

4. Content of the lexicon

In this chapter, a detailed description of phenomena recorded in the lexicon is given, as well as a thorough description of the encoding of all the linguistic information. First we will give a formal description of the format of a frame and then we will explain the meaning of single fields. After that we will describe in depth what kinds of reflexive and reciprocal verbs we distinguish in the Czech language and how we encode them in the lexicon. Then we will deal with diatheses covered by the lexicon and finally we will discuss the so called *equi* and *raising* verbs.

4.1. Format of a lexical entry

A lexical entry contains a lemma and its frame.¹ The term *frame* usually denotes all complementations of a verb in one meaning. The existence of another frame then signals a new meaning. There are, however, variants of surface realizations of functors—in such a case we do not introduce a new meaning but we merge the variants into one frame. In our lexicon, the frame contains all the variants merged together, and in addition it also includes information on possible diatheses. As it is not always possible to accommodate all the combinations of surface realizations and diatheses into one frame, we may be forced to split one meaning into several lexical entries. The identification of one lexical meaning is then provided by indices (different from the indices from the morphological lexicon) attached by ~. Examples of lexical entries are shown in (16).

(16) <i>adresovat</i>	Act [Noun+Nom] Pat [Noun+Acc] \	
	Addr [Noun+Dat Noun+Acc+na Noun+Acc+pro] \	
	PeriphPass ReflPass	(address)
<i>stát-2~1</i>	Act [Noun+Nom] Gram: {Refl [se]} NoPass	(happen)
<i>stát-2~2</i>	Act [Noun+Nom] Pat [Noun+Ins] Gram: {Refl [se]} NoPass	(become)
<i>stát-3~1</i>	Act [Noun+Nom] ReflPass	(stand)

¹As we expect our lexicon to be used together with the morphological lexicon created by J. Hajič (Hajič, 1994) the lemmas must be identical with the lemmas of the morphological lexicon. This means that lemmas must contain the same indices as the morphological lexicon (e.g. *stát-2* (happen), *stát-3* (stand), *stát-4* (cost), etc.). Furthermore, lemmas of reflexive verbs do not contain the reflexive particle (e.g. *stát se* (happen) will have the lemma *stát-2*).

stát-3~2	Act [Noun+Nom]	Pat [Noun+Acc+o]	ReflPass	(long for)
stát-3~3	Act [Noun+Nom]	Pat [Noun+Ins+za]	Gram:{Refl[si]}	NoPass (be convicted)
stát-4	Act [Noun+Nom]	Pat [Num+Acc]	NoPass	(cost)
učit~1	Act [Noun+Nom]	Gram:{Refl[se]}	NoPass	(learn)
učit~2	Act [Noun+Nom]	Pat [Noun+Acc]	Addr [Noun+Acc]	NoPass
učit~2	Act [Noun+Nom]	Pat [Noun+Dat]	Addr [Noun+Acc] \	PeriphPass ReflPass (teach)

The verb *adresovat* (address) has only one lemma in the morphological lexicon and only one meaning. The verb *stát* has three different lemmas in the morphological lexicon—one for the reflexive verb *stát se* and two for the non-reflexive verb *stát* (the reflexive verb *stát si* is morphologically covered by the non-reflexive verb *stát*). The reflexive verb is split into two entries with two different meanings in our lexicon (*stát-2~1* and *stát-2~2*), the meanings of the non-reflexive verbs are partly differentiated by the indices from the morphological lexicon, so we have to decide which of the “morphological” meanings will be split. The verbs *učit se* and *učit* have only one entry in the morphological lexicon, but we have to introduce two meanings for them. The second meaning (*učit*—teach) must itself be split into two frames, as the frame variant with two Accusatives does not allow for the formation of a passive, while the variant with Accusative and Dative allows for the formation of both periphrastic and reflexive passive.²

The frame is separated from the lemma by a tabulator. A frame has the following format:

<voice><reflexivity><subject>?[<functor><grammatemes>]<diatheses>*

A frame starts with a voice marker, which is obligatory. Then follows a marker for reflexivity, which is also obligatory. The subject marker may be missing, as there exist verbs without a subject. After the subject marker, a list of functors and their corresponding grammatemes follows. This list can be empty, as we suppose that there are verbs with an empty frame (the obvious candidates, meteorological verbs, however, do not belong to this category, as they need an obligatory modification of the location; e.g. *pršet (kde)*—rain). The frame ends with markers of possible diatheses.

In the following sections, single parts of a frame will be described in detail.

4.1.1. Voice

The voice marker shows whether the frame is in active voice or in passive voice. The passive frames are listed only rarely, as normally they are “derived” from the active frames. The marker occupies one position and currently the following characters are used:

²In fact, the variant with Patient realized by Accusative also allows passives, but only if the Addressee is general. We will show later how we encode passive which needs special treatment.

R — active frame

P — irregular passive frame

All frames in example (16) will have the marker R. The missing passives of the verb *učit* (*matematika je učena, matematika se učí*—mathematics is taught) will be encoded in a frame starting with P.

4.1.2. Reflexivity

The reflexivity abbreviation marks the type of reflexive particle; reflexive pronouns are treated as a value of the grammateme *semantic features* (see below). The possible values are:

-- — no reflexive particle

SE — reflexive tantum with particle *se* or reflexive passive

DE — derived reflexive with particle *se*

se — reflexive with optional particle *se*

SI — reflexive tantum with particle *si*

DI — derived reflexive with particle *si*

si — reflexive with optional particle *si*

The term *reflexive with optional particle* denotes verbs that can occur with or without the reflexive particle in the same meaning, and both these possibilities are grammatical. There are two possible sources of such verbs: one source are reflexives tantum with deletable *se*, the other source are non-reflexive verbs with added *se*. As it is difficult to say which is which, and as we are not interested in ‘etymology’ of single frames we merged the two source groups into one. It is usually true for such verbs that the reflexive particle is optional for some meanings, and obligatory or impossible for others.

4.1.3. Subject

The subject marker points to the member of the frame which is the subject (if the construction has a subject, otherwise this marker is missing). For an active frame, it points to the subject of an active sentence. When a passive frame is derived from the active one, this pointer changes so that it points to the subject of a passive sentence. In a passive frame, this pointer must point to the subject of a passive sentence.

s[i1] — Actor is the subject

s[a1] — the subject is raised from Actor’s frame

4.1.4. Functor

Functor is a one-character abbreviation of the functor on the tectogrammatical level. All the values are listed in Appendix B. Here we list only abbreviations of inner participants.

- 1 — Actor
- 2 — Patient
- 3 — Addressee
- 4 — Origin
- 5 — Effect
- 0 — no participant; used in frames of raising verbs

4.1.5. Grammatemes

The list of grammatemes determines the morphemes on the morphemic level. There can be several possible surface realizations which are separated by a vertical bar (|). The notation of grammatemes is taken from the source dictionary, but the repertory is enhanced by some features not previously taken into consideration. The grammatemes are given below:

- h** — ‘semantic’ features; their description is given above in Chapter 3 and in Appendix B. We added the value **S** for a short reflexive pronoun and we allow grouping of all four nominal values together (**hPTSR**). More details are discussed below in Section 4.2. Another value which we added is the value **Z** for pronouns. An explanation why we need this value is given in footnote 9 in Section 4.2. We also added the value **G** for general participants and **E** for deleted (empty, erased) deletable modifications in certain secondary frames. Another value which was added is **C** for the direct speech.
- c** — morphological case; possible values are 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
- r** — preposition; prepositions are enclosed by curly brackets (**{na}**, **{o}**, etc.)

The following grammatemes were added:

- n** — number; the values are **S** and **P** for singular and plural, respectively. This grammateme was added to the original **BRIEF** attributes because of the proper treatment of reciprocal verbs (see Section 4.2).

- x — reciprocal coreference; the value points to a functor which is coindexed with the functor containing this grammateme. It was added because of reciprocal verbs.
- a — subject raised to object position; the value points to the embeded clause from which the subject was raised
- q — subject- or object-control
- p — “patient” control
- t — “addressee” control
- d — diatheses of embeded infinitive; the values are identical with values of the “main” frame
- l — required lexeme
- m — modality marker

Their meaning will be explained in the further text.

The whole list of grammatememes is closed in brackets whose shape determines whether the participant (functor) is obligatory, general or obligatory and deletable, optional:

- [] — obligatory
- () — obligatory inner participant which can be realized as general participant, or obligatory and deletable free modification
- < > — optional

In FGD, only obligatory free modifications are considered to belong to a verb frame. In practical applications, however, it may be useful to include also free modifications which occur frequently with a given verb. M. Straňáková (Straňáková-Lopatková, 2001) introduced the term *quasi-valency* for such free modifications and we will mark them as optional free modifications. The term *quasi-valency* will be used in one more meaning: it will denote a free modification which only allows some of the surface realizations typical for that free modification.

4.1.6. Diatheses

Many of the diatheses, especially passive constructions, are derived regularly, as will be shown in Chapter 4.3. This is why we do not list all of them in the lexicon but we rather mark single frames with a sign showing which types of diatheses can be derived from the active frame. We adopted special marks for single types of diatheses and we concatenate them to strings.

% — periphrastic passive can be derived

- (17) a. *Nájemníci_{Act} žádají správcovou_{Addr} [o přístup na dvůr]_{Pat}.*
 Tenants_{Nom} ask caretaker_{Acc} for access to yard.
 b. *Správcová_{Addr} je (nájemníky_{Act}) žádána [o přístup na dvůr]_{Pat}.*
 Caretaker_{Nom} is (tenants_{Ins}) asked for access to yard.

\$ — reflexive passive is possible

- (18) a. *[O tom]_{Pat} právě mluvíme.*
 About it_{Loc} just now speak_{1Pl}.
 b. *[O tom]_{Pat} se právě mluví.*
 About it_{Loc} SE just now speaks.
 ‘It is being spoken about just now.’

@ — no passive is possible (most reflexives tantum)

- (19) a. *Strašidel_{Pat} se nebojíme.*
 Ghosts_{Gen} SE fear_{Neg1Pl}.
 ‘We don’t fear ghosts.’
 b. * *Strašidel není báno.*
 Ghosts_{Gen} is_{Neg} feared.
 c. * *Strašidla nejsou bána.*
 Ghosts_{Nom} are_{Neg} feared.
 d. * *Strašidel se bojí.*
 Ghosts_{Gen} SE fears_{NegSgNeut}.

The sentence (19d) is of course grammatical if we understand it as an active sentence with dropped personal pronoun.

— constructions with *mít* (they are discussed in Section 4.3)

- (20) a. *Maminka slíbila Pěťovi hračku.*
 Mummy_{Nom} promised Pěťa_{Dat} toy_{Acc}.
 b. *Pěťa má slíbenou hračku.*
 Pěťa_{Nom} has promised_{PrtcplFemAcc} toy_{FemAcc}.

~ — constructions with *dostat*

- (21) a. *Maminka slíbila Pěťovi hračku.*
 Mummy_{Nom} promised Pěťa_{Dat} toy_{Acc}.
 b. *Pěťa dostal slíbenou hračku.*
 Pěťa_{Nom} got promised_{PrtcplFemAcc} toy_{FemAcc}.

- c. *Učitelka vynadá neposlušným dětem.*
 Teacher_{Nom} scolds disobedient children_{Dat}.
- d. *Neposlušné děti dostanou vynadáno.*
 Disobedient children_{Nom} get_{Fut} scolded.

* — another type of construction with *mít*. Linguists consider this construction to be rather a special verb tense (see Hausenblas, 1963) or they include it in a system of aspects (see Panevová, 1971). We will discuss this in Section 4.3.

- (22) a. *Kuchařka uvařila oběd.*
 Cook_{FemNom} cooked lunch_{Acc}.
- b. *Kuchařka má oběd uvařen.*
 Cook_{FemNom} has lunch_{MascAcc} cooked_{PrtcplMascAcc}.
- c. *Kuchařka má uvařeno.*
 Cook_{FemNom} has cooked_{PrtcplNeut}.

The whole frame then looks as in (23):

- (23) a. *akumulovat* R--s[i1]1(hPTc1)2[hTc4]%%\$ (accumulate st)
- b. *kazit~2* RDEs[i1]1[hTc1]@ (decay)
- c. *přihlásit~1* R--s[i1]1(hPc1)2[hPTSRc4]A[hTc2r{do}|hTc4r{na}]%%\$
 (enroll sb/st where)
- d. *vyhrát~3* R--s[i1]1(hPc1)2[hTc4]4<hPc6r{na}>%%\$
 (win st of sb)
- e. *tázat* P--s[i3]1(hPc7)2(sF|sR|hPTc4r{na})3[hPc1] (ask)

The frame in (23a) is a frame of a transitive verb. The frame has two actants, Actor (1) and Patient (2). Patient is obligatory ([]), while Actor can be general (()). The Actor is realized as a noun (a person or a thing) in Nominative (hPTc1), Patient is realized as a noun (a thing) in Accusative (hTc4). The subject of an active sentence is Actor (s[i1]). Both periphrastic (%) and reflexive (\$) passives are possible.

The frame in (23b) is a frame of a derived reflexive (DE). The frame contains only obligatory Actor which is realized as a noun (a thing) in Nominative (1[hTc1]). There is no possibility of passive voice (@).

The frame in (23c) is a frame of transitive verb with quasi-valency. The Patient can be also realized by a reflexive pronoun (both short and long form—hPTSR). The quasi-valency is a free modification with the meaning *where*, but not all realizations of this meaning can be applied. For example preposition *pod* (under) plus a noun in Accusative are unacceptable.

