



Czech Verbs of Communication with respect to the Types of Dependent Content Clauses

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Abstract

The present paper describes a classification of Czech verbs of communication based on the information on the type of dependent content clauses which these verbs require to be complemented by. We distinguish assertive, interrogative and directive verbs of communication. Furthermore, we propose a method how to treat those verbs of communication which behave 'neutrally' with respect to the type of dependent content clauses.

Introduction

Verbs of communication represent a large group of verbs. They render situations concerning communication in a broad sense: speaking, writing and gestures. Generally, they express situations where a 'Speaker' conveys a 'Message' to a 'Recipient'. Prototypically, the 'Message' may be morphematically realized as a dependent content clause.

In our paper, the information on the type of dependent content clause, which the verbs of communication require to be complemented by, is taken as a key criterion for a classification of these verbs. On this basis, we distinguish assertive, interrogative and directive verbs of communication according to whether they are complemented by assertive, interrogative, or directive dependent content clauses, respectively. The main motivation behind the classification is to create classes of verbs of communication that would be semantically and morphosyntactically more coherent.

The type of the dependent content clauses is determined as a starting point for the classification since the different types of the dependent content clauses are regularly associated with several other morphosyntactic properties of the verbs of communication.

For instance, being complemented by an assertive dependent content clause, the 'Addressee's' valency slot of the verb *řící^{pf}* 'to tell' is optional (ex 1 and ex 2). Furthermore, the splitting of the theme and dictum is allowed in this utterance (ex 2) (Section 3.1.2). On the other hand,

the 'Addressee' is semantically obligatory and the splitting of the theme and dictum is not possible if the verb is complemented by an interrogative (ex 3) or a directive dependent content clause (ex 4):

- (1) *Řekla, že ji bolí hlava.* (SYN2005)
E. *She said that she had got headache.*
- (2) *Řekla nám o sobě, že má upřímnou povahu, je veselá a ráda se baví.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *'Told - us - about - herself - that - has - frank - character - is - cheerful - and - glad - refl - enjoy.'*
- (3) *Můžete nám říci, zda počítáte s tím, že v příštím volebním období bude nájemné zcela uvolněno?* (SYN2006pub)
E. *Could you tell us whether you take into account that the rent will not be fixed in the next term of office?*
- (4) *Řeknu jí, aby vám napsala a pozvala vás.*(SYN2005)
E. *I will ask her to write to you and invite you.*

The present paper is structured as follows. First, Section 1 describes three above mentioned participants of the verbs of communication, 'Speaker', 'Recipient' and 'Message', with respect to their tectogrammatical counterparts, syntactic behavior and morphemic realizations. A special attention is devoted to the participant 'Message'. Its morphemic realizations are described with regard to its two possible aspects: the theme and the dictum. Second, three types of dependent content clauses – assertive, interrogative and directive – are distinguished on the basis of modality in Section 2.

Section 3 presents the principal issue of this contribution – the classification of the verbs of communication and a description of their morphosyntactic properties. The group of verbs of communication is subdivided into semantically and morphosyntactically more coherent classes – assertive (Section 3.1), interrogative (Section 3.2) and directive verbs of communication (Section 3.3).

In Section 3.4, we propose a method how to treat those verbs of communication which behave 'neutrally' – they exhibit syntactic properties of assertive, interrogative, and directive verbs of communication according to whether they are complemented by an assertive, an interrogative or a directive dependent content clause, as in ex 1–4.

When describing valency, we use the Functional Generative Description (FGD in the sequel) (Sgall, Hajičová, and Panevová, 1986) as the theoretical background. FGD distinguishes between arguments (inner participants, actants) and free modifications (adjuncts). Both types of complementations can be obligatory or optional. First two (verbal) arguments are determined on the basis of syntactic criteria, semantic criteria are considered for the verbs with three or more arguments, see esp. (Panevová, 1974) and (Panevová, 1975). Five types of (verbal) arguments are determined: 'ACTor', 'PATient', 'ADDRessee', 'ORIGin' and 'EFFect', see esp. (Panevová, 1980).

Our description of the verbs of communication is based first of all on the material provided by the valency lexicon of Czech verbs, VALLEX¹, see esp. (Lopatková, Žabokrtský, and Kettnerová, 2008), (Žabokrtský and Lopatková, 2007) and (Žabokrtský, 2005), and on the material from the Czech National Corpus.² Furthermore, we have worked with Czech dictionaries *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (SSJČ, 1964) and *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (SSČ, 2003). The Czech valency dictionaries *Slovesa pro praxi* (Svozilová, Prouzová, and Jirsová, 1997) and *Slovník slovesných, substantivních a adjektivních vazeb a spojení* (Svozilová, Prouzová, and Jirsová, 2005) are taken into account as well.

1. Verbs of communication

Verbs of communication, traditionally called ‘verba dicendi’, represent a large group of verbs. They involve communication in a broad sense: speaking (e.g., *řící^{pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’, *dodat^{pf}*, *dodávat^{impf}* ‘to add’, *volat^{impf}* ‘to shout’, *ptát se^{impf}* ‘to ask’, *přikázat^{pf}*, *přikazovat^{impf}* ‘to order’, etc.), writing (e.g., *napsat^{pf}* ‘to write’, *zaznamenat^{pf}*, *zaznamenávat^{impf}* ‘to record’), and gestures (e.g., *naznačit^{pf}*, *naznačovat^{impf}* ‘to indicate’, etc.). They denote such situations where a ‘Speaker’ conveys a ‘Message’ to a ‘Recipient’.

1.1. ‘Speaker’, ‘Recipient’ and ‘Message’

In this section, we briefly describe the participants of the verbs of communication – the ‘Speaker’, ‘Recipient’ and ‘Message’ – with respect to their syntactic behavior and morphemic realizations.

1.1.1. ‘Speaker’ and ‘Recipient’

We observe basically two possible realizations of the participant ‘Speaker’:

- Several verbs of communication represent rather a one-sided communication – the ‘Speaker’ conveys the ‘Message’ to the ‘Recipient’. In these cases, the semantic participant ‘Speaker’ occupies the ‘Actor’s’ valency slot and the ‘Recipient’ the ‘Addressee’s’ one. Examples of such verbs of communication are the following: *doporučit^{pf}*, *doporučovat^{impf}* ‘to recommend’, *informovat^{biasp}* ‘to inform’, *lhát^{impf}* ‘to lie’, *líčit^{impf}* ‘to depict’, *nahlásit^{pf}*, *nahlašovat^{impf}* ‘to report’, *nařídít^{pf}*, *nařizovat^{impf}* ‘to order’, *oznámit^{pf}*, *oznamovat^{impf}* ‘to announce’, *psát^{impf}* ‘to write’, *řící^{pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’, *sdělit^{pf}*, *sdělovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *tázat se^{impf}* ‘to ask’, *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *zeptat se^{pf}* ‘to ask’, etc.

As for the morphemic forms, the ‘Actor’ is realized by the nominative case. The ‘Addressee’ is morphematically expressed by the dative (e.g., *oznámit^{pf}*, *oznamovat^{impf}* ‘to announce’, *řící^{pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’, *sdělit^{pf}*, *sdělovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, etc.) (ex 5), by the genitive (e.g., *tázat se^{impf}* ‘to ask’ (ex 6), *zeptat se^{pf}* ‘to ask’, etc.), or by the accusative case (e.g., *informovat^{biasp}* ‘to inform’, etc.) (ex 7).

¹<http://ufal.mff.cuni.cz/vallex/>

²<http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz/>

- (5) *Charles Haughey*.ACT(= Speaker, nom) *včera sdělil členům*.ADDR(= Recipient, dat) *své strany, že příští týden rezignuje na svou funkci premiéra*. (SYN2006pub)
E. *Yesterday Charles Haughey*.ACT(= Speaker) *told the members*.ADDR(= Recipient) *of his party that he would resign from his post of the Prime Minister*.
- (6) *Juli-n*.ACT(= Speaker, nom) *se zeptal průvodčího*.ADDR(= Recipient, gen) *na cestu*. (SYN2005)
E. *Julian*.ACT(= Speaker) *has asked the conductor*.ADDR(= Recipient) *the way*.
- (7) *A tehdy Andrew*.ACT(= Speaker, nom) *informoval Johna Rowea*.ADDR(= Recipient, acc), *že stav jeho ženy je vážný*. (SYN2005)
E. *At that time Andrew*.ACT(= Speaker) *informed John Rowe*.ADDR(= Recipient) *that his wife's condition is serious*.

