Byl tady jeden chlapec. 'One boy was here'.

Mluvili jsme o jednom chlapci. 'We talked about one boy'.

Dvě chytré dívky byly tady. 'Two smart girls were here'.

Mluvili jsme o dvou chytrých dívkách. 'We talked about two smart girls'.

Pět/mnoho nových studentů bylo tady. 'Five/many new students were here'.

Mluvili jsme o pěti/mnoha nových studentech. 'We talked about five/many new students'.

With numbers above 20 syntax is dependent upon whether the numeral is used in its non-compounded (dvacet tři 'twenty-three') or compounded (třiadvacet 'twenty-three') form. The prescribed norm for non-compounded numerals is to follow the syntactic pattern of the final digit, with singular for numerals ending in jeden 'one', plural for those ending in dva 'two', tři 'three', čtyři 'four', and genitive plural (neuter singular verbal agreement) for all others. In CCz, these numerals often follow the syntax of compounded numerals, which always use the genitive plural/neuter singular pattern. Here are some more sentences for comparison:

Dvacet jeden hoch byl tady/Jednadvacet hochů bylo tady.

'Twenty-one boys were here'.

Dvacet dvě chytré holky byly tady/Dvaadvacet chytrých holek bylo tady.

'Twenty-two smart girls were here'.

Dvacet pět nových studentů bylo tady/Pětadvacet nových studentů bylo tady.

'Twenty-five new students were here'.

The compounded numerals are generally preferred in all contexts, and are strongly preferred in oblique cases, where *Mluvili jsme o dvaadvaceti chytrých holkách* 'We talked about twenty-two smart girls' is much more likely to occur than the synonymous *Mluvili jsme o dvaceti dvou chytrých holkách*.

Fractions are always followed by the genitive case: *Zbyla jen desetina diváků/paliva* 'Only a tenth of the viewers/fuel remained'.

3.2.2 The syntax of telling time

Time on the hour follows the pattern of numeral agreement described above: Je jedna hodina 'It is one o'clock', Jsou dvě hodiny 'It is two o'clock', Je pět hodin 'It is five o'clock'. Although it is possible in highly circumscribed situations (e.g., train schedules) to give the hour and minutes (Je pět hodin dvacet minut 'It is five-twenty'), Czech normally uses a system of half and quarter hour reference points referring to the coming whole hour. The half hour uses the fraction půl 'half' followed by the genitive ordinal numeral (except for the cardinal in půl jedné 'twelve thirty') for the upcoming hour, thus Je půl šesté [Is half-NOM sixth-GEN] 'It is five-thirty'. The quarter hours also use fractions, but they are followed by the preposition na and the accusative cardinal numeral representing the coming hour: Je čtvrt na jednu 'It is a quarter past twelve', Je tři čtvrtě/čtvrti na sedm 'It is six-forty-five'. All other five-minute intervals are indicated by the following formula, referring to the upcoming half, quarter, or full hour: preposition za + pět/deset minut + (jedna hodina/dvě hodiny/tři hodiny/čtyři hodiny/pět hodin, etc.)/(půl + ordinal-GEN)/(čtvrt/tři čtvrtě na + cardinal-ACC): Je za deset minut jedna hodina 'It is twelve-fifty', Je za pět minut půl druhé 'It is one-twenty-five', Je za pět minut čtvrt na tři 'It is two-ten', Je za deset minut tři čtvrtě na čtyři 'It is three-thirty-five'.

3.3 Intraclausal syntax

Clauses can appear in a variety of guises depending upon negation, mood, voice, and the use of reflexives, reciprocals, and causatives. This section will examine the various syntactic features that operate at the level of the clause.

3.3.1 Word order in declarative clauses

The presence of case markers on nouns, pronouns, and adjectives makes the syntactic function of a noun phrase transparent and largely independent of word order. This means that the word order of Czech is often freer than in English. This does not, however, mean that words in all Czech sentences can be presented in any order. Certain combinations of words have rigidly fixed orders, such as preposition + noun phrase or the adnominal genitive (which almost always immediately follows the item it is modifying). Adjectives show a very strong tendency to immediately precede the nouns they modify, although there are conventionalized exceptions, as in Bible Svatá 'The Holy Bible', or Ty kluku nezbedný! 'You naughty boy!'. Quantifiers nearly always precede the noun phrase they modify, though exceptions are possible, so one can say both Tam bylo mnoho dětí and Tam bylo dětí mnoho 'There were a lot of children there' (though the latter version is marked, expressing something like 'I don't know exactly how many there were, but boy, there were a lot of them!'). Clitics have a fixed order of appearance; this question was discussed in the Phonology chapter. Both SVO and OVS word orders are very frequent, with the choice of order determined largely by the tendency to place the rheme at the end of a sentence, giving the OVS word order a relatively passive meaning. SOV and OSV sentences are considerably rarer, though possible. VSO and VOS word orders are more commonly used for questions (see 3.3.3 below), though they can be used for indicative sentences. Compare the following sentences containing the elements Anna ('Anna', a nominative subject), už ('already', an adverb), napsala ('wrote', a verb), and tu disertaci ('the dissertation', an accusative object):

SVO: Anna už napsala tu disertaci 'Anna has already written the dissertation'

OVS: Tu disertaci už napsala Anna 'That dissertation was already written by Anna'

SOV: Anna tu disertaci už napsala 'Anna got that dissertation written already'

OSV: Tu disertaci Anna už napsala 'As for that dissertation, Anna has already written it'

VSO: Napsala už Anna tu disertaci 'Anna wrote that dissertation already'

VOS: Napsala už tu disertaci Anna 'Anna is the one that got that dissertation written already'

3.3.2 Negative clauses

As noted in the Morphology chapter, verbs are negated with the prefix *ne*-; but the placement of this prefix varies depending on whether and what auxiliary or modal verbs are present. In the non-past, *ne*- is simply attached to the verb: *Náš syn nestuduje* 'Our son isn't studying'. In the past, the *ne*- is appended to the past *l*-form, not the auxiliary: *Včera jsme nebyli doma* 'We weren't home yesterday'. The same goes for the conditional, which places *ne*- on the *l*-form: *Naše dcera by se takhle nechovala* 'Our daughter wouldn't behave that way'. In the future, however, the *ne*- appears on the auxiliary verb: *Zítra nebudeme pracovat* 'We aren't going to work tomorrow'. When modal verbs are present, they receive the negative *ne*- prefix: *Nesmíte tady kouřit* 'You are not allowed to smoke here'.

