Czech, Mate: Grammatical Replication and Shift in South Australian Czech

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Abstract: Historical linguistics aims to investigate the innovation stage of a grammatical variant as well as the later community-wide propagation in order to fully understand the change (Fischer 2004). This paper focuses on individual contact-based grammatical innovations in a community setting, viewing the speaker as the "locus of change" (Weinreich 1953/1968: 1; Romaine 2005; Wei 2013). This provides a window into the types of innovations community members produce in a situation of shift, wherein such innovations may never become complete changes. The community studied in this article is the Czech South Australian community, whose language situation is previously unstudied. Utilizing Thomason's (2001) steps for proving whether contact-induced structural change has occurred, this paper identifies several instances of possible grammatical "replication" innovations in the speech of individuals in this community (Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2008: 2; Kuteva 2017), as well as the influence of shift driven by "divergent attainment" (Polinsky 2018: 18) and intergenerational attrition. This is supported by findings of significant authors in the tradition of Czech diasporic linguistic research (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Dutková-Cope 2001a, 2001b; Zajícová 2009, 2012). It is suggested here that the features found are possibly the result of shift and attrition processes and contact-induced language transfer acting together within a Dynamic System (Herdina and Jessner 2002).

1. Introduction

In this study, I investigate grammatical features occurring in the speech of ten individuals from the Czech South Australian community, particularly those representing **grammatical replication** and **borrowing** (Heine and Kuteva 2005; Kuteva 2017). Grammatical replication is a kind of transfer that does not involve phonetic substance of any kind, including contact-induced grammaticalization, restructuring, rearrangement, and loss (Heine and Kuteva 2003, 2005, 2008, 2010). Borrowing, on the other hand, is "reserved for transfers involving phonetic material, either on its own or combined with meaning" (Heine and Kuteva 2010: 86). This community is undergoing attrition and language shift, which are also key considerations in the analysis. I utilize a methodology of qualitative analysis of grammatical features drawn from authentic

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speech, in alignment with the tradition of Czech diasporic linguistic research (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Dutkova-Cope 2001a, 2001b; Zajícová 2009, 2012). I support this with the use of Thomason's (2001: 93–94) steps for identifying contact-induced structural change and the dynamic model of multilingualism (Herdina and Jessner 2002). Thomason's steps particularly aid in detecting whether the features are instances of grammatical replication or are attrition- and shift-based. The dynamic model of multilingualism then offers possible insight into how these sources interact.

In this paper, I adopt the epistemological stance of Matras and Sakel (2007) in positing that a community-wide change begins at the level of an innovation by an individual speaker. Indeed, Fischer (2004: 10) suggests that the innovation stage of a grammatical change must also be investigated to provide a full understanding of "the system of grammar with which adults innovate". Thomason (2014: 202) states that "any innovation … is a potential language change—even a one-time speech error or a joking coinage—[and] the fate of every innovation is determined by a combination of linguistic and (especially) social factors". In line with these scholars, this research centers the individual as the "locus of change" (Weinreich 1953/1968: 1; Romaine 2005; Wei 2013) and analyzes innovations created by individuals in this community setting. This loosely follows Clyne's (2003: 96) approach in considering "change" in contact situations for individuals rather than for an entire speech community. Using this approach allows for an understanding of the bilingual grammatical features occurring **in the individual**, and how community members utilize the grammatical resources available to them. The innovative grammatical features found are thus labeled as unconventionalities (Doğruöz and Backus 2009): unconventional speech productions that may not necessarily result in propagation and community-wide change.

The Czech diaspora is a minority among minorities in the Australian linguistic landscape, and therefore not a key focus in prominent works on the linguistic tapestry of Australia (Clyne 2003; Clyne and Kipp 1996, 2006). Languages that are, or were, more widely spoken in Australia are at the center of such analyses: German, Dutch, Croatian (Hlavac 2000), Vietnamese (Ho-Dac 1996, 2003), and more. It is important to deepen understanding of the many language communities in Australia in order to better support them in language maintenance (if this is their desire), and to express and support the validity of these community members' languages. I aim to record and contribute to the information available on Australian community languages: the ways that they are used, considered, and how language contact and attrition processes have played a role in linguistic outcomes.

