ANNOTATIONS AT ANALYTICAL LEVEL

Instructions for annotators

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Chapter 1. Environments

1.1. Organizational incorporation and financing

The manual annotation of Czech sentences is carried out in the framework of experimental verification of the definition of formal representation of the analysis of Czech sentences (the project GAČR 405/96/0198, "Formal representation of language structures"). The material obtained in this way (data) will be made use of in many domains of research in computational linguistics, above all as basic (training) data in projects of language modeling worked out in the framework of the "Laboratory for language data processing" (the project MŠMT VS96151) and of the Center for Computational Linguistics. These data will also be used as verification material for various partial projects within the complex program GAČR 405/96/K214 ("Czech Language in Computer Age"). It is from the mentioned additional sources that manual annotation is supported also financially, especially in order to make available a volume of data sufficient for statistical experiments as well.

1.2. Structures in the framework of the project

The project of annotation of Czech texts in the PDT covers three levels: morphological, analytical and tectogrammatical.

Annotation at all of the levels is based on Czech texts having a SGML format (CSTS DTD), which is the basic format of the Czech National Corpus (ČNK). Most of the texts have been taken directly from ČNK. The Czech texts are already divided into separate words (word-forms), sentences and paragraphs in this format. Punctuation is explicitly marked and graphic information from the original text has been preserved wherever possible. Numbers in numerical form are also marked and decimals are normalized.

Texts chosen at random (in continuous samples) from the texts of ČNK are used for annotations at all levels.

1.2.1. Morphological level

The annotation (tagging) at the morphological level is linear. To each original word-form (name of the attribute: `origf`, SGML, attribute <w>) in the text, three attributes are assigned; namely word-form, lemma and tag. Tagging is manual with the aid of a full-screen program sgd working in the environment of Linux (which, however, can be carried on through the mediation of some remote means, e.g. from DOS). We are using also a MS Windows program called DA, which is compatible with sgd at the data level and which is very close also on the GUI level. Both programs require a preliminary morphological treatment of the original text, i.e., each

word-form from it is supposed to be accompanied by a list of all possible lemmas and of their (possible) morphological categories. This assignment is done automatically on the basis of an electronic dictionary (at present the vocabulary covers some 98-99% of current newspaper or magazine texts, including names). The remaining word-forms are supplied by manual tagging. Typing errors are kept in the attribute `origf`; however, they are corrected (manually) and treated in the attribute `form`.

Morphological tagging with the aid of the program sgd (or DA) can be performed prior to annotation at the analytical level, but also after this has been accomplished, or in parallel. Both input and output data for the morphological annotation programs are in the SGML format according to the CSTS DTD. The volume of texts tagged at the morphological level is about 1.8 million tokens.

1.2.1.1. Word-form (attribute `form`, SGML attribute <f>)

In most of the cases the word-form is identical with the original word-form as it has been found in the original text including the use of lower and/or upper case letters. Exceptions occur only in case the original word-form represents

- a number containing a decimal point
- the words *aby*, *kdyby* (*to, in order to, so that, if*) (denoting purpose, condition)
- a compact (contracted) form of a preposition linked with a pronoun (e.g., *naň*, *proň*, *zaň*, *oč*, *zač*)
- a word with an *-s* added to indicate 2nd person singular of the verb *být* (*to be*) (e.g., *tys*, *ses*, *udělals*)
- a typing error

In these cases the form (`form`) is derived from the original word-form (`origf`) in the following way:

origf	# of `form` attr.	1st or the only form	2nd form
number with a decimal point	1	number with a decimal point	
form of the word *aby/kdyby*	2	*aby/kdyby*	conditional *by* in corresponding form (e.g., *bychom*)
preposition with a pronoun	2	preposition	pronoun in the corresp. (long) form (e.g. *naň* -> *na* + *něj*)
word with an *-s*	2	word without *-s*	*jsi*
typing error	1	corrected form	
typing error with contracted forms	2	see line 2 - 4 corrected	see line 2 - 4 corrected form

1.2.1.2. Lemma (`lemma`, SGML attribute <l>)

The lemma unequivocally identifies a word as a lexical unit. It is represented by a string of letters and signs which in most of the cases corresponds to the so-called dictionary form of the word, or, to put it differently, to the word-form under which the word usually figures in dictionaries.

Part of speech	Morphological categories of the word-form in the attribute `lemma`
Noun	Nominative, singular, no negation (unless there is a positive form and negation does not change the lexical meaning; pluralia tantum: the same, but in plural
Adjective	Masculinum animate, nominative, singular, no negation, 1st degree of comparison (positive)
Pronoun	If there are such categories: Nominative, singular, masculine animate, no negation; (particularly: personal pronouns only *já*, *ty*, *on* (*I*, *you*, *he*))
Numeral	If there are such categories: Nominative, singular, masculine animate, no negation
Verb	Infinitive
Adverb	1st degree, no negation
Preposition	no vocalisation
The rest	the original form

Orthographic variants are to be unified (if, of course, they represent just genuine orthographic variants and not, e.g., a shift in meaning; this concerns the category "rest" as well).

The identification string obtained in this way can be completed by additional distinguishing identification(s) which consist of a hyphen and one or more decimal numbers (e.g., `-2`). Isolated zero is not used. This identification serves for distinguishing grammatical forms belonging to different lexical units (e.g., the noun `hnát-2` versus the verb `hnát-1`, `-2` standing for *shank*, `-1` for verb *drive, pursue*; cf. English *bear* N and *bear* V). In exceptional cases such means can be used for distinguishing the meanings of a full homonym: e.g., `strana-4` (=*page*) vs. `strana-2` (=*polit. party*).

Upper- and lowercase letters play their part in distinguishing lexical units; they are used to distinguish common names from proper names otherwise identical (e.g., *trnka* vs. *Trnka* - *blackthorn* and *Trnka*, professor). The original "size" of the letters as they have been found in the text (attributes `form` or `origf`) is disregarded, i.e., if a (common) word was originally written with an uppercase letter in initial position (titles, beginning of a sentence), it is contained in the attribute `lemma` in lowercase letters only.

1.2.1.3. Morphological marker (attribute `tag`, SGML attribute <t>)

The morphological marker consists in a sequence of uppercase and lowercase letters of the English alphabet (and some other allowed symbols) and of digits. There are 15 positions in the tag (13 of them actually used) for the morphological category values.

Pos.	Category	Description	Czech Term
1	POS	Part of Speech	*Slovní druh*
2	SUBPOS	Detailed Part of Speech	*Slovní poddruh*
3	GENDER	Agreement Gender	*Rod*
4	NUMBER	Agreement Number	*Číslo*
5	CASE	Case	*Pád*
6	POSSGENDER	Possessor's Gender	*Rod vlastníka*
7	POSSNUMBER	Possessor's Number	*Číslo vlastníka*
8	PERSON	Person	*Osoba*
9	TENSE	Tense	*Čas*
10	GRADE	Degree of Comparison	*Stupeň*
11	NEGATION	Negation (by prefix)	*Negace*
12	VOICE	Voice	*Slovesný rod*
13	RESERVE1	Reserved for future use	*Rezerva*
14	RESERVE2	Reserved for future use	*Rezerva*
15	VAR	Variant, Style, Register	*Varianta, styl*

Distinguishing part-of-speech category according to the first letter of the tag:

1st letter of the `tag`	part-of-speech
N	noun
A	adjective
P	pronoun
C	numeral
V	verb
D	adverb
R	preposition
J	conjunction
I	interjection
T	particle
Z	punctuation, numeral figures, root of the tree
X	(unknown, unidentified)

For sentence boundaries the tag `Z#---------` is assigned, while for punctuation it is `Z:---------`; however, the sentence boundary is not used explicitly at the morphological level.

1.2.2. Analytical level

At present the analytical level represents the main level for structural annotation. Here linear annotation is abandoned, where each word was taken separately irrespective of context, and it is the structure of the sentence that is introduced into the annotation of the text (however, not the structure of the text). All the original words of the text are preserved and obtain their functions in the resulting structure.

By "structure" a tree is understood (a directed acyclic graph having one root) whose nodes are marked with attributes (Note: the word "attribute" is used here in its mathematical, rather than linguistic meaning - see 3.1. List of analytical functions.)

Every node has 12 attributes at present. The edges (arcs) of the tree represent relations of dependency between lexical units, or, as the case may be, relations of some other type (according to the values of the attributes). The basic objective of the annotation is to render correctly the structure of the sentence and to denote the type of dependency. A type of dependency represents one of the attributes of each node and is, understandably, oriented "upwards", i.e., towards its "governing" node.

A detailed description of the analytical level is contained in Chapter 2., *Principles of Annotation* and Chapter 3., *Rules of annotation*. The volume of data to be attained is the same as at the morphological level, i.e., 1 million words, using the same texts.

1.2.3. Tectogrammatical level

The tectogrammatical level is the highest ('underlying') level of annotation. It has been characterized in the publications on the Functional Generative Description. A tectogrammatical sentence representation prototypically has the same structure as the analytical representation; however, in specific cases some nodes may be eliminated, some added, so that the tectogrammatical structure of a sentence can differ from that at the analytical level. From the technical point of view the tectogrammatical level is being specified elsewhere and the work at "manual" annotation is supposed to be continued.

No volume objective has been set as an aim here. The first experimental sample is supposed to be compiled of a size of about 1000 sentences.

Chapter 2. Principles of Annotation

By “principles” basic points of departure for annotation at the analytical level are meant.

2.1. Formal structure

The representation of the structure of a sentence is rendered in the form of a tree - a connected acyclic directed graph in which no more than one edge leads into a node, and whose nodes are labeled with complex symbols (sets of attributes). The edges are not labeled (in the technical sense - see Note with the attribute `afun` in 2.2. Attributes of a node).

2.2. Attributes of a node

There are twelve attributes of a node at present.

Attribute Name	Description
lemma	lemma (see 1.2.1.2. Lemma (`lemma`, SGML attribute <l>))
tag	morphological category, tag (see 1.2.1.3. Morphological marker (attribute `tag`, SGML attribute <t>))
form	word-form after contingent adjustments (see 1.2.1.1. Word-form (attribute `form`, SGML attribute <f>))
afun	analytical function, or, to put it differently, type of relation to immediately governing node
lemid	further/closer identification of lemma (esp. for lemmas which consist of more words)
mstag	morphological-syntactic tag
origf	original form of the word (see 1.2.1.1. Word-form (attribute `form`, SGML attribute <f>))
origap	formatting info preceding original word-form
gap1	formatting info preceding the word-form, part 1
gap2	formatting info preceding the word-form, part 2
gap3	formatting info preceding the word-form, part 3
ord	serial number of the form in the sentence

From the point of view of manual annotation at analytical level only the attribute `afun` is essential, which is inserted in most of the cases manually. Attribute `form` represents the form of the word which figured as input in the morphological analysis and which almost always corresponds to the original form of the word in the text (for exceptions see 1.2.1.1. Word-form (attribute `form`, SGML attribute <f>)). The attributes `tag` and `lemma` may contain values still undistinguished; this may happen in cases in which the manual annotation at morphological level failed to be carried out so far. In future the attribute `lemid` will be used to identify lexical units which consist of more words, or, as the case may be, to distinguish lexical units which behave in the same manner as far as morphology is concerned, but in a different way as regards syntax. The attribute `mstag` will be used as intermediate stage between morphological information (`tag`) and the so-called grammatemes at tectogrammatical level. It will, e.g., contain verbal tense, which cannot be stated at the morphological level (in full) - e.g., past tense.

The rest of the attributes is purely technical (`origf`, `origap`, `gap1`, `gap2`, `gap3`, `ord`). (In the programme GRAPH the value of the attribute `origf` appears at the lower margin of the screen.)

The attribute `afun`, which is the most important one from the point of view of the analytical level, does not relate directly to the node concerned, it belongs to the edge leading from the given node towards its governing (head) node. Only for technical reasons (since the necessity of assigning attributes to edges has been discarded) it is assigned to the subordinate node. In annotating, however, it is very useful to be aware of this fact since it helps to a better understanding of connections between some rules of annotation (e.g., thus the "meaningless" position of the function `Pred`, the special position of coordination and apposition, or the way of marking off a parenthesis become more clear and understandable).

2.3. Relation to the morphological level

A tree representing a sentence contains all word-forms of the sentence including symbols of punctuation. Besides it contains only the root, whose attributes can take on the following values:

Attribute name	Value
Lemma	#
tag	ZSB
form	#<serial number of the sentence in the framework of the file given in `mstag`
afun	`AuxS`
lemid	<identification of the sentence in the framework of ČNK>
mstag	<identification of the file for manual annotation at analytical level>
origf	#<serial number of the sentence in the file given in `mstag`
origap	space for annotator's notes
gap1	
gap2	
gap3	
ord	0

The number of nodes of a sentence tree equals the number of word-forms at the morphological level (including punctuation marks) plus one. In manual annotation no node is allowed to be cancelled or added.

Chapter 3. Rules of annotation

In the following text under 'assignment' or 'function' always the value of the attribute `afun` is meant. Such formulations as "to suspend node x under node y" or "node x depends on node y" mean that node y is the governing node of node x. In graphic representation a governing node stands always higher than a dependent node. (For the definition of the graph of sentence representation see 1.2.2. Analytical level)

The rules for annotation at analytical level deal with sentence structure only (i.e., with determining which word depends on which) and with identifying the types of dependency (in terms of analytic functions). The structure of the sentence is captured directly in the graph of the sentence, the analytical function being represented as the value of the attribute `afun`. The other attributes serve as information for the annotator only - their values either have already been fixed or are to be determined in another way. Annotators are allowed to insert in addition to the values of the attribute `afun` just notes into the values of the attributes agreed upon (`origap` for the whole sentence, `mstag` for individual nodes). Owing to technical reasons also such edges can be found in the graphic representation that do not correspond to the traditional concept of grammatical dependency (e.g., coordination, apposition, "distant" dependency if an ellipsis occurs in the sentence, compound (improper) prepositions and conjunctions, etc.). For the sake of simplicity even for these edges such terms as "depends", "is susended, hangs", etc. will be used. Where confusion is impending, it will be explicitly stated whether grammatical or "technical" dependency is the case.

For manual annotation the input data are preprocessed with the aid of programmes, which impress an initial structure on the sentence annotated at the morphological level and convert it to the format required by the programme for manual annotation (GRAPH). The initial structure is trivial - each word is regarded as dependent on the word immediately preceding. The only exception represent punctuation marks at the end of the sentence, which will depend on the root of the tree. In the course of this initialisation even such functions are preliminarily assigned with which there is high probability that their automatic assignation is correct. The attribute `afun` with other nodes obtains value `???`, so that in using the programme GRAPH the still unprocessed nodes can be identified at first sight.

The annotation proceeds in the following way:

1. The root of the tree is formed by an added node marked with # (see 3.2.8.1. The root of the tree `AuxS`).
2. In a prototypically structured sentence, the predicate of the sentence depends on the root together with a node labelled in accordance with the final punctuation mark. If the sentence has no predicate, the "remaining" sentence parts may be suspended here side by side (see point 4); in a compound sentence the main node for coordination depends on the root (see point 5).

3. We comply with the principles of dependency analysis:

   - we look up the predicate of the sentence (which will be suspended according to point 2, see 3.2.1. Predicate `Pred`, `Pnom`, `AuxV`),
   - we find the subject of the sentence (in our conception it depends on the predicate, see 3.2.2. Subject `Sb`),
   - we find all other verbal complements (`Obj`, `Adv`, or `Atv`, `AtvV`),
   - we determine the modifying elements of verbal complements (`Atr`, `Obj`, `Adv`, `Atv`, `AtvV`). However, also all other (remaining) nodes must be dependent (sometimes only in a purely technical way), see 3.2.7. Auxiliary sentence members `AuxC`, `AuxP`, `AuxZ`, `AuxO`, `AuxT`, `AuxR` and `AuxY` and 3.2.8. Graphic symbols (punctuation); the root of the tree `AuxS`, `AuxK`, `AuxX`, `AuxG`).

4. If there is an ellipsis and if an element lacks its governing node, we use a special marker `ExD` (3.3.1. Ellipsis `ExD`, `ExD_Co`). Essentially, also a one-member non-verbal sentence is regarded as an ellipsis (3.3.2. One-member sentences without a verb `ExD`, `ExD_Co`).
5. The problems of coordination and apposition (`Coord`, <afun>`_Co` and `Apos`, <afun>`_Ap`) are solved technically by choosing the so-called main node (a conjunction, a comma etc.) that depends on a higher node; individual members of coordination or apposition constructions then 'depend' on this node (technically).
6. Parenthetical parts of sentences are denoted by a special affix (3.5. Parenthesis).

All rules and functions are described in detail in the corresponding special sections. Moreover, in the section 3.6. Complex phenomena solutions of some more complex phenomena are described, which could not be included in the above sections.

The rules have been designed and formulated so as to cover as many language phenomena as possible. Owing to the character of natural languages, of course, it has been impossible to capture everything. Therefore, also utterances not corresponding to structures described in our rules occur in the corpus. In such exceptional cases the decisions have been left up to the annotators' language feeling to let the annotators decide individually.

The rules for annotation at the analytical level (or the description of the sentence representation at analytical level and its relation to the morphological level) are based above all on the principles of annotation (Chapter 2., *Principles of Annotation*), on the demand for consistency, the need to explicitly capture the relations between all occurences of word-forms in the sentence, and in view of the assumed representation of the sentence at the tectogrammatical level. Wherever possible they observe traditional conceptions of Czech grammar as it is described especially in V. Šmilauer's book 'Novočeská skladba' (Modern Czech Syntax). It should be pointed out that relatively frequent differences can be met owing to the

"non-computational" orientation of the handbook in question, where a number of quite common phenomena fail to be explicitly, systematically and sometimes even consistently described. We also differ from the handbook in understanding the subject as depending on the predicate (see the part 2.1.2.2. Modifying predicate and the part 3.2.2.2. Definition of subject).

To give an example of the complications: the predicate often consists of more words and we have to intercept each of them separately. Therefore, in addition to the function `Pred` for the main node of the predicate we also use the symbols `AuxV` for the auxiliary verb *to be* (see 3.2.1.3. Compound verb forms) and `Pnom` for the nominal part of the predicate (see 2.1.6.1. the structure of verbal-nominal predicate).

If a predicate is connected with an infinitive, we label the latter as `Obj`, which otherwise denotes classical object (see 2.1.5.1. The structure of the compound verbal predicate). The afun `Atr` is used not only for classical attribute, but also for certain elements of compound addresses and names (see 3.6.2. Addresses and names of persons and institutions), for items in foreign language texts (see 3.6.10. Foreign words in the text) and for the elements of numerical expressions (which are difficult to represent anyway since various further problems get involved, see 3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions). In addition, we also introduce the so-called combined functions (see 3.2.3.3. Combined functions).

As compared with Šmilauer's conception, we also define in a slightly different way the border lines between individual sentence parts, particularly of the object (see 3.2.4.2. Definition of `Obj`), adverbial (see 3.2.5.2. Specification of adverbials) and complement (see 3.2.6.2. Definition of complement).

With some examples which illustrate individual rules, graphs representing parts of sentences roughly in the shape in which they are rendered in the annotation by programme GRAPH are used. In this way the values of the attributes `form` (the upper text with a node) and `afun` (the lower part of the text, below the value of the attribute `form`) are represented.

3.1. List of analytical functions

In the following chart all admissible values of the attribute `afun` are listed.

afun	Description
Pred	Predicate, a node not depending on another node; depends on #
Sb	Subject
Obj	Object
Adv	Adverbial
Atv	Complement (so-called determining) technically hung on a non-verb. element
AtvV	Complement (so-called determining) hung on a verb, no 2nd gov. node
Atr	Attribute
Pnom	Nominal predicate, or nom. part of predicate with copula *be*
AuxV	Auxiliary vb. *be*
Coord	Coord. node
Apos	Apposition (main node)
AuxT	Reflex. tantum
AuxR	Ref., neither Obj nor AuxT, Pass. refl.
AuxP	Primary prepos., parts of a secondary p.
AuxC	Conjunction (subord.)
AuxO	Redundant or emotional item, 'coreferential' pronoun
AuxZ	Emphasizing word
AuxX	Comma (not serving as a coordinating conj.)
AuxG	Other graphic symbols, not terminal
AuxY	Adverbs, particles not classed elsewhere
AuxS	Root of the tree (#)
AuxK	Terminal punctuation of a sentence
ExD	A technical value for a deleted item; also for the main element of a sentence without predicate (Externally-Dependent)
AtrAtr	An attribute of any of several preceding (syntactic) nouns
AtrAdv	Structural ambiguity between adverbial and adnominal (hung on a name/noun) dependency without a semantic difference
AdvAtr	Dtto with reverse preference
AtrObj	Structural ambiguity between object and adnominal dependency without a semantic difference
ObjAtr	Dtto with reverse preference

3.2. A simple sentence (clause) containing a verb; parts of sentence in a dependency relation

3.2.1. Predicate `Pred`, `Pnom`, `AuxV`

3.2.1.1. INFO PRED

In this section our conception of predicate will be described. In its representation mainly three functions are used - `Pred`, `Pnom` and `AuxV`. We shall start by the general part 3.2.1.2. Delimitation of the predicate, which falls into two subdivisions. In the first (2.1.2.1. Dependency of the predicate) the reader will be instructed how and where the predicate of the main, and that of the dependent clause, are to be suspended, and in the second (2.1.2.2. Modifying predicate) it is specified what are te possible dependents of the predicate. The subsequent part (3.2.1.3. Compound verb forms) is devoted to the function `AuxV`, used to represent compound verbal forms containing the verb *to be*.

According to some conceptions there are four kinds of predicates. They are described in the following four divisions. In the division 3.2.1.4. Simple verbal predicate a *simple verbal predicate* which consists of one word can be found. *Compound verbal predicate* consists of more words and involves either marked modality or the phases of an event. The part 3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate devoted to it consists of three subdivisions. In 2.1.5.1. The structure of the compound verbal predicate its inner structure is dealt with, in 2.1.5.2. Modification of a compound predicate it is its modification, and in 2.1.5.3. Problem of subject and object with compound predicate a minor problem is pointed out concerning its subject or object. The *verbal-nominal predicate* follows in the subdivision 3.2.1.6. verbal nominal predicate. In the first subdivision, 2.1.6.1. the structure of verbal-nominal predicate we again deal with its structure and we introduce the afun value `Pnom`, by which the nominal part of this type of a predicate is denoted. This can be expressed in several ways: nominative of a noun (2.1.6.2. Representation of `Pnom` by agreeing noun in nominative), genitive of a noun 2.1.6.4. Representation of `Pnom` by incongruent genitive noun), a compound adjective (2.1.6.5. Representation of `Pnom` by a compound form of adjective), a nominal adjective (2.1.6.6. Representation of `Pnom` by a nominal form of adjective), infinitive (2.1.6.7. Representation of `Pnom` by an infinitive), possessive pronoun (2.1.6.8. Representation of `Pnom` by a possesive pronoun), numerical expression (2.1.6.9. Representation of `Pnom` by a numerical expression) and a subordinate clause (2.1.6.10. Representation of `Pnom` by a subordinate sentence). What fails to be included in this list and what appears to be similar to a possible expression of a nominal part of the predicate, is usually an adverbial (`Adv`). This fact is mentioned in 2.1.6.11. Possible mistaking of `Pnom` for `Adv`.

Further on, in the subdivision 2.1.6.12. Modification of verbal-nominal predicate the modification of the verbal nominal predicate is discussed. The last type of a predicate is the *purely nominal predicate*, which we, as a matter of fact, do not regard as a predicate, see the part 3.2.1.7. Predicate purely nominal in two-member sentences.

The last part of this section, called 3.2.1.8. Distinguishing state and passive is devoted to distinguishing 'state' from passive. The state exhibits the structure of the verbal-nominal predicate, while the passive is a verbal predicate with the auxiliary *be*.

3.2.1.2. Delimitation of the predicate

The Predicate represents a basic sentence part, i.e., by means of which some property, state, change or activity is attributed to the subject.

2.1.2.1. Dependency of the predicate

The predicate is the head (governing word) of its clause. The predicate of the main clause represents the root of the tree for the sentence, however, technically it is suspended under the initial symbol of the tree (labelled #) and it obtains afun `Pred`. In subordinate clauses it is not denoted as `Pred` but by a corresponding function of the subordinate clause (see the examples (2), (3), (4) below).

With subordinate clauses introduced by a reflexive pronoun (*který which*, *kdo who*, ...) or pronominal adverb (*kde where*, *kdy when*, ...), their predicates get suspended directly under the node governing the whole subordinate clause, while the introducing element depends on a the part of the subordinate clause (exx. (2), (3)). If a subordinate attributive clause is introduced by a conjunction, this conjunction gets suspended under the governing item and the subordinate predicate depends on the conjunction (if need be, cf. 3.2.7.1. Subordinating conjunctions `AuxC`).

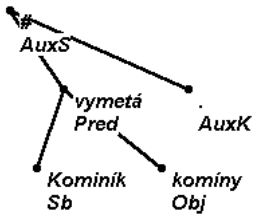
All this holds to the last bit if coordination of more main or subordinate clauses is not the case. As regards coordination, the rules contained in 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> _`Co` must be applied in addition.

The predicates described below are *emphasized*.

Note

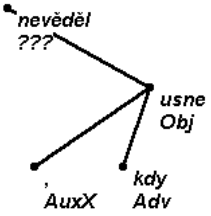
In the examples (of parts) of analytical tree structures, the nodes are labelled by Czech lemmas and analytical functions (afuns); for each tree we present (the part of) the Czech sentence the structure of which it represents, accompanied by English glosses; in case the glosses would not give sufficient information about the phenomenon under discussion, we add a literal or full English translation of the Czech sentence.

1.



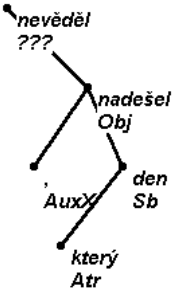
Kominík *vymetá* komíny .
Chimneysweep *sweeps* chimneys .

2.



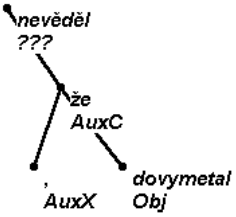
nevěděl, kdy *usne*
did-not-know when *falls-asleep*

3.



nevěděl, který *nadešel* den
did-not-know which *came* day

4.

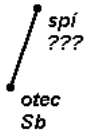


nevěděl, že *dovymetal*
did-not-know that *he-had-finished-sweeping*

2.1.2.2. Modifying predicate

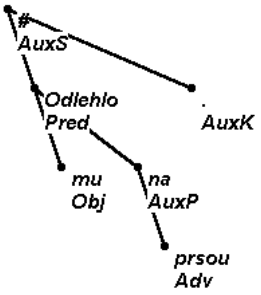
A predicate can have inner (obligatory) and free complements (dependents). They are classified as an object, an adverbial and a complement. Also the so-called sunken parentheses (not separated by commas - 3.2.7.7. Parts of multi-word constructions, some particles, decayed parenthesis `AuxY`) and sometimes even emphasizing particles (3.2.7.3. Emphasizing words `AuxZ`) can be hung on the predicate. For technical reasons even a whole range of further parts of the sentence can be represented as 'dependent' on the predicate.

If a *subject* is contained in the clause it depends on the predicate, cf. the following example:



otec spí
father sleeps

In sentences in which subject is not expressed, Czech being a pro-drop language (e.g. *Půjdeme na pivo Shall go out for a beer*), we do not complete the subject into the clause, as distinct from what is usual in traditional grammars. This follows from the postulate in 2.3. Relation to the morphological level, according to which no nodes may be added or taken out of a tree structure. Thus, from the point of view of their outward look, they have the same structure as one-member verbal sentences which have no subject (e.g. *Venku prší*, lit. *Outside is raining*). The main element of a *one-member verbal sentence* is constituted by the predicate and it is assigned afun `Pred` in the main clause, or the corresponding function of a subordinate clause in the subordinate clause.

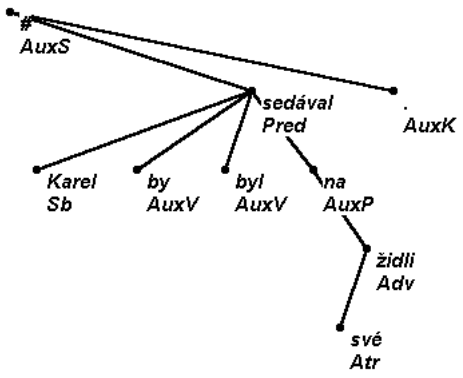


Odlehlo mu na prsou .
it-relieved him on chest .

3.2.1.3. Compound verb forms

The verbal part of a predicate (without modal verbs) can be expressed by a simple or a compound form; the latter form (past or future tense, conditional, passive etc.) contains one or more forms of the auxiliary verb *být to be*.

The term "compound verb form" must be distinguished from "compound verbal predicate" (the part 3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate), with which the whole predicate is composed of a modal or phase verb and a verb form of the finite verb. All auxiliary verbs with a compound (analytical) verb form will be denoted afun `AuxV` and suspended under the "lexical" part of the verb form. To distinguish passive (with `AuxV`) from verbal nominal predicate see the part 3.2.1.8. Distinguishing state and passive.

1. 

Karel by byl sedával na své židli
Karel would be-`Past` used-to-sit on his chair
Charles would have used to sit in his chair.

3.2.1.4. Simple verbal predicate

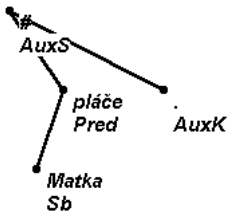
A predicate is usually represented by a finite verb form, either 'lexical' (ex. (1)), or *být to be* as a 'substitute' (ex. (2)), or as the verb of existence ((3), (4)). In connection with the forms of *být*, note the parts 3.2.1.3. Compound verb forms (compound verbal forms) and 3.2.1.8. Distinguishing state and passive (distinguishing between a 'state' and the passive).

The predicate can also be represented by a word which becomes a syntactic verb. In the example (5) this is an interjection.

Also the words *lze can* and *nelze cannot* are regarded as syntactic verbs (ex. (7)).

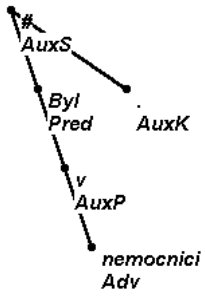
Examples (the simple verbal predicate with afun `Pred` is *emphasized*):

1.



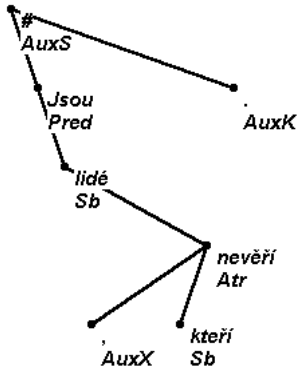
matka *pláče*
mother *weeps*

2.



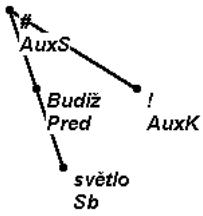
byl v nemocnici
he-was in hospital

3.



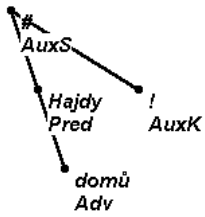
Jsou lidé, kteří nevěří
are people who do-not-believe
There are people who do not believe

4.



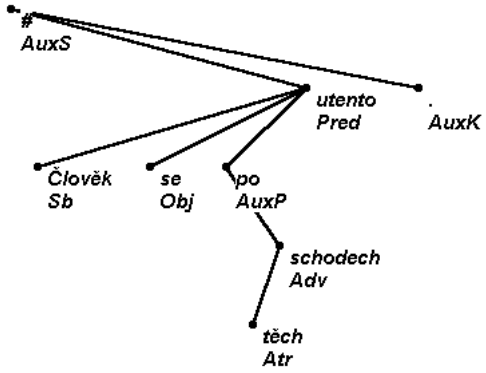
Budiž světlo!
let-be light
Let it be light!

5.



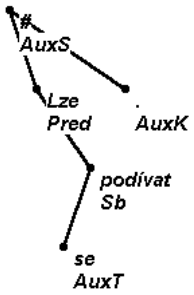
Hajdy domů !
Hurrah home !
Hurrah for home!

6.



člověk se po těch schodech *utento*
one `Refl.` on those stairs *gets-done*
One gets done (in) on those stairs.

7.



Lze se podívat
one-can `Refl.` look
One can have a look.

3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate

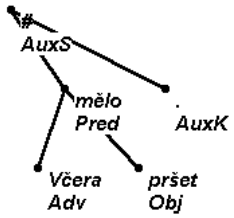
2.1.5.1. The structure of the compound verbal predicate

The compound predicate (composed of the infinitive of a finite verb and of a finite form of a modal or phase verb) is regarded as a connection of `Pred` and its `Obj` (infinitive).

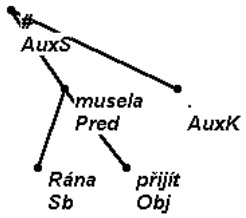
The infinitive does not represent a classical object, the concept of afun `Obj` being a little wider here. Accordingly, this function never passes into afun `Sb` as can be the case with classical objects, e.g., with passivisation. The infinitive in compound predicates represents `Obj` under any circumstances.

With modal verbs (except for *dá se can be*) the particle *se* can never get afun `AuxT`; only in some cases it is assigned afun `AuxR`.

The part denoted `Pred` is *emphasized* type.

1. 

Včera *mělo* pršet
yesterday *it-should* rain
It should have rained yesterday

2. 

Rána *musela* přijít
blow *should* come
The blow had to come

2.1.5.2. Modification of a compound predicate

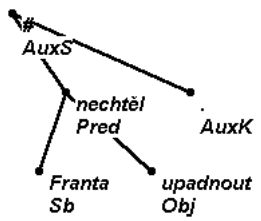
Essentially, there are two possibilities where to suspend the node that modifies a compound predicate - under the node with afun `Pred` (finite verb) or under the node with afun `Obj` (infinitive). The rules which decide are as follows (analogous with the rules for modifying verbal nominal predicate - the part 2.1.6.12. Modification of verbal-nominal predicate below).

The subject always depends on the node with afun `Pred` (ex. (1), (2)). All valency modifications (i.e., both objects and obligatory adverbials) depend on the verb having such valency, i.e., on the infinitive (ex. (3), (4), (5)). As regards the remaining adverbials, they are suspended according to intuition. If we feel clear dependence (semantic appropriateness) of a free modification on an infinitive, we suspend it in this way. E.g., the adverbial complementation *for apples* in a clause *you may come for apples* belongs to the infinitive. On the other hand, the complementation *due to*

illness in a clause *he could not come due to illness* belongs to the finite verb. In case no clear dependence is felt (usually with local, time and broad respect determinations) we suspend them under the finite verb (ex. (6), (7)). The adverbial determinations dependent on `Pred` relate through `Pred` to the whole compound predicate.

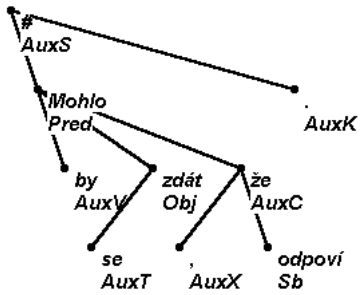
Also the infinitive of the copula *být to be* can depend on the modal finite verb, with `Pnom` depending on the copula (e.g. *může to být pro obchodníky nepřijatelné this may be unacceptable for businessmen*; *omluva nemusí být závazkem an apology need not be an obligation*). There are then three options as for the position of an `Adv` - modal verb, copula and `Pnom`; we comply to rules of a whole and of clear dependence; lists of respective valency frames will be used.
Examples:

1.



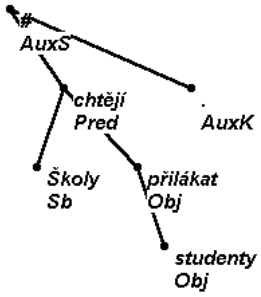
Franta nechtěl upadnout
Franta did-not-want to-fall

2.



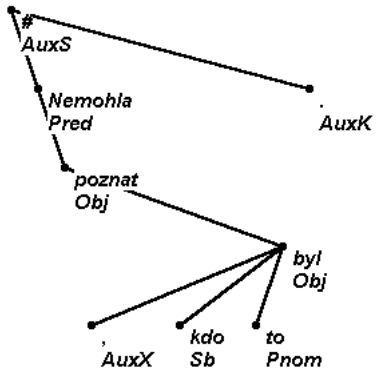
Mohlo by se zdát, že odpoví
It-could be-`Cond.` `Refl.` appear that he-would-reply

3.



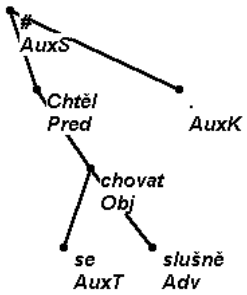
školy chtějí přilákat studenty
schools want to-allure students

4.



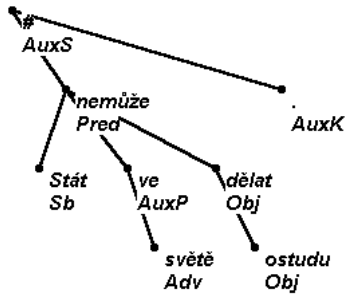
nemohla poznat, kdo to byl
she-could-not recognize who that was

5.



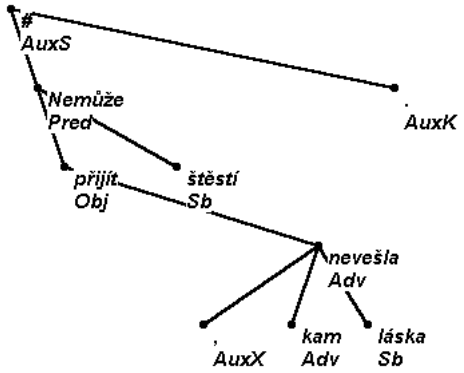
chtěl se chovat slušně
he-wanted `Refl.` to-behave well

6.



stát nemůže ve světě dělat ostudu
state may-not in world cause scandal

7.



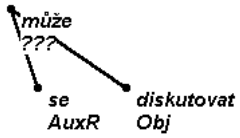
nemůže přijít štěstí, kam nevešla láska
cannot come happiness where has-not-come love
No happiness can come where love failed to arrive

2.1.5.3. Problem of subject and object with compound predicate

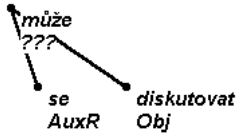
In what follows, five examples of representation of compound predicate are presented. As has been pointed out above, the infinitive with a modal verb always is handled as its `Obj`. In the first example the infinitive belongs to a verb not having an object participant, which fact makes the situation simple and clear.

The subsequent two examples differ in their structure. If to an infinitive of a verb having an object participant (as here) such a particular object in the proper form is found (here the accusative *pravdu truth*), it depends on this infinitive as an `Obj`. Should, however, such an element fulfilling semantically the function of an (underlying) object, as is the case with the nominative form (*pravda*) in a reflexive clause, it becomes the subject of the whole clause (`Sb`).

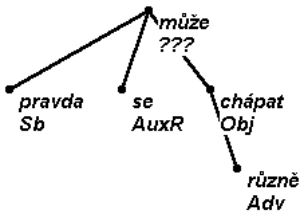
This also holds in the case in which Nominative and Accusative are expressed by an ambiguous form. Such cases are illustrated by the last two examples.

1. 

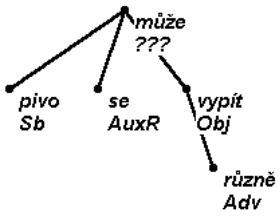
   může se diskutovat
   it-can Refl. to-discuss
   it can be discussed

2. 

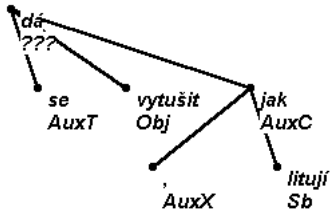
   pravdu se může chápat různě
   truth-Acc Refl. it-can understand differently
   one can understand truth in different ways

3. 

   pravda se může chápat různě
   truth-Nom Refl. can understand differently
   truth can be understood in different ways

4. 

   pivo se může vypít různě
   beer-Acc/Nom Refl. can drink differently
   beer can be drunk in different ways

5. 

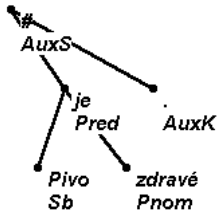
dá se vytušit, jak litují
it-can `Refl.` imagine how they-regret
it can be imagined how they regret

3.2.1.6. verbal nominal predicate

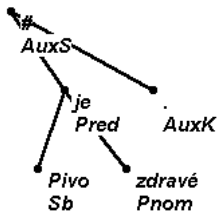
2.1.6.1. the structure of verbal-nominal predicate

The verbal-nominal predicate consists of a verbal (copula in finite form) and a nominal (adjective, noun, ...) part. The copula gets afun `Pred`. The nominal part of the predicate obtains the function `Pnom` and depends on the copula.

In our approach, only the verb *být to be* is regarded as copula, although in current grammars also such verbs as *become* etc. can be handled in this way.
Examples:

1. 

Pivo je zdravé
beer is healthy

2. 

Tonda byl skvělý člověk
Tony was excellent man

In the part 3.2.6.4. Misinterpretation of complement the problem of commutability (formal similarity) of the nominal part of predicate and complement is discussed.

If copula is absent in the sentence (elided), the procedure remains the same as is usual with ellipses (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis `ExD`, `ExD_Co`) and all the nodes which would depend on the absent copula (i.e., including the nominal part) obtain afun `ExD` (see also 3.2.1.7. Predicate purely nominal in two-member sentences).

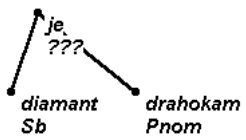
However, there are *exceptions* to this rule, concerning words like *třeba necessary*, *nutno urgent*, *možno possible*, *záhodno advisable* and their negative forms. Such words obtain afun `Pred` and take thus the function of the whole predicate in the tree. The part 3.1.4.1. Ellipsis of copula with some verbo-nominal predicates is devoted to this phenomenon.

za hodinu možno házet kamením
in an-hour allowed to-throw stones
throwing stones allowed in an hour

2.1.6.2. Representation of `Pnom` by agreeing noun in nominative

If the nominal part of the predicate is expressed by a noun in nominative (in which, as a rule, also subject is expressed) and if we are in doubt to which noun in the sentence `Pnom` and to which `Sb` is to be assigned, we can find help in that we try to use one of them in instrumental. The noun which can be transformed in this way (*diamant je drahokamem the diamond is a precious stone*) in the sentence obtains the function `Pnom`.

1.



diamant je *drahokam*
diamond is *precious-stone*

2. jídlo je životní *úkon*
   eating is life *function*

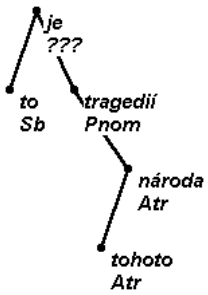
3. on je *marnivec*
   he is *vain-man*

4. to je *otec*
   this is *father*

2.1.6.3. Representation of `Pnom` by an agreeing noun in instrumental

`Pnom` printed *emphasised*.

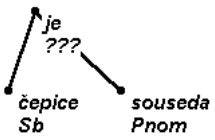
1. já budu *učitelem*
   I shall-be *teacher*

2. 

   to je *tragedií* tohoto národa
   this is *tragedy* this-`Gen` nation-`Gen`
   this is the tragedy of this people

2.1.6.4. Representation of `Pnom` by incongruent genitive noun

This manner of expression is rare. Anyway, it is necessary to find out whether some `Adv` is not the case (e.g., in such sentences as *bylo to roku 1921* (*it happened in the year 1921*), which is a time adverbial, 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases)). `Pnom` is *emphasized*:

1. 

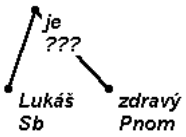
   čepice je *souseda*
   cap is *neighbour's*

2. Franta je vysokého *vzrůstu*
   Frank is high *stature-*`Gen`
   Frank is of high stature

3. je dobré *mysli*
   he-is good *mind-*`Gen`
   he is of good cheer

2.1.6.5. Representation of `Pnom` by a compound form of adjective

`Pnom` is *emphasized*

1. 

   Lukáš je *zdravý*
   Lucas is *well*

2. jeho styl je *básnický*
   his style is *poetic*

2.1.6.6. Representation of `Pnom` by a nominal form of adjective

`Pnom` is *emphasized*

1.

   je velmi *laskav*
   he-is very *kind*

2. pacient je *sláb*
   patient is *weak*

3. bude na světě *sám*
   he-will-be in world *alone*
   he will be alone in the world

If `Pnom` is verbal, it is not always easy to distinguish passive from state, a problem dealt with in the part 3.2.1.8. Distinguishing state and passive. Neuter "short" adjective forms (*platno of use*, *jasno clear*, *zřejmo obvious*) obtain afun `Pnom`, provided a pronominal form of dative can be inserted into the sentence. If this is not possible, afun `Adv` must be assigned. This difference is illustrated by the following examples:

1. je (mu) *zřejmo* (`Pnom`)
   it-is (he-`Dat`) *obvious*
   it is obvious (to him)

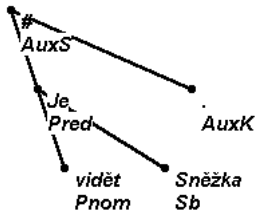
2. je (jí) *těžko* (`Pnom`)
   it-is (she-`Dat`) *hard*
   it is hard (for her)

3. je (mi) *nesnadno* přijít (`Pnom`)
   it-is (I-`Dat`) *difficult* to-come
   it is difficult (for me) to come

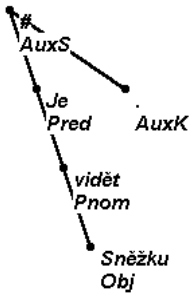
4. but:
   dnes je *slunečno* (Adv)
   today it-is *sunny*
   it is sunny today

2.1.6.7. Representation of Pnom by an infinitive

In the part 2.1.6.12. Modification of verbal-nominal predicate (modification of verbal-nominal predicate) below, it is pointed out that e.g. the word *Sněžka* (name of a mountain) depends on the copula *je is* as its subject, while in the accusative form it is an object depending on the infinitive.

1. 

   je *vidět* Sněžka
   it-is *to-see* Sněžka-Nom
   Sněžka can be seen

2. 

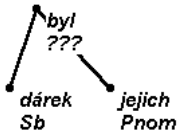
   je *vidět* Sněžku
   it-is *to-see* Sněžka-Acc
   it is possible to see Sněžka

3. je *cítit* síra
   it-is *to-smell* sulphur-Nom
   sulphur can be smelled

4. je *cítit* síru
   it-is *to-smell* sulphur-Acc
   it is possible to smell sulphur

2.1.6.8. Representation of Pnom by a possesive pronoun

Pnom is *emphasized*

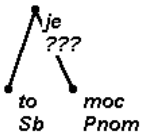
1. 

   dárek byl *jejich*
   gift was *theirs*

2. šátek je *matčin*
   scarf is *mother's*

2.1.6.9. Representation of Pnom by a numerical expression

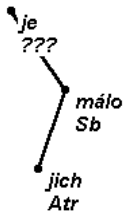
Pnom is *emphasized*

1. 

   to je *moc*
   it is much
   this is too much

2. věk byl *14*
   age was 14

It holds that a numerical expression obtains the function Pnom only if there is another subject in the sentence. If this is not so, the numerical expression takes over the role of the subject and it can be modified by an attribute (with this problem also the part 6.3.3. Genitive in the function of Sb, Obj and in the function of their Atr is concerned.)

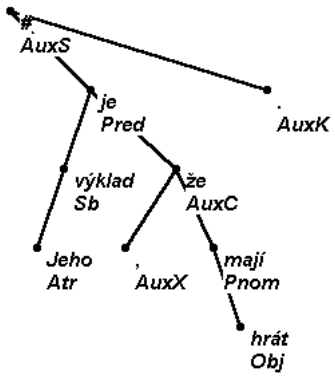
1. 

   je jich *málo* (Sb)
   it-is they-Gen *few*
   there are few of them

2. je nás *pět* (Sb)
   it-is we-Gen *five*
   there is five of us

2.1.6.10. Representation of Pnom by a subordinate sentence

Pnom is *emphasized*

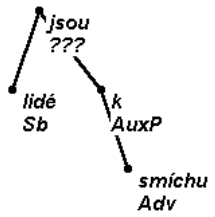


jeho výklad je, že *mají* hrát
his interpretation is that *they-ought* to-play

2.1.6.11. Possible mistaking of Pnom for Adv

The non-verbal part of the predicate can only be expressed by the eight possibilities mentioned above. A prepositional case, adverbs and interjections are regarded as Adv.

Adv are *emphasized*

1. 

   lidé jsou k *smíchu*
   people are to *a-smile*
   people are ridiculous

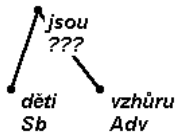
2. to je k *popukání*
   this is to *split*
   this is (enough) to (make you) split (your sides with laughter)

3. co to je za *bláznovství*
   what this is for *foolishness*
   what for a foolishness is this

4. už je na *cestě*
   already he-is on *way*
   he is on the way already

5. býval bez *skrupulí*
   he-used-to-be without *scruples*
   he used to be unscrupulous

6. to je *jinak*
   this is *differently*

7. 

   děti jsou *vzhůru*
   children are *awake*

8. je *pozdě* litovat
   it-is *late* to-lament
   it is too late to lament

9. to je mi *fuk*
   it is I-Dat *nothing*
   I don't care a damn

Constructions with *jako like* are not regarded as Pnom, either; they represent cases of comparison having the function of Adv; however, owing to ellipsis, often afun ExD is used. How to treat these constructions can be found in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*).

ExD are *emphasized*

1. chlapec je jako *obrázek*
   boy is like *picture*
   the boy is as pretty as a picture

2. on je jako *opařený*
   he is like *dumbfounded*

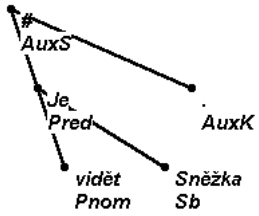
2.1.6.12. Modification of verbal-nominal predicate

Modification of verbal-nominal predicate complies with rules analogous to those which modify compound predicate (part 2.1.5.2. Modification of a compound predicate). Subject always depends on the copula (ex. (1)). While in the example mentioned above *Sněžka* is Subject, in the example *je vidět Sněžku* (*it is possible to see Sněžka*) (ex. (2)) the word *Sněžka* is an object of *vidět* (*to see*).

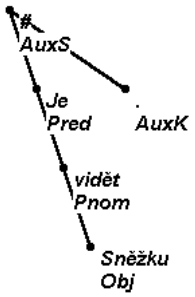
The valency complements (Obj as well as obligatory Adv) depend on the element which has this valency (Pnom, as a rule - ex. (3)). Also free adverbials can depend on Pnom, if they tend towards it strongly owing to their meaning. If, however, we do not feel such tendencies (especially with local, time and wide respect determinations) we suspend them under the copula (ex. (4)).

Note

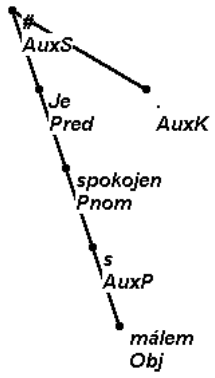
The decision is very complicated especially with the form *pro*+Acc *for*. If a noun in dative could be used at the same time, free Adv may prevail (*je pro názornost určen všem uživatelům for the sake of intuitiveness it is destined for all users*), with Adv dependent on copula; if *pro* competes with dative, it is rather Obj, dependent on Pnom.

1. 

je vidět Sněžka
it-is to-see Sněžka-Nom
Sněžka can be seen

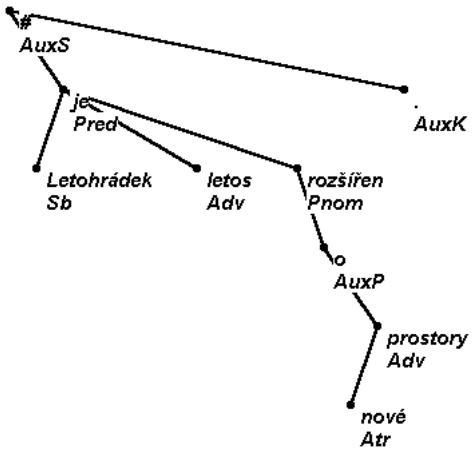
2. 

je vidět Sněžku
it-is to-see Sněžka-Acc
one can see Sněžka

3. 

je spokojen s málem
he-is satisfied with a-little
he can put up with very little

4.

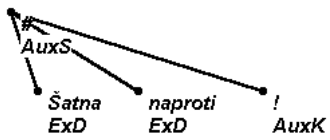


letohrádek je letos rozšířen o nové prostory
summer-house is this-year extended by new premises

3.2.1.7. Predicate purely nominal in two-member sentences

The purely nominal predicate contains a non-verbal expression only, i.e. with a copula being elided. This can be solved using the function `Exd` (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis `ExD`, `ExD_Co`)

1.



šatna naproti!
cloak-room opposite

2. mladost radost
youth joy

3. kouřit zakázáno
to-smoke forbidden

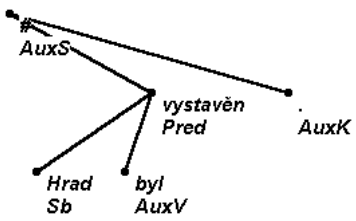
4. nic platno
nothing doing

As has been pointed out in the part 2.1.6.1. the structure of verbal-nominal predicate, there are exceptions to this rule with such words as *třeba necessary*. Such words obtain afun `Pred`, taking thus over the function of the whole predicate in the tree. In the section on ellipses the part 3.1.4.1. Ellipsis of copula with some verbo-nominal predicates is devoted to this phenomenon.

3.2.1.8. Distinguishing state and passive

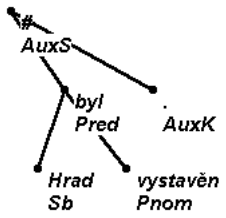
In representing the collocation of *být to be* and a passive participle, it is necessary to distinguish action, i.e., a real passive form (ex. (1)), from state, i.e. a verbal-nominal predicate (ex. (2)).

1.



Hrad byl vystavěn
castle was built-up

2.