Czech requires multiple negation to accompany a negated verb on all negatable items in a clause, including the following:

	Positive		Negative
někdo	'someone'	nikdo	'no one'
něco	'something'	nic	'nothing'
někdy	'sometime'	nikdy	'(not) ever, never'
někde	'somewhere'	nikde	'(not) anywhere, nowhere'
nějak	'somehow'	nijak	'not at all, in no way'
nějaký	'some'	žádný	'(not) any, no, none'

Multiple negation produces utterances like: *Nikdo nikdy nic takového neviděl* 'No one has ever seen anything of the sort', *Žádné peníze jsme nikde tam nenašli* 'We never found any money anywhere around there'.

3.3.3 Interrogative clauses

In WH questions the WH word (see table below) typically appears at the beginning of the sentence, although it can also appear mid-sentence or at the end: *Kolik Ludmila platila za ty šaty?* 'How much did Ludmila pay for that dress?', *Ludmila kolik platila za ty šaty?* 'How much was it that Ludmila paid for that dress?', *Ludmila platila za ty šaty kolik?* 'Ludmila paid *how* much for that dress?!'.

CO	'what'	čí	'whose'
dokdy	'until when'	jak	'how'
jaký	'what kind of'	kam	'to where'
kde	'where'	kdo	'who'
kdy	'when'	kolik	'how much'
kolikerý	'how many kinds of'	který	'which'
kudy	'which way'	odkdy	'since when'
odkud	'from where'	proč	'why'

Yes-no questions do not have a special syntax in Czech (though they do have a characteristic intonation). Any declarative sentence can be used as a yes-no question, though the most usual word order for yes-no questions places the verb first. All of the word orders illustrated above can serve as yes-no questions, although the VSO and VOS sentences are the most natural candidates: VSO: *Napsala už Anna tu disertaci?* 'Did Anna write that dissertation already?', VOS: *Napsala už tu disertaci Anna?* 'Was Anna the one who got that dissertation written already?'.

3.3.4 Commands, requests, and hopes

Czech employs various combinations of morphological and syntactic means to deliver commands and requests, depending upon the discourse situation. The morphological imperative (discussed in Chapter 2) is certainly the most common and unambiguous type of command. The infinitive form can be used for impersonal directives, such as *Stát rovně!* 'Stand up straight!'. Indicative second-person forms can also be used with imperative force: *Nebudeš tady zlobit!* 'Don't go making trouble here!'. Recipes and instruction manuals often employ 1pl indicative forms in the place of imperatives as well: *Koláč upečeme do zlatova* 'Bake the pie until golden brown'. The imposition of one person's will on another can be expressed in a subordinate clause using the *a*-prefixed conditional *aby* 'in order that' forms: 1sg *abych*, 2sg *abys*, 3sg *aby*,

1pl abychom, 2pl abyste, 3pl aby; Prosím vás, abyste chvilku počkal 'I ask you to/Please wait for a little while'. Polite requests often avoid the imperative and use the conditional, often in conjunction with the negative, in order to soften the demand: Ukázal byste mi to na mapě? 'Could you show it to me on the map?', Nemohli byste nám pomoci? 'Could you help us?' Wishes and hopes also can be expressed by kéž 'if only' followed by either the indicative or conditional, or by jen aby 'if only', or by a bare infinitive: Kéž přijde včas 'I hope he comes on time', Kéž bychom mohli žít bez konfliktů 'If only we could live without conflicts', Jen aby mohl nastartovat ten motor 'I only hope he can start that motor', Umět tančit jako ona! 'If only I could dance like she does!'

3.3.5 Passives, reflexives, reciprocals, intensives, and causatives

There are two syntactic constructions that focus attention on the patient rather than the agent of an action, producing passive (or middle) voice expressions. The first is achieved by using the past passive participle (with appropriate tense forms of the verb být 'be'), with the agent optionally expressed in the instrumental case. The second construction uses the reflexive particle se, but does not permit the agent to be expressed. Thus a transitive sentence such as $Zn\acute{a}m\acute{y}$ režisér natočil ten film v naší vesnici 'A famous director made that film in our village' has two corresponding constructions, a true passive with an optional agent Ten film byl natočen v naší vesnici (známým režisérem) 'That film was made in our village (by a famous director)', and an obligatorily agentless construction which behaves more like a middle voice Ten film se natočil v naší vesnici 'That film was made in our village'. The se construction can also be used with intransitive verbs and default neuter singular agreement; compare this active sentence Tancovali jsme tam celou noc 'We danced there all night' with its corresponding se-construction Tancovalo se tam celou noc 'Dancing went on there all night'. The se-construction, when used with the dative case, is particularly well-suited to implying that events take place due to good or bad fortune or due to feelings that no one can be blamed for: Matematika se Petrovi studovala snadno 'Petr found learning math easy', Dítěti se nechtělo spát 'The child didn't feel sleepy', Sáře se rozlilo mléko 'Sara spilled the milk by accident'. A similar passive sense can be conveyed by using the 3pl indicative without a subject, as in Zablokovali všechny dálnice 'They blocked all the freeways/All the freeways were blocked'.