This paper considers both intergenerational language attrition (also called shift), wherein subsequent generations have reduced input and therefore divergent attainment, and intragenerational language attrition. It is recognized that there is an influence of language contact **within** the attrition process

(Preston 1982; Andersen 1982; Sharwood Smith 1989; Seliger and Vago 1991; Huffines 1991; Sharwood Smith and van Buren 1991; Polinsky 1997; Altenberg 2010). The paper compares the linguistic outcomes of this community with other Czech diasporic communities studied in the past and considers how the level of technology available to speakers in different times and other factors may influence language attrition.

Section 2 provides a background to the study, introducing the South Australian Czech community and the relevant findings from other Czech diasporic communities. Section 3 explains the method, including the data gathering and coding processes. Section 4.1 shows the results of the study and interacts with the literature in providing a qualitative analysis of the observed features. Section 4.2 provides an analysis in terms of Thomason's (2001: 93–94) steps for establishing structural interference in a receiving language and the dynamic theory of multilingualism. Section 5 concludes the paper, presenting an overall summary, limitations, and future research possibilities.

2. Background

In this section, the background of the speech community is explored and grammatical borrowing in other Czech diasporic situations is considered.

2.1. Who Are the Czech South Australians?

Czech immigration into the state of South Australia coincides with key events within Czech history. There was some Czech immigration to Australia before WWII, but the major waves of immigration occurred in 1949 following the 1948 communist takeover of Czechoslovakia, in the 1970s following the 1968 Prague Spring[1], and after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 (Vaculík 2009; Brouček et al. 2019).

In the first wave, 1,500 Czechs arrived in South Australia (SA), many of whom had previously migrated to Germany after fleeing Czechoslovakia (Migration Museum 2020). These people were generally not welcomed by those who had come pre-WWII due to political views, e.g., the Sydney expatriate circle was operated by communists at the time (Vaculík 2009). This new group of immigrants thus formed "reactionary" sporting and social clubs as community refuges (Vaculík 2009: 242–44). The Czechoslovak Club was formed in

[1] The Prague Spring was a period of liberalization in Czechoslovakia wherein many reforms occurred, including greater freedom of expression for the press and loosening of restrictions on travel, granted by Alexander Dubček, who became first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party on 5 January 1968. This period ended on 21 August 1968, when the Warsaw Pact forces invaded and occupied the country, and the reforms were purged the following year.

1949 and was incorporated as an official body in the 1950s (Migration Museum 2020). In the second major wave, around 1,000 Czechs settled in SA, and these political refugees were aided by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Compatriots Association in Australia and New Zealand[2] in conjunction with the Australian government (Vaculík 2009). From the mid-1990s onwards, following the 1989 Velvet Revolution, many Czechs have migrated to Australia and New Zealand for personal and professional reasons (Brouček et al. 2019).

The differences in time of arrival affect the national and sociolinguistic identities and attitudes of the Czech Australians in many ways. The timeline of Czech immigration interacts with the government policies and community attitudes in Australia at each time (Clyne and Kipp 2006). The official policy of the Australian government remained assimilationist and hostile toward the maintenance of distinct sociocultural identities of immigrant groups until the 1970s (e.g., the White Australia policy[3]; Clyne and Kipp 2006). In the post-1970 period, multiculturalism and government support arose to create a context more conducive to promoting and maintaining sociocultural identity in immigrant groups (Clyne and Kipp 2006). The role of government policies and dominant community attitudes towards the presence of ethnic languages are an important factor in language maintenance or language shift (Pauwels 1988; Clyne and Kipp 1996).

The Czechoslovak Club in SA, Inc., or *Československý klub v Jižni Austrálii*, is the sole Czech and Slovak club existing in South Australia today,[4] and it served as the fieldwork location for this research. The Club was established in 1949 and incorporated as an official body in the early 1950s (Migration Museum 2020). Its premises is a hall located in the suburb of Brompton, 6.2km north of the city of Adelaide's Central Business District (CBD), South Australia. It is attended by more recent arrivals and older generations (and their children and grandchildren) alike. The Club has an aim to "connect all Czechs and Slovaks from South Australia in a strong community that keeps and promotes national ideas based on united friendship and mutually honest social

[2] *Ústřední výbor krajanské Československý Asociace v Austrálii a na Novém Zélandu*: this association no longer exists, but there are currently 15 Czech and Slovak community associations in Australia and New Zealand (Embassy of the Czech Republic in Canberra 2021).