Hrad byl vystavěn
castle was built-up

If the event exprfessed by periphrastic passive is conceived as a state resulting from the action and the action meaning is subdued in it, it is difficult to distinguish between the two functions. The difference between an action in passive and an adjective with copula can be recognized from the context only. E.g., in the sentence *hrad byl tehdy už vystavěn the castle was already built up at that time* the meaning is that of a state, while in the sentence *hrad byl vystavěn za Karla IV. the castle was built up under Charles IV* action passive is the case.

Also the following facts can help. For the most part, the state is expressed by a perfective verb and the passive participle can be replaced by a compound adjective (in the sentence *úkol je v čase promyšleně rozložen the task has been ingeniously*

distributed in time rozložit distribute is a perfective verb, where the form *rozložen* can be replaced by the form *rozložený*, which is an adjective). On the other hand, the action passive is usually expressed by an imperfective verb, its transformation into reflexive passive is possible and it can be completed by an instrumental of the originator of the action (in the sentence *obilí je koseno sedlákem corn is mowed by a harvester* the originator of the action, *harvester*, is present, the verb is imperfective, and its form can be transformed into *kosí se it gets mown*).

	perfective verb	possibility of a compound adjective	possibility of reflexive passive	presence of originator of action
state	+	+	-	-
action	+/-	-	+	+

3.2.2. Subject Sb

3.2.2.1. INFO SB

First, in the part 3.2.2.2. Definition of subject we shall explain what is subject (Sb) and define it.

The main contents of this section consist of the part 3.2.2.3. Expression of a subject, subdivided according to individual types of expression of a subject. Sb can be expressed by a noun in nominative (2.2.3.1. Subject expressed by a noun in nominative), an adjective (2.2.3.2. Subject expressed by an adjective), a pronoun (2.2.3.3. Subject expressed by a pronoun), a relative pronoun (2.2.3.4. Subject expressed by a relative pronoun), an inflexible word (2.2.3.5. Subject expressed by an inflexible word), a quotation (2.2.3.6. Subject expressed by a quotation), a genitive of negation (2.2.3.7. Subject expressed by genitive of negation), a partitive genitive (2.2.3.8. Subject expressed by partitive genitive), a genitive possessive by origin (2.2.3.9. Subject expressed by a genitive possessive by origin), a prepositional case (2.2.3.10. Subject expressed by a prepositional case), a numeral (2.2.3.11. Subject expressed by a numeral), an infinitive (2.2.3.12. Subject expressed by infinitive), a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun (2.2.3.13. Subject expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun), a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction (2.2.3.14. Subject expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction), a dative (2.2.3.15. Subject expressed by dative), a pronoun *což* (*what*) in a pseudo-relative clause (2.2.3.16. Subject expressed by the pronoun *což* (*what*, *which*) in a pseudo-relative clause), or it can be introduced by the conjunction *než* (*than*) (2.2.3.17. Subject introduced by the conjunction *než* (*than*, *but*)).

In conclusion, in the part 3.2.2.4. Possible confusion of subject and object, some attention is devoted to mutual substitution of functions `Sb` and `Obj` in problematic constructions.

3.2.2.2. Definition of subject

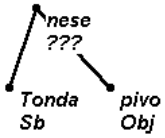
Subject of a clause can be represented by practically any construction to which the question *who (what)* can be applied. A subject always depends on the predicate, which means that it technically depends on the node which bears afun `Pred` in the main sentence and the function of subordinate clause in such a construction (see the part 3.2.1.2. Delimitation of the predicate). If an apparent subject 'stands out' of the sentence (e.g., *Voda, to je základ mlékaření - Water, that's the basis of dairying*), its expression is regarded as a parenthesis (see 3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa).

3.2.2.3. Expression of a subject

Subject is as a rule expressed by a noun or a pronoun in nominative, but it can also be expressed by any other part of speech.

2.2.3.1. Subject expressed by a noun in nominative

The expression of `Sb` is *emphasized*:



Tonda nese pivo
Tony brings beer

2.2.3.2. Subject expressed by an adjective

The expression concerned is *emphasized*:

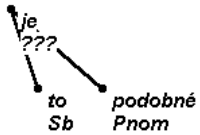
1.

   jeho *blízcí* žijí
   his *relatives* live

2. i *nejchytřejší* může ztratit filipa
   even *the-cleverest* can lose brains

2.2.3.3. Subject expressed by a pronoun

The expression of `Sb` is *emphasized* (also in the examples below):

1. 

   je *to* podobné
   is *it* similar
   it is similar

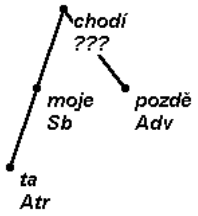
2. *někteří* resignují sami, *jiní* odejdou s ostudou
   some resign themselves *others* leave with disgrace

3. nezměnilo se *nic*
   not-changed `Refl.` *nothing*
   nothing has changed

4. nastalo *něco* jako jeho pomalá smrt
   occurred *something* like his slow death

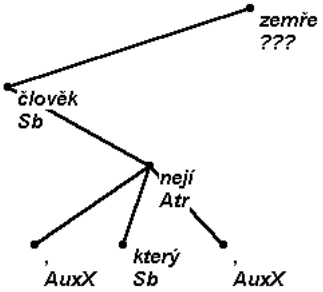
5. *někdo* se rád směje
   someone `Refl.` likes to-laugh

6.



ta *moje* chodí pozdě
the *mine* comes late

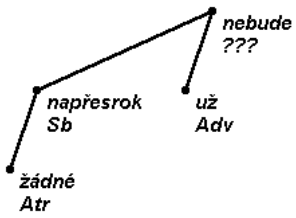
2.2.3.4. Subject expressed by a relative pronoun



člověk, *který* její zemře
man *who* not-eats dies

2.2.3.5. Subject expressed by an inflexible word

1.



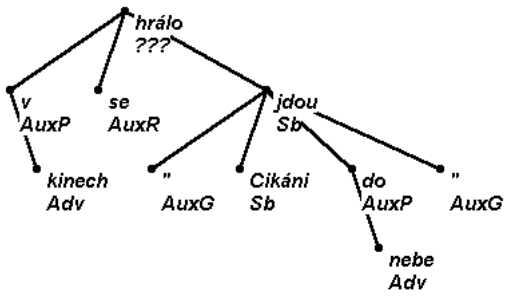
žádné *napřesrok* už nebude
no *next-year* any-more will-not-be

2. jeho *ano* neznělo přesvědčivě
his *yes* did-not-sound convincing

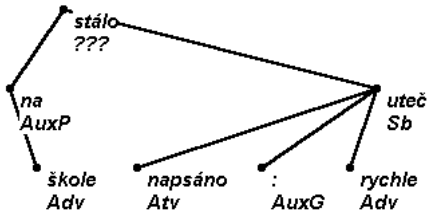
3. rozvážné *pst* zvládlo situaci
   sensible *pst* got-in-hand situation

2.2.3.6. Subject expressed by a quotation

1. v knize stálo : *miluj*
   in book was-written : *love*
   Love! was written in the book

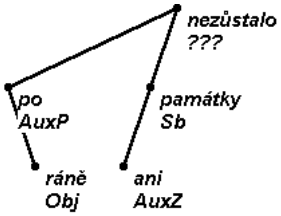
2. 

   v kinech se hrálo " Cikáni *jdou* do nebe "
   in movies `Refl.` played " gipsies *go* to heaven "
   "The gipsies are on their way to heaven" was on in the movies

3. 

   na škole stálo napsáno : rychle *uteč*.
   on school was written : quickly *run-away*
   there was an inscription on the school: run away quick

2.2.3.7. Subject expressed by genitive of negation

1. 

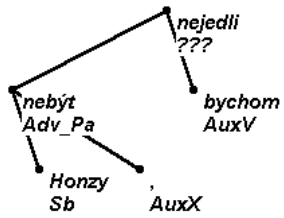
   po ráně ani *památky* nezůstalo
   of wound any *vestige-Gen* remained
   of the wound not a vestige remained

2. neuplyne klidného *dne*
   not-pass peaceful *day-Gen*
   not a peaceful day would pass off

3. není třeba ekonomického *vzdělání*
   is-not necessary economic *education*
   there is no need for economic education

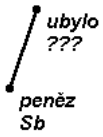
4. nikde nebylo jediného *světla*
   nowhere was-not single *light-Gen*
   not one single light appeared

5. není *sporu* o tom, že není *vody*
   is-not doubt about it that is-not *water-Gen*
   there is no denying that there is no water

6. 

   nebýt *Honzy*, nejedli bychom
   were-not *John-Gen* we-not-eat would
   if it were not for John, we would not eat

2.2.3.8. Subject expressed by partitive genitive

1. 

   peněz ubylo
   money-`Gen` has-run-low

2. *vody* přibylo
   water-`Gen` has-risen

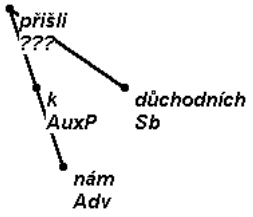
3. bylo zapotřebí *řady* měsíců naléhání
   was necessary *numbers* months-`Gen` of-insistence
   numbers of months of insistence were necessary

4. dostávalo se lékařské *péče*
   was-available `Refl.` medical *care-*`Gen`
   medical care was available

5. ze stromů napadalo *jablek*
   from trees dropped *apples-*`Gen`
   apples have dropped from the trees

Mind! A partitive genitive can figure as `Sb` unless there is a quantitative modification governing it: then the governing node of this modification is the `Sb`, while the genitive forms are its `Atr` (cf. *ze stromů napadalo hodně jablek* - *plenty of apples have dropped from the trees*). This problem is treated in more detail in 6.3.3. Genitive in the function of `Sb`, `Obj` and in the function of their `Atr`.

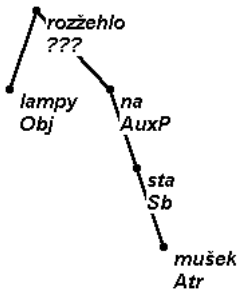
2.2.3.9. Subject expressed by a genitive possessive by origin

1. 

   přišli k nám *důchodních*
   came to us *officials-*`Gen`
   lit.: the inland-revenue officials' [i.e. the official with his wife] have arrived

2.2.3.10. Subject expressed by a prepositional case

Prepositional cases with partitive, approximative meanings are concerned.

1. 

   lampy rozžehlo na *sta* mušek
   lamps-Acc lighted about *hundreds* of-fireflies
   hundreds of fireflies lighted up their lamps

2. na každém rohu bylo po *hospodě*
   at each corner was by *pub*
   there was a pub at each corner

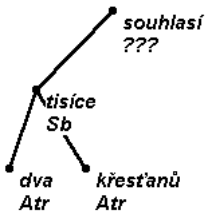
3. odešlo ke dvaceti *lidem*
   left towards twenty *people*
   towards twenty people have left

4. napadlo přes *půl* metru sněhu
   it-fell over *half* meter of-snow
   it made over half a meter of snow

5. kolem *třetiny* obyvatelstva kouří
   about *one-third* of-population smokes

2.2.3.11. Subject expressed by a numeral

For more detailed information see 3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions, and also 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*).

1. 

dva *tisíce* křesťanů souhlasí
two *thousand* of-Christians agree

2. ani *jedna* ze dvou zón nebyla uzavřena
not *one* of two zones was-not closed
neither of the two zones was closed

3. lidí chodí *méně* než loni
people-`Gen` come *less* than last-year
less people are coming than last year

4. nerodí se *mnoho* dětí
not-born `Refl` *many* children
not many children are born

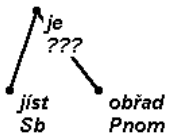
5. *kolik* z nás má čisté svědomí
how-many of us have clear conscience

6. zbývá *více* než šest mužů
is-left *more* than six men
there are more than six men left

7. zbývá mu *více* jablek než hrušek
is-left him more apples than pears
he has more apples left than pears

8. nezbývá mu *nic* jiného než mlčet
is-not-left him *nothing* else than to-be-silent
he has no other choice but to keep silent

2.2.3.12. Subject expressed by infinitive

1. 

   jíst je obřad
   to-eat is ceremony

2. lze *odejít*
   is-possible *to-leave*
   one can leave

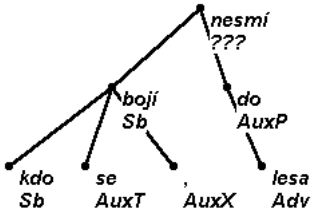
3. je hloupé *odjíždět*
   is stupid *to-depart*

4. podařilo se *odstartovat* závod
   succeeded `Refl` *to-start* race
   they succeeded in getting the race started

Note

The word *lze* is a syntactic verb and it forms a simple verbal predicate (the part 3.2.1.4. Simple verbal predicate), consequently it does not represent a modal verb (part 3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate) and the infinitive here can fulfil the function of a subject.

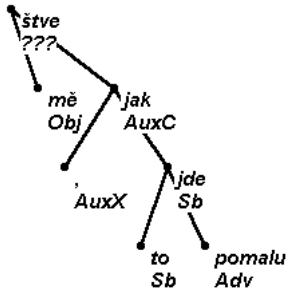
2.2.3.13. Subject expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by a relative pronoun



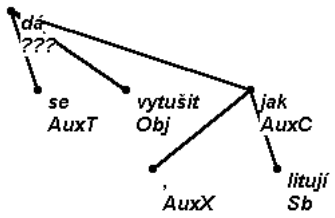
kdo se *bojí*, nesmí do lesa
who `Refl` *is-frightened* must-not to wood
whoever is frightened, must not enter a wood

2.2.3.14. Subject expressed by a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction

A subject clause can be introduced by conjunctions *že*, *aby*, *-li*, *zda*, *jak*, *když* (that, so that, if, whether, how ...).

1. 

štve mě, jak to *jde* pomalu
irritates me how it *proceeds* slowly
it irritates me how slowly it proceeds

2. 

dá se vytušit, jak *litují*
is-possible `Refl` to-imagine how *they-regret*
it can be imagined how they regret

3. je nejisté, zda vláda skutečně *chce*
is uncertain whether government really *wants*
it is uncertain whether the government is really willing

4. není rozumné, když se nás *strání*
is-not reasonable when `Refl` us *s/he-keeps-away*
it is not within reason when (s/he) is keeping away from us

5. zdá se, že *začneme*
seems `Refl` that *we-start*
it seems that we are going to start

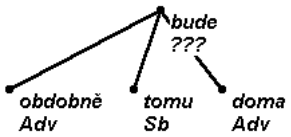
6. je nesmyslné, *půjdou-li* tam všichni
is nonsensical *if-they-go* there all
it is a nonsense if they go there all

7. je hloupé, aby *zůstal*
   is stupid that *he-stayed*
   it is stupid that he may stay

8. nelze, aby *odešel*
   is-impossible that *he-left*
   it is impossible that he leaves

9. je možné, že *neodejde*
   is possible that *s/he-does-not-leave*
   it is possible that s/he does not leave

2.2.3.15. Subject expressed by dative

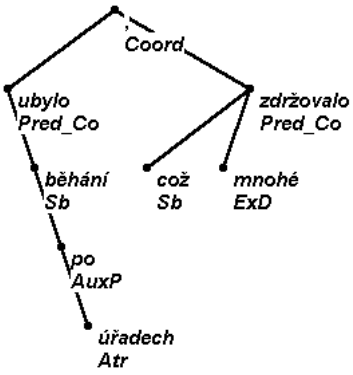
1. 

   obdobně *tomu* bude doma
   similarly *it-*`Dat` will-be at-home
   it will be similar at home

2. je *tomu* tak
   is *it-*`Dat` so
   that is the way it is

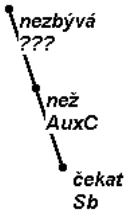
2.2.3.16. Subject expressed by the pronoun *což* (*what, which*) in a pseudo-relative clause

Conjunction of sentences of which the second is introduced by relative pronoun *což* is regarded as a coordination where the *což* in the second sentence is considered as the sentence member for which it stands (see part 4.1.3.3. Coordination in sentences with *což* (*which*), *přičemž* (*whilst*)).



ubylo běhání po úřadech, *což* mnohé zdržovalo
it-diminished running about offices *which* many detained
some running about offices has dropped off, which had been wasting time of many (people/things?)

2.2.3.17. Subject introduced by the conjunction *než* (*than, but*)



nezbývá než *čekat*
it-doesn't-remain but *to-wait*
there is no other choice but to wait

3.2.2.4. Possible confusion of subject and object

In assigning analytical functions `Sb` and `Obj` a confusion often is present, especially in:

- passive constructions

  ruší se *udělování* (=`Sb`) medailí
  is-cancelled `Refl` *awarding* of-medals
  awarding medals is discontinued

- predicative constructions in which subject is expressed by infinitive

  na důkaz stačí *zapnout* (=Sb) televizor
  as evidence suffices *to-turn-on* television

- cases where subject is expressed by a sentence

  z toho vyplývá, že *půjdu* (=Sb) spát
  from that follows that *I-am-going* to-sleep

In case of doubt a simple test can be used - to introduce a feminine noun of the paradigm *žena*, where the forms of nominative and accusative are different. E.g., in the sentence *Hitlerovi se nepodařilo tisíciletou říši ustavit* (*Hitler failed to establish the thousand-years empire*) the word *ustavit* (*establish*) functions as subject - it can be said *žena-Nom se podařila*, not *ženu-Acc se podařila*. Similarly also in other examples:

1. *nalezly se finance – nalezla se žena-Nom* (*funds have been found – a woman has been found*)
2. *uvádí se, že Tibet je okupován – uvádí se pravda-Nom* (*it is claimed that Tibet has been occupied – truth is claimed*)
3. *navrhuje se, aby přídavky činily... – navrhuje se kravina-Nom* (*it is suggested that the bonuses make up... — a nonsense is suggested*)
4. *konstatuje se, že je vše v pořádku – konstatuje se nepravda-Nom* (*it is stated that everything is OK – untruth is stated*)

3.2.3. Attribute Atr, AtrAdv, AdvAtr, AtrAtr, AtrObj, ObjAtr

3.2.3.1. INFO ATR

This section is devoted to Attribute. First, in the part 3.2.3.2. Defining Atr, it will be defined; we find that there are concordant and discordant (agreeing and non-agreeing) attributes, both being formally represented in the same manner on the analytical level.

We use more than one single function Atr for attribute: owing to a certain ambiguity we have had to introduce also the so-called combined functions: they are such "afuns" as AtrAtr, AtrAdv, AdvAtr, AtrObj and ObjAtr - all to be treated in the part 3.2.3.3. Combined functions.

An extensive part 3.2.3.4. Expression of Atr follows, concerning the ways of expression of attributes. An agreeing attribute is expressed by an adjective (2.3.4.1. Agreeing attribute expressed by an adjective) and less frequently by a

noun (2.3.4.2. Agreeing attribute expressed by a noun). A non-agreeing attribute is usually expressed by a genitive of a noun (2.3.4.3. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a genitive noun), but quite frequently also by some other simple case (2.3.4.4. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun in another prepositionless case), a noun introduced by the conjunction *jako* (*as*, *like*) (2.3.4.5. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun introduced by the conjunction *jako* (*as*, *like*)) or by a prepositional case (2.3.4.6. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun in prepositional case). In specific cases, it can be expressed by an adverb, too (2.3.4.7. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by an adverb), and, with certain nouns, by an infinitive (2.3.4.8. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by infinitive). Apart from all these possibilities an attribute can be expressed by a subordinate clause (2.3.4.9. Attribute expressed by a subordinate clause).

At the end of this section, in the part 3.2.3.5. Non-agreeing attribute in a non-projective position in the sentence, some points concern the problem of a non-projective position of the attribute in a sentence.

3.2.3.2. Defining `Atr`

Attribute is a sentence member which depends on a noun in any of its sentential functions and which, as a rule, specifies more closely, or "determines" its meaning. In inquiring about attributes we use such interrogative pronouns as *which*, *what* or *whose* connected with the governing noun. Attribute either agrees with its governing member or it is governed by it, or its dependency is not expressed by a special form.

An attribute that agrees, at least in case, with the noun on which it depends, is called *agreeing attribute*. If this attribute is represented by an adjective (a pronoun or a numeral in this status) it agrees in case, number and gender. In rare cases there occur attributes of feminine gender pertaining to masculine nouns as a means of emotional expression, e.g., *kluk ušatá* - *a longeared* -`Fem` *urchin*-`Masc`.

An attribute that does not decline in accordance with its governing noun and, as a rule, represents a case different from that of this noun, or is expressed by an adverb or an infinitive, is called a *non-agreeing attribute*.

An attribute can be expressed by a subordinate clause, introduced by a conjunction or by a relative pronoun. An attributive clause, however, cannot be seen in such a "pseudo-expansion" as, e.g., *já viděl anděla a ten měl strašný štít* (*I saw an angel and he had a formidable shield*), nor in clauses joined by expressions such as *což*, *přičemž* (*what*, *at which*), etc. These are interpreted as coordination of head clauses - see 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> `_Co` (on *což* especially the part 4.1.3.3. Coordination in sentences with *což* (*which*), *přičemž* (*whilst*)).

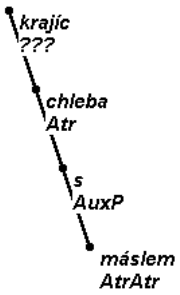
A descriptive (non-restrictive) attribute is separated by commas in the sentence (*chovanci, umístění v ústavu, něco sebrali - the inmates, confined in the institute, have pinched something*). Such an attribute obtains the function `Atr`, too (not `Atr_Pa`), as the case is not a parenthesis, for which it could be taken by mistake.

Afun `Atr`, however, can also be used in some instances in which the case is not a classical attribute. Thus, it can be obtained by parts of addresses or parts of the text in foreign languages. We can use it in analyzing numerical expressions as well. These problems are dealt with in 3.6.2. Addresses and names of persons and institutions, 3.6.10. Foreign words in the text, and 3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions.

3.2.3.3. Combined functions

In addition to `Atr` also combined "afuns" have been introduced, which consist of `Atr` and some other function. They are afuns `AtrAtr`, `AtrAdv`, `AdvAtr`, `AtrObj`, `ObjAtr`. These functions are used where the analyzed member (node) can stand in more functions in the framework of the given sentence without having its meaning substantially changed (the sentence is not strictly homonymous as far as the function of the analyzed member is concerned).

Therefore, if the node can constitute an attribute (`Atr`) of two or more nodes in the same branch of the tree above, we use afun `AtrAtr`. The node marked in this way will be suspended under the lowest node to be considered (it can fulfil the function of an attribute of that node). In the example given below the function `AtrAtr` will be assigned to the prepositional case *s máslem* (*with butter*). It obviously can form an attribute either to the member *krajíc* (*slice*) or to the member *chleba* (*bread*), while the meaning of the sentence remains essentially the same. It will, however, be suspended under the node *chleba*, since this modifies the node *krajíc* and, therefore, is situated lower in the branch.

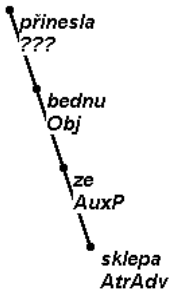


krajíc	chleba	s	máslem
slice	of-bread	with	butter

The remaining four functions are intended for cases where some member can constitute an attribute (of one node or of more nodes as in the preceding case) and an adverbial (`Adv`) at the same time or an object (`Obj`) of a predicate placed above. Such a member then obtains an afun composed of the two basic ones pertaining to it. Which of the two components comes first and which of them second depends on which function it satisfies more often, which of them is more probable. This decision is difficult to describe in general terms, it will depend on the the annotator's attitude. If the annotator feels that a given member is rather an attribute, he will use the functions `AtrAdv` or `AtrObj`. Otherwise he will use one of the other two.

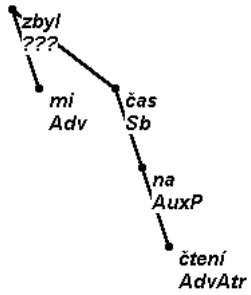
Whichever of the functions may be present, the given node will always be situated in the same position in the tree, namely in the position in which it would be placed as an attribute (`Atr`). It never depends directly from the predicate. In exceptional cases when in addition to the function `Adv` or `Obj` the given member would fulfil more functions of `Atr` (attribute in relation to more nodes), it will be suspended in the same way as in the case of afun `AtrAtr`, i.e. on the lowest situated one of all these nodes (cf. the example (3) below).

1.



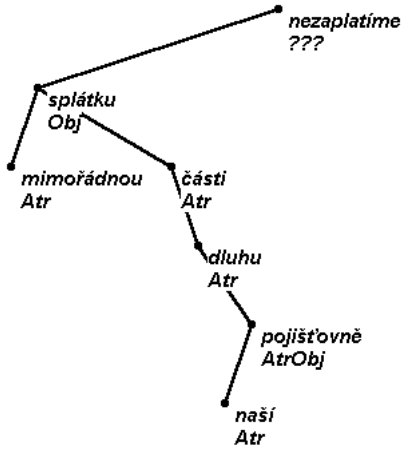
přinesla bednu ze sklepa
she-brought case from basement

2.



zbyl mi čas na čtení
left me time for reading
I have some time left for reading

3.

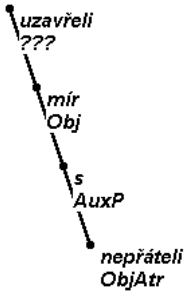


mimořádnou	splátku	části	dluhu	naší
extraordinary	instalment	of-part	of-debt	our

pojišťovně	nezaplatíme
insurance-company-Dat	we-are-not-going-to-pay

we are not going to pay the extraordinary instalment of the part of the debt to our insurance office

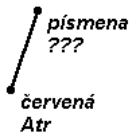
4.



uzavřeli	mír	s	nepřáteli
they-made	peace	with	enemies

3.2.3.4. Expression of `Atr`

2.3.4.1. Agreeing attribute expressed by an adjective

1. 

   červená písmena
   red letters

2. *královnin* náhrdelník
   queen's necklace

3. *dívčí* smích
   girl's laugh

4. *Husovo* upálení
   Hus' burning-to-death

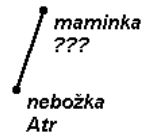
5. *vynikající* pivo
   outstanding beer

6. *přečtené* noviny
   read-over newspapers

2.3.4.2. Agreeing attribute expressed by a noun

As a matter of fact, this is a substitute for adjectival forms of attributes, cf. E. *ogre monster*, *Ajax Amsterdam*, *Miss neighbour* etc.

In a collocation such as *my Němci* (*we the Germans*) the pronoun *my* (*we*) gets the position of the head and *Němci* (*Germans*) has the position of its attribute; agreement is ensured.

1. 

nebožka maminka
the-dead(Noun) mother

2.

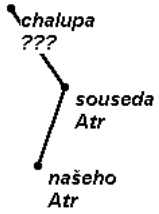
Ajax *Amsterdam*
Ajax *Amsterdam*

3.

my *Němci*
we *Germans*

2.3.4.3. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a genitive noun

Possessive genitive, g. of property, explicative g., partitive g., g. of comparison, all fall within this category; so does, with deverbative nouns, g. of actor (of subject) and that of goal of action (of object). Problems could be connected with the representation of partitive genitive; this is dealt with in detail in 3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions

1. 

chalupa našeho *souseda*
cottage our-Gen *neighbour-Gen*

2. báseň Jiřího *Palivce*
   poem Jiří-Gen *Palivec-Gen*

3. návštěva *lékaře*
   visit *of-physician*

4. krasavice vysoké *postavy*
   beauty tall-Gen *stature-Gen*

5. idea *bratrství*
   idea *of-brotherhood*

6. dar *zpěvu*
   gift *of-singing*

7. vznik *světa*
   origin *of-world*

8. práskání *bičů*
   cracking *of-whips*

9. porušení *tajemství*
   breach *of-secret*

10. uzavření *kompromisu*
    arriving *of-compromise*

11. pocit *viny*
    feeling *of-guilt*

12. hráč *golfu*
    player *of-golf*

13. výrobna *likérů*
    distillery *of-liqueurs*

2.3.4.4. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun in another prepositionless case

A non-agreeing attribute can also be expressed by a dative, an instrumental, an accusative or a nominative of naming. The nominative of naming is a specification of a governing word that is of a more general nature.

1.

   vyučování *jazyku*
   teaching *language-*`Dat`

2. výživa *zeleninou*
   nurturing *vegetables-*`Instr`

3. rozhled *krajinou*
   view *landscape-*`Instr`

4. práskání *bičem*
   cracking *whip-*`Instr`

5. lhůta *hodinu*
   time-limit *one-hour-*`Acc`

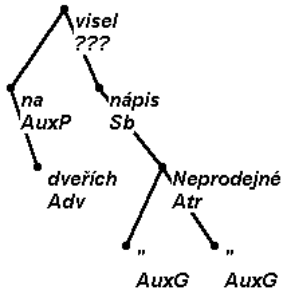
6. trvání *hodinu*
   continuation *one-hour-*`Acc`

7. s názvem *Poupě*
   with title *Poupě*

8. křídlo značky *Petrof*
   grand-piano of-make *Petrof*

9. pokoj *26*
   room *26*

10.

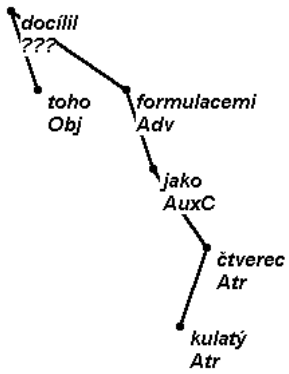


na dveřích visel nápis *“Neprodejné”*
on door hung inscription *not-for-sale*
an inscription “Not for sale” was hanging on the door

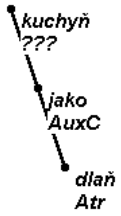
2.3.4.5. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun introduced by the conjunction *jako* (*as*, *like*)

An attribute can be introduced by the conjunction *jako* (*like*). This expression of an attribute must not be mistaken for the comparative phrase with *jako* (e.g. with *stejně jako similarly as*, *jako když as when*, *jako v+N as in+N*), described in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*).

1.



docílil toho formulacemi jako kulatý *čtverec*
he-achieved it by-formulations as round *square*
he attained to it by such formulations as round square

2. 

   kuchyň jako *dlaň*
   kitchen like *palm*
   a kitchen like the palm of a hand

3. facka jako *vrata*
   slap like *gate*
   a slap like hell

2.3.4.6. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun in prepositional case

1. vyprávění *o* *vojně*
   narration about *war*

2. modlitba *k* *bohům*
   prayer to *Gods*

3. pochybovač o *čemkoli*
   a-sceptic about *anything*

4. šelma od *kosti*
   joker to *marrow*
   a wag/joker to the marrow

5. nenávist vůči *společnosti*
   hatred towards *society*

6. smrt z *hladu*
   death from *hunger*

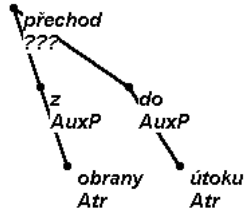
7. čtení pro *děti*
   reading for *children*

8. okno o šesti *tabulkách*
   window of six *panes*

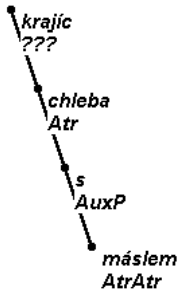
9. talíř z *porcelánu*
   plate of *porcelain*

10. průkazka na *měsíc*
    permit to *moon*

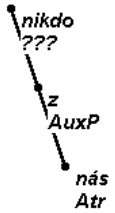
11. zkouška v zimním *semestru*
    exam in winter *term*

12. 

    přechod z *obrany* do *útoku*
    passing from *defence* to *attack*

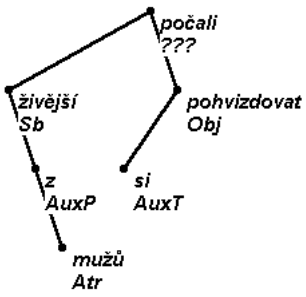
13. 

    krajíc chleba s *máslem*
    slice of-bread with *butter*

14. 

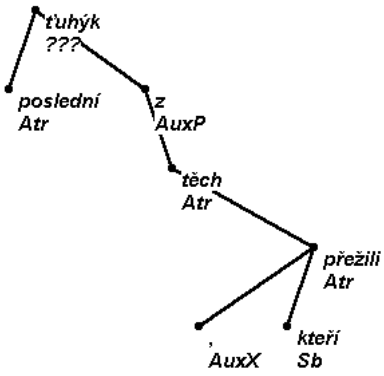
    nikdo z *nás*
    none of *us*

15.



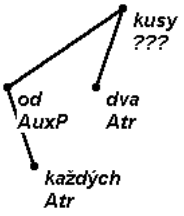
živější z *mužů* si počali pohvizdovat
the-more-lively of *men* `Refl` started to-whistle
the more lively ones of the men started to whistle for themselves

16.



poslední ťuhýk z *těch*, kteří přežili
last butcher-bird of *those* that survived

17.

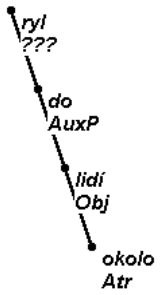


od *každých* dva kusy
from *each* two pieces
two pieces from each

2.3.4.7. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by an adverb

In exceptional cases an adverb can become an `Atr`, if a deleted adjective can be restored as the head of the adverb. The restored adjective will, for the most part, be

derived from a participle (*ryl do lidí stojících okolo* - *he teased the people standing around*).

1. 

   ryl do lidí *okolo*
   he-teased to people *around*

2. dveře *vlevo* vedou ven
   door *on-the-left* lead outside

2.3.4.8. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by infinitive

Its head noun usually expresses will, necessity, capability, possibility, habit etc., and have the infinitive in their valency frame.

1. snaha *opatřit* si krev
   endeavour *to-get* for-himself blood

2. povinnost *zaplatit*
   duty *to-pay*

3. síla *trpět*
   fortitude *to-suffer*

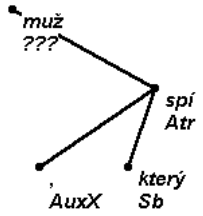
4. potěšení ji *vidět*
   pleasure her-Acc *to-see*

5. rozkoš *sedět*
   delight *to-sit*

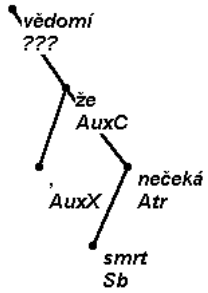
2.3.4.9. Attribute expressed by a subordinate clause

Attribute can also be expressed by a subordinate attributive clause. The function `Atr` then will be given to the predicate of this subordinate clause (see the part 2.1.2.1. Dependency of the predicate).

Apparent subordinate clauses introduced by such words as *což*, *přičemž* (*which*, *with which*) are not regarded as `Atr` (see the part 3.2.3.2. Defining `Atr`).

1. 

muž, který *spí*
man who *sleeps*

2. 

vědomí, že smrt *nečeká*
knowledge that death *does-not-wait*

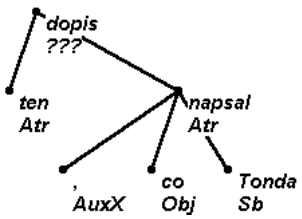
3. byly tam špatné podmínky, jako *jsou* překážky a sníh
were there bad conditions such-as *are* obstacles and snow

4. plán, jak republiku *rozkrást*
plan how republic-`Acc` *to-pilfer*
a plan of how to pilfer the property of the Republic

5. motiv, proč ji *zabil*
motive why her *he-killed*

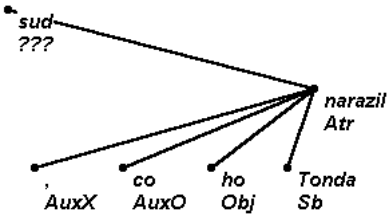
A special case can be seen in absolute relative *co* and *jak* (*what*, *how*). If it can be recognized which word they stand for, they obtain the function of this word in the similar way as the pronominal conjunctive expressions mentioned above (ex. (1)). Should their representative function be unclear (if they duplicate the function of some other word), they obtain afun `AuxO` and they get suspended under the predicate of their clause (ex. (2)).

1.



ten dopis, co napsal Tonda
the letter that wrote Tony

2.



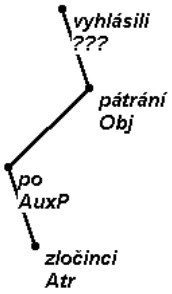
sud, co ho Tonda narazil
cask that it-`Acc` Tony broached

3.2.3.5. Non-agreeing attribute in a non-projective position in the sentence

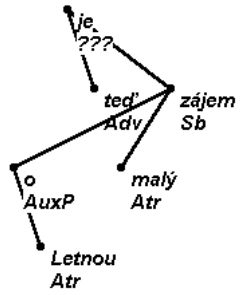
The agreeing attribute as a rule comes immediately after its noun. However, there are exceptions in which the attribute can be found at some other place in the sentence and, all the same, it does not represent an `Adv` dependent on the verb.

This happens when the attribute cannot be suspended under the verb in accordance to intuition, but a valency slot of the particular noun requires the attribute (such a valency can be obvious in cases in which the noun is a verbal noun whose original verb has an object valency to be satisfied by the participant in question). The separation of the attribute from its head noun in the word-order is motivated by topic/comment articulation.

The boundaries between `Atr` and `Adv` are also discussed in the part 3.2.5.6. The boundaries of `Adv` and `Atr`.

1. 

po *zločinci* vyhlásili pátrání
for *criminal* they-announced search
they publicly announced search for the criminal

2. 

o *Letnou* je teď malý zájem
in *Letná* is now little interest

3. komora přijala k *zákonu* doprovodné usnesení
house adopted to *bill* accompanying decision

4. nejsou proti *němu* důkazy
are-not against *him* evidences

5. na *něho* nemůže nikdo podat žalobu
on *him* cannot nobody put accusation
nobody can impeach him

6. už na *to* není doba
already for *it* is-not time
the times for it do not exist any more

7. od *dveří* ztratil klíč
from *door* he-lost key
he lost the key to the door

8. z *chování* dostal trojku
   for *conduct* he-obtained a-three
   for his conduct he obtained a low mark

3.2.4. Object `Obj`, `ObjAtr`, `AtrObj`

3.2.4.1. INFO OBJ

In the part 3.2.4.2. Definition of `Obj` below, we define the object to which this section is devoted. We find that our conception as compared with Šmilauer's approach is somewhat broader.

Moreover, in the part 3.2.4.3. Combined functions we will be concerned with the so-called combined functions `AtrObj` and `ObjAtr`.

Then we shall deal with possibilities to express classical object, which can be found in the part 3.2.4.4. Expressing `Obj`. An object can be expressed by a noun in accusative (2.4.4.1. Expression of object by a noun in accusative), genitive (2.4.4.2. Expression of object by a noun in genitive), dative (2.4.4.3. Expression of object by a noun in dative), instrumental (2.4.4.4. Expression of object by a noun in instrumental), further by a prepositional case (2.4.4.5. Expression of object by a noun in prepositional case), infinitive (2.4.4.6. Expression of object by an infinitive), and by a subordinate clause (2.4.4.7. Expression of object by a subordinate clause). Also a reflexive pronoun (*se/si*) can occur in the function `Obj` (2.4.4.8. Reflexive pronoun *se* (*...self*)).

Lastly, we shall come back to the types of object which Šmilauer defines in another way and which can be expressed in some other form than it has been described above. This concerns such types as origin and result in the part 3.2.4.5. Object of the type Origin and Result and object after copula and semi-copulative verbs in the part 3.2.4.6. Object after copulas and semi-copulas.

3.2.4.2. Definition of `Obj`

Object is a modifying sentence member. As a rule, it is governed by a verb (i.e. the verb determines the case form of the its `Obj`), or by an adjective. As `Obj` all kinds of objects (direct, indirect as well as effect or second object) are denoted. An object represents either what is the result of an action (*napsat dopis-`Acc` - to write a letter*), or what has been directly affected by the action (*dotknout se stolu-`Genitive` - to touch a table*), or what the action is directly aiming at (*radit chlapci-`Dative` - to advise a boy*).

Being governed by its head, the object differs from `Adv`, the form of which is not determined by its head (see 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases)). The problems of verbal and adjectival government ('rection') are complicated to such an extent that even the information on these constructions in their individual entries contained in the Dictionary of Standard Czech (Slovník spisovné češtiny) often do not satisfy our needs.

We understand as `Obj` also the dependents mentioned by Šmilauer as special types of adverbials called "origin" and "effect" and as "constructional complement". These two instances are dealt with in the parts 3.2.4.5. Object of the type Origin and Result and 3.2.4.6. Object after copulas and semi-copulas.

As noted in the part 2.4.4.6. Expression of object by an infinitive, owing to our conception of predicate we also define as `Obj` the infinitive with modal or phasal verbs. (See the part 3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate.)

3.2.4.3. Combined functions

The combined functions are dealt with in detail in the part 3.2.3.3. Combined functions, where all of them are described. Two of them concern the problem of object - `AtrObj` and `ObjAtr` - to be only briefly mentioned here. The combined functions are used where the analysed member (node) can figure in more functions within the given sentence, without the meaning being substantially changed by this fact (the sentence is not strictly homonymous in what concerns the function of the member analysed).

Therefore, the mentioned two functions we use in case a member can figure as object (`Obj`) of its predicate and, at the same time, an attribute (`Atr`) of some node situated lower in the tree. If the annotator feels that the given member is rather an attribute, he will use the function `AtrObj`. Otherwise `ObjAtr` will be assigned.

No matter which of the two functions may be used, the given node will always take the same place in the tree, namely, that where it would be placed if it were an attribute (`Atr`). Therefore, it will never depend directly on the predicate.

1. mimořádnou splátku části dluhu naší
   extraordinary instalment of-part of-debt our

   pojišťovně nezaplatíme
   insurance-company we-are-not-going-to-pay
   we are not going to pay the extraordinary instalment of the part of the debt to our insurance office

2. uzavřeli mír s nepřáteli
   they-made peace with enemies

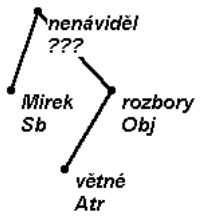
3.2.4.4. Expressing `Obj`

The object is expressed by a syntactic noun in accusative, genitive, dative, instrumental, prepositional case or by infinitive or a subordinate clause.

In some cases the function `Obj` is assigned to a reflexive pronoun *se* — see 3.6.8. Reflexive *se*, *si*.

2.4.4.1. Expression of object by a noun in accusative

Accusative is the basic object case.

1. 

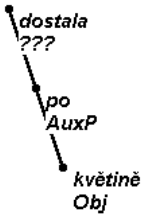
   Mirek nenáviděl větné *rozbory*
   Mirek hated sentence *analysis*

2. zavolal *domovníka*
   he-called *doorkeeper*

3. vykopal *jámu*
   he-dug *hole*

4. dostal *facku*
   he-got *slap*

In some circumstances locative with the preposition *po* can be used instead of accusative. Partitiveness (sharing) can be expressed in this way. The construction *dostala po květině* (*she obtained a flower (apiece, one by each admirer, friend, etc.)*), corresponds to the construction of *she obtained a flower*.

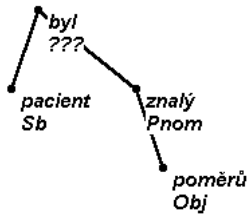


dostala po *květině*
she-obtained by *flower*
she obtained a flower (apiece, by each giver, etc.)

2.4.4.2. Expression of object by a noun in genitive

1.

   žák dosáhl *cíle*
   pupil attained *objective*

2. 

   pacient byl znalý *poměrů*
   patient was familiar *with-conditions-*`Gen`

3. vzdal se svého *práva*
   he-gave-up `Refl` his *rights*

4. dovolávala se minulých *výkladů*
   she-referred `Refl` past *explanations-*`Gen`

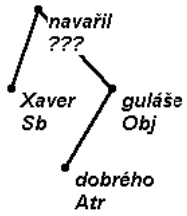
5. nebyla schopna zdravého *úsudku*
   she-was-not capable of-sound *judgement-*`Gen`

6. byl plný *piva*
   he-was full *of-beer-*`Gen`

7. byla hodna *uznání*
   she-was worthy *of-recognition-*`Gen`

Partitive genitive and genitive of negation belong to this type, too, although they are not 'governed' in the strict sense. The verbs on which they depend prototypically govern accusative constructions. The genitive object just competes with the accusative pattern and its use is motivated semantically.

The partitive genitive can play the role of an `Obj`, but if a quantitative modification governs the genitive, this modification figures as `Obj` and the noun in genitive becomes its `Atr`. This problem is dealt with in more detail in the part 6.3.3. Genitive in the function of `Sb`, `Obj` and in the function of their `Atr`.

1. 

   Xaver navařil dobrého *guláše*
   Xaver cooked good *goulash-*`Gen`
   Xaver cooked plenty of good goulash

2. přidal tam *soli*
   he-added there *salt-*`Gen`

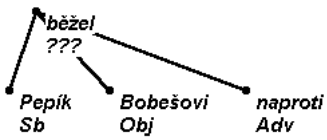
3.

   nenašli ani *stopy*
   they-did-not-find any *trace*
   they failed to find any trace

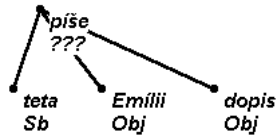
4. neřekl ani *slova*
   he-did-not-utter any *word*
   he did not utter one word

2.4.4.3. Expression of object by a noun in dative

Apart from the accusative, dative represents the basic object case. It is either the only (direct) object (ex. (1)), or it stands along with the accusative object, being then referred to as indirect object (ex. (2)). This type of expression comes close to the adverbial ethical dative. Distinguishing them and other problems are described in 3.6.5. The boundary line between free and 'bound' dative.

1. 

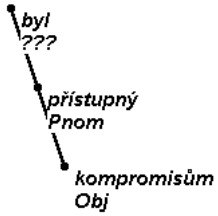
   Pepík běžel *Bobešovi* naproti
   Joe ran *Bobeš-*`Dat` across
   Joe ran to meet Bobeš

2. 

   teta píše *Emílii* dopis
   aunt is-writing *Emily-*`Dat` letter

3. jev x odpovídá *jevu* y
   phenomenon x corresponds *to-phenomenon-*`Dat` y

For the most part, adjectives with dative are adjectives of action.

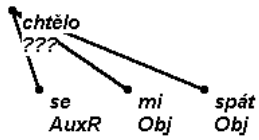
1. 

byl přístupný *kompromisům*
he-was open *to-compromises-*`Dat`

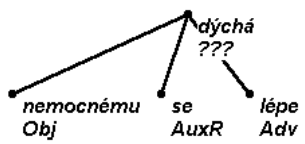
2.

je *zdraví* škodlivý
it-is *health-*`Dat` damaging

As `Obj` also the so-called subject dative is regarded, which is illustrated by the following three examples. It is also mentioned in 3.6.5. The boundary line between free and 'bound' dative.

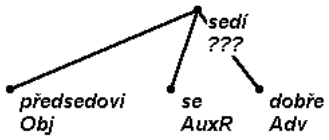
1. 

chtělo se *mi* spát
it-wanted `Refl` *me-*`Dat` to-sleep
I felt sleepy

2. 

nemocnému se dýchá lépe
sick-man-`Dat` `Refl` it-breathes better
the sick man breathed more easily

3.



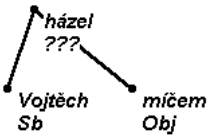
předsedovi se sedí dobře
chaieman-`Dat` `Refl` it-sits well
the chairman is seated well

2.4.4.4. Expression of object by a noun in instrumental

Instrumental represents predominantly an adverbial case. Only rarely it happens to be a case governed by its head, preserving at the same time apparent traces of adverbial meaning, especially that of instrument. As an object it usually figures after verbs having the meaning of moving something (ex. (1)), deal with st., engage in st. (ex. (2)), handle, save up, waste (ex. (3)) and call, address s.o. as (ex. (4)).

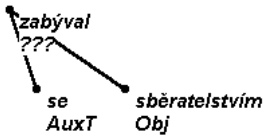
On the borderline between adverbial and object, nouns in instrumental modify verbs of sensual perception (*tábor zněl zpěvem - the camp resounded with singing*) and also verbs with meaning 'provide with' (*pokrýt střechu slámou - to cover the roof with straw*). These cases are characterized here as `Adv` (see 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases)).

1.



Vojtěch házel *míčem*
Albert was-throwing *ball-*`Instr`
Albert was throwing a ball

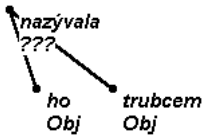
2.



Zabýval se *sběratelstvím*
he-engaged `Refl.` *collecting-*`Instr`

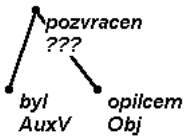
3.

nesmíš	plýtvat	*jídlem*
you-must-not	waste	*food-*`Instr`

4. 

nazývala	ho	*trubcem*
she-called	him	*drone-*`Instr`

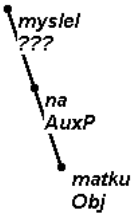
The actor in passive constructions is always regarded as `Obj` here.



byl	pozvracen	opilcem
he-was	stained-with-vomit	by-drunk-`Instr`

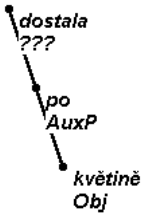
2.4.4.5. Expression of object by a noun in prepositional case

Governed nouns are only accompanied by basic (simple) prepositions, which lose their meaning nuances in them, getting grammaticalized strongly. E.g., in the phrase *myslet na někoho - to think of s.o.*, the preposition *na* does not display its meaning of being placed on a surface. (The original meaning remains in adverbial cases not governed by their heads - e.g. *sedl si na stůl - he sat down on a table.*) The transition between `Obj` and `Adv` is smooth here, which means that finding an exact boundary is impossible.



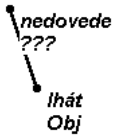
myslel na *matku*
he-thought of *mother*

Also the locative case with the preposition *po* can have the function of `Obj`. As we have mentioned, it is used in place of plain accusative (2.4.4.1. Expression of object by a noun in accusative). In this way partitiveness is expressed where the construction *dostala po květině* (*she obtained a flower (by each ...)*) corresponds to *dostala květinu - she obtained a flower.*



dostala po *květině*
she-obtained by *flower*
she obtained a flower (by each admirer ... etc.)

2.4.4.6. Expression of object by an infinitive

1. 

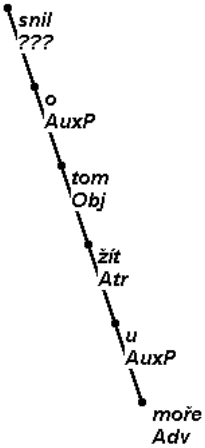
   nedovede *lhát*
   he-cannot *to-lie*

2. odmítá *odejít*
   he-refuses *to-leave*

3. slibovali *zůstat* do konce
   they-promised *to-stay* till end

4. zvykl si *pracovat*
   he-got-used `Refl` *to-work*

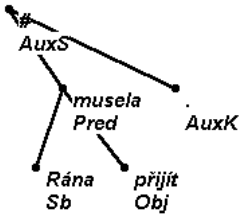
If case government is signalled by means of a (pronominal) reference expression, the infinitive is regarded here as an attribute of the reference word, which obtains the function `Obj`. (See 6.4.1. Referring pronoun *to* (*that*)).



snil o *tom* žít u moře
he-dreamt of *it* to-live at seaside

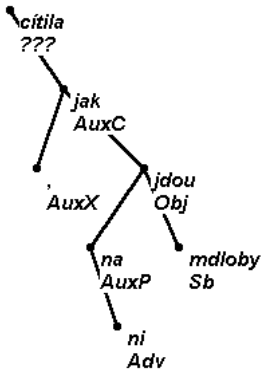
Note

In our view the function `Obj` is also assigned to infinitives connected with modal or phasal verbs (i.e. they are parts of compound predicates) although they cannot be replaced by nouns or subordinate object clauses, as is possible in other infinitival constructions (see the part 3.2.1.5. Compound verbal predicate.)



Rána musela *přijít*
blow had *to-come*

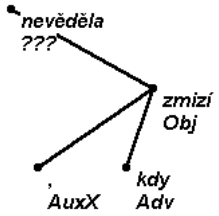
2.4.4.7. Expression of object by a subordinate clause

1. 

   cítila, jak na ni *jdou* mdloby
   she-felt as on her *go* faints-Nom
   she felt that she would fall into a faint

2. pamatuj, že ď ábel se *vrátí*
   remember that devil Refl *will-come-back*

3. bránila mu, aby *odešel*
   she-kept-away him that *he-left*
   she kept him away from leaving

4. 

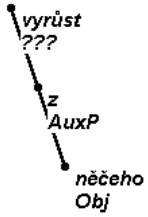
nevěděla, kdy *zmizí*
she-did-not-know when *s/he-will-disappear*

2.4.4.8. Reflexive pronoun *se* (*...self*)

For the reflexive pronoun *se*, *si* in the function `Obj` see 3.6.8. Reflexive *se*, *si*.

3.2.4.5. Object of the type Origin and Result

Šmilauer regards Origin and Result as special types of adverbials. We, however, assign the function `Obj` to them.