As a rule, the referent of all reflexive forms (i.e., all reflexive pronouns and the possessive svůj 'one's own') is the subject of the clause: Profesor hájil svou teorii před výtkami 'The professor defended his theory against objections' (here only svou 'one's own' is admissible, jeho 'his' would refer to someone else's theory), Profesor se hájil před výtkami 'The professor defended himself against objections', Koupil jsem si nový počítač 'I bought myself a new computer', Nemohla jsem sebou hnout 'I couldn't get myself moving'. There are some exceptions to this rule, however, as seen in Dej ty talíře na své místo 'Put these dishes in their place', and Dám ti deštník s sebou 'I'll give you an umbrella [to take] with you'.

In addition to its non-active and reflexive uses mentioned above, se can be used reciprocally, a capacity it shares with the dative si: Proč se ti matematici pořád kritizují? 'Why are those mathematicians constantly criticizing each other?', Začali jsme si dopisovat na internetu 'We started to write letters to each other on the internet'. There are also verbs that simply require either se or si without implying any passive, reflexive, or reciprocal meaning. A characterization of verbs requiring si appears above in the description of the dative case. The list of verbs requiring se is much longer and more difficult to characterize; virtually all se verbs (with the possible exceptions of učit se 'study' and dozvědět se 'find out') are intransitive.

Both se and si, as well as other reflexive pronoun forms cooperate with dávat/dát 'give, have' and nechávat/nechat 'let' to create causative constructions in which the subject has or allows something to be done for, to, about, or with him/herself: Dala/Nechala si ušít těhotenské

šaty'She had maternity clothes sewn for her', Dal/Nechal se zlákat nadějí na zisk, a všechno prohrál v kasinu 'He let himself be enticed by hopes of profit, and lost everything at the casino', Nikdy nedával na sobě nic znát 'He never gave himself away'.

3.4 Interclausal syntax

The topics of syntactic coordination and subordination could easily fill a large book by themselves. The following discussion will focus only on the most significant conjunctions, relativizers, and other words used to achieve these syntactic purposes. Because Czech uses conjunctions to coordinate both clauses and their constituent parts, section 3.4.1 discusses both intra- and interclausal coordination as a single phenomenon.

3.4.1 Coordination

The simple joining of constituents (be they clauses or parts thereof) is most frequently achieved by the conjunction a 'and': Tam jsme viděli Janu a Terezu 'We saw Jana and Tereza there', Celý večer jsme poslouchali hudbu a povídali si 'We listened to music and talked all evening'. Such joining can be achieved by mere juxtaposition, without using any conjunction at Na promování přišli studenti, rodiče, známí, profesoři 'Students, parents, friends, and professors came to the graduation'. The conjunction i 'and (too); even' is emphatic or conjoins things which obviously go together: Prominul všem, přátelům i nepřátelům 'He forgave everyone, friends and enemies too', I v Praze najdeš ošklivé čtvrtě 'Even in Prague you can find bad sections'. The conjunction ba 'for that matter' is likewise emphatic: Pacient je bledý, ba sinalý 'The patient is pale, and even bluish'. In the presence of negation coordination is expressed by ani 'nor; not - even': Nepozdravila mě, ani se na mne nepodívala 'She did not greet me, nor did she even look at me'. These three conjunctions are often combined with each other and with other words, particularly dokonce 'even' to yield combinations such as a i 'and also', ba i 'and even (too)', a dokonce 'and even', dokonce i 'and even', ba dokonce 'and even', a ani 'nor even': Neřekl svoje jméno (a) ani nenechal vzkaz 'He didn't give his name, nor did he even leave a message'. Pairs of conjunctions can also be yoked discontinuously to produce constructions containing i -i 'both - and', jak - tak i 'both - and', ani - ani 'neither - nor': I děti i dospělí rádi jezdí na kolech 'Both children and adults like to ride bicycles', Slíbil jí jak práci, tak i slušné ubytování 'He promised her both a job and decent housing', Nemohla jsem zvednout ani ruku ani nohu 'I couldn't lift an arm or a leg', Ani nepracoval, ani neplatil činži 'He neither worked nor paid rent'.

Coordination of alternatives is expressed by conjuctions such as *ale* 'but', (a)však 'however', (a)nebo 'or', the bookish nýbrž 'but', and či 'or': Chtěl jsem tě potkat na letišti, ale nevěděl jsem, kdy máš přiletět 'I wanted to meet you at the airport, but I didn't know when you were supposed to arrive', Nebydlí v Německu, nýbrž ve Švédsku 'He doesn't live in Germany, but in Sweden', Všichni očekávali nějaké překvapení na tiskové konferenci, prezident však nic nového nesdělil 'Everyone was expecting a surprise at the press conference, however the president didn't report anything new', Chceš dneska jít plavat nebo/či si koupit zmrzlinu? 'Do you want to go swimming today or buy ice cream?'. Some of these conjunctions can appear in yoked constructions, the most common being nejen - ale/nýbrž 'not only - but' and bud' - (a)nebo 'either - or': Je nejen náš nejlepší odborník, ale/nýbrž taky sympatický člověk 'He's not only our best expert, but also a nice person', Bud' přijdeš včas, nebo odjedu bez tebe 'Either you come on time or I am leaving without you'.

3.4.2 Subordination

The single most important word used to introduce a subordinate clause is $\check{z}e$ 'that'; note that unlike English, Czech always uses the same tense in the subordinate clause as it would in the

independent sentence: *Meteorologové nepředpověděli*, že ta bouřka způsobí záplavy 'The meteorologists did not predict that the storm would cause floods', *Nikdo ani nepoznal*, že jsem Čech 'Nobody even realized that I was Czech'. Tense is also preserved when že is used in reported speech: Řekl, že dál tady nebude pracovat 'He said that he wouldn't work here any more'. Tag questions are formed by appending že ano/jo or že ne to a statement: *Ty taky pojedeš s námi na pláž*, že jo? 'You are also coming to the beach with us, right?', *Snad dnes nebude pršet*, že ne? 'Surely it won't rain today, will it?'.