- Some other verbs of communication express a symmetrical process of communication – the ‘Speaker’ and ‘Recipient’ change their roles in the process of communication. As a result, ‘Actor’s’ and ‘Addressee’s’ valency slots are occupied by both ‘Speaker’ and ‘Recipient’. These verbs are lexically reciprocal. The examples of such verbs of communication are the following: *bavit se^{impf} s někým* ‘to negotiate’, *diskutovat^{impf} s někým* ‘to discuss’, *dohodnout se^{pf}, dohodovat / dohadovat se^{impf} s někým* ‘to agree’, *hádat se^{impf} s někým* ‘to quarrel’, *hovořit^{impf} s někým* ‘to speak’, *jednat^{impf} s někým* ‘to confer’, *komunikovat^{impf} s někým* ‘to communicate’, *mluvit^{impf} s někým* ‘to talk’, *pohádat se^{pf} s někým* ‘to dispute’, *přít se^{impf} s někým* ‘to argue’, etc.

As for the morphemic forms of the ‘Actor’ and ‘Addressee’, the ‘Actor’ of these verbs is prototypically realized by the nominative case, and the ‘Addressee’ by the prepositional group *s* ‘with’ + the instrumental case. See the following examples:

- (8) *Lesníci*.ACT(= Speaker, Recipient, nom) *se hádají s ekology*.ADDR(= Recipient, Speaker, *s* + instr) *o to, jak mají bránit šíření kůrovce*. (SYN2006pub)
E. *The foresters*.ACT(= Speaker, Recipient) *argue with the environmentalists*.ADDR(= Recipient, Speaker) *over how they should prevent from the spread of the bark beetle*.

Apart from the above mentioned cases of the realizations of the ‘Recipient’ (see Section 1.1.1), we observe the following cases:

- Still another group of verbs of communication indicates an asymmetrical process of communication – the ‘Message’ is addressed to the ‘Recipient’, however, the active participation of the ‘Recipient’ in the process of communication is weakened. In these cases, the ‘Recipient’ fills the ‘Addressee’s’ valency slot and is expressed by the prepositional group *k* ‘to’ + dative (ex 9) or *na* ‘at’ + accusative case (ex 10). Examples of these verbs of communication are the following: *bručet^{impf} na někoho* ‘to growl at’, *hovořit^{impf} k někomu* ‘to talk to’, *křiknout^{pf}, křičet^{impf} na někoho* ‘to shout at’, *mluvit^{impf} k někomu, na někoho* ‘to speak to’, *řvát^{impf} na někoho* ‘yell at’, *volat^{impf} na někoho* ‘to call at’, etc.

- (9) *Buzková*.ACT(= Speaker, nom) *pak mluvila k lidem*.ADDR(= Recipient, k + dat), *kterí stáli pod pódiem asi půl druhého metru od ní, a překřikovala nádražní hlášení*. (SYN2006pub)
E. *Then Buzková*.ACT(= Speaker) *has spoken to the people*.ADDR(= Recipient), *who were standing under the podium half a meter from her, shouting down the station report*.
- (10) *Ten, když viděl, jak couvá, křičel na něj*.ADDR(= Recipient, na + accusative), *že by mohl spadnout*. (SYN2006pub)
E. *When he saw him backing, he*.ACT(= Speaker) *was shouting at him*.ADDR(= Recipient) *that he could fall down*.
- Furthermore, several verbs of communication, as e.g. *dodat*^{Pf}, *dodávat*^{Impf} ‘to add’, *definovat*^{biasp} ‘to define’, *komentovat*^{biasp} ‘to comment’, *konstatovat*^{biasp} ‘to state’, *prohlásit*^{Pf}, *prohlašovat*^{Impf} ‘to declare’, *zveřejnit*^{Pf}, *zveřejňovat*^{Impf}, specify the ‘Recipient’ as an audience which can be expressed as an optional free modification with locative characteristics in most cases (ex 11). For more information on such verbs, see Section 3.1.1 below.
- (11) *Ruský prezident Boris Jelcin minulý týden v Kremlu prohlásil, že v Čečně se neděje nic bez jeho vědomí*. (SYN2006pub)
E. *The Russian President Boris Jelcin*.ACT(= Speaker) *declared in Kremlin last week (that nothing was happening in Chechnya without his knowledge)*.

1.1.2. ‘Message’

The ‘Message’³ represents a complex participant, two aspects of which are sometimes distinguished: who or what is spoken about (the so-called theme) and what is said about the theme (the so-called dictum). However, in many cases, the theme and the dictum are not distinguishable.

Two aspects of the ‘Message’ are distinguishable, the ‘Message’ stands for either the theme (ex 12), or the dictum (ex 13), or both theme and dictum (ex 14). Konečná makes an attempt at specifying the theme and dictum (Konečná, 1966). According to her, the dictum is characterized as an object expressed, especially by a direct or indirect speech. Furthermore, some words referring to a part of text, as *věta* ‘sentence’, *myšlenka* ‘idea’, *pravda*, ‘truth’, *nesmysl* ‘nonsense’, or some demonstrative or indefinite pronouns, as *to* ‘this’, *něco* ‘something’, *nic* ‘nothing’, etc., can realize the dictum as well. The theme is specified as an object expressed by a noun or a dependent clause under the condition that (i) a dependent clause introduced by the conjunction

³Remark on terminology: In *Mluvnice češtiny III* (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987) and in *Větné vzorce v češtině* (Daneš and Hlavsa, 1987), this complementation is referred to as the participant of information. In *Skladba češtiny* (Grepel and Karlík, 1998), these complementations are classified as the so-called situational actants within which the authors distinguish information, instructions, stimuli and purposes. In our view, the ‘Message’ involves the information (as in *It was announced in the radio that the dangerous prisoner had escaped from the prison*) and instruction (as in *He allowed me to smoke*).

zda ‘whether’ can be nominalized (e.g., the verb *analyzovat* ‘to analyze’, *zkoumat* ‘to investigate’, etc.) or (ii) meaning of an object is similar to the meaning of the object of the verb *mluvit* ‘to speak’.

- (12) *Petr Eben a rektor Karlovy univerzity prof. Radim Palouš ve svých vystoupeních hovořili (o spirituálním poslání hudby).*(= Message-theme) (SYN2006pub)
E. *Petr Eben and the rector of Charles University Radim Palouš spoke (about spiritual message of music.*(= Message-theme) *in their performances.*
- (13) *Caldwell mi říká, (že má stále úzkostné sny).*(= Message-dictum) (SYN2006pub)
E. *Caldwell tells me (that he still has anxious dreams).*(= Message-dictum)

When the ‘Message’ represents both the theme and the dictum, we observe two cases: (i) the ‘Message’ occupies a single valency slot – that of ‘Patient’s’ (ex 14), or (ii) it is split into two valency slots – the theme and dictum occupy each its own valency slot. Then the theme fills the slot of ‘Patient’ and the dictum the one of ‘Effect’ (ex 15). This case is referred to as ‘splitting of the theme and the dictum’. (For more information, see Section 3.1.2 below.)

- (14) *Řekli jsme jim o únosu.*(= Message-theme and dictum), ... (SYN2005)
E. *We have told them about the kidnapping.*(= Message-theme and dictum), ...
- (15) *Říká se o hercích.*PAT(= Message-theme), *(že nemají charakter).*EFF(= Message-dictum) (SYN2006pub)
E. *Actors.*PAT(= Message-theme) *are said (not to be persons of good character).*EFF(= Message-dictum)

The ‘Message’ can have the following morphemic forms:

- **Dependent content clauses**, the prototypical realization of the ‘Message’, are discussed in detail in Section 2 below.
- **Prepositionless case**, namely the accusative case (e.g., *deklarovat^{biasp}* ‘to declare’, *diktovat^{impf}* ‘to dictate’, *dokázat^{pf}*, *dokazovat^{impf}* ‘to demonstrate’, *formulovat^{biasp}* ‘to phrase’, *hlásit^{impf}* ‘to report’, *konstatovat^{biasp}* ‘state’, *konzultovat^{impf}* ‘to consult’, *křiknout^{pf}*, *křičet^{impf}* ‘to shout’, *naznačit^{pf}* *naznačovat^{impf}*, ‘to suggest’, *oznámit^{pf}*, *oznamovat^{impf}* ‘to announce’, *poznámenat^{pf}* *poznámenávat* ‘to remark’, *psát^{impf}* ‘to write’, *sdělit^{pf}*, *sdělovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *telefonovat^{impf}* ‘to phone’, *tvrdit^{impf}* ‘to assert’, *volat^{impf}* ‘to call’, *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *vyslovit^{pf}*, *vyslovovat^{impf}*, ‘to say’, etc.) The accusative usually expresses the ‘Message’ with the character of the dictum, if it is distinguishable. See the following examples:

- (16) *Musím čtenářům sdělit příjemnou zprávu.*(= Message-dictum) (SYN2006pub)
E. *I must tell the readers the pleasant message.*(= Message-dictum)
- (17) *Vyslovil jste naprostou lež.*(= Message-dictum) (SYN2006pub)
E. *You have pronounced the absolute lie.*(Message-dictum)

- **Prepositional groups.** They realize the ‘Message’ representing (i) the theme, or (ii) both the theme and the dictum, if these aspects of the ‘Message’ are distinguishable. The group

occupies the 'Patient's' valency slot. The following prepositional groups belong to the most frequent ones.