1. 

vyrůst z *něčeho*
to-grow-out of *something*

2. vyrůst v *něco*
to-grow into *something*

3. vyrobit z *něčeho*
make-out of *something*

4. předělat z *něčeho*
convert from *something*

5. předělat na *něco*
convert into *something*

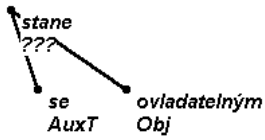
6. vědět od *někoho*
   know from *someone*

7. získat od *někoho*
   get from *someone*

8. změnit z *něčeho*
   change from *something*

9. změnit na *něco*
   change into *something*

3.2.4.6. Object after copulas and semi-copulas

1. 

   stane se *ovladatelným*
   s/he-becomes `Refl` *controllable*

2. stane se *odpadlíkem*
   s/he-becomes `Refl` *dissident*

3. jmenovali ji *předsedkyní*
   they-appointed her *chairperson*

4. pokládám to za *diskriminaci*
   I-regard this as *discrimination*

5. označila návrh za *špatný*
   she-declared proposal as *bad*

6. označil návrh jako *blbost*
   he-declared proposal as *rubbish*

7. to mi připadá *idealistické*
   this me seems *idealistic*
   I find it idealistic

8. číslo se mi zdá *závratné*
   number Refl me seems *extremely-high*
   the number seems extremely high to me

9. shledal ji *nevěrohodnou*
   he-found her *untrustworthy*

10. otázka zůstává *otevřena*
    question remains *open*

11. zákazník se jeví *chudým*
    customer Refl appears *needy*

12. zákazník se jeví jako *chudý*
    customer Refl appears as *needy*

When the above expression of objects is introduced by *jako* (*as*), the latter word is assigned afun AuxY and gets suspended under the node Obj (see also the part 2.7.7.4. The conjunction *jako* introducing complement or object).

označil jej jako ignoranta
he-denounced him as ignoramus

3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases)

3.2.5.1. INFO ADV

After a specification of adverbials in 3.2.5.2. Specification of adverbials the so-called combined functions are mentioned in 3.2.5.3. Combined functions and different problems with the determination of adverbials are discussed: temporal adverbials (3.2.5.4. Problematic cases of temporal modifications), combination of more such adverbials side by side (2.5.4.1. Two and more adjecent temporal modifications in the sentence), temporal modifications with relation to the situation (2.5.4.2. Temporal modification relative to an event), adverbials expressing repetition (2.5.4.3. Adverbial of temporal repetition and 2.5.4.4. Temporal adverbial expresseding

repetition lexically), temporal adverbials modified by a specification of speed (2.5.4.5. Temporal adverbial modified by stating the rate of speed). Adverbials of location expressed in relation to the place are discussed in 2.5.5.1. Local adverbial relating to some place. The boundary between `Adv` and `Atr` is often difficult to be drawn; these situation are described in 3.2.5.6. The boundaries of `Adv` and `Atr`.

The means of expressions are discussed in 3.2.5.7. Expression of adverbials: nouns in 2.5.7.1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun, adverbs in 2.5.7.2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb, adverbs in collocations in 2.5.7.3. Adverbial expressed by an adverb phraseologism, infinitive in 2.5.7.4. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive and by a subordinate clause in 2.5.7.5. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause. A special type of expression is that with the conjunctions *jako* (*as*) and *než* (*than*), which is illustrated in 2.5.7.6. Adverbial expressed by a clause (or a group) with conjunctions *jak(o)* - *as*, *než(li)* - *than*.

The section 3.2.5.8. Kinds of adverbials according to meaning is devoted to a more detailed description of adverbials according to their meaning, since each of such a subclass has forms of its own: local (2.5.8.1. Adverbial of place), temporal (2.5.8.2. Adverbial of time), manner (2.5.8.3. Adverbial of manner), extent (2.5.8.4. Adverbial of measure), means (2.5.8.5. Adverbial of means), regard (2.5.8.6. Adverbial of respect), causal (2.5.8.7. Adverbial of cause), consequence (2.5.8.8. Adverbial of consequence), aim (2.5.8.9. Adverbial of purpose), condition (2.5.8.10. Adverbial of condition), concession (2.5.8.11. Adverbial of concession) and a special class of inheritance (2.5.8.12. Adverbial of inheritance).

3.2.5.2. Specification of adverbials

Adverbials express the circumstances and relations such as location, time, manner, comparison, extent, means, cause, consequence, regard or aim. In our analytic scenario, all adverbials have the afun `Adv` and are not subclassified any further.

Some modifications understood by Šmilauer as adverbials are treated here as objects (`Obj`). This concerns modifications expressing origin and result of the action rendered by the verb (see 3.2.4.5. Object of the type Origin and Result), which are characterized by Šmilauer as not expressable by a subordinate clause; however, in our approach they are considered to be valency slots and as such they belong to the verbal frame.

Emphasized modifications are `Obj`:

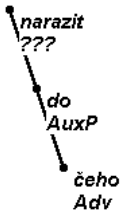
1. získávat peníze od *příznivců*
   get money from *adherents*

2. zvýšit příspěvek na *1000* Kč
   raise contribution to *1000* crowns

3. vyrůst z *chlapce* v *muže*
   grow-up from *boy* to *man*

Adverbials modify a verb, an adjective or an adverb, its form is given by the rection of the governing element.

A special attention is to be devoted to the discrimination between `Obj` and `Adv`. A given modification is an adverbial, if it answers an adverbial question *where?*, *where to?*, *from where?*, *how long?*, *when?*, *for what purpose?*, *why?*, *how?* etc. and if verbal rection is not concerned (i.e. in case of rection, the given modification is an object and answers questions on morphological cases: *who?* for Nominative, *of whom?* for Genitive etc.). Abstract or metaphorical meanings tend to be determined as `Obj` (see *zaplést se do intrik to get involved in intriques*: this is not a location).

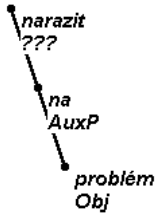
1. 

   narazit do *čeho*
   to-knock at *something* - where to? - `Adv`

2. plavat v *čem* , pod *čím* , podél *čeho*
   to-swim in *smth* , under *smth* , along *smth* - where? - `Adv`

3. přistoupit k *řece*
   to-approach (to) *river* - where to? - `Adv`

But:

1. 

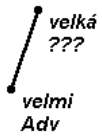
   narazit na *problém*
   to-meet with *problem* - `Obj`

2. zaplést se do *intrik*
   to-get-involved `Refl` in *intrigues* - `Obj`

3. přistoupit k *řešení*
   to-approach (to) *solution* - `Obj`

4. zabrat se do *čeho*
   to-plunge `Refl` into *smth.* - `Obj`

Adjectives (esp. deverbatives) also may be modified by objects (*plný něčeho full of something*).

1. 

   velmi velká
   very big

2. nejtěžší od *vypuknutí* války
   hardest from *beginning* of-war

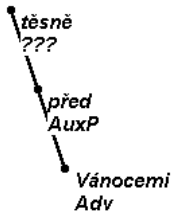
3. noc strávená ve *sklepeních*
   night spent in *cellars*

4.

nejpřítulnější ze všech *zvířátek*
most-fawning of all *animals*

Adjectives may be, of course, modified by adverbials (`Adv`) as well. Such an adverbial itself often functions as an adverbial. If two adverbials occur in a sentence side by side, it might be difficult to decide whether they are independent of each other or if one modifies the other, as in the following examples. See 3.2.5.4. Problematic cases of temporal modifications and 3.2.5.5. Problems of local adverbial on a discussion of the relation between two adverbials.

The dependent adverbial is *emphasized*:

1. 

těsně před *Vánocemi*
immediately before *Christmas*

2. o *den* později
(by) *a-day* later

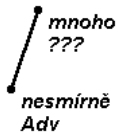
3. daleko od *Moskvy*
far from *Moscow*

4. rovnoběžně s *dálnicí*
in-parallel with *motorway*

5. blízko k *centru*
close to *center*

6. úměrně *podmínkám*
   proportionally *to-conditions*

7. lépe než *dobře*
   better than *well*

8. 

   nesmírně mnoho
   immensely many

3.2.5.3. Combined functions

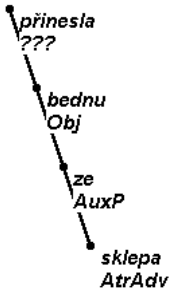
Combined ('slashed') functions in general are described in detail in 3.2.3.3. Combined functions. In the present section only those of them that concern adverbials, i.e. `AtrAdv` and `AdvAtr`.

Combined functions are used in cases when the given node may obtain either of the possible functions in the given context without any change of meaning (i.e. the sentence is not strictly ambiguous as for the function of the given node).

The functions `AtrAdv` and `AdvAtr` are thus used in case the node concerned may be either an adverbial `Adv` of its predicate or an attribute of some lower node in the tree. If the annotator's intuition prefers the attributive interpretation, s/he assigns the function `AtrAdv`; in the opposite case s/he assigns `AdvAtr`.

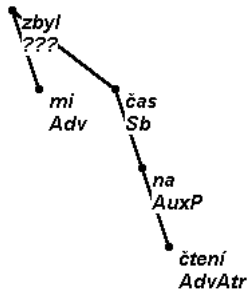
In both cases, the given node will always depend in that position in which it would be placed if it were an `Atr`; it will never depend on the verb.

1.



přinesla	bednu	ze	sklepa
she-brought	box	from	cellar

2.



neměl	čas	na	čtení
he-did-not-have	time	for	reading

3.2.5.4. Problematic cases of temporal modifications

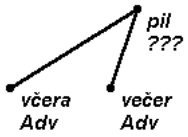
2.5.4.1. Two and more adjecent temporal modifications in the sentence

The solution presented in this section does not claim to be a theoretical one, it is a mere convention.

In case the sentence contains several temporal adverbials, they are hung as sisters. This case is illustrated by the first six examples.

The two mutually independent adverbials are *emphasized*.

1.

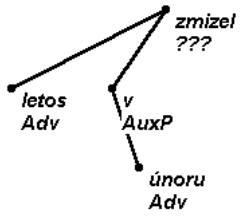


včera *večer* pil
yesterday *evening* he-drank

2.

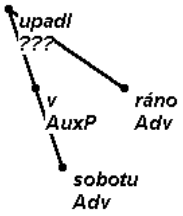
včera brzy *ráno* místního času vstal
yesterday early *in-the-morning* of-local time he-got-up

3.



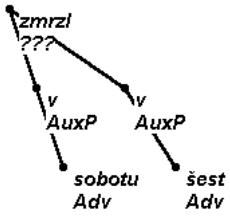
letos v *únoru* zmizel
this-year in *February* he-disappeared

4.



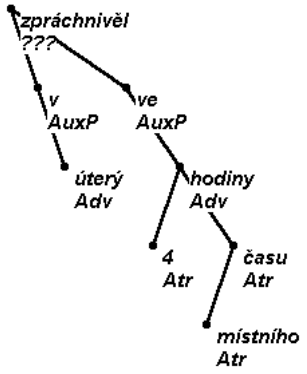
upadl v *sobotu* *ráno*
he-fell-down on *Saturday* *morning*

5.



přišel v *sobotu* v *šest*
he-came on *Saturday* at *six*

6.



zemřel v *úterý* ve 4 *hodiny* místního času
he-died on *Tuesday* at 4 *o'clock* of-local time

If the given adverbials are not considered to be mutually independent, it is necessary to determine the direction of the relation of dependency. The first factor to be taken into account is morphology; the following rules should be applied:

Rule 1:
If the governing node is a morphological adverb, both the governing and the depending adverbial are assigned the afun `Adv`.

The governing node can be a part of a meaningful question, e.g. *when in the evening?*, or *when yesterday?*.

The repertory of words that can modify adverbs is rather small, since the adverbs mostly are placed as sisters. From the syntactic point of view, these words are often ambiguous: e.g. the word *brzo* in the construction *brzo ráno* is an equivalent of English *early* (*early in the morning*) and depends on the noun; however, it can also stand alone, if it has the meaning of English *soon*.

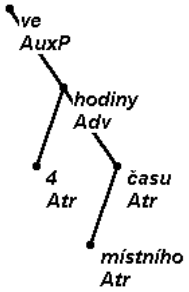
The dependent word is emphasized.

1.

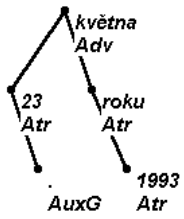
brzy ráno
early in-the-morning

Rule 2:
If the governing node is a noun (with or without a preposition) and the dependent node is a noun in the Genitive case or accompanied by a preposition, and this node evidently has the function of an attribute (answering the question *which?*), it gets the afun `Atr`. Cases with nouns in Genitive are quite clear; in case the annotator hesitates, the combined afun `AtrAdv` or `AdvAtr` can be assigned.

The dependent `Atr`'s are *emphasized*.

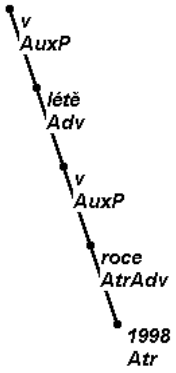
1. 

ve 4 hodiny místního *času*
at 4 o'clock of-local *time*

2. 

23. května *roku* 1993
23rd of-May *of-the-year* 1993

3.



v létě v *roce* 1998
in summer in *the-year* 1998

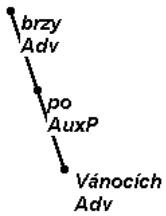
2.5.4.2. Temporal modification relative to an event

The function of the governing node is determined by its function in the given sentence.

Let us demonstrate two possibilities how to represent two adjacent temporal modifications:

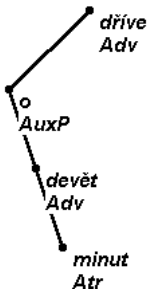
1. The governor is an adverb, the depending member is `Adv` (it answers such questions as *how soon? how immediately?, by what sooner?*). The dependent adverb is *emphasized*:

a)



brzy po *Vánocích*
soon after *Christmas*

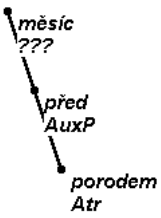
b)



o *devět* minut dříve
(by) *nine* minutes earlier

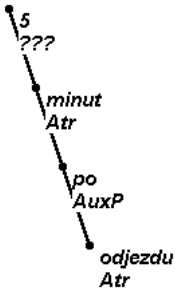
2. The governor is a noun, the dependent is its `Atr`; depending on the context, it may be also an `AtrAdv` or `AdvAtr`, and in some special cases (determined by the valency of verbs) also just `Adv` or `Obj`; notational convention: the noun attached by prepositions *před* (*before*) and *po* (*after*) are always `Atr`.
The dependent is *emphasized*:

a)



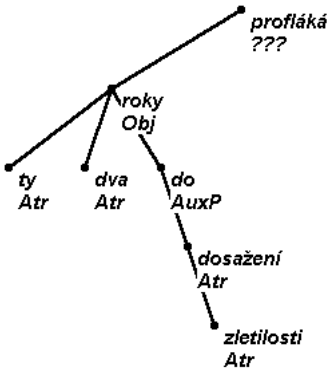
měsíc před *porodem*
month before *delivery* - `Atr`

b)



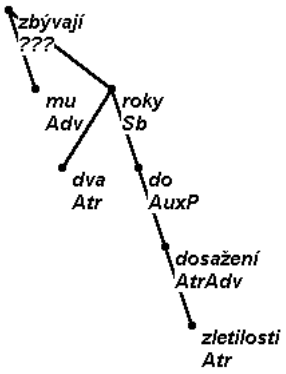
5 minut po *odjezdu*
5 minutes after *departure* - `Atr`

c)



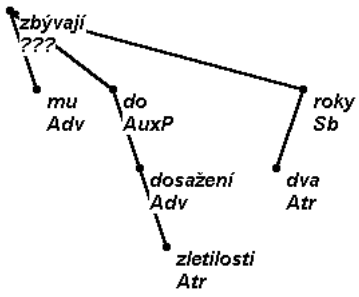
ty dva roky do *dosažení* zletilosti profláká
the two years till *reaching* full-age he-will-idle-his-time - `Atr`

d)



zbývají mu dva roky do *dosažení* zletilosti
are-left to-him two years till *reaching* full-age - `AtrAdv`

e)

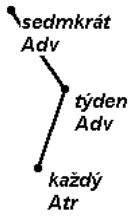


zbývají mu do *dosažení* zletilosti dva roky
are-left to-him till *reaching* full-age two years - `Adv`

2.5.4.3. Adverbial of temporal repetition

In the adverbials of repetition with words such as *vždy* (*always*), *kolikrát* (*how many times*), *x-krát* (*x times*), *tolikrát* (*so many times*) (multiples), the ***...krát*** (***...times***) figures as the governing element, on which the expression of interval (rendered by an adverb or prepositional construction) depends. (The question is: *how often*, *how many times?*)

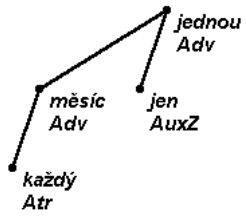
The dependent `Adv` *emphasized*:

1. 

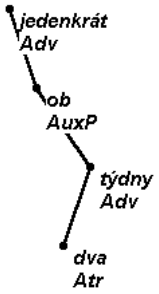
sedmkrát každý *týden*
seven-times every *week*

2.

kolikrát *ročně*
how-many-times *a-year*

3. 

každý *měsíc* jen jednou
every *month* just once
just once in every month

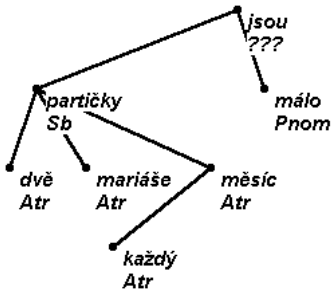
4. 

jedenkrát ob dva *týdny*
once after two *weeks*
once every other two weeks/fortnight

2.5.4.4. Temporal adverbial expresseding repetition lexically

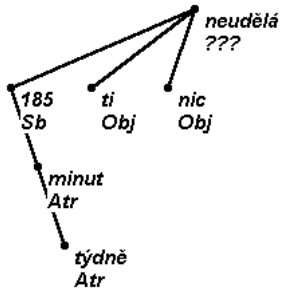
Adverbs of repetition (*denně daily*, *ročně yearly*,...) and prepositional groups such as *každou hodinu* (*every hour*) or *za rok* (*in a year*), are primarily classified as `Atr`, depending on a noun (unit).

Such a potential `Atr` can be used as `Adv` and may be assigned `AtrAdv`/`AdvAtr` as well, according to usual rules (*5000 Kč daily*).

1. 

dvě partičky mariáše každý *měsíc* jsou málo
two little-games of-whist every *month* are not-enough

2.

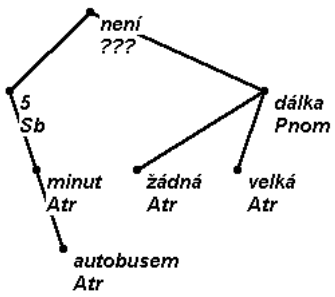


185 minut *týdně* ti nic neudělá
185 minutes *a-week* you-Dat nothing won't-harm
185 minutes a week won't harm you

2.5.4.5. Temporal adverbial modified by stating the rate of speed

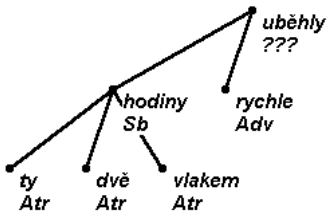
If distance is specified by means of time + speed, the modifying part constitutes an Atr of the time unit (it is being suspended under this unit, rather than on the numerical expression). With *minutes by bus*, the question runs, e.g.: *what minutes?* However, this differs from an Adv, present, e.g., in *jel tam 5 minut autobusem* (*he went there 5 minutes by bus*), in which *autobusem* (*by bus*) is Adv dependent on the verb.

1.



5 minut *autobusem* není žádná velká dálka
5 minutes *by-bus* is-not no great distance

2.



ty dvě hodiny *vlakem* rychle uběhly
those two hours *by-train* rapidly elapsed

3.2.5.5. Problems of local adverbial

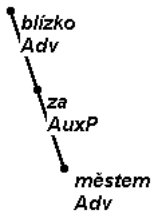
2.5.5.1. Local adverbial relating to some place

The rules are analogous to the rules of temporal adverbial dealt with in the part 2.5.4.2. Temporal modification relative to an event.

In what follows two possibilities of representing two contact local adverbials are described.

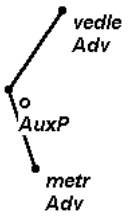
1. The governing member is an adverb, the subordinate member being thus `Adv` (questions: *how near? how close? how deep? by what/by how much further/aside?*).

a)



blízko za *městem*
close outside *town*

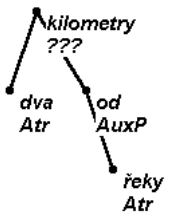
b)



o *metr* vedle
by *meter* aside
missing by a meter

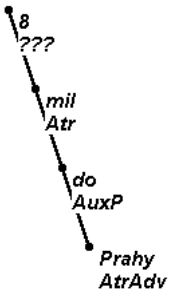
2. The governing member is a noun, the subordinate member being its `Atr`; according to context it also can be `AtrAdv`/`AtrObj`, consequently in some cases `Adv`/`Obj` (in accordance with verb valency), in agreement with the rules of annotation (questions: *what kilometres? what sight? what piece?*).
Convention: *od* (*from*) (if the case is not a valency, etc.) is only `Atr`.
The dependent member with a different afun is *emphasized*.

a)



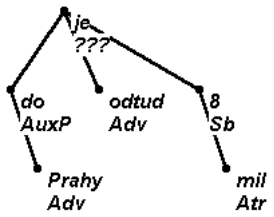
dva kilometry od *řeky*
two kilometres from *river* - `Atr`

b)



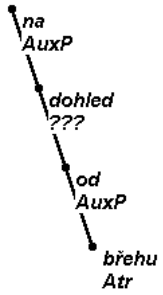
8 mil do *Prahy*
8 miles to *Prague* - `AtrAdv`

c)



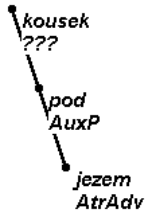
do *Prahy* je odtud 8 mil
to *Prague* it-is from-here 8 miles - `Adv`
it is 8 miles to Prague from here

d)



na dohled od *břehu*
within sight of *shore* - `Atr`

e)



kousek pod *jezem*
a-little-bit below *weir* - `AtrAdv`

3.2.5.6. The boundaries of `Adv` and `Atr`

If two nouns (as the case may be, with a preposition) come together, that one which potentially depends on the other may become either really the other's `Atr` (`AtrAdv`, `AdvAtr`), or its sister `Adv`.

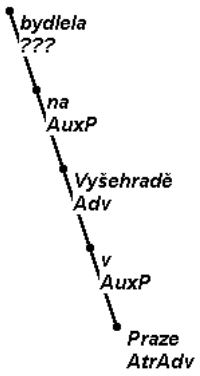
The potentially governing member obtains its function according to context. The potentially dependent member can become its `Atr` (`AtrAdv`, `AdvAtr`) provided it immediately follows that governor in the word-order (ex. (1) - (5)). A non-agreeing

attribute preceding the governing word is not regarded as `Atr` but for exceptional cases created by valences of nouns (*interest in*, *time for*, *time to*, *will to*, *thought of*,..., see 3.2.3.5. Non-agreeing attribute in a non-projective position in the sentence). In these cases it is regarded as `Atr` in spite of the possibility of causing non-projectivity of the tree. If the potentially dependent member cannot become an `Atr` (`AtrAdv`, `AdvAtr`), it is suspended as `Adv` alongside the potentially governing member (exx. (6) - (9)).

Explanation:

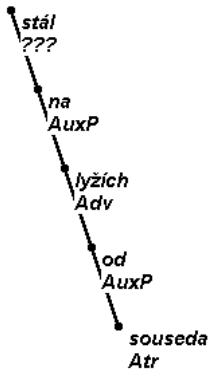
ex. (2) they are really neighbour's skis
ex. (3) it is not clear whether the skis were neighbour's or whether he came from the neighbour
ex. (7) he came from the neighbour on some (undetermined) skis
ex. (8) *Bosnia at the sea* is not the case

1.



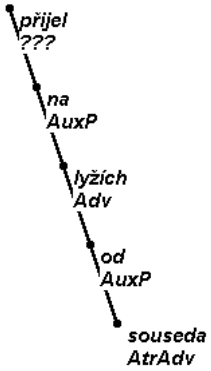
bydlela na Vyšehradě v Praze
she-lived at Vyšehrad in Prague

2.



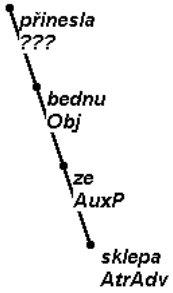
stál na lyžích od souseda
he-stood on skis from neighbour

3.



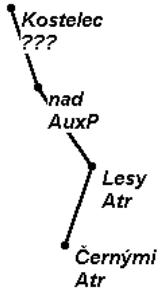
přijel na lyžích od souseda
he-arrived on skis from neighbour

4.



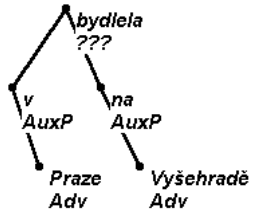
přinesla bednu ze sklepa
she-brought case from basement

5.



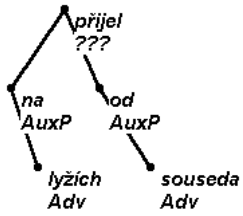
Kostelec nad Černými Lesy
Kostelec over Black Woods

6.



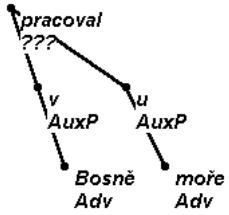
v Praze bydlela na Vyšehradě
in Prague she-lived at Vyšehrad

7.



na lyžích přijel od souseda
on skis he-arrived from neighbour
he arrived on skis from the neighbour

8.



pracoval v Bosně u moře
he-worked in Bosnia at sea

9.

ze sklepa přinesla bednu
from basement she-brought case

3.2.5.7. Expression of adverbials

2.5.7.1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

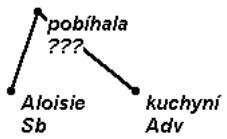
An adverbial can be expressed by means of a noun in an indirect case, simple or prepositional.

Note

As regards prepositional cases, `Adv` is assigned only if verbal government ("rection") is excluded (e.g. in *nesouhlasil se smlouvou - he did not agree to the contract* - the prepositional group is governed by the verb and it gets `Obj`).

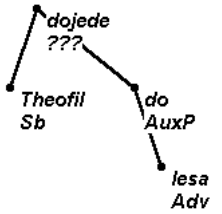
The described expression of `Adv` is printed in *emphasized* types

1.



Aloisie pobíhala *kuchyní*
Aloisia was-running kitchen-`Instr`
Aloisia was running about the kitchen

2.



Theofil dojede do *lesa*
Theophil will-drive to *wood*

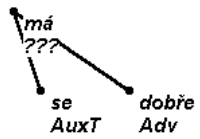
2.5.7.2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

In addition to current adverbs (ex. (1)) we also regard as `Adv` absolute (discrete) transgressive constructions (i.e., those that neither agree nor have a subject in common with the verb, ex. (2)). The common transgressives, however, fulfil the function of complements (see the part 2.6.6.7. Complement expressed by a transgressive).

The absolute transgressive constructions mentioned above are prototypically separated by a comma; then they are regarded as parenthesis with afun `Adv_Pa` (see 3.5.4. A syntactically incorporated sentence part with <afun>`_Pa`).

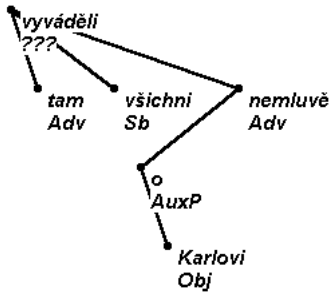
The described expression of `Adv` is printed in *emphasized* types

1.



má	se	*dobře*
s/he-is	`Refl`	*well*
s/he is well		

2.

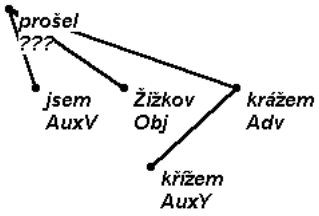


vyváděli	tam	všichni	o	Karlovi	*nemluvě*
were-frolicking	there	all	about	Charles	*not-mentioning*
they were frolicking all there, not to mention Charles					

2.5.7.3. Adverbial expressed by an adverb phraseologism

In 3.6.6. Collocations, phraseologisms (phrasemes) we describe how collocations are to be represented and what is regarded as a collocation in our conception. Since most of the collocations fulfil functions of adverbials, this phenomenon is dealt with here as well.

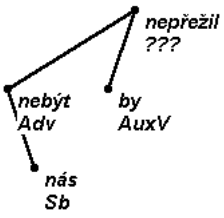
The last word (from the point of view of word-order) of a collocation becomes its "representative" and as such it is assigned afun `Adv`. The remaining words depend on it and obtain afun `AuxY`.



prošel jsem Žižkov křížem *krážem*
I-passed `Aux` Žižkov cross *criss*
I passed through Žižkov crisscrossing it

2.5.7.4. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive

As a rule, the infinitive expresses condition. In the protoypical case, it is separated by a comma and then it is regarded as parenthesis with afun `Adv_Pa` (see 3.5.4. A syntactically incorporated sentence part with <afun>`_Pa`).

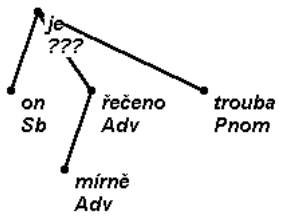


nebýt nás by nepřežil
not-to-be us would he-not-survived
but for/if it were not for us he wouldn't survive

Within this category also the expression of `Adv` by a 'discrete' participle (*příčestí nespojité*) belongs. This, too, is usually separated by commas and therefore it is

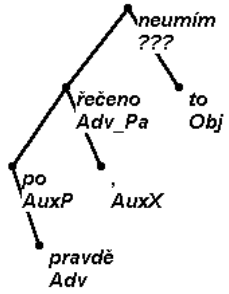
regarded as parenthesis (`Adv_Pa` - ex. (2)). The boundary between a discrete adverbial and an incomplete (parenthetic) clause with an elided copula is fuzzy. The latter case is described in 3.5.3. An independent sentential form (containing a predicate) `Pred_Pa`: e.g. the sentence *Před smrtí, neznámo proč, si koupil tramvajenku* - *(Shortly) before his death, for reasons unknown, he bought a tram pass.*

1.



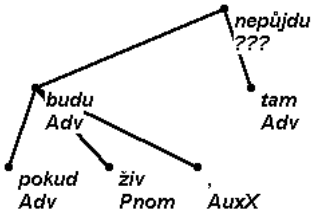
on je mírně *řečeno* trouba
he is mildly *said* blockhead
he is, to put it mildly, a blockhead

2.



po pravdě *řečeno*, neumím to
for truth *said* I-am-no-good it
to tell the truth, I am no good at it

2.5.7.5. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause



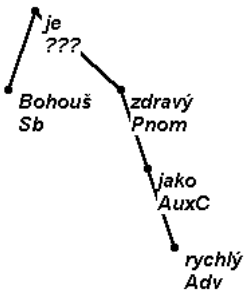
pokud	*budu*	živ,	nepůjdu	tam
as-long-as	*I-will-be*	alive	I-shall-not-go	there

2.5.7.6. Adverbial expressed by a clause (or a group) with conjunctions *jak(o)* - *as*, *než(li)* - *than*

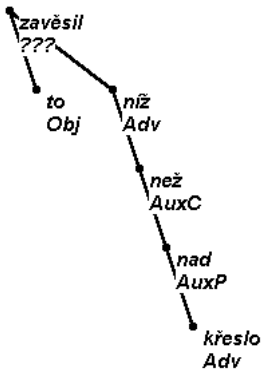
A complete subordinate clause (with a verb) following the above conjunctions constitutes an `Adv`. A sentence member constitutes `Adv` only if it pertains in a close manner to the node placed immediately above the conjunction - it belongs to the same kind, which is why it could occur in the sentence in place of what it modifies (*lépe než dobře* - *better than well*, *více než pět* - *more than five*, *široký jako vysoký* - *as wide as high*). In other cases (*zdravý jako ryba* - *as sound as a fish/bell*) it represents an ellipsis (*he is as sound as the fish/bell is sound*) and the afun `ExD` is used.

This problem is dealt with in detail in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*). The use of afun `ExD` is specified in 3.1.3.3. Ellipsis of predicate in clauses introduced by conjuctions *jak(o)* (*like*), *než(li)* (*than*).

1.



Bohouš je zdravý jako *rychlý*
Bohouš is sound as *quick*
Bohouš is as sound as quick

2. 

zavěsil	to	níž	než	nad	*křeslo*
he-hanged	it	lower	than	over	*armchair*

3.2.5.8. Kinds of adverbials according to meaning

The kinds of adverbials:

1. place
2. time
3. manner
   - manner proper
   - measure
   - means
   - respect
4. causality
   - cause
   - consequence
   - purpose
   - condition
   - concession
5. special kinds
   - inheritance

2.5.8.1. Adverbial of place

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   accusative:

   jsi *hodinu* cesty odtud
   you-are *one-hour's* ride from-there

   instrumental:

   a) prošli *chodbou*
      they-passed *corridor-*`Instr`

   b) *sálem* zněl smích
      hall-`Instr` sounded laughter
      the hall resounded with laughter

   c) mistr se rozhlédl *dílnou*
      foreman `Refl` took-a-look *workshop-*`Instr`

   prepositional cases:

   FF stojí proti Mánesovu *mostu*
   FF is-situated opposite Mánes *Bridge*

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   nevlídně se dívala *kolem*
   unkindly `Refl` she-was-looking *around*

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   jen tam je láska, kde *panuje* přátelství
   only there is love where *prevails* friendship
   love only resides where friendship prevails

2.5.8.2. Adverbial of time

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   genitive:

   přijel tam *roku* 1918
   he-arrived there *in-year* 1918

   accusative:

   poslední *dobu* byla podivná
   recent *time* she-has-been strange
   she has been behaving strangely of late

   instrumental:

   chvílemi vyběhla na pavláčku
   times-`Instr` she-appeared on gallery
   time and again she appeared on the gallery

   prepositional cases:

   bylo to na *počátku* léta
   was it at *beginning* of-summer

   A list of possible Czech prepositions in such constructions: *do, během, k, kolem, koncem, mezi, na, o, ob, od, okolo, po, pod, pro, před, přes, při, skrze, uprostřed, v,z, za*.
2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   včera dosáhl cíle
   yesterday he-reached goal

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   a) otec zemřel, když *šlo* chlapci na 11. rok
      father died when *it-got* boy-`Dat` on 11th year
      father died when the boy was getting on his 11th year

   b) učil se, zatímco Vojta *spal*
      he-was-learning `Refl`. while Vojta *was-sleeping*

A list of possible conjunctions in such constructions: *když, až, zatímco, mezitímco, pokud, dokud, jakmile, jak, sotva(že), leda(že), kdykoli, než.*

2.5.8.3. Adverbial of manner

Manner can be expressed directly, by comparison and by effect.
Directly:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   instrumental:

   a) Vašek se na něho díval *úkosem*
      Vašek `Refl` at him looked *askance*

   b) romány se rodily závratnou *rychlostí*
      novels `Refl` were-born extreme *speed-`Instr`*
      novels were born with the speed of a lightning

   c) šli *zástupem*
      they-walked *in-column-`Instr`*

   d) půjdeme *procházkou*
      we-shall-go *walk-`Instr`*
      we shall take a walk there

   e) zuřila *zlobou*
      she-was-raging *hatred-`Instr`*

   prepositional cases:

   a) přišli všichni kromě *něho*
      arrived all besides *him*
      all arrived but for him

   b) Karel jel s *Pavlem*
      Charles drove with *Paul*

c) vytrhnul jej i s *kořeny*
he-wrenched-out it even with *roots*
he wrenched it out with roots

d) hledí s *úžasem*
(s)he-stares with *amazement*

e) dostavili se všichni včetně *učitele*
turned-up `Refl` all including *teacher*
all turned up including the teacher

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

jak se jmenuješ
how `Refl` you-call
what is your name

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

a) rozběhl se, jak *měl* ve zvyku
he-started-running `Refl` as *he-had* in custom
he started running as was his custom

b) odešla, aniž mu *odpověděla*
she-went-off without him *she-answered*
she went off without answering him

Comparison:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

instrumental:

nespokojenost vzplane *požárem*
dissatisfaction will-flare-up *conflagration-*`Instr`
dissatisfaction will flare up in a conflagration

prepositional cases:

vypadá proti své *choti* dost nepatrně
s/he-looks against his *wife* rather insignificant
he looks rather insignificant compared with his wife

A list possible Czech prepositions in these constructions: *proti, oproti, na rozdíl od, ve srovnání s*

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   mužsky se zamračil
   in-manlike-way `Refl` he-frowned
   he frowned in a manlike way

3. Adverbial expressed by a clause (or a group) with conjunctions jak(o) - as, než(li) - than

   jak se *usnesli*, tak vykonali
   as `Refl` *they-had-decided*, so they-carried-out
   as they had decided, they carried out

Effect:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   velbloud k naší *lítosti* odklusal
   camel to our *regret* trotted-away
   to our regret the camel trotted away

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   Pavel *hanebně* prohrál
   Paul *shamefully* lost

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   mám ruce ztuhlé tak, že prsty *nenarovnám*
   I-have hands stiff so that fingers *I-not-straighten*
   my hands have gone so stiff that I cannot straighten my fingers

2.5.8.4. Adverbial of measure

Measure can be expressed directly, by comparison, effect, restriction or by difference.
Directly:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   accusative:

   kroupa vážila *půl* kila
   hailstone weighed *half* kilo-Acc

   (the case is accusative with numerical data - see 3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions)

   prepositional cases:

   a) vypil nápoj až do *dna*
      he-drained drink down to *bottom*
      he drained the potion down to the bottom

   b) bylo nás ke *stu*
      it-was us towards *one-hundred*
      there was towards one hundred of us

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   a) *ještě* větší jízlivost
      still greater malice

   b) pokoj otevřený *dokořán*
      room open *wide*

   c) byl *silně* udýchán
      he-was *rather* breathless

   d) rozkousl je *napolo* nevědomky
      he-bit-apart them *half* unawares

   e) kráčel *nepříliš* ochotně
      he-was-walking *not-very* willingly

f) kymácím se *docela* vzadu
I-am-teetering `Refl` *quite* at-the-rear

g) jsem schopen *nanejvýš* ironie
I-am capable-of *at-most* irony
irony is the most I am capable of

h) to činí *úhrnem* 100 Kč
this makes *in-total* 100 Kč

3. Adverbial expressed by an adverb phraseologism

čerta starého mi na ní záleží
devil-`Acc` old me about her it-is-of-importance
I don't give a damn about her

Comparison:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

genitive:

jitro je rozumnější *večera*
morning is more-clever *evening-`Gen`*
you should consult your pillow

instrumental:

krev se řinula *proudem*
blood `Refl` flowed *streams-`Instr`*

prepositional cases:

bohatství snů roste úměrně s *množstvím* pocitů
abundance of-dreams grows in-proportion with *quantity* of-feelings

A list of possible Czech prepositions in these constructions: *proti, nad, od, s, úměrně s*

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

ženská si *spíš* pomůže
woman `Refl` *more-likely* helps
a woman is more likely to take care for herself

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   čím krásnější *je* sen, tím bolestnější bude procitnutí
   the more-beautiful *is* dream, the more-painful will-be awakening
   the more beautiful the dream, the more painful the awakening

4. Adverbial expressed by a clause (or a group) with conjunctions jak(o) - as, než(li) - than

   jak bláznivě ji *měl* rád, tak bláznivě žárlil
   as foolishly her *he-had* loved so foolishly he-was-jealous
   as foolishly as he loved her, so foolishly he was jealous of her

Effect:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   nenáviděla ji na *smrt*
   she-hated her to *death*

   A list of possible Czech prepositions in these constructions: *(až) do, (až) k, (až) na*
2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   vypadala *nepopsatelně* vábně
   she-looked *undescribably* inviting

3. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive

   stromy jsou jako košťata, jen *rozpučet*
   trees are like besoms, just-about *to-flourish*

4. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   a) nejsem tak nepřející, abych to *vypil*
      I-am-not so envious that it *I-drank-up*
      I am not so envious to drink it up

   b) chrám přeplněný tak, až lidé *omdlévali*
      temple overcrowded so that people *were-fainting*

c) tak ho pokousali, že *zemřel*
they him bited that *he-died*
they bited him in such a way that he died

Restriction:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   zapomněla všechno kromě *rumu*
   she-forgot everything except *rum*
   she forgot everything but for rum

   A list of possible Czech prepositions in these constructions: *kromě, vyjma, s výjimkou, mimo, (až) na*

Difference:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   radost rodičů je větší o *radost* dětí
   delight of-parents is greater by *delight* of-children
   the parents' delight increases by the delight of their children

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   daleko upřímnější sjednocení
   by-far more-sincere union

2.5.8.5. Adverbial of means

Means can be represented by aid or measure.
Aid:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   instrumental:

   cvrnkali *sklenkami* o mísy
   they-were-clinking *glasses* against bowls
   they were clinking their glasses against the bowls

   Note
   with verbs in passive voice the means (aid) becomes actor, i.e., `Obj` (*byl přivítán předsedou - he was welcomed by the chairman*)

   prepositional cases:

   a) přísahala na *kříž*
      she-swore on *cross*

   b) držel koně na *oprati*
      he-kept horses on *reins*

   c) po *hlavě* chodit neumím
      on *head* walk I-can't

   d) dřela za *mírku* brambor
      she-drudged for *small-bowl* of-potatoes
      she used to drudge for a small bowl of potatoes

   A list of possible Czech prepositions: *na, o, po, skrze, v, za, pomocí, prostřednictvím*
2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   vyjádřil to *hudebně*
   he-expressed it *musically*

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   život můžeme zkoumat jen tak, že *zkoumáme* živou hmotu
   life we-can examine only so that *we-examine* living matter
   we can examine life only by examining living matter

Measure:

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   instrumental:

   mám *právem* nárok na dovolenou
   I-have *rightly* claim for leave
   I make a rightful claim for a leave

   prepositional cases:

   a) ústav chce podle *ředitele* přežít
      institute wants according-to *director* to-survive
      according to the director the institute wants to survive

   b) výkon se snižuje úměrně *podmínkám*
      performance `Refl` scales-down proportionally-to *conditions*
      the performance scales down corresponding to conditions

   A list of possible Czech prepositions in these constructions: *podle, dle, po, z, úměrně, na podkladě, na základě, v souhlasu s, v souladu s, soudě dle*.

2.5.8.6. Adverbial of respect

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   instrumental:

   a) *zevnějškem* se podobal Pavlovi
      by-external-appearance-`Instr Refl` he-resembled Paul

b) plemena příbuzná *jazykem*
races cognate *in-language-*`Instr`

c) dědeček byl *povoláním* rybář
grandfather was *by-profession-*`Instr` fisherman

This construction occurs with such verbs as *rovnat se, různit se, lišit se, přizpůsobit se* (*equal, differ, differentiate, adapt*), etc., with relative adjectives and with the word groups *být (stávat se) něčím, (nějakým)* - *be (become) st.(some)*

prepositional cases:

a) sbor je (co) do *počtu* slabý
chorus is (as) to *numbers* scant
as to numbers the chorus is scant

b) byla k *němu* bezcitná
she-was to *him* heartless

c) tempo je pro *nás* rychlé
speed is for *us* high
the speed is too high for us

d) s *podnájemníky* neměla štěstí
with *tenants* she-had-not luck
she had bad luck with her tenants

e) všechno u *mne* večerem počíná
all by *me* evening-`Instr` begins
all begins by evening with me

f) ochabl ve své *činnosti*
he-grew-feeble in his *activity*

g) upravíme předpis se zřetelem na noční *přepady*
we-shall-adjust regulation with regard to night *assaults*
we shall adjust the regulation with a view to the nocturnal assaults

A list of possible Czech prepositions: *(co) do, k, na, naproti, od, oproti, pro, proti, při, s, stran, u, v, vůči, ohledně, z hlediska, vzhledem k, vzhledem na, se zřetelem na, v souhlase s, v souvislosti s, ve spojitosti s, ve srovnání s*

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   a) eskymácká strava je *biologicky* hodnotná
      Eskimo food is *biologically* rich

   b) je to v *podstatě* lež
      is it in *essence* lie

   c) *jinak* tam bylo pěkně
      otherwise there it-was nice

3. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive

   sociologicky *vzato*, divadlo je soubor lidí
   sociologicallly *taken* theatre is ensemble of-people
   from the sociological point of view, the theatre is an ensemble of people

4. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   co ho *pamatuji*, byl spořádaný člověk
   as him *I-remember* he-was decent man
   as far as I remember him, he was a decent man

   Conjunctions *pokud* and *co* (*pokud jde o*, *pokud se týče*) - *as far as (... is concerned)* are used.

2.5.8.7. Adverbial of cause

This adverbial concerns expression of stimuli, motives or causes of states and activities, obstacles or symptoms on the basis of which we infer that some action takes place.

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   accusative:

   co bych se bála
   what-`Acc` I-should `Refl` be-afraid
   why should I be afraid

   instrumental:

a) rozplývá se *štěstím*
he-melts `Refl` *happiness-`Instr`*
he melts with tears of happiness

b) nohy mu *slabostí* klesaly
legs him *weakness-`Instr`* were-failing
his legs were failing owing to weakness

prepositional cases:

a) na mou *žádost* přijde
at my *request* he-is-coming

b) muži pili na *zlost*
men were-drinking out-of *spite*

c) zemřel na *cirhosu*
he-died of *cirrhosis*

d) nenaříká pro *bolest*
he-doesn't-moan with *pain*

e) pro *hru* zapomínáš na čas
for-the-sake-of *play* you-forget on time

f) zavřeli ho pro *potulku*
they-arrested him for *vagrancy*

g) mlčeli ze *strachu*
they-remained-silent for *fear*

h) děkuji za *ohřátí*
thanks for *letting-me-warm-up*

i) strnul nad tou *drzostí*
he-stiffened at that *impudence*

j) díky *péči* manželky nezemřel
thanks *care* of-wife he-did-not-die
he did not die owing to his wife's care

A list of possible Czech prepositions: *na, pro, z, za, k, od, nad, po, při, skrz, v, u, následkem, v důsledku, dík (díky), kvůli, za příčinou, vzhledem k*.

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

   a) *proč* to děláš
   why it you-do
   why do you do it

   b) fotografování je z *důvodů* vojenských zakázáno
   photographing is for *reasons* military forbidden
   photographing is forbidden for military reasons

3. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   je nejlepší, protože *je* nejhodnější
   s/he-is best because *s/he-is* most-well-behaved

   A list of possible Czech conjunctions: *jak, jelikož, když* (coll.), *poněvadž, protože, (proto)že*.

2.5.8.8. Adverbial of consequence

Consequential connection is usually expressed by parataxis (e.g., *v žaludku mu kručelo, proto se najedl* (*his stomach was rumbling, therefore he ate his fill*) or *v hlavě mu zvonilo, pročež se napil* (*there was a buzz in his head, which is why he downed a drink*)). These cases are represented as coordination (see 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> `_Co`).

1. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   správce vám poradí, takže *nezabloudíte*
   keeper you will-advise so-that *you-will-not-lose-way*
   the keeper will advise you, so that you do not lose your way

Hypotactical expression of consequence is less frequent; the conjunction *takže* (*so that*) is used.

2.5.8.9. Adverbial of purpose

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

prepositional cases:

a) podněcoval je k *hledání*
he-instigated them to *search*

b) krb je na *okrasu*
hearth is for *show*

c) přispěchal na *pomoc*
he-hurried to *assistence*
he hurried to assist

d) srdce bilo na *poplach*
heart beat to *alarm*

e) byl jsem lidem pro *smích*
I-was `Aux` people-`Dat` for *laugh*
I became a laughingstock for the people

f) natáhl se pro *čepici*
he-reached-out `Refl` for *cap*

g) svrchník si vem pro *jistotu* také
overcoat `Refl` take for *certainty* as-well
as a provision take the overcoat as well

h) pobízí matku do *klusu*
he-urges mother to *trotting*
he is urging mother to trot

i) od *toho* jsou chytřejší lidé
for *that* are smarter people
leave that to the smarter people

j) vzdal se trůnu ve *prospěch* své ženy
he-renounced `Refl` throne in *favour* of-his wife

k) položil bych za *tebe* život
I'd-lay-down `Aux` for *you* life
I'd lay down my life for you

l) honil se za *zvěří*
he-hunted `Refl` for *game*

A list of possible Czech prepositions: *k, na, pro, do, od, v, za, kvůli, za příčinou, v zájmu, za účelem*

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

k tomu *účelu* dostávám blok
to that *purpose* I-get note-book
I get a notebook for this purpose

3. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive

a) jdou *slavit* 1.máj
they-are-going *to-celebrate* May-Day

b) byl jsem se tam *podívat*
I-was `Aux Refl` there *to-have-a-look*
I went there to have a look

c) poslali ho *studovat*
they-sent him *to-study*

4. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

a) od toho byla herečka, aby *zachovala* klid
for that she-was actress that *she-kept* quiet
it was her nature of an actress to remain composed

b) poslouchá pozorně jen aby se *zavděčil*
he-listens carefully just that `Refl` *he-obliged*
he listens carefully just to oblige

c) odešli, aby se už *nevrátili*
they-went-away that `Refl` never *they-not-return*
they went away never to return

d) pospěšme si, ať nás *nehledá*
let-us-hurry-up Refl lest us *s/he-not-search*
let us hurry up lest he should be searching for us

2.5.8.10. Adverbial of condition

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

prepositional cases:

a) při náležité *opatrnosti* se nic nestane
with due *caution* Refl nothing will-not-happen
with due caution nothing will happen

b) za *horka* stoupá nárok na tekutiny
in *hot-weather* increases demand for liquids
in hot weather the demands for liquids increase

c) bez *pokory* není smíru
without *humbleness* is-not peace
there is no peace without humbleness

d) vydám to jen na *potvrzení*
I-shall-surrender it only against *receipt*
I shall surrender it against a receipt only

e) podle *možnosti* má být provedena kontrola
according-to *possibility* should be carried-out check
according to what is possible a check is to be carried out

f) prohlédneme si s vaším *dovolením* továrnu
we-will-look-at Refl with your *permission* factory
with your permission we are going to have a look at the factory

2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb

obvykle po obědě spává
usually after lunch he-would-sleep
usually he would sleep after lunch

Some adverbials (*prostě*, *zkrátka* - *put simply*, *in short*) represent rather a degraded parenthesis; they are marked as `AuxY`.

3. Adverbial expressed by an infinitive

   a) *mluveno* v duchu typologie je příslušníkem avantgardy
   spoken in spirit of-typology he-is member of-avantgarde
   spoken in the spirit of typology he belongs to the avantgarde

   b) jde jim to těžko, *soudíc* podle vzdychání
   is for-them it hard *judged* by sighing
   it is hard for them, judged by their sighing

   c) *být* vámi, tak tam nejdu
   to-be you so there I-wouldn‘t-go
   if I were you I wouldn‘t go there

   d) kde by byl *nebýt* mne
   where would he-was *not-to-be* me
   where would he be if it were not for me

4. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   a) jestli tomuhle *říkáš* oddechnout, to tedy promiň
   if this *you-call* to-rest, then thus you-pardon
   if this is what you call a rest, I do beg you pardon

   b) kdyby *měl* aspoň volno, všechno by bylo snadné
   if *he-had* at-least free-day, all would be easy
   at any rate if he had a free day, all would be easy

A list of possible Czech conjunctions: *-li, jestli(že), jak, pakli(že), když, pokud, kdyby, když(by)*.

2.5.8.11. Adverbial of concession

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   a) nemohla přes dobré *vychování* zadržet úsměv
   she-could-not despite good *breeding* suppress smile
   despite her good breeding she could not suppress a smile

   b) při vší *opatrnosti* dost hrnců potloukla
   with all *care* many pots she-broke
   for all the care she broke quite a number of the pots

   A list of possible Czech prepositions: *přes, při, (i) v, mimo, proti, vzdor, navzdory*.

2. Adverbial expressed by a subordinate clause

   a) třeba to *nebyla* pravda, přece to tvrdí
   even-if it *weren't* true all-the-same it he-insists
   even if it weren't true, he insists on it all the same

   b) i když jsi *ztratila* muže, aspoň
   even when `Aux` *you-lost* husband at-least
   chvíli jsi byla šťastna
   for-a-while `Aux` were happy
   although you have lost your husband, at least you were happy for a while

   c) ať si *prší*, ať *je* mráz, panenka se směje
   let `Refl` *it-rains* let *is* frost doll `Refl` smiles
   may it rain, may it freeze, the doll keeps smiling

   d) nechť třeba běsy *viděla* jsem, doufám
   let even devils *I-saw* `Aux` I-hope
   even if I might have seen devils, I do hope

   A list of possible Czech conjunctions: *třebaže, ač, ačkoliv, třeba (i), třebas, třebaže, jak, jakkoliv, přestože, (přesto)že, (i) když, (ani) když, byť (i), ať, nechť, aniž* .

2.5.8.12. Adverbial of inheritance

Inheritance represents a special kind of `Adv`, which can be expressed by the way exemplified below only (a construction *od dědečka mu zbyly knihy - from the grandfather books have been left for him* - will be marked as `Obj`).

1. Adverbial expressed by means of a noun

   prepositional cases:

   po *tatínkovi* mu zbyla řádka knih
   after *father* him remained a-number-of books
   after father a number of books remained for him

3.2.6. Complement (verbal attribute) `Atv`, `AtvV`

3.2.6.1. INFO ATV

In the part 3.2.6.2. Definition of complement in defining complement we point out that our approach to this category is more restricted than that of Šmilauer's conception: as complement we regard only what he describes as complement not participating in government (*doplněk nevazebný*).

Since complement is traditionally described as depending on two members at the same time, we have to solve the question of where to suspend it in the tree; this problem is dealt with in the part 3.2.6.3. Getting the complement suspended. Then we have to bring to the reader's attention that complement can easily be mistaken for some other sentence members. To avoid such mistakes, some instances are presented in the part 3.2.6.4. Misinterpretation of complement; in the part 3.2.6.5. Criteria for diagnosing the complement, criterions on which the decisions in this respect are to be based are formulated.

In the part 3.2.6.6. Expressing the complement, possibilities in expressing complement will be shown. A complement can be expressed by a non-agreeing noun 2.6.6.1. Complement expressed by a non-agreeing noun, a nominal adjective 2.6.6.2. Complement expressed by adjective in nominal form, compound 2.6.6.3. Complement expressed by an adjective in compound form or deverbative 2.6.6.4. Complement expressed by a deverbative adjective, a pronoun or a numeral 2.6.6.5. Complement expressed by an adjectival pronoun or a numeral, and it can also be introduced by the conjunction *jako* 2.6.6.6. Complement introduced by the conjunction *jako*. As complements also transgressive constructions are regarded 2.6.6.7. Complement expressed by a transgressive, a special but separate case

of which are constructions of the type *hlavu skloněnou* (*(having) head inclined*) and the so-called French complements where the trangressive is elided 2.6.6.8. Complement with elided transgressive. Further possibilities are subordinate clauses 2.6.6.9. Complement expressed by a subordinate sentence and infinitives 2.6.6.10. Complement expressed by infinitive.

