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RELATIONS OF SPOKEN AND WRITTEN CZECH
(With Special Reference to the Varying Degree of Acceptability of Spoken Elements in Written Language)

0.0 The title of this article is, perhaps, too general. Though we intend to deal with some of the main aspects of the spoken form of the Czech language and to see these aspects as belonging to a structural and functional variety of Czech, we do not propose to cover the field exhaustively, e.g. prosodic features will be left aside.

Among the Slavonic languages, Czech occupies a rather special place in that the difference between the spoken and written language is comparatively large, and also in that the most usual variety of the spoken langugage is currently viewed here as a special and independent code (going under the name of **obecná češtína** = Common Czech). In some of the Slavonic languages, for instance Polish, it is only possible to speak of a spoken variant of the standard written language, the two being essentially identical, i.e. apart from being differentiated by a certain number of special elements and by prosodic features. In some other languages, for instance Bulgarian, the difference between the spoken and written language forms is, practically, the difference between the (prescribed literary) national standard and local dialects, which, however, does not prevent the native speakers of a dialect from speaking the national standard as well.

The Czech situation is different. Due to an intricate historical development, there is no longer any doubt that we are dealing with at least **two** competing varieties of the Czech langugage, differing from each other in a number of ways. The qualification **two** is important here because, so far, there is no general agreement on how many variants of the spoken language there might be, not to mention dialects. The prevailing view over the last thirty years or so has been that there is, above all, Common Czech (**obecná češtína**) which is a self-contained variety, quite different from the Literary standard language (Literary Czech = **spisovná češtína**). Literary Czech supposedly has its own limited spoken, though still "literary", variant (**hovorová češtína** = Colloquial Czech). For a number of reasons, however, this picture does not reflect the true state of facts. In fact:

(1) The differences between the Literary Czech form and the Common Czech form are not always clear-cut and there is an area of overlap between them (not to be identified with the alleged Colloquial Czech).

(2) The difference between Literary Czech and Common Czech cannot be identified with that between the written and spoken language only (see 0.2 and 1.2).

(3) It is far from clear what exactly should be understood by the term Colloquial Czech, but it would appear that this so-called variety has no particular formal means of expression; indeed, some linguists doubt that such a variety exists, as it is not supported by sufficient linguistic evidence and does not form a complete code.

Here, it seems appropriate to posit some further distinctions. It is necessary to distinguish not only (1) Literary Czech from Common Czech and (2) the Written from the Spoken language, but also (3) the various styles from their formal (stylistic) means and devices. The first distinction relates to two structural varieties, or codes, of Czech, the second to their communicative modes while the third points to the fact that, in every style, one's utterance has its rules and modes of organization as well as specific devices one usually and preferably resorts to.

System →	Its Realization →	(Its Stylization)
Literary Czech (Rules & Devices)	Written Spoken	. . . . . .
Common Czech (Rules & Devices)	Spoken Written	. . . . . .

As to more pertinent criteria for this dimension - where obviously more research needs to be done - no more will be said here, since they fall outside the proposed aim of this paper. It is, however, the second dimension and some features of it that will be dealt with here, mostly against the background of the first one. Moreover, most of the following remarks are concerned with the Czech language as it is spoken in Bohemia proper, where dialects have been substantially watered down and have tended to give place to the widely spread variety of Common Czech, which is, for the most part nowadays, quite neutral as to the actual place where it is used. In Moravia, where the dialectal situation is different and more complex, the use of Common Czech is limited, since there is only an interim form here, a so-called (Moravian) interdialect, i.e. one between Common Czech and the dialects proper. This interdialect is used in a large part of the Moravian territory. The situation of the western part of the country is thus somewhat simpler; in fact, Common Czech is originally the Central Bohemian dialect from the Prague region which grew up and transformed itself into its present status of a competing majority code.

0.1 The Relation between Literary and Common Czech Forms.

Many insights and observations show matters even more complicated, it seems. It has been shown that many educated Czech speakers, when confronted with a transcript of what they have actually said are often shocked by the amount of Common Czech forms they use, and they readily admit that they would never write in such a way. They insist that they were not aware that the difference between the written and spoken forms was so great. Are we confronted with some kind of nation-wide schizophreny, present here? Anyway, on the other hand, the Literary Czech vs. Common Czech distinction merges in part, it seems, with that of the Written language vs. Spoken language. It also becomes evident that some long-held views, especially those concerning the traditional varieties of Literary and Common Czech require a functional redefinition. This problem is already implicit in the standard grammar of Czech by Havránek-Jedlička (1984, p. 4): "At times, the speaker or listener may not even fully perceive whether they are using the Literary or Common Czech forms."

The situation of the Literary language is further complicated by the fact that no one speaks it fully and consistently. More generally, it is a standard which is not supported by the usage of some prestige social group (as these groups, too, speak some variety of Common Czech).