- **o + locative** (e.g., *bavit^{impf} se o něčem* 'to speak about', *diskutovat^{impf} o něčem* 'to discuss', *domluvit se^{pf} domlouvat se^{impf} o něčem* 'to agree on', *hovořit^{impf} o něčem* 'to talk about', *informovat^{biasp} o něčem* 'to inform on', *jednat^{impf} o něčem* 'to confer on', *kázat^{impf} o něčem* 'to preach about', *komunikovat^{impf} o něčem* 'to communicate about', *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf} o něčem* 'to tell', etc.):

(18) *V Rio de Janeiru se diskutovalo především o problému.PAT(= Message-theme) financování ekologie rozvojového Jihu průmyslovým Severem.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *Especially the problem.PAT(= Message-theme) of financing the ecology of the developing South by the industrial North was discussed in Rio de Janeiro.*

- **na + accusative** (e.g., *nadávat^{impf} na něco* 'to grumble about', *ptát^{impf} se na něco* 'to ask about', *tázat se^{impf} na něco* 'to ask about', etc.):

(19) *...ptal se jí na detaily.PAT(= Message-theme and dictum) obou pitev.* (SYN2005)
E. *...he has asked her about the details.PAT(= Message-theme and dictum) of both autopsies.*

- **o + accusative** (e.g., *hádat se^{impf} o něco* 'to quarrel over', *prosit^{impf} o něco* 'to beg for', *přít se^{impf} o něco* 'to argue over', etc.):

(20) *Také Česká televize se nejspíš s Radou pro rozhlasové a televizní vysílání začne přít o výklad.PAT(= Message-theme) zákona o České televizi.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *The Czech Television will start to argue with the Czech Radio and Television Broadcasting Council over the interpretation.PAT(= Message-theme) of the law on Czech Television .*

- **po + locative** (e.g., *ptát se^{impf} po něčem* 'to ask after', *tázat se^{impf} po něčem* 'to ask after', etc.):

(21) *Zrovna tak se neptala po souhlasu.PAT(=Message) ingušské vlády s průchodem ruských vojsk přes Inguško.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *Even so it did not ask after the Ingush government approval.PAT(= Message) to the Russian army transit across the Ingushetia area.*

- **nad + instrumental** (e.g., *diskutovat^{impf} nad něčím* 'to discuss', etc.):

(22) *Středověká církev dlouho diskutovala nad otázkou, zda byl Ježíš Kristus na kříži nahý.PAT(= Message-theme)* (SYN2006pub)
E. *For a long time, the medieval Church discussed the question whether Jesus Christ was naked on the cross.PAT(= Message-theme)*

- **k + dative** (e.g., *přiznat se^{pf}, přiznávat se^{impf} k něčemu* 'to confess to', etc.):

(23) *Nakonec se však při výslechu přiznala ke lži.PAT(= Message) a částku 51 000 korun vrátila. (SYN2006pub)*

E. Finally, she confessed the lie.PAT(= Message) during the interrogation and she gave the sum of 51 000 crowns back.

- **z + genitive** (e.g., *obvinit^{pf}*, *obviňovat^{impf} z něčeho* ‘to blame for’, *nařknout^{pf}*, *naříkat^{impf} z něčeho* ‘to accuse of’, etc.):

(24) *Před několika dny se navzájem obvinili ze lži.PAT(= Message) (SYN2006pub)*

E. They blamed each other for the lie.PAT(= Message) several weeks ago.

- **na + locative** (e.g., *domluvit se^{pf}*, *domlouvat se^{impf} na něčem* ‘to agree on’, *dohodnout se^{pf} na něčem*, *dohodovat se / dohodovat se^{impf} na něčem* ‘to arrange’, etc.):

(25) *Lidem se možná bude zdát, že jsme se domluvili na společném tématu.PAT(= Message) (SYN2006pub)*

E. It may seem to the people that we have agreed on the common topic.PAT(= Message)

- **Infinitives.** With particular verbs of communication, the participant ‘Message’ may be expressed by an infinitive, see esp. (Panevová, 1996) and (Mikulová et al., 2005). The referential correspondence either between the ‘Actor’ (ex 26) or the ‘Addressee’ (ex 27), or between both the ‘Actor’ and ‘Addressee’ (ex 28 and 29) on the one hand and the subject of the given infinitive on the other is typical of these verbs.

The ‘Message’ of the following verbs of communication can be expressed by an infinitive: *dovolit^{pf}*, *dovolovat^{impf}* ‘to allow’, *doporučit^{pf}*, *doporučovat^{impf}* ‘to recommend’, *nařídit^{pf}*, *nařizovat^{impf}* ‘to order’, *navrhnout^{pf}*, *navrhovat^{impf}* ‘to suggest’, *poručit^{pf}*, *poroučēt^{impf}* ‘to command’, *přikázat^{pf}*, *přikazovat^{impf}* ‘to command’, *přísahat^{impf}* ‘to swear’, *slíbit^{pf}*, *slibovat^{impf}* ‘to promise’, *uložit^{pf}*, *ukládat^{impf}* ‘to oblige’, *zakázat^{pf}*, *zakazovat^{impf}* ‘to prohibit’, etc. See the following examples:

(26) *Faust.ACT mu.ADDR přece slíbil vše proti Bohu a křesťanství dělat.PAT ... (SYN2005)*

E. Faust.ACT has promised him.ADDR to do.PAT everything against God and religion.

(27) *A dovolil jim.ADDR chodit.PAT na nákupy, kdy si jen vzpomněly. (SYN2005)*

E. And he.ACT allowed them.ADDR to go.PAT shopping whenever they had wanted.

(28) *...prezident.ACT nabídl kancléři.ADDR umožnit.PAT sudetským Němcům účast na privatizacích ... (SYN2006pub)*

E. ...the President.ACT has proposed the chancellor.ADDR to allow.PAT Germans to take part in privatizations ...

(29) *Zřízení.ACT ekonomicko-správní fakulty nabídlo i absolventům.ADDR jiných škol doplnit.PAT si vzdělání v oboru, který v Brně po celá léta nebylo možno studovat. (SYN2006pub)*

E. *The establishment.ACT of the Economic-administrative faculty has offered also graduates.ADDR of other schools to complete.PAT their qualification in the field which had not been possible to study in Brno for a long time.*

2. Dependent Content Clauses

In most cases, the participant 'Message' of the verbs of communication is expressed by dependent content clauses (DCCs in the sequel).⁴ However, with several verbs of communication, this participant cannot be expressed by the DCCs. For instance, the verbs *bavit se^{impf}* 'to talk', *definovat^{biasp}* 'to define', *diskutovat^{impf}* 'to discuss', *hovořit^{impf}* 'to talk', *charakterizovat^{biasp}* 'characterize', *komunikovat^{impf}* 'to communicate', *mluvit^{impf}* 'to speak' represent such exceptions.

We distinguish three types of the DCCs according to their modality: assertive, interrogative and directive DCCs. These types are formally characterized by the type of subordinating conjunctions, and by several temporal and modal devices, see esp. (Běličová-Křížková, 1979). These devices stand in the center of our interest.