One of the governing elements of a complement is, as a rule, a verb (predicate), which fact will be presupposed through the whole section. Exceptionally, however, situations can take place where this member is transformed into some other. We shall deal with them in the concluding part 3.2.6.7. Complement with a transformed predicate.

3.2.6.2. Definition of complement

In our conception only Šmilauer's determining complement (not participating in rection) is regarded as complement (`Atv`, `AtvV`), while the governed complement (*doplněk doplňující* - completing, rectional) is diagnosed as object (`Obj` - see the part 3.2.4.6. Object after copulas and semi-copulas).

1. chlapec ležel *nenocen*
   boy lay *ill* - `Atv`

2. viděl ho *nemocného*
   he-saw him *ill* - `Atv`

3. stal se *lékařem*
   he-became `Refl` *physician* - `Obj`

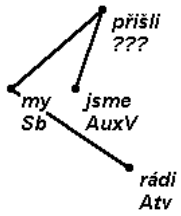
4. označil úvahy za *předčasné*
   he-declared considerations as *premature* - `Obj`

3.2.6.3. Getting the complement suspended

For technical reasons the complement is suspended on that of its "governing" members which is not a verb (i.e., on a noun or adjective), if, of course, such a member is present in the sentence. This is because this member determines the agreement. The complement obtains the function `Atv` from which the complement's dependence on the verb follows.

The complement with afun `Atv` is *emphasized*.

1.



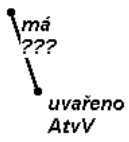
my jsme přišli *rádi*
we `Aux` came *glad*
we were glad to come

2.

peníze má *uloženy*
money he-has *deposited*
he has put the money on a deposit

If, however, there is no second member in the sentence (it is either completely absent or it has been elided), the complement gets suspended on the verb (predicate) and it obtains the function `AtvV`.

1.



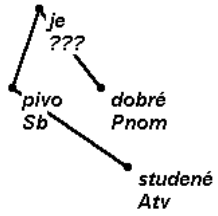
má *uvařeno*
she-has *cooked*
she has done cooking

2.

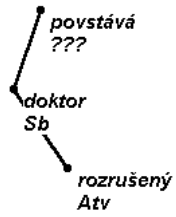
přiběhl *bos*
he-arrived *barefoot(ed)*

3.2.6.4. Misinterpretation of complement

The complement should not be mistaken for other kinds of sentence members, e.g., for nominal predicate (which might happen in contexts such as ex. (1)) or adverbial (ex. (3)).

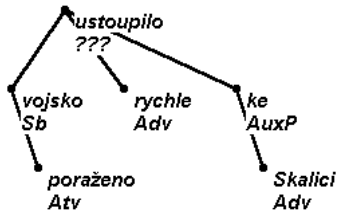
1. 

pivo je dobré *studené*
beer is good *cold*
beer is good served cold

2. 

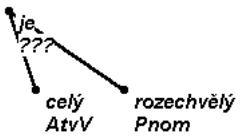
doktor povstává *rozrušený*
doctor is-rising *upset*

3.



vojsko *poraženo* ustoupilo rychle ke Skalici
troops *defeated* retreated quickly towards Skalice
the troops defeated retreated in haste towards Skalice

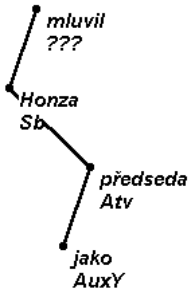
It can even happen that a complement gets suspended on a copula (*být*) by the side of the nominal part of the predicate (`Pnom`). If, as the case may be, the second governing member (here the subject) is absent, the above mentioned rule is to be applied - the complement gets suspended on the verb (the copula, in this case) and obtains `AtvV`.



je *celý* rozechvělý
he-is *all* agitated

3.2.6.5. Criteria for diagnosing the complement

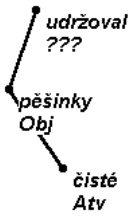
1. If an expression *jako* (meaning: *as*, *playing the part of*, etc.) occurs in a sentence (not being the case of a comparison described in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*)) and, at the same time, it is not governed by the valency of a verb (in such a case it would be an object - see the part 3.2.6.2. Definition of complement), we shall assign to this conjunctive expression the function `AuxY` and to the pertinent expression `Atv` (`AtvV`).



Honza mluvil jako *předseda*
Johny spoke as *chairman*
Johny held a speech as the chairman

2. If the word *jako* can be supplied to the sentence and the conditions stated in paragraph (1) are fulfilled, the assigned afun is complement (`Atv`), too.

a)



pěšinky udržoval *čisté*
paths he-kept *clean*
he kept the paths clean

b) budu tě fotografovat *nepřipravenou*
I'll you take-a-snap-of *unawares*
I'll take a snap of you unawares

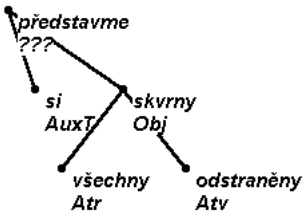
3.

a) There is agreement with `Sb`, `Obj` or other member and the verb has no valency.

i) chlapec chodí *bos*
boy goes *barefoot*

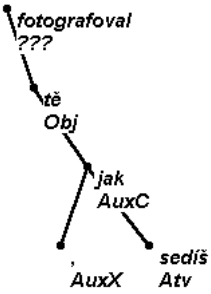
ii) viděl ho *nemocného*
he-saw him *ill*

iii) do divadla chodím jen do *loutkového*
to theatre I-go only to *puppet*
(as to) theatre I (don't) go but to the puppet

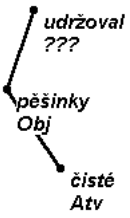
iv) 

představme si všechny skvrny *odstraněny*
let-us-imagine `Refl` all stains *removed*

b) Semantic criteria: verbs such as *depict*, *represent*, *photograph*, *preserve*, *keep*, *maintain*, *let*;... *(as he is) sitting*.

i) 

fotografoval tě, jak *sedíš*
he-took-a-snap you as *you-sit*
he took a snap of you sitting

ii) 

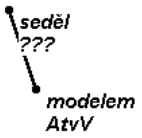
pěšinky udržoval *čisté*
paths he-kept *clean*
he kept the paths clean

4. The type *máme uvařeno* (*we have finished cooking*), *máme plno* (*we have our place full*) (`AtvV`).

5. Such expressions as *rád* (*glad*), *sám*, *samoten*, *samotný* (*alone*), *všechen* (*all*) prototypically represent complements (provided they are not in the position of `Atr` at a noun or of `Pnom`, i.e. following the copula *být*).

3.2.6.6. Expressing the complement

2.6.6.1. Complement expressed by a non-agreeing noun



seděl *modelem*
he-sat *model-*`Instr`
he sat for a model

A non-agreeing noun can occur as a complement in fixed constructions of the type:

1. sedět *modelem*
   to-sit *model-*`Instr` (as a model)

2. dostat *darem*
   to-get *present-*`Instr`
   be presented with st., get st. as a present

or in poetic sayings like

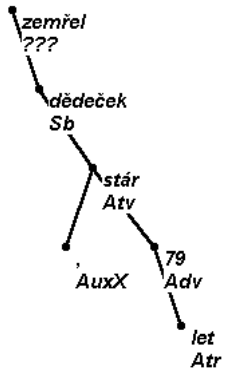
žebrákem půjdeš světem
beggar-`Instr` you-will-go through-world
you'll go begging through the world (as a beggar)

Similarly it can be expressed by a prepositional case:

král slíbil Honzovi svou dceru za *ženu*
king promised Johny his daughter as *wife*

2.6.6.2. Complement expressed by adjective in nominal form

1. otčím stojí *bled* uprostřed domu
   stepfather stands *pale* in-the-middle of-house

2. 

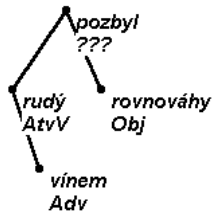
   zemřel dědeček, *stár* 79 let
   died grandfather *old* 79 years
   grandfather died, 79 years old

3. udělal to *nerad*
   he-did it *unwillingly*

4. ty jsi ještě *jakživa* nikde nebyla
   you `Aux` yet *in-your-life* never were-not
   you have never been anywhere in your life

5. lidé, *zapsáni* v pořadnících, čekají
   people *written* in waiting-lists are-waiting
   the people, entered in waiting lists, are waiting

2.6.6.3. Complement expressed by an adjective in compound form

1. 

   rudý vínem pozbyl rovnováhy
   red from-wine he-lost balance
   redfaced from wine he lost his balance

2. boty mi vyhovují *kotníčkové*
   shoes me fit *booties*
   shoes I find comfortable are booties

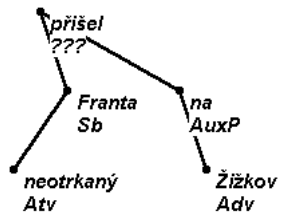
3. jednotka zůstala *bezbranná*
   unit remained *defenceless*

2.6.6.4. Complement expressed by a deverbative adjective

1. tatínek vešel *zářící* radostí
   father entered *beaming* with-joy

2. děti stály *ztichlé*
   children stood *silent*

3. přicházel *kryt* smrčím
   he-was-coming *covered* by-spruces
   he was coming covered behind spruces

4. 

   neotrkaný přišel Franta na Žižkov
   an-utter-greenhorn came Frank to Žižkov
   Frank came to Žižkov an utter greenhorn

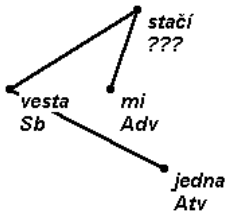
2.6.6.5. Complement expressed by an adjectival pronoun or a numeral

As a complement such words are regarded as *jediný* (*the only*), *každý* (*each*, *every*), *první* (*first*), *všechen* (*all*), *samojediný* (*sole*), *samotný* (*alone*), and nominal forms *rád* (*glad*), *sám*, *samoten* (*alone*) in non-attributive positions unless they represent `Pnom` after a copula (see also part 3.2.6.5. Criteria for diagnosing the complement sub 5). All the three positions of the word *sama* are illustrated by ex. (6). The sentence in this example is understood as meaning *the woman that was alone was the only one that was solitary*.

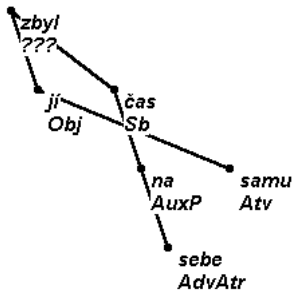
Complements can be cumulated (ex. (7))

1. tázal se *sám* sebe
   he-asked `Refl` *alone* himself
   he asked himself

2. leželi *sami dva*
   they-were-lying *alone two*
   they were lying the two alone

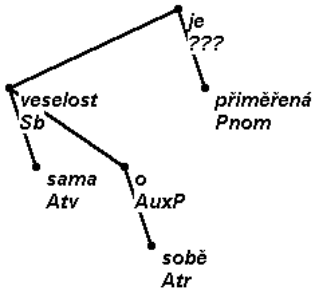
3. 

   vesta mi stačí *jedna*
   waistcoat me is-enough *one*
   one waistcoat is enough for me

4. 

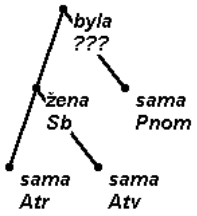
   zbyl jí čas na sebe *samu*
   left her time for herself *alone*
   she had time left for herself

5.



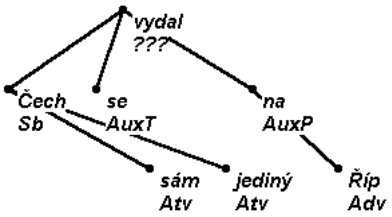
veselost *sama* o sobě je přiměřená
cheerfulness *alone* in itself is adequate
cheerfulness in itself is adequate

6.



sama žena byla *sama* sama
single woman was *the-only-one* alone
the single woman was the only one alone

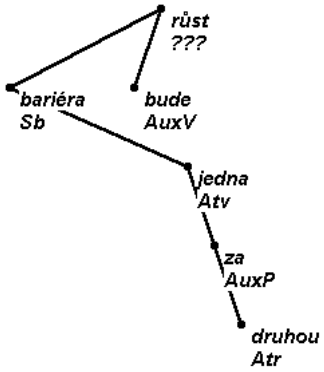
7.



Čech se vydal *sám jediný* na Říp
Čech `Refl` set-out *alone the-only-one* for Říp
Čech set out for Říp the only one alone

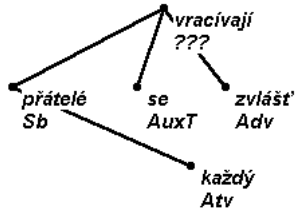
Mind phraseologized constructions as:

1.



bariéra	bude	růst	*jedna*	za	druhou
barriers	will	grow	*one*	after	another

2.

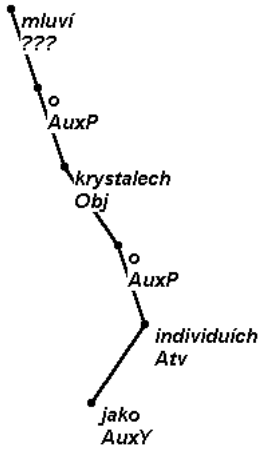


přátelé	se	vracívají	*každý*	zvlášť
friends	`Refl`	would-be-returning	*each*	separately

2.6.6.6. Complement introduced by the conjunction *jako*

The complement expressed by a noun or adjective can also be introduced by conjunctions *jako*, *jakožto* - *as* (see part 3.2.6.5. Criteria for diagnosing the complement). These conjunctions get suspended directly on the complement and obtain afun `AuxY` (see also part 2.7.7.4. The conjunction *jako* introducing complement or object).

There can be more complement adjectives following one conjunction (exx. (6), (7)). This conjunction then gets suspended on the first of these complements while the second gets suspended alongside without any conjunction.

1. 

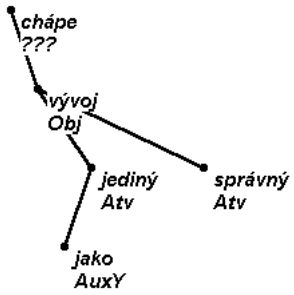
   mluví o krystalech jako o *individuích*
   he-speaks about crystals as about *individuals*

2. některý z členů by mohl dotazník potvrdit jako *svědek*
   one of members `Aux` could form verify as *witness*
   one of the members could verify the form as a witness

3. vezmeme kufry s sebou jako *zavazadla*
   we-take bags with us as *luggage*

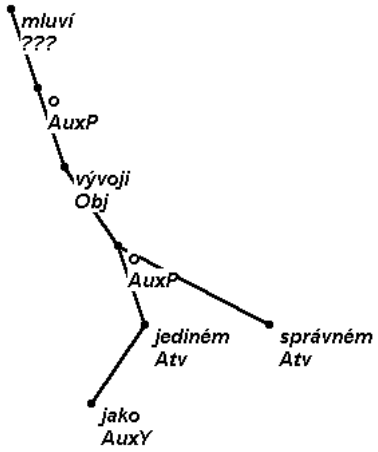
4. miloval Nováka jako *přítele*
   he-loved Novák as *friend*

5. odmítá debatu jako *druhotnou*
   he-refuses debate as *secondary*

6. 

   chápe vývoj jako jediný správný
   he-regards development as the-only-one correct

7.



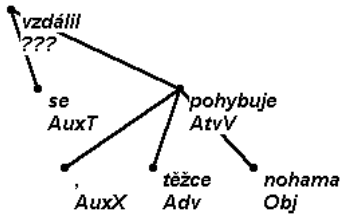
mluví	o	vývoji	jako	o	jediném	správném
he-speaks	of	development	as	of	the-only-one	correct

2.6.6.7. Complement expressed by a transgressive

Transgressives fulfil the function of complement in the sentence. An exception is represented by absolute (incontinuous) transgressive constructions neither in agreement nor having subject in common with the verb. They are regarded as adverbials and marked `Adv`. (See the part 2.5.7.2. Adverbial expressed by an adverb.)

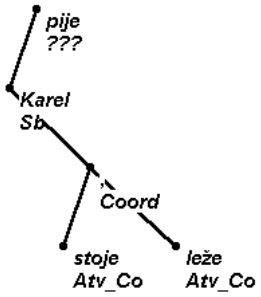
The complement expressed by a transgressive is, as a rule, separated by commas. Since this is a systemic phenomenon, we do not regard this case as parenthesis. It would be assigned function `Atv_Pa` only if it were separated more distinctly (e.g., by parentheses). This represents one of the exceptions dealt with in 3.5.4. A syntactically incorporated sentence part with <afun>`_Pa`.

1.



vzdálil	se,	těžce	*pohybuje*	nohama
he-walked-away	`Refl`	heavily	*moving*	legs

2.



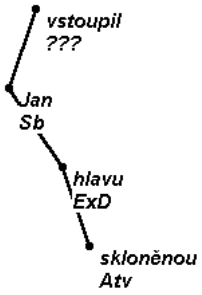
Karel pije *stoje, leže*
Charles drinks *standing, lying*

2.6.6.8. Complement with elided transgressive

The construction *Jan vstoupil hlavu skloněnou/skloněnu* (*John entered, his head inclined*) expresses dependence on the action (*how did he enter?*) and, at the same time, traditionally it is understood to depend on the name *Jan*, due to its agreement with this noun. Šmilauer speaks about "absolute accusative of property" pointing out that here the transgressive (*maje, majíc, majíce - having*) is elided, and classes these constructions with complement. We, however, miss an element that would make it possible to render exactly syntactic relations in the tree (the absent transgressive). Therefore we describe this type with the aid of afun `ExD` (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis `ExD`, `ExD_Co`).

The word *skloněnou* (*inclined*) represents a classical complement (`Atv`) to the member *hlava* (*head*) and to the missing transgressive according to the part 2.6.6.4. Complement expressed by a deverbative adjective.

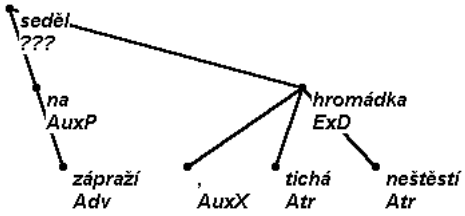
Emphasis denotes the node with afun `ExD`, which remained after the complement was gone.



Jan vstoupil *hlavu* skloněnou
John entered *head* inclined

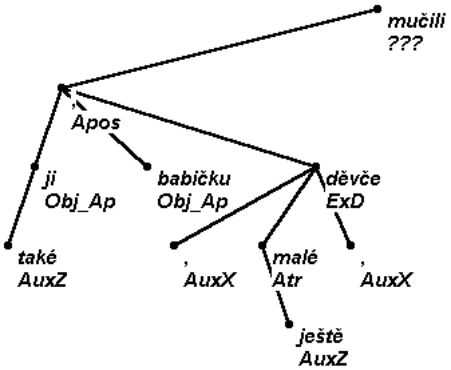
Cases of the so-called French complement can be dealt with in this connection, too, where, for the most part, an ellipsis of a transgressive takes place. The remaining noun then obtains afun `ExD` as well.

1.



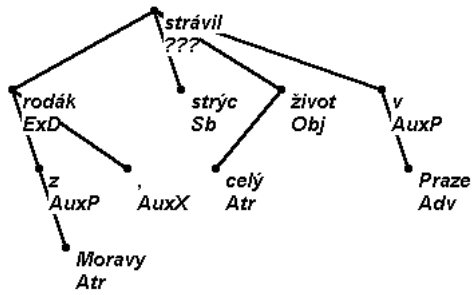
seděl na zápraží, tichá *hromádka* neštěstí
he-was-sitting on porch, silent *heap* of-misery
he was sitting in front of the porch, a silent picture of misery

2.



také ji, babičku, malé ještě *děvče*, mučili
also her grandmother small still *girl* they-tortured
they were torturing her too, the grandmother, still a little girl

3.

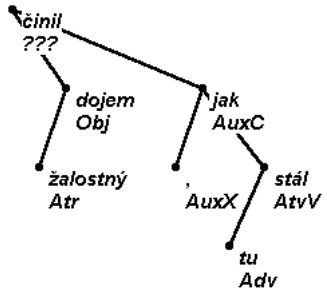


rodák z Moravy, strávil strýc celý život v Praze
native of Moravia, spent uncle all life in Prague
a native of Moravia, uncle spent all his life in Prague

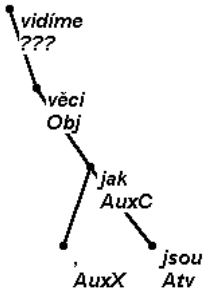
2.6.6.9. Complement expressed by a subordinate sentence

Following such content (autosemantic) verbs as *pozorovat* (observe), *vidět* (see), *zahlédnout* (catch sight of), *slyšet* (hear), *přistihnout* (catch), *potkat* (meet), *představit si* (imagine), *znázorňovat* (depict).

1.



činil žalostný dojem, jak tu *stál*
he-made pitiful impression, as here *he-was-standing*
he made a pitiful impression, as he was standing here

2. 

vidíme věci, jak *jsou*
we-see things as *they-are*

3. dnes tě znázorním, jak se *rozčiluješ*
today you I'm-going-to-picture as `Refl` *you-get-excited*
today I m going to picture you as getting excited

2.6.6.10. Complement expressed by infinitive

This concerns the so-called "Slavonic accusative with infinitive" after verbs like *vidět* (*see*), *spatřit* (*see, perceive*), *slyšet* (*hear*), *cítit* (*feel*); *nechat* (*let*).

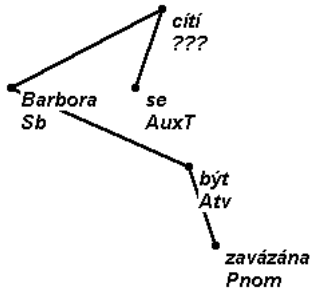
An aid:

"spatřila Vaška (jak?) vcházejícího do dveří" - *spatřila* ⟶ *vcházejícího, Vaška* ⟶ *vcházejícího* (*she saw Vašek enter(ing) the door*)

1.

spatřila Vaška *vcházet* do dveří
she-saw Vašek *enter* to door

2.



Barbora se cítí *být* zavázána
Barbara `Refl` feels *to-be* obliged
Barbara feels (being) obliged

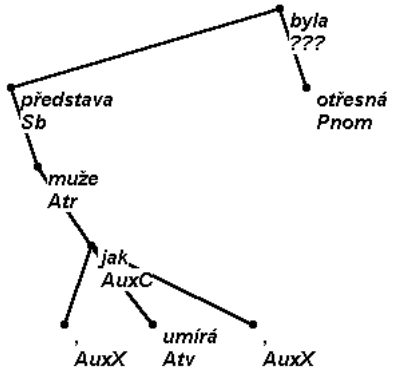
3.2.6.7. Complement with a transformed predicate

In classical examples complement relates (as an embedded predication) to the verb and to some other nominal sentence member (having a different afun). By means of a *transformation*(i.e., through another secondary predication) the governing verb or the nominal part of the predicate (`Pnom`) can be changed into another nominal construction. In such cases (instead of the verb) the result of this transformation (nominalisation) of the predicate becomes the first governing member of the complement.

Such cases, however, will be treated in the same way as the classical dependent complements. This means that the complement gets suspended on the second "governing" (nominal) member and is marked `Atv`.

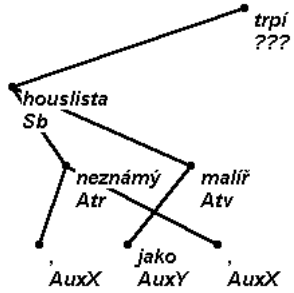
On the assumption that the sentence in the first example means *That how we imagined the man as he was dying was shocking*, the clause *as he was dying* constitutes the complement relating to the members *image* and *man*.

1.



představa muže, jak *umírá*, byla otřesná
image of-man as *he-dies* was shocking
the image of the man (as he was) dying was shocking

2.



houslista, neznámý jako *malíř*, trpí
violinist, unknown as *painter* suffers

3.2.7. Auxiliary sentence members AuxC, AuxP, AuxZ, AuxO, AuxT, AuxR and AuxY

3.2.7.1. Subordinating conjunctions AuxC

2.7.1.1. INFO AUXC

In the part 2.7.1.2. Definition of AuxC the information can be found as to where the subordinating conjunctions are to be placed in the tree and which conjunctions belong to this class. Consequently, a list of them has been included. As can be seen, some of the conjunctions consist of two words. The way how and where they are to be suspended in the graph are described in the part 2.7.1.3. Compound (multiple element) subordinating conjunctions. Another idiosyncratic conjunction is

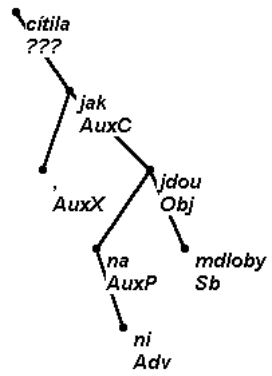
represented by the suffix *li* annexed with the aid of a hyphen, to be dealt with in the part 2.7.1.4. representation of the conjunction -li.

Some problems concearning the connecting (suspending) of subordinated conjunctional clauses will be touched in 2.7.1.5. attachment of subordinate clauses. The reader gets acquainted with the possibility that a conjunction may depend on a preposition, as well as about divided pairs of words *proto-že* and *přesto-že* (because of, in spite of). At last, in the part 2.7.1.6. An individual sentence member attached by a subordinating conjunction, it is shown that what can depend on a conjunction (i.e., what has been introduced by it) need not represent a whole subordinate clause, but be a mere independent sentence member (without representing an ellipsis handled with the aid of ExD).

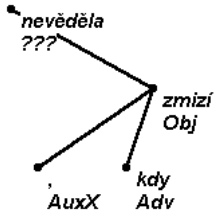
2.7.1.2. Definition of AuxC

(Subordinate) clauses consist of relative and conjunctional sentences. The predicate of a relative clause depends directly on its head included in the higher sentence, and the relative word obtains its function inside its subordinate clause (ex. (2)). In a *conjunctional clause*, the conjunction, which is assigned afun AuxC, is placed as dependent on the head word and the predicate of the clause depends on the cojunction. Thus, the latter becomes the *technically* governing node of the clause (ex. (1)).

1.



cítila, jak na ni jdou mdloby
she-felt as on her fall faints
she felt she would go off in a faint

2. 

nevěděla,	kdy	zmizí
she-did-not-know	when	she-would-disappear

There is a number of subordinating conjunctions which we mark as AuxC. They often are ambiguous, being thus able to fulfil other functions as well. E.g., the word *co* (*what/when*) obtains AuxC in temporal meaning only (close to the conjunction *když* (*when*)), especially when following such referential expressions as *poté* (*after*), *mezitím*, *zatím* (*while*), or participating in a "multiple" conjunction *jen co* (*just when*).

In spite of the fact that there are also such conjunctions (e.g.*aniž* (*without*)) which can function as both subordinating (AuxC) and coordinating (Coord), the great majority of conjunctions belongs to one of the two categories only and must not be confused (for coordinating conjunctions see part 4.1.3.4. Coordinating conjunctions).

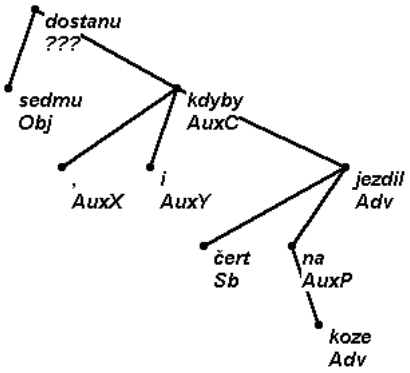
A list of subordinating conjunctions AuxC:
aby, *ač*, *ačkoli*, *ačkoliv*, *aniž*, *ať*, *ať už*, *až*, *byť*, *co*, *dokud*, *i kdyby*, *i když*, *jak*, *jakkoli*, *jakkoliv*, *jakmile*, *jako*, *jelikož*, *jen co*, *jestli*, *jestliže*, *kdežto*, *kdyby*, *kdykoli*, *kdykoliv*, *když*, *leda*, *ledaže*, *ledva*, *ledvaže*, *-li*, *mezitímco*, *nechť*, *než*, *nežli*, *pakli*, *pakliže*, *pokud*, *poněvadž*, *poté co*, *protože*, *přestože*, *sotva*, *sotvaže*, *takže*, *třeba*, *třebas*, *třebaže*, *zatímco*, *zda*, *zdali*, *že*

2.7.1.3. Compound (multiple element) subordinating conjunctions

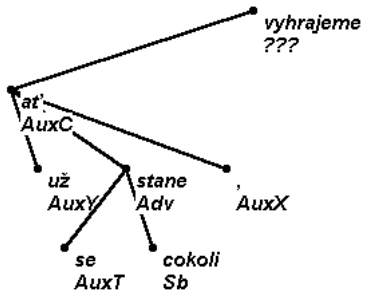
Most of the conjunctions consist of one word only. Nevertheless, there are also two-word conjunctions, which then take two nodes in the tree. To be able to represent them we use the function AuxY. As can be seen from the examples below, we choose one word of the two-word conjunction to take the position of the whole. This will obtain afun AuxC and it will be placed according to the above rules between the word modified by the clause and its predicate. The otgher word belonging to the conjunction will be suspended from this AuxC and marked by the mentioned afun AuxY. (This function is dealt with in the 3.2.7.7. Parts of multi-word constructions, some particles, decayed parenthesis AuxY, where the part 2.7.7.6. Compound subordinating conjunctions is devoted particularly to subordinating conjunctions).

In the following examples the part with afun AuxC is in *emphasized*:

1. přišli, i *když* není středa
   they-came even *though* it-is-not Wednesday

2. 

   sedmu dostanu, i *kdyby* čert na koze jezdil
   the-seven I-will-get even *if* devil on goat would-ride
   I shall get the seven, come hell or high water

3. 

   at' už se stane cokoli, vyhrajeme
   let now `Refl` happens whatever we-will-win
   whatever may happen, we shall win

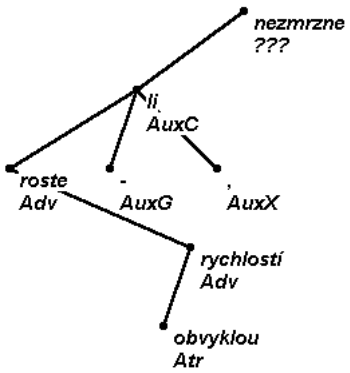
4. zařídím to, jen *co* se usadím
   I-will-manage it as-soon *as* `Refl` I-settle-down
   I can manage it as soon as I settle down

2.7.1.4. representation of the conjunction -li

This conjunction is placed as an independent node, as all conjunctions are. The hyphen preceding it obtains afun `AuxG` and it will depend directly on the node *li* (according to 2.8.4.8. Punctuation mark with the conjunction *-li* (hyphen)). The word preceding the hyphen fulfils its current function in the clause. Therefore, if it represents a predicate (ex. (1)), it will depend on the conjunction, if it plays the role

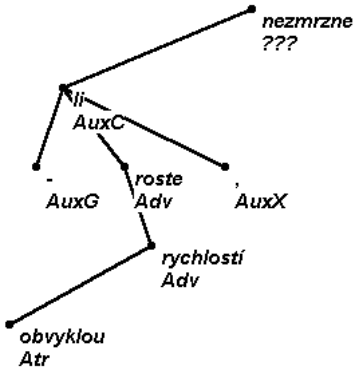
of another sentence member (ex. (2)), it will depend on the node where it belongs according to the rules of annotation.

1.



roste-li obvyklou rychlostí, nezmrzne
if-it-grows at-usual speed, it-does-not-freeze-up

2.



obvyklou-li roste rychlostí, nezmrzne
usual-if it-grows by-speed it-will-not-freeze-up
if the speed of its growth is usual, it will not freeze up

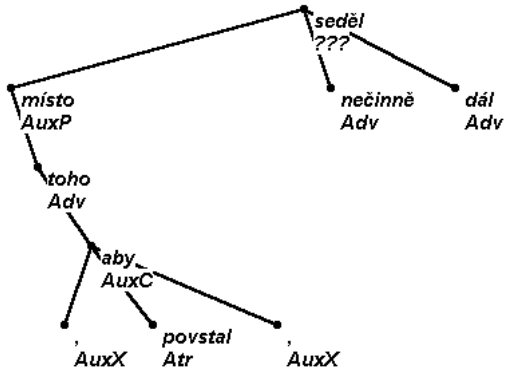
2.7.1.5. attachment of subordinate clauses

If the main clause contains a 'referential word' corresponding to the attached clause, it needn t be quite clear on which node this subordinate clause (i.e., technically, the conjunction) should depend. *Generally* this problem is dealt with in 3.6.4. Referring words. Here we shall touch on some problems concerning conjunctions.

If the pronoun *to* (*it*) accompanies a subordinate clause having the function `Atr` (according to the rules, part 6.4.1. Referring pronoun *to* (*that*)), then the clause (its predicate) depends on *to*, as shown in the example (1). However, if the pronoun *to*

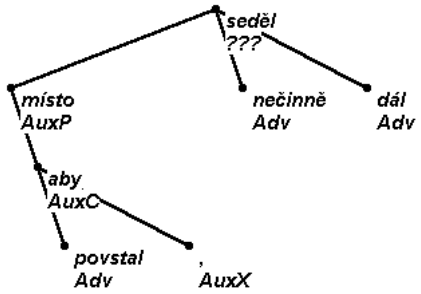
accompanies a subordinate conjunctional clause (perhaps in a prepositional case, e.g. *místo toho* instead of it), then this pronoun functions as a referential word and is left out (and only the preposition remains in the clause). Then the subordinate clause (technically, the conjunction) can depend directly on this preposition. Its predicate, of course, obtains such an afun which would be assigned to the pronoun *to*, if it hadn't been left out. This case is demonstrated in the example (2).

1.



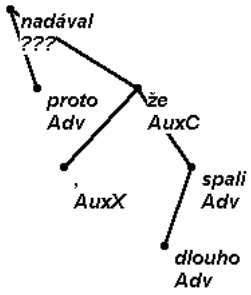
místo toho, aby povstal, seděl nečinně dál
instead-of that that he-got-up, he-sat inactively longer
instead of that he would get up, he went on sitting inactively

2.

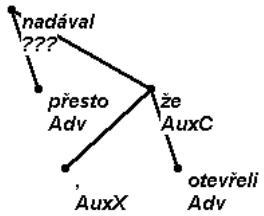


místo aby povstal, seděl nečinně dál
instead-of that he-got-up he-sat inactively longer
instead of getting up he went on sitting inactively

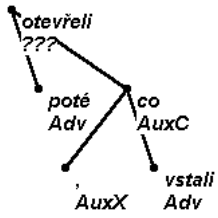
As has been pointed out in the part 6.4.2. Referring words with adverbial embedded clauses, adverbial references as well as the adverbial clauses referred to by them are placed side by side (provided the case is not that of referential *to*) in the tree. This holds for groupings *proto, že*, *přesto, že*, *poté, co*, *mezitím, co*, *zatím, co*, ..., if they are written separately in the text; on the other hand, one-word conjunctions which were derived from these collocations (*protože* - *because*, *přestože* - *in spite of*, *mezitímco* - *in the meantime*, *zatímco* - *while*,...) are handled as simple conjunctions.

1. 

nadával proto, že dlouho spali
he-was-swearing, because that long they-slept
he was swearing, because they had been sleeping long

2. 

nadával, přesto, že otevřeli
he-was-swearing in-spite that they-opened
he was using bad language in spite of their having opened

3. 

otevřeli poté, co vstali
they-opened after that they-got-up

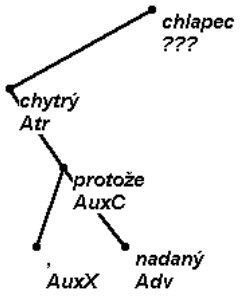
2.7.1.6. An individual sentence member attached by a subordinating conjunction

It may happen that a subordinating conjunction doesn t attach a subordinate clause but just an individual sentence member. This often happens with conjunctions *jako* and *než* (*as*, *like*, *than*), this problem being described in detail in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*). However, this can happen also with other conjunctions. A general criterion that can decide whether the case concerns a real sentence member lies in that the attached member cannot be normally

expanded into a clause - *nothing can be added, completed*, without changing the meaning. If anything could be added, i.e., if in the place following the conjunction a complete clause might originally occur, an ellipsis must be presumed where only some member of the clause remained. This member, therefore, obtains afun `ExD` since a predicate is missing aa its head.

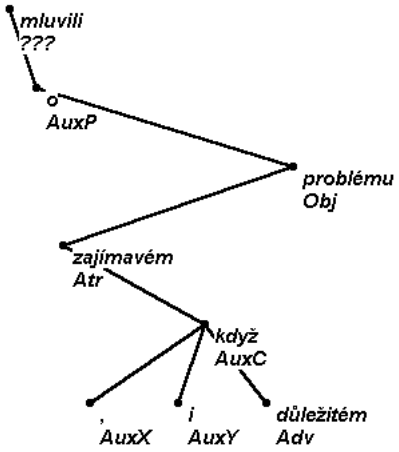
Real separate sentence members (rather than cases of deletion) attached with the aid of conjunctions (which is why they obtain some current afun, mostly `Adv` or `Atr`) can be found in the following examples:

1.



chytrý, protože *nadaný* chlapec
clever since *gifted* boy

2.



mluvili o zajímavém, i když *důležitém* problému
they-talked about attractive even though *grave* problem

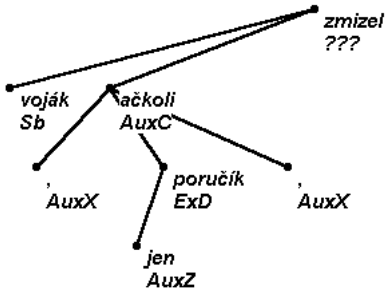
3. udělal to moudře, protože *potichu*
he-did it prudently because *in-silence*

4. plodná, byť *nudná* debata
fruitful though *boring* debate

In other cases ExD will be assigned, since an ellipsis in the clause is assumed:

1. chlapec je chytrý, protože *nadaný* (= protože je nadaný)
   boy is smart since *gifted* (= because he-is gifted)

2. voják, protože v *uniformě*, zašel za roh
   soldier because in *uniform* turned round corner
   The soldier, (because) being in uniform, turned round the corner.

3. 

   voják, ačkoli jen *poručík*, zmizel
   soldier though only *lieutenant* disappeared
   The soldier, though he was only a lieutenant, disappeared.

3.2.7.2. Prepositions AuxP

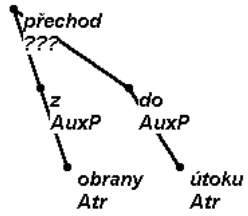
2.7.2.1. INFO AUXP

The section dealing with prepositions consists of two parts. The part 2.7.2.2. Representation of prepositions describes how and where the classical prepositions are to be suspended in the tree. Prepositions, however, cannot be limited to the classical ones only - one-word and one-node prepositions. There are also the so-called secondary or pseudo-prepositions, which can consist of more words and take thus more nodes. How these are to be represented can be found in the part 2.7.2.3. Improper prepositions.

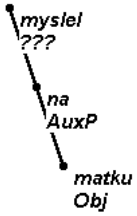
2.7.2.2. Representation of prepositions

Prepositions are generally assigned function AuxP. Their position in the tree is above the noun they introduce. They are placed, therefore, where the noun not having any preposition would be suspended, and the noun introduced will depend on the preposition.

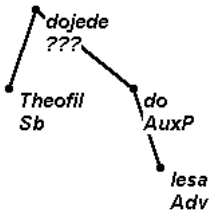
Prepositions AuxP are *emphasized*:

1. 

přechod *z* obrany *do* útoku
transition from defence *to* attack

2. 

myslel *na* matku
he-thought *of* mother

3. 

Theofil dojede *do* lesa
Theophil will-drive *to* wood

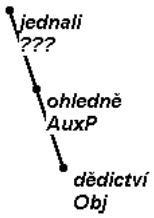
2.7.2.3. Improper prepositions

Improper prepositions are regarded as prepositions and we treat them in a similar way as the classical ones. Their list is enclosed in the supplements in 4.1. List of secondary prepositions.

If the secondary preposition consists in *one word*, no difference in representation ensues: it will depend in the same way as a primary preposition would do (see ex. (1)). Secondary prepositions, however, can consist of *more words* as well. In such cases the last word (node) of the preposition is taken and gets placed, as if it were a primary preposition, above the noun introduced by it. The remaining preceding

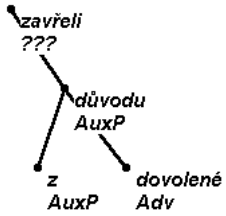
nodes will depend directly on the last node all side by side. They obtain the same afun AuxP (exx. (2) and (3)). The whole secondary prepositions are *emphasized*:

1.



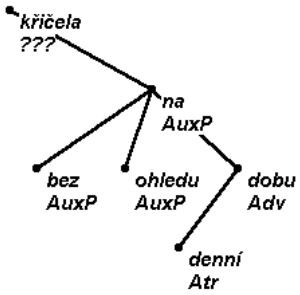
jednali	*ohledně*	dědictví
they-negotiated	*about*	inheritance

2.



zavřeli	*z*	*důvodu*	dovolené
they-closed	*for*	*reasons*	of-leave

3.



křičela	*bez*	*ohledu*	*na*	denní	dobu
she-screamed	*without*	*regard*	*of*	day	time

3.2.7.3. Emphasizing words AuxZ

2.7.3.1. INFO AUXZ

Which words can obtain afun AuxZ, under which circumstances this is carried out and how these words behave is accounted for in the part 2.7.3.2. Defining of AuxZ.

The part 2.7.3.3. Members modified by means of AuxZ shows where all the AuxZ can depend (what can they emphasize); several trees can be found there to illustrate some particular cases. In 2.7.3.4. Multi-word emphases the case of the construction *více než* (*more than*) is dealt with, which under certain circumstances is regarded as emphasizing, and whose representation within a tree-graph is considered.

2.7.3.2. Defining of AuxZ

In a sentence, afun AuxZ is assigned to particles which fulfil the function of emphasizing a sentence member. They can emphasize almost any sentence member.

Only another AuxZ may depend on the node with afun AuxZ (in case one emphasizes the other - see 2.7.3.3. Members modified by means of AuxZ), or AuxY (if a multiple-word emphasizing is the case - see 2.7.3.4. Multi-word emphases).

For our purpose the words that can obtain afun AuxZ are *included in a list*. Words not contained there cannot be annotated in this way. In preparing this list we have relied on more sources. To Šmilauer's list further words are added, especially those regarded as emphasizing by the Academic Grammar of Czech (AM, 2, pp. 228-238, esp. 235).

The list of potential AuxZ:
akorát, alespoň, ani, asi, aspoň, až, celkem, dohromady, dokonce, hlavně, hned, i, jakoby, jedině, jen, jenom, ještě, již, jmenovitě, leda, málem, maximálně, minimálně, nanejvýš, například, ne, nejen, nejenže, nejméně, nejvíce, nikoliv, pak, pouze, právě, prostě, především, přesně, přímo, přinejmenším, rovněž, rovnou, skoro, sotva, taky, téměř, teprve, toliko, třeba, už, vůbec, zase, zejména, zhruba, zrovna, zřejmě, zvláště

As emphasizing in some cases also constructions *více než* (*more than*) and *méně než* (*less than*) can be regarded - see 2.7.3.4. Multi-word emphases.

The majority of the elements in the list consists of ambiguous words, which means that they can obtain some other afun according to context. As to the parts of speech, the Auxz words are ambiguous mostly with adverbs, but also with other parts of speech. E.g., according to SSČ:

až (*when, after, as far as...*)	adverb, subordinating conjunction, particle
jen (*only, but, hardly...*)	adverb, particle, interjection
i (*and, as well as, even if...*)	coordinating conjunction, particle or a part of conjunctional subordinating expressions (*i když*, *i kdyby*)

The decision as to which concrete afun (AuxZ or other) to choose on the basis of context is up to the annotator. In the following examples some of the words taken from the list (*emphasized*) are shown in some of their functions:

1. *zvláště*.`AuxZ` studenti se výborně projevili
   especially students `Refl` excellently turned-out
   especially the students made themselves felt in an excellent manner

2. (hodně =) *zvláště*.`Adv` přitažlivě vypadá
   (very =) *especially* attractive she-looks
   she looks (very =) especially attractive

3. (hodně =) *zvláště*.`Adv` velký
   (very =) *especially* large

4. to je *přímo*.`AuxZ` skandál
   that is *directly* scandal
   that is a downright scandal

5. cesty vedou *přímo*.`Adv` i oklikou
   roads lead *straight* and round
   the roads lead both straight and round

6. stát *i*.`AuxZ` nadále podporuje bydlení
   government *also* further supports housing-projects
   government continues supporting the housing projects

7. vyskytly se klady *i*.`Coord` úskalí
   occurred `Refl` assets *and* stumbling-blocks
   both assets and stumbling blocks occurred

In some cases not even a whole sentence suffices for univocal determination of the function. E.g., in the following sentences

1. uzavření dohody bude trvat *ještě* několik týdnů
   concluding agreement will take *still* some weeks

2. svět zajímají z Minska *ponejvíce*
   world-`Acc` interest from Minsk *mostly*

   zprávy strategického významu
   news-`Acc` of-strategic importance
   from Minsk the world is interested mostly in news of strategic importance

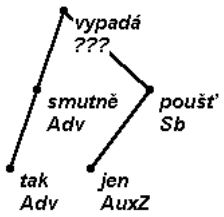
The *emphasized* words can, apart from obtaining function `AuxZ`, be interpreted as `Adv` and depend on the verb.

2.7.3.3. Members modified by means of AuxZ

In the tree structure AuxZ depends immediately on the word which is emphasized by it. Examples show emphasizing a simple noun (ex. (1)), a noun in a prepositional construction (ex. (3)), a whole noun phrase (exx. (4) and (5)), secondary prepositions (exx. (6) and (7)), numerals (ex. (8)), verb (ex. (10)), adverb (ex. (11)), adjective (ex. (12)), another emphasizing particle (ex. (13)), individual members of a coordination (ex. (14)) and subordinate clause (ex. (15)).

AuxZ is *emphasized*.

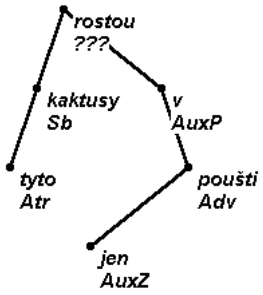
1.



tak smutně vypadá *jen* pošť
so sadly looks *only* desert
only a desert can look as sad as that

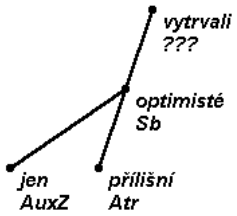
2. *teprve* Karel to rozhodl
only Charles it decided
it was only Charles to have decided it

3.



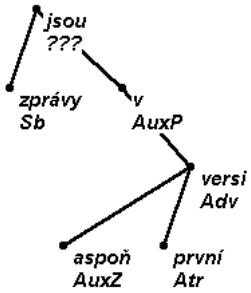
tyto kaktusy rostou *jen* v pouští
these cactuses grow *only* in desert

4.



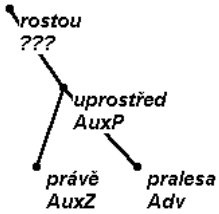
jen přílišní optimisté vytrvali
only excessive optimists persevered

5.

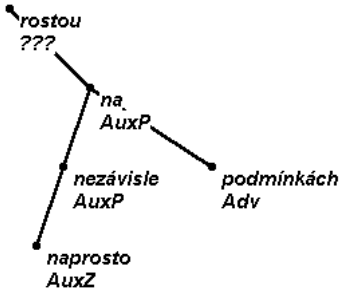


zprávy jsou *aspoň* v první versi
news are *at-least* in first version
the news exist at least in their first version

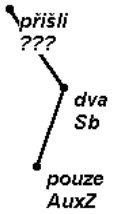
6.



rostou *právě* uprostřed pralesa
they-grow *just* in-the-midst of-forest

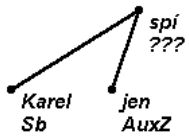
7. 

rostou *naprosto* nezávisle na pomínkách
they-grow *entirely* independent of conditions

8. 

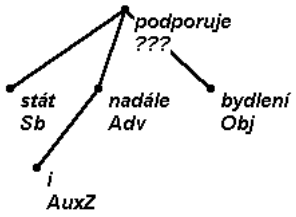
přišli *pouze* dva
arrived *only* two

9. vydrželi *jen* dva
endured *only* two

10. 

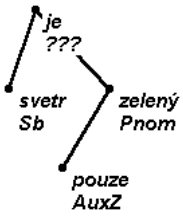
Karel *jen* spí
Charles *just* sleeps
Charles does nothing but sleep

11.



stát *i* nadále podporuje bydlení
state *also* further supports housing-projects
the government goes on supporting housing projects

12.

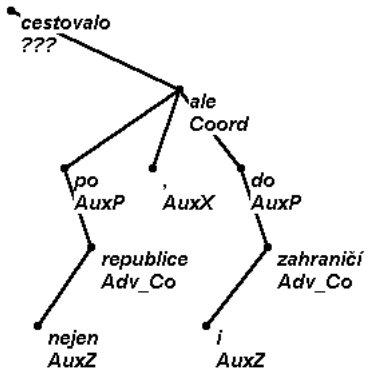


svetr je *pouze* zelený
sweater is *only* green

13.

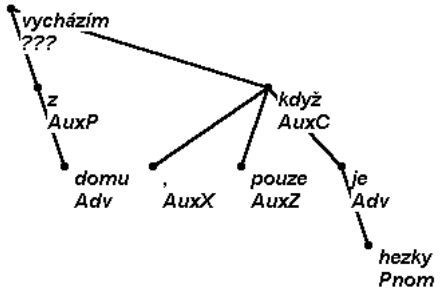
hlavně ne limonádu
particularly not lemonade

14.



cestovalo *nejen* po republice, ale *i* do zahraničí
it-travelled *not-only* inside republic but *also* to abroad
it was travelling not only inside the Republic but also abroad

15.



vycházím z domu, *pouze* když je hezky
I-leave from house only when it-is fine-weather

Emphasizing nouns and numerals:
In positions close to a noun or to a numeral (i.e. when not introducing a clause), some words cannot obtain any other afun than `AuxZ`. A list of such words (a partial list of potential `AuxZ`) follows: *akorát*, *alespoň (aspoň)*, *asi*, *celkem*, *dohromady*, *i*, *málem*, *maximálně*, *minimálně*, *nanejvýš*, *nejméně*, *nejvíce*, *právě*, *přesně*, *přinejmenším*, *skoro*, *taky*, *téměř*, *zhruba*

Emphasizing improper prepositions:
While in emphasizing prepositional cases with "current" prepositions the emphasizing word depends on the noun, the so-called secondary prepositions (see 2.7.2.3. Improper prepositions) themselves can be emphasized.

Emphasizing a verb:
`AuxZ` can (see ex. (10)) sometimes depend on the predicate, too. This case, however, mustn t be mistaken for the occurrence of the so-called particle relating to the contents of the utterance as a whole; this particle also depends on the verb, but it obtains afun

AuxY (see 2.7.7.2. Particles pertaining to the whole utterance). The two examples below concern "particle pertaining to utterance" (AuxY, *emphasized*):

1. *patrně* se nikdo z nás nezúčastní
   apparently Refl no-one of us will-participate
   apparently no one of us is going to participate

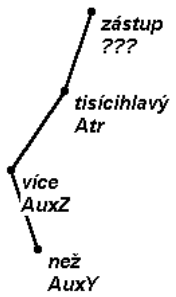
2. máme to *bohudík* za sebou
   we-have it *thank-goodness* behind us
   we are through, thank goodness

Emphasizing subordinate clauses:
With dependent clauses introduced by such compound conjunctions as "*i když*", "*i kdyby*" (*even when, even if*) emphasis is not the case. The word *i* represents an inseparable part of the conjunction and it obtains afun AuxY (see 2.7.7.6. Compound subordinating conjunctions).

2.7.3.4. Multi-word emphases

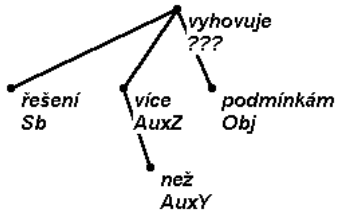
In some cases also such constructions as "*více než*" a "*méně než*" (*more than, less than*) function as emphasis. It happens whenever the author infringes on syntactic relations, when the words more or less defy current treatment described in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*). They are, e.g., constructions morphologically equivalent to the example *více než tisícový zástup - more than thousand-headed crowd* (correctly: *větší než tisícový zástup - larger than thousand-headed...*).

afun AuxZ is given to *více/méně*; *než* (*than*) becomes dependent on it and obtains afun AuxY (which is done in agreement with the rules on afun AuxY - see 2.7.7.8. Compound emphasizing particles).

1. 

   více než tisícihlavý zástup
   more than thousand-headed crowd

2.



řešení	*více*	než	vyhovuje	podmínkám
solution	*more*	than	fulfils	conditions

3.2.7.4. Emotional, rhythmic particles (*mi*, *vám*, *si*...; *to*, *ono*) AuxO

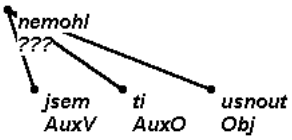
2.7.4.1. Particle AuxO

afun AuxO are assigned to:

1. Ethical Dative and Emotional Dative
2. Rhythmic particles without their own syntactic function

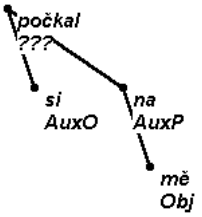
(1) Ethical Dative fulfils the function of linking up with the addressee, i.e. resuming (maintaining) contact (*to vám byla zábava*; *včera jsem ti nemohl usnout*; *on ti byl celý nesvůj* = (approx.): *that was an entertainment, I tell you*; *yesterday I couldn't fall asleep, you know*; *you see, he was quite beside himself*). Such a contacting function can be found with the dative of interest, at times called dative of communicativeness, too (*kyselina nám začíná reagovat*, *běží nám osmá minuta*, *neparkujte nám na trávě* = (approx.): *we have the acid starting to react, we have the 8th minute running, we don t want to have you parking on our lawn*).