Because of this and because its mode of existence is the written language, Literary Czech tends to have a rigorous artificial codification. While the spoken forms (i.e. of Common Czech above all) lack any authoritative codification, they do display, on the other hand, many specific formal devices as well as rules of text organization. These varying devices and rules are considered to stand either nearer or farther from the literary standard and they are thus attributed a respective social evaluation.[1] (This, then, should explain the unsatisfactory and unsuccessful attempt to posit the above-mentioned Colloquial Czech, which was supposed to be, paradoxically, both a form of the rigorous literary standard language and, at the same time, a form of the spontaneous Common Czeck with its "loose" character.) While it is true that, by and large, the literary standard (of Bohemia) is limited to the written language, but that it is its prestige that, by some kind of an inertia process, makes it also appear, in rather inorganic fragments, in some spoken utterances, contemporary Common Czech can be said, on the contrary, to find its way fairly often into written communication as well, though in a certain and moderate form only. In both cases, the result is a rather characteristic hybrid, combining elements of both codes together. This should be distinguished from the neutral ground, i.e. neutral devices and means primarily, which is a sphere of overlap for both codes and which is readily recognized by the social evaluation attributed to it by the native speakers. It should be pointed out that the attitude held here is somewhat adverse and critical to the traditional views which consider only the literary standard to be a complete, universal code, and the Common Czech

variety to be socially a "lower", unofficial one, lacking in prestige and being communicatively incomplete (the existence of neutral rules and devices is not fully appreciated by these views).

0.2 Function of Both Codes.

The preceding remarks about the nature of code, social prestige and communication have something in common, i.e. the notion of **function**. Both codes under discussion, Literary and Common Czech, acquire their true meaning only when viewed as varieties correlated with a set of functions they usually fulfill. We have also implied that traditional views held here are wrong in at least one point: that the literary language has capacity to fufill all basic functions of a language. It is practically never used in the role of the spoken language - unless one takes a literary text read aloud for the spoken language. Without going into many of the different language functions, it is necessary to mention briefly what could and should be understood by the term Spoken language. It is obvious that one must dinstinguish at least two things here: (1) the spoken existential mode of language, i.e. its realization in speech, as contrasted with the written one, which, due to its prosodic featues, is different, and (2) a rather broadly conceived functional variety which is characterized by such features as (a) informal and (b) "near" or even intimate form of communication (whereas the written, or literary language is formal and "remote" here).

It is, then, in this second sense of the Spoken language that one should consider Common Czech, too. Because the terms Spoken Language (functional variety) and Common Czech (code) are not quite identical, we shall not try, in the following, to draw any sharp line between them. One of the reasons for this is the existence of a joint neutral ground between Literary and Common Czech and the fact that one must take into account different strata within Common Czech itself; but the main reason seems to be a theoretical dilemma, present here: it seems futile to draw well-defined boundaries where the region itself is ill-defined so far and calls for a substantial revision and precision by a new, rigorous and unbiased research. For these reasons both terms, Spoken and Common Czech, are sometimes used here in free variation. Yet one must not make the obvious mistake of simply identifying Spoken Czech with anything that is not literary.

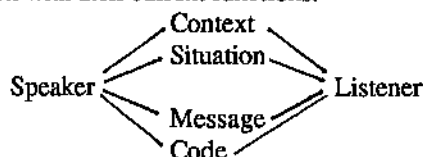## 0.3. Usage, Norm and Codification.

The specific situation, as it has developed in Czech especially after the Second World War, is a result of a number of factors and views, not all of them purely linguistic. Thus main and traditional linguistic emphasis is still being laid on **Codification**, while only a mild interest is taken in actual **Usage**. And since Usage is chiefly understood as individual usage, the relation between Usage and Norm has become blurred (Norm = collective norm)[2] and the Norm itself is de-

fined in a rather loose manner once it has no actual support in the recognized usage. Because there is no up-to-date sociolinguistic research into Usage, which should be the sole basis for any specification of the Norm viewed as the collective Usage, it follows that the declared nature of the Norm is often vague and the subsequent Codification, introduced by the standard grammars and manuals (by *Pravidla českého pravopisu* = Czech Orthographic Rules, among other things), often appears to be artificial and not corroborated by any linguistic research. In practice, then, this codification of the norm (by an authoritative body of experts) is limited to selection and stabilization of an invariant that is supposed to be desirable and to suppression of other variants felt to be too colloquial. As to its systemic features, one can observe here a pronounced paradigmatic character of the codification which, in today's Czech, is reflected primarily in spelling and morphology and, to a lesser degree, in orthoepy, i.e. in the paradigmatic aspects of the word. All the other spheres, i.e. the syntagmatic ones above all, are codified to a low degree only (which is, above all, the case of syntax) or not at all (idiomatics). So far, no thought has been given to any alternative approaches, either in scope, degree or methods used. Such a tendency could thus be understood as an inclination to observe formal language entities and to disregard its relational, syntagmatic aspects.