		<i>se</i>	<i>si</i>
<i>se (si)</i> is a complementation of the verb	true reflexive	<i>mýt se</i>	<i>koupit si jízdenku</i>
	reciprocal	<i>milovat se</i>	<i>psávat si</i>
	dative of possession	∅	<i>držet si klobouk</i>
<i>se (si)</i> changes the meaning of the non-reflexive verb	passive	<i>obilí se mlátí</i>	∅
	derived lexical meaning	<i>větev se zlomila</i> <i>vrátit se, učít se</i>	<i>zlomit si ruku</i> <i>sednout si</i>
	independent category	<i>ta kniha se dobře čte</i> <i>chce se mi spát</i>	∅
<i>se (si)</i> is a particle	reflexive tantum	<i>smát se</i>	<i>stěžovat si</i>

Table 4.1.: Taxonomy of reflexive verbs

In (23d) we can see a frame with obligatory Patient and generalizable Origin.

The frame in (23e) is an example of an irregular passive frame. The generalizable Actor is realized as a noun in Instrumental, Patient as Accusative with the preposition *na* and Addressee as Nominative.

4.2. Reflexivity

In Czech, there is a reflexive pronoun *se* which has several different forms for different cases which can be stressed (long) or unstressed (short). There also exist two reflexive particles which are homonymous with the unstressed reflexive pronoun in Dative (*si*) and Accusative (*se*). In linguistic theory, we distinguish several types of reflexive verbs, but in the lexicon some distinctions will be omitted. We will base our work on taxonomy by K. Králíková (1981) in Table 4.1, but we will adapt it slightly.

In the lexicon, Dative of possession will not be listed as it does not belong to a verb frame (it is treated as a free modification Beneficiary). The reflexive passive belongs among diatheses and will be treated by the respective rules. The “independent category” will be treated as a diathesis as well.

4.2.1. True reflexive with *se*

True reflexive with *se* is a verbs with reflexive pronoun in Accusative. The pronoun occupies a place of an actant and expresses the coreference of this actant with subject. In most cases it is possible to use the stressed form of the pronoun as well, though the meaning is not fully synonymous.

Some authors doubt about the group of *true reflexive* verbs. It was proposed already by B. Havránek (1928), that *se* in such constructions as *mýt se* (wash self) is not a pronoun (representing a member of a verb frame), but rather a reflexive particle. The

group of true reflexive verbs would contain only a couple of constructions like *vidět se v zrcadle* (see oneself in a mirror), *udělat se samostatným* (make oneself independent), etc. This view is supported nowadays by K. Oliva (2000) who shows the behaviour of the particle *se* in opposition with the long form of the pronoun *sebe* and with the short personal pronouns:

- (24) a. $_i$ *Umyl* se_i *celý_i*.
 – Washed_{3Sg} SE whole_{Nom}.
 b. $_i$ *Umyl* $sebe_i$ *celého_i*.
 – Washed_{3Sg} self_{Acc} whole_{Acc}.
 c. $_i$ *Umyl* ho_j *celého_j*.
 – Washed_{3Sg} him_{Acc} whole_{Acc}.

K. Oliva in his work claims that the verb frames with stressed and unstressed forms of the pronoun *se* are actually two different frames. The verb with unstressed form of the pronoun behaves like reflexive tantum and the pronoun is in fact a particle. There is some evidence for this claim, e.g. the stressed and unstressed forms of the pronoun are not freely replaceable, as shown in (25a) and (25b).³

- (25) a. *Chce se někdo bát sebe?*
 Wants SE someone_{Nom} fear_{Inf} self_{Gen}?
 ‘Does anyone want to be afraid of himself/herself?’
 b. * *Chce se někdo bát se?*
 Wants SE someone_{Nom} fear_{Inf} SE?

For us, the important criterion is whether the form *se* (or *si*) can be replaced by the long form *sebe* (*sobě*), and whether the constructions with the short reflexive pronouns are similar to constructions with other (short) pronouns. If we adopted the view that *se* is a particle with no representation on the tectogrammatical level we would get two different descriptions of sentences which we consider nearly synonymous:

- (26) a. $\begin{array}{c} \textit{umyl_se} \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \textit{Jan}_{Act} \end{array}$ *Jan se umyl.*
Jan SE washed.
 b. $\begin{array}{c} \textit{umyl} \\ \diagdown \quad \diagup \\ \textit{Jan}_{Act} \quad \textit{sebe}_{Pat,Cor} \end{array}$ *Jan umyl sebe.*
Jan washed self.

³We can argue that the verb *bát se* requires an object in Genitive, and thus these examples do not prove anything about verbs with Patient in Accusative.

Therefore, we do not go as far as Oliva and still consider the short form to be a pronoun (not a particle), but we are aware of the fact that the short and long forms of the pronoun are not always replaceable and thus, in the lexicon, both possibilities must be explicitly mentioned. We enhanced the repertory of ‘semantic’ features and added the feature S for the short form of the reflexive pronoun. The frames for the verb *umýt* then will have the following form:

(27) *umýt* R--s[i1]1(hPc1)2[hPTSRc4]3(hPSRc3)%\$⁴

4.2.2. True reflexive with *si*

True reflexive with *si* is a verb with a reflexive pronoun in Dative. The pronoun occupies the place of an actant and expresses the coreference of this actant with the subject. The reflexive pronoun in Dative also has a short and a long form (*si* and *sobě*), which can be used in the same constructions.⁵

(29) a. *Každý_{Act,i} si_{Addr,i} koupí jízdenku_{Pat}.*
Everyone SI buys ticket.

b. *koupit* R--s[i1]1(hPTc1)2[hTc4]3(hPSRc3)%\$

4.2.3. Reciprocal verbs with *se*

Reciprocal verb with *se* is a reflexive verb where the reflexive pronoun has the meaning ‘each other’. Similarly to the situation with true reflexives, Actor is identical with other participant (usually Patient) and the reflexive pronoun expresses this. The difference is that there must be at least two bodies participating in the action and their roles are cross-linked. In fact, there are two actions occurring at the same time, in one of them

⁴The notation in (27) also allows realizations

(28) a. * *umýt* *si* *se*
wash self_{Dat} self_{Acc}

b. ? *umýt* *si* *sebe*
wash self_{Dat} self_{Acc}

c. ? *umýt* *se* *sobě*
wash self_{Acc} self_{Dat}

d. ? *umýt* *sobě* *sebe*
wash self_{Dat} self_{Acc}

which can be handled by a general rule of grammar saying that two (short) reflexive pronouns cannot occur as realizations inside one verb frame.

⁵The two forms of the pronoun have of course different roles in topic-focus articulation and so we cannot say that they are synonymous, but in this work we are mainly interested in *grammaticality* of verb constructions and we do not try to describe all semantic nuances of proposed frames.

	<i>koulovat (se)</i> (snowball)	<i>hašteřit se</i> (wrangle)	<i>soutěžit</i> (compete)
	A kouluje B B kouluje A		
reciprocal	AB se koulují	AB se hašteří	AB soutěží
	A a B se koulují	A a B se hašteří	A a B soutěží
	A s B se koulují	A s B se hašteří	A s B soutěží
	A se kouluje s B	A se hašteří s B	A soutěží s B

Table 4.2.: Three types of reciprocal verbs

the participant i is Actor and participant j is Patient and in the other action the roles are exchanged.

When we examine so called reciprocal verbs closer we discover that there are three types of them. The first type (represented by the verb *koulovat (se)*) was described in the previous paragraph. The second type is reflexive tantum with reciprocal meaning (inherently reciprocal verb). The reciprocal meaning is manifested by obligatory participant with the surface form *s kým* (with whom).⁶ The third type is a “plain” verb with reciprocal meaning. The three types are shown in Table 4.2.

All these types were described by J. Panevová(1999), with a proposal how to encode the information in a lexicon. Her work, however does not suggest structures for sentences with reciprocal verbs. We try to make a proposal of the structures and we will compare them to structures proposed in (Hajičová et al., 2000). Our proposal is shown in (30):

- (30) a. $\begin{array}{c} \textit{koulovat} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{chlapci}_{Act,Pat,RECP} \quad \textit{se}_{Act,Pat,RECP} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{l} \textit{Chlapci se koulují.} \\ \textit{Boys}_{Nom} \textit{ SE snowball.} \end{array}$
- b. $\begin{array}{c} \textit{koulovat} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{COORD} \quad \textit{se}_{Act,Pat,RECP} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{Petr}_{Act,Pat,RECP} \quad \textit{Pavel}_{Act,Pat,RECP} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{l} \textit{Petr a Pavel se koulují.} \quad \textit{Petr s Pavlem se koulují.} \\ \textit{Petr}_{Nom} \textit{ and Pavel}_{Nom} \textit{ SE koulují.} \quad \textit{Petr}_{Nom} \textit{ with Pavel}_{Ins} \textit{ SE snowball.} \end{array}$
- c. $\begin{array}{c} \textit{koulovat_se} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{Petr}_{Act,RECP} \quad \textit{Pavel}_{Pat,RECP} \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{l} \textit{Petr se kouluje s Pavlem.} \\ \textit{Petr}_{Nom} \textit{ SE snowballs with Pavel}_{Ins}. \end{array}$

⁶This means that the answer for the question *S kým to dělal?* (With whom did he do that?) cannot be *S nikým. Sám.* (With no-one. Alone.)

point for us. Our task is to encode a lexical entry in such a way that the proper treatment is enabled. This means that we have to mark the reciprocity of the two participants. We decided to introduce a new grammateme x whose value is the coreferential functor. In example (33b), there is Actor in plural,⁷ and Patient is realized by the reflexive pronoun *se* (both short and long form). It is marked as reciprocally coreferential with Actor. In example (33c), Patient has morphological realization by Instrumental+*s*, and it is also reciprocally coreferential with Actor.

- (33) a. R--s [i1]1 [hPc1]2 [hPc4] % \$
 b. R--s [i1]1 [hPc1nP]2 [hSRc4x1] @
 c. RDE1 [hPc1]2 (hPRc7 {s} x1) @

The frame in (33b) corresponds to the sentences (30a) and (30b). The frame in (33c) corresponds to the sentences (30c) and (30d).

For the sake of completeness we also show the frame of inherently reciprocal verbs *hašteřit se* and *soutěžít*:

- (34) a. *Chlapci*_{Act Pat Recp} *se hašteří*.
 Boys_{Nom} SE wrangle.
 b. *Petr*_{Act Pat Recp} *a Pavel*_{Act Pat Recp} *se hašteří*.
 Petr_{Nom} and Pavel_{Nom} SE wrangle.
 c. *Petr*_{Act Pat Recp} *s Pavlem*_{Act Pat Recp} *se hašteří*.
 Petr_{Nom} with Pavel_{Ins} SE wrangle.
 d. *hašteřit* RSEs [i1]1 [hPc1nP]2 [x1] @
 e. *Petr*_{Act Recp} *se hašteří s Pavlem*_{Pat Recp}.
 Petr_{Nom} SE wrangles with Pavel_{Ins}.
 f. *Chlapci*_{Act Recp} *se hašteří* _ *Gnrl Pat Recp*.
 Boys_{Nom} SE wrangle.
 g. *hašteřit* RSEs [i1]1 [hPc1]2 (hPc7 {s} x1) @
- (35) a. *Chlapci*_{Act Pat Recp} *soutěží*.
 Boys_{Nom} compete.
 b. *Petr*_{Act Pat Recp} *a Pavel*_{Act Pat Recp} *soutěží*.
 Petr_{Nom} and Pavel_{Nom} compete.

⁷The plural here means *semantic* plural, not grammatical. It can be realized as a noun in plural, or as a coordination or as a noun with meaning of a group, e.g. *třída* (class).

	<i>povídat (si)</i> (chat, imperf.)	<i>popovídat si</i> (chat, perf.)
	A povídá B o ... B povídá A o ...	
reciprocal	AB si povídají o ...	AB si popovídají o ...
	A a B si povídají o ...	A a B si popovídají o ...
	A s B si povídají o ...	A s B si popovídají o ...
	A si povídá s B o ...	A si popovídá s B o ...

Table 4.3.: Reciprocal verbs with *si*

- c. $Petr_{ActPatRecp} s Pavlem_{ActPatRecp} soutěží.$
 $Petr_{Nom}$ with $Pavel_{Ins}$ compete.
- d. $soutěžit \quad R--s [i1] 1 [hPc1nP] 2 [x1] @$
- e. $Petr_{ActRecp} soutěží \quad s Pavlem_{PatRecp}.$
 $Petr_{Nom}$ competes with $Pavel_{Ins}.$
- f. $Chlapci_{ActRecp} soutěží \quad _{Gnr1PatRecp}.$
 $Boys_{Nom}$ compete.
- g. $soutěžit \quad R--s [i1] 1 (hPc1) 2 (hPc7\{s\}x1) \$$

From the above description it follows that there is no need to introduce a new mark for “reciprocal” *se* as it is possible to use other defined markers.

4.2.4. Reciprocal verbs with *si*

Reciprocal verb with *si* is a reflexive verb where the reflexive pronoun has the meaning ‘(with/to) each other’. The properties are similar to properties of reciprocal verbs with *se*; the difference is that the functors assigned to the participants of the action are Actor and Addressee. The types of reciprocal verbs with *si* are shown in Table 4.3.