Emotional Dative colours utterances with emotions (*to je mi pěkný pořádek*, *ty nám tu lenošit nebudeš* = (approx.) *a pretty mess it is, I say*; *you are not going to idle away your time here, we'll see to it*). Distinguishing these types of dative is dealt with in 3.6.5. The boundary line between free and 'bound' dative.



nemohl jsem ti usnout
I-could-not Aux you-Dat fall-asleep
I couldn't fall asleep, you see

In the form of the above mentioned datives also the reflexive particle *si* can occur. This then obtains afun AuxO (see the rule SI 4 in 6.8.2. Reflexive *si*).



počkal si na mě
he-waited Refl for me
he lay in wait for me, he did

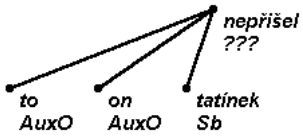
(2) Some words (*to it, ono that, co what,..*) seem "superfluous" in some sentences. Essentially, they duplicate some other sentence member already present (functioning). This, as a rule, is *a matter of emotion or rhythm.* In case we find another element in the sentence seemingly fulfilling the function of these words, we denote these words as afun AuxO. This, e.g., happens even if such a word has a position similar to that of subject in a one-member sentence (*to prší - what a rain*).

Particles with afun AuxO are *emphasized*:

1. *on* tatínek nepřišel
   he father did-not-come
   father, he failed to come

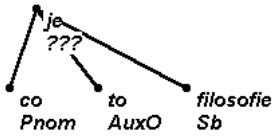
2. *to* prší
   what it-rains
   what a rain

3.



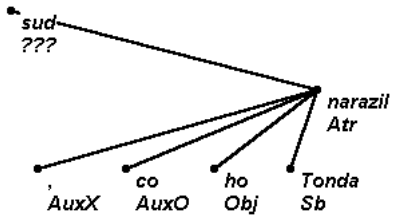
to *on* tatínek nepřišel
what *he* father did-not-come
obviously, father failed to come

4.



co je *to* filosofie
what is *it* philosophy

5.



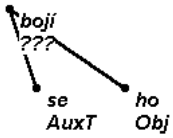
sud, *co* ho Tonda narazil
cask *that* it Tony tapped
the cask that Tony had tapped

3.2.7.5. Reflexivum tantum (*se*, *si*) `AuxT`

2.7.5.1. Particle `AuxT`

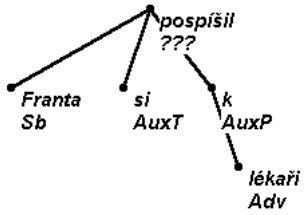
afun `AuxT` are assigned to the particles *se*, *si* in case the verb without them doesn't exist, as a Reflexivum tantum. This case is described by the rules SE 1 and SI 1 in 3.6.8. Reflexive *se*, *si*).

1.



bojí se ho
he-is-afraid Refl of-him

2.

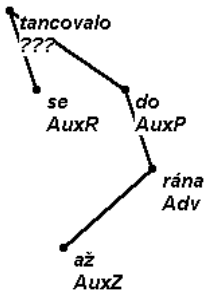


Franta si pospíšil k lékaři
Frank Refl hastened to physician

3.2.7.6. Reflexive passive (se), AuxR

2.7.6.1. Particle AuxR

afun AuxR is assigned to the particle *se* if it represents a reflexive passive according to the rule SE 3 (or, as the case may be, SE 4) in 3.6.8. Reflexive *se*, *si*).



tancovalo se až do rána
it-danced Refl till to morning
the dancing went on till morning

3.2.7.7. Parts of multi-word constructions, some particles, decayed parenthesis AuxY

2.7.7.1. INFO AUXY

There are more phenomena for which afun AuxY is used, and they are of different character. In fact, this section in its essence represents a list of different individual instances of application of this function. It is assigned to particles pertaining to the whole sentence (2.7.7.2. Particles pertaining to the whole utterance), particles introducing a loosely attached member (2.7.7.3. Particles introducing a loosely attached sentence member), a conjunction as an introducing complement or an object (2.7.7.4. The conjunction *jako* introducing complement or object). Also parts of different collocations, particularly of coordinating conjunctions (2.7.7.5. Particles forming a part of connecting expressions), of subordinating conjunctions (2.7.7.6. Compound subordinating conjunctions), of apposition expressions (2.7.7.7. Multi-word apposition expressions) and of emphasizing particles (2.7.7.8. Compound emphasizing particles) obtain this function. Last but not least, also parts of phrasemes dealt with in 3.6.6. Collocations, phraseologisms (phrasemes) (here 2.7.7.9. Parts of phrasemes) are denoted in this way.

Most of the parts of this section contain lists. They are lists of words which occasionally can obtain AuxY. It holds without exception that whatever is not included in these lists cannot be classed with this afun.

2.7.7.2. Particles pertaining to the whole utterance

The function AuxY is, among others, assigned to particles that pertain to the contents of the whole sentence, i.e., to those traditionally called sentence adverbs. In this respect they differ from the emphasizing particles, which can pertain to individual nouns (noun groups), numerals and adverbs, or, as the case may be, to subordinate clauses (see 3.2.7.3. Emphasizing words AuxZ).

The particles cannot be identified but on the basis of contexts in which they are found. For the most part, as a matter of fact, they are ambiguous, above all with adverbs, or with conjunctions. They differ from adverbs in that they do not represent sentence members and they do not form syntagms together with other words in the sentence. They differ from conjunctions in that they do not have an independent clear-cut connecting function.

The words that can obtain afun AuxY *are given by a list*. This means that words which fail to appear in the list cannot figure in the role of a particle pertaining to the whole of the utterance.

These words can obtain a bare afun AuxY unless they are graphically separated in the text. In case they are separated, they obtain afun AuxY_Pa, since they represent a parenthesis. The same lists, however, hold for both the functions. The parenthesis of the type AuxY_Pa is described in 3.5.2. A 'frozen' parenthesis AuxY_Pa.

A list of potential AuxY which pertain to the whole utterance and which are ambiguous with adverbs:
asi, *bohudík*, *bohužel*, *cožpak*, *jakoby*, *jasně*, *kupodivu*, *možná*, *nakonec*, *naopak*, *například*, *nesporně*, *nicméně*, *nu*, *nuže*, *opravdu*, *ostatně*, *patrně*, *pravděpodobně*, *prostě*, *prý*, *přece jen*, *rozhodně*, *samozřejmě*, *skutečně*, *snad*, *stejně*, *tak*, *tedy*, *totiž*, *určitě*, *věru*, *vlastně*, *však*, *zřejmě*

A list of potential AuxY pertaining to the whole utterance, which are ambiguous with conjunctions:
aby, *at'*, *at' už*, *kdyby*, *že*

In the tree structure the particle having the function AuxY depends on the predicate of the clause in question. If more words belonging together are involved (*přece jen* (*although*), *at' už* (*be it*), rather than two independent particles - *například kupodivu...* - *for instance, strangely enough*), one gets suspended from the other, the higher position taken by the first in the sequence

In the following examples the particles with the function AuxY (*emphasized*) are placed in the contexts of concrete sentences:

1. dopadlo to *bohudík* positivně
   turned-out it *thank-goodness* positively
   thank goodness it turned out positively

2. *opravdu* nikdo nepřišel
   really no-one arrived

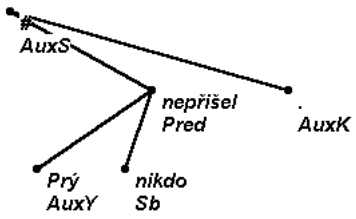
3. bude to *možná* nejdůležitější krok
   will it *may-be* most-important step
   it may be the most important step

4. presidium usiluje *totiž* o tento krok
   board endeavours *as-a-matter-of-fact* for this step

5. ve městě *snad* není volné místo
   in town *perhaps* is-not free place
   there may be no free place in the town

6. v krajích *naopak* počet obyvatel stagnuje
   in regions *on-the-contrary* number of-inhabitants stagnates

7. někteří *zřejmě* resignují
   some *obviously* will-resign

8. 

   prý nikdo nepřišel
   they-say no-one has-come
   no one has come, they say

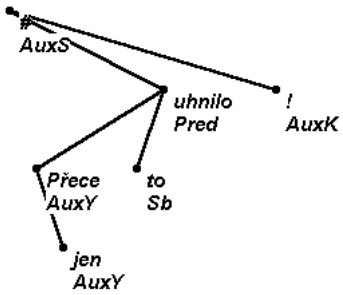
9. pokud *však* obchodník prodá produkt, zbohatne
   if *however* shopkeeper sells product he-gets-rich

10. měl by se *například* zabývat právem
    he-ought `Aux Refl` *for-instance* concern with-law
    he, e.g., ought to be concerned with law

11. *bohužel* se o tom nevědělo
    unfortunately `Refl` about it it-didn't-know
    unfortunately, there was no idea about it

12. předpokládaná situace *kupodivu* nenastala
    anticipated situation *strangely-enough* failed-to-come-true

13. *patrně* se prodá cokoli
    apparently `Refl` sells anything
    apparently, anything will sell

14. 

Přece jen to uhnilo!
in-the-end even it rotted-away
it has rotted away, in the end

15. *stejně* se nic nezmění
anyway `Refl` nothing is-going-to-change

16. *nuže* skončeme
well finished-up

17. *vlastně* je to špatně
actually is it wrong

18. jiné řešení *prostě* není
other solution *simply* is-not

19. *ostatně* to není pravda
for-that-matter it isn t true

20. může to tak *tedy* zůstat
can it so *thus* remain
that s why it can remain like that

21. *nicméně* souhlasila i Lída
nevertheless agreed even Lída
nevertheless, even Lída agreed

22. *pravděpodobně* to tak bude
in-all-probability it like-this will-be

23. *samozřejmě* nebyla spokojena
as-a-matter-of-course she-wasn't satisfied

24. *jasně* nebyla spokojena
clearly she-wasn t satisfied

25. *věru* se mi to nelíbí
certainly Refl me it does-not-please
certainly I do not like it

26. *nu* nic se nestalo
well nothing Refl happened

27. nikdo *určitě* nic nezmění
no-one *surely* nothing is-going-to-change
surely no one is going to change anything

28. *asi* to byla pravda
perhaps it was true
it may have been true

29. *rozhodně* to byla pravda
surely it was true
it by all means was true

30. *nesporně* není dobře
undoubtedly it-is-not well
it is beyond dispute that the times are not good

31. *skutečně* není dobře
really it-is-not well
really, the times are not good

32. *nakonec* se nic nestalo
in-the-end Refl nothing has-happened

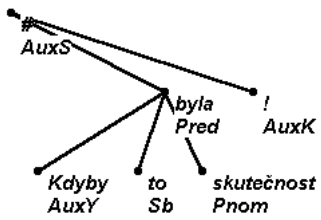
33. *jakoby* se vypařil
as-if Refl he-had-evaporated

34. *tak* jsme zase prohráli
so Aux again we-have-lost

35. *cožpak* jsem králík?
what am-I rabbit?
what do you take me for, a rabbit?

36. už *aby* ta zima skončila
already *may* that winter end
may that winter come to an end!

37. *že* se trochu nestydíte
that `Refl` a-little aren't-you-ashamed
aren't you a little ashamed, I wonder

38. 

Kdyby to byla skutečnost!
may it were reality
may it only be reality!

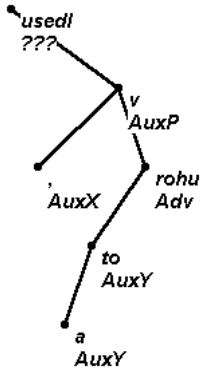
39. *at'* se stane cokoli
may `Refl` happen anything

40. *at' už* se stane cokoli
may already `Refl` happen whatever
whatever may happen

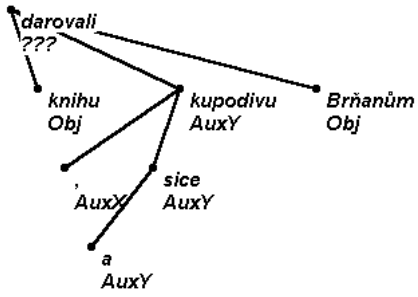
2.7.7.3. Particles introducing a loosely attached sentence member

Loosely attached sentence members (3.6.13. Freely adjoined sentence parts is devoted to them) are, as a rule, introduced by particles *a to*, *a sice*, *a* (*i.e.*, *viz.*, *or (else)*). The loosely attached sentence members (there is mostly just one, but more of them can be present as well) obtain their current afun, the placement of the particles and of comma can be seen in the examples. Commas depend on the outermost members like parenthetic punctuation (described in the part 2.8.4.3. Bracketing `AuxG`). The particles which obtain afun `AuxY` depend on the first member and in case they consist of two nodes, the first node of the particle depends on the second.

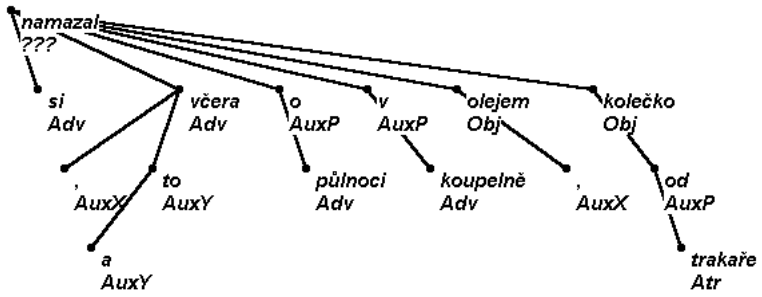
The `AuxY` particles introducing a loosely attached sentence member are *emphasized*.

1. 

usedl, *a* *to* v rohu
he-sat-down *and* *that* in corner

2. 

darovali knihu, *a* *sice* kupodivu Brňanům
they-donated book *and* *that* surprisingly to-Brno-people

3. 

namazal si, *a* *to* včera o půlnoci v koupelně
he-lubricated `Refl` *and* *that* yesterday at midnight in bathroom

olejem, kolečko od trakaře
with-oil, wheel of dung-barrow

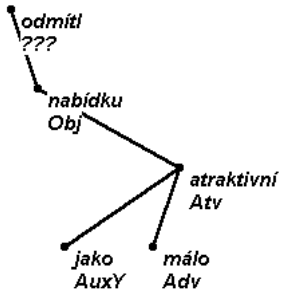
2.7.7.4. The conjunction *jako* introducing complement or object

The function AuxY is also assigned to the conjunctions *jako*, *jakožto* (*as*) in case the nouns (or adjectives) introduced by these conjunctions play the role of a predicative complement (see 2.6.6.6. Complement introduced by the conjunction *jako*) or of an object (see 3.2.4. Object Obj, ObjAtr, AtrObj, esp. the part 3.2.4.6. Object after copulas and semi-copulas).

To distinguish the meaning of *jako* as a conjunction (AuxC) from that of *jako* as a part of a complement (AuxY) Šmilauer recommends a simple test: If it is a complement to be attached, *jako* can be replaced by *jakožto*; e.g., in the sentence *Kutná Hora byla založena jako horní osada* (*K.H. was founded as a mining settlement*) the function is a complement, rather than a comparison - *jakožto* can stand in the place of *jako*, having the function AuxY. Cf. *spí jako zabitý* (*sleeps as a log*) - here it is a classical conjunction (expressing comparison), to be suspended in accordance to principles for AuxC. The same that holds for complement does for object, too.

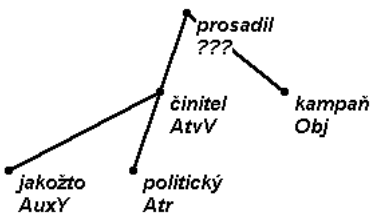
The conjunctions *jako*, *jakožto* - AuxY introducing (i.e. a complement referring to an object and displaying grammatical agreement with it) depend in the tree structure on this complement/object (which has AtvV/Obj) as its daughter nodes.

1.

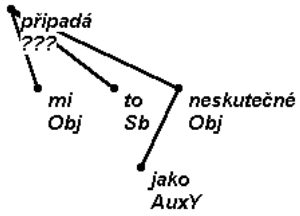


odmítl	nabídku	*jako*	málo	atraktivní
he-refused	offer	*as*	a-little	attractive

2.



jakožto	politický	činitel	prosadil	kampaň
as	political	authority	he-pushed-through	campaign

3. 

připadá mi to *jako* neskutečné
occurs to-me it *as* illusory
it occurs to me as illusory

2.7.7.5. Particles forming a part of connecting expressions

The function `AuxY` belongs also to particles which figure as parts of expressions introducing coordination, partly as compound classical conjunctions (part 4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions), partly as some expressions that currently close the coordination (part 4.1.3.2. Non-standard termination of a coordinated list).

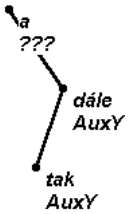
A list of compound coordinating conjunctions:
(Parts with afun `AuxY` are *emphasized*.)
a *proto*
a *přesto*
proto ale
přesto ale
a *tak*
a *tedy*
a *tudíž*
a *tím*
ale *zato*
sice ... ale

sice ... avšak
sice ... nicméně
ani ... ani
i ... i
jednak ... jednak
jak ... tak
buď ... nebo
buď ... anebo
buď ... *a* nebo

In the case of "separate" expressions (of the type *ani* ... *ani*, *buď* ... *anebo*, *sice* ... *ale* (*neither ... nor*, *either ... or*, *though ... but*), etc.) we regard the second part as the bearer of a connecting relationship. The first component obtains afun `AuxY`.

The particles with the function `AuxY` forming a part of the connecting expression depends on the pertinent conjunction in the tree structure (side by side).

A list of current but non-standard closing elements of coordination:
The parts with afun `AuxY` are *emphasized*



a *tak dále* (*and so on*)
a *tak podobně* (*and similarly on*)
a *podobně* (*and similarly*)
et *cetera* (*etc.*)

From the coordination conjunction (which is to control the whole coordination) the remaining words will be suspended and they obtain afun `AuxY`. If there are two such words, the first depends on the second.

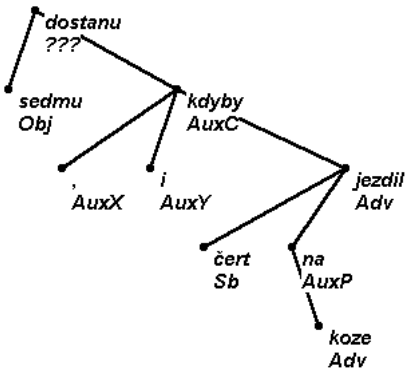
2.7.7.6. Compound subordinating conjunctions

Subordinating conjunctions (`AuxC`) can consist of more elements (see 2.7.1.3. Compound (multiple element) subordinating conjunctions). Mind, however, mistaking them for mere emphasizing a subordinate clause. If a subordinate clause is introduced by *pouze když* (*only if*), the conjunction is *když* while the *pouze* plays

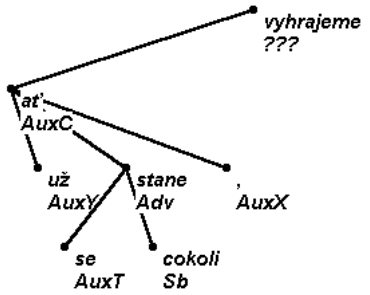
the emphasizing role only (see 2.7.3.3. Members modified by means of `AuxZ`). On the other hand, the conjunctions contained in the list are inseparable.

A list of compound subordinating conjunctions:
`AuxY` dependent on the second element having afun `AuxC` are *emphasized*.

1. přišli, *i* když není středa
   they-came *even* when it-isn't Wednesday
   they have come though it isn't Wednesday

2. 

   sedmu dostanu, *i* kdyby čert na koze jezdil
   seven I-shall-get, even if devil on goat rode
   I shall get the seven, come hell or high water

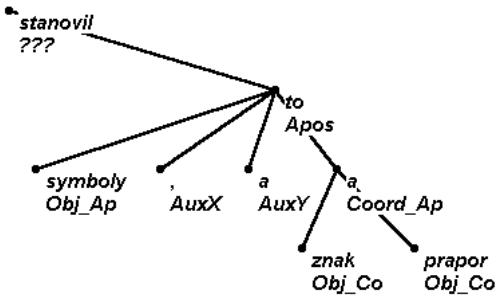
3. 

   at' *už* se stane cokoli, vyhrajeme
   let *already* `Refl` happens whatever we-shall-win
   whatever may happen, we shall win

4. zařídím to, *jen* co se usadím
   I-will-do it *as-soon-as* what `Refl` I-settle-down
   I'll manage as soon as I settle down

2.7.7.7. Multi-word apposition expressions

If the expression introducing apposition consists of more elements, it is the last word in the series that becomes the governing node with afun `Apos`. The remaining members depend on it and obtain afun `AuxY`. The particle with afun `AuxY` is *emphasized*.

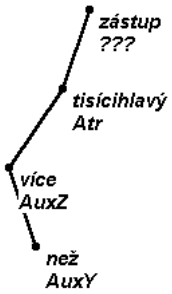


stanovil	symboly,	*a*	to	znak	a	prapor
he-designated	symbols,	*and*	that	emblem	and	banner

Apposition can be introduced by one of the following multi-word expressions:
a sice (*that is*), *a tedy* (*and thus*), *a to* (*that is*), *jako je* (*that is*, with a form of the verb *be*), *jako například* (*as for instance*), *tak třeba* (*as for instance*), *to jest* (*that is*), *to znamená* (*that is*)

2.7.7.8. Compound emphasizing particles

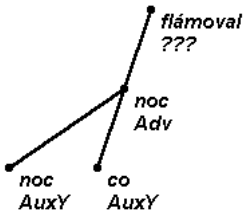
Emphasizing particles are usually one-word elements (see 2.7.3.2. Defining of `AuxZ`). Exceptions are represented by such groups as "*více než*" a "*méně než*" (*more than*, *less than*) which under certain circumstances (infringement of syntactic rules - see 2.7.3.4. Multi-word emphases) can be represented as two-word emphasizing expressions. The word *než* then obtains afun `AuxY` and depends on the second node, which is assigned `AuxZ`.



více *než* tisdícihlavý zástup
more *than* thousand-headed crowd

2.7.7.9. Parts of phrasemes

All elements participating in various phrasemes obtain afun `AuxY`. This problem is dealt with in 3.6.6. Collocations, phraseologisms (phrasemes).



noc *co* noc flámoval
night *after* night he-spent-on-a-spree

3.2.8. Graphic symbols (punctuation); the root of the tree `AuxS`, `AuxK`, `AuxX`, `AuxG`

By punctuation all graphic symbols are understood which do not form a part of a word or a number written in numerals. This concerns, above all, the comma, treated by special rules and possibly having different functions (it most usually obtains afun `AuxX` - see 3.2.8.3. Comma `AuxX`), further the fullstop, question mark, exclamation mark, semicolon, colon, parentheses and inverted commas of all kinds, asterisks, slashes etc. All these punctuation marks obtain their afuns according to their position in the sentence: it either concerns punctuation at the end of the sentence, separating the given sentence from the subsequent one (see 3.2.8.2. Terminal symbol of the sentence `AuxK`), or punctuation within the sentence (obtaining, as a rule, afun `AuxG` - see 3.2.8.4. Punctuation, other graphic symbols `AuxG`). A special case is represented

by the additional symbol # to denote the root of the tree (see 3.2.8.1. The root of the tree AuxS).

For any punctuation marks (with the exception of the root AuxS, with which it can t happen) the rules concerning ExD hold. If, therefore, as a consequence of an ellipsis, the punctuation occurs in some other position in the tree than normally expected, the afuns AuxK, AuxX, AuxG (in the same way as the afuns of current sentence members) get replaced by the afun ExD.

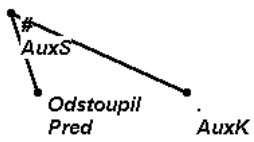
3.2.8.1. The root of the tree AuxS

Any segment subjected to our analysis obtains automatically the additional symbol #. This symbol always stands for the root of its tree being automatically marked afun AuxS in advance.

In current circumstances the predicate of the main clause depends on # (with afun Pred), as well as the final punctuation mark (see 3.2.1. Predicate Pred, Pnom, AuxV and 3.2.8.2. Terminal symbol of the sentence AuxK). As far as incomplete sentences without a predicate are concerned, one or more nodes with afun ExD depend on the symbol #, which, as the case may be, can be suspended with the aid of intermediate AuxP or AuxC (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis ExD, ExD_Co).

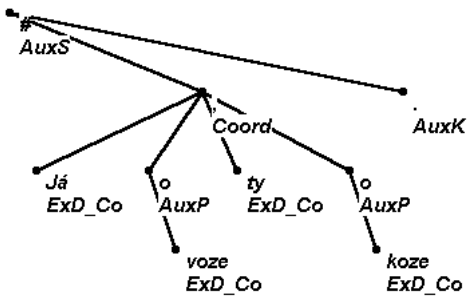
In some specific cases a subordinating conjunction with afun AuxC can stand depend on the symbol #, with the predicate (Pred) dependent on the conjunction (see 3.1.4.5. Ellipsis of the governing clause).

All the members mentioned above can, in addition, be coordinated (a node with afun Coord will depend on the root, see 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) Coord, <afun> _Co), or there can be a parenthesis (the member obtaining a suffix _Pa, see 3.5. Parenthesis.

1. 

   Odstoupil
   He-resigned

2.



Já o voze, ty o koze
I about carriage you about goat
we are at cross purposes

3.2.8.2. Terminal symbol of the sentence AuxK

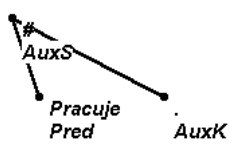
2.8.2.1. INFO AUXK

This section has only two parts. In the part 2.8.2.2. Current sentences all current terminations of sentences are described, as well as the ways they are treated in our analysis. In the part 2.8.2.3. Titles and ciphers an example of a newspaper title is shown with its position in the tree structure.

2.8.2.2. Current sentences

The terminal punctuation mark in the sentence obtains a special analytical function AuxK. If there are more than one punctuation marks at the end of the sentence, all of them are handled in this way. This function (as one of the few treated in this way) is assigned to the terminal punctuation already in the preparation of data for manual annotation. It is necessary, however, to examine whether the punctuation has not some other function (e.g., it could be a fullstop following an abbreviation, etc., where the function AuxG should be used, or a case in which in a tree more than one AuxK occur, which then are to be supplied manually according to the following conventions). A normal termination of a sentence by means of a fullstop is illustrated by an example:

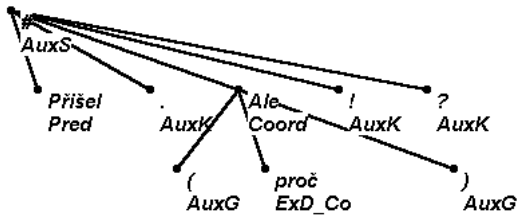
1.



Pracuje
He-is-working

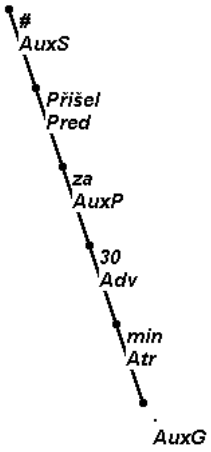
If (usually for technical reasons, above all owing to imperfections in programmes detecting the boundaries between sentences) it is necessary to represent two sentences within one tree, the function `AuxK` is used to mark the punctuation terminating the other sentences as well. No such *sentence* ought to occur in the resulting corpus (it will be corrected manually). Parentheses which figure in the example depend, conforming to the general rules of handling punctuation, on the governing member of the introduced part of the sentence.

1.



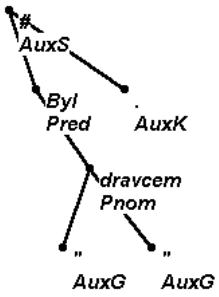
Přišel. (Ale proč !?)
he-came (but why ?)

If at the end of a sentence there is only one punctuation symbol which stands for more symbols (e.g., if an indicative sentence terminates by an abbreviation followed by a fullstop, but in the text only one fullstop appears, as it is usual according to the rules of orthography), the terminal punctuation of the sentence is supposed to have the lowest priority: the node in question is regarded as a part of the sentence rather than as the terminal punctuation.



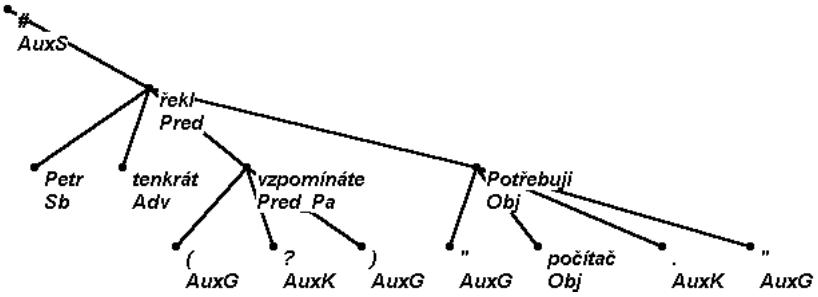
Přišel za 30 min .
he-arrived in 30 min .

Typographical conventions require some punctuation symbols to change their natural sequences. Even in such cases we proceed by making the punctuation depend on the node to which it naturally belongs. A non-projective tree results in this way. Let us illustrate this by the following example. The quotation marks in accordance with the general rules of punctuation depend on the governing word of the subtree introduced by them. The terminal fullstop depends on the root of the tree, although in terms of "word-order" the concluding quotation marks may precede.



Byl "dravcem".
he-was predator

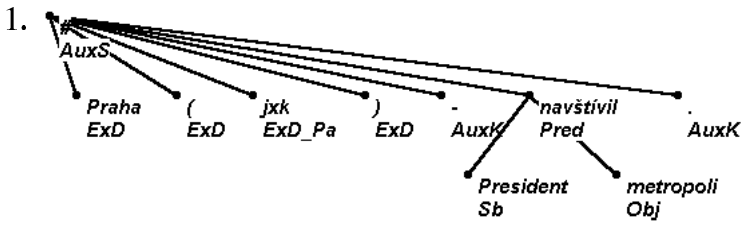
In most of the cases the terminal punctuation depends on the root of the tree (where, by the way, it has often been already placed by the programme for data preparation). However, a "terminal" punctuation is approached in a special way if it obviously belongs to some independent clause (e.g., to direct speech or parenthesis - both are contained in the example); this holds also in cases in which they are situated at the end of the sentence. (Even so they, in fact, fulfil two functions, of which we prefer the function of terminating the parenthesis or direct speech). In this case this "terminal" punctuation depends on the predicate or some other *technically* governing node of the clause to which it belongs (it also obtains afun `AuxK`). If this governing node is missing, the mentioned "terminal" punctuation gets dependent on the nearest higher node and obtains afun `ExD`.



Petr tenkrát řekl (vzpomínáte?) " Potřebuji počítač "
Petr then said do-you-remember " I-need computer "

2.8.2.3. Titles and ciphers

1.



Praha (jxk) - President navštívil metropoli
Prague (jxk) - President visited metropolis

3.2.8.3. Comma `AuxX`

Comma is used to stand between clauses and to separate individual members of coordination or apposition. With the exception of the case in which a comma represents the main node of a coordination or apposition, its function always is `AuxX` (or `ExD`). If it represents the main node of coordination it obtains afun `Coord` (see also 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> `_Co`). If it represents the main node of apposition, it obtains afun `Apos` (see also 3.4.2. Apposition `Apos`, <afun>`_Ap`). The dependence of comma (on its "governing" node) is technical, not grammatical, similarly as it is with the rest of punctuation.

1. A comma separating a clause will depend on the node (technically) governing the subordinate clause, which is either a conjunction with the function `AuxC` (in the case of a subordinate conjunctional clause), or on some other governing node of the subordinate clause (usually a predicate with dependent relative clause) with the

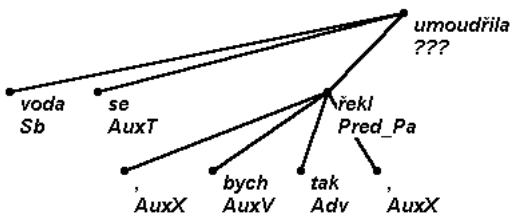
pertinent function; if the predicate is elided or if the conjunction is missing, comma depends on the nearest superior node and it obtains the function ExD (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis ExD, ExD_Co). If the subordinate clause is inserted and both its separating commas are present in the sentence, both will depend on the same node.

1. dům, který pláče
   house that is-weeping

2. viděl, že spí
   he-saw that s/he-was-sleeping

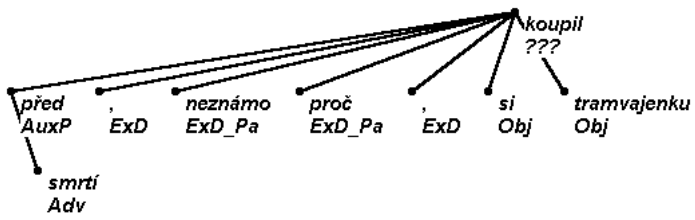
2. If comma separates a parenthesis, it depends on the (technically) governing node of the parenthesis. If the (grammatically) governing member of the parenthesis is a node with the value of the function ExD_Pa, then the comma (or both the commas if the parenthesis is placed inside the sentence) depends on the nearest higher node and obtains the function ExD (mind: not ExD_Pa). This concerns any other punctuation separating parenthesis (from one side or from both sides).

1.



voda se, abych tak řekl, umoudřila
water Refl so-that so I-said grew-wise
the water, so to speak, grew wise

2.



před smrtí, neznámo proč, si koupil tramvajenku
before death unknown why Refl he-bought tram-pass
before dying, for reasons unknown, he bought a tram-pass

3. Commas separating sentences or coordinated sentence parts are hung on the relevant coordinating conjunction or some other coordinating node with the afun `Coord` (e.g. *ale* but, *a* and, *nebot'* since, *proto* therefore etc.). It may happen that even if such a node of coordination is introduced, we have to make use of the comma: this comma will be the last one in the series and will thus be labelled as `Coord`. The other delimiting commas will get the afun `AuxX` and will hang on the last one. A more detailed instruction concerning coordination is given in 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> _`Co`.

1. důvěřuje magii, mystice a jiným pověrám
   he-trusts in-magic, mystic and other superstitions

4. If there is a combination of several phenomena, it might happen that some comma is missing in the sentence. More exactly, one comma displays several functions though it is represented by a single node. When deciding which of its functions should be assigned to this node, we hang such a comma "as high as possible". If a coordinating comma with afun Coord cooccurs with some other comma (with the afun `AuxX` or `ExD`), the coordination function has a priority. If a coordinating function cooccurs with the function `AuxX` and other commas, the coordinating comma will hang on the highest node in the tree, on which it may hang. If the cooccurrence of commas takes place on the same level of the tree (e.g. if the comma functions as end of an embedded clause and at the same time as an opening of another clause), the following priorities should be obeyed:

1. coordinating comma with `Coord`
2. comma opening an embedded clause
3. coordinating comma with the afun `AuxX`
4. comma closing an embedded clause

3.2.8.4. Punctuation, other graphic symbols `AuxG`

2.8.4.1. INFO AUXG

The conditions under which a punctuation mark is assigned afun `AuxG` and the specification of exceptions are described in section 2.8.4.2. Specification of the afun `AuxG`. The following sections are devoted to individual types of punctuation marks from the point of view of their functions (meaning) and to the representation of these types. The following functions are distinguished: bracketing, closing an embedded part of the sentence (2.8.4.3. Bracketing `AuxG`), introductory, delimiting a part of a text (2.8.4.4. Introducing punctuation (colon)), the punctuation mark after an abbreviation (2.8.4.5. Punctuation marks after an abbreviation (fullstop)), the punctuation mark after a serial numeral (2.8.4.6. Punctuation mark after a

serial numeral (fullstop)), superfluous punctuation marks (2.8.4.7. A superfluous punctuation mark (three dots)), the hyphen with *-li* (2.8.4.8. Punctuation mark with the conjunction *-li* (hyphen)), and the hyphen in compounds (2.8.4.9. Punctuation marks in compound proper names).

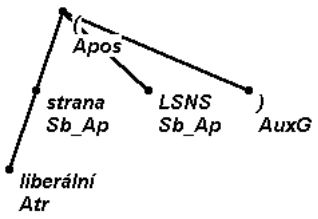
2.8.4.2. Specification of the afun AuxG

In principle, punctuation marks are assigned afun AuxG. This function is assigned (as one of the few) to all punctuation marks (with the exception of comma and those punctuation marks that stand at the end of the sentence) at the point of the preparation of the data for manual tagging. However, it is always necessary to check, whether the punctuation mark has also some other function.

If a punctuation mark is the final punctuation mark of the sentence, it may get afun AuxK (see 3.2.8.2. Terminal symbol of the sentence AuxK), commas are usually assigned afun AuxX (see 3.2.8.3. Comma AuxX), but they may be also assigned other afuns, namely Apos and Coord.

The afun Apos is assigned if the punctuation mark introduces the second part of apposition and if there is no commonly used expression in this position that could be used instead (e.g. *tj. i.e.*, *např. e.g.*, *apod. etc.*). The bracket, colon or another introductory punctuation mark becomes the node for apposition (Apos); in the case of a kind of bracket, its second part hangs on this node with the afun AuxG. For a more detail on apposition, see Sect. 3.4.2. Apposition Apos, <afun>_Ap.

1.



liberální strana (LSNS)
Liberal party (LSNS)

The afun Coord is assigned in case of punctuation marks for coordination. It can either coordinate two sentences, or two parts of some whole, as is the case with sport results or temporal expressions of the type hh:mm. See also 3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) Coord, <afun> _Co.

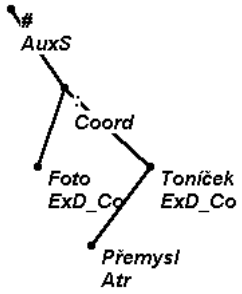
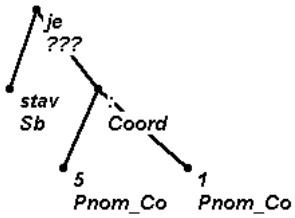
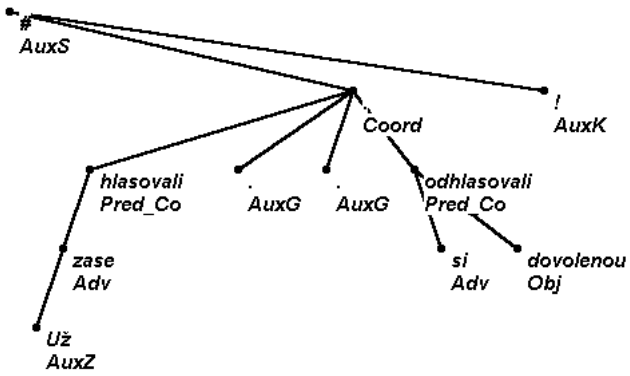
1. 

Foto: Přemysl Toníček
Photo: Přemysl Toníček

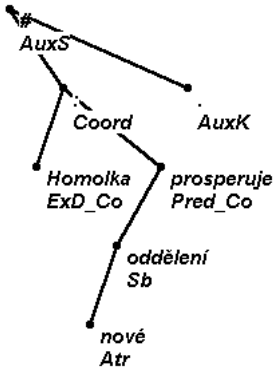
2. 

stav je 5:1
score is 5:1

3. 

Už zase hlasovali ..., odhlasovali si dovolenou!
once again they-voted ..., they-decided-for `Refl` vacations

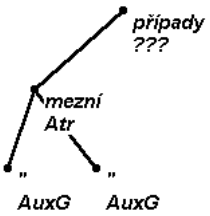
4.



Homolka: Nové oddělení prosperuje
Homolka: New department prospers

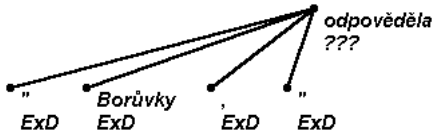
2.8.4.3. Bracketing AuxG

The node for a “bracketing” punctuation (all kinds of brackets and quotation marks, or commas, as the case may be, if they have only a “bracketing” function) depends on the governing node of the introduced (bracketed) part of the sentence:



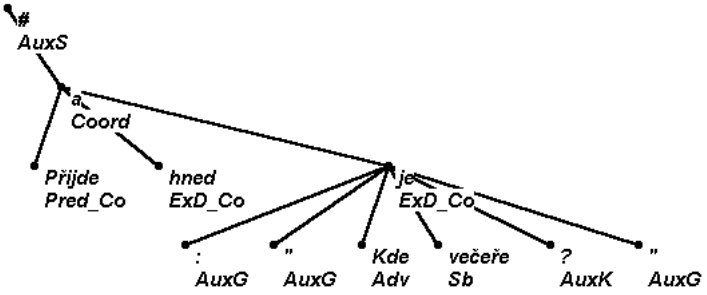
"mezní" případy
"boundary" cases

If the governing member of the bracketed part is missing, the mechanism of ExD is used for the sentence members within the bracketed part as well as for the punctuation marks. The nodes for the punctuation marks thus hang on the next higher node, and get the afun ExD.



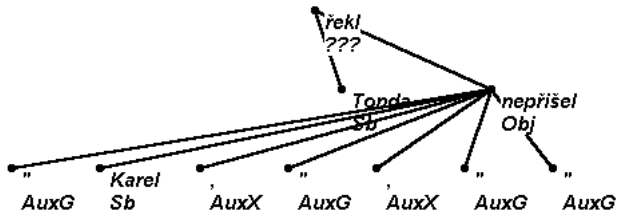
"Borůvky," odpověděla
"Blueberries," she-answered

If, however, the governing word of the bracketed part is present, the function of the punctuation mark remains unchanged, even if the governing word itself has afun `ExD` (this is the case when some grammatically superordinated member is deleted, but the punctuation mark would not be dependent on this node).



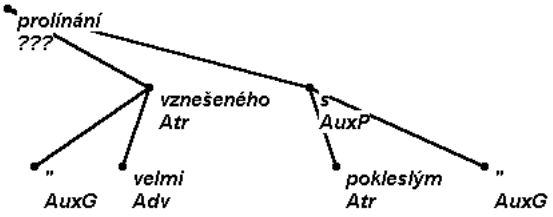
Přijde a hned: "Kde je večeře?"
he-comes and immediately: "Where is dinner?"

If a dependent clause (most often a direct speech) is interrupted by an introductory main clause, all inverted commas depend (in many cases in a non-projective way) on the governing member of the direct speech they introduce:



"Karel," řekl Tonda, "nepřišel".
"Karel," said Tonda, "didn't-come."

It may happen that the bracketing punctuation delimits more than two members, without a deletion being present. “Brackets” are then hung on the governing nodes of the boundary members of the delimited part of the sentence:



prolínání "velmi vznešeného s pokleslým"
intermixing "of-very noble with lower"

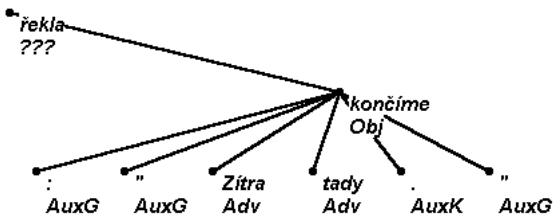
For bracketing punctuation marks with direct speech, see 3.6.1. Direct speech.

2.8.4.4. Introducing punctuation (colon)

Direct speech or some listings connected by coordination are usually delimited from the part that introduces them. Most frequently, this delimitation function is carried by a colon. In the sequel we call punctuation marks of this type introducing punctuation.

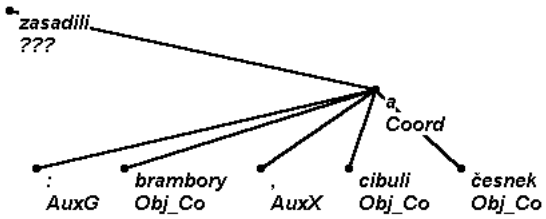
Introducing punctuation depends on the governing node of the introduced part (direct speech, listing). Also in this case, the rule for `ExD` can be applied: if the governing node is missing, the introducing punctuation mark is hung on the next higher node and it gets the afun `ExD`.

1.



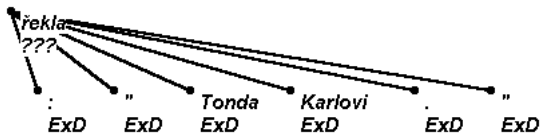
řekla: "zítra tady končíme."
she-said: "tomorrow here we-finish"

2.



zasadili: brambory, cibuli a česnek,
they-planted: potatoes, onion and garlic

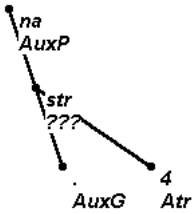
3.



řekla: "Tonda Karlovi."
she-said: "Tonda to-Charles"

2.8.4.5. Punctuation marks after an abbreviation (fullstop)

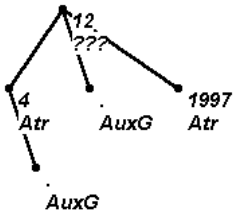
An abbreviation is usually terminated by a fullstop. This fullstop depends directly on the node for the abbreviation.



na str. 4
on p. 4

2.8.4.6. Punctuation mark after a serial numeral (fullstop)

Fullstop after a serial numeral depends directly on the serial numeral.



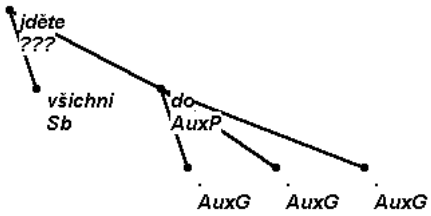
4. 12. 1997
12/4/1997

2.8.4.7. A superfluous punctuation mark (three dots)

Superfluous marks that occur in the sentence depend on the nearest suitable node. If none of the nodes is supposed to be suitable for that purpose, these marks are hung as high as possible, but in a way that does not violate the projectivity of the tree.

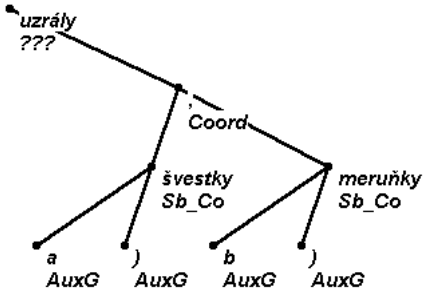
Superfluous marks occur most frequently in the positions of deleted words (three dots). Three dots, however, often occur also as a part of coordination or even as the governing node of a coordination.

1.



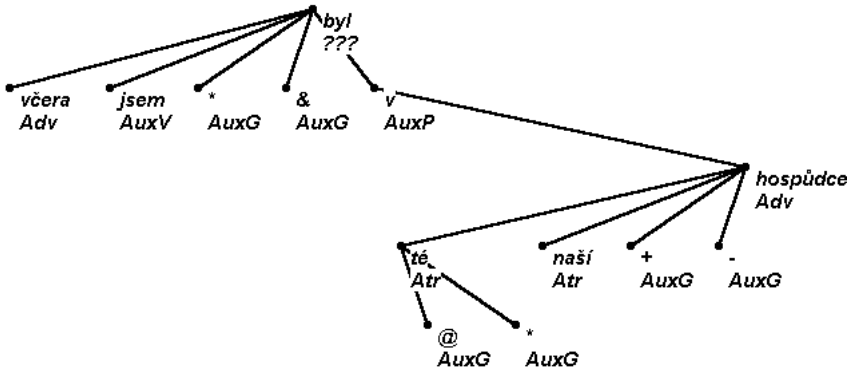
jděte všichni do ...
go all to ...

2.



uzrály a) švestky, b) meruňky,
ripened a) plums, b) apricots

3.



včera	jsem	*	&	byl	v	té	@	*	naší	+	-	hospůdce
yesterday	I-was	*	&	was	in	that	@	*	our	+	-	pub

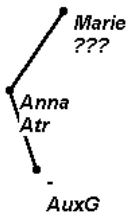
2.8.4.8. Punctuation mark with the conjunction *-li* (hyphen)

The hyphen before *li* depends directly on the conjunction *li*, see 2.7.1.4. representation of the conjunction -li.

obrátí-li	ho
if-he-turns	him

2.8.4.9. Punctuation marks in compound proper names

Punctuation marks (most frequently a hyphen) in compound proper names (also in those of foreign origin) depend on the modifying nodes of the main node from the 'inner' side. More detailed instructions for the representation of compounds is given in 3.6.12. Composed Czech proper names, or, as the case may be, in 3.6.10. Foreign words in the text.



Anna -Marie

3.3. Ellipses — one-member sentences without a verb

3.3.1. Ellipsis ExD, ExD_Co

3.3.1.1. INFO EXD

In 3.3.1.2. Specification of ellipsis and the afun ExD a specification of ellipsis is presented, followed by a list of its types, with an emphasis on the so-called actual (textual) ellipsis, represented by afun ExD.

The next section, 3.3.1.3. Ellipses treated by means of afun ExD, is devoted to different cases of actual ellipses; the list is, of course, just a random selection of frequently occurring phenomena such as: deletions of predicates in one-member sentences (3.1.3.1. Ellipsis of predicate in one-member non-verbal sentences), deletion of predicate when repeated (exdpropa), deletion of predicate in clauses introduced by conjuctions as *jako* (*like*) and *než* (*than*), deletion of predicate in proverbs and sayings (3.1.3.4. Ellipsis of predicate in sayings and proverbs), deletion of the predicate *být* (*to be*) in verbal nominal predicate (3.1.3.5. Ellipsis of a verb in verbo-nominal predicates), deletion of the verb *být* (*to be*) as a component part of compound verb forms (3.1.3.6. Ellipsis of components of complex verbal forms) and deletion of a transgressive in complement constructions (3.1.3.7. Ellipses of a transgressive in constructions with complement).

The cases of so-called lexicalized ellipses, which are represented without the use of afun ExD, are described in Sect 3.3.1.4. Ellipsis solved without afun ExD. This list is more definite and such types of deletions that are not listed there are represented by the afun ExD. The list contains the following items: deletion of the copula with some verbonominal predicates (3.1.4.1. Ellipsis of copula with some verbo-nominal predicates), deletion of a modified adjective with verbal predicates (3.1.4.2. Ellipsis of a predicate adjective), deletion of an attributive adjective standing between a noun and an adverb (3.1.4.3. Ellipsis of an adjective between a noun and an adverb), deletion of subject in the sentence (3.1.4.4. Ellipsis of subject), deletion of the governing clause (3.1.4.5. Ellipsis of the governing clause), deletion of noun with prepositions (3.1.4.9. Deletion of a noun after a preposition).

3.3.1.2. Specification of ellipsis and the afun ExD

Ellipsis (deletion) is a deletion of an expression that is expected in the given syntactic structure. Ellipsis generally is conditioned by the topic-focus articulation. It is a typical means of spoken language; in written texts it occurs mainly in certain types of texts (addresses, questionnaires, forms etc.). The deletion is not determined by its syntactic function but rather by the fact whether the expression concerned is a part of

the topic of the sentence or its focus; as a rule, the focus of the sentence cannot be deleted.

In our annotation scheme, the occurrence of deletion is marked by the the afun `ExD`, which is assigned to all nodes that would be suspended on the node that is missing in the sentence, and these nodes are suspended in the position in whch the missing node would have been suspended.

An exception to this rule are prepositions and subordinate conjunctions which get `AuxP` or `AuxC`, and the afun `ExD` "falls down" to the node that depends on them (and that constitutes a sentence member). A similar situation obtains with constructions with coordination and apposition, when `ExD` is shifted below, to the individual members of coordination or apposition, which are then marked as `ExD_Co` or `ExD_Ap`; the governing node of coordination or apposition keeps its afun `Coord` or `Apos`.

However, punctuation and other technical nodes can obtain `ExD`, in case their "proper" governing node is missing (see the examples in 3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa).

Traditionally, ellipses are classified according to different criteria as follows:

1. contextual or situational ellipsis,
2. word or sentence ellipsis, and
3. lexicalized or 'actual' (textual).

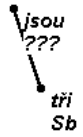
With a contextual ellipsis, some syntactic members in the topic of the sentence are deleted in dependence on the context of the utterance. For instance, after the question *Kam odjel váš bratr?* (*Where has your brother left for?*) it is possible to use just the focus *do Prahy* (*to Prague*) as the answer. With a situational ellipsis, the members are deleted in dependence on the concrete situation: e.g. when meeting somebody, we can just say *na procházku?* (*for a walk?*) or when ordering a glass of beer one can just say *jedno* (*one*).

The most important for the purpose of our annotation judgements is the third type of classification quoted above. Actual ellipsis is captured by the afun `ExD`, while with a lexicalized ellipsis this afun is not used, since we do not feel it as a deletion at all. For the reasons of consistency, the sentence members syntactically dependent on the deleted word (which technically is suspended at the very position in which the deleted word would be suspended) are assigned either that function the word would have if nothing were deleted (*jít* go in ex. (1)), or the function of the deleted word (*hodiny* o'clock in ex. (2)). An actual ellipsis occurs only in the given context, it is not connected with any fixed expression. The sentence members depending on

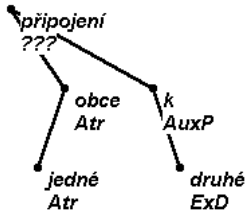
the deleted word are assigned ExD and are suspended in the place where the deleted member would be placed (the second occurrence of *obce* villages in ex. (3).

1.

Musím domů.
I-must home

2. 

Jsou tři.
there-are three

3. 

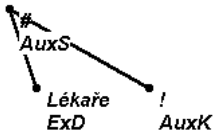
Připojení jedné obce k druhé.
attachment of-one village to another

3.3.1.3. Ellipses treated by means of afun ExD

3.1.3.1. Ellipsis of predicate in one-member non-verbal sentences

Compare 3.3.2. One-member sentences without a verb ExD, ExD_Co

Notation:
words with ExD are *emphasized*.

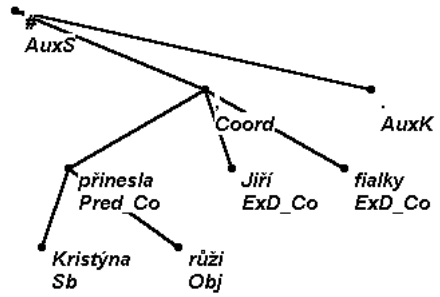
1. 