Czech has a whole array of conjunctions that express various temporal and other relationships between the main clause and a subordinate clause. Some of the most common ones are collected and illustrated in the table below:

Conjunction	Relationship	
když 'when'	subordinate	Nekoupili jsme žádné sklo, když jsme byli v Česku.
	past/present	'We didn't buy any glass when we were in Bohemia.'
	event	Vždycky se potím, když pracuji na zahradě.
	simultaneous	'I always sweat when I work in the garden.'
	with main	
	event	
až 'when'	subordinate	Zavolej tetě, až budeš v Praze/až dostaneš práci.
	future event	'Call your aunt when you are in Prague/when you get a
	simultaneous	job.'
	with or	
	precedes main	
	event	
zatímco	subordinate	Zatímco v jednom pokoji uklízím, dcera dělá nepořádek
'while,	event	v druhém.
whereas',	simultaneous	'While I'm cleaning up in one room, my daughter is
dokud 'for as	with main	making a mess in the other one.'
long as'	event	Dokud bude na Kubě diktatura, lidé se budou snažit se dostat do Ameriky.
		'As long as there is a dictatorship in Cuba, people will
		try to get to America.'
kdykoli	repeated	Kdykoli/Pokaždé, když začne plakat, matka mu cpe do
'whenever',	simultaneous	pusy bonbóny.
pokaždé, když	events	'Whenever/Each time he starts to cry, his mother stuffs
'each time'		candies in his mouth.'
<i>jakmile</i> 'as	punctual	Jakmile rozsvítil, poznal, že něco není v pořádku.
soon as'	proximal	'As soon as he turned on the lights he realized that
	events	something was wrong.'
než 'before',	main event	Doufám, že nebudeme muset dlouho čekat, než přijede
dokud ne	precedes	sanitka/dokud nepřijede sanitka.
'until'	subordinate	'I hope that we won't have to wait long before/until the
	event	ambulance comes.'

protože 'because', poněvadž, jelikož 'since', nebot' 'for'	main event is result of subordinate event	Všichni milují šéfa, protože on všem pomáhá. 'Everybody loves the boss because he helps everyone.' Poněvadž/Jelikož naši studenti neumějí česky, nemohou číst Čapka v originálu. 'Since our students don't know Czech, they cannot read Čapek in the original.' Nikdy neodpovídala kritikům, nebot' nechtěla dát najevo, že dělá chyby. 'She never answered her critics, for she didn't want to reveal that she was making mistakes.'
takže 'so'	subordinate	Potřebovali tlumočníka, takže mi zavolali na univerzitu.
	event is result	'They needed an interpreter, so they called me at the
	of main event	university.'
ačkoli,	main event is	Musíme všem činit dobro, ačkoli/třebaže/i když nám
třebaže, i když	adverse to	nedělají totéž.
'even though'	subordinate	'We must do good to everyone, even though they don't
	event	do the same for us.'
jestli(že), když,	subordinate	Jestli(že)/Když mi nebudeš pomáhat, nevím, jak to
- <i>li</i> 'if'	event is a real	dopadne.
	condition for	'If you don't help me, I don't know how it will turn
	main event	out.'
		Naučíte-li se dobře česky, koupím vám letenku do Prahy.
		'If you learn Czech well, I will buy you a plane ticket to
		Prague.'

When the subordinate clause presents a hypothetical or counterfactual condition or a purpose, the conjunction (*kdy*- for conditions and *a*- for purposes) is prefixed to the conditional particle (1sg *bych*, 2sg *bys*, 3sg *by*, 1pl *bychom*, 2pl *byste*, 3pl *by*) and the subordinate clause is conditional.

Hypothetical condition:

Kdybych věděla, kdy přiletí, jela bych mu naproti.

'If I knew when he was arriving, I would meet him at the airport.'

Counterfactual condition:

Kdybych byla věděla, kdy přiletí, byla bych mu jela naproti.

'If I had known when he was arriving, I would have met him at the airport.'

Purpose:

Řekl mi, kdy přiletí, abych mu jela naproti.

'He told me when he was arriving so that I could meet him at the airport.'

3.4.3 Relative clauses

The declension of the relative pronoun *jenž* is presented in Chapter 2, but in addition to *jenž*, Czech instead uses *který* 'which' as an all-purpose relativizer. Like *jenž*, *který* agrees with its referent in gender and number, while its case is determined by the clause it is in. Note that *který* and *jenž* can both occur as the object of a preposition:

Gratulujeme studentům, kteří/již dopsali své disertace.

'We congratulate the students who have finished their dissertations.'

Policisté hledají nůž, kterým/jímž zločinec zavraždil vdovu.

'The police are looking for the knife with which the criminal killed the widow.'

Kdy se seznámíme s přítelem, o kterém/němž stále mluvíš?

'When will we meet the friend that you are always talking about?'

When the relative clause refers to a possessor, the possessive forms of *jenž* (*jehož* ('his'), *jejíž* ('her'), *jejichž* ('their'), all of which mean 'whose' are used: *Proč nevolá ten kluk, jehož bratra jsme včera potkali?* 'Why doesn't that boy whose brother we met yesterday call?'

3.5 Syntax of Colloquial Czech

Colloquial Czech provides some syntactic alternatives to certain constructions in the literary language. Only the most salient CCz characteristics will be mentioned here. The interested reader is referred to Townsend 1990 for further details.

Whereas nominative subject pronouns are usually dropped (unless emphatic) in LCz, CCz shows a tendency to retain them:

LCz CCz

Nechtěla jsem to dělat Já jsem to nechtěla dělat 'I didn't want to do it' Budete doma? Vy budete doma? 'Will you be at home?'