There is no arguing the fact that some kind of Norm must be assumed in every communicative setup and organization and this holds true of the Common Czech variety as well. But the nature of the Norm here, being no better explored than that of Literary language, is still far from clear. Alongside such features as its undoubtedly greater fluctuation, due to a non-existent condification, and some of its locally bound features, it is the existence of various inner strata with a corresponding scale of social acceptability that makes the situation of today's Common Czech variety so complicated. For this very reason the Norm for the Spoken Czech itself is subject to much variation.

1.0 Communicative and Functional Features of the Spoken Language.

In what follows, a modification of the familiar functional model of language communication, as it had been proposed by Jakobson (1960), has been used as a background for a brief comment and survey of the main features of the Spoken Language in correlation with their current functions.


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                    Context
                   Situation
Speaker                             Listener
                   Message
                    Code
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1.1 Features and Devices, Listener-Speaker Relation.

Its main **features** here are emotiveness, familiarity, expressiveness, appeal (*Appell*) and the bulk of the pragmatic means of text organization that support this relation, which is one between a rather small number of users. As for its other means and **devices**, it is specifically interjections, particles, the highly used intimate *ty* (thou) etc. that could be included here.

Speaker-Situation-Listener Relation.

Features: A direct contact, i.e. in praesentia, which is usually not public-oriented, is quite spontaneous and strongly conditioned by the type of situation involved.

Devices used: Interjections and particles (whose functions seem to overlap and cross several boundaries), intonation, sentence melody, emphasis, timbre and idiosyncracies of voice. As to its formal devices (discounting prosodic and pragmatic means), one might include here all those means serving the usage of *hic et nunc*, i.e. the first and second person and the present tense. Needless to say, this is the sphere of paralinguistic and kinesic features, of gestures and facial expressions as well.

Speaker-Code-Listener Relation.

Features: As the dialogue form is often involved, this relation tends to be simple, economic, improvised and highly variable; semiotically, one frequently observes here expressions with rather vague denotations and a high representation of indexical signs.

A wide range of devices is employed here: parataxis, juxtaposition, parenthesis, ellipsis, subjective word-order with the rheme in anteposition, often incomplete or blended sentences and constructions, a tendency to emphasize, often explicitly, sentence subject of all types. Lexical devices include the shortening of multi-word expressions and combinations to one-word names (universization), constructions of a nominal kind (see below), a number of clichés and idioms, a limited choice of grammatical words, most of them being phonologically reduced, contracted or modified. Last but not least, the contribution of morphology is a variety of phenomena and means aiming at and serving to a simplification of today's inflection. Along with these devices, one can observe a display of prosodic means here, for example conspicuous and significant intervals, contrast patterns of intonation etc. (to name only the obvious ones), which contribute to the articulation of the discourse.

Speaker-Message-Listener Relation.

Features: These include, in the first place, those related to the purely informational function of discourse (*sdělná funkce*), as it is called in the Prague tradition by Havránek and others, which bear upon the basic organization and transmission of factual information.

Which devices, if any, could be brought into an explicit correlation with these, is at present a matter of further research.

Speaker-Context-Listener Relation.

Features: Language context is fairly loose, less rigorous and depends rather heavily on other factors, such as situation. The immediate context ist often short, without lengthy complicated relationship to what has been said before.

Devices: A rather simple and direct way of binding sentences together, repetition, pleonasms etc.

1.2 Usage and Distribution of Spoken Czech.

As has been noted above, the term Spoken Czech covers here that spoken part of Czech viewed as a **functional variety** (i.e. in the second sense of the term Spoken mentioned above). This variety has, then, its typical spheres of use as well as those where it is found only occasionally; of the latter we shall be concerned here with the sphere of the written language, as the title of these notes suggests. In this connection some attention has to be given to the acceptability or appropriateness of Spoken Czech usage from the point of view of the goal of the discourse and of its situation, of the social status of the participants and of the type of communication, i.e. to a set of problems whose successful solution leads to a desired communicative competence. This kind of competence appears to be equally important, if not, in a sense, more important than the basic competence in the rules of grammar only.

What is the distribution of Spoken Czech? Except for a few unusual and unnatural cases of discourse interpreted as hypercorrect (where purely literary and written code might occur in speech) we can certainly claim that the spoken code is used in talk, discussion, narration, etc., in two different manners.

(1) It is **regularly** used

(a) if the communication is informal and not public, which holds both for the means used and for the situation;

(b) if socio-cultural contexts are not of a formalized nature, i.e. in contexts without any too formal rules of contact;

(c) if partners involved are socially equal or if the user of this code is socially higher, e.g. in talking to a child.

Topics of this kind for discourse can be both loose or specialized, i.e. they can and do include highly technical discussion between specialists, too.