[3] This was a series of policies restricting immigration of non-white, non-British groups to Australia from 1901. The policies were fully dismantled in 1973. During this time, racist anti-immigration propaganda was rampant and assimilation to the majority British population was strongly encouraged (National Museum Australia 2021). Post-WWII, the government allowed more non-British white immigrants into Australia, but government policy (and public opinion) stated that migrants should assimilate (Migration Heritage Centre 2010).

[4] There is, however, a separate Slovak Club.

relations" (Charles Sturt Council 2019). The Club is the center of Czech cultural life in the region, providing weekly dinners, social and cultural events such as St. Mikuláš Day and the anniversary of the declaration of Czechoslovak independence, welfare services, and once-weekly children's language classes. Whilst Czech is used at the Club, it is not used by all and tends to depend on the individual's generation (Castle 2021). There are approximately 280 Club members, though of these, I observed approximately 50–60 key active members at the events attended, including the Annual General Meeting, the Christmas wreath-making event, and several Club dinners. At the time of the 2016 census, there were 473 Czech-born South Australians and 1,679 South Australians of Czech descent,[5] 0.02% and 0.1% of the South Australian population, respectively (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2017, 2022). There are many more South Australians of Czech descent and Czech-born South Australians than there are Club members, suggesting a somewhat scattered, wider Czech South Australian community with a tighter-knit Club community at its center. The existence of a scattered, wider community is corroborated by the spread of those who reported Czech ancestry on the 2016 census throughout the Greater Adelaide region (Figure 1).[6] There is a slight concentration of those with Czech ancestry in the northeastern suburbs. As Brompton is to the north of the city, the Club may be more frequented by those living in the north. The Adelaide CBD and Brompton are demarcated on each figure.

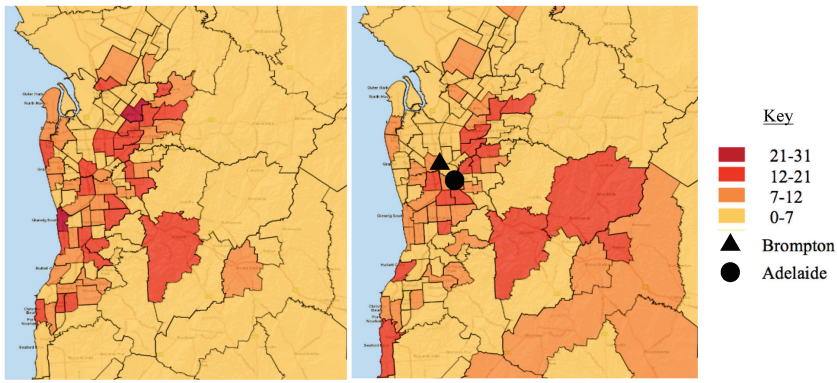

Figure 1. People who reported Czech ancestry as their first option (left) and second option (right) (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022)

[5] Census statistics were retrieved using the TableBuilder tool (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). The original tables and instructions for generating them are provided in Appendix 1 and 2.

[6] The two maps presented in Figure 1 were created using the TableBuilder tool (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2022). The original statistics and instructions for generating them are provided in Appendix 3 and 4.

High-shift groups, in terms of language loss, tend to be those with a relatively smaller cultural distance from the dominant group, i.e., in terms of religion, historical consciousness, culture, and a lack of taboo around exogamy (Clyne and Kipp 1996, 2006). Hailing from a Central European nation, Czechs are culturally different from Anglo-Australians (the dominant group in this case), but not dramatically so, and exogamy is not frowned upon. Other factors affecting shift or language maintenance are whether language is a core value for the individual and community, and the length of residence and socio-political factors in the homeland and in Australia (Stoessel 2002; Clyne and Kipp 2006). Victoria and South Australia have had relatively lower shift rates than other Australian states for European languages, which can be partially attributed to a tradition of multicultural policies in these places[7] (Clyne 1982; Clyne and Kipp 1996).