- (36) a. $R--1 (hPc1) 2 [hTc6r\{o\}] 3 (hPc3) \$ (povídat)$
 b. $R--1 [hPc1nP] 2 [hTc6r\{o\}] 3 [hSRx1] @ (povídat si, popovídat si)$
 c. $RDI1 [hPc1] 2 [hTc6r\{o\}] 3 (hPc7\{s\}x1) @ (povídat si)$
- (37) a. $RSI1 [hPc1nP] 2 [hTc6r\{o\}] 3 [x1] @ (popovídat si)$
 b. $RSI1 [hPc1] 2 [hTc6r\{o\}] 3 (hPc7\{s\}x1) @ (popovídat si)$

4.2.5. Reflexive tantum with *se*

Reflexive tantum with *se* is a verb which has an obligatory reflexive particle *se*. This particle has no representation on the tectogrammatical level.

- (38) a. *Helena_{Act} se směje všemu_{Pat}.*
Helena_{Nom} SE laughs everything_{Dat}.
 ‘Helena laughs at everything.’

- b. *František_{Act} se nebojí ničeho_{Pat}*
František_{Nom} SE fears nothing_{Gen}.
 ‘František is not afraid of anything.’

Frames of verbs from above examples will look as follows:⁸

- (39) a. *smát* RSE1 [hPc1] 2<hPTRc3>@
 b. *bát* RSE1 [hPc1] 2(hPTRc2|sD|sF|sU)@

4.2.6. Derived reflexive verbs with *se*

This category contains verbs which behave like reflexive tantum but they have origin in true reflexive verbs. Their lexical meaning, however, changed so that the cannot be understood as true reflexives any more. For example the verb *rozčítit se* (get angry) could be understood as true reflexive, as it is possible to say *rozčítit sám sebe* (make angry oneself), but the meaning is different (as the translation also shows). Beside it, the verb *rozčítit se* has only Actor in its frame, while *rozčítit koho/sebe* has Actor, Patient and Addressee. The verb *rozčítit* then will have two meanings with two frames, as shown in example (40).

- (40) a. *rozčítit~1* R--1 [hPTc1] 2(hTc7) 3[hPTRc4]@
 b. *rozčítit~2* RDE1 [hPc1]@

4.2.7. Reflexive tantum with *si*

Reflexive tantum with *si* is a verb which has an obligatory reflexive particle *si*.

- (41) a. *Nájemníci_{Act} si stěžují [na správcovou]_{Pat}*
Tenants_{Nom} SI complain about caretaker.
 b. *stěžovat* RSI [hPc1] 2[hPTRc4r-{na}]@

⁸In the frame of the verb *bát se* the realization by infinitive is missing. This is because the infinitive needs special treatment—raising or control must be marked. This will be discussed in Section 4.4 and thus we did not want to obscure this example.

4.2.8. Derived reflexive verbs with *si*

This category is similar to derived reflexive verbs with *se*.

- (42) a. *Děti_{Act} si hrají [na indiány]_{Pat}*
 Children_{Nom} SI play at indians_{Acc}.
- b. *hrát RSI [hPc1]2<hPTRc4r{na}>@*

4.2.9. Reflexive with optional *se*

This is a verb with reflexive particle *se* which is not obligatory. It is usually true for such verbs that the reflexive particle is optional for some meanings, and obligatory or impossible for others.

- (43) a. *Na co_{Pat} (se) koukáš?*
 On what_{Acc} (SE) look_{2Sg}?
 ‘What are you watching?’
- b. *koukat~1 Rse1 [hPc1]2(hPTRc4r{na})\$*
- c. *Kouká ti_{Ben} podolek_{Act}.*
 Looks you_{Dat} shirt-tail_{Nom}.
 ‘Your shirt-tail is showing.’
- d. * *Kouká se ti podolek.*
 Looks SE you_{Dat} shirt-tail_{Nom}.
- e. *koukat~2 R--1 [hTc1]@*

Reciprocal verb with optional *se*

Some of the the reflexive verbs with optional *se* can also be inherently reciprocal.

- (44) a. *Vy už (se) spolu nekamarádíte?*
 You_{2PlNom} already (SE) together hobnob_{Neg}?
- b. *Já (se) s Jirkou kamarádím!*
 I_{Nom} (SE) with Jirka_{Ins} hobnob.
- c. *kamarádit Rse1 [hPc1nP]2[x1]@*
- d. *kamarádit Rse1(hPc1)2[hPc7{s}x1]@*

4.2.10. Reflexive with optional *si*

Reflexive with optional *si* is a verb with reflexive particle *si* which is not obligatory.

- (45) a. *Aleš_{Act} (si) myslí, [že Jiřina nepřijde]_{Pat}.*
Aleš_{Nom} (SI) thinks that Jiřina comes_{FutNeg}.
- b. *Aleš_{Act} si to_{Pat} nemyslí.*
Aleš_{Nom} SI it_{Acc} thinks_{Neg}.
- c. *Co_{Pat} (si) myslí Aleš_{Act}?*
What_{Acc} (SI) thinks Aleš_{Nom}?

In example (45) we can see that the verb *myslet si* does not require the particle obligatorily if it is complemented by a clause. It requires the particle, however, if the complementation is realized by a pronoun.⁹

On the other hand, the particle *si* cannot occur if we use the verb in its intransitive meaning or in the meaning ‘have in mind’.

- (46) a. *Myslím, tedy jsem.*
Think_{1Sg}, then am.
‘Cogito, ergo sum.’
- b. * *Myslím si, tedy jsem.*
Think_{1Sg} SI, then am.
- c. *Co_{Pat} tím myslíš?*
What_{Acc} it_{Ins} think_{2Sg}?
‘What do you mean by it?’
- d. * *Co_{Pat} si tím myslíš?*
What_{Acc} SI it_{Ins} think_{2Sg}?

The verb *myslet (si)* then will need several frames which will express the behaviour of the particle *si*.

- (47) a. myslet~1 Rs i1 [hPc1] 2 [sD] @

⁹Here we can observe another interesting phenomenon. A complementation realized by a noun in a certain case includes also realizations by pronouns in that case. On the other hand, the pronouns can also stand for clauses and infinitives, even in such frames where no noun can occur. This was the reason why we introduced a new ‘semantic’ feature Z for such pronouns. The set of possible realizations covers interrogative pronoun *co* (what), demonstrative pronoun *to* (that), totalizer *všechno* (everything), indefinite pronoun *leccos* (all sorts of things), etc. Not all these pronouns are applicable in all frames as alternatives to clauses/infinitives, but a detailed research is beyond the scope of this work. We will use the single value Z and we can refine our description later.

- b. *myslet*~1 RSI1 [hPc1]2[hZc4]@
 c. *myslet*~2 R--1(hPc1)\$
 d. *myslet*~3 R--1(hPc1)2[hZc4|sD]I(hTc7)&
 e. *myslet*~4 R--1(hPc1)2[hPTc4r{na}]&

4.2.11. Reflexive passive

Reflexive passive is a construction with the particle *se*. It is one of the possible passive constructions in Czech. This construction is usually derived from the basic active frame and the passive frames are not listed in the lexicon separately.

- (48) *Brána se zavírá v devět hodin.*
 Gate SE closes at nine o'clock.

This construction will be discussed in detail in Section 4.3.3.

4.2.12. Mediopassive

Mediopassive constructions are a sort of reflexive passive and they will be described later in Section 4.3.

- (49) *Z této látky se šije dobře.*
 From this fabric_{Gen} SE sews well.
 'This is good fabric for sewing.'

In our lexicon these constructions will be treated as reflexive passives. The discussion about this type of construction follows in Section 4.3.3.

4.2.13. Homonymy of reflexive verbs

Some reflexive verbs have several meanings, in which they appear as true reflexive, reciprocal verb, derived reflexive verb, reflexive tantum, or reflexive passive:

- (50) a. *Jarda se tím dobře baví.* (true reflexive)
 Jarda SE by it well amuses.
 b. *S nimi se nebavte!* (reciprocal reflexive)
 With them SE do not amuse!
 'Don't talk to them!'

- c. *Jan a Marie se milují.*
 Jan and Marie SE love.
 ‘Jan and Marie love each other.’ (reciprocal reflexive) or
 ‘Jan and Marie make love.’ (inherent reciprocal, reflexive tantum) or
 ‘Jan and Marie love themselves.’ (true reflexive)
- d. *Selátko se opéká na rožni.* (reflexive passive or derived reflexive verb)
 Piglet SE roasts on spit.
- e. *Turisté se opékají na pláži.* (derived reflexive)
 Tourists SE roast on beach.

Sometimes, it is difficult for the lexicon maintainer to decide whether a verb is reflexive tantum, true reflexive or a derived reflexive. Here are some hints that can help:

- Reflexive tantum is usually isolated in the lexicon. The verb without the reflexive particle does not exist in the language at all:

(51) * *smát koho/co* (laugh sb/st)

- The verb with and without the reflexive particle has the same meaning. Then it is either reflexive with optional particle or a reciprocal verb with optional particle.
- The verb requires an answer for the question ‘Who with whom?’; then it is a reciprocal verb.
- Actor and the participant in question can be both persons and both short and long forms of the reflexive pronoun can be used as the Patient (Addressee). Then we have true reflexive. We can also use the construction with *sám sebe/sobě*:

(52) a. *Honza_{Act} myje sám sebe_{Pat}.*
 Honza_{Nom} washes self_{Nom} self_{Acc}.

b. *Honza_{Act} koupí jízdenku_{Pat} sám sobě_{Addr}.*
 Honza_{Nom} buys ticket_{Acc} self_{Nom} self_{Dat}.

- Another test for true reflexive is whether we can form a periphrastic passive with the reflexive pronoun as Actor:

(53) *Jsem myt (sám) sebou_{Act}.*
 Am washed (self_{Nom}) self_{Ins}.
 ‘I am washed by myself.’

- If the two above tests fail we may have found derived reflexive :

(54) a. *Pasáci ženou krávy z pastvy.*
 Herdsmen_{Nom} drive cows_{Acc} from pasture.

- b. *Krávy se ženou z pastvy.*
Cows SE drive from pasture.
'Cows are being driven from pasture.' (reflexive passive) or
'Cows rush from pasture.' (derived reflexive)
- c. *Pasáci se ženou do hospody.*
Herdsman SE drive to pub.
'Herdsman rush into a pub.' (derived reflexive)
- Actor is a person, the participant in question is a thing, subject of the reflexive construction is a thing—then we have derived reflexive or reflexive passive:

- (55) a. *Petr_{Act} zavírá oči_{Pat}.*
Petr_{Nom} closes eyes_{Acc}.
- b. *Oči_{Act} se mu_{Pat} zavírají.* (derived reflexive)
Eyes_{Nom} SE him_{Dat} close_{3Pl}.
- c. *Petr_{Act} zavírá bránu_{Pat}.*
Petr_{Nom} closes gate_{Acc}.
- d. *Brána_{Act} se (sama) zavírá.* (derived reflexive)
Gate_{NomPl} SE (self) close_{3Pl}.
- e. *Brána_{Act} se zavírá večer.* (reflexive passive)
Gate_{NomPl} SE close_{3Pl} in evening.
- f. *Vltava se vlévá do Labe.* (derived reflexive)
Vltava_{Nom} SE flows into Labe_{Gen}.
'Vltava joins Labe.'

Derived reflexive verbs or reflexive passives can be used jokingly as true reflexive:

- (56) *Náš starodávňý dědeček se každé ráno vlévá do vany*
Our ancient grandfather SE every morning flows to bathtub
se studenou vodou . . .
with cold water . . .
(*J. Vodňanský*)

This is, however, a question of language performance rather than of the lexicon and so we leave this aside.

4.3. Diatheses

Another lexical information useful for language processing is the information about diatheses. The most important diatheses are passive constructions. In Czech there exist two syntactic constructions with passive meaning: the periphrastic passive formed

by an auxiliary verb *být* (be) and passive participle, and reflexive passive formed by indicative and the reflexive particle *se*. As both these passives are derived regularly from the active constructions, we will only list the information of what *type* of passive is acceptable for a certain verb and its frame, and we will not list all the passive constructions in our lexicon. Of course, there are exceptions—passive constructions which are derived by exceptional rules—such passives must be listed explicitly (but there will be only single cases of such passive constructions).

Beside periphrastic and reflexive passive, there exist also other types of diatheses which we consider regular. For example, constructions with support verbs *dostat* (get) and *mít* (have) are very frequent. The possibility of marking these types of diatheses in the lexicon will also be discussed.

In our lexicon, we only consider such derived constructions in which the surface syntactic structure is changed. Such constructions as

- (57) a. *Bolest probudila Pavla.*
 Pain_{Nom} woke Pavel_{Acc}.
 b. *Marie probudila Pavla.*
 Marie_{Nom} woke Pavel_{Acc}.

differ in the semantics of subjects. In (57a), the subject has the role of Causer (according to (Daneš et al., 1987a; Štícha, 1984; Grepl and Karlík, 1998)), while in (57b), the subject is Agent. In the FGD approach, however, both subjects have the role of Actor. Both the constructions are identical on the surface level and they only differ in the lexical setting of the subject. F. Štícha in his work argues that constructions with different kinds of Actor (namely Mediator, Agent, Initiator and Causer) trigger different sorts of diatheses, which is shown in (58)–(61).^{10,11}

- (58) a. *Voda_{Mediator} naplnila jámu.*
 Water_{Nom} filled pit_{Acc}.
 b. *Jáma se naplnila vodou_{Mediator}.*
 Pit_{Nom} SE filled water_{Ins}.
 ‘Pit filled with water.’
 c. **Jáma byla naplněna (vodou_{Mediator}).*
 Pit_{Nom} was filled (water_{Ins}).
 ‘Pit was filled by water.’
 d. *Jáma byla naplněna (vodou_{Means}).*
 Pit_{Nom} was filled (water_{Ins}).
 ‘Pit was filled with water.’

¹⁰There is probably a mistake, in the sentence (59c). Following other examples we would rather expect the sentence *Košík byl naplněn Evou*. but this does not affect the correctness of the example.