   Lékaře!
   physician

2. Pěkný *víkend!*
   nice *weekend*

3. *Vztyk* !
   up-to-your-feet

3.1.3.2. Ellipsis of predicate when repeated

1. 

   Kristýna přinesla růži, *Jiří fialky.*
   Christine brought rose *George violets*

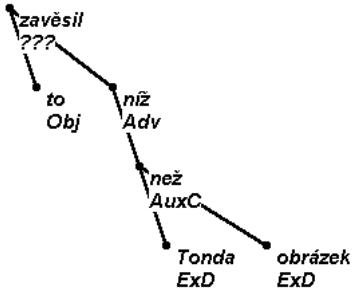
2. Kateřina cestuje vlakem do Kolína, *my* do *Kopidlna autobusem*
   Catherine goes by-train to Kolín *we* to *Kopidlno by-bus*

3.1.3.3. Ellipsis of predicate in clauses introduced by conjuctions *jak(o)* (*like*), *než(li)* (*than*)

Afun ExD is used if these conjunctions are not followed by a sentence with a predicate or a sentence member that gets afun Adv according to the rule qutoed in the part advjakne in 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases) and esp. also in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*). (The sentence member gets Adv if it relates in some close way to the node immediately above the conjunction - it is of the same type and it itself might fulfil the role of the member it modifies (*lépe než dobře better than well*, *více než pět more than five*, *široký jako vysoký wide as high*)

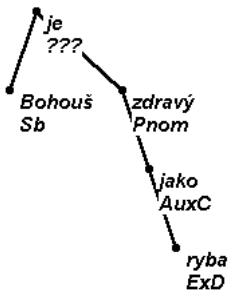
Notation:
words with ExD are *emphasized*.

1.



Zavěsil to níž než *Tonda obrázek*
he-hanged it lower than *Tony picture*
He hanged it lower than Tony had hanged the picture.

2.



Bohouš je zdravý jako *ryba*
Bohouš is fit as *fish*

3.1.3.4. Ellipsis of predicate in sayings and proverbs

1.

Já o *voze*, *ty* o *koze*
I about *carriage* *you* about *goat*
We are at cross purposes

3.1.3.5. Ellipsis of a verb in verbo-nominal predicates

If a copula is deleted with a verbo-nominal predicate, the subject (`Sb`) and the nominal part (`Pnom`) as well as all other modifications dependening on the copula get the afun `ExD`. There are exceptions to this rule mentioned in the part 3.1.4.1. Ellipsis of copula with some verbo-nominal predicates.

Notation:
words with `ExD` are *emphasized*.

1.

Pátrání *zastaveno.*
investigation *stopped*

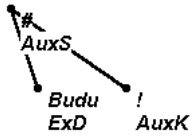
2. *Puška* *lepší* než hlídací *pes*
gun *better* than watch *dog*

3. Pohřeb *zítra*
funeral *tomorrow*

3.1.3.6. Ellipsis of components of complex verbal forms

If the auxiliary verb *být* (*to be*) - which in a full predicate is assigned afun `AuxV`, see predsloz - occurs without its meaningful verb on which it would have been suspended, it is assigned afun `ExD` (e.g. if the sentence *Budu* (*I will*) should mean *Budu jíst* (*I will eat*)).

Notation:
words with `ExD` are bold-faced.

1. 

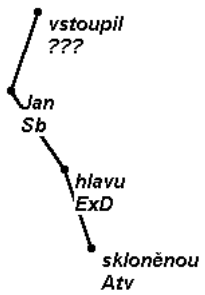
   Budu!
   I-will!

2. Doufal jsem, že budeme malovat, ale *nebudeme*
   I-hoped `Aux` that we-shall paint-the-flat, but *we-won't*
   I hoped we shall be painting the flat, but we won't.

3.1.3.7. Ellipses of a transgressive in constructions with complement

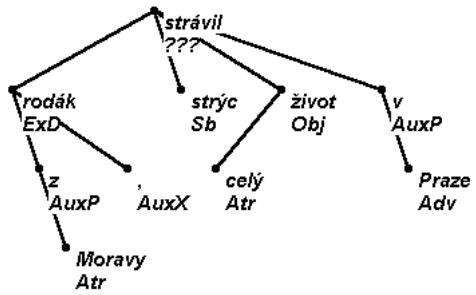
The problem of these constructions is described in the part 2.6.6.8. Complement with elided transgressive `Atv`, `AtvV`. The missing transgressive would be the complement.

Notation:
words with `ExD` are *emphasized*.

1. 

   Jan vstoupil *hlavu skloněnou.*
   John entered *head inclined*

2.



Rodák z Moravy, strávil strýc celý život v Praze.
native from Moravia spent uncle whole life in Prague.
A native from Moravia, our uncle spent his whole life in Prague.

3.3.1.4. Ellipsis solved without afun ExD

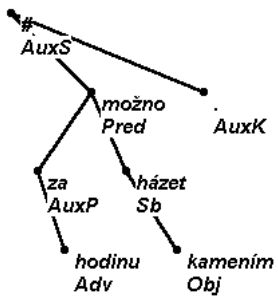
3.1.4.1. Ellipsis of copula with some verbo-nominal predicates

There exist expressions that commonly occur with a copula as a nominal part of the predicate and as such can be deleted. If the copula is present, then these constructions are analyzed according to the rules for verbo-nominal predicate quoted in part 2.1.6.1. the structure of verbal-nominal predicate (the copula is assigned afun `Pred`, the dependent nominal part gets the afun `Pnom`).

If the copula is absent, the function of `Pred` is taken over by the nominal part and this part then has the function of a full predicate (all modifications depend on it).

Expressions that belong to this group are given by the following list: *třeba*, *nutno* (*necessary*), *možno*, *záhodno* (*possible*) (or, as the case may be, their negative counterparts).

1.

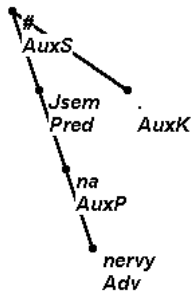


Za hodinu možno házet kamením.
in hour possible to-throw stones
In an hour it is possible to throw stones.

2. Třeba zajistit pořádek.
   necessary to-secure order
   It is necessary to secure order.

3.1.4.2. Ellipsis of a predicate adjective

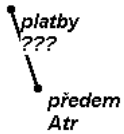
The deletion in this case results in problematic constructions. The dependent member is assigned afun `Adv`. In the sentence below the word *nemocný* (*sick*) is missing, the modification *na nervy* (*on nerves*) is thus suspended under *jsem* (*I am*).

1. 

   Jsem na nervy.
   I-am on nerves
   I am in a nervous state/I am nervy.

3.1.4.3. Ellipsis of an adjective between a noun and an adverb

The adverb may sometimes take over the function of an attribute. This happens when an adjective is deleted from a full construction (mostly derived from a passive: *platby požadované předem payments required in advance*). See also the part 2.3.4.7. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by an adverb.

1. 

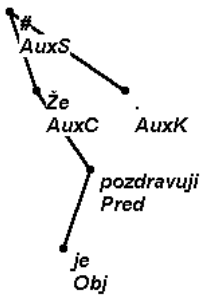
   Platby předem.
   Payments advance
   Payments in advance.

3.1.4.4. Ellipsis of subject

Sentences with a deleted subject part are not considered as incomplete sentences, we do not speak about ellipsis. See also the part 2.1.2.2. Modifying predicate.

3.1.4.5. Ellipsis of the governing clause

When a governing clause that need not be repeated is deleted, we get a sentence in the form of a dependent clause. Its predicate is assigned `Pred` rather than the relevant syntactic function that it would obtain if it were included in a full complex sentence, or afun `ExD`.

1. 

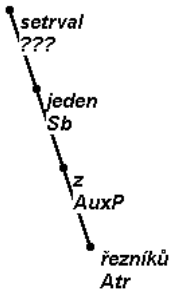
   Že ji pozdravuji.
   that her **I-**greet
   (Tell her) that I am sending her my greetings.

2. Protože mám hlad.
   because I-have hunger
   Because I am hungry.

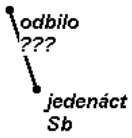
3.1.4.6. Ellipsis of counted units

Numerals (a numerical expression of a number), even if not accompanied by the units they count, are regarded as sentence parts with the function that the node appurtenant to the unit would acquire.

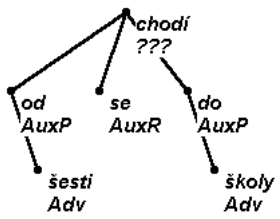
An exception to this rule (i.e. the numerical expression gets `ExD`) is the type of coordination illustrated in the last example, where the given treatment is required by the overall structure of the sentence.

1. 

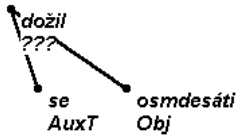
setrval jeden z řezníků
stayed one of butchers
One of the butchers lingered on.

2. 

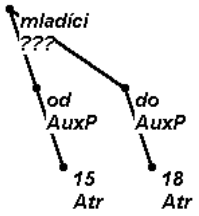
odbilo jedenáct
it-struck eleven

3. 

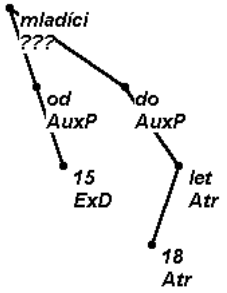
od šesti se chodí do školy
from six `Refl` go to school

4. 

dožil se osmdesáti
he-lived-to `Refl` eighty
He lived as long as eighty.

5. 

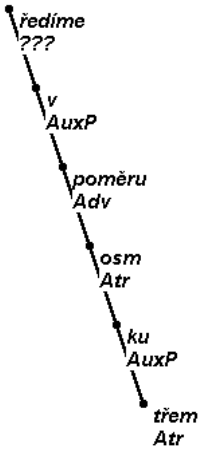
mladíci od 15 do 18
youths from 15 to 18

6. 

mladíci od 15 do 18 let
youths from 15 to 18 years

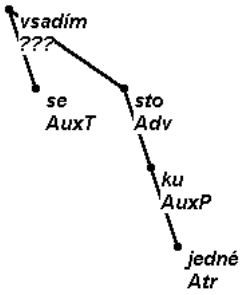
3.1.4.7. Representation of the determination of proportion

Deletion often occurs with expressions of proportion (esp. numerical proportion), when the word *poměr* (*proportion*) is omitted. If this word is present, it gets its conventional afun:



ředíme	v	poměru	osm	ku	třem
we-delute	in	ratio	eight	to	three

If the word *poměr* (*proportion*) is omitted, its syntactic function is taken over by the first member of the proportion:



vsadím	se	sto	ku	jedné
I-bet	`Refl`	hundred	to	one

Warning

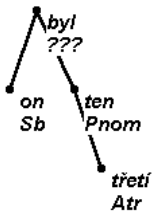
If the relation is not expressed in words, it is represented as a coordination (see the part 4.1.3.7. Coordination with a colon):

Viktorka	vyhrála	3:0.
Viktorka	won	3:0

3.1.4.8. Demonstrative pronouns *ten, ta, to* (*that*)

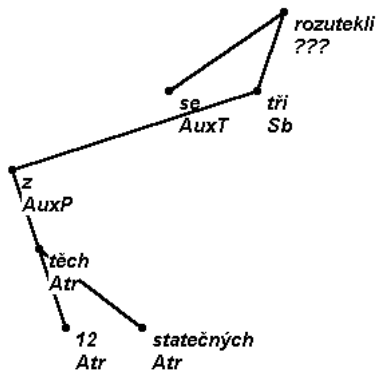
These pronouns stand for a sentence member, so that no ellipsis is concerned. However, if accompanied by the word which this pronoun refers to, this word itself fulfils the given function and the pronoun functions as its `Atr`.

1.



On byl ten třetí.
He was that third

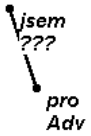
2.



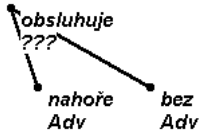
Z těch 12 statečných se tři rozutekli.
Of those 12 courageous `Refl` three ran-away.
Of those 12 courageous ones three ran away.

3.1.4.9. Deletion of a noun after a preposition

In some cases only the preposition is left in the sentence in place of a prepositional group. If this is a collocation (phraseme), the preposition can take over the function of the member that it would introduce. E.g. in the sentence *jsem pro* (*I am for*) the preposition *pro* gets afun `Adv` (this function would be assigned to the deleted word, e.g. *návrh* proposal, *přijetí acceptance*, *schválení approval*, *usnesení decision*, ...). If a collocation is not the case, and the deletion is just occasional (e.g. *náhle zmizel za ... suddenly he disappeared behind ...*), the preposition gets its usual afun `AuxP` and nothing is suspended on it.

1. 

Jsem pro
I-am for

2. 

Obsluhuje nahoře bez.
she-serves on-top without
She is a topless waitress.

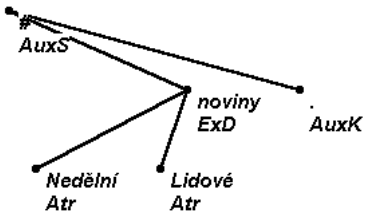
3.3.2. One-member sentences without a verb ExD, ExD_Co

3.2.1. INFO EXD2

One-member verbless sentences also belong to the afun ExD (see part 3.2.2. Representation of one-member verbless sentences); there are several types of these sentences all treated in the same way (part 3.2.3. Types of one-member verbless sentences).

3.2.2. Representation of one-member verbless sentences

One-member sentenes not containing a verb are assigned afun ExD.



Nedělní Lidové noviny.
Sunday Lidové noviny.

3.2.3. Types of one-member verbless sentences

1. Nominal

   a) nouns:

      i) Škola!
      school

      ii) Nedělní Lidové noviny.
      Sunday Lidové noviny.

   b) adjectives:

      i) Skvělé!
      Excellent!

      ii) Krásná!
      Beautiful!

   c) adverbs

      i) Znamenitě!
      Remarkably!

      ii) Kdepak!
      Not-at-all!

2. Vocatives:

   Franto!
   Franta!

3. Interjections:

   Bum!
   Crash!

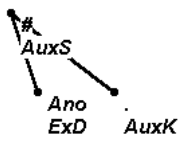
If the Vocative or the interjection is embedded (e.g. *Franto, pojď sem! Franta, come here!*, *Hej, nevíš, kam jde? Hi, don't you happen to know where he is going?*), they get afun `ExD` (see 3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa).

In some cases, the interjection may have the function `Pred` (e.g. *Hybaj domů! Rush home!*; see the part 3.2.1.4. Simple verbal predicate.

One-member infinitival sentences get the afun `Pred` (*Být pořád mladý! To be young all the time*, *Nemít tolik práce. Not to have so much work*).

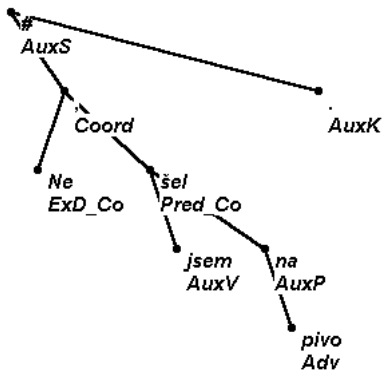
A special case of one-member sentences is constituted by the words *ano* (*yes*), *ne* (*no*), *ni* (*not*), *ba* (*even so*), *bať* (*even so*) and words similar to those. If they stand alone (see ex. (1)), they are assigned afun `ExD`, in a similar vein as other one member sentences. It is often the case that a sentence is attached to these words; this is formally treated as coordination, be these words in a relation to the attched sentences (ex. (2)) or not (ex. (3)); in both cases, the given words are assigned afun `ExD_Co`.

1.



Ano.
Yes.

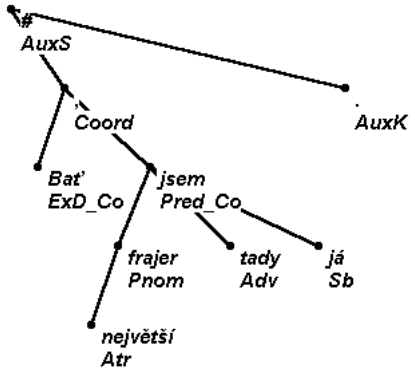
2.



Ne,	šel	jsem	na	pivo
no	I-went	`Aux`	for	beer

No, I went to have a beer.

3.



Bať, největší frajer jsem tady já
even-so toughest daredevil am here I
Even so, the toughest daredevil here is me.

3.4. Relations between sentences and sentence parts (other than dependency)

3.4.1. Coordination (sentential, of sentence parts) `Coord`, <afun> _Co

3.4.1.1. INFO_CO

Part 3.4.1.2. Specification of coordination specifies what is understood by coordination here; its representation in our annotation scheme is presented in a voluminous part 3.4.1.3. Treatment of coordination, which is subdivided into several subparts. Cases of multiple coordination are dealt with in part 4.1.3.1. Multiple coordination. Coordinated constructions often end by words implicating that the list is not complete (*aj.* etc.); these cases are described in part 4.1.3.2. Non-standard termination of a coordinated list. The "false" relative clauses (introduced by *což*) are discussed in 4.1.3.3. Coordination in sentences with *což* (*which*), *přičemž* (*whilst*). In 4.1.3.4. Coordinating conjunctions we present a list of coordinating conjunctions, followed by instructions what to do with such conjunctions that consist in more than one word (4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions). Coordination may go beyond the boundary of sentences; these cases are exemplified in 4.1.3.6. One-member sentential coordination. Some special case of coordination are discussed in part 4.1.3.7. Coordination with a colon and 4.1.3.8. Compound words divided by a hyphen.

The next part is devoted to the issue of coordination of prepositional cases (4.1.4.1. Coordinated prepositional cases) and embedded clauses (4.1.4.2. Coordination of

embedded clauses). The suffix _Co is not assigned to prepositions or to subordinate conjunctions.

A special problem is that of modification of coordination; the instructions how to represent such cases are given in the concluding part 3.4.1.5. Joint modification of coordinated members.

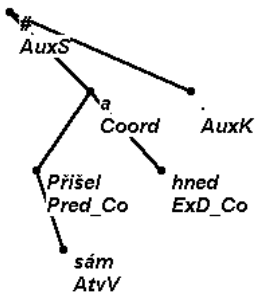
3.4.1.2. Specification of coordination

A relation of coordination may occur between two or more sentence parts, two or more clauses - be they main clauses or dependent ones. On the analytical level, coordination of clauses and of words is not distinguished, both are assigned the same analytic function. Similarly, we do not distinguish between different types of coordination (conjunction, disjunction, etc.); they all get the same afun without any further specification.

Any sentence members can be related by coordination: predicates, subjects, objects, attributes etc. Their afun is composed of their function - Pred, Sb, Obj, Atr - and a suffix _Co, which indicates that the given node is a member of a coordinated construction.

It is important to ensure that all members standing in a coordinated construction get the *same* function (e.g. it is impossible to have Obj_Co and Adv_Co standing side by side in a single coordinated construction). If such a case seemingly occurs, then the construction should be treated as a sentential coordination with a deleted predicate in one of its parts. This is most frequently the case with the combination of Adv - Pnom and Atv - Adv:

1.



Přišel sám a hned.
he-came alone and immediately.

3.4.1.3. Treatment of coordination

The means of rendering coordination are first of all coordinating conjunctions, connecting expressions and also punctuation marks, e.g. a comma. The cases when coordination is expressed by means of multiword expressions is described in part 4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions. In the tree structure, these means have a node of their own assigned afun `Coord`. They are the governing node of the whole coordinated string.

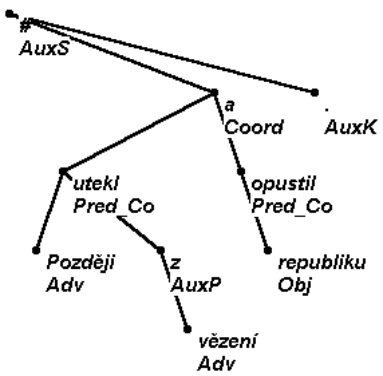
In case of coordinated predicates of main clauses the node with afun `Coord` is suspended immediately below the node of the root of the tree ((1)). In other cases, the node with afun `Coord` is suspended on the governing node, which is modified by the nodes in coordination ((2)).

If there are some extra marks with individual parts of coordination, they are assigned afun `AuxG` and are suspended on the corresponding parts ((3); see also 2.8.4.7. A superfluous punctuation mark (three dots)).

It may happen that the conjunction *a* (*and*) is a part of some abbreviation (*apod.* and similarly, *atd* etc.). Since the abbreviation is written without spaces and as such is represented by a single node, the function `Coord` is assumed by the whole abbreviation (see (4)). For the treatment of these abbreviations if written in several words, see below part 4.1.3.2. Non-standard termination of a coordinated list.

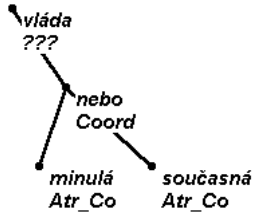
Coordination function can be represented in the sentence also by three fullstops. If this is the case, the afun `Coord` is assigned to the last of them; the preceding two are suspended on the last one and are assigned `AuxG` ((5)).

1.



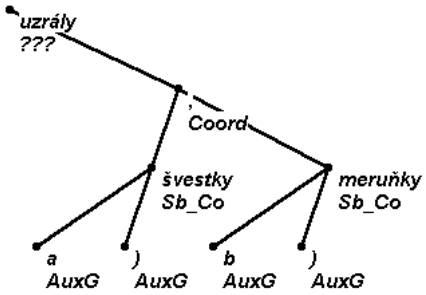
Později	utekl	z	vězení	a	opustil	republiku
later	he-fled	from	prison	and	left	Repulic

2.



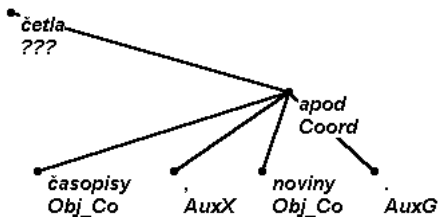
vláda minulá nebo současná
government past or present

3.



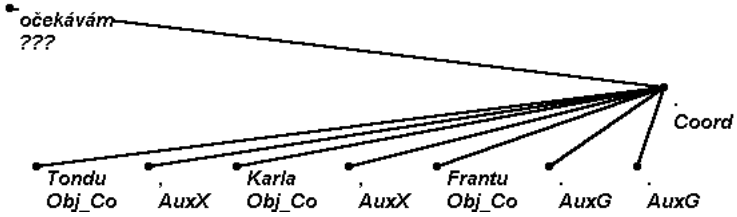
uzrály a) švestky, b) meruňky
ripened a) plums b) apricots

4.



četla časopisy, noviny apod.
she-read journals newspapers and-similarly

5.

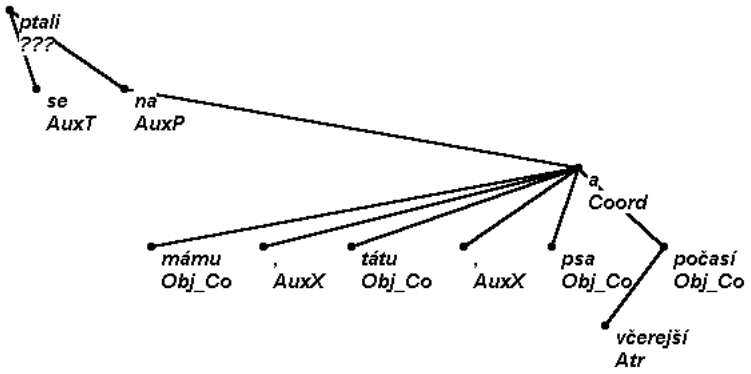


očekávám Tondu, Karla, Frantu ...
I-expect Tony Charles Frank ...

4.1.3.1. Multiple coordination

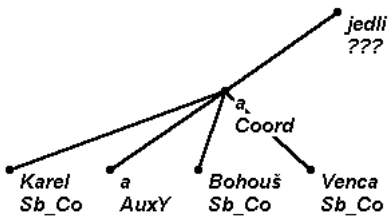
With a multiple coordination (i.e. the coordination construction has more than two members), more than one marker of coordination is usually present (every two members of the coordination are delimited by some marker). The afun `Coord` is then assigned to the last marker at the right-hand-side (usually this is a conjunction, but if a conjunction is not present then it might be a comma etc.). This mark of coordination becomes the governor, other coordination marks being its daughters. Commas are asigned afun `AuxX`, words (e.g. the repeated conjunctions *a* (*and*)) get `AuxY`, graphic symbols (e.g. also all three dots if they are not rightmost nodes) are assigned afun `AuxG`.

1.



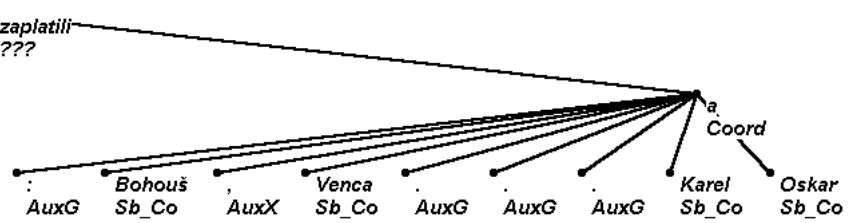
ptali	se	na	mámu,	tátu,	psa	a	včerejší	počasí
they-inquired	`Refl`	about	mom,	pap,	dog	and	yesterday	weather

2.



Karel,	Bohouš	a	Venca	jedli
Karel,	Bohouš	and	Venca	were-eating

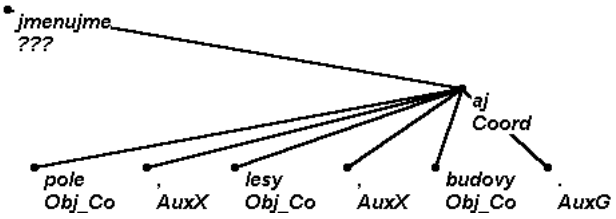
3.



... zaplatili: Bohouš, Venca ... Karel a Oskar
... payed: Bohouš, Venca ... Karel and Oskar

4.1.3.2. Non-standard termination of a coordinated list

The list of the members of coordination is sometimes terminated by words that do not have the same syntactic value as other members of the coordination. These words mostly express that the listing is incomplete and they are often written in an abbreviated form; if this abbreviation is represented by a single node including also the coordinating conjunction (*apod.*, *atd.*, *etc.*, *aj.*, … (*andsoon*)), it becomes (in accordance with the rules in the part 3.4.1.3. Treatment of coordination) a node of coordination, i.e. it is assigned afun `Coord`.



jmenujme pole, lesy, budovy aj.
let-us-mention fields, woods, buildings etc.

However, difficulties arise when the coordinated listing is terminated by more than one node. One of the following three cases may obtain then:

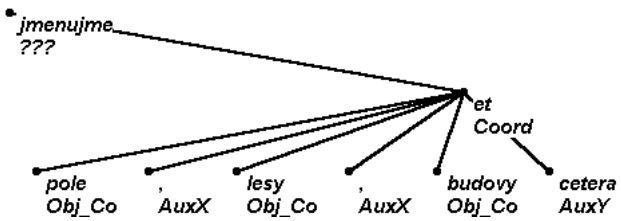
Cases of collocation:

The list of such collocations:
a tak dále (and so on)
a tak podobně (and so similarly)
a podobně (and similarly)
et cetera

These collocations are regarded as so-called connecting coordinating expressions, described in more detail below in the part 2.7.7.5. Particles forming a part of connecting expressions and comprising also (or first of all) multiple conjunctions described in part 4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions.

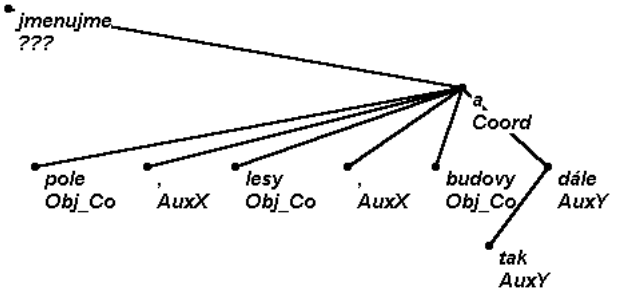
In the representations of these constructions, the coordinating conjunction governs the whole coordination and the other nodes are suspended on it with afuns `AuxY`; if such constructions consist of two words, the last word is suspended on the first one ((2)).

1.



jmenujme	pole,	lesy,	budovy	et	cetera	
let-us-mention	fields,	woods,	buildings	et	cetera	

2.

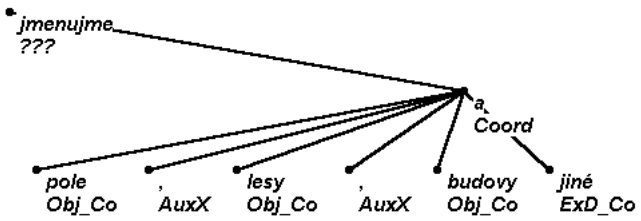


jmenujme	pole,	lesy,	budovy	a	tak	dále
let-us-mention	fields,	woods,	buildings	and	so	on

Cases of ellipsis in which after the last member of coordination there remains just an adjective (i.e. the adjunct of the last word)

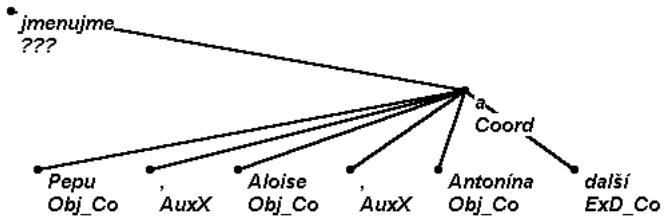
Annotation is carried out according to the rules on ellipsis (see 3.3.1. Ellipsis `ExD`, `ExD_Co`), i.e. the adjective (which is a remnant of the last member of coordination) is suspended on the node with `Coord` and is assigned afun `ExD_Co`.

1.



jmenujme pole, lesy, budovy a jiné
let-us-mention fields, woods, buildings and other

2.

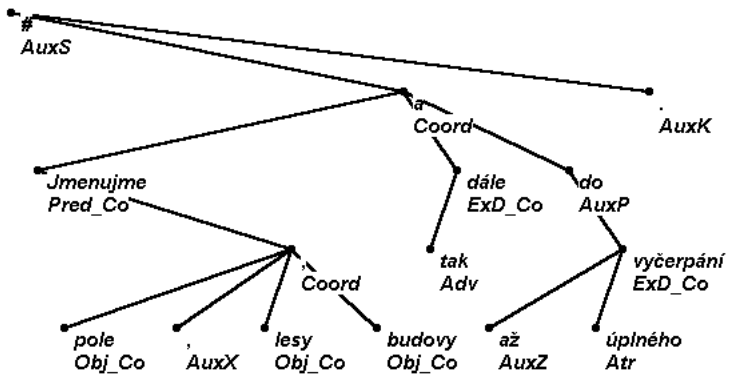


jmenujme Pepu, Aloise, Antonína a další
let-us-mention Pepa, Alois, Antonín and further

Other cases (mostly lists with longer terminations)

In these cases the rule given above in the part 3.4.1.2. Specification of coordination is used; the respective termination of the list is regarded as a clause of itself (which often does not contain a predicate), resulting in a coordination of clauses, where in the first clause the initial members of the listing will be placed in their corresponding positions and the second clause will be formed in a non-standard way.

1.



Jmenujme pole, lesy, budovy a tak dále
let-us-mention fields, woods, buildings and so on

až do úplného vyčerpání.
up to full exhaustive-account.

4.1.3.3. Coordination in sentences with *což* (*which*), *přičemž* (*whilst*)

Complex sentences with expressions *což* (*which*) (and all its inflected forms, including the forms with prepositions *přičemž*, *pročež*, *načež*, *nacož*) are analyzed as coordination, the head node being the comma. These words are assigned afuns according to the function they represent in the clause they introduce (*přičemž* (*whilst*) obtaining mostly the afun `Adv`).

1. My tam nemůžeme, *přičemž* opačná cesta je volná
   we there are-not-allowed *while* opposite direction is free

2. Je označována za kubismus, *což* je ignorantství
   it-is denoted as cubism *which* is ignorance

4.1.3.4. Coordinating conjunctions

The following conjunctions (some of them consisting of more than a single word) may have a coordinating function:

a, *a proto*, *a přesto*, *a tak*, *a tedy*, *ale*, *ale proto*, *ale přesto*, *anebo*, *ani*, *ani-ani*, *aniž*, *avšak*, *ba*, *buď-a nebo*, *buď-anebo*, *buď-nebo*, *či*, *i*, *i-i*, *jak-tak*, *jednak-jednak*, *jenže*, *leč*, *nebo*, *neboť*, *nicméně*, *nýbrž*, *ovšem*, *proto*, *přece*, *přesto*, *sice-ale*, *sice-avšak*, *sice-nicméně*, *však*, *vždyť*, *zato*

The conjunction *aniž* may in a sense function also as a subordinating one (`AuxC`), the conjunction *přece* may occur in the function of `AuxY`, the conjunction *ani* has often an empasizing meaning (`AuxZ`).

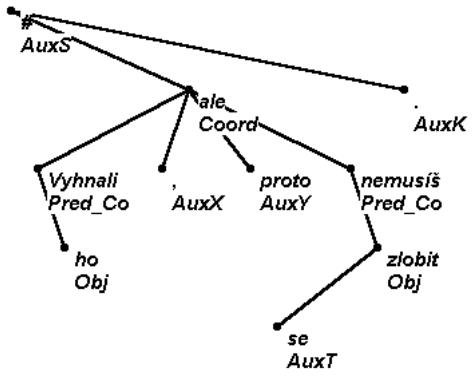
Instructions how to treat conjunctions included in the above list are presented in the next section 4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions.

4.1.3.5. Multiple coordinating expressions

Some expressions introducing coordination (and as such included in the above list) consist in more than a single word. This means that they are represented in the tree as more than a single node; however, for the overall representation of the coordinating function a single node is needed, to be assigned afun `Coord`. This is why one word of the coordinating expression is singled out to get `Coord` and to be the head of the whole coordination. Other parts of the coordinating expression are suspended under this main node (if there are more such words, they are suspended as sisters) and they are assigned afun `AuxY`.

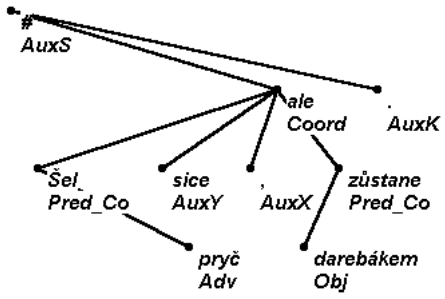
Instructions how to choose the main node are given in part 3.2.7.7. Parts of multi-word constructions, some particles, decayed parenthesis `AuxY`. With those components that are not immediate neighbours (e.g. *sice-ale that's true -but*), as well as with those that are immediate neighbours (e.g. *ale proto but therefore*) the head node usually is the node with a more general coordinative meaning (*ale but*, *a and*).

1.



Vyhnali ho, *ale* proto se nemusíš zlobit
they-expelled him *but* therefore `Refl` you-need-not be-angry

2.



Šel sice pryč, *ale* darebákem zůstane
he-went that's-true away *but* rascal he-remains

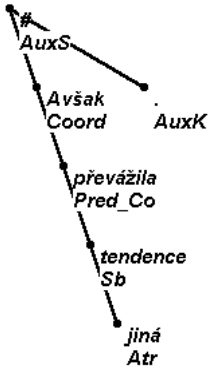
4.1.3.6. One-member sentential coordination

Afun `Coord` is often assigned also to conjunctions that refer to the preceding context, which is outside the sentence under analysis. Since in our annotation scheme the analysis should not go beyond the boundaries of sentences, such a coordination physically has a single node in the given tree.

1. *a* tak nedosáhli slibovaného vzestupu
   and so they-did-not-reach promised raise
   and that's why they failed

2. *ale* všechny lidi oklamat nejde
   but all people to-deceive it-is-not-possible
   but to decieve all people is impossible

3.

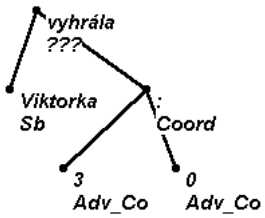


Avšak převážila tendence jiná
yet prevailed tendency other
Yet another tendecny prevailed.

4.1.3.7. Coordination with a colon

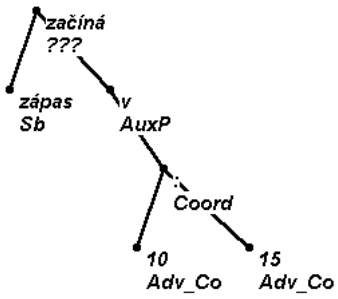
Afun `Coord` is also used in representation of sport results and temporal data.

1.



Viktorka vyhrála 3:0
Viktorka won 3:0

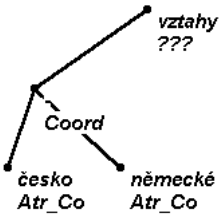
2.



zápas začíná v 10:15
match starts at 10:15

4.1.3.8. Compound words divided by a hyphen

Compound words divided by a hyphen are represented as a coordination.



česko-německé vztahy
Czech-German relations

3.4.1.4. Coordinated members introduced by means of `AuxP` or `AuxC`

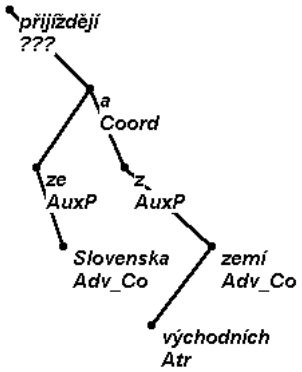
Analytic functions `AuxP_Co` and `AuxC_Co` are not used. The suffix `_Co` is attached to the sentence parts introduced by these members.

4.1.4.1. Coordinated prepositional cases

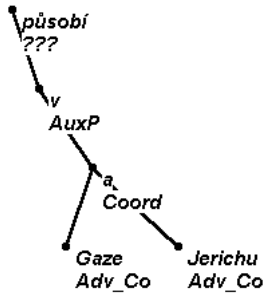
The suffix `_Co` is not attached to prepositions. In case of coordinated prepositional cases, the suffix `Co_` is attached to the afun of the noun, i.e. `Obj_Co`, `Adv_Co`, `Atr_Co` rather than `AuxP_Co`.

Coordinated sentence parts expressed by a prepositional form are represented in different ways, in relation to the fact whether the prepositon is present with both coordinated parts or if there is only a single preposition present.

1.

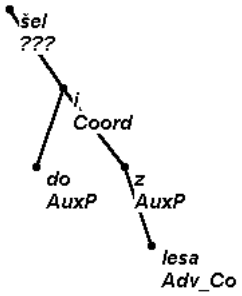


přijíždějí	ze	Slovenska	a	z	východních	zemí
they-come	from	Slovakia	and	from	Eastern	countries

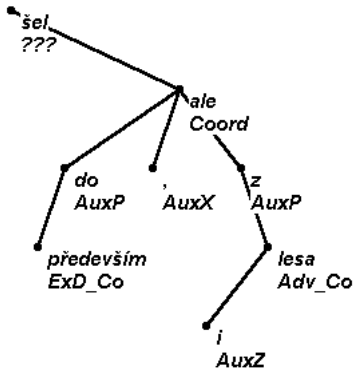
2. 

působí v Gaze a Jerichu
s/he-operates in Gaza and Jericho

It may happen that one of the coordinated members is missing (there are only two prepositions in coordination and only the second of them is accompanied by a noun):

1. 

šel do i z lesa
he-walked to and from woods

2. 

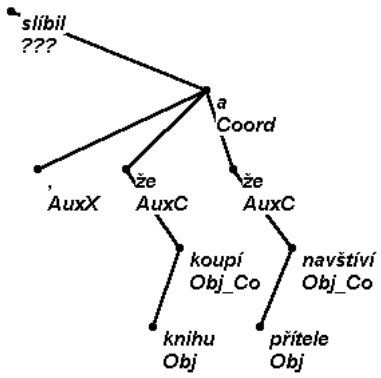
šel především do, ale i z lesa
he-walked first-of-all to but also from woods

4.1.4.2. Coordination of embedded clauses

Coordination of embedded clauses is treated in a similar vein as that of prepositional cases. The sufix `_Co` is assigned to the afuns of the predicates of these clauses (i.e. `Sb_Co`, `Obj_Co`, `Adv_Co`, ...) rather than to the subordinating conjunctions.

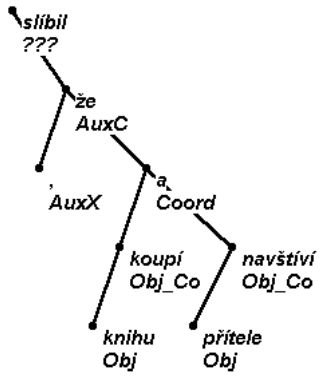
The treatment of coordinated clauses depends on the fact whether the subordinating conjunction is repeated or not.

1.



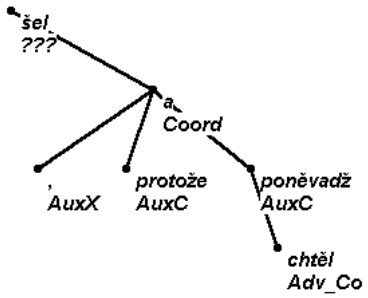
slíbil,	že	knihu	koupí	a	že	přítele	navštíví
he-promised	that	book-`Acc`	he-will-buy	and	that	friend-`Acc`	he-will-visit

2.



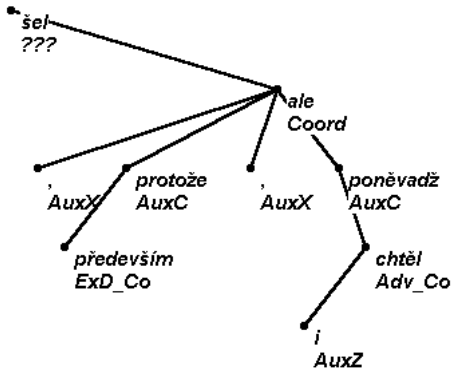
slíbil,	že	knihu	koupí	a	přítele	navštíví
he-promised	that	book-`Acc`	he-will-buy	and	friend-`Acc`	he-will-visit

3.



šel,	protože	a	poněvadž	chtěl	
he-went	because	and	since	he-wanted	

4.



šel,	především	protože,	ale	i	poněvadž	chtěl	
he-went	first-of-all	because	and	also	since	he-wanted	

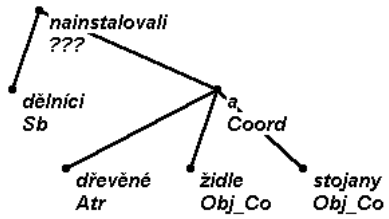
3.4.1.5. Joint modification of coordinated members

A joint modification of a coordinated string must be reflected also in its tree structure. The same rules obtain for the assignment of afuns in case of coordination of sentence parts and in that of coordination of predicates (i.e. of main or embedded clauses).

Those elements of the sentence that depend only on one part of the coordination are suspended according to the general rules; those elements that depend on the coordinated construction as a whole are suspended on the node with afun `Coord` and are assigned their afuns according to their function (without the sufix `_Co`). This convention makes it possible to diferentiate between a coordinated member and a member modifying the whole coordination. The latter node may be e.g. a joint attribute to a coordinated object, but also a joint subject or other modification to a coordinated predicate.

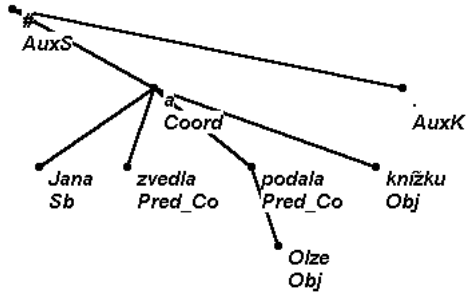
The members modifying the coordination as a whole are printed in *emphasized* letters.

1.



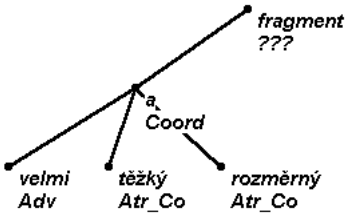
dělníci nainstalovali *dřevěné* židle a stojany
workers installed *wooden* chairs and stands

2.



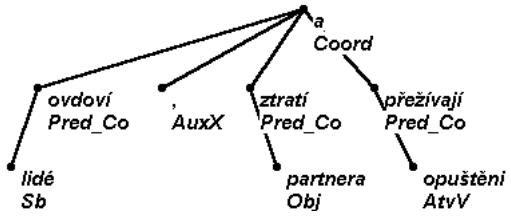
Jana zvedla a podala Olze *knížku*
Jane picked-up and handed-over to-Olga *book*

3.



velmi těžký a rozměrný fragment
very heavy and bulky fragment

4.



lidé	ovdoví,	ztratí	partnera	a	přežívají	opuštěni
people	become-widowed	lose	partner	and	survive	lonesome

3.4.2. Apposition `Apos`, <afun>_Ap

4.2.1. INFO _AP

After a specification of the function of apposition in the part 4.2.2. Specification of apposition, we present an account of how apposition is formally treated in our scenario (part 4.2.3. Representation of apposition). This part also contains a list of possible expressions that may introduce apposition. In the part 4.2.4. Distinguishing apposition from other relations we attempt to differentiate apposition from other sentence relations with which it might be mistakenly interchanged (dependency, coordination or parenthesis).

4.2.2. Specification of apposition

Apposition is a relation that makes it possible to render the same 'idea' in several different ways. The members standing in apposition are the same sentence part, they usually are in the same case and they can be interchanged:

1. se žádostí se obrátili na O. *Koktana*, *správce* vepřína
   with request `Refl` they-turned to O. *Koktan*, *manager* of-pigsties

The condition requiring the same form (case) need not be met if the members in the apposition relation are adverbials, because the repertoire of the means for the expression of adverbials is very large:

1. usmrtili ho *tajně*, např. vyšší *dávkou* morfia
   they-killed him *secretely* e.g. by-higher *dosis* of-morphine

We differ from Šmilauer's understanding in that our specification of apposition is narrower: we do not regard as apposition the types of "specializing" attribute (as e.g. *rozinky sultánky* raisins sultans, *slečna sousedka* miss neighbour, *my Češi* we Czechs, see 2.3.4.2. Agreeing attribute expressed by a noun) and also adverbials as *dole pod podlahou* down below the floor, *letos v únoru* this year in February, *nahoru na kopeček* up to the hill (see 3.2.5.4. Problematic cases of temporal modifications and 3.2.5.5. Problems of local adverbial).

Similarly, we do not regard as apposition the case when seemingly apposited members have no place to be suspended on (the member for the assignment of afun `Apos` is missing, see below): nodes for such elements are suspended side by side, without apposition.

However, we do regard as apposition items in a questionnaire or list divided by a colon or by some other graphic symbol (see ex. (6) in the following part).

4.2.3. Representation of apposition

The following expressions are typical for introducing an apposition:

aneb, *a sice*, *a tedy*, *a to*, *čili*, *jako*, *jako je*, *jako např.*, *jako například*, *např.*, *například*, *neboli*, *tak třeba*, *tedy*, *tj.*, *to jest*, *to znamená*, *tzn.*

The list is not (even cannot be) complete, i.e. apposition may be introduced by other expressions as well and the decision is up to the annotator. At the same time, an inclusion of an expression in this list does not necessarily mean that a presence of such an expression in a sentence always indicates that a relation of apposition is present.

In addition, apposition may be introduced by mere graphic symbols, such as comma, dash, colon, brackets.

According to the current conventions, apposition is represented in the tree structure in the same way as coordination, i.e. the respective means of expression are assigned the afun `Apos` and the members that stand in an apposition relation are suspended on this governing node; their afuns are composed from the label denoting their function (`Sb`, `Obj`, `Atr`, ...) and from the suffix `_Ap`.

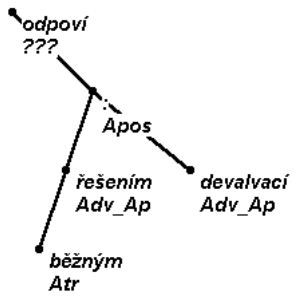
When deciding which node is assigned afun `Apos`, the following rules hold:

- If the connecting expression is a single node, then the situation is clear (see exx. (1), (6), (7)).
- If the connecting expression is a word (or an abbreviation) preceded by a comma, the afun `Apos` is assigned to this word and the comma is suspended under it (exx. (2), (4)).

- If the abbreviation is followed by (its) fullstop, the fullstop is suspended under the abbreviation (according to the rules of punctuation, see 2.8.4.5. Punctuation marks after an abbreviation (fullstop), here ex. (2)).
- If the means for apposition consists of a string of words, the last word in the string is the governor of the whole expression, other elements of the string being its dependents and getting the afun `AuxY` (see the rules given in paret 2.7.7.7. Multi-word apposition expressions, and ex. (4) below).
- If the second member of the apposition is separated by brackets (or by dashes etc.), the first of these symbols is assigned afun `Apos` and the second is suspended on the first (with afun `AuxG`; see the rules in part 2.8.4.3. Bracketing `AuxG` and ex. (3) below).

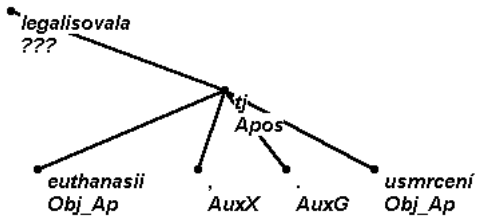
As ex. (7) shows, apposition allows also for some unusual attributes.

1.



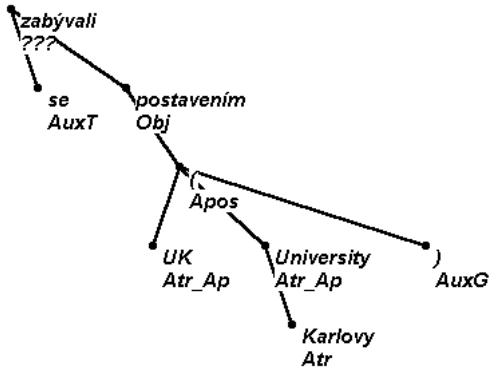
Odpoví	běžným	řešením:	devalvací	
it-will-respond	by-current	solution	devalvation	

2.



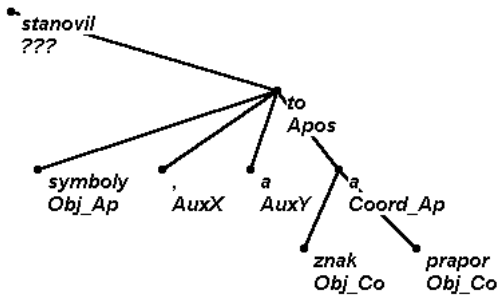
legalizovala	euthenasii,	tj.	usmrcení		
she-legalised	euthanasia,	ie.	killing		

3.



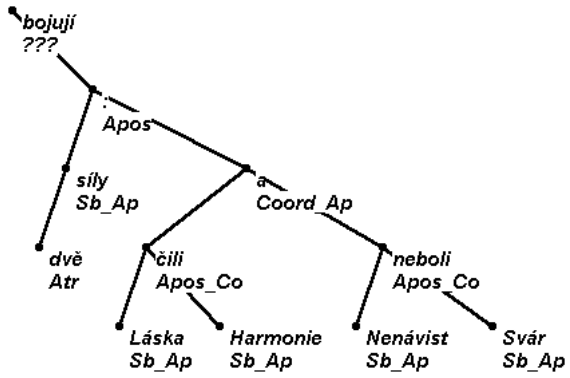
zabývali se postavením UK (Univerzity Karlovy)
they-dealt Refl with-position of-UK (University of-Charles)

4.



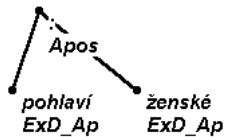
stanovil symboly, a to znak a prapor
he-determined symbols and this(is) emblem and banner

5.



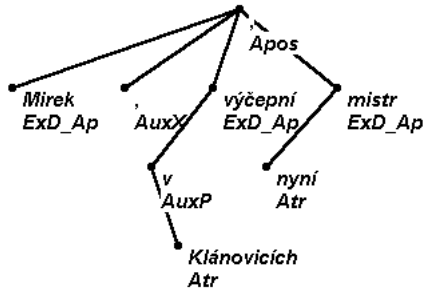
bojují dvě síly: Láska čili Harmonie a Nenávist neboli Svár
fight two powers Love or Harmony and Hatred or Conflict

6.



pohlaví: ženské
sex female

7.



Mirek, v Klánovicích barman, nyní mistr
Mirek in Klánovice barman, now foreman
Mirek, a barman in Klánovice, now a foreman.

4.2.4. Distinguishing apposition from other relations

Apposition has some points of contact with other sentence relations: dependency, coordination and parenthesis.

If an assignment of an attributive (adjunct) function is possible, then it has priority over the appositional specification. Compare the close attributive relation in

případ úředníka předúnorového ministerstva vnitra JUDr. Zdeňka *Tomana*
case of-clerk of-pre-February Ministry of-Interior JUDr Zdenek *Toman*

with a (loose, free) appositional relation in

říká Ivan *Medek*, *vedoucí* odboru vnitřní politiky presidentské kanceláře
says Ivan *Medek*, *head* of-section of-interior affairs of-presidential office

The criterion for distinguishing these two relations - an attributive and an appositional one - is supplied by the fact that with the appositional relation, the two "ideas" are separated by some formal (graphic) symbol (in our example, it is the comma).

In contrast to coordination, the two (or more) members standing in an appositional relation express the same content (or its specification, as the case may be).

The difference between apposition and parenthesis is discussed in more detail in part 5.1.4. The borderline between parenthesis and apposition.

The appositional relation must be also distinguished from the so-called free adjunction (see 3.6.13. Freely adjoined sentence parts), even though the means of expression of these two relations are sometimes the same. Cf. the example of apposition: *pochází z Čech, a to ze Žižkova* (*he comes from Czechia, and that from Žižkov*) as compared to a freely adjoined sentence part in *přidělili peníze, a to brněnským lékařům* (*they have allocated money, and that to the Brno physicians*).

3.5. Parenthesis

3.5.1. General rules

5.1.1. INFO_PA

In the first part, 5.1.2. Specification of parenthesis, parenthesis and its types are specified, followed (in 5.1.3. Representation of parenthesis) by a description of its representation in the tree structure and by a short specification of the distinction between parenthesis and apposition (in 5.1.4. The borderline between parenthesis and apposition).