(2) It is **often** used

(a) if the talk, conversation, etc. - as to its motivation - can be viewed as spontaneous, emotive or familiar;

(b) if it occurs among participants characterized as close to each other, i.e. as friends etc.

It is evident, on the other hand, that Spoken Czech is never used in such cases that can be grouped under the very opposite features, i.e. not, for instance, in public addresses which are, to some extent, always formal, etc.

1.3 The Spoken Code in the Written Language.

Leaving aside the last case mentioned above (the spoken language in the first interpretation of the term), some amount of spoken language within the written text is found in two major cases. These include (1) personal correspondence, and (2) modern literature, especially fiction and drama (where some of the minor genres such as feuilleton can be included, too). A lot depends here, of course, on the strength of the above-mentiond factors represented, or, as is the case of literature, on an attempt to simulate them. In practice, then, this means that in both genres one can come across a high representation of the spoken language, or none at all. In both genres the Spoken Language is currently accepted and evaluated as appropriate or not appropriate according to its real function, i.e. as being a full or partial correlative to the above-mentioned factors. Scientific and journalistic texts do not use Spoken Czech *a priori* but this does not mean one can find no trace of it here: an author, especially one from a technical field, can insert (though not intentionally) some of the spoken elements into his text, too.

1.4 Intentionality and Functionality of the Spoken Language Usage.

To sum up what has been claimed above: in some of the written genres and contexts also, Spoken Czech can be seen as functional, if it satisfies the above-stated conditions. Now, before going any further, it is necessary to mention a rather serious sociolinguistic fact here. Due to the influence of school, mass media and strong codification-oriented inclinations which have become a part of the public awareness, there is a wide-spread tendency to view Spoken (Common) Czech as something socially inferior, which seems to suggest, then, that it is the written and literary code that is to be used as much as possible. Although both codes are of necessity equal serving their specific aims and goals, this kind of artificially nurtured public awareness may and does lead to a priority conflict which assumes a rather strange form sometimes. This cultural "terrorism" of the written language (to overstate the situation somewhat), manifested in many forms, will also explain the peculiar fact mentioned above, i.e. that even well-educated speakers do not recognize the authorship of their own oral discourses when confronted, in transcript, with what they have actually said. This phenomenon is

so wide-spread that it tempts one to reconsider, for such spoken texts, the standing formulation of the phonological rules and to claim that Czech has no straightforward phonetic spelling. In this hypothetical case, textbooks would have to refer to the masculine adjectival ending of Nominative singular as written in one way (-*ý*) but pronounced in another ([-ej]) etc.[3] It is futile to expect that an average Czech speaker would, in casual speech, pronounce *vysoký strom* as really [visoki: strom] and not, as he does, as [visokej strom] etc., the latter case being the normal pronounciation of what becomes the former, when commited to paper.

1.5 Marked-Unmarked.

A brief mention should also be made here of the fact that the spoken discourse (just like the written one) has two kinds of means and devices at its disposal: typical and specifically marked ones and those which are unmarked, neutral and shared with the written code.

In some of the written genres, yet another manifestation of the "aggressiveness" of the written code is found: the result is a wide range of hybrids, containing elements of both codes, since the impulse to use the Spoken code is partially neutralized. Compare:

(1) *ňáké knížky* (some books), where *ňá-* (from *něja-*) is clearly a spoken element though the second element *-ké* is fully literary standard (i.e. instead of either consistently spoken *ňáký*, or purely literary form *nějaké*).

(2) Sometimes there is more than one degree to be distinguished in the spoken character of some expressions. Thus the hybrid Instrumental plural form *krás - nýma* (spoken *-ma*) seems to be closer to Written Czech and more acceptable by most language users than the typically spoken form *krásnejma* (spoken *-ej, -ma,* as contrasted with the literary form of *krásnými*). What is never acceptable, though, is a mixed hybrid of the kind *krásnejemi* (*-mi* belonging to the Written language only). As Kučera (1961) has shown, this last example also suggests that the spoken code does have its own inner stratification in some areas.

(3) Another example, taken from the recorded speech of the same speaker as in (1): *...je tam napadlej sníh... a počasí má takový docela jiný charakter,* where *napadlej* is a spoken form while *takový* and *jiný,* which could be analogous, are written forms.

(4) The spoken character of a discourse does not consist in a different morphology only, of course. Thus *vysoký barák* is a mishap, where *barák* is of the spoken code only (for the literary *dům* = house) while *vysoký* is of the literary standard. Stylistically, one might argue here that it is desirable to use either a purely spoken combination (*vysokej barák*) or a written one (*vysoký dům*).

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2.0 Some Typical Features and Devices Used in Spoken Czech.