2.2. Grammatical Changes in Other Diasporic Czech Communities

There have been several studies of language change in minority Czech communities elsewhere in the world: in Texas (Dutková 1998; Dutkova-Cope 2001a, 2001b; Eckert 2006; Pintová 2009; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Eckertová 2017); Chicago (Rakusan 1993); America in general (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996); and Paraguay (Zajícová 2009). Czech immigration into Texas and the wider US occurred in the mid-19th century, and into Paraguay from 1927–1939 (Pintová 2009; Vašek 1996: 71; Zajícová 2012). The general picture that emerges from this research is that when languages first come into contact, and for the generation following, grammatical changes do not necessarily involve wholesale simplification, but rather tend to involve structural convergence between Czech structures and those of the majority language (Dutkova-Cope 2001b; Zajícová 2012). However, as the younger generations experience divergent attainment, their Czech begins to simplify and structural relations are lost (Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2012).

The grammatical features found in those communities which are relevant to the findings in this paper are presented in Table 1. The communities wherein the same features occur are ticked. The two language groups display almost all of the same features. This, coupled with the fact that the contact languages are not only English and Czech but also Spanish and Czech, leads to the suggestion that communities do not have their own individual paths of development in terms of language shift and maintenance. Rather, there are commonalities in the developmental path of Czech, regardless of the contact language. The changes may thus be more typical of Czech in a contact situation, i.e., possibly accelerating already existing slow changes in the language,

[7] Australia is a federation and therefore states are vested with legislative power over areas including education, community services, and health.

or undergoing particular types of changes under attrition conditions. This comparison and information informs the study as to which features are typical of a contact situation involving Czech.

Table 1. Grammatical features in Czech diaspora communities

Grammatical feature	American Czech[8]	Paraguayan Czech
Overt subject marking	✓	✓
Preposition instability	✓	✓
Loss of case distinction	✓	✓
Loss of gender distinction	✓	✓
Reflexive pronoun instability	✓	✓
Increasingly analytic syntax	✓	
Tentative article formation	✓	✓

Now that the community socio-historical background and the grammatical features occurring in other similar diasporic communities have been established, I move on to discuss the methods adopted for this study.

3. Method

In this section, I discuss the data collection, participant information, and data coding and analysis.

3.1. Data Collection

The study involves four observation sessions with groups of two to three people in the Adelaide Czechoslovak Club, and six semi-structured interviews conducted in English.[9] The participants in the observation sessions were both video- and audio-recorded. To prompt conversation, participants were given

[8] "American Czech" does not refer to Czech spoken by a single diaspora community but is an amalgamation of the phenomena found in various communities in different time periods across the US (thus involving language contact with English), including Texas (Dutková 1998; Dutkova-Cope 2001a, 2001b; Eckert 2006; Pintová 2009; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Eckertová 2017), Chicago (Rakusan 1993), and America in general (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996).

[9] Only six of the ten participants were available for the subsequent interviews.

discussion sheets written in Czech only (Appendix 5). The discussion sheet included topics such as family, life memories, and the upcoming Christmas festivities to encourage speakers to speak more naturally, as speakers are more likely to approximate their casual style when they become emotionally involved in the narration (Labov 1972). The participants were thus engaged in relaxed, everyday discourse.

I did not participate in the discussion, so as to avoid the possibility of participant accommodation to my lower level of fluency in Czech. However, I was present but seated away from the participants, in the corner of the room. After recording, I transcribed the participant discussions using ELAN. A native Czech-speaking transcriber from an external company[10] completed a second transcription to ensure that it was correct.

The sample is non-random: it is shaped through referrals biased towards those perceived as having adequate bilingual abilities by community members. Sampling is skewed towards females as referrals from the female club manager tended to favor female speakers. However, this does not necessarily represent an issue and could in fact be helpful to the study, considering that women are generally the innovators in linguistic change (Labov 1990). As with Dutková's study, "practical considerations partly dictate[d] sample size" (Dutková 1998: 93; a similar point is made in Milroy 1987: 23). However, I endeavored to obtain a sample with a varied age range, speaker ability, ancestral regions, and educational levels to maximize the chance of finding different features amongst a relatively small participant group, as displayed in Table 2. The duration of the sessions is given in Appendix 7.