The next four parts are devoted to the four types of parenthesis: 5.2.1. Representation of `AuxY_Pa` deals with particles that relate to the whole sentence; 3.5.3. An independent sentential form (containing a predicate) `Pred_Pa` (part 5.3.1. Representation of `Pred_Pa`) describes parenthesis that includes a predicate of its own but is not syntactically incorporated into the sentence; a parenthesis that is syntactically incorporated into the sentence, be it the case that it includes a predicate (it has a form of an embedded clause) or is a simple sentence part is described in 5.4.1. Representation of <afun>_Pa. Section 5.5.1. Representation of `ExD_Pa` includes instructions for other kinds of parenthesis that are not covered by the previous sections (either a predicate is missing in the paranthesis, or it is a vocative or an independent sentence part).

5.1.2. Specification of parenthesis

Semantically, parenthesis concerns an additional adjunction of a remark to the statement included in the sentence. The speaker usually uses parenthesis to explain something, to add some remarks, to express his/her emotions, to apologize, to refer to something, etc.

From the formal point of view, the necessary condition for the assignement of afun with the suffix _Pa is a graphic separation marking — by brackets, dashes, commas. If this condition is not fulfilled, a different afun should be assigned. E.g. in the sentence *musím se, bohužel, omluvit* (*I must, unfortunately, apologize*) the word *bohužel* (*unfortunately*) gets afun AuxZ_Pa, while in *musím se bohužel omluvit* it gets afun AuxY.

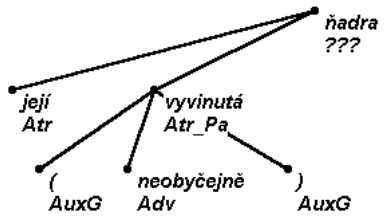
There are four possible assignments of afuns, according to the following four possible types of parenthesis:

1. If a particle without a graphic separation mark got afun AuxY, it gets - when graphically separated - AuxY_Pa (see 3.5.2. A 'frozen' parenthesis AuxY_Pa and 2.7.7.2. Particles pertaining to the whole utterance).
2. In case parenthesis does not violate the sentence structure, it is assigned an afun composed of the value of its function in the sentence (Adv, Atr, ...) and the suffix _Pa and it is suspended in the place where it belongs (see 3.5.4. A syntactically incorporated sentence part with <afun>_Pa).
3. If the parenthesis has a form of a whole sentence (with a predicate) and it does not fit syntactically into the sentence structure, it gets afun Pred_Pa and it is suspended under the predicate of that clause into which it is embedded (see 3.5.3. An independent sentential form (containing a predicate) Pred_Pa).
4. The rest of the cases of parenthesis are assigned afun ExD_Pa (this concerns the case in which a predicate is missing and some further cases described in 3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa).

5.1.3. Representation of parenthesis

The graphic symbols separating a parenthesis are sisters suspended under the governing node of the parenthesis:

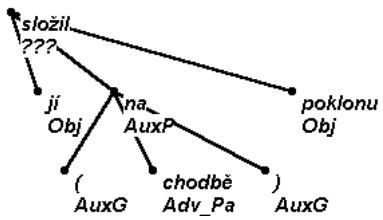
1.



její (neobyčejně vyvinutá) ňadra
her (extraordinarily developed) bosom

As a rule, prepositions and subordinating conjunctions are not assigned the sufix `_Pa`. If they govern a parenthesis, they get their usual afun `AuxP` or `AuxC`, and the suffix `_Pa` is assigned to the node that is suspended on them.

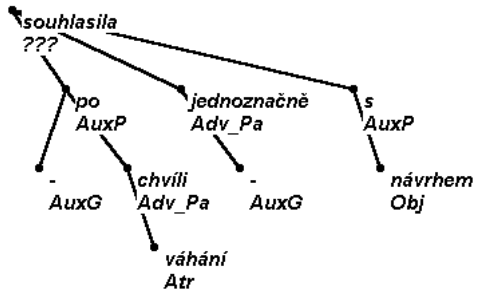
1.



složil jí (na chodbě) poklonu
he-paid her (on corridor) compliment

A parenthesis may consist of more than a single member; in such a case the individual parts of the parenthesis are suspended side by side and the separating symbols are daughters of the outer ones.

1.



souhlasila - po chvíli váhání jednoznačně - s návrhem
she-agreed - after moment of-hesitation univocally - with proposal

5.1.4. The borderline between parenthesis and apposition

With nouns: the condition for the assignment of *apposition* is the identity of the (case) forms, or abbreviations:

1. kulhavý *ostříž* (Antonín *Vyšinka*)
   limping lobby-falcon (Antonín *Vyšinka*)

2. Žižkovská *strana* starých časů (*ŽSSČ*)
   Žižkov *party* of-old times (*ŽSSČ*)

If the cases differ, mostly *parenthesis* is concerned:

1. ve svých hrách (Král T. *a* Ráj)
   in his plays-Loc (King T.-Nom *and* Paradise-Nom)

2. na rozdíl od jeho nástupce (Vojta *Vtipný*)
   in contrast to his successor-Gen (Vojta-Nom *Vtipný*)

As mentioned above in part 4.2.2. Specification of apposition, in case of adverbials the condition of the identity of cases need not be obeyed, cf. the *apposition* relation in

1. usmrtili ho *tajně*, např. vyšší *dávkou* morfia
   they-killed him *secretly*, e.g. by-higher *dose* of-morphine

3.5.2. A 'frozen' parenthesis AuxY_Pa

5.2.1. Representation of AuxY_Pa

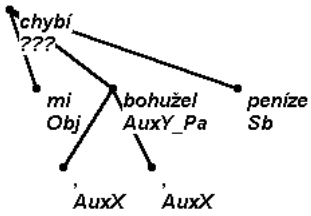
The function AuxY_Pa is assigned to particles that relate to the contents of the whole utterance, i.e. the types traditionally called sentential adverbs. As mentioned above, an assignment of an afun with the suffix _Pa is conditioned by a graphic separation from the rest of the sentence (e.g. by commas). Without such a separation, just the function AuxY is assigned, see 3.2.7.7. Parts of multi-word constructions, some particles, decayed parenthesis AuxY

Words that can be assigned afun AuxY_Pa are given by a list. This list equals the list of those words with AuxY that specify a whole utterance, the only diference being a graphic separation.

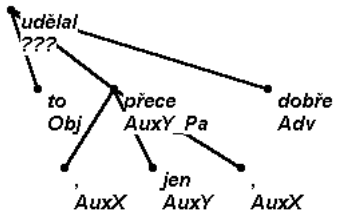
The list of potential AuxY_Pa: *aby*, *ať*, *ať už*, *bohudík*, *bohužel*, *jasně*, *kdyby*, *kupodivu*, *možná*, *naopak*, *například*, *nicméně*, *nuže*, *opravdu*, *ostatně*, *patrně*, *pravděpodobně*, *prostě*, *prý*, *přece jen*, *samozřejmě*, *snad*, *stejně*, *tedy*, *totiž*, *věru*, *vlastně*, *však*, *zřejmě*, *že*

In the tree structure, a particle with afun AuxZ_Pa is suspended under the predicate of the given sentence (as is the case with AuxY as such). If the parenthesis contains more words belonging together (as e.g. *přece jen*, *ať už* - not two independent particles as in *například kupodivu* for example to-my-surprise) one part is suspended under the other, while the position of the governor will be occupied by that one that

is first in the string. This node gets afun `AuxY_Pa`, while the second word gets only `AuxY`.

1. 

chybí mi, *bohužel*, peníze
lack me *unfortunately* money
unfortunately, I'm short of money

2. 

udělal to, *přece* jen, dobře
he-did it *after* all well

3.5.3. An independent sentential form (containing a predicate) `Pred_Pa`

5.3.1. Representation of `Pred_Pa`

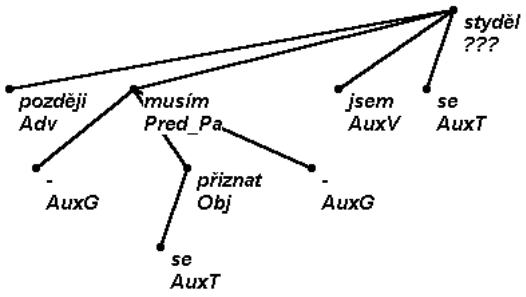
Afun `Pred_Pa` is assigned to the predicate (i.e. the node that would get afun `Pred`) of the parenthetical sentence, if the sentence is not syntactically included into the structure. This node is suspended under the predicate of the clause, in which parenthesis occurs, or, as the case may be, on the node with # (i.e. if the parenthesis is a complete sentence).

Afun `Pred_Pa` is also asigned to expressions such as *viz* (*see*), *srov.* (*compare*) etc., if these expressions are inserted in a sentence; if such an expression forms the main clause, it is assigned afun `Pred`).

Such constructions as *jak uvedl ...* (*as quoted ...*), *jak řekl* (*as said ...*), *jak jsem se dozvěděl* (*as I heard*) are also assigned afun `Pred_Pa`.

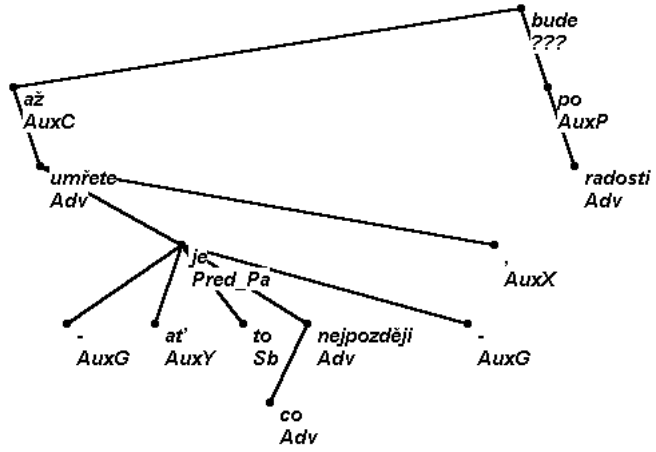
Words with afun `Pred_Pa` are *emphasised*.

1.



později - *musím* se přiznat - jsem se styděl
later - I-must `Refl` confess - I-was `Refl` ashamed

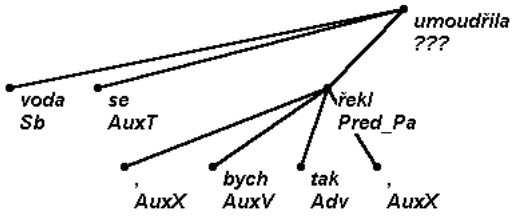
2.



až umřete - ať *je* to co nejpozději - bude po radosti
after you-die - may is it the latest - it-will-be after joy
after you die -may it be as late as possible -the joy will be over

3. to je podstatou problému, *srov.* příklady ze začátku
this is core of-matter, cf. examples from beginning

4.



voda se, bych tak *řekl*, umoudřila
water `Refl` would so speak grew-wise
the water, so to speak, grew wise

Other examples:

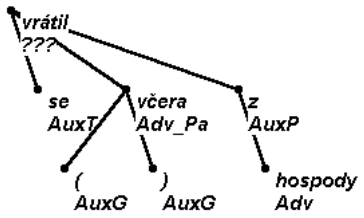
1. *bude-li po mně - a proč by nebyl -, bude schopný*
   if he takes after me -and why shouldn't he -he will be able
2. *někde na hranicích, tuším v Roklince, se zastavili*
   somewhere at the border, in Roklinka I guess, they stopped
3. *přišlo už několik lidí, jsou to většinou úředníci, a usedají*
   seve ralpeople have come, they are mostly officials, and they are sitting down
4. *vzbouzel se, jak maminka vyprávěla, časně*
   he used to wake up, as mother related, early
5. *Polsko, nelekejte se prosím, mělo 93 stran*
   Poland, don't get alarmed please, had 93 parties
6. *dnes je, myslím, větší konkurence*
   today, I believe, there is greater competition
7. *proč to, prosím, nevyvedete*
   whu don't you take him out, please

3.5.4. A syntactically incorporated sentence part with <afun>_Pa

5.4.1. Representation of <afun>_Pa

This way of representation is used with parenthetic sentence parts or, as the case may be, embedded clauses] that do not violate the sentence structure.

However, some constructions separated by commas are not regarded as parenthesis, which, of course, concerns embedded clauses, attributes separated by commas that are considered to be "free" attributes and get afun `Atr` (e.g. *děti, umístěné v ústavu, něco sebraly children, placed in the assylum, stole something*), and complementation expressed by a transgressive (see 2.6.6.7. Complement expressed by a transgressive). The afuns with the suffix `_Pa` is used in these cases only if the given construction is separated by certain graphic symbols.

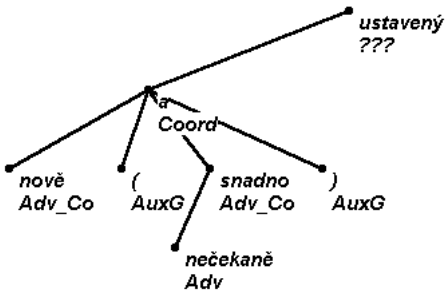
1. 

vrátil se (*včera*) z hospody
he-returned `Refl` (yesterday) from pub

Further examples:

1. *zvítězí-li varianta (k níž se přiklání Klaus), bude zle*
   if the variant (referred to positively by Klaus) prevails, things will go bad
2. *kouká na nás králík (který je nejlepší na česneku)*
   a rabbit is looking at us (which is best with garlic)

A special situation obtains if parenthesis is one of the members of coordination, which as a whole is not a parenthesis. In such a case the suffix `_Pa` is not used because there is no place to suspend it.



nově (a nečekaně snadno) ustavený
newly (and unexpectedly easily) appointed

3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa

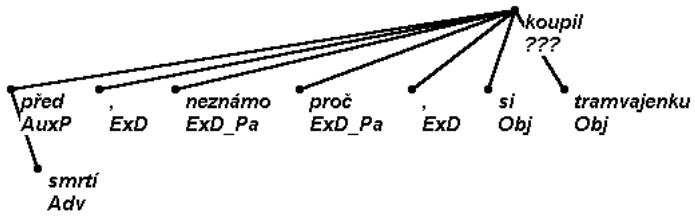
5.5.1. Representation of `ExD_Pa`

Afun `ExD_Pa` is assigned in the following cases:

- to all parts of parenthetic clauses, in which a predicate is deleted, be it the case that a full expression would have get afun `Pred_Pa` (example (1) and (2)) or some `<afun>_Pa` (ex.(3); here a parenthetic clause would be concerned, with `Atr_Pa`: *který hraje za Viktorii Žižkov who plays for Viktoria Žižkov*),
- to all occurrences of vocatives (ex. (4)),
- to independent, extrapolated expressions (ex. (5)).

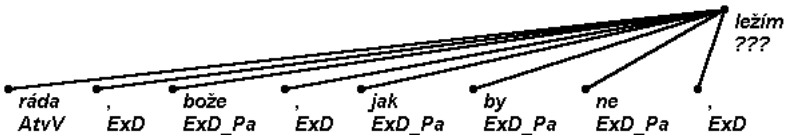
Words with `ExD_Pa` are *emphasized*.

1.



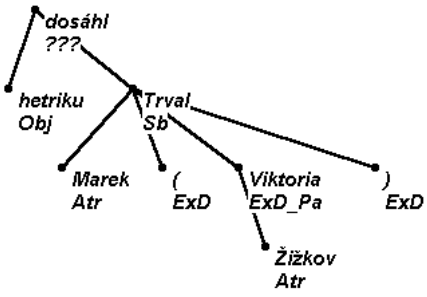
před smrtí, *neznámo proč*, si koupil tramvajenku
before death unknown why `Refl` he-bought tram-pass

2.



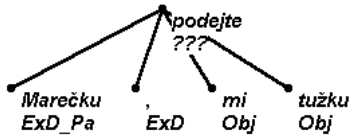
ráda, *bože*, *jak by ne*, ležím
I-like my-goodness how would not I-lie-down
I like, my goodness why not, to lie down

3.



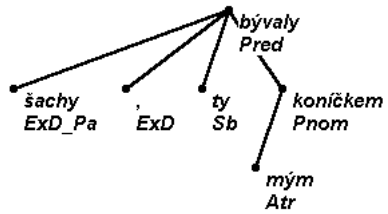
a hetriku dosáhl Marek Trval (Viktorie *Žižkov*)
and hat-trick scored Marek Trval (Viktorie Žižkov)

4.



Marečku, podejte mi tužku
Mareček pass me pencil

5.



šachy, ty bývaly mým koníčkem
chess that used-to-be my hobby

3.6. Complex phenomena

In this part we describe some phenomena that concern more than a single category and thus it is necessary to mention them in one section.

3.6.1. Direct speech

6.1.1. The meaning of direct speech

Direct speech reproduces what has been said (thougt of) by someone in a direct way, word-for-word. The reporting clause indicates who uttered the speech, in which way, under which circumstances etc. Thus two layers are concerned, utterances by two speakers: the speaker who reports, and the speaker whose utterance is reproduced.

A semi-direct speech is not graphically marked by inverted commas and it uses only the third person, rather than three grammatical persons. The "improper direct speech" differs from direct speech only in writing: it is not separated from the reporter's speech graphically. It is analyzed in the same way and according to the same criteria as direct speech.

In spite of the fact that direct speech is sometimes characterized as a free connection of sentences, we analyze it (be it proper, improper, or semi-direct) in the same vein as indirect speech proper.

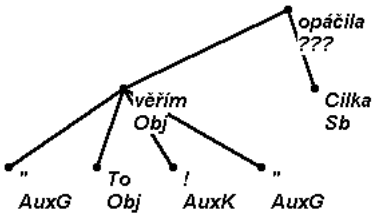
6.1.2. representation of direct speech

Direct speech is often included in inverted commas. The reporting clause may be placed in front of the reported speech (separated by a colon), after it, or it may be inserted into the reported speech (in the two latter cases it is separated by comma(s)). The comma may be replaced by a question mark or an exclamation mark. All these punctuation marks are suspended on the governing node of the reported speech. Cf. 3.2.8.2. Terminal symbol of the sentence `AuxK`, 3.2.8.3. Comma `AuxX`, and 3.2.8.4. Punctuation, other graphic symbols `AuxG` (esp. the parts 2.8.4.3. Bracketing `AuxG` and 2.8.4.4. Introducing punctuation (colon)).

The relation between the reporting clause and the reported speech is represented in the following way:

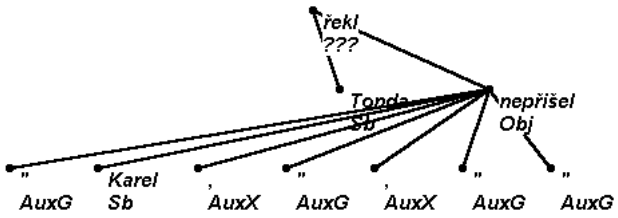
1. The governor od the reporting clause is a verb that requires `Obj` or `Sb`, which are missing in the clause. (`Sb` will be missing if the reporting clause is in passive.) The governor of the reported speech is then assigned the function of the missing element, i.e. `Obj` or `Sb`.
   This case is illustrated by five examples: in (1.a) the reporting clause is placed after the reported speech, note the placement of the nodes for the punctuation marks. In (1.b) and (1.c) the reporting clause is inserted into the reported speech: in (1.b), the reported speech consists of a single clause and the reporting clause is placed in the middle of it; in (1.c), the reporting clause is placed in between two coordinated clauses. Ex. (1.d) illustrates a situation when the reporting clause stands in front of the reported clause and has the function of `Sb`. The reported speech in (1.e) is not a complete sentence and therefore the afun `ExD` is assigned.
   A note on the placement of punctuation marks in (1.b) and (1.c):
   In (1.c) the reported speech is a coordination, therefore the comma after its first part (which is inside inverted commas) is used as a symbol for coordination (with afun `Coord`) and the remaining second comma is suspended as an introducing punctuation mark. On the other hand, we do not need a symbol of coordination (coordination is not the case) in (1.b), and thus both commas serve as separating punctuation marks.

a)



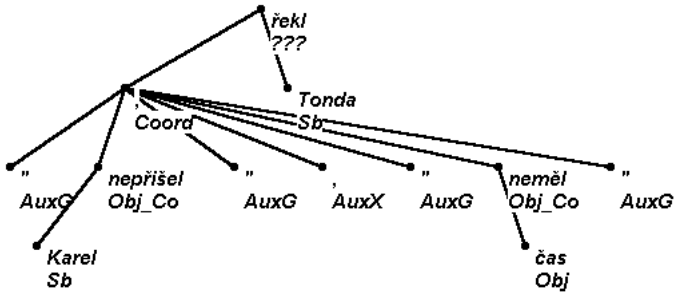
"To věřím!" opáčila Cilka
that I-believe retorted Cilka

b)



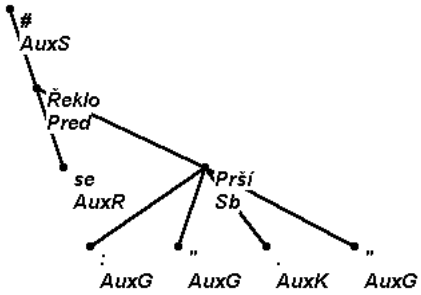
"Karel," řekl Tonda, "nepřišel.
Karel said Tonda did-not-come

c)



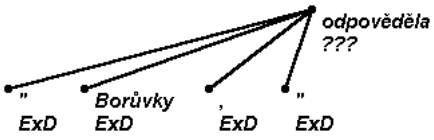
"Karel nepřišel," řekl Tonda, "neměl čas."
Karel did-not-come said Tonda he-did-not-have time

d)



Řeklo se: "Prší."
was-said Refl it-rains

e)



"Borůvky," odpověděla.
blueberries she-answered

Examples of verbs with which the reported speech functions as `Obj` (in active):

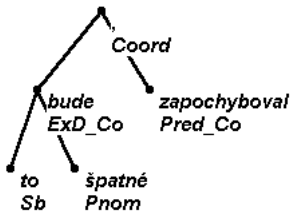
verbs of saying	*pravit* say, *říci* say, *opáčit* return, *odpovědět* answer, *ptát se* ask
verbs of information	*oznámit* announce, *naznačit* indicate
verbs with an emotional load	*vrčet* growl
verbs of sensation	*slyšet* hear
verbs of volition	*slíbit* promise, *nabízet* offer, *navrhovat* propose, *doporučovat* recommend, *radit* advise, *žádat* require, *prosit* beg

Examples of verbs with which the reported speech functions as `Sb`:

verbs of perception	*znít v uších* ears are singing
verbs of thinking	*napadnout* occur
	prolétnout hlavou flash through one's mind

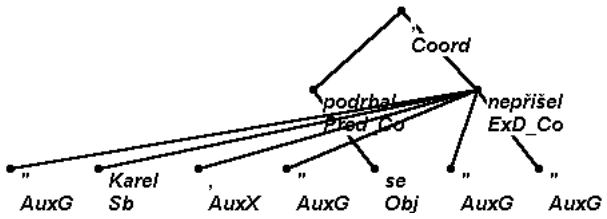
2. Cases for which the criterion given in (1) cannot be used, but it is possible to add into the reporting clause such verbs as *a řekl* (*and he said*), *řekl a* (*he said and*), *přičemž řekl* (*while he said*). The complex sentence is then analyzed as a coordination of two sentences, the governor of the reported speech gets the function `ExD_Co` (i.e. its own governor is missing).
   In (2.c) and (2.d) there is no node that could be assigned the function of `Coord`, and therefore this situation is analyzed by means of `ExD`. In the complex sentence of (2.e) a part of the reporting speech *a řekl* (*and he said*) is included, the conjunction *a* (*and*) fulfilling its normal coordinating function; however, the word *řekl* (*he said*) is again deleted, and the nodes for *hned* (*immediately*) and *je* (*is*) which would depend on the deleted *řekl* are assigned afun `ExD_Co`.

a)



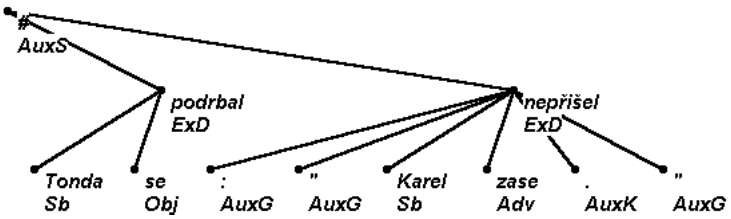
to	bude	špatné,	zapochyboval
that	will-be	bad	he-doubted

b)



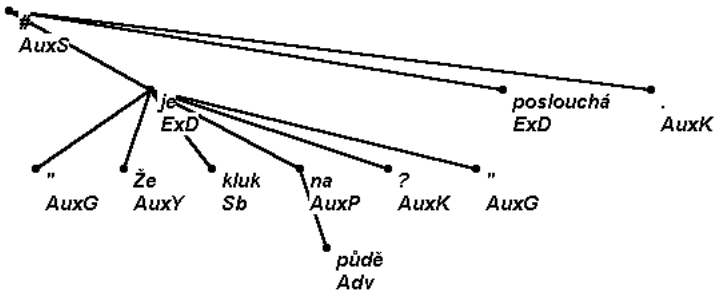
"Karel," podrbal se, "nepřišel.
Karel he-scratched-his-head Refl did-not-come

c)



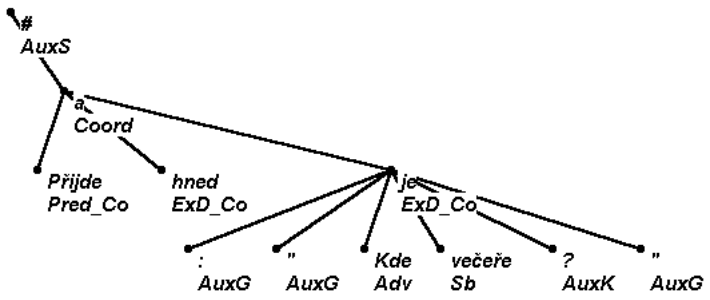
Tonda se podrbal: "Karel zase nepřišel."
Tonda Refl scratched-his-head Karel again did-not-come

d)



"Že je kluk na půdě?" poslouchá.
that is boy in loft he-is-listening
"The boy being in the loft?" he is listening.

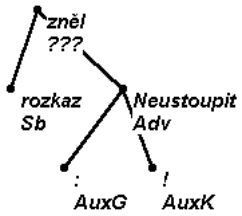
e)



Přijde a hned: "Kde je večeře?"
s/he-comes and right-away where is dinner

3. It may sometimes happen that a statement, quotation etc. has some function other than that of a direct speech. The governor of such a statement is assigned afun according to the function it represents (usually `Adv`). This way of representation is used only in case when no other way is possible.

a)



rozkaz zněl: Neustoupit!
order was not-retreat
The order was: No retreat!

3.6.2. Addresses and names of persons and institutions

Warning

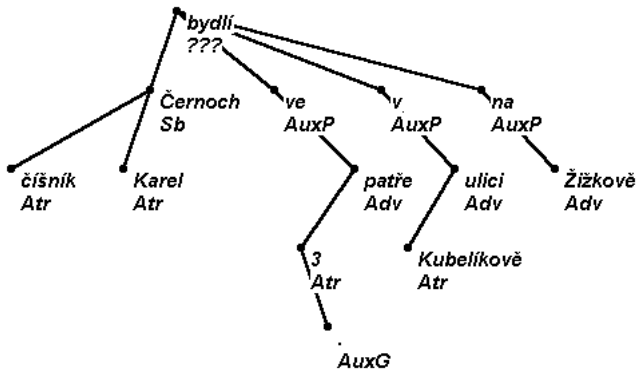
All rules in this section hold primarily for Czech addresses and names. With elements taken over from foreign languages the rules presented in 3.6.10. Foreign words in the text should also (and preferentially) be taken into account.

6.2.1. Representation of addresses

If the address is written in a syntactically correct way, it is analyzed according to the general rules, i.e. its parts are suspended side by side with the function `Adv`.

With names of persons, the main part is the family name, the given name as well as all the titles being suspended on it, assigned afun `Atr`.

1.



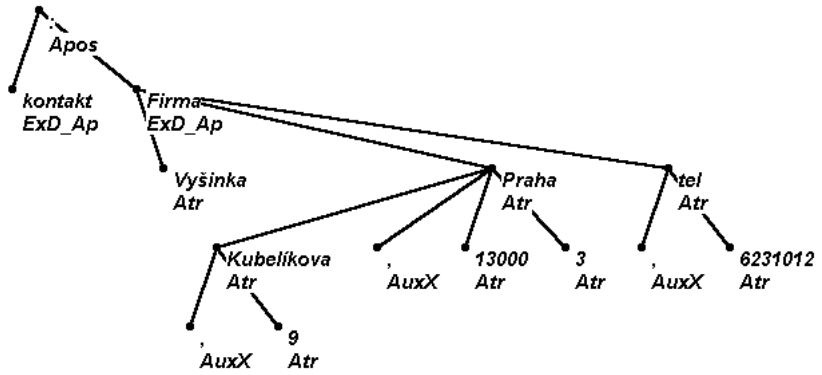
číšník	Karel	Č.	bydlí	ve	3.	patře	v	Kubelíkově	ulici	na Žižkově
waiter	Karel	Č.	lives	on	3rd	floor	in	Kubelík	street	on Žižkov

If the address does not constitute a syntactic part of the sentence, the following rules obtain:

1. The name of the addressee (person or institution) is suspended as the highest node.
2. The address and the telephone number are suspended on the name as its daughters.
3. The governing node of the whole address is the governing node of that part of the address that has the highest priority in the following list:
   state - country - privince - region - district - city - quarter (of the city) - street (square, place) - building (hotel, institution, ...) - floor - P.O. Box - section.
   Other parts are suspended on the governor and are assigned afun `Atr`.
4. The inner structure of the individual parts of the address (name, the governing part and the rest) are analyzed in the usual way (e.g. *České Czech* as the attribute of *republika Republic*, *Králové* is the attribute of *Hradec*, *13* the attribute of *Bořivojova ulice* (*B. street*).
5. The zip code (*PSČ* in Czech) is analyzed as an `Atr` to that part of the address to which it belongs; in Czech, this is always the town.
6. A punctuation mark such as comma is always suspended on the main node of that part that precedes it, only the brackets are suspended according to the general rules (on the part that is bracketted).
7. Complex numerical expressions (in a zip code or in a telephone number) are suspended one under the other from the left to the right.

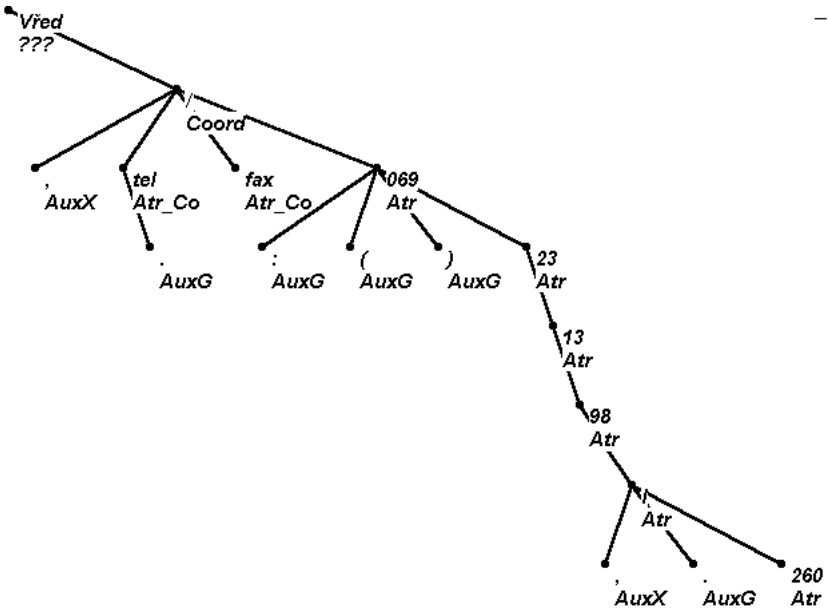
Examples:

1.



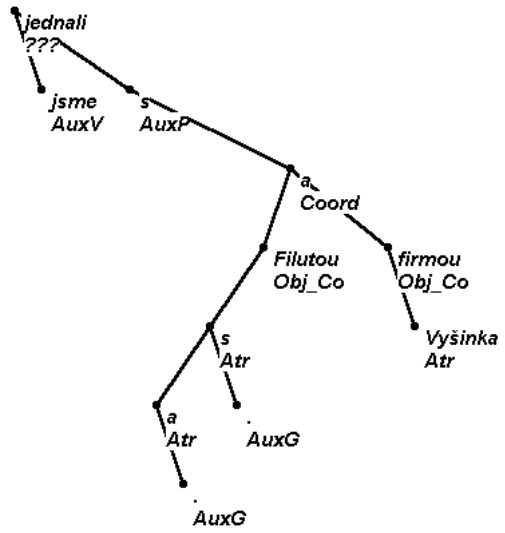
kontakt: firma Vyšinka, Kubelíkova 9, 13000 Praha 3, tel 6231012
contact: firm Vyšinka, Kubelíkova-street 9, 13000 Praha 3, tel 6231012

2.



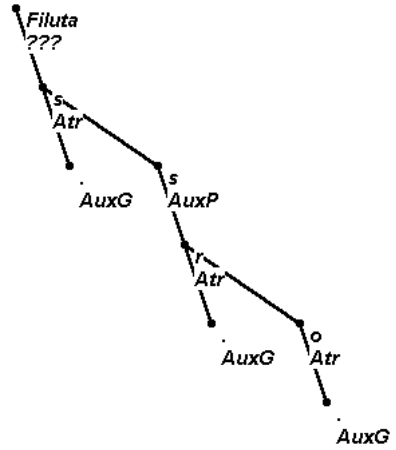
Vřed, tel./fax: (069) 23 13 98, l. 260

3.

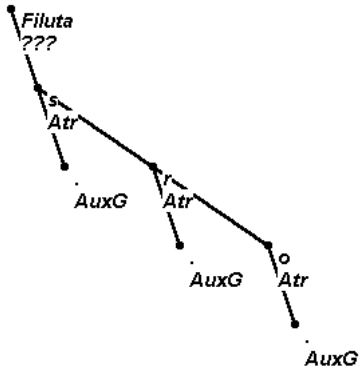


jednali	jsme	s	a.s.	Filutou	a	firmou	Vyšinka
we-negotiated	`Aux`	with	a.s.	Filuta-`Instr`	and	firm-`Instr`	Vyšinka-`Nom`

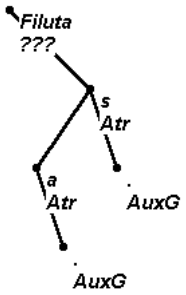
4.



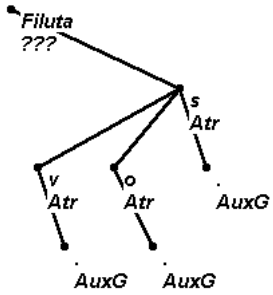
Filuta s. s r. o.

5. 

Filuta s. r. o.

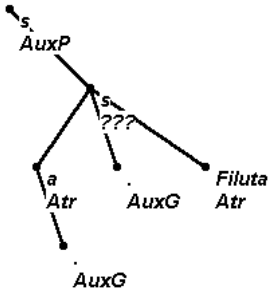
6. 

Filuta a. s.

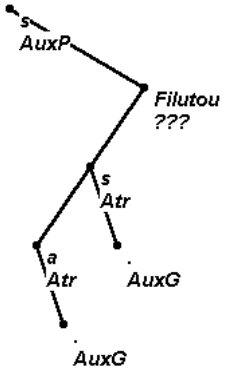
7. 

Filuta v. o. s.

From the above illustrations it follows that an abbreviation may also act as the governor, if the name is not in the corresponding morphemic case; this is done in order to meet the conditions of grammatical agreement or government (e.g. of a preposition). However, such an instance is never classified as an apposition.

1. 

s a. s. Filuta
with a. s. Filuta-`Nom`

2. 

s a. s. Filutou
with a. s. Filuta-`Instr`

3.6.3. Expression with numerals, figures in different functions

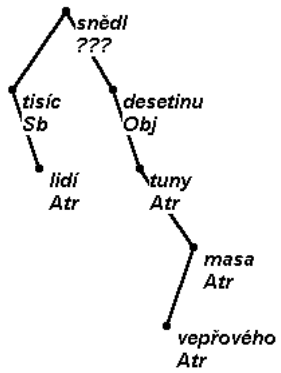
6.3.1. Representation of a numerical expression of quantity

In the analysis of these constructions we are guided by the way how the constructions are read. The following rules obtain:

Rule 1:
The analyzed complex is divided into two parts, one expressing the number and one expressing the counted objects (i.e. the nouns with their modifications). The inner structure of the latter part is determined according to the general rules on `Atr` and will not be dealt with in this section. In the sequel we refer to the whole construction expressing the counted object as to the representative.

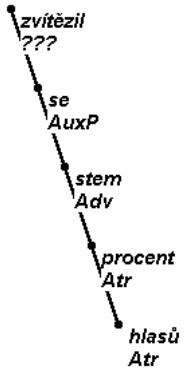
If such expressions as *tisíc* (*thousand*), *milion* (*million*), *sto* (*hundred*), *stovka* (*a hundred*), *setina* (*a hundredth*) behave as nous, they are treated as such. The following constructions are easy to analyze by general rules:

1.



tisíc	lidí	snědl	desetinu	tuny	vepřového	masa
a-thousand	of-people	ate	a-tenth	of-ton	of-pork	meat

2.



zvítězil	se	stem	procent	hlasů
he-won	with	a-hundred	of-percent	of-votes

In general it may be said that the part expressing the quantity begins (if processed from the end to the left) with the first real numeral, or, as the case may be (as we will see with more complex examples in Rule 3) where there is a place for such a numeral, though the numeral itself is missing because of a specific shape of the whole number. This part, too, is later analyzed in order to get a single representative.

Note

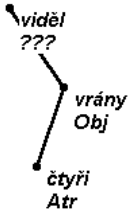
Even in this part there may occur a noun and an embedded segment that is analyzed as if it were another part with a numerical expression of quantity (see Rule 3).

Rule 2:
We determine which part is the governor and which is the dependent; this relation is represented by suspending the representative of the second part on the representative of the first one. The counted objects have priority - if an expression of quantity agrees with the representative of the counted objects, then this representative is the governor. If the agreement is not observed, the role of the governor is taken over by the expression of quantity.

In the following examples both parts are present, both filled in by a single node, which is also their representative. In the first example, the counted object is the governor, in the second case the counted object depends on the expression for the quantity.

The governor is assigned afun according to the function of the whole complex in the sentence, the representative of the dependent is assigned afun `Atr`.

1.



viděl čtyři vrány
he-saw four-`Acc` crows

2.

viděl pět vran
he-saw five crows

Rule 3:
In order to determine the structure of an expression of quantity, we have first to divide the whole part into segments each of which stands for one rank; it should be noted that these ranks are not ranks in the mathematical sense. These segments contain the number of units, tens, hundreds and then thousnads, millions etc. the rank of units and tens will have a one-word expression (i.e. they will be represented by a single node), the rank of hundreds can be expressed by two words (*tři sta three hundred*-`Plural`) and higher ranks by more complex expressions (*pět set padesát pět milionů*

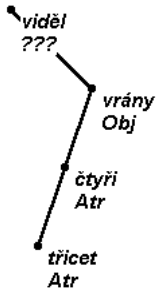
is a single segment). With these more complex examples a noun occurs that expresses the rank, and their inner structure is accounted for by the same rules as the structure of the whole (the noun renders the counted object, the rest is the quantity). On a higher level we work with the head nodes of all these ranks (segments).

The most important rank is chosen, the head node of which becomes the representative of the whole part expressing the quantity, and it becomes the governor of all the remaining nodes. The governing rank is usually the lowest rank, but there are exceptions to the rule. If the part expressing the quantity is subordinated to the part of the counted objects, the lowest rank is determined as the governor. However, if the quantity is superordinated to the objects counted, the governing rank is the lowest of those that agree with the noun of the counted objects; this might be also the second rank from the left.

All dependent ranks (their governing nodes) are assigned afun `Atr`.

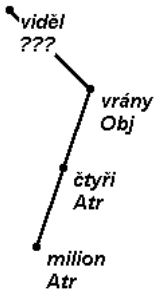
The following examples illustrate the case when two ranks are present. In the first two examples the part rendering the counted objects is superordinated and therefore the lowest rank is the highest node in that part. In examples that follow, the nodes rendering the counted objects are subordinated to those expressing the quantity.

1.

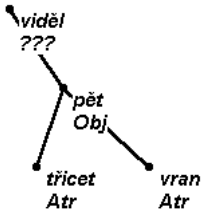


viděl třicet čtyři vrány
he-saw thirty four crows

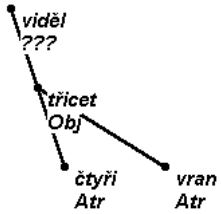
2.



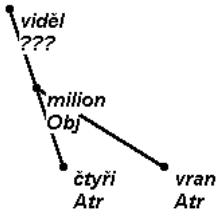
viděl milion čtyři vrány
he-saw million (and)four crows

3. 

viděl třicet pět vran
he-saw thirty five crows

4. 

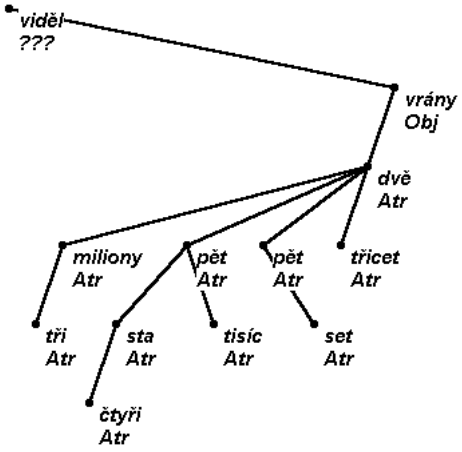
viděl třicet čtyři vran
he-saw thirty four crows

5. 

viděl milion čtyři vran
he-saw million four crows

Let us exemplify some more complex structures with higher ranks rendered by multi-word expressions. In the following example, the counted object is *vrány* (*crows*); the word *dvě* (*two*) is a proper numeral and therefore the rest of the whole construction (i.e. *tři miliony čtyři sta pět tisíc třicet dvě three million four hundred (and) five thousand (and) thirty two*) belongs to the quantity part. The word *vrány* (*crows*) is in the corresponding inflected form as determined by the verb *viděl* (*he saw*) and as such will be the governor of the whole complex expression. The part expressing the quantity can be decomposed into the following rank segments: *tři miliony* (*three million*), *čtyři sta pět tisíc* (*four hundred (and) five thousand*), *pět set* (*five hundred*), *třicet* (*thirty*), *dvě* (*two*). Since in our example the quantity part depends on the part expressing the counted object, the lowest rank will be the governor. The node for *dvě* will be thus suspended under *vrány* and the representatives of other ranks will be suspended under it. The second lowest rank is that of *třicet*; it consists

of a single node and it may depend directly on the node *dvě*. Other ranks include also nouns expressing the quantity (*set*, *tisíc*, *miliony*); these nouns acquire the function of "embedded" counted objects. Let us analyze the rank *pět set* (*five hundred*). The quantity is expressed by *pět*, the counted object is *set*; to determine the direction of dependency, we have to consider that the Genitive form *set* is determined ("governed") by the numeral, and as such it functions as a dependent. The node *pět* is thus suspended under the node *dvě* and the node *set* depends on the node *pět*. A similar situation obtains with the rank *tři miliony* (*three million*), only the direction of dependency will be opposite. The most difficult situation occurs with the rank of thousands: the quantity part is constituted by *čtyři sta pět* (*four hundred (and) five*), and in turn it has two ranks. The counted part *tisíc* (Genitive here) will depend on the quantity part, where the lowest rank will be the governor, so that the node for *pět* will be suspended under the node for *dvě* and the latter will be the governor of both *tisíc* and the second rank present, in which *sta* will be the governor with the node *čtyři* suspended under it.

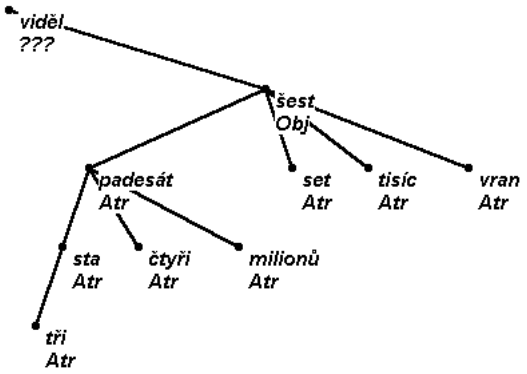


viděl	tři	miliony	čtyři	sta	pět	tisíc
he-saw	three	million(Pl)	four	hundred(Pl)	five	thousand

pět	set	třicet	dvě	vrány
five	hundred	thirty	two	crows

The second example will be described only briefly. The counted object is *vran* (*crows*); since it does not have the form required by the verb, this node will depend on the representative of the quantity part. This part has two ranks: *tři sta padesát čtyři milionů* (*three hundred fifty four million*) and *šest set tisíc* (*six hundred thousand*). The lowest rank in the whole expression is the rank of thousands, and therefore it will be the governor. The representative of this rank is the node *šest* (*six*) and as such will be suspended as the highest one; the node for the counted object (*vran crows*)

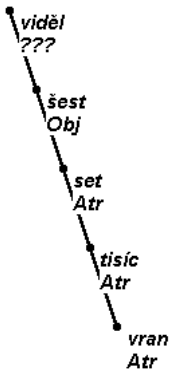
and the represenatrive of the second rank *padesát* (*fifty*) will be suspended on it. The inner structure of both ranks is clear.



viděl	tři	sta	padesát	čtyři	milionů	šest	set	tisíc	vran
he-saw	three	hundred	fifty	four	million	six	hundred	thousand	crows

Let us note one important fact: The boundary line between the quantity part and that of the counted object has been drawn after the word *tisíc* (*thousand*), which is considered here to be a noun in Genitive. This was possible because the quantity of crows is expressed by two ranks and the words *tisíc* and *milionů* are in a sense on the same level. In the following example, only one rank is present, so that the words *tisíc* and even *set* can be included into the part of counted objects; the quantity part is then consituted only by the node for *šest*.

1.

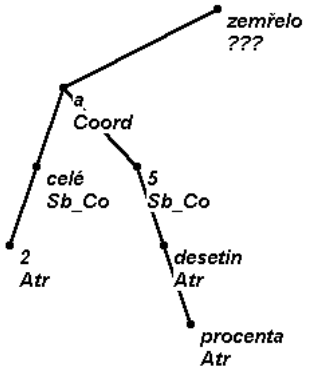


viděl	šest	set	tisíc	vran
he-saw	six	hundred	thousnad	crows

However, not even the rules formulated above can cover all cases of numerical expressions. For example, the issue of decimal numbers still remains problematic.

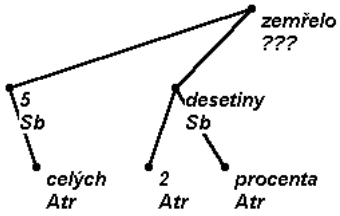
In the following examples, morphology determines which words will act as governors: *celých* (*'wholes'Genitive*), *desetiny* (*tenths*) or the figures 2 or 5. The afun assigned to the governor (or, as the case may be, to the coordination) follows from its syntactic position in the sentence (in our case, it is the subject). The number of units determines the representation of the whole decimal number; in our examples, this is the node for *procenta* (*percent*), which is not identical to the notion of a representative from the preceding paragraphs. This is given by the special feature of decimal expressions, namely by the two-member character of their representation.

1.



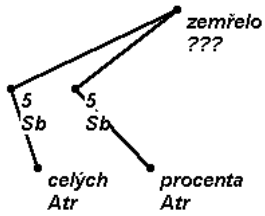
2 celé a 5 desetin procenta zemřelo
2 whole and 5 tenths of-a-percent died

2.



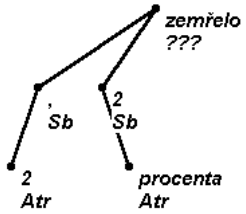
5 celých 2 desetiny procenta zemřelo
5 whole 2 tenths of-a-percent died

3.



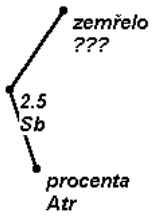
5 celých 5 procenta zemřelo
5 whole 2 of-a-percent died

4.



2 , 2 procenta zemřelo
2 . 2 of-a-percent died

5.

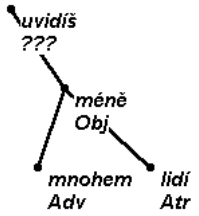


2.5 procenta zemřelo
2.5 of-a-percent died

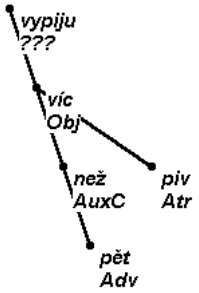
6.3.2. Numerals of the type více

Such numerals as *více* (*more*), *méně* (*less*), *mnoho* (*many*), *málo* (*few*), *středně* (*medium*) etc., if in Nominative or Accusative case, can act as governors for both `Adv` and `Atr` (at the same time).

The conjunction *než* (*than*) is discussed in 3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*), esp. in paragraph IV, Appendix 3.

1. 

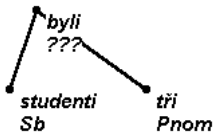
uvidíš mnohem méně lidí
you-will-see much less people

2. 

vypiju víc než pět piv
I-will-drink more than five beers

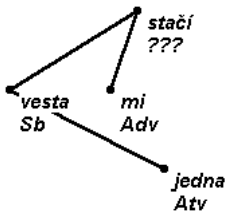
6.3.3. Genitive in the function of `Sb`, `Obj` and in the function of their `Atr`

With numerals such as *jedna* (*one*) through *čtyři* (*four*) the general rules stated in the coresponding sections on sentence parts obtain. The direction of dependency and agreement functions quire naturally with them.

1. 

studenti byli tři
students were three

2.



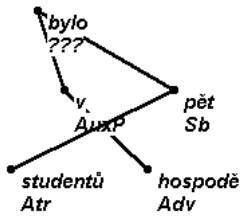
vesta mi stačí jedna
vest me suffices one
one vest is enough for me

With numerals from *pět* (*five*) on, the situation is more complicated. With Nominative (`Sb`) and Accusative (`Obj`), the counted object has the form of Genitive and the verb agrees in Number and Gender with the numeral; since this phenomenon is very problematic, we had to accept a solution that is not very clean from the linguistic point of view.

A partitive Genitive thus can be a `Sb` or an `Obj`, but if the sentence includes some quantitative expression which governs the noun in Genitive, then `Sb` or `Obj` is the governor of this expression and the noun in Genitive is its `Atr`.

A noun in Genitive becomes the `Sb` only with sentences of the type *tam je lidí* (*there is people-Genitive = there are many people there*), *přibývá jich* (*it-grows they-Genitive = they grow in number*).

1.



studentů (`Atr`) v hospodě bylo pět (`Sb`)
students-`Gen` in pub were five

2. *studentů* (`Atr`) přišlo na přednášku pět (`Sb`)
students-`Gen` came to lecture five
The students that attended the lecture were five.

3. na světě je *lidí* (`Atr`) habaděj (`Sb`)
in world is people-`Gen` lot
There are lots of people in the world

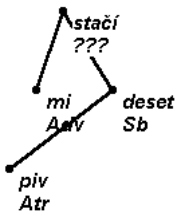
4. *zeleniny* (Atr) je málo (Sb)
   vegetable-Gen is a-little
   Thre is little of vegetables.

5. *zeleniny* (Atr) máme málo (Obj)
   vegetables-Gen we-have a-little

6. *zeleniny* (Atr) si můžeme vzít hodně (Obj)
   vegetables-Gen Refl we-may take a-lot

7. *zeleniny* (Atr) si můžeme vzít, co uneseme (Obj)
   vegetables-Gen Refl we-may take what we-can-carry
   of vegetables we may take what we can carry away

8. slušných *lidí* (Atr) je jako šafránu (Sb)
   decent people-Gen is as saffron
   of decent people there is percious little

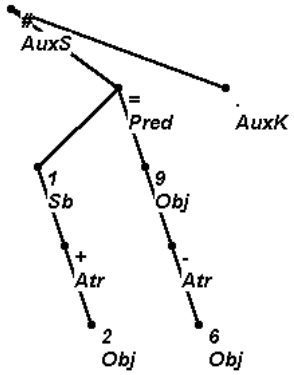
9. 

   piv (Atr) mi stačí deset (Sb)
   beer-Gen me suffices ten
   ten (glasses of) beer(s) is enough for me

6.3.4. Representation of arithmetical expressions

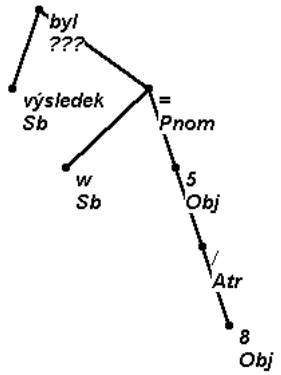
The following examples illustrate an analysis of the inner structure of arithmetical expressions.

1.



1 + 2 = 9 -6

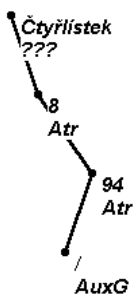
2.



výsledek byl 1 + 2 = 9 - 6
result was 1 + 2 = 9 - 6

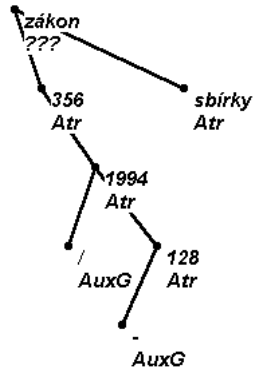
6.3.5. Representation of some numerical codes

1.