In the following, a brief account of what is a very large and complicated field is given, to enable a non-native speaker of Czech orientate himself or herself in spoken discourses. As it is a selection of only the most typical phenomena, the suggested frequency indexes and ratings will almost always be in high values. Owing to the lack of solid research, all of the views and evaluation are of necessity somewhat subjective and are meant to give only an approximate idea (it is based on older sources, esp. Hronek 1972, and personal experience). Since one of the aims of this paper is to outline the degree of acceptability of the spoken elements in the written text (in contexts specified above), an attempt will be made here, alongside a characterization of frequency, to say something about the acceptability as well.

For the **frequency** of the spoken code in general the following broad indices will be used:

a = occuring always or in most instances,

b = occuring often,

c = occuring less often.

For the **acceptability** and use of the spoken elements in the written text the following designations will be used:

A = accepted (and used) currently as normal,

B = accepted sometimes,

C = accepted seldom or never

2.1 Phonology.

(1) Prothetic *v-* : *von, voba, vobraz, vod voka; povotočit* (on, oba, obraz, od oka; pootočit)[4]. Because of a degree of cacophony felt here, such forms as *vovoce* are not possible or are rare, cf. *voves* (oves). This *v-* is seldom or never found in foreign loan-words: *(v)omeleta; orchidea, orientalistika.* Rating: A-B/a.[5]

(2) Literary [e:] substituted by [i:] (written as í/ý): *mlíko, nýst* (mléko, nést). In some cases (where the substitution would result in homonymy, etc.) this phenomenon does not take place: *líto - *líto* (léto). Chief distribution of the feature seems to be in the endings and prefixes, however:[6] Acc/Nom *vysoký ceny* (vysoké ceny), Acc *pro velkýho kluka* (pro velkého chlapce/kluka), *dat tý mladý holce* (té mladé dívce/holce). Rating: A-B/a.

(3) Literary *ý* substituted by *-ej : tejden, bejt, mejt se, prej* (týden, být, mýt se, prý) etc., but never in e.g. *týž*. Chief distribution is, again, in endings and prefixes: *vejbor, vejlet* etc. (výbor, výlet), or Masc Adj *dobrej kamarád* (dobrý kamarád/přítel), but never in e.g. *vejdaj* (for výdaj) or seldom in *vejchod* (východ) where, in the first case, two diphthongs would make it an unusual

combination, or in the second case, the word is not as frequent, as it seems. Instrumental ending -ým (e.g. in dobrým kamarádem) is never changed, however.

If, however, the [i:] phoneme is preceded by c/z/s/l and is writtten as í, then the same substitution may occur, but not so regularly: cejtit, lejt, nosejk, zejtra (cítit, lít, nosík, zítra). The adjectival -ní, as in jarní, is always retained. Overall rating: A/a.

(4) In Czech words originally, the literary initial long ú- becomes ou- sometimes: ouzkej, ouřad, (úzký, úřad), but a lot of words do not have the change, e.g. útok (outok is improbable), úsilí. Instances such as ourok, oustav (úrok, ústav) are very rare now. Rating: C/c-b.

(5) Shortening of long [i:] to [i] : říkám, paní, není, etc. (říkám, paní, není). It does not usually occur in the adjectival and some other suffixes, however: moderní, běhání,[7] etc. Rating: B-C/a-b.

(6) Reduction and simplification of some rich and difficult clusters. Common is the dropping of the initial j-: du, pude, sem,[8] méno, eště, esli (jdu, půjde, jesem, jméno, ještě, jestli), but there are other types as well: cera, štyry, kerej, zpomínat, jabko, dycky, tajdle, ňák, ňákej, etc. (dcera, čtyři, který, vzpomínat, jablko, vždycky, tadyhle, nějak, nějaký). Rating: C/a.

2.2 Morphology: Nominals and Adverbs.

(1) General and uniform use of -ma in the Instrumental of plural: s těma cizejma lidma, s našima chytrejma holkama (s těmi cizími lidmi, s našimi chytrými děvčaty/holkami); náma, váma, nima, všema, etc. (námi, vámi, nimi, všemi). Rating: A/a.

(2) Gender neutralization in the plural forms of Adjectives and some adjectival pronouns: e.g. Nom ty mý starý kamarádi/kamarádky/stoly/kola (ti mí staří kamarádi, ty mé staré kamarádky, ty mé staré stoly, ta má stará kola), see also above. Rating: A/a.

(3) Shortening in the Dative pl. form of all Masculine and some Neuter nouns: mužum, hradum, městum (-ům). In other Dativ forms (-ám, -ím) the vocalic length is usually retained, however. Rating: B-C/a-b.

(4) Strong tendency to use only one type of ending in analogous situations, namely the hard one after the stem in k/g/h/ch with Masculines and Neutres (Loc pl): vojákách, modrákách, jabkách etc (vojácích, modrácích/modrákách, jablcích/jablkách) which amounts to a tendency to simplify and drop any variation here. Rating: A/a.