The questionnaire includes the number of years residing in Australia to avoid situations where newly arrived Czechs with a possible lower competency in English would skew the dataset.

Individuals were required to have adequate proficiency in both languages, which is determined with a self-test (Table 3 on p. 10),[11] as well as a content analysis of the observation sessions and sociolinguistic interviews for information on social networks (Table 4 on p. 11).[12]

[10] The company is called Knockhundred Translations.

[11] This self-test questionnaire can be found in Appendix 6.

[12] Content analysis "contextualises questionnaire reports … more generally allowing for [their] interpretation" (Torres Cacoullos and Travis 2018: 58). Content analysis involves the processing and coding of qualitative information (e.g., in this case, information about frequency of language use, people with whom participants use the language, etc.).

Table 2. Participant variables

Name[13]	Age	Gender	Years in Australia	Generation	Educational level	Region of origin
Adéla	>50	F	>20	1.5[14]	Vocational education	Bohemia
Dana	<50	F	>20	1.5	Bachelors	Moravia
Eva	<50	F	>20	2nd	Bachelors	Australian born
Jana	>50	F	>20	2nd	Bachelors	Australian born
Ivana	<50	F	10–20	1st	Bachelors	Bohemia
Kamila	>50	F	10–20	1st	Masters	Moravia
Milada	<50	F	>20	1st	Bachelors	Bohemia
Zuzana	<50	F	10–20	1st	Masters	Moravia
Roman	>50	M	>20	1st	High school	Bohemia
Martin	<50	M	10–20	1st	Masters	Bohemia

In all cases except for Ivana and Roman, participants' better language reflects their generation: all 1.5- and 2nd-generation Czech South Australians have English as their better language, while all 1st-generation Czech South Australians have Czech as their better language.

It is important to consider the social networks (Milroy 1987) of the participants as this reflects the language(s) that are most commonly used by them and therefore the languages that are most well maintained (Stoessel 2002).

In the participant information sheet,[15] I informed participants that the study was about communication in the Czech community in South Australia. I stated that the project involves analyzing how bilingual Czech Australians

[13] Names have been changed for purposes of confidentiality.

[14] In this study, the generations are split into three groups: 1st generation, 1.5 generation, and 2nd generation. The 1.5 generation refers to those individuals who were born in the heritage country (here, Czech Republic) but moved to the new country (here, Australia) in childhood with their parents (Rumbaut and Ima 1988; Rumbaut 1994, 1997, 2004).

[15] This form was provided to potential participants to gain an understanding of what the study is about, what they are invited to do, the length and benefits of the project, and how their information will be used.

Table 3. Participant language proficiency and generation

Generation	**1st**						**1.5**		**2nd**	
	Ivana	Kamila	Milada	Zuzana	Roman	Martin	Adéla	Dana	Eva	Jana
Self-score (E)	9 =	7	7	9	10 =	9	10 ✓	10 ✓	10 ✓	10 ✓
Self-score (C)	9 =	10 ✓	8 ✓	10 ✓	10 =	10 ✓	7	5	8	3

Key: ✓ more proficient in this language
= equal
E English
C Czech

Table 4. Participant social networks and use of languages

Participant	Network information
Adéla	Speaks Czech with Czech husband and at the Czech Club. Used to speak English at work but has now retired. Currently uses Czech more often, with Czech friends (both over the phone and in Adelaide).
Dana	Mixes Czech and English at the Club. Occasionally speaks Czech with her children but mostly speaks English. Speaks English with partner. Speaks Czech or mixes Czech and English with her mother.
Eva	Speaks English with her Australian husband and children. Mixes Czech and English at the Club. Speaks English when in front of others (or Czech more quietly). Uses Czech only with Czech relatives (on the phone or when travelling). Mixes Czech and English with her parents.
Jana	Speaks English with her Australian husband. Mixes Czech and English or Czech only at the Club. Travels to the Czech Republic every few years.
Ivana	Speaks English with children when in front of others, but Czech when alone with them. Speaks English with Australian husband.
Kamila	Speaks Czech with her son in Australia (when daughter-in-law not present) and son in Czech Republic. Speaks Czech in the Club.
Milada	Speaks Czech with Czech husband. Speaks Czech at the Club. *
Zuzana	Speaks English with Australian husband. Speaks Czech at the Club. Travels to the Czech Republic every year.*
Roman	Speaks Czech at the Club.*
Martin	Speaks Czech at the Club.*