2.1. Assertive Dependent Content Clauses

The assertive DCCs (assertDCC in the sequel) express the content of what is indicated as a statement by the governing verb. The assertDCCs are typically introduced by the subordinating conjunction *že* 'that', cf. Section 2.1.1. They can be usually paraphrased by a direct speech with declarative sentential modality. See the following example and its paraphrase:

- (30) *Řekl jsem jim, že odcestoval do Evropy a že nevím přesně kam.* (SYN2005)
 E. *I told them that he had departed to Europe and I did not know precisely where.*
 [Řekl jsem jim: "Odcestoval do Evropy a nevím přesně kam."⁵]
 [E. I told them: 'He departed to Europe and I don't know precisely where.']

Relative tenses are characteristic of this type of the DCCs. The use of the relative tenses follows the rules indicated esp. in (Bauer, 1965), (Panevová, Benešová, and Sgall, 1971), (Mluvnice češtiny II, 1986) and (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987).

As for the **verbal mood**, the indicative mood is typical of the assertDCCs (ex 31). The conditional may indicate desirable (ex 32) or potential events (ex 33), events denied by the

⁴On the other hand, the DCCs do not realize only the participant 'Message' of the verbs of communication, they may be also a morphemic realization of one of valency complementations of the verbs indicating (i) mental actions (e.g., *Komunisté mínili, že ti kteří nemohou do továren jako jení, mají sedět doma a být zticha.* (SYN2006pub) E. *The communists thought that those who could not work in factories should sit at home and should keep quiet*), (ii) perception (e.g., *Ta námaha ale stojí za to, když vidíte děti, že se jim ze školky nechce domů ...* (SYN2006pub) E. *Seeing children not wanting to go home is worth the effort ...*), or (iii) psychological states (e.g., *Překvapilo ho, že znovu mluví o své operaci.* (SYN2000) E. *It surprised him that he was speaking about his operation again*).

⁵Czech paraphrases are given in square brackets.

‘Speaker’ (ex 34), etc. The conditional of the verbs of communication in the governing clauses does not interfere with the modality of the DCC.

- (31) *Řekl si, (že potřebuje víc informací).*(assertDCC) (SYN2005)
E. *He said to himself (that he needed more information).*(assertDCC)
- (32) *Řekla bych, (že bychom se s Chrisem měli už vrátit).*(assertDCC) (SYN2000)
E. *I would say (that it is about time for me and Chris to go back).*(assertDCC)
- (33) *Řekla, (že by se Bob naštvál).*(assertDCC) (SYN2000)
E. *She said (that Bob would be angry).*(assertDCC)
- (34) *Nikdy bych neřekl, (že by se ve mně vzala taková síla).*(assertDCC) (SYN2000)
E. *I would never say (that such strength would gather in me).*(assertDCC)

2.1.1. Assertive Dependent Content Clauses introduced by *zda* ‘whether’

The assertDCCs may be connected by the conjunctions *zda*, *zdali*, *-li*, or *jestli* as well. In such cases, a ‘Speaker’ conveys only incomplete information to a ‘Recipient’ (ex 35) in contrast to the assertDCCs connected by the conjunction *že* ‘that’ (ex 36) which convey complete information:

- (35) *Ministerstvo žadateli sdělí, (zda byl na něj vůbec nějaký spis veden a zda se zachoval.)*
(assertDCC with incomplete information) (SYN2006pub)
E. *The Ministry told an applicant (whether any file about him was kept at all and whether the file is preserved.)* (assertDCC with incomplete information)
- (36) *Za okamžik se vrátil a sdělil nám, (že pan Baker je v zahradě.)* (SYN2005) (assertDCC with complete information)
E. *He came back in a moment and he told us (that Mr Baker is in the garden.)* (assertDCC with complete information)

However, the conjunctions *zda*, *zdali*, *-li*, or *jestli* introduce the interrogative DCCs (interDCCs in the sequel) as well (Section 2.2). They express the ‘Speaker’s’ uncertainty whether the content of the DCCs holds or not (ex 37):

- (37) *Sdělte mi, prosím, (zda s diskriminací vašeho listu souhlasíte ...)* (interDCC) (SYN2005)
E. *Please, tell me (whether you agree with the discrimination against your newspaper ...)*
(interDCC)

In contrast to the interDCCs, the assertDCCs introduced by the conjunctions *zda*, *zdali*, *-li*, or *jestli* do not exhibit the interrogative characteristic – they do not express the ‘Speaker’s’ uncertainty or lack of knowledge, see (Daneš and Hlavsa, 1987). In ex 38 with the assertDCCs, the possibility that *the member of the presidium* knows whether *Izetbegović will take part in the peace talks in New York or not* is not excluded in contrast to ex 39 with the interDCC where

the 'Speaker' asks the 'Recipient' to answer his question because he does not know whether *the coalition satisfies him*.⁶

- (38) *Člen předsednictva neřekl, (zda se Izetbegović zúčastní mírových rozhovorů v New Yorku.)* (assertDCC with incomplete information) (SYN2006pub)
 E. *The member of the presidium did not tell (whether Izetbegović would take part in the peace talks in New York.)* (assertDCC with incomplete information)
- (39) *Řekněte, (zda vám vyhovuje koalice.)* (interDCC) (SYN2006pub)
 E. *Tell (whether the coalition satisfies you.)* (interDCC)

Lastly, the assertDCCs introduced by *zda*, *zdali*, *-li*, or *jestli* usually indicate mutually excluding alternatives and they are characterized by the possibility of having a positive or a negative form without any change of meaning. See the following examples:

- (40) *Soudci však neřekli, zda útočníci se svým jednáním provinili proti tehdejšímu zákonům.* (SYN2006pub)
 E. *However, the judges have not said whether the attackers had violated the laws of that time by their actions.*
- (41) *Příští pátek a sobotu občané v referendu řeknou, zda si přejí vstup do NATO ...* (SYN2006pub)
 E. *The next Friday and Saturday the citizens are going to say whether they want to join NATO ...*

2.2. Interrogative Dependent Content Clauses

InterDCCs indicate the content of what is indicated by the governing verb as the question – they express 'Speaker's' uncertainty or lack of knowledge, etc. They are usually connected by the conjunctions *zda*, *zdali*, *-li* and *jestli* 'if', 'whether'. (For more information on the difference between interDCCs and assertDCCs, see Section 2.1.1 above). The interDCCs can be paraphrased by a direct speech with interrogative sentential modality. These direct speeches have the form of a yes / no question. See the following example of the interDCCs and their paraphrase by the direct speech:

- (42) *Král si dal dcery zavolat a ptal se jich, (zda voják mluví pravdu).*(interDCC) (SYN2000)
 E. *The king had his daughters called and he asked them (whether the soldier told the truth) (Král si dal dcery zavolat a ptal se jich: "Mluví voják pravdu?")*
 (E. *The king had his daughters called and he asked them: 'Does the soldier tell the truth?')*

The **relative tenses** are characteristic of the interDCCs, similarly as in the case of the assertDCCs, see (Panevová, Benešová, and Sgall, 1971), (Bauer, 1965), (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987),

⁶Apparently, the imperative mood of the governing verb influences the choice of the following DCC. However, we leave aside the interplay between the grammatical categories of the governing verbs and the type of DCC as this issue requires a further investigation.

and (Mluvnice češtiny II, 1986). As for the **verb mood**, the indicative mood expresses a question (ex 43). The conditional mood prevails in the interDCCs expressing a proposal (ex 44), a polite request (ex 45), etc.

- (43) *Povězte mi, jestli o něm něco víte.* (SYN2005)
E. *Tell me whether you know anything about him.*
- (44) *Bydlel v téměř prázdném domě a jednou řekl “pár lidem”, zda by se do volných bytů nechtěli nastěhovat.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *He lived in an almost empty flat and once he told ‘few people’ if they wouldn’t move in the vacant flats.*
- (45) *Řekl jsem hlavnímu sudímu, zda by ho nemohl vyměnit.* (SYN2006pub)
E. *I told the chief referee if he could replace him.*

2.3. Directive Dependent Content Clauses

Directive DCCs (directDCC in the sequel) express the content of what is indicated by the governing verb as a command, appeal, request, etc. These DCCs denote events which have not been realized yet but the realization of which is desirable for the ‘Speaker’ – they generally refer to the future. They are typically introduced by subordinating conjunctions *aby* ‘so that’ and *ať* ‘to let’. The conjunction *aby* implies the conditional mood of verbs.