¹¹Sentences in (58)–(61) (a)–(c) are taken from (Štícha, 1984), sentences in (d) were added by us.

- (59) a. *Eva_{Agent} naplnila košík prádlem_{Means}.*
 Eva_{Nom} filled basket_{Acc} linen_{Ins}.
 ‘Eva filled the basket with linen.’
- b. **Košík se naplnil Evou_{Agent}.*
 Basket_{Nom} SE filled Eva_{Ins}.
 ‘Basket filled with Eva.’
- c. *Košík byl naplněn (prádlem_{Means}).*
 Basket_{Nom} was filled (linen_{Ins}).
 ‘Basket was filled with linen.’
- d. *Košík byl naplněn (Evou_{Agent}).*
 Basket_{Nom} was filled (Eva_{Ins}).
 ‘Basket was filled by Eva.’
- (60) a. *Řečník_{Initiator} naplnil sál vzrušením.*
 Speaker_{Nom} filled hall_{Acc} excitement_{Ins}.
 ‘The speaker filled the hall with excitement.’
- b. **Sál se naplnil řečníkem_{Initiator}.*
 Hall_{Nom} SE filled speaker_{Ins}.
 ‘The hall filled with the speaker.’
- c. **Sál byl naplněn řečníkem_{Initiator}.*
 Hall_{Nom} was filled speaker_{Ins}.
 ‘The hall was filled with/by the speaker.’
- (61) a. *Obraz_{Causer} naplnil Karla nadšením.*
 Picture_{Nom} filled Karel_{Acc} ecstasy_{Ins}.
 ‘The picture filled Karel with ecstasy.’
- b. **Karel se naplnil obrazem_{Causer}.*
 Karel_{Nom} SE filled picture_{Ins}.
 ‘Karel filled with the picture.’
- c. **Karel byl naplněn obrazem_{Causer}.*
 Karel_{Nom} was filled picture_{Ins}.
 ‘Karel was filled with/by the picture.’

We can argue that in (60) and (61) the verb alone does not form the whole lexical unit, but it is rather a part of collocations *naplnit vzrušením* and *naplnit nadšením*. Sentences in (62) show it clearly.

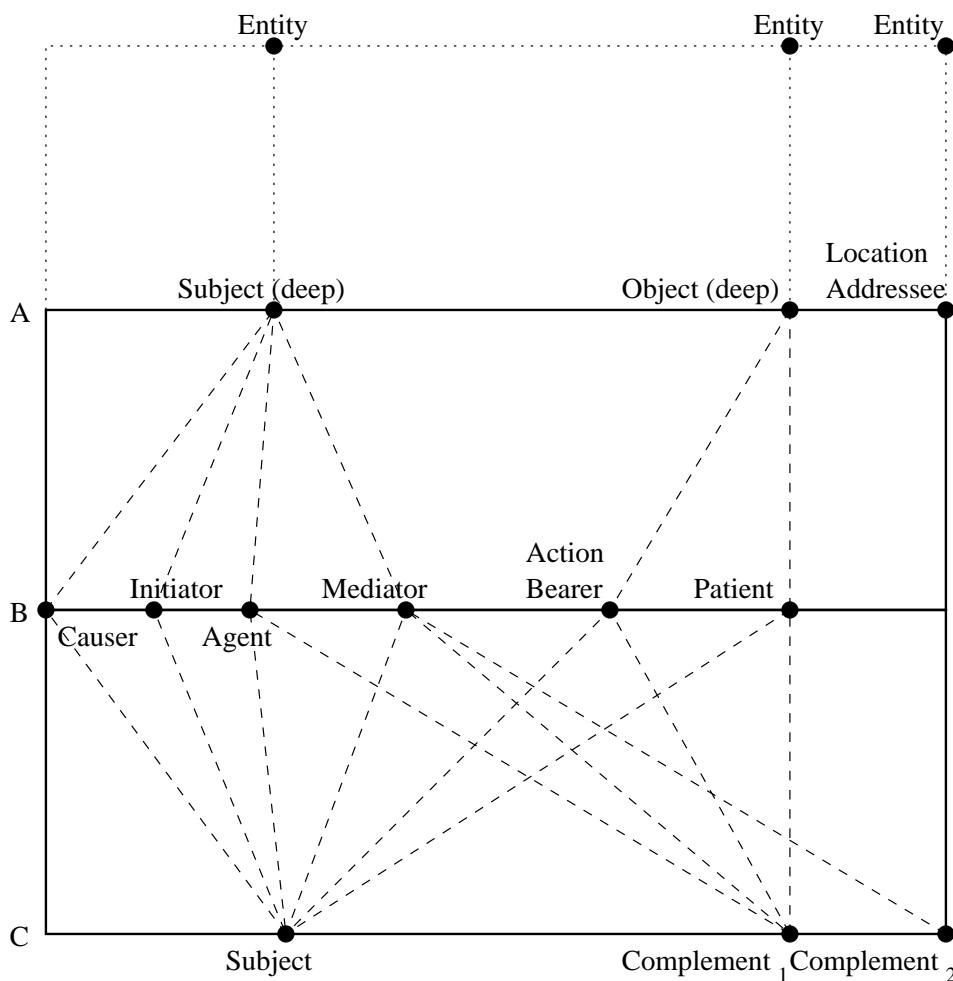


Figure 4.1.: Three-level system

- (62) a. *Řečník naplnil sál.*
 Speaker filled hall.
 ‘The speaker sold out the hall.’—different meaning of the verb
- b. **Obraz naplnil Karla.*
 Picture filled Karel.
- c. ?*Sál byl řečníkem naplněn vzrušením.*
 Hall_{Nom} was speaker_{Ins} filled excitement_{Ins}.
 ‘The hall was filled with excitement by the speaker.’
- d. ?*Karel byl obrazem naplněn nadšením.*
 Karel_{Nom} was picture_{Ins} filled ecstasy_{Ins}.
 ‘Karel was filled with ecstasy by the picture.’

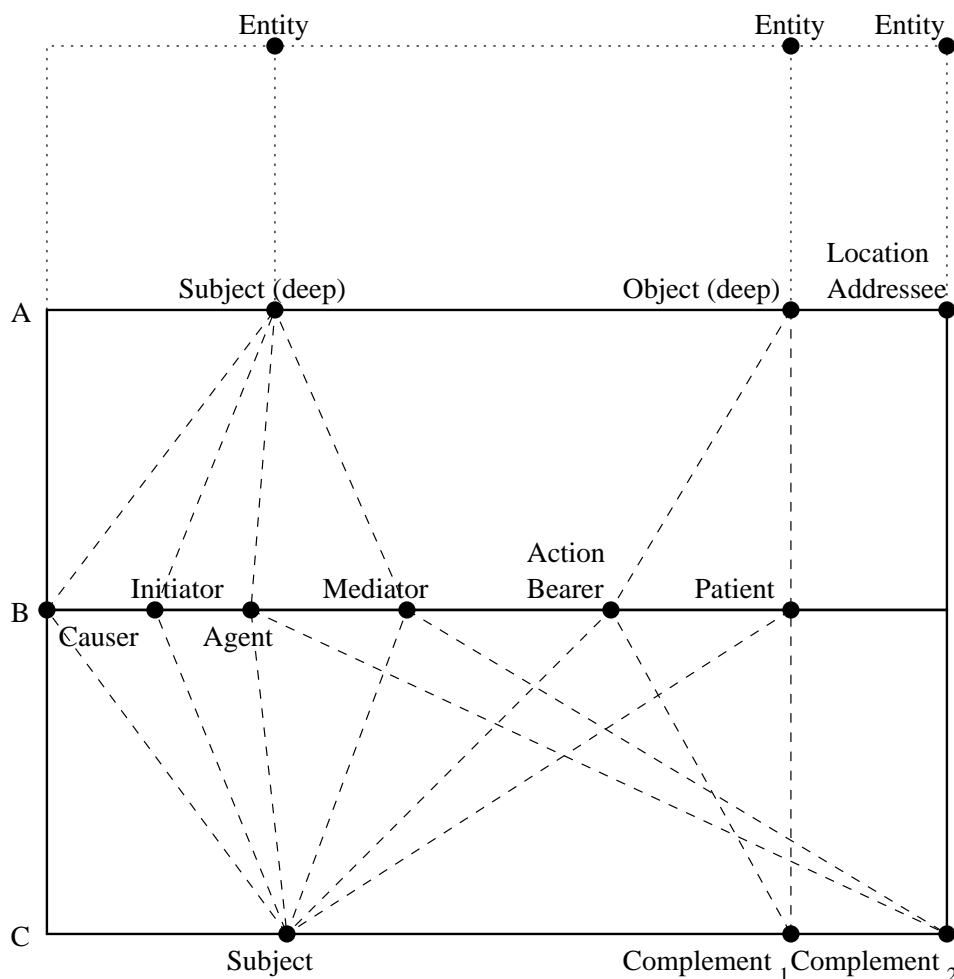


Figure 4.2.: Three-level system revisited

In Štícha's approach, the roles are assigned dynamically to every verb in every sentence, and they are not considered a static property of the verb. The role ascribed to the (surface) subject has an influence on possible diatheses, as was shown above.

Štícha works with a three-level construct of language representation, which is shown in Fig. 4.1. The levels A and B are levels describing the meaning of a sentence, while level C is the level of surface structure. The entities on level A could be compared with functors in FGD. His approach differs from FGD, however, in the treatment of single-valency verbs. In concordance with E. Pauliny (1943) such a verb is understood as occupying both positions of Deep Subject and Deep Object with the single actant.

level B is a level of semantic description. The roles corresponding to Deep Subject are ordered from left to right according to the level of integration of Deep Subject into the situation described in the sentence. Causer is the least integrated, Mediator is the most integrated. Deep Object has two representation on level B: Action Bearer and

Patient. Action Bearer occurs in sentences with Causer, Initiator and Mediator, Patient co-occurs with Agent.

Level C is the level of the surface structures. Štícha does not use the traditional terms as object or adjunct (free modification) but he introduces new terms to avoid confusion with other theories. The term subject is understood as a noun in Nominative (or numerative), the term Complement of the first grade (marked as Complement₁) belongs to Accusative (direct object) and Complement of the second grade (Complement₂) is characterized by other cases (Dative, Locative or Instrumental).

In Figure 4.1 we can see the possible diatheses. The dashed lines connect corresponding entities; we can see that Deep Object can be realized as surface subject or direct object (but not as indirect object). Deep Subject can be realized as indirect object, only if it has the role of Mediator—this is a little surprising as we would expect that Agent could be realized as Complement₂ as well, as in (59d). The realizations of Agent and Mediator as Complement₁ (direct object) also seem impossible. The corrected version of the schema is in Figure 4.2.¹²

Beside this, the schema does not say anything about verb forms in the diatheses. It should be said when the verb is in active voice and when in passive. And in the case of passive voice, the form of passive should be marked.

Another classification of diatheses was proposed by P. Karlík (see Grepl and Karlík, 1998). He discriminates *subject diatheses* and *object diatheses*. What Karlík calls object diathesis is understood as a separate frame, in FGD (as shown in (63)), so we will not deal with them.

- (63) a. *Petr_{Act} napustil vanu_{Pat} vodou_{Means}.*
 Petr poured bathtub water_{Ins}.
 ‘Petr filled the bathtub with water.
- b. *Petr_{Act} napustil vodu_{Pat} do vany_{Dir.where}.*
 Petr poured water to bathtub.

Subject diatheses, in Karlík’s concept, differ according to whether the subject of an active sentence has the role of Agent or Causer. The diatheses are shown in Table 4.4.¹³

Examples of deagentive diatheses follow:

¹²We also showed that Causer and Initiator can be realized as Complement₂ (see example (62c) and (62d)). The schema then becomes rather trivial: any Deep Subject can be realized as subject or Complement₂.

¹³We omitted “active” diatheses, where the structure of the active sentence is not changed, only Agent becomes general:

- (64) a. *Zabili nám Ferdinanda.*
 Killed_{3Pl} us_{Dat} Ferdinand_{Acc}.
- b. *S poctivostí nejdál dojdeš.*
 With honesty go_{2Sg} farthest.
 ‘Honesty is the best policy.’

	active voice	subject: agent	subject: causer
subject — patient	periphrastic passive	with Instrumental (with Genitive+ <i>od</i>)	with Instrumental (with Genitive+ <i>od</i>)
	reflexive passive	+	
	derived reflexive		(with Instrumental)
subject — recipient	support verb <i>mít</i>	with Genitive+ <i>od</i>	with Instrumental (with Genitive+ <i>od</i>)
	support verb <i>dostat</i>	with Genitive+ <i>od</i>	

Table 4.4.: Subject diatheses

- (65) a. *Pokoj byl (uklízečkou_{Agent}) uklizen.*
 Room was (cleaning woman_{Ins}) cleaned.
 ‘The room was cleaned by a cleaning woman.’
- b. *Pokoj se uklídí.*
 Room SE clean_{Fut3Sg}.
 ‘The room will be cleaned.’
- c. *Žadatel má (od úřadu_{Agent}) přidělen byt.*
 Applicant has (from municipality) assigned_{PrteplMascAcc} flat_{MascAcc}.
 ‘The applicant is assigned a flat by municipality.’
- d. *Žadatel dostal (od úřadu_{Agent}) přidělen byt.*
 Applicant got (from municipality) assigned_{PrteplMascAcc} flat_{MascAcc}.
 ‘The applicant was assigned a flat by municipality.’