CCz shows a strong tendency to eliminate the use of the partitive genitive (aside from *chleba* 'bread' and *sejra* 'cheese', partitive genitive forms that are widespread in subject and direct object positions in CCz) and genitive of negation, and a tendency to avoid government of genitive and dative by verbs in favor of the accusative, thus to some extent simplifying the use of case. In the examples below LCz shows variation between genitive or dative and accusative cases, whereas CCz uses only the accusative case for all of these constructions:

LCz	CCz	
genitive of negation	no genitive of negation	
Nemáme peněz/peníze	Nemáme peníze	'We don't have any money'
partitive genitive	no partitive genitive	
Přidala bych si kávy/kávu	Přidala bych si kávu	'I'd like more coffee'
governed genitive	accusative object	
Používáte silného léku/silný	Používáte silný lék	'You use strong medicine'
lék		
governed dative	accusative object	
Učím se češtině/češtinu	Učím se češtinu	'I'm studying Czech'

The use of the predicate instrumental to express a category that an item belongs to usually gives way to the predicate nominative in CCz, and the use of the instrumental to express instruments is frequently accompanied in CCz by the preposition s 'with', which would be absent in LCz. Thus Čapek's famous essay *Proč nejsem komunistou* 'Why I am not a communist' would most likely be rendered in CCz as *Proč nejsem komunista*, and CCz contains phrases like *jet s autem* 'go by car', *krájet s nožem* 'slice with a knife', which would appear without s in LCz.

Though CCz can use the relativizer *který* in the same way as LCz, CCz often uses the interrogative *co* 'what' in this function instead, accompanied by personal pronouns when representing an oblique case:

LCz	CCz	
studenti, kteří tady pracují	studenti, co tady pracujou	'the students who work
		here'
politik, kterému jsme nevěřili	politik, co jsme mu nevěřili	'the politician we didn't
		believe'
provdavačka, s kterou jste	prodavačka, co jste s ní	'the saleslady you were
mluvil	mluvil	talking to'

CCz has some other syntactic features unique to its register. Among them are the use of *ten* as a definite article or pronoun, and the use of *to* as a "dummy subject" rather similar to English *it*. These uses can be contrasted to their absence in corresponding LCz phrases:

LCz	CCz	-
-Budeš mluvit s učitelkou?	-Budeš mluvit s tou	-Will you talk with the
-Nechtěl bych. S ní nechci	učitelkou?	teacher?
mít nic společného.	-To bych nechtěl. S tou	-I'd rather not. I don't want
	nechci mít nic společnýho.	to have anything to do with
		her.

The use of a neuter singular past passive participle with *mít* to mean 'have something done' is largely restricted to CCz: *At' sem nechodí! Ještě nemám tady uklizeno* 'Don't let them in here! I don't have this place cleaned up yet'. The closest LCz equivalents would be *Ještě tady není uklizeno* or *Ještě jsem tady neuklidila*.

4 Texts

The following two texts exemplify literary and Colloquial Czech. The first text, which illustrates LCz, is excerpted from the opening pages of Michal Viewegh's 1992 novel *Báječná léta pod psa* "Those Marvellous Crummy Years".

Kvido	se	měl	podle	Zitiných	
Kvido-NOM	REFL-A	had-pastmsg	according to	Zita's-Gpl	
According to Zita's	estimate, Kvido was s	upposed to			
V 1 11 10			,	,	
předpokladů	narodit	<i>v</i>	prvním	srpnovém	
assumptions-Gpl	give-birth-infin	in	first-Lsgm	August-Lsgm	
be born in the first w	veek				
týdnu	roku	devatenáct	set	šedesát	
week-Lsg	year-Gsg	nineteen-N	hundreds-Gpl	sixty-N	
-	r nineteen hundred six				
2 ,					
dva	v	porodnici	ν	Podolí.	
two-N	in	maternity-hospital-	in	Podolí-Lsg.	
		Lsg			
in the maternity hos	pital in Podolí.				
Jeho	matka	měla	ν	té	
His	mother-Nsg	had-pastfsg	in	that-Lsgf	
At that time his mot	her had already				
době	za	sebou	dvanáct	divadelních	
time-Lsg	behind	self-I	twenty-A	theater-adj-Gpl	
completed twenty se	easons in the theater,				
sezón,	avšak	velkou	většinu	svých	
seasons-Gpl,	however	large-Asgf	majority-Asg	own-Gpl	
•	ered the vast majority		majority 113g	оми орг	
	erou erro vast majernej	0.2 1.01			
převážně	dětských	rolí	v	Jiráskových,	
primarily	children's-Gpl	roles-Gpl	in	Jirásek's-Lpl	
primarily children's	roles in plays by Jirás	ek,			
Tylových,	Kohoutových	a	Mařenkových	hrách	
Tyl's-Lpl	Kohout's-Lpl	and	Mařenek's-Lpl	plays-Lpl	
Tyl, Kohout, and Ma	ařenek				
považovala	za	mírně	kompromitující	hříchy	
considered	for	mildly	compromising-Apl	sins-Apl	
to be the mildly compromising sins					