* Insufficient further information (did not participate in interview)

converse with one another in Australia as a result of language contact. I did not provide information beyond this (i.e., that I was focusing on grammar), in order to avoid excessive self-monitoring of grammar and therefore potentially fewer borrowing events. I encouraged them to use Czech but to speak as naturally as possible, even if that includes some English.[16]

3.2. Data Coding and Analysis

Instances of potential borrowing (morphological transfer) and grammatical replication were identified by myself and two Czech research assistants from Palacký University Olomouc. Previous Czech diasporic studies were used as an approximate guide as to what features may be found (whilst also analyzing for other features), and assistants were instructed to highlight phenomena that sounded unusual to them. Each assistant aimed to analyze different phenomena in their assessments to increase the richness of the results found. Assistant 1 focused on syntax, while Assistant 2 focused on morphology and subject-verb agreement.

It is recognized here that Czech is a unique, "intralinguistic"[17] diglossic language situation (Bermel 2000: 34). There is a standard literary variety used in formal situations and in writing (*spisovná čeština*),[18] and an unofficial variety used in speech (*obecná čeština*, or Common Czech) (Bermel 2000). It differs from other classic diglossic situations in that there is no portion of the community that uses the standard language as an L1, and there is not enough of a difference between the codes for the boundaries between them to be clearly marked (Bermel 2000). Bermel (2000: 34) states that, as Common Czech (CC) is not defined or codified in any official manner, "the only arbiters [of CC] are native speakers, preferably … educated ones from certain parts of the Czech Republic". The research assistants had access to both the video and audio recordings, as well as the transcripts and metadata, so that they could socially gauge the expected variety, both in terms of social context and participants'

[16] This study was approved by the Adelaide University Ethics Committee (Approval No. H-2018-230).

[17] The two varieties discussed here share enough syntax, morphology, phonology, and vocabulary that "many utterances cannot clearly be assigned to one or the other variety" (Bermel 2000: 16).

[18] This is not a typical case of a written variety which has emerged from a spoken variety: it was purposefully developed during the National Revival of the 19th century (Bermel 2000). Leading intellectuals chose to draw on the "'golden age' of Czech prose: the era of the Kralice Bible" (the late 1500s) (Bermel 2000: 12). For more on this, see Bermel 2000 and Wilson 2008.

region of origin.[19] They were therefore able to keep the context in mind when assessing whether the speech data sounded unnatural to them.

The Czech National Corpus (CNC)[20] is also utilized in the analysis, using the KonText application (Machálek 2014) for searching attestations and the Word at a Glance[21] application (Machálek 2019) to indicate frequency of pronoun use over the years (see §4.1.1). The results of the attestation search supplement the qualitative analysis of each example and are available in Appendix 8. It is recognized that the corpus does not always allow for an understanding of the pragmatic context of the situation. However, there is a precedent in the Czech language contact literature, which this paper aims to follow, of using the data collected and making comparisons with other varieties of Czech to make calculated speculations on the phenomena occurring (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009, 2012).

4. Results and Discussion

In this section, the grammatical features found are discussed in detail, and a summary is given. Further analysis using Thomason's (2001) framework and the Dynamic Theory of Multilingualism (Herdina and Jessner 2002) is provided.

4.1. What Grammatical Features Were Found?

The Czech South Australian participants utilized the grammatical resources available to them in a variety of different ways.

4.1.1. Overt Subject Marking in pro-Drop Czech

Czech is a pro-drop language. However, the subject pronoun is included with the verb for the discourse-pragmatic purpose of emphasis (Zajícová 2009).