Examples of decausative diatheses follow:

- (66) a. *Pavel byl probuzen (bolestí_{Causer}).*
 Pavel was waken up (pain_{Ins}).
 ‘Pavel was waken up by pain.’
- b. *Pavel se probudil (bolestí_{Causer}).*
 Pavel SE woke up (pain_{Ins}).
 ‘Pavel woke up because of pain.’
- c. *Petr má obličej pokryt prachem_{Causer}.*
 Petr has face covered dust_{Ins}.
 ‘Petr’s face is covered with dust.’
-
- c. *Před a nepíšeme čárku.*
 Before and write_{Neg1Pl} comma.

	active voice	subject: agent	subject: causer
subject — patient	periphrastic passive	with Instrumental (with Genitive+ <i>od</i>)	with Instrumental (with Genitive+ <i>od</i>)
	reflexive passive	+	
subject — recipient	support verb <i>mít</i>	with Genitive+ <i>od</i>	
	support verb <i>dostat</i>	with Genitive+ <i>od</i>	

Table 4.5.: Subject diatheses revisited

In FGD, the above examples are parsed differently: *bolest* (pain) in (66b) is understood as Cause (free modification) and the construction in (66c) is understood as derived from another frame (*pokryt co čím*—cover st with st). If we rewrite the table accordingly (see Table 4.5) we can see that the right column (with causer) can be included in the column of agent.

The purpose of previous discussion was to show that we do not lose any important information if we use the functor Actor for all sorts of the deep subject.

4.3.1. Diatheses encoded in the lexicon

In our lexicon we will consider only such diatheses where functors on the tectogrammatical level are not changed, the sentence only gets a different surface realization. This rules out the so called object diatheses, because they include the change of functors.¹⁴ The so called active diatheses are also ruled out: in Karlík’s approach the agent becomes general, but we will rather follow J. Panevová (1984) and we will not consider active sentences as sentences with general Actor. This means that the surface realization is not changed. This also implies that Actor can be general only in passive sentences.

Another type of diatheses which is left aside is the construction of the verb *být* (be) and infinitive:

- (67) a. *Odtud je vidět Sněžka / Sněžku / na Sněžku.*
 From here is see_{Inf} Sněžka_{Nom}/ Sněžka_{Acc}/ on Sněžka.
 ‘Sněžka can be seen from here.’
- b. *Je znát, že se ochladilo.*
 Is know_{Inf} that it got colder.
 ‘One can feel that it got colder.’

In the further text we will deal with the following types of derived constructions:

¹⁴We can even take this as a proof that in this case the change of surface realization is not a diathesis, but that we encountered a different frame.

- periphrastic passive
- reflexive passive
- mediopassive
- constructions with the verbs *mít* and *dostat*

We will discuss the conditions at which the single types of derived constructions can be formed, and the lexical rules and constraints that can be employed for their construction.

4.3.2. Periphrastic passive

The verb is in the form of the periphrastic passive, the predicate agrees with subject in person, gender and number:

- (68) a. *Petr_{Act} čte knihu_{Pat}.*
Petr_{Nom} reads book_{Acc}.
- b. *Knih_{Pat} je čtena.*
Book_{FemNom} is read_{PrtcplFemSg}.

This construction is usually formed from transitive verbs (i.e. verbs with object in Accusative), but there are exceptions. Not all transitive verbs can be passivized (e.g. *mít* ‘to have’, *dostat* ‘to get’, etc.), and on the other hand, some verbs without an Accusative object can form passive:

- (69) a. *Úřad_{Act} vyhověl jeho žádosti_{Pat}.*
Office_{Nom} granted his application_{Dat}.
 ‘The office granted his application.’
- b. *Jeho žádosti_{Pat} bylo (úřadem_{Act}) vyhověno.*
His application_{FemDat} was (by office_{Ins}) granted_{PrtcplSgNeut}.
 ‘His application was granted (by the office).’

The subject slot of the passive construction is either filled by the original Accusative object (typically Patient), or it is empty (if the active construction did not contain any Accusative). In the case when the subject is empty or it is a clause (finite or non-finite) the verb shows agreement with neuter singular.

The original subject (Actor) changes its case to Instrumental; Actor in these sentences can be general, and thus it can be omitted on the surface level.

- (70) a. *Knih_{Pat} byla napsána slavným autorem_{Act}.*
Book_{Nom} was written famous author_{Ins}.
 ‘The book was written by a famous author.’

- b. *Bazén byl vypuštěn.*
Swimming pool was emptied.

There is another possible surface form of Actor: the prepositional phrase *od* (from) + Genitive, but this form cannot be used with all verbs—here, the semantics of the verb and its participants plays a role:

- (71) a. *Pepík je bit od otce.*
Pepík is beaten from father.
- b. **Kniha byla napsána od slavného autora.*
Book was written from famous author.

The conditions in which this construction can be used will be examined in the future work. Here, we assume that Actor can only change to Instrumental.

Before we start describing the algorithm, we have to make one more important remark: when we speak about a change of the structure we always work with an *instance* of a verb frame. The verb frame is an abstract set of all possible realizations, and we can only make a diathesis of a chosen member of this set.

The algorithm for deriving the frame of the periphrastic passive is described here:

- The verb form changes to periphrastic passive.
- If there is a nominal object in Accusative in the frame, it becomes subject (in Nominative). The subject marker changes so that it pointed to the new subject.
- If the object in Accusative is a clause or the infinitive, it becomes the subject, with a special sort of agreement (3rd person, singular, neuter).
- If there is no object in Accusative the passive has empty subject, with the same sort of agreement as the infinitive or clause subject. The subject marker is deleted.
- If our frame instance contains only the subject on the surface, this type of passivization is prohibited.
- The original subject becomes a generalizable member which is realized by Instrumental.
- All other members of the frame stay in their positions.

There are some exceptions to the above rules. The first group of exceptional verbs are ditransitive verbs (verbs with two Accusatives in the frame). We have found only two such verbs in Czech:

- *stát koho co* - to cost sb sth

This verb does not have the passive.

- *učit koho co_{acc}/čemu_{dat}* - to teach sb sth

If we choose the frame with Accusative and Dative, no problems occur. But in the frame with two Accusatives, one of them must be omitted (both can be generalized) before we create the passive construction:

- (72) a. *Děti jsou učeny (matematice).*
Children are taught (to mathematics_{Dat}).
- b. **Děti jsou učeny matematiku.*
Children are taught mathematics_{Acc}.
- c. *Matematika je učena.*
Mathematics is taught.
- d. **Matematika je učena děti.*
Mathematics is taught children_{Acc}.

The periphrastic passive is marked by % in the lexicon, and the entries of the verb *učit* will look as follows:

- (73) a. *učit~2* R--s [i1] 1(hPc1) 2(hTc3) 3(hPc4) % \$
- b. *učit~2* R--s [i1] 1 [hPc1] 2 [hTc4] 3 (hPc4) @
- c. *učit~2* P--s [i2] 1 (hPc7) 2 [hTc1] @
- d. *učit~2* PSEs [i2] 1 (hG) 2 [hTc1] @

Another exceptional group of verbs are reflexives tantum which can have passive forms. The member of the frame which undergoes the change into subject is not a member in Accusative but in Genitive:

- (74) a. *Soudce se tázal svědka, zda něco viděl.*
Judge_{Nom} SE asked witness_{Gen} if he saw anything.
- b. *Svěděk byl (soudcem) tázán, zda něco viděl.*
Witness_{Nom} was (judge_{Ins}) asked if he saw anything.

This group of verbs is not very numerous. It contains verbs *tázat se* (and its prefixed variants), *obávat se*, and perhaps some more. It is a question whether we should introduce new rules for this type of passive or rather store these passive frames as exceptions:

- (75) a. *tázat* RSEs [i1] 1 [hPc1] 2 [sF | sR | hPTZc4 {na}] 3 (hPTc2) @

b. tázat P--s [i3] 1(hPc7) 2(sF|sR|hPTZc4{na}) 3[hPTc1]@

The periphrastic passive is felt as rather formal, bookish or obsolete in modern Czech, especially the passive with expressed Actor. Unlike its English counterpart, Czech passive is rarely used for changing the topic-focus articulation—for this purpose the change of the word order is employed. The passive construction is mainly used, if the speaker wants to avoid saying who/what Actor is, or if Actor is general. In both these cases, however, the reflexive passive is used more often.

4.3.3. Reflexive passive

In this construction, the verb changes its form to reflexive passive form, the participant in Accusative (if present) becomes the subject, and Actor becomes general.

- (76) a. *Bábovka se peče.*
 Cake SE bakes.
 ‘The cake is being baked.’
- b. *Do města se jde tudy.*
 To town SE goes this way.
 ‘This is the way to the town.’

The example in (76a) is the real reflexive passive, derived from a transitive verb, while the sentence in (76b) is an impersonal active construction, derived from an intransitive verb. We mark both these constructions as reflexive passive as the algorithms for deriving them are very similar.

The reflexive passive is sometimes indistinguishable from the intrinsic or true reflexive. The sentence

- (77) *Děti se učí dobře.*
 Children SE teach well.
 ‘Children are easy to teach.’ or ‘The children learn well.’

has two readings, as the verb *učit* ‘to teach’ in reflexive passive has the same form as the reflexive verb *učit se* ‘to learn’. This ambiguity is inherent in the language and we will not try to solve this problem in the lexicon.

The algorithm for deriving the reflexive passive frame is nearly identical with the algorithm for the periphrastic passive:

- The verb changes its form to a reflexive passive form.
- If there is a nominal object in Accusative in the frame, it becomes subject (in Nominative). The subject marker is changed so that it points to the new subject.

- If the object in Accusative is a clause or the infinitive, it becomes the subject, with a special sort of agreement (3rd person, singular, neuter).
- If there is no object in Accusative the passive has an empty subject, with the same sort of agreement as the infinitive or clause subject. The subject marker is deleted.
- The original subject is generalized (and thus omitted on the morphemic level).
- All other members of the frame stay in their positions.

The rules for handling the ditransitive verbs *stát* ‘to cost’ and *učít* ‘to teach’ are the same as at the periphrastic passive: *stát* cannot be passivized and with the verb *učít*, the frame to be passivized can contain only one Accusative (see 73).

- (78) a. *Děti se učí (matematice).*
Children_{Nom} SE teach (to mathematics_{Dat}).
- b. **Děti se učí matematiku.*
Children SE teach mathematics_{Acc}.
- c. *Matematika / Matematice se učí od první třídy.*
Mathematics_{Nom/Dat} SE teaches from first grade.
- d. **Matematika / Matematice se učí děti.*
Mathematics_{Nom/Dat} SE teaches children_{Acc}.

The reflexive passive of *učít*, however, is homonymous with the reflexive verb *učít se* ‘to learn’, and thus it is difficult for a Czech speaker to understand the examples in (78a) and (78b) in the passive meaning. As an active sentence with the verb *učít se*, (78b) is correct.

Reflexive passive is marked by § in the lexicon and an example of a lexical entry was given in (73a).

For the proper treatment of the verb *učít* we also have to add an irregular frame for the reflexive passive:

- (79) *učit~2* PSEs[i2]1(hG)2[hTc1]@

The reflexive passive is used especially in cases when Actor is general and the periphrastic passive cannot be used:

- (80) a. *Tady se hodně čte.*
Here SE much reads.
‘Here, people read a lot.’

- b. **Tady je hodně čteno.*
Here is much read_{Prctpl}.
- c. *Matematice se učí od první třídy.*
Mathematics_{Dat} SE teaches from first grade.
- d. ?*Matematice je učeno od první třídy.*
Mathematics_{Dat} is taught from first grade.

4.3.4. Mediopassive

This construction is very similar to the previous one—some linguistic books actually do not distinguish between them. In mediopassive, Actor is present (though it can be general) and an adverb like *dobře* (well), *špatně* (badly), *snadno* (easily), etc. (i.e. free modification of Manner), must be present in the construction. This type of passive was described by M. Dokulil (1941) as a special case of description of the way something is done. P. Karlík (1995) considers this construction a special case of the subject diathesis of the type agent–patient where the agentive role is put to the background and the agent is getting a role of experiencer.

Examples:

- (81) a. *Matematika se mi učí snadno.*
Mathematics_{Nom} SE me_{Dat} learns easily.
'It's easy for me to learn/teach mathematics.'
- b. *Z této látky se šije dobře.*
From this fabric SE sews well.
'It's easy (for anyone) to make clothes from this fabric.'

This construction can also be ambiguous—either with a reflexive passive or with an intrinsic passive. The Dative member is then understood as Benefactor:

- (82) a. *Děti se mi učí dobře.*
Children SE to me teach well.
'It's easy for me to teach children.' or 'My children learn well.'
- b. *Ted' už se mi píše potvrzení dobře.*
Now already SE me_{Dat} writes receipt_{Nom} well.
'Now, the receipt is finally being written correctly for me.' or
'Now, it's already easy for me to write the receipt.'

The mediopassive can also be derived from an intransitive verb:

- (83) *S kopce dolů se (mi) jde dobře.*
 From hill down SE (me_{Dat}) goes well.
 'It's easy (for me) to walk down-hill.'

The algorithm for deriving the mediopassive frame is nearly identical with the algorithm for the periphrastic passive:

- The verb form is changed in a reflexive passive form.
- If there is a nominal object in Accusative in the frame, it becomes subject (in Nominative). The subject marker is changed so that it points to the new subject.
- If the object in Accusative is a clause or the infinitive, it becomes the subject, with a special sort of agreement (3rd person, singular, neuter).
- If there is no object in Accusative the passive has an empty subject, with the same sort of agreement as the infinitive or clause subject. The subject marker is deleted.
- The original Actor (subject) changes its surface realization to Dative.
- All other members of the frame stay in their positions.