, 0				
mládí.	Studovala	ostatně	čtvrtý	ročník
youth-Gsg.	Studied-pastfsg	after-all	fourth-Asgm	year-Asg
of youth. After all,	she was studying in the	e fourth year		
práv	a	svou	účast	ν
law-Gpl	and	own-Asgf	participation-Asg	in
of law school and sl	he now thought of her	participation		
komparsu	Divadla	československé	armády	na
bit-parts-Lsg	Theater-Gsg	Czechoslovak-Gsgf	army-Gsg	at
as an extra for the T	heater of the Czechosl	ovak army in		
Vinohradech	brala	už	jen	jako
Vinohrady-Lpl	took-pastfsg	already	only	as
Vinohrady as merely	y a			
nezávaznou	hru	(což	jí	ovšem
noncommittal-	game-Asg	(which-Nsg	her-Dsg	of-course
Asgf				
noncommittal game	(which of course			
nebránilo,	aby	víceméně	náhodnou	okolnost,
not-prevented-	in-order-to-	more-or-less	random-Asgf	circumstance-Asg,
pastnsg,	3sgAUX			
did not prevent her	from presenting the mo	ore or less random fact		
že	termín	porodu	spadá	do
that	time-Nsg	birth-Gsg	falls-nonpast3sg	to
that the expected da	te of birth coincided w	rith		
divadelních	prázdnin,	nepresentovala	před	úspěšnějšími
theater-adj-Gpl	holidays-Gpl,	not-presented-	before	more-successful-Ipl
		pastfsg		
the theater's vacatio	n time to her more suc	cessiui		
kolomyvymi	aabu	věc	namnosto	samozžajmá
kolegyněmi colleagues-Ipl	coby		naprosto	samozřejmé obvious-Gsgf
0 1	as was a matter of proper	thing-Asg	absolutely	oovious-Osgi
colleagues absolutely as a matter of proper				
profesionální	kázně).	Jakkoli	to	zní
professional-Gsg	self-control-Gsg).	However	that-Nsg	sounds-nonpast3sg
=	ine). However paradox		1100	Source nonpuerosg
protessional discipii	,. 110 ever purudon	it iim, bouilu,		
paradoxně,	pod	slupkou	ochotnického	zanícení
paradoxically,	under	peel-Isg	amateurish-Gsgn	enthusiasm-Gsg
=	of amateur enthusiasm	1 2		

				Ģ
byla	Kvidova	matka	někdejší	hvězda
was-pastfsg	Kvido's-Nsgf	mother-Nsg	one-time-Nsgf	star-Nsg
Kvido's mother	- the one-time star			
školních	představení	ve	skutečnosti	velmi
school-adj-Gpl	shows-Gpl	in	reality-Lsg	very
of school plays	was in reality very			
stydlivá	a	kromě	Zity	ji
shy-Nsgf	and	aside-from	Zita-Gsg	her-Asg
shy and noone els	se besides Zita			
	V.			
také	nesměl	nikdo	jiný	prohlédnout.
also	not-was-allowed-	noone-Nsg	else-Nsg	examine-infin.
11 1 4	pastmsg			
was allowed to ex	tamme ner.			
Paní	Zita,	primářka	podolské	porodnice
MrsNsg	Zita-Nsg,	head-physician-	Podolí-adj-Gsgf	maternity hospital-
1VII 51 V3g	Zita-145g,	Nsg	i odon-adj-Osgi	Gsg
Zita the head phy	ysician of the Podolí ma	•		036
zaw, ene newe prij	, 5101411 01 410 1 04011 111	nespies		
а	dlouholetá	přítelkyně	babičky	Líby,
and	many-years-adj-	friend-Nsg	grandmother-Gsg	Líba-Gsg,
	Nsgf	C		ζ,
and for many year	rs a friend of grandmoth	er Líba,		
která	znala	Kvidovu	matku	od
who-Nsgf	knew-pastfsg	Kvido's-Asgf	mother-Asg	from
who had known k	Xvido's mother since			
dětství,	se	trpělivě	snažila	jejímu
childhood-Gsg,	REFL-A	patiently	tried-pastfsg	her-Dsgm
childhood, patien	tly tried to			
			V. 141.1	
rozmaru	vyhovět	a	přislíbila	jí,
whim-Dsg	cater-to-infin	and	promised-pastfsg	her-D,
cater to ner wnim	and promised her			
že	přeorganizuje	služby	lékařů	tak,
that	reorganize-	services-Apl	doctors-Gpl	thus,
tilat	nonpast3sg	services-Apr	doctors-opi	mus,
that she would red	organize the doctors' scl	nedules		
mar sile would let	210mille the doctors sel			
aby	ν	onen	kritický	den
in-order-to-	in	that-Asgm	critical-Asgm	day-Asg
3sgAUX		C	S	, ,
so that on that cri	tical day			
	-			

8				
neasistoval	na	sále	ani	jeden
not-assisted-	at	ward-Lsg	not-even	one-Nsgm
pastmsg		C		· ·
= =	even one man assisting	in the		
		5		
muž.	"U	Zity	v	Podolí
man-Nsg.	"By	Zita-Gsg	in	Podolí-Lsg
ward. "With Zita in	•			8
žádný	porod	nebolí,"	veršovala	и
no-Nsgm	birth-Nsg	not-hurts-	rhymed-pastfsg	by
8	\mathcal{E}	nonpast3sg	J 1 6	,
no birth ever hurts",	rhymed	F		
no onthe ever harts	, my mou			
oběda	babička	Líba,	а	dokonce
lunch-Gsg	grandmother-Nsg	Líba-Nsg,	and	even
grandmother Líba a	-	Liou 113g,	and	CVCII
grandmother Liba a	runen, and even			
i	otec	Kvidova	otce,	dědeček
also	father-Nsf	Kvido's-Gsgm	father-Gsg,	grandfather-Nsg
Kvido's father's fath		Kvido s-Osgin	ramer-osg,	grandramer-143g
Kvido s father s fath	ici, grandiamei			
Josef,	ač	apriorně	skeptický	vůči
Josef-Nsg,	although	apriori	skeptical-Nsgm	
-	•	-	skepticai-188giii	concerning
Josef, despite his ap	riori skepticism conce	annig		
všemu	komunistickému,	zdravotnictví	přirozeně	nevyjímaje,
all-Dsgn	communist-Dsgn	health-care-Asg	naturally	not-excepting,
•	ist, naturally making r	_	•	not-excepting,
everything commun	ist, naturally making i	io exception for hearti	rearc,	
byl	ochoten	připustit,	že	pravděpodobnost
was-pastmsg	willing-Nsgm	allow-infin,	that	likelihood-Nsg
1 0	it that the likelihood	unow mmi,	that	inciniood 143g
was wining to dam	it that the fixelihood			
rozdrcení	Kvidovy	hlavičky	porodnickými	kleštěmi
crushing-Gsg	Kvido's-Gsgf	little-head -Gsg	maternity-hospital-	tongs-Ipl
crushing Osg	itvido 5 Osgi	nuic neud 655	adj-Ipl	tongs ipi
of Kvido's little hea	nd being crushed by th	e hosnital tongs	adj ipi	
of Kvido 3 fittle fiet	id being crushed by th	e nospital tongs		
je	tentokrát	přece	jen	0
is-nonpast3sg	this-time	after-all	only	by
this time was indeed		arter all	J.II.j	\circ_J
ans time was mucco				
něco	nižší	než	jindy.	Jediné,
something-A	lower-Asgn	than	elsewhere.	Only-Nsgn,
_	in it would be elsewhe		CISC WHOIC.	Omy 13811,
SOME WHAT TOWER THA	ii ii would de eisewiie	ic. The only tilling		