[19] Several participants were from Moravia, a fact that was viewable to the research assistants in the metadata. As the research assistants were studying in Olomouc (located in Moravia), it is possible that they were alert for Moravian features as well.

[20] The Czech National Corpus is comprised of different subcorpora which together provide access to more than three billion words. There are different versions of certain corpora available. For searching the corpora, there are several applications available, including Kontext, Slovo v kostce (Word at a Glance), and SyD. Where an application is first mentioned, its creators are cited. Where a (sub)corpus version is first mentioned, its creators are cited. All corpora assessing Czech in this study are from the CNC.

[21] This interface allows for a comparison of frequency of use over the period 1998–2017.

The overt subject pronoun also occurs more frequently in colloquial[22] speech (Janda and Townsend 2000).

An example of the emphasized subject is shown in (1) below (throughout the examples, the focus of interest is highlighted in bold):

(1) a. Standard Czech

Už	jsme	spolu	mluvili.
already	AUX.1PL	together	spoke[23]

'We've already talked together.'

b. Emphasized subject/colloquial

My	jsme	už	spolu	mluvili.
we	AUX.1PL	already	together	spoke

'We've already talked together.'

Use of the overt pronoun varied across participants. There were numerous instances of overt pronoun usage which sounded unnatural to the research assistants in the social circumstances of each discussion (see Table 5).

It is evident from the data that while there are instances of subject pronoun use consistent with varieties of Czech used in the Czech Republic,[24] there are also instances in these participants' speech where use of subject pronouns would be unconventional.

In assessing which instances of the subject pronoun were relevant for this analysis, I implemented the following rules:

- If participants have used a pronoun coreferentially with a verb, it is included. However, if they have used a stand-alone pronoun, it is omitted in the analysis.
- The 3SG copula/dummy subject *to* 'it' is omitted in alignment with Torres Cacoullos and Travis's (2018: 139) choice to only include

[22] Colloquial speech is here assumed to mean what Bermel (2000) calls "Common Czech". Janda and Townsend (2000: 4) directly contrast their "Colloquial Czech" with Literary Czech, so we can presume that this was what was meant here. In the Czech literature, there are some that argue for a separate category labeled "Colloquial Czech" (Kopečný 1949; Bělič 1959, 1960), which acts as an intermediate zone between Standard and Common Czech (Auty 1976). For more on this, see Wilson 2008.

[23] The abbreviations used in the glosses to denote grammatical information are in alignment with the Leipzig Glossing Rules.

[18] This is consistent with Bermel's (2000: 20) suggestion that subject pronouns are used regularly in Common Czech (*obecná čeština*).

Table 5. Overt pronoun use per participant

Participant	Opportunities for subject pronouns to be used	No subject pronoun used	Subject pronoun used	Unconventional subject pronoun used
Adéla	70	31	39	11
Dana	83	45	38	12
Eva	61	40	21	3
Jana	102	87	15	3
Ivana	35	28	7	5
Kamila	88	60	28	13
Milada	38	29	9	2
Zuzana	133	79	54	8
Roman	31	26	5	5
Martin	34	28	6	1

human-specific subjects (though they chose to include only human-specific 3SG subjects, which I do not do here).

- Lexical pronouns are omitted (Torres Cacoullos and Travis 2018: 138).
- Instances of repetition are removed, including instances of switching between the polite and casual pronouns *ty* 'you.SG' and *vy* 'you.PL'.

Two examples of participants' selection of the unconventional subject pronoun in South Australian Czech are shown in (2) and (3) below:

(2) Zuzana

my	jsme	si	to	projeli,	**my**	se	podíváme	
we	AUX.1PL	REFL	it	go.through.PST.PL	we	REFL	look.PRF.1PL	

'we've gone through it, we'll see'

(3) Zuzana

já	musím	jet	domů
I	must.1SG	go	home

'I have to go home'

Extensive use of the overt pronoun is not predictable from generational status or level of language proficiency; it is entirely possible that it is an individual stylistic choice. It is also possible that participants exhibit unconventional use of the subject pronoun due to the influence of English. Their use of the subject pronoun could be increasing the analytic nature of the language, a common outcome of language attrition (Andersen 1982; Maher 1991; Polinsky 1997). Andersen (1982: 83–100) outlines a general compensatory strategy employed by language users that involves using "free morphemes whenever possible, strung together linearly … to express your meaning", thereby leading to increased analyticity, regardless of whether the language (in this case, Czech) would normally use them. The general presence of English world-wide and the accompanying increasing exposure of Czech speakers to English in general may also be accelerating an increase in the use of the subject pronoun in Czech that can be seen in data from the Czech National Corpus[25] (SYN 7; Křen et al. 2018), as shown in Table 6.