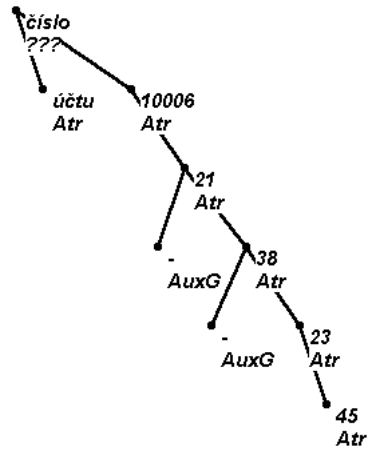
Čtyřlístek 8/94
Quaterfoil 8/94

2.



zákon	356/1994-428	sbírky
law	356/1994-428	of-digest

3.



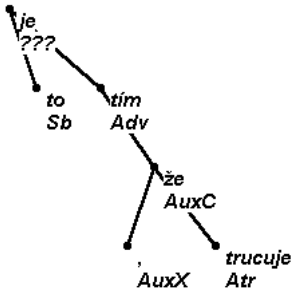
číslo	účtu	10006-21-381345
number	of-account	10006-21-381345

3.6.4. Referring words

6.4.1. Referring pronoun *to* (*that*)

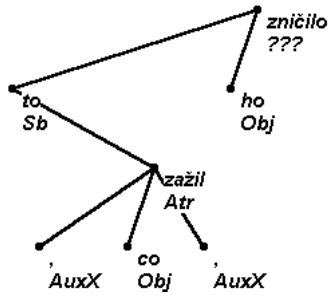
The referring pronoun *to* (*that, it*) at the beginning of an embedded clause is assigned the respective function it subsumes in the governing clause, the embedded clause gets afun `Atr` and it is suspended on *to*, without regard to the "direction" (forward - to an embedded clause, or backward - to a person/event) of the coreference. The embedded clause may be introduced by a conjunction (*že that*, *aby in order to*, *zda whether*) or it may be a relative clause.

1.



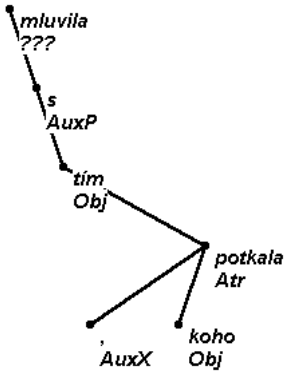
je to tím, že trucuje
is it by-it that s/he-is-in-the-sulks
this is because s/he is in a fit of the sulks

2.



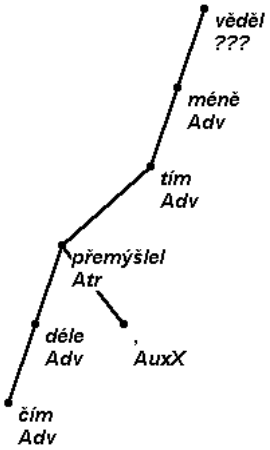
to, co zažil, ho zničilo
it what he-experienced him destroyed
what he had experienced destroyed him

3.



mluvila s tím, koho potkala
she-spoke with that whom she-met
she was speking with whom she met

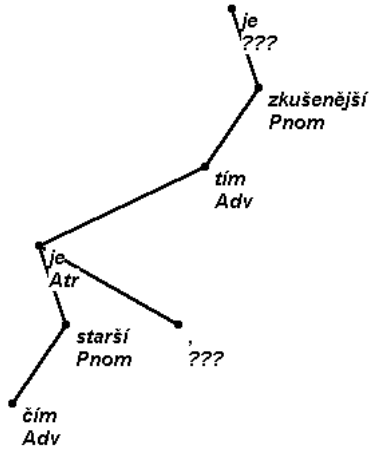
4.



čím	déle	přemýšlel,	tím	méně	věděl
what-Instr	longer	he-reflected	that-Instr	less	he-knew

the longer he reflected, the less he knew

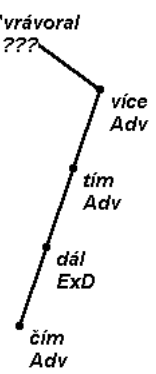
5.



čím	je	starší,	tím	je	zkušenější
what-Instr	s/he-is	older	that-Instr	s/he-is	more-experienced

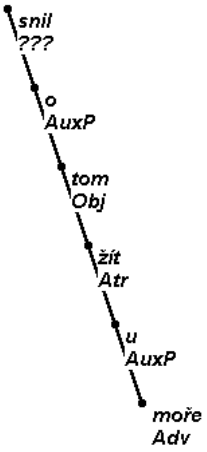
the older, the more experienced he is

6.



vrávolal	čím	dál	tím	více
he-tottered	what-`Instr`	longer	that-`Instr`	more
he tottered more and more				

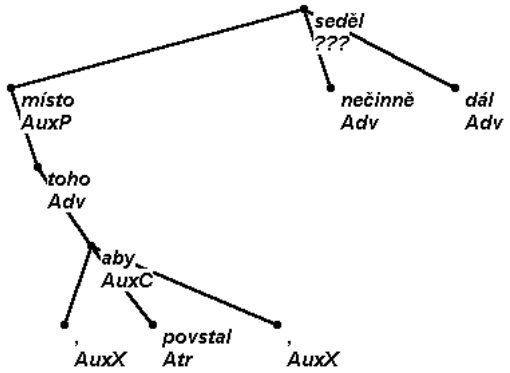
Cases with an infinitive in place of an embedded clause are treated in a similar way.



snil	o	tom	žít	u	moře
he-dreamt	about	that	to-live	by	sea
he dreamt (that) he was living by the sea					

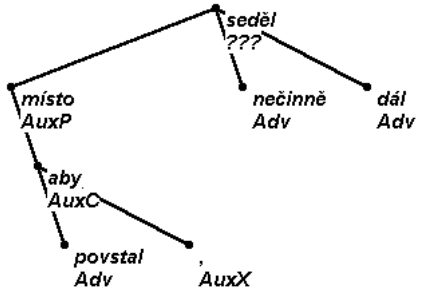
With some prepositions, the pronoun *to* (that should follow them) is deleted and an embedded clause follows immediately. This clause is suspended under the preposition and takes over the afun that would be assigned to *to*.

1.



místo toho, aby povstal, seděl nečinně dál
instead of-that so-that he-got-up he-was-sitting idly further
instead of standing up he went on sitting idly

2.



místo, aby povstal, seděl nečinně dál
instead so-that he-got-up he-was-sitting idly further
instead of standing up he went on sitting idly

If only some of the members of the embedded clause remain(s) after deletion of the rest, it is assigned afun `ExD` (to indicate that the predicate is missing). It is, however, necessary to distinguish between cases of deletion (in which an element is left behind) as in examples (1) and (2) below, and those of prepositional cases: in (3) the form (the Instrument case) of the word *pivo* (*beer*) is determined by the preposition *místo* (*instead of*), the whole construction is an `Adv` and there is no referring *to* missing.

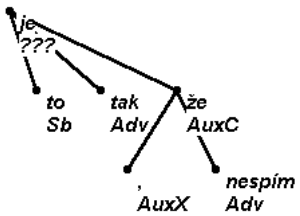
1. místo ve středu chodil ve čtvrtek
   instead-of on Wednesdays he-used-to-come on Thursdays

2. místo pivem ho polil mlékem
   instead-of by-beer him he-poured by-milk
   instead of beer he poured milk on him

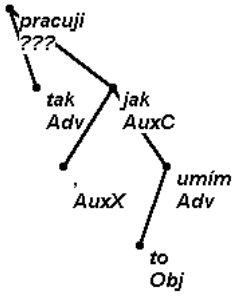
3. místo piva ustrkávala vínečko
   instead-of beer she-sipped wine

6.4.2. Referring words with adverbial embedded clauses

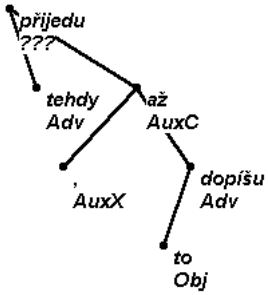
An embedded clause may be introduced by such expressions as *tak* (*so*), *(do)tehdy* (*until*), *tolik* (*so much*), *poté/mezitím/zatím, co/když/jak* (*after/in between/still when/what/how*), *odtud,kam/odkud/kde* (*from where, where*), *proto/přesto, že* (*because/though that*). Bothe the referring word and the embedded clauses are suspended side by side and are assigned afun `Adv`.

1. 

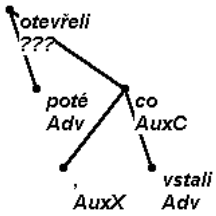
   je to tak, že nespím
   is it so that I-do-not-sleep
   the thing is that I can't sleep

2. 

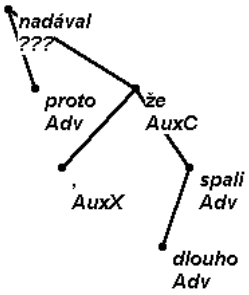
   pracuji tak, jak to umím
   I-work so as it I-can
   I'm working the way I know

3. 

přijedu tehdy, až to dopíšu
I-will-arrive then when it I-finish-writing
I shall come after I finish writing it

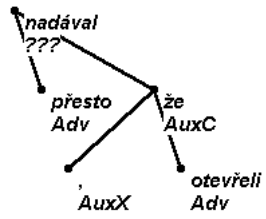
4. 

otevřeli poté, co vstali
they-opened after-that when they-got-up
they have openened after they got up

5. 

nadával proto, že dlouho spali
he-sweared because that long they-slept
he used bad language because they were sleeping long

6.



nadával přesto, že otevřeli
he-sweared although that they-opened
he used bad language although they had opened

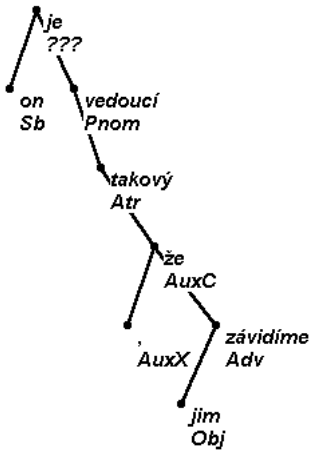
6.4.3. Referring *takový* (*such*)

If the word *takový* (*such*) is placed immediately before an embedded clause, it is assigned the respective function it would have within the main clause (`Pnom`, `Atr`, `Atv`) and the embedded clause is suspended on this word with afun `Adv`.

Note

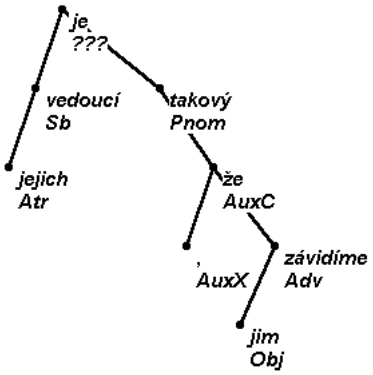
If the word *takový* is not immediately followed by a comma, it itself is an `Atr` and the embedded clause is either an `Atr` depending on the noun modified by *takový*, or it has its usual function determined by the verb (of the main clause) on which it is suspended.

1.



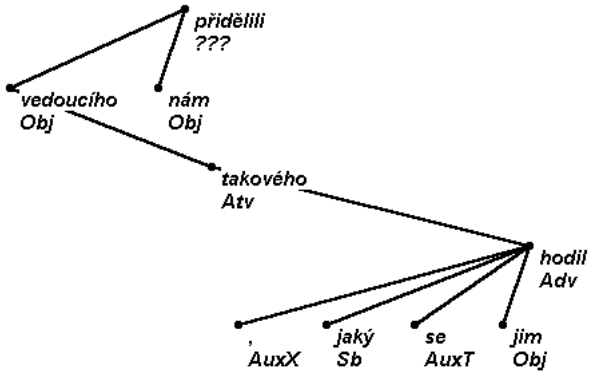
on je vedoucí takový, že jim závidíme
he is manager such that them we-envy
he is such a manager that we envy them

2.



jejich vedoucí je takový, že jim závidíme
their manager is such that them we-envy

3.



vedoucího nám přidělili takového, jaký se jim hodil
manager to-us they-appointed such as `Refl` them suited
they have appointed to us a manager which suited them

3.6.5. The boundary line between free and 'bound' dative

Free dative is traditionally classified as an `Obj`, in spite of the fact that its kinds differ in their syntactic function (`Obj`, `Adv`, `AuxO`). Since free dative is not determined by a verb or by an adjective, it is commonly used also with intransitive verbs. Its use is motivated semantically.

Six types of free dative can be distinguished:

- dative of contact (`AuxO`)
- emotional dative (`AuxO`)
- possessive dative (`Adv`)
- adverbial dative of regard (`Adv`)

- dative of benefit (Obj or Adv)
- dative of subject (Obj)

Dative of contact renders the function of making and maintaining a contact (*to vám byla zábava* that you-Dat was an entertainment, *včera jsem ti nemohl usnout* yesterday I you-Dat could not get asleep, *on ti byl celý nesvůj* he you-Dat was out of his humour). A contact function is expressed also by a dative of interest (*kyselina nám začíná reagovat* the acid us-Dat begins to react, *běží nám osmá minuta* the second minute us-Dat runs, *neparkujte nám na trávě* don't park us-Dat on the lawn).

An emotional dative makes the utterance affective (*to je mi pěkný začátek* this is me-Dat a good beginning, *ty nám tu lenošit nebudeš* you us-Dat won't idle away your time here).

A possessive dative is assigned afun Adv (*příteli se ztratil pes* friend-Dat a dog got lost, *v uších mu hučelo* ears him-Dat tingled, *tetě se zalesknou oči* to-aunt eyes glitter, *hodinky mi jdou špatně* the watch me-Dat doesn't go). Possessive dative can be replaced by a possessive pronoun or adjective: *šlápl bratrovi na nohu* (he stepped brother-Dat on foot) can be reformulated as *šlápl na bratrovu nohu* (he stepped on his brother's foot). Cf. 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases).

An adverbial dative of regard is also assigned afun Adv: *dětem to přišlo vhod* (children-Dat it came in handy), *státu tím vznikají škody* (state-Dat damages arise due to it). Cf. 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases).

The boundary line between an optional Obj determined by valency and a dative of benefit is often vague. With a dative of benefit, the decision between Obj and Adv is made according to the meaning that can be recognized from the context. For example in *Jirka napsal Pavlovi dopis* (Jirka wrote a letter to Paul) the word *Pavlovi* (Paul-Dat) is assigned Obj if the meaning of the sentence is *Jirka něco sdělil Pavlovi dopisem* (Jirka told something to Paul by means of a letter); it is assigned afun Adv if the meaning is *Jirka napsal dopis pro Pavla (místo Pavla) někomu* (Jirka wrote a letter in place of Pavel to somebody). If we are not able to distinguish the given meaning, Obj is given priority because it is a valency slot though an optional one. In other cases dative of benefit is assigned afun Adv: *natrhala jsem jim hrušky* (I picked them-Dat pears). A good help is to try and replace the given form by a prepositional case with the preposition *pro* (for). Cf. also 3.2.4. Object Obj, ObjAtr, AtrObj and 3.2.5. Adverbials (and borderline cases).

A dative of subject is always assigned Obj: *chce se mi pít* (it-wants me- Dat to-drink, I want to drink), *nemocnému se dýchá lépe* (the patient it-breathes better, the patient breathes better), *majorovi se tam sedělo dobře* (major-Dat it-sat there well, the major liked to sit there), *co je mu?* (what is him-Dat, what is the matter with him), *bylo jim 17 let* (it-was them- Dat 17 years, they were 17 years old); cf. 3.2.4. Object Obj, ObjAtr, AtrObj. The following constructions, however, do not include a dative of

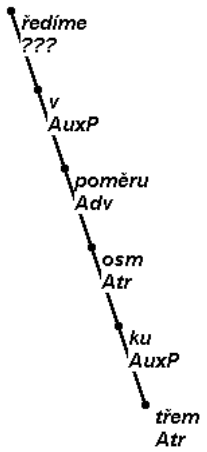
subject: *bylo mi špatně/chladno/do smíchu* (*it was me-* `Dat` *not well/cold/to laugh*), *bude to stranám ku prospěchu* (*it will be parties-* `Dat` *to benefit, it will be for the benefit of the parties*), *je mi to jedno* (*it is me-* `Dat` *equal, I do not mind*), *nejbližší je mi asi husitská církev* (*closest is me-*`Dat` *perhaps the hussite church*), *jeho způsob hry mi byl nejsympatičtější* (*his way of playing me-*`Dat` *was most pleasant*). In such sentences dative is assigned afun `Adv`.

3.6.6. Collocations, phraseologisms (phrasemes)

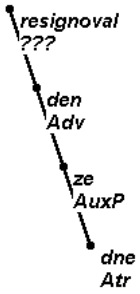
6.6.1. representation of collocations

The representation of any construction is guided first of all by its syntactic structure and syntactic relations. It is true that with collocations these relations are often suppressed, but in spite of this, we always try to capture at least some meaningful structure, even though such a structure need not be fully justified by general rules. The following sentences illustrate the point:

1.



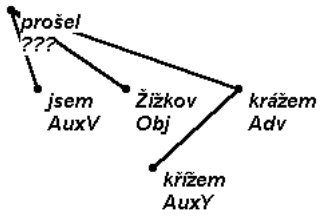
ředíme	v	poměru	osm	ku	třem
we-dilute	at	ratio	eight	to	three

2. 

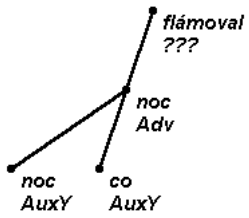
resignoval den ze dne
he-resigned day by day

There exist, however, collocations the syntactic structure of which is so doubtful and unclear that it is impossible to propose a reasonable syntactic representation. In such cases we take recourse to a technical representation. This is really the last resort, used only in cases when all other attempts at a meaningful representation fail.

In such cases, the last (i.e. the right-hand side) element is chosen as the governor, suspending it in the position in which the collocation as a whole should be suspended, assigning to it afun according to that position (i.e. that corresponds to the function of the whole collocation). The rest of nodes are suspended on this selected node and are assigned afun `AuxY`.

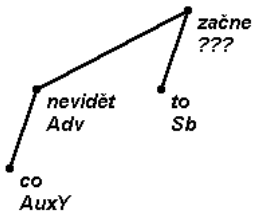
1. 

prošel jsem Žižkov křížem krážem
I traversed Žižkov crisseross

2. 

noc co noc flámoval
night by night he spent on a spree

3.



co nevidět to začne
it starts before long

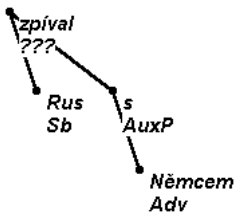
3.6.7. Accompaniment

6.7.1. Representation of accompaniment

In grammars, the prepositional case "*s* + Instrumental" (*with* + Instr) is analyzed as an adverbial of accompaniment. Its representation in our scenario depends on its position in the sentence, esp. on agreement with the predicate.

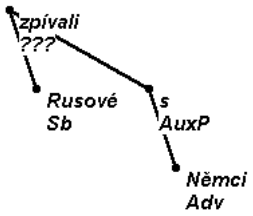
Under normal circumstances, this prepositional case is an adverbial, and as such it should be suspended on the verb and should be assigned afun `Adv`. However, this is done only in case that there is a grammatical agreement between the subject and the predicate, as illustrated by the following examples:

1.



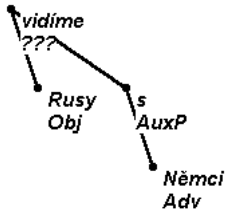
zpíval	Rus	s	Němcem
sang-`Sing`	Russian-`Sing`	with	German

2.



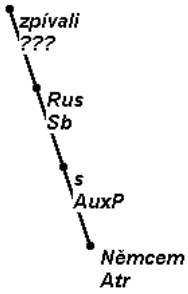
zpívali	Rusové	s	Němci
sang-`Plur`	Russians	with	Germans

3.



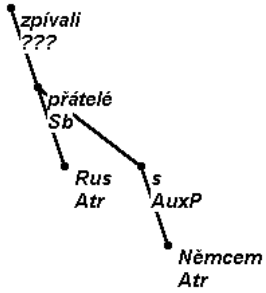
vidíme	Rusy	s	Němci
we-see	Russians	with	Germans

If a semantic rather than grammatical agreement gets priority, and the predicate is in Plural while the subject is in Singular, the accompaniment is suspended on the subject (i.e. on the node with `Sb`) as its `Atr`. This makes it possible to understand the subject as a whole to be an entity understood as a Plural.



zpívali	Rus	s	Němcem
sang-`Plur`	Russian-`Sing`	with	German-`Sing`

The following example illustrates the case when both elements are governed by some common denomination:



zpívali	přátelé	Rus	s	Němcem
sang-`Plur`	friends	Russian-`Sing`	with	German-`Sing`

3.6.8. Reflexive *se*, *si*

The particle *se* with a verb can be assigned the following afuns: `AuxT`, `Obj`, `AuxR`.

The particle *si* with a verb can be assigned the following functors: `AuxT`, `Obj`, `Adv`, `AuxO`.

The assignment of these functions is determined by the verbs in question. With many verbs more than a single assignment is possible, and the final decision is to be made on the basis of the given context.

Both particles are suspended on the verb to which they belong, irrespective of the function they carry.

If a noun is derived from the given verb (*snažit to try* —→ *snažení trying*), the particles are always assigned afun `Atr` without regard to what kind of afun they would get if they were attached to the source verb.

6.8.1. Reflexive *se*

SE 1
This is a case of "reflexivum tantum", `AuxT`: the verb does not occur without the particle or if the particle is taken away, the verb has a different meaning: *bojí se s/he is afraid* , *snaží se s/he tries* , *směje se s/he laughs* , *setkali se they met* .

The same solution is accepted for some derivatives of the "manner of the action": *nadřel se he drudged* .

SE 2
The particle *se* is an object (`Obj`), sometimes this function is evident:

1. *vidí se (sebe, ne Jendu) v zrcadle* he sees himself (not Jenda) in the mirror,
2. *myje se (sebe, ne děti)* he washes himself (not the children), *brání se (sebe, ne vlast)* he defends himself (not his country),
3. in a reciprocal meaning (mutually, each other): *líbají se (navzájem)* they kiss themselves, *odloučili se (od sebe navzájem)* they left each other.

If the construction corresponds to the condition under SE 1, the particle *se* is assigned afun `AuxT` and the possibility to assign it an `Obj` is not taken into account.

SE 3
This is the case of reflexive pasive, assigned `AuxR`, with both transitive and intransitive verbs:

1. *tancovalo se až do rána* they/we danced until morning, *šlo se cestou necestou* they/we went through thick and thin,
2. *v novinách se píše o projevu* in newspapers they write about the speech, *diskutovalo se o objevu* a discovery was discussed, *přirozený jazyk se popisuje formálními prostředky* natural language is described by formal means,
3. a colloquial use: *občané se vyzývají, aby se dostavili* the citizens are asked to come (the subject is animate)
4. a construction of "disposition" (medio-passive): *matematika se mu studuje lehce* mathematics is easy to study for him, *v téhle troubě se dobře peče* it is easy to bake in this oven, *ta kniha se snadno prodává* the book sells well,
5. also causatives of the following type belong here: *léčím se u prof. Mysliveček* I undergo medical treatment at prof. Mysliveček, *holí se/stříhá se v Šarmu* he shaves (himself)/has his haircut in Šarm, *obléká se u Nehery* he dresses (himself) at Nehera.

SE 4
This particle has a similar function as a derivational suffix (in case of an unconscious action); a replacement by an object is less evident and a decision is to be made between `Obj` and `AuxR`:

1. `Obj` with an unconscious action: *zabil se* he got killed, *utopil se* he got drowned,
2. otherwise `AuxR` is assigned: *dveře se otvírají* the door opens, *vlny se šíří všemi směry* the waves propagate, *napětí se snižuje* the voltage drops down.

We use the codition (1) only if the situation is completely clear.

SE 5
If a noun is derived from the given verb (*snažit* to try $\longrightarrow$ *snažení* trying), the particles are always assigned afun `Atr`: *snažení se* trying, *mytí se* washing, *utopení se* drowning.

6.8.2. Reflexive *si*

SI 1
This is an analogy to SE 1: `AuxT` is assigned only with the dative *si*: *pospíšit si* to hurry up, *vážit si* to respect something/somebody, *postesknout si* to complain, *pamatovat si* to remember.

SI 2
The reflexive pronoun is `Obj`:

1. *přečíst si (sobě)* to read (for oneself), *říkat si* to ask for, *stanovit si* to prescribe (to oneself)
2. reciprocal use: *slibovali si (navzájem)* they promised to each other , *posloužili si (navzájem)* they helped (each other), *přísahali si* they swore (to each other).

SI 3
This is an analogy to SE 4, but we have decided to assign `Adv` in those cases in which *si* has the function of a free dative (dative of benefit); a paraphase by *for oneself* or by *one's* is possible: *upevnit si (postavení)* to strengthen one's position, *upravovat si (vlasy)* to set one's hair, *brousit si (zuby)* set one's heart upon, *vydělat si (peníze)* to earn money, *uchovat si (postavení)* to keep (one's position).

SI 4
In this function, *si* is assigned `AuxO`; it is somewhat superflous, and can be deleted without a loss of meaning or grammaticality: *jít si na výlet* to go for a trip, *mazat si to domů* to hurry home, *počkat si na někoho* to have to wait for somebody, *už si odpracoval dvě hodiny* he has already worked off two hours.

SI 5
In case of derivations from verbs, the derived nouns are assigned afun `Atr`: *postesknutí si* complaining, *posloužení si* serving (oneself), *vydělání si* earning (for oneself).

3.6.9. Phrases of comparison with conjunctions *jako* (*as*), *než* (*than*)

The expression *jako* (*as*) is ambiguous and it can be used also in other phrases than those of comparison, see esp. sect. 2.7.7.4. The conjunction *jako* introducing complement or object, the relevant parts of the sections devoted to complements and objects, and the sect. 2.3.4.5. Non-agreeing attribute expressed by a noun introduced by the conjunction *jako* (*as*, *like*) and 2.3.4.9. Attribute expressed by a subordinate clause.

The conjunction *než* (*than*) can introduce also a specific case of subject (see 2.2.3.17. Subject introduced by the conjunction *než* (*than*, *but*)).

3.6.9.1. The placement of the conjunction

The conjunction *než* requires an adverb or an adjective (esp. in the comparative) to be present, with which the comparison is being made; therefore, *než* is suspended on this adverb or adjective.

In the phrase *stejně jako* (*similarly as*) the expression *stejně* can be deleted; if *stejně* is present, then *jako* depends on it; if *stejně* is missing, then *jako* is suspended under

that node that would be its governor without a violation of any syntactic relation (i.e. the absence of the word *stejně* is not a good reason to use afun `ExD` in case where it would not be used otherwise).

3.6.9.2. Syntactic function of comparison

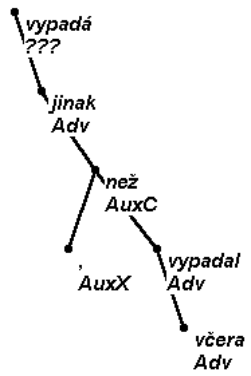
The structures with conjunctions *jako* and *než* expressing comparison are regarded as adverbials (`Adv`); however, deletions are frequent, in which case afun `ExD` is assigned. See also 2.5.7.6. Adverbial expressed by a clause (or a group) with conjunctions *jak(o)* - *as*, *než(li)* - *than*.

3.6.9.3. Structures assigned `Adv`

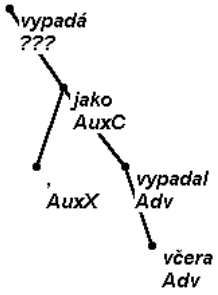
6.9.3.1. A complete embedded clause

If *jako/než* is followed by a full embedded clause (containing a tensed verb), the clause depends on the expressions of comparison (*stejný/stejně jako similar as*, *velký jako big as*, *jinde než elsewhere*, *jinak než otherwise*. The expression *stejný/stejně* can be deleted and then the clause is suspended on the node where this expression would have been suspended.

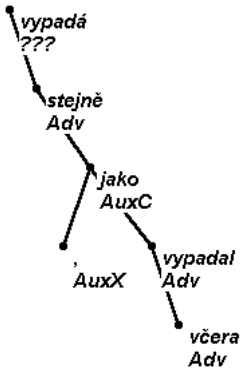
1.



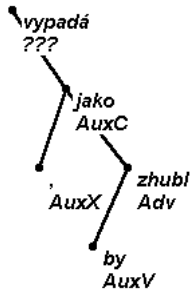
vypadá jinak, než vypadal včera
he-looks other than he-looked yesterday
he looks different from how he looked yesterday

2. 

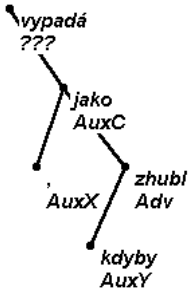
vypadá, jako vypadal včera
he-looks as he-looked yesterday

3. 

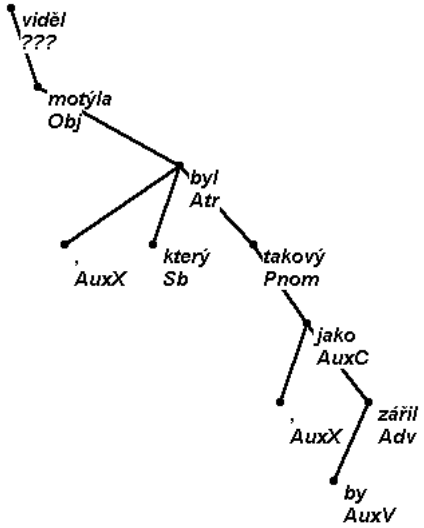
vypadá stejně jako vypadal včera
he-looks the-same-way as he-looked yesterday

4. 

vypadá, jako by zhubl
he-looks as-if would he-lost-weight
he looks like having got leaner

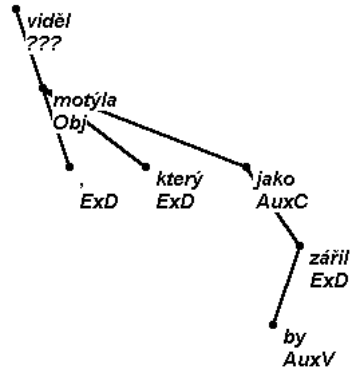
5. 

vypadá, jako kdyby zhubl
he-looks as-if would he-lost-weight
he looks like having got leaner

6. 

viděl motýla, který byl takový, jako by zářil
he-saw butterfly that was such as would he-shine
he saw a butterfly that was as if it was shining

7.



viděl motýla, který jako by zářil
he-saw butterfly that as would he-shine
he saw a butterfly that was like shining

The sentence in the last example is a full embedded clause (*jako by zářil as would heshine*), but it will get afun `ExD` because the governor, namely the expression of comparison *takový* (*such*) is missing (this expression is present in the previous example).

Warning

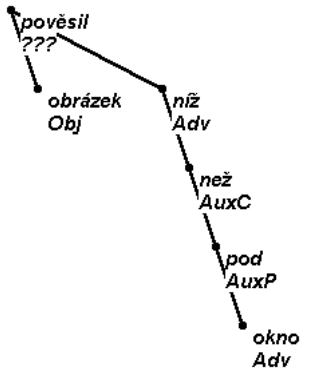
If *jako/než* is followed first by another subordinating conjunction and only then a tensed verb (as in *přinesl mi jiné knihy, než když tu byl minule he brought me different books than when he was here last time*), the clause is treated as an ellipsis (see 3.6.9.4. Phrases assigned `ExD` below) and assigned afun `ExD`.

6.9.3.2. A syntactically suitable element

If a complete embedded clause has not been found, it is necessary to decide whether the element standing in its place may get afun `Adv` or if an ellipsis is the case (`ExD`). `Adv` is assigned if both elements that are compared are on the 'same' level, which can be determined on the basis of the following three criteria:

- nothing can be inserted into the phrase of comparison (ex. (1) cannot be reformulated as *pověsil obrázek níž než to pověsil pod okno he hanged the picture lower than he hang it under the window*),
- the element following the conjunction could be placed in the position where the original phrase was placed (ex. (1) can be transformed as *pověsil to pod okno he hanged it under window*),

- the element following the conjunction is semantically "equivalent" to the element before the conjunction; if the element before the conjunction is in comparative, it is necessary to use its basic form: in this sense, the expressions *nízko* (*low*) and *pod okno* (*under the window*) are "equivalent" in (1).

1. 

pověsil obrázek níž než pod okno
he-hanged picture lower than under window

2.

udělal to stejně kvalitně jako rychle
he-made it equally well as quickly
he made it as perfectly as quickly

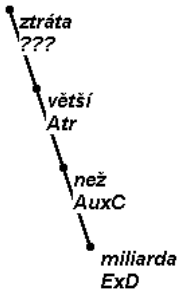
3. hraje déle než 30 let
he-plays longer than 30 years

4. je starostí víc než dost
there-is sorrows more than enough

5. koupíme to jinde než na trhu
we-shall-buy it somewhere-else than on market

3.6.9.4. Phrases assigned ExD

The phrases of comparison are elliptical: the verb is followed by one or more elements, without a verb, so that they cannot be treated according to the points mentioned above (one of these members may be an embedded clause that would modify the predicate of the immediately subrodinated clause - see the warning in point 6.9.3.1. A complete embedded clause above). For such cases, we use afun ExD (see also part 3.1.3.3. Ellipsis of predicate in clauses introduced by conjuctions *jak(o)* (*like*), *než(li)* (*than*)).

1. 

   ztráta větší než miliarda
   loss greater than billion (= than is a billion)

2. velká jako hrom
   great as thunder

3. malý jako dlaň
   small as palm

4. je to šroubek méně kvalitní než jiné západní šroubky
   is it screw less perfect than other western screws

5. cíl je mít ceny nižší než konkurence
   objective is to-have prices lower than competitors

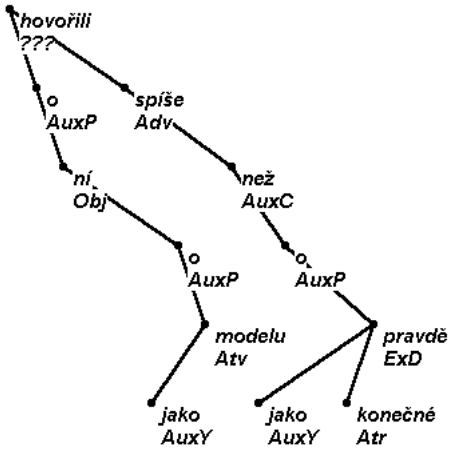
6. dorazili dříve než Jirka
   they-arrived sooner than Jirka

7. Jan oslovil docenta zdvořileji než kamarád
   Jan addressed assistent more-politely than friend

   (= than he addressed his friend)

8. Jan oslovil docenta zdvořileji než kamarád
   Jan addressed assistent more-politely than friend

   (= than he was addressed by his friend)

9. 

   hovořili o ní spíše jako o modelu než jako o
   they-spoke about it rather as about model than as about

   konečné pravdě
   definite truth

3.6.9.5. Addition 1

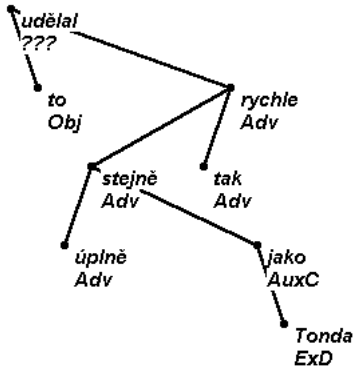
There will be few cases of the type 6.9.3.2. A syntactically suitable element, cf. the ambiguity with *udělal to jindy než včera* (*he did it at another time than yesterday*):

1. `Adv`: *he did it on some other day than yesterday*
   `ExD`: *on some other day than he did it yesterday*

3.6.9.6. Addition 2

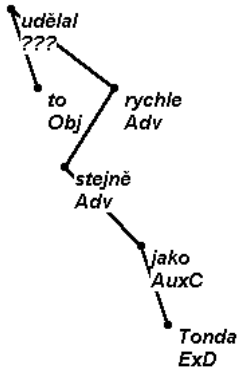
Let us present some more examples with the conjunction *jako*:

1.



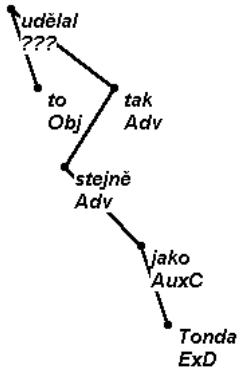
udělal to úplně stejně tak rychle jako Tonda
he-did it completely equally so quickly as Tonda

2.



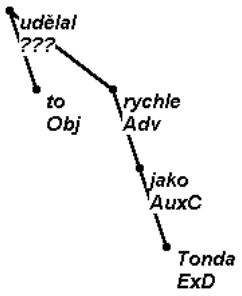
udělal to stejně rychle jako Tonda
he-did it equally quickly as Tonda

3.



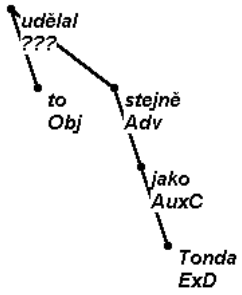
udělal to stejně tak jako Tonda
he-did it equally so as Tonda

4.

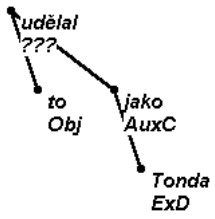


udělal to rychle jako Tonda
he-did it quickly as Tonda

5.



udělal to stejně jako Tonda
he-did it equally as Tonda

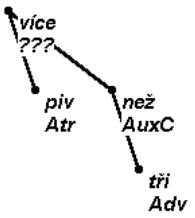
6. 

udělal to jako Tonda
he-did it as Tonda

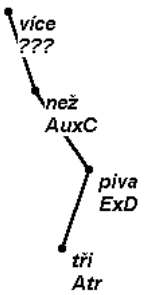
In ex. (1), (2) and (4) the position of the word *Tonda* (`ExD`) can be occupied e.g. by the word *kvalitně* (*perfectly*) with afun `Adv`. On the other hand, in ex. (3), (5) and (6) such a word cannot be added.

3.6.9.7. Addition 3

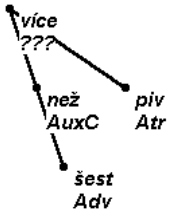
Let us present some more examples with the conjunction *než* (*than*):

1. 

více piv než tři
more beers than three
more glasses of beer than three

2. 

více než tři piva
more than three beers-`Gen-Sing`

3. 

více něž šest piv
more than six beers-Gen-Plur

4.

více něž šest piv
more than six beers-Gen-Plur

The meaning of (1) is clear: a man was drinking beer and the total of glasses of beer he drank was more than three. In (2) the number of glasses is not so important - the sentence only says that he drank three glasses and something in addition (maybe a liquor, a glass of whisky, milk or perhaps some more glasses of beer). The phrase *více než šest piv* (*more than six glasses of beer*) is then ambiguous (this holds for numerals denoting higher numbers than four): this is illustrated by the structures in (3) and (4).

Let us add that with more complicated structures of quantity, the part expressing the quantity is suspended on the conjunction *než* and the part expressing the counted objects is suspended on the expression *více* (*more*). The "scope" of these parts is discussed in part 6.3.1. Representation of a numerical expression of quantity.

3.6.10. Foreign words in the text

The representation of those parts of text that are written in a foreign language is not guided by the syntactic structure of these foreign segments because it would be often difficult to recognize the correct structure. This holds also for cases when the structure is clear.

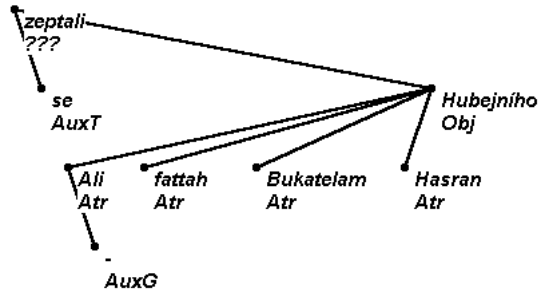
After the identification of the string of words of foreign origin (it may be a proper name, some collocation, or even a whole sentence) its "main" node is selected (the "representative") and assigned afun according to the function of the string in the sentence. If the string is not a part of some syntactic structure, it is assigned afun `ExD` and is suspended on the initial symbol #; it follows that a foreign word can never get afun `Pred`, even if the string contained some predicate, see ex. (6) below).

The choice of the representative depends on the judgement of the annotator. The first candidate is the last element of the string (its rightmost element). However, esp. with names and titles, this function may be taken over by some other word that - in contrast to the last word - is inflected. In a concrete example, this inflection need not be evident (e.g. the name may be in Nominative), but again, the judgement of the annotator is relevant. If more than one word is inflected, the last inflected word is regarded as the representative. The remaining words in the string are suspended on the representative as sisters of each other and are assigned afun `Atr`.

If graphic symbols are present in the string, they are suspended on the attributes and assigned afun `AuxG`; they are placed "towards" the "main" node, i.e. they are suspended on that of its neighbouring words that is further from the "main" word. It is not easy to find such a word, though. If some symbol occurs at the very beginning or at the very end of the string, it is suspended directly on the representative (cf. the question mark in ex. (7)).

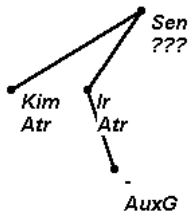
The foreign word may be sometimes superordinated to some other nodes, which means that there are also nodes suspended on the representative other than those with afun `Atr` (and `AuxG`). This is exemplified by the punctuation marks in (8).

1.



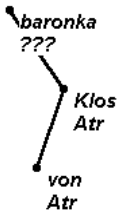
zeptali	se	Ali-fattah	Bukatelam	Hasran	Hubejního
they-asked	`Refl`	Ali-fattah	Bukatelam	Hasran	Hubejni

2.



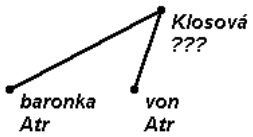
Kim Ir-Sen

3.



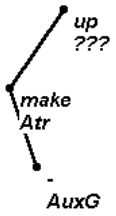
baronka von Klos
baroness von Klos

4.



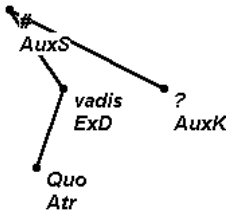
baronka von Klosová
baroness von Klosová (with the feminine ending of proper names ová)

5.

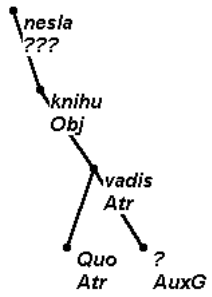


make-up

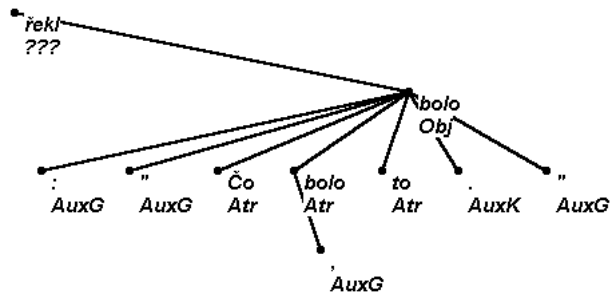
6.



Quo vadis ?

7. 

nesla knihu Quo *vadis*?
she-brought book Quo vadis?

8. 

řekl: " Čo bolo, to *bolo* ."
he-said " Čo bolo, to bolo ."
(Slovak for: what was that was)

Analysis of (3) and (4): In both examples, the foreign string consists of two nodes: [*von Klos*], [*von Klosová*], respectively. In (3), this string is an attribute of the word *baronka*, while in (4) the name is the representative and the word *baronka* is its attribute (as a title).

Analysis of (6) and (7): In (6) the foreign component consists of two nodes: [*quo vadis*]. The question mark indicates that the given string is an interrogative sentence; the question mark does not belong to the foreign string and it is therefore suspended on the symbol #. In (7), the question mark belongs to the foreign string (it is included in the title of the book), and as such is suspended on the representative.

Analysis of (8): The foreign string consists in five nodes: [*Čo bolo, to bolo*]. The node "bolo" is selected as the representative. The colon, fullstop and the inverted commas are considered to be component parts of the (Czech) text and therefore they are suspended under the main node of the direct speech (according to the general rules for direct speech).

3.6.11. Bibliographical references

6.11.1. Representation of bibliographical references

All bibliographical references are treated in accordance with the rules for the assignment of ExD. The entries in references have no regular syntactic structure, and therefore they are represented as a coordination of non-verbal sentences; this means that the governor of each segment of the reference entry gets afun ExD_Co and the remaining part of that segment is analyzed in the usual way (see ex. (1)).

However, if the remaining part of the segment has a syntactic structure of its own, it is analyzed according to the usual rules and the rest is suspended under the governor of the whole reference entry. It is assigned afun ExD_Pa (or afun Coord_Pa, in case of coordination, as shown by (2)). Such an approach is in accordance with the rules for parenthesis, esp. with 3.5.5. A syntactially non-incorporated sentence part or sentential form; ellipsis; an independent sentence part; vocative; interjection Exd_Pa.

1. Pán prstenů, JRR Tolkien, Mladá fronta, Praha 1990
   The-Lord of-the-rings, JRR Tolkien, Mladá fronta, Praha 1990

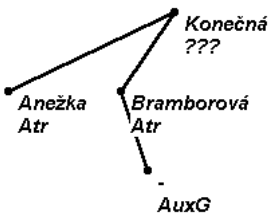
2. četl Tolkienova Pána prstenů (Mladá fronta, Praha 1990)
   he-read Tolkien's The-Lord of-the-rings (Mladá fronta, Praha 1990)

3.6.12. Composed Czech proper names

6.12.1. Representation of composed Czech names

In representations of Czech names with hyphens the second part of the name is suspended under the selected governing node and the hyphen is suspended under that second part. Only in few cases the governing node will be the first node in the string; this occurs in case this first node is "syntactically dominant", i.e. it is inflected and the second node need not be inflected, it is only an addition (e.g. in (2) we can say *jsem z Plzně-město I am from Plzeň-town*, i.e. *Plzeň* is "dominant").

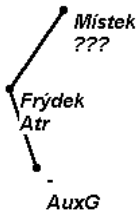
1.



Anežka Bramborová-Konečná

2.

Plzeň - město
Plzeň - city

3. 

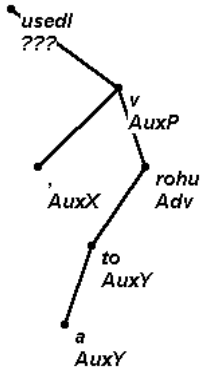
Frýdek-Místek

3.6.13. Freely adjoined sentence parts

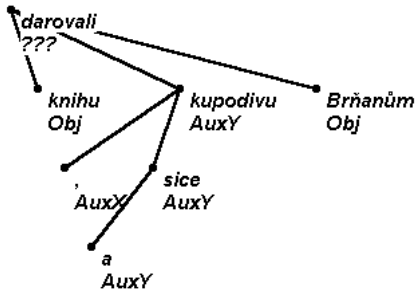
6.13.1. Representation of freely adjoined sentence parts

Freely adjoined sentence parts are separated by commas and introduced by such particles as *a* (*and*), *a sice*, *a to* (*and that (is)*); these particles are discussed in part 2.7.7.3. Particles introducing a loosely attached sentence member.

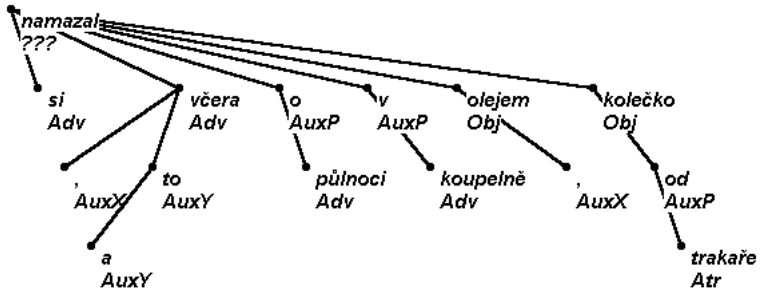
All freely adjoined sentence parts are assigned their usual function and are suspended in the usual way. Commas are suspended in a similar vein as brackets (i.e. the first, opening bracket under the governing node of the first member and the second, closing bracket under the governing node of the last member, see part 2.8.4.3. Bracketing `AuxG`). The introductory particle (with afun `AuxY`) depends on the first member (directly, i.e. not on a preposition, see the examples); if the introductory particle consists of more than one word (*a sice*, *a to*), the first member is suspended under the second member.

1. 

usedl, a to v *rohu*
he-sat and that in corner
he sat down, and that in the corner

2. 

darovali knihu, a sice *kupodivu* *Brňanům*
they-donated book and that strange-to-say to-Brno-people
they donated a book, and that, strangely, to the Brno people

3. 

namazal si, a to *včera* o *půlnoci* v *koupelně*
he-lubricated Refl and that yesterday about midnight in bathroom

olejem, kolečko od trakaře
by-oil wheel of barrow
he lubricated -and that yesterday at midnight in the bathroom with oil -a wheel of a barow

Chapter 4. Additions

4.1. List of secondary prepositions

Help for annotators: a secondary preposition cannot stand at the very end of the sentence: e.g. *Přišel z důvodu.* (*He came for the reason*).

Notation:
The abbreviations N, G, D, A, L, I stand for morphological cases of nouns the preposition belongs to, i.e. Nominative, Genitive, Dative, Accusative, Locative and Instrument, respectively.

A *à la* + N (à la mode)

B *během* + G (during) *bez ohledu na* + A (without respect to)
bez zřetele k + D (without regard to)
blízko + G (close to)
blíže + G (closer to)

C *cestou* + G (by the way of) *co do* + G (as for)

D *daleko* + G (far from) *díky* + D (thanks to)
dle + G (according to, bookish),
doprostřed + G (to the middle of)
do rukou + G (into the hands of)
dovnitř + G (inside)

J *jménem* + G (on behalf of)

K *kolem* + G (around), older: kol *koncem* + G (by the end of)
konče + I (ending by)
kraj + G (the end), bookish
kromě + G (besides), rare: krom
k rukám + G (to the hands of)
kvůli + G (because of)

M *mezi* + A (where to) *mezi* + I (where)
mimo + A (outside)
místo + G (instead of)

N *namísto* + G (in place of) *naproti* + D (opposite to)
napříč + G (across)
na rozdíl od + G (in contrast to)
následkem + G (in consequence of)
na úkor + G (to the detriment of)
na úrovni + G (on the level of)
na úseku + G (on the sector of)
na vrub + G (on the acount of)
navzdory + D (in defiance of)
na základě + G (on the basis of)
na závěr + G (at the end of)

na způsob + G (similar to)
nedaleko + G (near of)
nehledě k + D (irrespective of)
nezávisle na + L (independent of)

O *ohledně* + G (about) *okolo* + G (around)
oproti + D (in contrast to)

P *poblíž* + G (near) *počátkem* + G (at the beginning of)
počínaje + I (beginning with)
podél + G (along)
podle + G (according to)
po dobu + G (for the time of)
pod dojmem + G (under the impression of)
pod tlakem + G (under the pressure of)
pod vlivem + G (under the influence of)
pod záminkou + G (under the pretext of)
po linii + G (along the line of)
pomocí + G (by the help of)
po směru + G (in the direction of)
po stránce + G (as far as ... is concerned)
postupem + G (in the course of)
po vzoru + G (according to the pattern of)
pro případ + G (for the case of)
prostřed + G (in the middle of)
prostřednictvím + G (by means of)
průběhem + G (in the course of)
přiměřeně + D (fitting to)
při příležitosti + G (at the occasion of)
přihlížeje k + D (taking into account)

S *se zřetelem k* + D (with regard to) *se zřetelem na* + A (with regard to)
skrz + A (through)
směrem k + D (in the direction of)
s ohledem k + D (with respect to)
s ohledem na + A (with respect to)
soudě podle + G (judging according)
společně s + I (together with)
spolu s + I (together with)
stran + G (concerning)
stranou + G (aside of)
s výjimkou + G (with the exception of)

U *úměrně k* + D (proportionally to) *uprostřed* + G (in the middle of)
u příležitosti + G (at the occasion of)
uvnitř + G (inside of)

V *v čele s* + I (headed by) *včetně* + G (including)

v duchu + G (in the spirit of)
v důsledku + G (in the consequence of)
vedle + G (in addition to)
ve formě + G (in the form of)
ve jménu + G (in the name of)
ve prospěch + G (for the profit of)
ve shodě s + I (in accordance with)
ve službách + G (in the service of)
ve směru + G (in the direction of)
ve smyslu + G (in the sense of)
ve spojení s + I (in connection with)
ve spolupráci s + I (in collaboration with)
ve srovnání s + I (in comparison with)
ve stavu + G (in the state of)
ve středu + G (in the centre of)
ve světle + G (in the light of)
ve věci + G (in the matter of)
ve znamení + G (in sign of)
ve vztahu k + D (in relation to)
vinou + G (due to)
vlivem + G (due to, under the influence of)
vně + G (beyond)
v období + G (in the period of)
v oblasti + G (in the domain of)
v oboru + G (in the domain of)
v osobě + G (in the person of)
v otázce + G (in the issue of)
v podobě + G (in the form of)
v procesu + G (in the process of)
v poměru k + G (in relation to)
v porovnání s + I (in comparison of)
vprostřed + G (in the middle of)
v protikladu k + D (in contrast to)
v průběhu + D (in the course of)
v případě + G (in case of)
v rámci + G (in the framework of)
v relaci k + D (in relation to)
v rozporu s + I (in contradiction to)
v řadě + G (in a number of)
v souhlase s + I (in accordance with)
v souladu s + I (in accordance with)
v souvislosti s + I (in connection with)
vůči + D (towards)

vyjma + A, rarely + G (except for)
v zájmu + G (in the interest of)
v zastoupení + G (on behalf of)
v závěru + G (in the end of)
v závislosti na + L (in dependece with)
vzdor + D (in spite of)
vzhledem k + D (with regard to)

Z *začátkem* + G (at the beginning of) *za pomoci* + G (with the help of)
za příčinou + G (because of)
zásluhou + G (due to)
za účelem + G (with the aim of)
závěrem + G (at the end of)
ze stanoviska + G (from the point of view of)
ze strany + G (from the side of)
z důvodu + G (for the reason of)
z hlediska + G (from the point of view of)
z nedostatku + G (for the lack of)
z moci + G (from the power of)
z řad + G (from the ranks of)
z titulu + G (from the title of)