s with that no one had taken	<i>čím</i> what-I n into account was	nikdo no one-N	nepočítal, not-counted- pastmsg,	byl was-pastmsg
urousaný shaggy-Nsgm	černý black-Nsgm	vlčák, German-shepherd- Nsg,	který which-Nsgm	se REFL-A
a shaggy black Germ	an shepherd which			
už already suddenly appeared o	dvacátého twentieth-Gsgn n the evening of the tw	sedmého seventh-Gsgn venty-seventh of June	<i>června</i> June-G	<i>večer</i> evening
objevil appeared-pastmsg in the crimson-color	v in ed sunlight	narudlém crimson-Lsgn	slunečním sun-adj-Lsgn	světle light-Lsg
na on on the embankment	<i>vltavském</i> Vltava-adj-Lsgn of the Vltava precisely	<i>nábřeží</i> embankment-Lsg at	<i>právě</i> precisely	we in
chvíli, moment-Lsg, the moment when K	kdy when vido's mother was cun	Kvidova Kvido's-Nsgf nbersomely	matka mother-Nsg	ztěžka cumbersomely
vylézala climbed-out- pastfsg climbing out of a tax	z out-of xi, and which	taxíku, taxi-Gsg	a and	který which-Nsgm
ji her-A after quickly dashi	<i>po</i> after ng up unheard	krátkém, short-Lsgm,	neslyšném not-heard-Lsgm	rozběhu dash-Lsg
přirazil knocked-against- pastmsg knocked her against	k to the warm plaster of a h	<i>teplé</i> warm-Dsgf nouse	omítce plaster-Dsg	domu house-Gsg
na on on the corner of Ane	<i>rohu</i> corner-Lsg nské square.	<i>Anenského</i> Anenské-Gsgn	náměstí. square-Gsg.	

The second text, representing Colloquial Czech, is excerpted from the transcription of a conversation in *Mluvená čeština v autentických textech* (Müllerová et al. 1992). A correlate to punctuation that exists in speech are pauses, represented below by periods. Phonological and morphological features of LCz that differ from CCz are noted below by inserting LCz variants in square brackets.

tam	prostě	stojí	jako.	skupina		
there	simply	stands-nonpast3sg	like	group-Nsg		
standing there is jus	st like. a group					
1. 17	1. 2.51 . V21		••			
lidí	který [kteří]	jenom	tiše	zíraj [zírají].		
people-Gpl	who-Npl	only	quietly	stare-nonpast3pl.		
of people who just s	stare quietly.					
no	а	pak	takhle	přišla		
well	and	then	this-way	came-pastfsg		
well and then she ca	ame to him just like th	at	•	1 0		
brácho [bratře]	dem [jdeme]	tancovat.	neptala	se		
brother-Vsg	go-nonpast1pl	dance-infin	not-asked-pastfsg	REFL-A		
brother let's dance.	she didn't ask					
ho	to	si	myslim [myslím]	že		
him-G	that-Nsgn	REFL-D	think-nonpast1sg	that		
him I think that	uiat 1 (58)1	KEI E D	tillik nonpust15g	tilat		
ani	já	nedovolim [-ím].	ale	tak		
not-even	I-N	not-allow-	but	so		
		nonpast1sg.				
even I wouldn't dar	e. but then					
• /	<i>[</i>]	. 1	. 1	, v.v.		
já I N	sem [jsem]	taky	jako.	ráznější		
I-N	am	also	like	more-forceful-Nsgf		
I also come on kind of. strong						
no	ale.	ona.	předčila	očekávání.		
but	well	she	exceeded-pastfsg	expectation-Asg.		
but well. she. exceeded expectation.						
vona [ona]	je	taková.	a	vona [ona]		
she-N	is	such-Nsgf.	and	she-N		
she is like that. and she						
jako.	jak	byla	zřejmě	v		
like.	when	was-pastfsg	obviously	in		
		was basits	ooviousiy	111		
like. obviously when she was						