We do not introduce a separate mark for the possibility of deriving mediopassive as we believe that there is a general rule: any frame of an imperfective verb which can be transformed to reflexive passive can also be transformed to mediopassive. The information on reflexive passives is contained in our lexicon, and the information on aspect is contained in the morphological lexicon. If it turned out that the above rule does not hold we can introduce a new mark.

There is, however, a verb that needs special treatment: the verb *chtít* can have a reflexive form *chtít se* where Actor has the form of Dative. We will call this construction mediopassive, but it requires a separate entry in the lexicon. As this verb requires an infinitive in its frame we will show the encoding of the frame in Section 4.4.2.

4.3.5. Constructions with *mít* and *dostat*

In this type of construction, a Dative member of the frame (typically Addressee) becomes the subject of a construction with the support verb *mít* or *dostat* and the main verb occurs in the predicate as a passive participle in Accusative. If the main verb has an Accusative object (typically Patient), the participle agrees with it in gender and number. If the Accusative object is missing, the participle has the form of singular neuter. Actor (the original subject) becomes an optional member of the frame in the form of *od* + Genitive:

- (84) a. *Obec přídělila žadatelům byty.*
 Municipality_{Nom} granted applicants_{Dat} flats_{Acc}.

- b. *Žadatelé mají/dostali (od obce) přiděleny byty.*
 Applicants_{Nom} have/got (from municipality) granted_{PrteplAcc} flats_{Acc}.
 ‘Applicants were granted flats (by municipality).’
- c. *Otec_{Act} vynadá Pepíkovi_{Pat}.*
 Father_{Nom} will scold Pepík_{Dat}.
- d. *Pepík_{Pat} dostane vynadáno (od otce_{Act}).*
 Pepík_{Nom} will get scolded (from father_{Gen}).
 ‘Pepík will be scolded (by the father).’
- e. *Vnučka babičce uvařila.*
 Granddaughter_{Nom} grannie_{Dat} cooked.
 ‘Granddaughter has cooked for grannie.’
- f. *Babička má uvařeno.*
 Grannie_{Nom} has cooked_{PrteplNeutSg}.
 ‘(The meal) has been cooked for grannie.’

Some verbs allow both of the two support verbs, while others allow only one of them (*mít/dostat přiděleno*, *dostat/*mít vynadáno*, **dostat/mít uvařeno*). This is why we introduced two marks—one for each of the support verbs. The frames

Instead of the (short) passive participle we can use the long form of adjective (long passive participle), especially in the spoken language. In such a case, however, the sentence can become ambiguous:

- (85) a. *Žadatelé dostali (od obce) přiděleny byty.*
 Applicants got (from municipality) granted_{PrteplAcc} flats_{Acc}.
 ‘Applicants were granted flats (by municipality).’
- b. *Žadatelé dostali (od obce) přidělené byty.*
 Applicants got (from municipality) granted_{AdjAcc} flats_{Acc}.
 ‘Applicants were granted flats (by municipality).’ or
 ‘Applicants got the granted flats (from municipality).’

The algorithm for deriving the verb frame of this construction follows:

- An object in Dative (Addressee, Patient, or Beneficiary) becomes subject (in Nominative). The subject marker is changed accordingly.
- Actor becomes an optional member of the frame of the form *od* + Genitive.
- All other members of the frame stay in their positions.

Frames of the verbs which allow this diathesis are in the following example (the diathesis with *mít* is marked by # and the diathesis with *dostat* is marked by *):

- (86) a. přidělit R--s [i1]1(hPc1)2[hPTc4]3[hPc3]#\$#*
 b. vynadat R--s [i1]1(hPc1)2[hPc3]#\$*
 c. uvařit R--s [i1]1(hPc1)2[hPTc4]3<hPc3>#\$#~

4.3.6. Resultative construction with *mít*

There is one more construction with the support verb *mít*. This is not really a diathesis, as Actor remains as subject and the change on the surface only affects the verb form. It is rather a sort of resultative tense, which corresponds to English perfective constructions. K. Hausenblas (1963) ranks this construction to verb tense, while J. Panevová (1971) considers it a sort of aspect. We decided to include this construction among other diatheses because we have no other means how to create these constructions.

- (87) a. *Upeču bábovku.*
 Bake_{1SgFut} cake_{FemAcc}.
 b. *Bábovku už mám upečenu/upečenou.*
 Cake_{FemAccSg} already have_{1Sg} baked_{Prtcp1FemAccSg/AdjFemAccSg}.
 c. *Už mám upečeno.*
 Already have_{1Sg} baked_{Prtcp1NeutAccSg}.

In this derivation, the frame remains the same as in the base form. The only operation in forming this construction is changing the predicate.

All the above constructions can only be derived from perfective verbs, as they express a result.

This diathesis is marked by ~, and an example of a verb frame allowing this diathesis is in (86c).

4.4. Verbs with the infinitive in their frames

For this group of verbs, we have to describe not only the frame of the verb, but also the interaction between the higher verb and the lower verb (the infinitive)—which members of the frames they share, what kinds of derived frames are allowed for both the infinitive and the governor, and other constraints that hold for both the verbs.

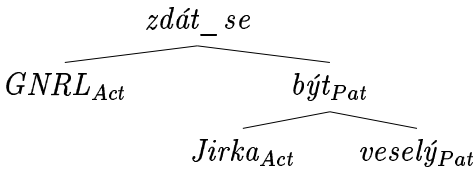
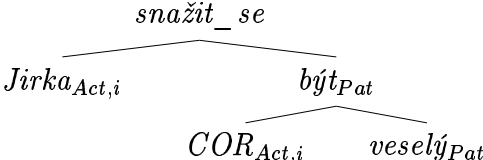
These verbs are usually divided into two subclasses: **raising** and **equi** (or **control**) verbs. In both cases the subject (or rarely an object) of the infinitive is the subject or an object of the higher verb, but there is a difference between the two deep structures.

Raising verb: The subject of the infinitive becomes (is raised as) the subject or an object of the governor, but it does not belong among its arguments.

Equi verb: Certain participant of the governor is coreferential with a participant of the dependant. On the surface level, such a participant is present only once, but in the deep structure, there are two slots (one in every verb's frame) which are coreferential.

Many authors were concerned with these sorts of verbs; this topic is worked up well for English (see Chomsky, 1986; Dalrymple et al., 1995; Pollard and Sag, 1994), for Czech, we will proceed from Panevová (1996) but our conclusions will be different in some cases.

First we will show the difference between the two types of verbs in examples of tree structures. We will use one raising verb (*zdát se*—seem) and one equi verb (*snažit se*—try) for explanation.¹⁵

- (88) a.  *Jirka se zdá být veselý.*
Jirka SE seems be_{Inf}merry.
- b.  *Jirka se snaží být veselý.*
Jirka SE tries be_{Inf}merry.

For English, certain tests were developed which should show whether a verb is raising or equi. We will examine them and check whether these or similar criteria can be used for Czech as well.

Here are conditions for subject-raising verbs. Conditions and examples are taken from Borsley (1999).

- Raising verbs can have a dummy subject (i.e. an expletive pronoun or *there*), while equi verbs cannot:

- (89) a. It seemed to be easy to please Rhodes.
b. There seemed to be a flaw in the argument.
c. *It tried to be easy to please Rhodes.
d. *There tried to be a flaw in the argument.

¹⁵J. Panevová (1996) claims that raising verbs are marginal in Czech. She compares Czech with Russian, and though she shows a different behaviour of the verb *zdát se* (seem) in Czech, she more or less adopts Comrie's conclusion (Comrie, 1991) that it is not justified to speak about *Sb-to-Sb raising* in Czech. We will come to different conclusions, however.

This test is hardly applicable for Czech, as Czech only rarely uses dummy subjects. However, the dummy subjects in the above sentences stand for the infinitives, so we can try corresponding Czech sentences with infinitives in the subject positions:

- (90) a. *Potěšit Karla se zdá být snadné.*
 ‘To please Karel seems to be easy.’
 b. *Potěšit Karla musí být snadné.*
 ‘To please Karel must be easy.’
 c. *Potěšit Karla začne být snadné.*
 ‘To please Karel starts to be easy.’
 d. **Potěšit Karla zkouší být snadné.*
 ‘To please Karel tries to be easy.’
 e. **Potěšit Karla chce být snadné.*
 ‘To please Karel wants to be easy.’

In the above examples, the raising verb *zdát se* has two actants (general Actor in Dative and Patient), and the verb *začít* has only one actant (Actor); the subject of the upper verb is raised from the frame of the construction *být snadné* (be easy). Let us show it on graphs of sentences (90a) and (90c):

- (91) a.
-
- ```

graph TD
 zdát_se --- GNRL_Act
 zdát_se --- být_snadné_Pat
 být_snadné_Pat --- potěšit_Act
 potěšit_Act --- GNRL_Act
 potěšit_Act --- Karla_Addr

```
- b.
- 
- ```

graph TD
    začít --- být_snadné_Act
    být_snadné_Act --- potěšit_Act
    potěšit_Act --- GNRL_Act
    potěšit_Act --- Karla_Addr
  
```

Modal verbs like *muset* (must) are treated as grammatemes in FGD and therefore they cannot have any actants. A trivial corollary of this fact is that the subject of the modal verb *must* be actant of the infinitive.

- (92) a.
-
- ```

graph TD
 být_snadné_debitivní --- potěšit_Act
 potěšit_Act --- GNRL_Act
 potěšit_Act --- Karel_Addr

```
- Potěšit Karla musí být snadné.*  
 Please<sub>Inf</sub>Karel must be<sub>Inf</sub>easy.

- b.  $\begin{array}{c} \text{být}_{\text{debitive}} \\ \swarrow \quad \searrow \\ \text{Jirka}_{\text{Act}} \quad \text{veselý} \end{array}$  *Jirka musí být veselý.*  
Jirka must be<sub>Inf</sub>merry.

- Raising verbs can have a clausal subject, while equi verbs cannot:

- (93) a. That he is clever seems to be obvious.  
b. \*That he is clever tries to be obvious.

Let us check whether this test works for Czech:

- (94) a. *Že je chytrý, se zdá být zřejmé.*  
'That he is clever seems to be obvious.'  
b. *Že je chytrý, musí být zřejmé.*  
'That he is clever must be obvious.'  
c. *Že je chytrý, začne být zřejmé.*  
'That he is clever starts to be obvious.'  
d. \**Že je chytrý, zkouší být zřejmé.*  
'That he is clever tries to be obvious.'  
e. \**Že je chytrý, chce být zřejmé.*  
'That he is clever wants to be obvious.'

- Idiomatic expressions keep their idiomatic meaning in the raising sentences, but not in the control sentences:

- (95) a. The cat seems to be out of the bag. (idiomatic meaning)  
b. The cat tries to be out of the bag. (non-idiomatic meaning)
- (96) a. *Už je ruka v rukávě.*  
Already is arm in sleeve.  
'Everything has been arranged.'  
b. *Ruka se zdá být v rukávě.* (idiomatic meaning)  
c. *Ruka musí být v rukávě.* (idiomatic meaning)  
d. ?*Ruka začne být v rukávě.* (sounds odd)  
e. ?*Ruka zkouší být v rukávě.* (sounds odd)  
f. *Ruka chce být v rukávě.* (sounds odd)

This test does not seem to work for Czech, but there are some more.

The following conditions and examples are taken from Pollard and Sag (1994).

- Object-raising verbs can have a dummy subject (like the subject-raising verbs):

- (97) a. Kim believed there to be some misunderstanding about these issues.  
 b. \*Kim persuades there to be some misunderstanding about these issues.

Such constructions are impossible in Czech, and thus we cannot make a similar test.

- Controllers of equi constructions have assigned semantic roles:

- (98) a. The doctor tried to examine Sandy.  
 b. Sandy tried to be examined by the doctor.

The doctor is Actor of the verb try in (98a) (“tryer” in HPSG terminology), while in (98b), Sandy is Actor.

In Czech, we can find similar examples:<sup>16</sup>

- (99) a. *Doktor se pokusil vyšetřit babičku.*  
 Doctor SE tried examine<sub>Inf</sub> grannie.  
 b. *Babička se pokusila nechat se vyšetřit od doktora.*  
 Grannie SE tried let<sub>Inf</sub> SE examine<sub>Inf</sub> from doctor.

- Another test examines the meaning of the active and passive infinitive. In raising sentences, the sentences with active and passive infinitives are identical with respect to their contents:

- (100) a. Kim believed the doctor to have examined Sandy. (raising verb)  
 b. Kim believed Sandy to have been examined by the doctor. (raising verb)  
 c. Kim persuaded the doctor to examine Sandy. (equi verb)  
 d. Kim persuaded Sandy to be examined by the doctor. (equi verb)

In Czech, this test can be applied, too:

- (101) a. *Karel viděl doktora vyšetřit babičku.*  
 Karel saw doctor examine<sub>Inf</sub> grannie.  
 b. *Karel viděl babičku nechat se vyšetřit od doktora.*  
 Karel saw grannie let<sub>Inf</sub> SE examine<sub>Inf</sub> from doctor.  
 c. *Karel nařídil doktorovi vyšetřit babičku.*  
 Karel ordered doctor examine<sub>Inf</sub> grannie.  
 d. *Karel nařídil babičce nechat se vyšetřit od doktora.*  
 Karel ordered grannie let<sub>Inf</sub> SE examine<sub>Inf</sub> from doctor.

<sup>16</sup>It is impossible to use periphrastic passive in these constructions, the only possibility how to paraphrase the English sentences is to use a support verb *nechat* (let), and we can understand the construction as a sort of passive.



