

Speaker familiarity with *nějaký* is not presupposed, but neither is it ruled out (as in the 'friend in Prague' example above). Like English *some* with animates and inherent definites ('some [sort of] contraption,' 'some guy over there,' 'some Jack Williams is here'), *nějaký* may carry a subjective speaker assessment about either the discrete

boundaries of the NP in space or time or about his own relationship to the NP: *nějaký Novák* 'some Novák (I don't know [possibly: don't like?] him,' *koná se nějaký setkání* 'some kind of meeting [I don't know what it's all about] is going on.' Systematic presentation of the facts of usage of this very important quantifier is long overdue.

Back matter for a Czech reader

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The 'back matter' (i.e., grammatical reference materials) for the proposed Czech reader are to be derived from a Czech grammar that Charles Townsend and I have been commissioned to write for LINCOM EUROPA. When I first dove into this task, I thought it should be fairly straightforward, after all, Czech is an extremely well-documented language, so I thought (naively) that this would be more a job of compiling and editing than of actual researching and writing. However, on close analysis the explanations cited in standard grammars of Czech for many common phenomena are frequently non-existent, incomplete, contradictory, or even just plain wrong. Presenting a truthful, concise grammar that is reasonably comprehensive yet fits within the desired format of 100 pages or less turns out to be no mean task. There isn't even general agreement on what patterns are recognized as the main ones and where the exceptions begin.

In just about any and every text on Czech you find the following list of diphthongs: native *ou*, foreign *au*, *eu*. Charlie countered: what about diphthongs ending in *j*? Of course they are there too, and of course their status is somewhat different (*j* is a full-fledged phoneme; *y* is not), but surely they are there - as far as I can make out, there are six diphthongs of this description: *aj*, *ij*, *ej*, *oj*, *uj*, and *új*. How did we all get away with leaving these diphthongs out of the picture all these years?

Or take stress. That should be a real 'no-brainer,' right? We all tell our students that there is a light non-phonemic stress on the first syllable. But the first syllable of what? Most of us spend considerable time trying to initiate students into the mysteries of Czech enclitics, but once we've done auxiliaries, reflexives, and pronouns, do we go on to warn them that many prepositional phrases, dummy *to*, and adverbs also behave as stressless enclitics? And, worse yet, how many of us tell them about all those proclitics in the language? Wouldn't that be too embarrassing, after we told them to stress the first syllable, to then have to admit that there are stressless proclitics? Here is a model that I've pieced together showing what I think is the maximal projection of a phonological word and where it gets its stress:

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

a = most conjunctions, *pan*, some adverbs, possessives, *všechen*, *ten* are stressless proclitics

b = monosyllabic prepositions and the pre-posed negative particle *ne-* do not bear their own stress, but receive the stress of the phonological word when present

c = stressless enclitics, in this order: auxiliary forms + *si* or *se* + dative short form pronouns + accusative short form pronouns + some prepositional phrases, adverbs, *to*

an example: a + b + stress-bearing word + c
a nedala jsi mu ho

But I'm still wondering what happens when an enclitic gets stranded after a modifying clause, like in a sentence of the type: *Ten článek o Havlové nové ženě, který jsi mi vystříhl z novin, jsem už přečetla.* I'm assuming *jsem* and *už* are stressless, but are they enclitic to *z novin* or proclitic to *přečetla*? Or try this one: *V prvních letech našeho manželství, jsem se snažil rozumět všemu, co moje žena říkala.* Both *jsem se* and *co moje* sound proclitic to me...

And then of course those clitics are not always where they are supposed to be, are they? The following examples were culled from a ten-page excerpt from Karel Čapek's *Válka s mloky*:

*Ale člověk nevydrží jenom se dívat.
Nechte to, já už ji přivážu.*

*"Se nedivím," vycedil starý pán.
Tak já mu pošlu doktora.*

We can't just ignore this phenomenon, but it's hard to find an appropriate way to address it either.

Let's move on to morphology. How many noun paradigms are there? Sova (1963) lists ten main paradigms in his table of declensions, noting, however, that two neuter types (*kuře* and *náměstí*) have been left out to simplify matters. Heim (1982) lists twelve main paradigms, but they are not the same twelve that Sova identifies; Heim recognizes the *hrdina* type, but omits the *kuře* type. Šaškova-Pierce (1995) presents 8 main paradigms. At the opposite extreme, the morphological tables in the back of the 1973 two-volume *česko-ruský slovník* identify no fewer than 263 nominal paradigms. So how many are there, and which are important? We will suggest the following system of 14 paradigms, which is most similar to that given Šmilauer's traditional *Nauka o českém jazyku* (1972):

Masculine					
Inanimate		Animate		Virile	
hard	soft	hard	soft	hard	soft
<i>rozbor</i>	<i>koš</i>	<i>bratr</i>	<i>malíř</i>	<i>přednosta</i>	<i>zachránce</i>

Feminine				Neuter			
ending in a V		ending in a C		regular		exceptional	
hard	soft	Gsg -e	Gsg -i	hard	soft	-i	-e
<i>moucha</i>	<i>práce</i>	<i>laň</i>	<i>vlast</i>	<i>město</i>	<i>letišťe</i>	<i>nábřeží</i>	<i>štěně</i>

This system highlights important generalizations, such as animacy and hard/soft correspondences, and serves as a point of departure for discussion of variations in endings.