The directDCCs can be paraphrased by direct speeches with the imperative sentential modality. See the following example and its paraphrase by the direct speech:

- (46) *Poté zákazník přikázal taxikáři, (aby jej odvezl ke stanici Budějovická).*(directDCC)
(SYN2006pub)
E. *Then the client has ordered the taxi driver to take him to the station Budějovická.*
(*Poté zákazník přikázal taxikáři: “Odvezte mě ke stanici Budějovická!”*)
(E. *Then the client has ordered the taxi driver: “Take me to the station Budějovická!”*)

3. Subclasses of the Verbs of Communication

The information on the type of the DCCs, which the verbs of communication require to be complemented by, is taken as a key criterion for subdividing this group of verbs into semantically and morphosyntactically more coherent classes.

The type of the dependent content clauses serves as the basis of the classification for the following reasons: (i) the type of the dependent content clauses reveals the semantic properties of the governing verb to some extent. For instance, the interDCCs do not realize the ‘Message’ of the verbs of communication expressing an order (e.g., **Nařídil mu, jestli přijde večer brzy.* E. **He ordered him whether he comes early*). Vice versa, if a verb of communication expresses a question, it cannot be complemented by a directDCC (e.g., **Ptal se ho, aby něco udělal / ať něco udělá.* E. **He questioned him to do something*), see (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987) and (Běličová and Sedláček, 1990).

(ii) Each type of the dependent content clauses is regularly associated with several other morphosyntactic properties. For instance, the splitting of the theme and the dictum is realized only when a particular verb of communication is complemented by the assertDCC. Furthermore, if a particular verb of communication governs the interDCC or directDCC, then its valency frame contains the obligatory 'Addressee'. On the other hand, being complemented by the assertDCC, the verbs of communication have an obligatory or an optional 'Addressee' or it is not present in their valency frames at all.

As a result of this classification, the verbs of communication are divided into three subtler classes – assertive (Section 3.1), interrogative (Section 3.2) and directive verbs of communication (Section 3.3). Furthermore, in Section 3.4, we propose a method how to treat the 'neutral verbs' – these verbs can be complemented by all three types of the DCCs.

3.1. Assertive Verbs of Communication

This subclass contains the verbs of communication which require to be complemented by the **assertDCCs**. The verbs of this subclass denote such events of speaking in which the content of the 'Message' is conveyed by the 'Speaker' as a fact. This subclass contains the following verbs: *líčit^{impf}* 'to depict', *lhát^{impf}* 'to lie', *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}* 'to tell', *žalovat^{impf}* 'to complain', etc. The 'Speaker' can express his attitude to the truthfulness of the content of the assertDCC. See the following examples:

- (47) *Někdo mi vyprávěl, že zde snad ještě můžeme dostat vízum na Haiti nebo do San Dominga.*
(SYN2000)
E. *Somebody told me that maybe it was possible for us to get visa for Haiti and San Domingo here.*

Two issues concerning the assertive verbs of communication will be discussed in more detail: (i) the participant 'Recipient' (Section 3.1.1) and (ii) the splitting of the theme and dictum (Section 3.1.2).

3.1.1. 'Addressee' of Assertive Verbs of Communication

The participant 'Recipient' is realized in the 'Addressee's' valency slot. This slot can be obligatory (as in the cases of the verbs *konzultovat^{biasp}* 'to consult', *svěřit se^{pf}*, *svěřovat se^{impf}* 'to confide', *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}* 'to tell', *žalovat^{impf}* 'to complain', etc.) or optional (as in the cases of the verbs *číst^{impf}* 'to read', *chlubit se^{impf}* 'to boast', *lhát^{impf}* 'to lie', *líčit^{impf}* 'to depict', *zmínit se^{pf}*, *zmiňovat se^{impf}* 'to mention', etc.).

In case that the valency frames of assertive verbs do not contain an 'Addressee's' slot, an audience, which does not actively participate in the event of speaking, can be morphematically expressed especially by the prepositional group *před* 'in front of' + instrumental representing an optional free modification with locative meaning.

- (48) *Mnohé firmy nejsou vůbec schopny definovat před svými zaměstnanci, co je obchodní tajemství.* (SYN2006pub)

E. *Many companies are not able to define in front of their employees what the trade secret is.*

The examples of the assertive verbs of communication without ‘Addressee’s’ valency slot are the following: *defnovat^{biasp}* ‘to define’, *deklarovat^{biasp}* ‘to declare’, *komentovat^{biasp}* ‘to comment’, *konstatovat^{biasp}* ‘to claim’, etc.

3.1.2. Splitting of the Theme and the Dictum

The splitting of the theme and the dictum – i.e. the participant ‘Message’ occupies two valency slots: ‘Patient’ and ‘Effect’ – is typical of several verbs of communication of this subclass, e.g., *číst^{impf}* ‘to read’, *líčit^{impf}* ‘to depict’, *konstatovat^{biasp}* ‘to claim’, *vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *zmínit se^{pf}*, *zmiňovat se^{impf}* ‘to mention’, *žalovat^{impf}* ‘to complain’, see (Daneš and Hlavsa, 1987), (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987) and (Součková, 2005).⁷

Furthermore, this property is characteristic of most ‘neutral’ verbs of communication (Section 3.4), e.g., *hlásat^{impf}* ‘to propagate’, *hlásit^{impf}* ‘to report’, *oznámít^{pf}*, *oznamovat^{impf}* ‘to announce’, *povědět^{pf}*, *povídat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *psát^{impf}* ‘to write’, *říci^{pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’, *sdělit^{pf}*, *sdělovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *šeptnout^{pf}*, *šeptat^{impf}* ‘to whisper’. See the following example:

- (49) *Řekla o mně, že jsem líněj jako veš.* (SYN2000)
E. ‘Said – about – me – that – (I-)am – lazy – as – louse.’

As for the morphemic form of the ‘Patient’, it can be expressed by the following prepositional groups *o* ‘about’ + locative, *na* ‘about’ + accusative and *k* ‘on’ + dative (for more information, see Section 1.1.2 above). The ‘Effect’ is realized by the assertDCCs and by the accusative in some cases.

The separated part of the ‘Message’ realized in the governing clause is always in the relation of coreference with an expression or with a whole segment of the DCC, see (Hajičová, Panevová, and Sgall, 1985-1987). We observe the cases of (i) textual coreference – the separated part is referentially identical with a personal pronoun (ex 50) – and the cases of (ii) a more complicated relation between the separated part and the anaphoric element. To a great extent, this relation is based on the shared knowledge. For instance, the separated part and the anaphoric element can be in the relation of metonymy (as *mother* and *her tongue* in ex 51), synonymy (as *Agassi’s ability of returning services* and *his returns* in ex 52), hyponymy and hyperonymy (as *pub* and *facility* in ex 53), see esp. (Cruse, 1986), or (Filipec and Čermák, 1985). If a whole segment or even a whole assertDCC represent the anaphoric device, the content relationship between them may be very loose (as *Milevina’s limping* and *he would have never had courage to get married to a wife who would not be absolutely healthy* ex 54).

- (50) *Ramos o návštěvě řekl, že významně uvolňuje napětí mezi oběma zeměmi.* (SYN2005)
E. ‘Ramos – about – visit – said – that – significantly – (it-)eases – tension – between – both – countries.’

⁷Some verbs expressing mental activity allow for the splitting of the theme and dictum as well.

- (51) *Když jsem však řekla o matce, ..., že jí pusa jede jako dítěti ...* (SYN2005)
E. 'When – however – (I-)said – about – mother – ... – that – her – tongue – never gives a rest – ...'
- (52) *Poražený první hráč řekl o schopnosti Agassiho vracet podání, že jeho returny byly jako laserové paprsky.* (SYN2000)
E. 'Beaten – first – player – said – about – ability – Agassi's – return – services – that – his – returns – were – as – laser – beams.'
- (53) *...tvrdí Pavel Doležal o své hospodě U Andyho, že jej podnik dobře uživí.* (SYN2006pub)
E. '...claims – Pavel – Doležal – about – his – pub – at – Andy's – that – him – facility – well – maintains.'
- (54) *Uvádí se, že jistý Einsteinův kolega jednou řekl o Milevině kulhání, že by nikdy neměl odvahu oženit se s ženou, která by nebyla absolutně zdravá.* (SYN2005)
E. *It is stated that an Einstein's colleague has said about Milevina's limping that he would never have courage to get married to a wife who would not be absolutely healthy.*

The anaphoric element may occur in different **syntactic positions**: in the position of the subject (ex 50), the direct object (ex 55 and 56), the indirect object (ex 56) or in the adverbial position (ex 57):

- (55) *Miloš Zeman prohlásil o Wagnerovi, že ho do svých řad nechtěli ani komunisté.* (SYN2006pub)
E. 'Miloš – Zeman – declared – about – Wagner – that – him – in – their – ranks – had not wanted – even – the communists.'
- (56) *...a psát o ní, že ji vlastně vyzývá a očekává od ní pomoc a požehnání v nejnesmyslnějších věcech.* (SYN2005)
E. *...and – write – about – her – that – in fact – invokes – and – expects – from – her – help – and – blessing – in – the most unreasonable – situations.*
- (57) *Je nepřesné říci o Marxovi, že technický pokrok znamená podle něj vždy úsporu práce.* (SYN2005)
E. 'It – is – not exact – say – about – Marx – that – technical – progress – implies – according to – him – always – the saving – work.'