(5) Tendency to a uniform vocalic length of the stem in all forms of the same word: e.g. Nom práce but also Instr sg prácí (prací) etc. Rating: A/a.

(6) Tendency to an uniform use of -ovi in all Datives and Locatives of all Masculine Animate nouns: mužovi, soudcovi, pánovi (muži/mužovi, soud-ci/soudcovi, panu/pánovi). Rating: A/b.

(7) Partial suppression of the declension type "kost" in favour of the type "píseň" in the Feminines: e.g. Nom pl *lodě* (lodi), Instr pl *zděma* (zdmi). Rating: A-B/a-b.

(8) Choice of other dual endings, namely in Dative and Locative: *k rukoum, nohoum* as against *vočím* (k rukám, nohám, očím), *na rukouch, nohouch* as against *na vočích* (rukách, nohách, očích). Rating: B/b.

(9) Loss of the whole declension of Possessive Adjectives except the Nom and Acc sg forms-*ův, -ovo*. Instead, forms of proper adjectives are used: e.g. *vod tátovýho/matčinýho kamaráda* (od otcova/matčina kamaráda). Rating: A-B/a-b.

(10) Loss of the rest of the short predicative adjectival forms: *nemocnej, zdravá*, etc. (nemocen, zdráva). Rating: A/a.

(11) Strong tendency to "personify" some Masc Inanimate forms by providing them with "animate" endings, e.g. in Acc sg *kupit si fiata, má singra* (koupit si fiat, má sing(e)r). This is notably a sphere of a pronounced emotive and expressive evaluation of this (some of the everyday utility objects as cars and the like). Rating: A/a.

(12) There are a number of pronominal forms[9], different from the literary ones (covered, partly, above):

(a) Instr pl: *těma, našima, váma, náma, nima,* etc. (těmi, našimi, vámi, námi, jimi). Rating: A/a.

(b) Nom/Acc pl: *ty chlapi/domy/holky/města* (ti/ty/ty/ta...). Rating: A-B/a.

(c) Dat/Loc sg Feminines: *tý/tej holce* (té dívce/holce). Rating: B/a.

(d) Gen Masc: *mýho, tvýho, svýho* (mého, tvého, svého). Rating: A-B/a.

(e) Nom/Acc Masculines: *muj, tvuj, svuj* (můj, tvůj, svůj). Rating: B/a.

(f) Acc Masc: *něj* (něho/něj). Rating: A/a.

(g) Demonstratives and Local Adverbs have *-dle* (-hle): *tendle, semdle, tajdle* etc. (tenhle, semhle, tadyhle). Rating: B/a-b.

(13) Comparatives and Superlatives of Adverbs have (a) regularly *- ejc* (-eji): *pomalejc, rychlejc* (pomaleji, rychleji), but (b) monosyllabic forms are different: *dýl, vejš, níž, líp, hůř* (déle, výše, níže, lépe, hůře). Rating: B/a.

2.3. Verbs.

(1) 1st Person pl Present Tense (of the 1st and 2nd class) can either have the ending *-m* (which is only spoken) or *-me* (which is neutral): *dem(e), nesem(e)*. Verbs with a long stem vowel, as in *děláme, sázíme* , retain, however, only *-me*. Rating: A/a.

(2) 3rd Person pl Present Tense (of the 3rd class) has *-ou: krejou, kupujou* (kryjí, kupují). Rating: A/a.

(3) 3rd Person pl Present Tense (of the 4th class) has an uniform *-j : prosej, trpěj, sázej* etc. (prosí, trpí, sází). Rating: B/a.

(4) 3rd Person sg Past Tense of all stems ending in a consonant drop the final -
-*l* in the masculine forms: *nes, moh, sed, řek, tisk* etc. (nesl, mohl, sedl, řekl,
tiskl), but *jel, spal* etc.! This -*l* is retained when followed by another vowel, as
in, for example, Feminines: *nesla, nesly* etc. A spoken alternative to the type *tisk*
is *tisknul*. Rating: A-B/a.

(5) Cancellation of the Infinitive form in -*ci* in favour of -*ct* : *moct, píct/péct,
říct, tlouct* etc. (moci, péci, říci, tlouci). Note that all of the forms in -*ti* are
obsolete and bookish now and are replaced, in Literary Czech, by forms in -*t*,
which used to belong to Spoken Czech only.[10] Rating: A/a.

(6) 1st Person sg Present Tense (of the 3rd class) has -*u*: *kreju, kupuju* , and
similarly the type: *peču* (kryji, kupuji, peku).[11] Rating: A/a. Note: *krejt* (krýt) →
kreju.

(7) A strong tendency to preserve the morpheme -*nou/nu*- is felt throughout
the whole conjugation (see also above 4): *tisknul, natisknutej* etc. (tiskl, natištěn).
Rating: A/a.

(8) Loss of all transgressives and of the 1st Person pl. of the Imperative, as
well as a limited use of Participial Adjectives in -*ící/-oucí, -vší* etc. Rating: A/a.