Another test, which can be applied, checks the number of actants of the upper verb, and their surface realization. This number should not depend on the lexical setting of the infinitive. And also the surface realization of a certain actant should not depend on the lexical setting of another actant. If we considered for example that the verb *začít* (start) is an equi verb whose subject is coreferential with the subject of the embedded infinitive we would need several frames:

- (102) a.  $\begin{array}{l} \textit{začít} \\ \diagdown \\ \textit{pršet}_{Act} \end{array}$  *Začalo pršet.*  
Started rain<sub>Inf</sub>.
- b.  $\begin{array}{c} \textit{začít} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{Tomáš}_{Act,i} \quad \textit{pracovat}_{Pat} \\ \quad \quad \quad \diagup \\ \quad \quad \quad \textit{COR}_{Act,i} \end{array}$  *Tomáš začal pracovat.*  
Tomáš started work<sub>Inf</sub>.
- c.  $\begin{array}{c} \textit{začít} \\ \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \textit{pršet}_{Act,i} \quad \textit{být\_jasné}_{Pat} \\ \quad \quad \quad \diagup \quad \diagdown \\ \quad \quad \quad \textit{COR}_{Pat,i} \quad \textit{všichni}_{Act} \end{array}$  *Že prší, začalo být jasné všem.*  
That rains started be<sub>Inf</sub>clear all<sub>Dat</sub>.

The verb from (102a) would have a frame with Actor realized as an infinitive. The verb from (102b) would have a frame with Actor realized by a noun in Nominative and Patient realized by an Infinitive. The verb from (102c) would have also Actor and Patient in its frame, but Actor would be realized by a clause attached by *že*. We can see that we could continue and find even more different frames for the equi verb *začít*. On the other hand, if we suppose that the verb *začít* is a raising verb we get rid of the problem with many frames. The frame only contains Actor (the infinitive) and the subject is raised from Actor's frame. It can be even empty if the infinitive has no subject.

- (103) a.  $\begin{array}{l} \textit{začít} \\ \diagdown \\ \textit{pršet}_{Act} \end{array}$  *Začalo pršet.*  
Started rain<sub>Inf</sub>.
- b.  $\begin{array}{c} \textit{začít} \\ \diagdown \\ \textit{pracovat}_{Act} \\ \quad \quad \quad \diagup \\ \quad \quad \quad \textit{Tomáš}_{Act} \end{array}$  *Tomáš začal pracovat.*  
Tomáš started work<sub>Inf</sub>.



- (106) a. *Petr<sub>Act,i</sub> smí [-<sub>i</sub> odejít].*  
*Petr<sub>Nom</sub> may leave<sub>Inf</sub>.*
- b. *Začalo [pršet].*  
 Started rain<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 'It started raining.'
- c. *Petr<sub>Pat,i</sub> musí [-<sub>i</sub> být pochválen].*  
*Petr<sub>Nom</sub> must be<sub>Inf</sub> praised<sub>Prtpcl</sub>.*
- d. *Musí [-<sub>i</sub> se zabít] dvě mouchy<sub>Pat,i</sub> [jednou ranou].*  
 Must SE kill<sub>Inf</sub> two flies<sub>Nom</sub> one hit<sub>Ins</sub>.  
 'Two flies must be killed by one hit.'
- e. *Bábovka<sub>Pat,i</sub> [se] začala [-<sub>i</sub> péci].*  
 Cake<sub>Nom</sub> SE started bake<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 'The cake started to be baked.'
- f. *Únosce<sub>Addr,i</sub> musí [-<sub>i</sub> dostat slíbeno výkupné<sub>Pat</sub>].*  
 Kidnapper<sub>Nom</sub> must get<sub>Inf</sub> promised<sub>Prtpcl</sub> ransom<sub>Acc</sub>.  
 'The kidnapper must be promised the ransom.'
- g. *Kuchařka<sub>Act,i</sub> [už] musí [-<sub>i</sub> mít uvařeno].*  
 Cook<sub>Nom</sub> already must have<sub>Inf</sub> cooked<sub>PrtpclNeutSg</sub>.  
 'The cook must have already cooked (everything).'
- h. *[Tady se ti<sub>Act</sub>] musí [sedět nepohodlně].*  
 Here SE you<sub>Dat</sub> must sit<sub>Inf</sub> uncomfortably.  
 'This must be an uncomfortable seat for you.'

We can see in the above examples that the infinitive can occur in various diatheses. The infinitive can occur in both periphrastic and reflexive passive and in the construction with the verb *dostat*; the mediopassive and the active construction with the verb *mít* are only possible with the verb *muset* (must) in the meaning of high probability. It seems that the governor can only occur in active voice, but we will come back to this issue later.

As modal verbs have no representation on the tectogrammatical level we have to find a notation of these lexical entries that respects this theoretical constraint and gives all necessary information. In (107) we can see several examples of both modal and non-modal verbs.

- (107) a. *muset~1* R--s [a0] 0 [sId%\$#mD] @
- b. *muset~2* R--s [a0] 0 [sId%\$\*~] @
- c. *začít* R--s [a1] 1 [sId%\$] @

- d. *zdát* RSEs [i2]1(hPc3)2[hTc1|sD]@  
 e. *zdát* RSEs [a2]1(hPc3)2[sI1{být}|hQc1]@

The frame of the modal verb *muset* (107a) contains only one “argument” (0[sld%\$ mD]) whose functor is marked by 0 (zero). This notation was adopted for sentence complementations which do not belong to frame of a given verb. Attributes enclosed in brackets represent constraints imposed on the surface forms. In (107a) these attributes have the following values: infinitive (sl) which can occur in periphrastic and reflexive passive (d%\$),<sup>18</sup> and the modality feature *debitive* (mD). The subject of the construction is raised from the infinitival clause (s[a0]). The verb *muset* can occur only in active voice (@).

The frame of the verb *muset* in the meaning of high probability (107b) is very similar the frame of the modal verb. It differs in constraints imposed of diatheses of the embedded infinitive (%\$\*~) and in a missing modality marker.

The aspectual (phase) verb *začít* is a verb with one actant (Actor: 1[sld%\$]) which is realized by an infinitive. The infinitive can occur also in periphrastic or reflexive passive, and the verb *začít* can only occur in active voice. The subject of the verb *začít* is raised from the infinitival clause.

The verb *zdát se* has been already discussed. In (107d) we can see the frame of the verb with

**Object raising verbs** are such verbs that have an infinitive in the frame and the subject of this infinitive becomes an object of the higher verb. This group contains the verbs of perception:

- (108) a. *Vidím ho<sub>i</sub> \_<sub>i</sub> přicházet.*  
 I see him to be coming.  
 ‘I see him coming.’
- b. ?*Vidím ho<sub>i</sub> \_<sub>i</sub> být tázána.*  
 ?I see him to be asked.  
 ‘I see him being asked.’
- c. ?*Cítím bábovku<sub>i</sub> \_<sub>i</sub> péct se.*  
 ?I smell cake to bake SE.  
 ‘I can smell that a cake is being baked.’

The passive constructions are questionable with this group of verbs; a further research on a text corpus will be necessary. In the current version of the lexicon the possibility of creating the passive voice is suppressed. The frame is encoded this way:

<sup>18</sup>These constraints represent additional constraints to those imposed by the lexical entry of a given infinitive.

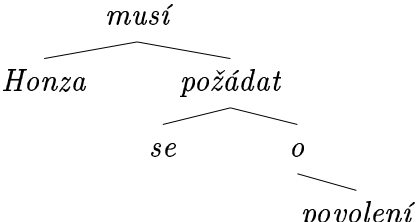
- (109) a. vidět R--s [i1]1(hPc1)2(hPTSc4|sD|sZ)&  
 b. vidět R--s [i1]1[hPc1]2[sId\$|sZd&]0[hPTSc4a2]@

For marking the source of the raised subject we use the attribute *a*. Its value points to a functor from which the subject was raised.

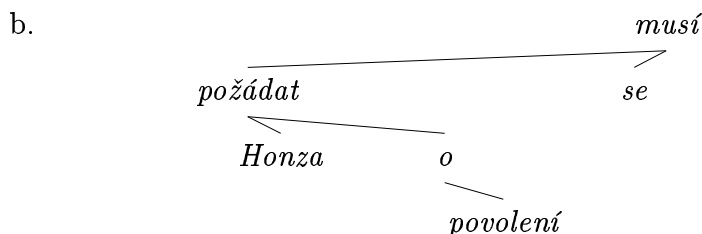
The last issue that will be discussed in this section is the possible reflexivization of modal and aspectual verbs. As we have said above, raising verbs do not seem to allow passivization, but let us consider the following conversation:

- (110) a. *Honza*/*\*Honzu se musí požádat o povolení*.  
*Honza*<sub>Nom</sub>/*\*Acc* SE must ask<sub>Inf</sub> for permission.  
 ‘Honza must be asked for permission.’
- b. *Co že se musí udělat?*  
 What<sub>Nom</sub> that SE must do<sub>Inf</sub>?  
 ‘What did you say that must be done?’
- c. *Požádat Honzu o povolení*.  
 Ask<sub>Inf</sub> *Honza*<sub>Acc</sub> for permission.
- d. *Žádat<sub>Inf</sub> Honzu o povolení se mi nechce*.  
 Ask<sub>Inf</sub> *Honza*<sub>Acc</sub> for permission SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub>.  
 ‘I don’t want to ask Honza for permission.’
- e. *Požádat Honzu/\*Honza o povolení se musí!*  
 Ask<sub>Inf</sub> *Honza*<sub>Acc</sub>/*\*Nom* for permission SE must!  
 ‘Honza MUST be asked for permission!’

In the sentence (110a) the embedded infinitive is in reflexive passive and its subject (Addressee in the deep structure) is raised as the subject of the modal verb *muset*. In (110e) the infinitive is in active voice, with Addressee in Accusative. The whole infinitive clause is the subject of reflexive passive of the verb *muset*. We will show the difference on structures on the analytical level:<sup>19</sup>

- (111) a.  *Honza se musí požádat o povolení*.  
*Honza*<sub>Nom</sub> SE must ask<sub>Inf</sub> for permission.

<sup>19</sup>The analytical level is an auxiliary level where analytical morphological forms are resolved. This level is used for example in Prague Dependency Treebank (PDT) as one of the levels of description of the texts (see Hajič et al., 1999).



*Požádat Honzu o povolení se musí.*  
 Ask<sub>Inf</sub> Honza<sub>Acc</sub> for permission SE must.

The (exceptional) frame for the reflexive passive looks as follows:

(112) muset~1 PSEs[i0]0[sId@mD]@

#### 4.4.2. Equi verbs

This type of verbs in Czech was described by K. Svoboda (1962) and J. Panevová (1996). Svoboda does not use the term *equi* or *control*, but he distinguishes between “subject infinitives” verb and “object infinitives”. He does not distinguish raising and equi verbs, as he only considers the surface structure and grammatical functions as subject, objects, etc.

Panevová describes carefully equi verbs from the point of view of FGD. She distinguishes four types of equi verbs:

(113) a. Subject-control (Act-Sb):

*Jan<sub>Act,i</sub> se bojí [-<sub>Act,i</sub> zůstat doma sám].*  
 Jan<sub>Nom</sub> fears stay<sub>Inf</sub> at home alone.

b. Object-control (Addr-Sb):

*Oni<sub>Act</sub> mu<sub>Addr,i</sub> poručili [-<sub>Act,i</sub> přijít].*  
 They<sub>Nom</sub> him<sub>Dat</sub> ordered come<sub>Inf</sub>.

c. Ambiguous class (Act-Sb) or (Addr-Sb):

*Rodiče<sub>Act,i</sub> Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> slíbili [-<sub>Act,j</sub> svézt se na poníkovi].*  
 Parents to Petr promised to ride on pony.

*Rodiče<sub>Act,i</sub> Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> slíbili [-<sub>Act,i</sub> přestat kouřit].*  
 Parents to Petr promised to stop to smoke.

d. Object-control (Pat-Sb) (the infinitive has the function of Intent):

*Sedlák vyhnal krávy<sub>Pat,i</sub> [-<sub>Act,i</sub> pást se].*  
 Farmer drove cows<sub>Acc</sub> graze<sub>Inf</sub>.

We will add two more types, which are quite rare but interesting. The embedded infinitive should be understood as a sort of passive, though it is in active voice:

(114) a. (Act-Addr) control:

*Anežka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* [<sub>-Act</sub> *podat knihu* <sub>-Addr,i</sub>].

Anežka<sub>Nom</sub> wants pass<sub>Inf</sub> book<sub>Acc</sub>.

‘Anežka wants someone to pass her the book.’

*Anežka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* [<sub>-Act</sub> *přečíst pohádku* <sub>-Addr,i</sub>].

Anežka wants read<sub>Inf</sub> tale<sub>Acc</sub>.

‘Anežka wants someone to read her a tale.’

*Anežka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* [<sub>-Act</sub> *poučít o hudbě* <sub>-Addr,i</sub>].

Anežka wants to instruct in music.

‘Anežka wants someone to instruct her in music.’

b. (Act-Pat) control:

*Plot*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* [<sub>-Act</sub> *natřít* <sub>-Pat,i</sub>].

Fence wants paint<sub>Inf</sub>.

‘The fence needs painting.’

*Pepík*<sub>Act,i</sub> *potřebuje* [<sub>-Act</sub> *nařezat* <sub>-Pat,i</sub>].

Pepík needs spank<sub>Inf</sub>.

‘Pepík needs spanking.’

For proper description of all the above constructions in the lexicon we also have to examine the possible diatheses of both the governer and the controlled infinitive. Let us start with (Act-Sb) control:

(115) a. *Petr*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* <sub>-Pat,i</sub> *být pochválen*.