The splitting of the theme and the dictum represents a difficulty in the description of the valency structure as the verbs allowing the splitting of the theme and the dictum are regularly used without such a splitting in other contexts as well. As a result, two separated valency frames have to be postulated despite an apparent similarity in their meanings.

For the purpose of an explicit description of the valency structures of the verbs of communication, we propose to exploit the alternation model according to which the alternations are taken as regular changes in the valency structure. (This model was outlined for the purpose of VALLEX, *Valency Lexicon of Czech Verbs*, see (Lopatková, Žabokrtský, and Kettnerová, 2008), (Markéta Lopatková, 2006) and (Žabokrtský, 2005)).

Under such a treatment, the splitting of the theme and the dictum represents a syntactic alternation (SplTD in the sequel), applicable to **some assertive verbs of communication** or **'neutral' cases when complemented by the assertDCCs** (Section 3.4). SplTD is characterized by the changes in the valency frame – in the number of valency complementations and their morphemic forms. However, this alternation is not accompanied by a substantial change in the lexical meaning – the separated part of the DCC is only emphasized. For illustration, the rules of the SplTD applicable to the verb *řici^{pf}*, *řikat^{impf}* 'to tell' can be formulated as follows:⁸

ACT ¹ [ADDR] ³ PAT ^{4,assertDCC}	ACT ¹ [ADDR] ³ ⇒ PAT ^{k+3,na+4,o+6} EFF ^{4,assertDCC}
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Table 1. The SplTD alternation applicable to the verb *řici^{pf}*, *řikat^{impf}* 'to tell': (i) PAT is split into PAT and EFF and (ii) the morphemic forms of PAT are changed.

3.1.3. Valency Frames of the Assertive Verbs

In summary, the participant **'Speaker'** occupies the 'Actor's' valency slot which is obligatory. The participant **'Recipient'** fills the 'Addressee's' valency slot which can be obligatory or optional; some assertive verbs do not contain the 'Addressee's' slot in their valency frames at all, see Section 3.1.1 above.

The participant **'Message'** can fill a single valency slot, then it is expressed as the 'Patient', or it can be realized in two valency slots: its theme is realized as the 'Patient' and its dictum as the 'Effect', see Section 1.1.2 above. In conclusion, we introduce a list of all the assertive verbs of communication enumerated at the beginning of this section and their valency frames (Table 2). The valency frames involving the 'Effect' are the ones derived by the SplTD.

3.2. Interrogative Verbs of Communication

Interrogative verbs of communication represent a relatively restricted set. Their participant 'Message' is prototypically expressed by the **interDCCs** (Section 2.2). The verbs of this subclass express getting knowledge or verifying particular information – they denote those events of speaking in which the 'Speaker' urges the 'Recipient' to provide him with particular information which is unknown to him, or to confirm or disprove particular information. See the following example:

- (58) *Příští den jsem se ho.ADDR otázal, (zda bych si mohl u něj ještě den odpočinout).PAT*
(SYN2006pub)

⁸The square brackets indicate that the given valency complementation is optional.

assertive verb of communication	valency frame
<i>číst^{impf}</i> ₁ ‘to read’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>číst^{impf}</i> ₂ ‘to read’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>definovat^{biasp}</i> ‘to define’	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>deklarovat^{biasp}</i> ‘to declare’	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>chlubit se^{impf}</i> ‘to boast’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ [PAT] _{7,s+7,assertDCC}
<i>líčit^{impf}</i> ‘to depict’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>lhát^{impf}</i> ‘to lie’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{0+6,assertDCC}
<i>komentovat^{biasp}</i> ‘to comment’	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>konstatovat^{biasp}</i> ₁ ‘to claim’	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>konstatovat^{biasp}</i> ₂ ‘to claim’	ACT ₁ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>konzultovat^{biasp}</i> ‘to consult’	ACT ₁ ADDR _{s+7} PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>svěřit se^{pf}</i> , <i>svěřovat se^{impf}</i> ‘to confide’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{s+7,assertDCC}
<i>vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}</i> ₁ ‘to tell’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>vyprávět / vypravovat^{impf}</i> ₂ ‘to tell’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>zmínit se^{pf}</i> ₁ , <i>zmiňovat se^{impf}</i> ₁ ‘to mention’	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{0+6,assertDCC}
<i>žalovat^{impf}</i> ₁ ‘to complain’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,na+4,assertDCC}
<i>žalovat^{impf}</i> ₂ ‘to complain’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{na+4} EFF _{4,assertDCC}

Table 2. The list of the assertive verbs of communication and their valency frames.

E. I.ACT asked him.ADDR the next day (whether I could have a rest by him for one more day).PAT

The following verbs represent the examples of the interrogative verbs of communication: *otázat se^{pf}* ‘to ask’, *ptát se^{impf}*, *tázat se^{impf}*, *vyptat se^{pf}*, *vyptávat se^{impf}*, *zeptat se^{pf}*, etc.

3.2.1. Valency Frame of the Interrogative Verbs

The valency frame of the interrogative verbs of communication contains the ‘Actor’s’, ‘Addressee’s’ and ‘Patient’s’ obligatory valency slots. The participant ‘Speaker’ occupies the ‘Actor’s’ valency slot, the ‘Recipient’ fills the ‘Addressee’s’ one and the ‘Message’ occurs in the ‘Patient’s’ slot. These verbs do not allow the splitting of the theme and the dictum. The list summarizing the valency characteristics of the interrogative verbs enumerated in this section is given in Table 3.

3.3. Directive Verbs of Communication

The participant ‘Message’ of these verbs of communication is expressed by the **directDCCs** and under conditions discussed in Section 3.3.1 below also by the **assertDCCs**.

The ‘Speaker’ represents an external stimulus expressing the volition to (non-)realize the

interrogative verb of communication	valency frame
<i>otázat se^{pf}</i> ‘to ask’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₂ PAT _{na+4,interDCC}
<i>ptát se^{impf}</i> ‘to ask’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₂ PAT _{na+4,interDCC}
<i>tázat se^{impf}</i> , ‘to ask’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₂ PAT _{na+4,interDCC}
<i>vyptat se^{pf}</i> , <i>vyptávat se^{impf}</i> , ‘inquire’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₂ PAT _{na+4,interDCC}
<i>zeptat se^{pf}</i> , ‘to ask’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₂ PAT _{na+4,interDCC}

Table 3. The list of the interrogative verbs of communication and their valency frames.

action expressed in the DCCs (as *taking on retirees* in ex 59). The actual performer of this action is situated in the ‘Addressee’s’ slot (*employers* here):

- (59) *Nemůžeme nařídit zaměstnavatelům, aby důchodce zaměstnávali či naopak.* (SYN20006pub)
E. *We cannot order employers to take on retirees or not.*

The ‘Speaker’s’ volition can be expressed by verbs denoting a command (e.g., *nakázat^{pf}*, *nakazovat^{impf}* ‘to enjoin’, *nařídit^{pf}*, *nařizovat^{impf}* ‘to order’, *poručit^{pf}*, *poručet^{impf}* ‘to dictate’, *přikázat^{pf}*, *přikazovat^{impf}*, ‘to command’, *uložit^{pf}*, *ukládat^{impf}* ‘to oblige’, etc.), a request (*požádat^{pf}*, *požadovat^{impf}* ‘to ask’, etc.), a prohibition (e.g., *zakázat^{pf}*, *zakazovat^{impf}* ‘to prohibit’, etc.), a recommendation (e.g., *doporučit^{pf}*, *doporučovat^{impf}* ‘to recommend’, etc.), a permission (e.g., *dovolit^{pf}*, *dovolovat^{impf}* ‘to allow’, etc.), a proposal (e.g., *nabídnout*, *nabízet* ‘to offer’, *navrhnout^{pf}*, *navrhovat^{impf}* ‘to suggest’, etc.),⁹ a challenge (*vyzvat^{pf}*, *vyzývat^{impf}* ‘to challenge’), etc.