(9) Some other separate forms:
(a) 1st Person pl Conditional Mood: *bysme* (bychom)
    2nd Person sg Conditional Mood: *bysi* (bys) etc. Rating: A-B/a.
(b) *Můžu, můžou* (mohu, mohou). Rating: A/a.
(c) Imperative: *poď, poďte* (pojď, pojďte). Rating C/a.

(10) Most of the forms of *být*, or rather *bejt*, have undergone a change in the
Spoken language *sem, seš/si/-s, je; sme, ste, sou* (jsem, jsi, je; jsme, jste, jsou).
If used in enclitic position, this verb assumes a pronounced enclitic character,
especially in the 2nd Person sg of the Past Tense when following an explicit
(pronominal) subject or even a conjunction, object, etc.: *Byls tam* ? (byl jsi tam);
Tys psal ? (Ty jsi..); *Řek, žes to slíbil* (Řekl, že jsi to slíbil); *Karlas neviděl* ?
(Karla jsi...). These forms are used even if it means a reduplication or lengthening
of a sibilant: *Proč to neřek* ? (Proč jsi..); *Přiness mi to* ?(Přinesl jsi..). As a
result of this, yet another weakening of the analytical nature of today's Past Tense
and a sort of return to the original character of old Czech occurs (compare Polish
here). Analytical forms are thus effectively reduced to only a half of its literary
forms:

1 já sem řek, 2 tys řek/řeks, 3 (von) řek;
1 my (sme) řekli/řekli sme, 2 vy ste řekli/řekli ste, 3 (voni) řekli. Rating: A/a.

2.4 Lexicon.

Let us briefly summarize the main features here. They include all of those
which qualify the language denomination as emotive, expressive, evaluative,

vague (as contrasted with neutral, fact-finding, exact etc.). Specific sources used are, above all, these:

(1) Shift of meaning, especially from a thing or an animal to humans: *dřevo* (wood → clumsy clot), *buchta* (cake → blockhead), *vůl* (ox → son-of-a-bitch/idiot) etc.; verbs: *drbat* (rub → gossip), *zatopit někomu* (make warm → punish, make things hot for somebody), *vrazit něco někam* (bump into → put into); *chmět* (onomatopoeic → sleep) etc.

(2) Loan words, especially from German: *šiknout se* (come in handy), *pasovat* (fit in), *cálovat* (pay), *fajn* (fine), *cimra* (room), *furt* (constantly), *famílie*, *čokl* (dog), *akorát* (just, only), *prima* (fine) etc.

(3) Univerbization (univerbizace, as it is called in Czech), i.e. a process of reducing combinations of two or more words into a single one by a kind of derivation (while preserving its meaning), or other means. This device, without any counterpart in the literary language, and quite unique among Slavonic languages, is to a high degree, based on the use (or rather overuse) of two suffixes:

Masc *-ák: spacák, nákladák, nádražák, bloňák, Václavák, páťák* etc. (spací pytel, nákladní auto, nádražní zaměstnanec, blondýn, Václavské náměstí, student pátého ročníku).

Fem *-ka: sanitka, páračka, bouračka, Opletalka, asfaltka,* etc. (sanitní auto, operace, srážka, Opletalova ulice, asfaltová silnice).

Some other suffixes used here: *-a fláma* (kdo flámuje), *-ačka levačka* (levá ruka, žena preferující levou ruku), *-as kraťas* (krátké spojení) , *-ice státnice* (státní zkouška), *-och tlusťoch* (tlustý muž), *-oun drzoun* (drzý muž), *-our hubeňour* (hubený muž), *-ouš teplouš* (homosexuál), *-ýrka lakýrka* (lakovaná bota) etc. One might note here, however, that the suffix *-ák* , due to its almost universal distribution in various semantic classes, has achieved a relative monopoly in its semantic depletion and a loss of any particular meaning.

(4) Idioms, which are, however, too rich and complex an area to be illustrated here in any meaningful way.

In connection with these types, at least one more complex and rather subtle process should be mentioned here. It is the type of a functional shift of the category of a particular device (originally from the written language), which thus acquires, alongside its new function, a new distribution, too. This is the case of the type *zlobidlo* (wretched, naughty child), where the suffix *-dlo* , typical of nouns denoting instruments, is used to signify a person. Alongside all the above-mentioned processes, operating on full words or lexemes, one also can observe here word reduction or clipping, resulting in inorganic chunks, e.g. *nas hle, bezva* etc. (nashledanou, bezvadný).

Vocabulary has always been the focus of attention and a lot of correlations and decorrelations of the spoken language with the written one have been pointed out.

Yet this is, it seems, only secondary. What matters here primarily is the status of denotation and meaning, and these are often different, more vague, and with a pronounced cluster of pragmatic features that the written language avoids.[12] General rating of the whole area is A/a.