tý [té]	situaci	eště [ještě].	jako	že	
that-Lsgf	situation	still.	like	that	
still in that situatio	n. like				
to	byla	pro	ní [ni]	taková	
that-Nsgn	was-pastfsg	for	her-A	such	
for her it was such					
nátlaková	situace.	že	vona [ona].	jako.	
stressful-Nsgf	situation-Nsg	that	she-N.	like.	
a stressful situation	=			111101	
to	přeháněla	no.	takže	vona [ona]	
that-Asg	overdid-pastfsg	well	so	she-N	
overdid it well. so	she				
. 1		1 1 1 1 1	v .·v1 × 1	1 1 6 × 1 1 1	
jako	v	hebounkejch [-kých]	šatičkách.	dycky [vždycky]	
like	in	silky-Lpl	dress-Lpl.	always	
	ed to be coming on stro	• •	шезз-Ері.	aiways	
rázně	přišla.	no	totiž	takhle	
forcefully	came-pastfsg	well	you-see	like-this	
well you see like th	nis				
vono [ono]	třeba	tam	ga.	fu.	
it-Nsg	perhaps	tam there	<i>se</i> REFL-A	ty those-Nplf	
it's maybe those	реттаря	uicic	KLI L-A	tilose-rypii	
is a may be anose					
holky	voblíkaj [oblékají]	eště [ještě]	jako	do	
girls-Npl	dress-nonpast3pl	still	like	to	
girls there still dres	ss like in				
°V . 1.5.7.13	V .*V 7			VI.	
růžovejch [-ých]	<i>šatiček</i> dresses-Gpl	a and	vona [ona] she-N	měla bod postfog	
pink-Gpl pink dresses and sh	•	and	SHC-IN	had-pastfsg	
prik dresses and sir	e was wearing				
šaty	jako	pučený [půjčené]	vod [od]	starší	
dress-Apl	like	borrowed-Aplf	from	older-Gsgf	
a dress like she had borrowed it from an older					
dámy.	sice	děsně	moderní	jako 111	
woman-Gsg.	admittedly	very	modern-Aplf	like	
woman. Admittedly very modern and like					
lehounký [-é]	jo [ano]	jako.	hebounký [-é]	sou [jsou]	
light-Npl	yes	like.	silky-Npl	are-nonpast3pl	
light yes and like.	<u> </u>		• •		

02				
no	prostě	nevypadala	tak	sladce
well	simply	not-looked-pastfsg	so	sweetly
well she simply did	dn't look as sweet			
jak	ty	některý [-é]	slečny	tam
like	those-Nplf	certain-Nplf	misses	there
as some of the other	er young ladies there	•		
no.	který [-é]	musely	bejt [být]	celý [-é]
well.	who-Nplf	had-to-pastfpl	be-infin	all-Nplf
well. who had to b	•	nad to publip	9 0	
ve	zlatě.	nebo	zase	celý [-é]
in	gold-Lsg.	or	again	all-Nplf
in gold. or even all		OI.	идинг	штүрп
v	růžovym [-ém].	to	je	prostě
in	pink-Lsgn	that-Nsg	is-nonpast3sg	simply
in pink. that's just		S	1 0	1 7
vidět.	jak	ty	holky	třeba
see-infin.	like	those-Nplf	girls-Npl	maybe
clear. it's like may	be those girls	•		·
nechoděj [-ějí]	jako	takhle	na	plesy.
not-go-nonpast3pl	like	this-way	to	dances-Apl.
don't like go to dan	nces.			
jo	jako.	nemaj [nemají]	prostě	ňáký [nějaké].
yes	like.	not-have-	simply	some-Aplf.
19 a t .		nonpast3pl		
yes like. they just of	don't have any			
běžný [-é]	šaty	a	příde [přijde]	jim
normal-Aplf	dresses-Apl	and	seems-nonpast3sg	them-D
normal dresses and	l it seems to them			
že	ten	maturiť ák [maturitní ples].	je	něco
that	that-Nsgm	senior prom-Nsg.	is-nonpast3sg	something-Nsg
that the senior pro	_			
děsně	nóbl [vznešené].	že	se	musej [musejí]
terribly	fancy.	that	REFL-A	must-nonpast3p
terribly fancy. that	some special dress			
ušít	ňáký [nějaké]	zvláštní	šaty	a
sew-infin	some-Nplf	special-Nplf	dress-Npl	and

pak	je	Z	toho	prostě.	
then	is-nonpast3sg	from	that-Gsgn	simply.	
then it becomes sim	iply.				
v		V 3			
že	to	třeba	jako 	je.	
that	that-Nsg	perhaps	like	is-nonpast3sg	
that it's maybe like.					
moc	zlatý [-é]	nebo.	jo.	mně	
very	gold-Nsgn	or.	yes.	me-D	
too much gold or. y	res.				
to	tam	přišlo	takový [-é]	sme [jsme]	
that-Nsg	there	seemed-pastnsg	such-Nsgn	AUX1pl	
it seemed that way t	o me there				
S	Péť ou	řikali [říkali]	že	sme [jsme]	
with	Pét'a-Isg	said-pastmpl	that	AUX1pl	
Pét'a and I were say	•	sara pastripi	inat	потпр	
strašný [strašní]	staroši.	a	že.	prostě.	
terrible-Nplmanim	old-people-Npl	and	that.	simply.	
terribly old. and tha	t. simply.				
jako	máme	k	tomu	takovej [-ý]	
like	have-nonpast1pl	to	that-Dsgn	such-Asgm	
like we have such					
nozonovatalakoi [n Víataun	i.	iak		
pozorovatelskej [- ý]	přístup	jo.	jak	se	
yı vicarious-Asgm	approach-Asg	yes.	like	REFL-A	
a vicarious attitude		yes.	iike	KEI L A	
a vicarious attitude	to it yes. no w				
chová	dnešní	zlatá	mládež	jo	
behaves-	today's-Nsgf	golden-Nsgf	youth-Nsg	yes	
nonpast3sg					
today's golden youth is behaving yes					
i když	ten	rozdíl	věkovej [-ý]	je	
even though	that-Nsgm	difference-Nsg	age-adj-Nsgm	is-nonpast3sg	
even though the age difference is					
	1 . 6 . 743				
vlastně	malej [malý]				
actually	small-Nsgm				
actually small					

Abbreviations

1 1st person
2 2nd person
3 3rd person
A accusative
anim animate
AUX auxiliary
C consonant

CCz Colloquial Czech

D dative
f, fem feminine
G genitive
I instrumental
inan inanimate
L locative

LCz Literary Czech masculine m, masc N nominative n, neut neuter pl plural pres present **REFL** reflexive singular sg

V vocative; vowel n/s non-syllabic

PPP past passive participle 0 zero suffix or ending

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