3.3.1. Assertive DCCs Dependent on the Directive Verbs of Communication

According to (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987), the assertDCCs (introduced only by the subordinating conjunction *že* ‘that’) can realize the participant ‘Message’ of the directive verbs of communication under the condition that a modal verb is present there. However, the corpus evidence does not support this assumption: in a considerable portion of the assertDCCs dependent on a directive verb, no modal verbs are found. For instance, in SYN2006pub 17.5% of assertDCCs dependent on the verb *nařídit^{pf}* ‘to order’ do not contain any modal verb. Similarly, no modal verb occurs in 10.5% and even 66% of assertDCCs governed by the verb *dovolit^{pf}* ‘to allow’ and *navrhnout^{pf}* ‘to suggest’, respectively. On the other hand, these assertDCCs have the same temporal perspective referring to the future as the directDCCs. Similarly, they express desirable events which have not yet been realized. See the following examples:

- (60) *Navrhli jsme mu, že mu vrátíme peníze.* (SYN2005)
E. *We suggested that we will give him money back.*

⁹These verbs can be complemented by the interDCCs as well. However, being complemented by the interDCCs, they express a polite proposal. See the following examples: *Navrhl mi, abych se přestěhoval.* E. *He has suggested that I moved.* and *Navrhl mi, zda bych nechtěl jít do kina.* E. *He has suggested going to the cinema, if I liked.*

- (61) *Policie ale nařídila, že od února tady budou auta opět jezdit v obou směrech.* (SYN2005)
E. *However, the police has ordered that cars would go here in both directions from February.*

As for modal verbs, their range is limited in these constructions: on the basis of corpus evidence, only modal verbs relating to the modal categories (i) **necessity** (expressed by *muset* 'must', 'have to', *nemoci* 'not be allowed', *mít* 'ought', 'should', *nemít* 'ought not', 'should not', and *nesmět* 'must not' and (ii) **possibility** (expressed by *moci* 'can', *nemuset* 'need not', and *smět* 'be allowed') occur in the assertDCCs dependent on the directive verbs of communication, see esp. (Kettnerová-Benešová, 2007). More information on modal categories can be found in (Mluvnice češtiny III, 1987). See the following examples:

- (62) *Nařídili mi, že se musím do pěti dnů dostavit na urgentní poradu.* (SYN2000)
E. 'Ordered - me - that - refl - must - in - five - days - come - to - urgent - meeting.'
- (63) *Doporučili jí, že by měla odejít.* (SYN2006pub)
E. 'Recommended - her - that - should - resign.'
- (64) *Navrhl jsem mu, že královnin portrét by mohl být součástí jeho výstavy v Holandsku ...* (SYN2006pub)
E. 'Suggested - him - that - queen's - portrait - could - be - a part - his - exhibition - in - the Netherlands ...'

The DCCs of the mentioned type do not contain modal verbs relating to the modality of intention (expressed by *chtít* 'to want' and *hodlat* 'to intend') and the modal meaning of ability (expressed by *umět* 'be able' and *dovět* 'be able'). This restriction follows from the fact that the intention and ability are in competence of the actor of the action himself, so they cannot be affected by the volition of the 'Speaker' as an external stimulus (Section 3.3), see (Kettnerová-Benešová, 2007).

3.3.2. Valency Frame of the Directive Verbs

The valency structure of the directive verbs of communication consists of three obligatory slots: the 'Actor', 'Addressee' and 'Patient'. The participant 'Speaker' occupies the 'Actor's' valency slot, the 'Recipient' and the 'Message' fill the slots of the 'Addressee' and the 'Patient', respectively. They do not allow the splitting of the theme and the dictum. Table 4 presents a list summarizing the directive verbs enumerated in this section and their valency frames:

3.4. 'Neutral' Cases of Verbs of Communication

Some verbs of communication allow for being complemented by all three types of the DCCs. In connection with a particular type of the DCCs, these verbs may express:

1. a **statement** when complemented by an assertDCC:

- (65) *Řekla, že ji bolí hlava.* (SYN2005)
E. *She said that she had got headache.*

directive verb of communication	valency frame
<i>nakázat^{Pf}</i> , <i>nakazovat^{impf}</i> ‘to enjoin’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>nařídít^{Pf}</i> , <i>nařizovat^{impf}</i> ‘to order’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>poručit^{Pf}</i> , <i>poroučet^{impf}</i> ‘to dictate’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>přikázat^{Pf}</i> , <i>přikazovat^{impf}</i> ‘to command’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>uložit^{Pf}</i> , <i>ukládat^{impf}</i> ‘to oblige’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>požádat^{Pf}</i> ‘to ask’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT _{0+4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>zakázat^{Pf}</i> , <i>zakazovat^{impf}</i> ‘to prohibit’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>doporučit^{Pf}</i> , <i>doporučovat^{impf}</i> ‘to recommend’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>dovolit^{Pf}</i> , <i>dovolovat^{impf}</i> ‘to allow’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>navrhnout^{Pf}</i> , <i>navrhovat^{impf}</i> ‘to suggest’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}
<i>vyzvat^{Pf}</i> , <i>vyzývat^{impf}</i> ‘to challenge’	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT _{k+3,inf,directDCC,assertDCC}

Table 4. The list of the directive verbs of communication and their valency frames.

2. a **question** when complemented by an interDCC:

- (66) *Můžete říct, zda opustil během noci kupé?* (SYN2005)
 E. *Could you say whether he left the compartment during the night?*

3. an **order** when complemented by a directDCC:

- (67) *Řeknu jí, aby vám napsala a pozvala vás.*(SYN2005)
 E. *I will ask her to write to you and invite you.*

The following verbs of communication behave ‘neutrally’ with regard to the types of the DCCs: *informovat^{biasp}* ‘to inform’, *křiknout^{Pf}*, *křičet^{impf}* ‘to shout’, *oznámít^{Pf}*, *oznamovat^{impf}* ‘to announce’, *podotknout^{Pf}*, *podotýkat^{impf}* ‘to remark’, *povědět^{Pf}*, *povídat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *psát^{impf}* ‘to write’, *poznámenat^{Pf}*, *poznámenávat^{impf}* ‘to remark’, *říci^{Pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’, *sdělit^{Pf}*, *sdělovat^{impf}* ‘to tell’, *šeptnout^{Pf}*, *šeptat^{impf}* ‘to whisper’, *telefonovat^{biasp}* ‘to telephone’, etc.

In a similar vein as the assertive verbs of communication, the ‘Addressee’ of these verbs can be obligatory (e.g., *informovat^{biasp}* ‘to inform’), optional (e.g., *říci^{Pf}*, *říkat^{impf}* ‘to say’), or it is not present in the valency frame at all (e.g., *podotknout^{Pf}*, *podotýkat^{impf}* ‘to remark’, *poznámenat^{Pf}*, *poznámenávat^{impf}* ‘to mention’).

On the other hand, the syntactic properties of these verbs of communication vary according to the types of the DCCs which they are complemented by: (i) if they are complemented by an assertDCC, their syntactic behavior corresponds to that of the assertive verbs of communication (see Section 3.1 above), (ii) when they govern an interDCC, they share the syntactic properties with the interrogative verbs of communication (see Section 3.2 above), and (iii) if they are complemented by a directDCC, they exhibit the same syntactic behavior as the directive verbs of communication (see Section 3.3 above).