2.5 Syntax.

A number of specific features, such as the use of interjections, particles, subjective word-order, parataxis, juxtaposition, parenthesis, mixed or broken constructions, ellipsis, repetition, etc., have already been mentioned above, and we shall not go into them here, as their illustration would be somewhat lengthy. Instead, brief attention will be paid to five other features.

(1) High functional load of some relatives and connectives results both in a higher synonymy of some and in the loss of others:

(a) *dyž, poněvadž, esliljesi, kerej, dyby* (když, poněvadž, jestli, který, kdyby) occurring instead of the literary forms *zda, jenž, což*, which are never used in the Spoken code. Conjunctions *že, co, jak* are neutral, but highly used here. A concommitant feature of some cases is a broader scope of their functions: *dyž* (literary *když*) is not only temporal but also conditional and causal here. Rating: B-C/a.

(b) *Ten samej, tamten, co za ?* for the literary *týž, onen, jaký?* Rating: A-B/a.

(2) Tendency to a frequent explicit statement of the formal pronominal subject, especially at the beginning fo the sentence:

(a) Type *Já (sem) přišel* , resulting in loss of the auxiliary, due to a change of the word-order (Přišel jsem, see also above). Rating: A/b.

(b) Type of the pragmatic second subject *von, vono* (on, ono), *to* , which has an emotive, situationally complex or emphatic nature: *Von Karel příde zejtra* ! (Karel přijde zítra, i.e. not today, as someone might assume); *Vono prší !* (Look, it's raining!), *To prší!* (What a rain!). Rating: A/b.

(3) A suppression or reduction of the periphrastic Passive Voice, namely (a) in a favour of the Reflexive Passive form: *Posílá se*, etc. (je posílán). Rating: A/b. Or (b) resulting in a semantic shift from the verbal action, considered as a process, to an action interpreted as a resulting state. The auxiliary *bejt* is retained here, but it is followed by an Adjective derived from the Passive Participle: *je způsobenej* , etc. (je způsoben). Rating: A/a.

(4) A shift of Interrogatives to the emphatic end of the question: *A tys mu řek co ?* (A co jsi mu řekl ty ?); *A von šel kam ?*, etc. (A kam šel on?). Rating: B-C/b.

(5) Complete loss of the Genitival Valency in favour of the Accusative one (with non-reflexive verbs):[13] *natrhat kytky, přilejt víno* , etc. (natrhat květin, přilít vína). Rating: A/a.

3. Conclusion.

In the choice of instances offered above the Acceptability Index A is dominant throughout, and in the lexicon it is the only one used. This could lead to an impression that Spoken Czech displays a structure which is more compact and closely bound than it really is. It should be noted, once again, that the material presented here does not include much of the peripheral and rather intricate phenomena, which are also a legitimate part of the area. It also appears that Syntax and Lexicon are not only the least codified spheres but, understandably, the least codifiable ones as well. However, any deeper-going knowledge of the situation and nature of things here must follow from a comprehensive investigation; these remarks, then, cannot be but a preliminary and tentative survey of the field.

Notes

1 In fact, some kind of stratification within the Spoken Language is often suggested, cf.e.g. Kučera (1961); see also 1.5.

2 For an elaboration of these concepts, see especially Havránek (1963).

3 In fact, a strong tendency to pronounce -ý as [-ej] was recorded as early as in 1809 by J. Dobrovský in his *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der Böhmischen Sprache* (Prag 1809), p. 3-4.

4 Note that forms of the Literary standard are given in parenthesis, to facilitate comparison.

5 Here, as well as in other cases, only some of the typical cases are given, and the suggested rating relates to them, above all. That does not mean, however, that transitional, less clear-cut examples cannot be given, too, in most cases. In this case, the estimated rating is very high with short words, preferably mono-syllables.

6 The frequency rating of *nýst*, due probably to the interference of the written form, seems to be lower than that of the type *mlíko*.

7 This is the case where some quantity reduction (though not a complete shortening) is possible, with some speakers.

8 The variant *sem* is now recognized, though only as secondary, by Literary Czech, too.

[9] Most of these cases (under (12)) belong, really, in several of the preceding paragraphs.

[10] This is a case example of the pressure which Spoken Czech exerts upon Literary Czech, where forms *moct, péct, říct, tlouct* etc. have recently been accepted as alternatives to those in *-ci.*

[11] Here, too, the forms in *-u* have become officially recognized by Literary Czech as variants.

[12] A situation, similar to that of the internal stratification of competing forms within the spoken code, is to be found in vocabulary, too, cf *stále - pořád - pořád - furt* (constantly/all the time) in descending order from Literary to Common Czech, where only the first two are accepted in Literary Czech, whereas Common Czech makes use of all four of them.

[13] However, some (infrequent) cases are usually retained: *upít vody.*

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