If we move on to verbs, we see a similar problem, though not quite as vast. How many paradigms are there? We will propose a system that parallels the hard/soft pairings in the nominal system, with the superordinate parameter of long vs. short vowel desinences for the 1sg - 2pl forms, yielding four types:

	short		long	
	hard	soft	hard	soft
1sg	<i>-u</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ám</i>	<i>-im</i>
2sg	<i>-eš</i>	<i>-eš</i>	<i>-áš</i>	<i>-íš</i>
3sg	<i>-e</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-á</i>	<i>-í</i>
1pl	<i>-eme</i>	<i>-eme</i>	<i>-áme</i>	<i>-íme</i>
2pl	<i>-ete</i>	<i>-ete</i>	<i>-áte</i>	<i>-íte</i>
3pl	<i>-ou</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ají</i>	<i>-ejí / -ějí / -í</i>

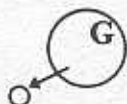
This system has the advantage of grouping together paradigms that truly seem to be associated. In the case of the paradigms with short vowel desinences, the distinction between hard and soft is being effaced in the spoken language. The issue of the 3pl ending for the long-soft paradigm will need to be addressed, but as Charlie has pointed out in other publications, this is indeed just one paradigm, and the parallel to the long-hard *-aji* ending makes the motive for the proliferation of *-ěji* transparent. Another advantage of this system of conjugations is that it can dovetail nicely with a one-stem treatment of the verbal system which will give structure to all other aspects of conjugation.

Of course I will want to devote considerable space to (hopefully) coherent accounts of case meaning and usage, and I'll devote the rest of this paper to an outline of the semantics and syntax of the genitive as an illustration.

GENITIVE: A SOURCE acts as an abstract overall schema for the genitive, variously elaborated by syntactic and lexical contexts. It should be stressed that the presentation of this diagram does not in any way suggest that speakers have this particular internal representation or that they think in pictograms, or the like. Its role is suggestive rather than definitional. It suggests that speakers have an abstract mental representation of the genitive, that the genitive entity (represented as a big circle marked with a G) is somehow cognitively prior to or more salient than (with priority and salience metaphorically implied by relative size) another entity (the little circle), and that this secondary item exists or maneuvers in or is in the immediate proximity of the genitive. Thus the genitive serves as a sort of mental address (locus, source, or destination) for something else. The meaning of this abstract schema is grounded in the universal human experiences of containers (metaphorically mapping onto the genitive entity the role of the body as a container and of other physical containers), movement along a path, and relative position.

All uses of the genitive ultimately derive from and make reference to this abstract schema. Each specific use, however, focuses on only some portions of the overall schema, which receive a more concrete interpretation. Thus we have a network of specific realizations related to each other and to the abstract schema.

GENITIVE: A SOURCE



(In this use, something is being removed from the genitive entity. This meaning of the genitive is always mediated by prepositions or genitive-governing verbs.)

prepositions: *z, s, od*

verbs:

<i>bát se</i>	be afraid of	<i>lekat se</i>	be frightened by
<i>obávat se</i>	be afraid of	<i>děsit se</i>	be terrified of
<i>hrozit se</i>	be horrified at	<i>štitit se</i>	shun, abhor
<i>stydět se</i>	be ashamed of	<i>ostýchat se</i>	be ashamed/shy of
<i>litovat</i>	regret	<i>nabažit se</i>	get sick & tired of
<i>vyvarovat se</i>	escape	<i>zdržet se</i>	refrain from
<i>vzdát se</i>	give up	<i>zřici se</i>	renounce
<i>pustit se</i>	let go of	<i>zbavit se</i>	get rid of
<i>zanechat</i>	relinquish	<i>pozbýt</i>	lose

GENITIVE: A WHOLE



(Think of this as the 'before' picture for GENITIVE: A SOURCE. It has two submeanings: belonging and quantification.)

belonging

possession - *dům mého strýce*

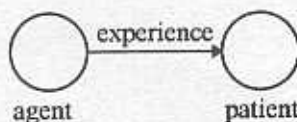
part-whole - *přizemí naší budovy*

metaphoric part-whole - *tajemství české mluvnice*

G as a set - *členové naší organizace*

G as an abstract quality - *člověk nesmírného bohatství*

relations based on canonical event structure



(The canonical event structure sets up 'belonging' relationships between pairs of its components.)

experience belongs to agent - *strach dětí, blednutí dívky*

patient belongs to agent - *omyl našeho prezidenta*

agent belongs to experience - *člověk akce*

patient belongs to experience - *výsledek jednání*

agent belongs to patient - *spisovatel dětských románů*

experience belongs to patient - *ztráta dokladů*

ambiguous examples - *návštěva tety, cvičení hasičů, krádež dětí*

quantification

with quantifier - *počet chyb*

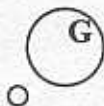
large amounts

- *tam bylo holek, najíst se (na- se verbs + pře- se verbs), na- verbs (napéct koláčů), verbs with si involving drinking alcohol líznout si, přihnout si*

small amounts - *chleba, sýra*

verbs of adding - *dodat, přidat*

GENITIVE: A REFERENCE



(Think of this as a midpoint in the GENITIVE: A SOURCE trajectory. This meaning is mediated by prepositions.)

prepositions - *u, vedle, kolem, okolo, blízko, nedaleko, za, bez, kromě*

negation (archaic) - *není divu, nemohl dechu popadnout*

GENITIVE: A TARGET



(Think of this as the GENITIVE: A SOURCE trajectory run in reverse; this meaning is likewise mediated by prepositions and verbs.)

preposition -- *do*

verbs -- *do- (se)* (get there by Xing) verbs

dosáhnout

achieve

dobyť

obtain

zmocnit se

seize possession of

chopit se

seize

chyťt se

grab hold of

dotknout se

touch

všimnout si

notice

dbát

pay heed

ptát se

ask

zastat se

stand up for

zúčastnit se

participate in

ujmout se

take up (doing X)