(i) ‘Neutral’ Verbs Complemented by an Assertive DCC. If these verbs of communication are complemented by the **assertDCC**, then they allow the splitting of the theme and the dictum,

which is reflected in their valency frames (see Section 3.1.2). See the following examples:

- (68) *Řekla nám.ADDR o sobě.PAT, (že má upřímnou povahu, je veselá a ráda se baví).EFF*
(SYN2006pub)
E. '(She-)told – us – about – herself – that – (she-)has – frank – character – is – cheerful
– and – glad – refl – enjoys.'
- (69) *K boji.PAT o následnictví poznamenal, (že nebude “žádný slet supů a shluk hyen”).EFF*
(SYN2006pub)
E. *On – contest – for – succession – (he-)remarked – that – won't – no – meeting – vultures
– and – riot – hyenas*

(ii) 'Neutral' Verbs Complemented by an Interrogative DCC. Being complemented by an **interDCC**, these verbs have the same syntactic properties as the interrogative verbs of communication. If the 'Addressee's' slot is present in the valency frame, then it is obligatory as in the case of the interrogative verbs of communication. The splitting of the theme and the dictum is not possible in these cases. See the following examples:

- (70) *Řekni mi.ADDR, (zda je to všechno pravda).PAT* (SYN2005)
E. *Tell me.ADDR (whether it is all true).PAT*
- (71) *Kdosi.ACT poznamenal, (zda je to vůbec legální ...).PAT* (SYN2006pub)
E. *Somebody.ACT has remarked (whether it is legal ...).PAT*

(iii) 'Neutral' Verbs Complemented by a Directive DCC. When complemented by a **directDCC**, they have the similar properties as the directive verbs of communication. If their valency structure contains the 'Addressee's' valency slot, it is obligatory (ex 72). In contrast to the directive verbs of communication, the 'Message' cannot be expressed by an infinitive (ex 73).

- (72) *Lupiči.ACT řekli prodavačce.ADDR, (aby jim vydala peníze).PAT* (SYN2006pub)
E. *The robbers.ACT told the shop assistant.ADDR (to give them money out).PAT*
- (73) *Já jí řekl, aby si vzala prášek ...* (SYN2000)
E. 'I – her – told – to – refl – took – pill ...'
(**Já jí řekl vzít si prášek ...*)
(E. *I – her – told – take – refl – pill*)

3.4.1. Valency Frames of the 'Neutral' Cases of Verbs of Communication

Tables 5, 6 and 7 summarize the possible valency frames of the verbs of communication which exhibit 'neutral' behavior with regard to the types of the DCCs. The following three types are distinguished with respect to the 'Addressee' slot: it can be obligatory (Table 5) or optional (Table 6) or it can be missing in the valency frames at all (Table 7).

verb of communication	valency frame
$sd\dot{e}lit^{pf}_1, sd\dot{e}lovat^{impf}_1$ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
$sd\dot{e}lit^{pf}_2, sd\dot{e}lovat^{impf}_2$ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{k+3,0+6} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
$sd\dot{e}lit^{pf}_3, sd\dot{e}lovat^{impf}_3$ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
$sd\dot{e}lit^{pf}_4, sd\dot{e}lovat^{impf}_4$ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCCDCC}
$informovat^{biasp}_1$ 'to inform'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT _{0+6,assertDCC}
$informovat^{biasp}_2$ 'to inform'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{assertDCC}
$informovat^{biasp}_3$ 'to inform'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT _{interDCCDCC}
$informovat^{biasp}_4$ 'to inform'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₄ PAT _{directDCC}
$oznamit^{pf}_1, oznamovat^{impf}_1$ 'to announce'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
$oznamit^{pf}_2, oznamovat^{impf}_2$ 'to announce'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{0+6,na+4} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
$oznamit^{pf}_3, oznamovat^{impf}_3$ 'to announce'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
$oznamit^{pf}_4, oznamovat^{impf}_4$ 'to announce'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCC}
$telefonovat^{biasp}_1$ 'to telephone'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
$telefonovat^{biasp}_2$ 'to telephone'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
$telefonovat^{biasp}_3$ 'to telephone'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
$telefonovat^{biasp}_4$ 'to telephone'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCC}

Table 5. The valency frames of the 'neutral' verbs of communication with an obligatory 'Addressee'.

4. Conclusion

We have described syntactic properties of the Czech verbs of communication. We have given the characteristics of three participants ('Speaker', 'Recipient' and 'Message') of the events that these verbs render. We have provided a description of tectogrammatical counterparts of these participants and their morphemic realizations. A special attention has been devoted to the dependent content clauses. Three types of them are distinguished on the basis of their modality: assertive, interrogative and directive. We have proposed a further subdivision of the group of the verbs of communication with respect to which type of the dependent content clauses these verbs require to be complemented by. These classes are referred to as assertive, interrogative and directive verbs of communication and syntactic properties of the verbs of these three subclasses are described in detail. We have focused on their valency frames and the splitting of the theme and dictum. Furthermore, the verbs of communication which behave 'neutrally' with regard to the types of dependent content clauses, i.e., they can be complemented by more than one type of the dependent content clauses, are debated. As their syntactic properties vary depending on the type of the dependent content clause which they govern, we propose to distinguish four types of valency frames for these verbs: "assertive" without the splitting of the theme and dictum, "assertive" with the splitting of the theme and dictum, "interrogative" and "directive".

verb of communication	valency frame
<i>řici</i> ^{Pf} ₁ , <i>říkat</i> ^{impf} ₁ 'to say'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>řici</i> ^{Pf} ₂ , <i>říkat</i> ^{impf} ₂ 'to say'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{k+3,na+4,0+6} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>řici</i> ^{Pf} ₃ , <i>říkat</i> ^{impf} ₃ 'to say'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
<i>řici</i> ^{Pf} ₄ , <i>říkat</i> ^{impf} ₄ 'to say'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{0+4,directDCCDCC}
<i>křiknout</i> ^{Pf} ₁ , <i>křičet</i> ^{impf} ₁ 'to shout'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] _{na+4} PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>křiknout</i> ^{Pf} ₂ , <i>křičet</i> ^{impf} ₂ 'to shout'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] _{na+4} PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>křiknout</i> ^{Pf} ₃ , <i>křičet</i> ^{impf} ₃ 'to shout'	ACT ₁ ADDR _{na+4} PAT _{interDCC}
<i>křiknout</i> ^{Pf} ₄ , <i>křičet</i> ^{impf} ₄ 'to shout'	ACT ₁ ADDR _{na+4} PAT _{directDCC}
<i>povědět</i> ^{Pf} ₁ , <i>povídat</i> ^{impf} ₁ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>povědět</i> ^{Pf} ₂ , <i>povídat</i> ^{impf} ₂ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{k+3,na+4,0+6} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>povědět</i> ^{Pf} ₃ , <i>povídat</i> ^{impf} ₃ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
<i>povědět</i> ^{Pf} ₄ , <i>povídat</i> ^{impf} ₄ 'to tell'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCC}
<i>psát</i> ^{impf} ₁ 'to write'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>psát</i> ^{impf} ₂ 'to write'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>psát</i> ^{impf} ₃ 'to write'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{interDCC}
<i>psát</i> ^{impf} ₄ 'to write'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCC}
<i>šeptnout</i> ^{Pf} ₁ , <i>šeptat</i> ^{impf} ₁ 'to whisper'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT _{4,0+6,assertDCC}
<i>šeptnout</i> ^{Pf} ₂ , <i>šeptat</i> ^{impf} ₂ 'to whisper'	ACT ₁ [ADDR] ₃ PAT ₀₊₆ EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>šeptnout</i> ^{Pf} ₃ , <i>šeptat</i> ^{impf} ₃ 'to whisper'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{intertDCC}
<i>šeptnout</i> ^{Pf} ₄ , <i>šeptat</i> ^{impf} ₄ 'to whisper'	ACT ₁ ADDR ₃ PAT _{directDCC}

Table 6. The valency frames of the 'neutral' verbs of communication with an optional 'Addressee'.

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verb of communication	valency frame
<i>podotknout^{pf}₁, podotýkat^{impf}₁</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>podotknout^{pf}₂, podotýkat^{impf}₂</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{k+3,0+6} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>podotknout^{pf}₃, podotýkat^{impf}₃</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{interDCC}
<i>podotknout^{pf}₄, podotýkat^{impf}₄</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{directDCC}
<i>poznámenat^{pf}₁, poznámenávat^{impf}₁</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{4,assertDCC}
<i>poznámenat^{pf}₂, poznámenávat^{impf}₂</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{k+3,0+6} EFF _{4,assertDCC}
<i>poznámenat^{pf}₃, poznámenávat^{impf}₃</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{interDCC}
<i>poznámenat^{pf}₄, poznámenávat^{impf}₄</i> 'to remark'	ACT ₁ PAT _{directDCC}

Table 7. The valency frames of the 'neutral' verbs of communication without an 'Addressee'.

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