Petr wants to be praised.

b. *Anežka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* <sub>-Addr,i</sub> *být poučena o hudbě*.

Anežka wants to be instructed in music.

c. *Bábovka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *se nechce* <sub>-Pat,i</sub> *péct*.

Cake SE does not want to bake.

‘The cake refuses to get baked.’

d. *Pepík*<sub>Act,i</sub> *nechce* <sub>-Pat,i</sub> *dostat nařezáno*.

Pepík does not want to get spanked.

‘Pepík does not want to be spanked.’

e. *Petr*<sub>Act,i</sub> *chce* <sub>-Pat,i</sub> *dostat/\*mít slíbenou hračku*.

Petr wants to get/\*have promised toy.

‘Petr wants to be promised a toy.’

- f. *Matka*<sub>Act,i</sub> *už* *chce* <sub>Act,i</sub> *mít* *uvařeno*.  
 Mother already wants to have cooked.  
 ‘Mother wants to have all cooking done already.’

We can see that the infinitive can be in passive, as well as in a construction with *mít* or *dostat*. The passivization of the governor, on the other hand, does not seem to be possible. The reason may be that the subject of the embedded infinitive is controlled by Actor which would become general in a passive construction. An exception is a mediopassive of the verb *chtít*.

- (116) *Nechce* *se* *mi*<sub>Act,i</sub> <sub>Act,i</sub> *spát*.  
 Wants<sub>Neg3SgNeut</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> sleep<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 ‘I don’t want to sleep’.  
*Nechce* *se* *mi*<sub>Act,i</sub> <sub>Pat,i</sub> *být* *bit*.  
 Wants<sub>Neg3SgNeut</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> be<sub>Inf</sub> beaten.  
 ‘I don’t want to be beaten’.  
*Bábovce*<sub>Act,i</sub> *se* *nechce* <sub>Pat,i</sub> *péct* (*se*).  
 Cake<sub>Dat</sub> SE wants<sub>Neg3SgNeut</sub> bake<sub>Inf</sub> (SE).  
 ‘The cake refuses to get baked’.

The verb *chtít* even allows reflexive passive with general Actor:

- (117) *Když* *se* <sub>Act,i</sub> *nechce* <sub>Act,i</sub> *pracovat*, *tak* *se* *nemusí* <sub>Act,i</sub> *jíst*.  
 When SE wants<sub>Neg3SgNeut</sub> work<sub>Inf</sub> then SE needs<sub>Neg</sub> eat<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 ‘If one doesn’t want to work then he doesn’t need to eat.’

Frames of two equi verbs, *bát se* (fear) and *chtít* (want) follow:

- (118) a. *bát* RSEs [i1] 1 [hPc1] 2 (hPTRc2|hPTRc4r{o}|sD|sU|sIq1d%)@  
 b. *chtít*~1 R--s [i1] 1 [hPc1] 2 [hTc4|sIq1d%\$#~]@  
 c. *chtít*~2 PSEs [i2] 1 (hPTc3) 2 [hZc4|sIq1d%\$]@

Next, we will examine the the possibility of passivization of verbs with (Pat-Sb) control.

- (119) a. *Velitelé*<sub>Act,i</sub> *vojákům*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *zakázali* <sub>j</sub> *chodit na pivo*.  
 Commanders soldiers<sub>Dat</sub> prohibited go<sub>Inf</sub> for beer.  
 b. *Vojákům*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *bylo* (*veliteli*<sub>Act,i</sub>) *zakázáno* <sub>j</sub> *chodit na pivo*.  
 Soldiers<sub>Dat</sub> was (commanders<sub>Ins</sub>) prohibited go<sub>Inf</sub> for beer.



- c. *Vojákům<sub>Addr,j</sub> se zakázalo* *—<sub>j</sub> chodit na pivo.*  
 Soldiers<sub>Dat</sub> SE prohibited go<sub>Inf</sub> for beer.
- d. *Vojáci<sub>Addr,j</sub> mají/\*dostali (od velitelů<sub>Act,i</sub>) zakázáno* *—<sub>j</sub> chodit na pivo.*  
 Soldiers<sub>Nom</sub> have/\*got (from commanders) prohibited go<sub>Inf</sub> for beer.
- e. *Šéf<sub>Act,i</sub> zabránil podřízenému<sub>Addr,j</sub> —<sub>j</sub> být povýšen.*  
 Boss prevented employee<sub>Dat</sub> be<sub>Inf</sub> promoted.
- f. *Podřízenému<sub>Addr,j</sub> bylo (šéfem<sub>Act,i</sub>) zabráněno* *—<sub>j</sub> být povýšen.*  
 Employee<sub>Dat</sub> was (boss<sub>Ins</sub>) prevented be<sub>Inf</sub> promoted.
- g. *Podřízenému<sub>Addr,j</sub> se zabránilo* *—<sub>j</sub> být povýšen.*  
 Employee<sub>Dat</sub> SE prevented be<sub>Inf</sub> promoted.

Frames for the verbs *poručit* (order), *zakázat* (forbid) and *zabránit* (prevent) follow:

- (120) a. *poručit* R--s [i1] 1(hPc1) 2[sU|sIq3d@] 3(hPc3)%\$#  
 b. *zakázat* R--s [i1] 1(hPc1) 2[sU|sIq3d@] 3(hPc3)%\$#  
 c. *zabránit*~1 R--s [i1] 1(hPc1) 2[sU|sIq3d%] 3[hPc3]%\$

The next category to be examined are the ambiguous verbs like *slíbit* (promise) or *odepřít* (refuse). First, we will examine possible diatheses of the governor.

- (121) a. *?Rodiče<sub>Act,i</sub> Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> slíbili* *—<sub>j</sub> svézt se na poníkovi.*  
 Parents<sub>Nom</sub> Petr<sub>Dat</sub> promised ride<sub>Inf</sub> on pony.
- b. *Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> bylo (rodiči<sub>Act,i</sub>) slíbeno* *—<sub>j</sub> svézt se na poníkovi.*  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> was (parents<sub>Ins</sub>) promised ride<sub>Inf</sub> on pony.
- c. *Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> se slíbilo* *—<sub>j</sub> svézt se na poníkovi.*  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> SE promised ride<sub>Inf</sub> on pony.
- d. *Petr<sub>Addr,j</sub> má/dostal (od rodičů<sub>Act,i</sub>) slíbeno* *—<sub>j</sub> svézt se na poníkovi.*  
 Petr has/got (from parents) promised ride<sub>Inf</sub> on pony.
- e. *Rodiče<sub>Act,i</sub> Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> slíbili* *—<sub>i</sub> přestat kouřit.*  
 Parents<sub>Nom</sub> Petr<sub>Dat</sub> promised stop<sub>Inf</sub> to smoke.
- f. *\*Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> bylo (rodiči<sub>Act,i</sub>) slíbeno* *—<sub>i</sub> přestat kouřit.*  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> was (parents<sub>Ins</sub>) promised stop<sub>Inf</sub> smoke<sub>Inf</sub>.
- g. *(\*Petrovi<sub>Addr,j</sub> se slíbilo* *—<sub>i</sub> přestat kouřit.*  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> SE promised stop<sub>Inf</sub> to smoke.

- h. \**Petr*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *má/dostal* (od *rodičů*<sub>Act,i</sub>) *slíbeno* <sub>-i</sub> *přestat kouřit*.  
*Petr*<sub>Nom</sub> has/got (from parents) promised stop<sub>Inf</sub> smoke<sub>Inf</sub>.

The construction (121a) is rejected by some speakers, but it can be converted into passive constructions (121b)–(121d), which are admitted by all speakers. The sentence (121e) is perfectly correct, but the passivization of the controller is impossible. Only the sentence in (121g) can be accepted if we suppose Actor of the embedded infinitive to be general.

Let us now try to passivize the infinitive:

- (122) a. *Rodiče*<sub>Act,i</sub> *Petrovi*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *slíbili* <sub>-j</sub> *být pochválen*.  
 Parents<sub>Nom</sub> Petr<sub>Dat</sub> promised be<sub>Inf</sub> praised.  
 b. *Petrovi*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *bylo* (*rodiči*<sub>Act,i</sub>) *slíbeno* <sub>-j</sub> *být pochválen*.  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> was (parents<sub>Ins</sub>) promised be<sub>Inf</sub> praised.  
 c. *Petrovi*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *se slíbilo* <sub>-j</sub> *být pochválen*.  
 Petr<sub>Dat</sub> SE promised be<sub>Inf</sub> praised.  
 d. *Petr*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *má/\*dostal* (od *rodičů*<sub>Act,i</sub>) *slíbeno* <sub>-j</sub> *být pochválen*.  
 Petr has/\*got (from parents) promised be<sub>Inf</sub> praised.  
 e. *Rodiče*<sub>Act,i</sub> *Petrovi*<sub>Addr,j</sub> *slíbili* <sub>-i</sub> *být v práci povýšeni*.  
 Parents<sub>Nom</sub> Petr<sub>Dat</sub> promised be<sub>Inf</sub> at work promoted.

Now, we can encode the frames of the verb *slíbit* (promise):

- (123) a. *slíbit*~1 R--s [i1]1[hPc1]2[hZc4|sD|sIq3d%]3[hPc3]%%\$##\*  
 b. *slíbit*~2 R--s [i1]1[hPc1]2[hTc4|sD|sIq1d%]3(hPc3)@

The constructions with (Act-Pat) control and (Act-Addr) control do not allow any sort of diathesis, so their frames will be quite simple:

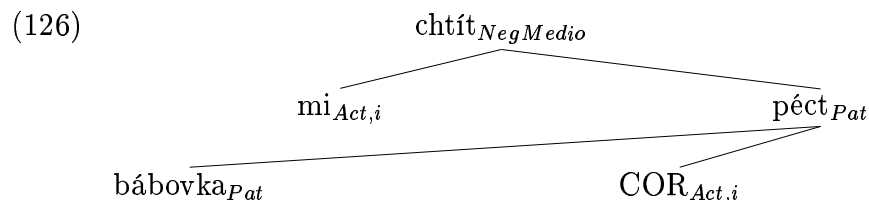
- (124) a. *chtít*~3 R--s [i1]1[hPTc1]2[sIp1d@]@  
 b. *chtít*~4 R--s [i1]1[hPTc1]2[sIt1d@]@

In the end, we will look closer to one more construction of the verb *chtít* (want). This construction mainly occurs in a spoken language and it is mentioned only briefly in grammar books, e.g. in (Karlík et al., 1995). Let us consider the following sentences:

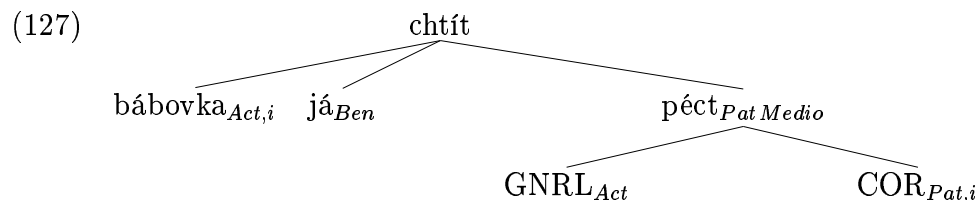
- (125) a. *Bábovka*<sub>Pat</sub> *se nechce péct*.  
 Cake<sub>Nom</sub> SE wants<sub>Neg</sub> bake<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 'The cake refuses to get baked.'

- b. *Bábovku<sub>Pat</sub> se mi nechce péct.*  
 Cake<sub>Acc</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub> bake<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 ‘I don’t want to bake a cake.’
- c. (\*) *Bábovka se mi nechce péct.*  
 Cake<sub>Nom</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub> bake<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 ‘The cake refuses to get baked by me.’ or  
 ‘I don’t want to bake a cake.’
- d. *Dort se mi nechce péct.*  
 Cake<sub>Nom/Acc</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub> bake<sub>Inf</sub>.
- e. \**Ten pán se mi nechce zdřavit.*  
 That man<sub>Nom</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub> greet<sub>Inf</sub>.  
 ‘I don’t want to greet that man.’
- f. *Toho pána se mi nechce zdřavit.*  
 That man<sub>Acc</sub> SE me<sub>Dat</sub> wants<sub>Neg</sub> greet<sub>Inf</sub>.

The sentence in (125a) is a construction with derived reflexive in infinitive. (125b) is very similar on the surface, but its syntactic structure is different. Here, the word *bábovka* (cake) is a direct object of the infinitive, and the whole infinitive clause is the subject of the verb *chtít*. The whole construction in the main clause is a mediopassive of the verb *chtít* with the Dative member as Actor. The structure is shown in (126):



The sentence in (125c) differs from the previous sentence by the case of the word *bábovka*, and from (125a) by the additional Dative member *mi* (me<sub>Dat</sub>). We can understand the sentence as a variation of (125a), with Beneficiary expressed by Dative. The structure is shown in (127):



In colloquial speech, however, this construction is sometimes used in the meaning of (125b), although some speakers reject this construction. The problem with this sentence

is that we have two candidates for the subject of the main clause. The first candidate is the word *bábovka*, which is in Nominative, and the second candidate is the infinitive *péct*, as in (125b). Our conclusion is that this construction is a result of misunderstanding of sentences like (125d), where the form of masculine inanimate noun *dort* is homonymous. The incorrectness of this construction is fully shown in (125e), where the position of the nominal subject is lexically occupied by a masculine animate noun. This sentence is out for all speakers.

We mentioned this construction here just as a peculiarity and we will not try to encode it in the lexicon.