[25] This is purely data on the use of subject pronouns in all contexts; the researcher does not have the resources available to make distinctions based on discourse-pragmatic or syntactic placement at this point. However, a generalized, non-context-dependent increase may still indicate that an increase is occurring in the pre-verbal context (the context analyzed in this paper).

Table 6. Pronoun use in the SYN 7 corpus in 1998 and 2017

Pronouns	1998 use[26]	2017 use
já	1,210.24 ~ 1,229.21	1,743.29 ~ 1,769.18
ty	55.21 ~ 59.33	68.44 ~ 73.65
on/ona/ono	3,372.17 ~ 3,403.74	4,567.24 ~ 4,609.04
my	116.4 ~ 122.34	159.04 ~ 166.94
vy	305.47 ~ 315.04	583.42 ~ 598.44
oni	2,021.29 ~ 2,045.76	2,502.53 ~ 2,533.53

While it is possible that the research assistants use the subject pronoun less in their varieties of Czech, it is important to note the plausibility of the claim that this feature occurs due to contact-induced transfer with English. It is also attested in Zajícová's (2009) study of Czech use in Paraguay, where she attributes likely causation to the joint influence of (internal) attrition processes and Spanish (contact-induced transfer).

4.1.2. Preposition Instability: Use, Non-Use, and Misuse

In Czech, certain prepositions are generally required in specific circumstances/syntactic constructions, which then require a particular case ending. Some examples of the case requirements for each preposition are as follows: *bez* 'without' (+ genitive case), *pro* 'for' (+ accusative case), and *s*/*se* 'with' (+ instrumental case). Table 7 on the following page shows the frequencies for this feature.

Adéla produced a grammatically unnecessary preposition in front of the adverb *tam* 'there', possibly modeled on the parallel English preposition, as shown in (4):

(4) Adéla

takže	místo	tu	rodinu	**v**	tam
so	place.NOM	DEM.ACC	family.ACC	in	there

'so instead of [in place of] the family **in** there'

[26] The corpus provides the lower and upper bounds of the estimated trend per million words, hence why ranges are presented in this table.

Table 7. Unconventional preposition use per participant

Participant	Total preposition possibilities	Conventional preposition used	Unconventional preposition used		
			Not included where conventional	Used where not conventional	Unconventional choice of preposition
Adéla	36	34	0	1	1
Dana	37	35	1	0	1
Eva	25	25	0	0	0
Jana	48	45	0	0	3
Ivana	44	44	0	0	0
Kamila	36	36	0	0	0
Milada	30	30	0	0	0
Zuzana	55	55	0	0	0
Roman	24	24	0	0	0
Martin	24	24	0	0	0

One participant spoke without using a preposition, which is shown in (5):

(5) Dana

osobní	třídy	**Ø**	čtvrtek-**Ø**
personal	classes	?	Thursday-ACC?NOM?

'personal classes on Thursday'

This example is interesting because whenever days of the week are discussed in this way, they require the preposition *v*/*ve*, in this case meaning 'on', which triggers the accusative case. However, the accusative case ending for *čtvrtek* is unmarked (i.e., the same as for the nominative case). It is difficult to tell whether the participant intended the noun to be in the accusative case. However, as this is only attested once, it may be the case that it represents a slip-of-the-tongue speech error as opposed to being an indicator of preposition drop. In any case, as English would also require a preposition in this example, it cannot be attributed to English influence.

Some participants utilized unconventional prepositions for an expression, as exemplified in (6):

(6) a. Jana

na	sobot**u**	z	neděl**i**
on	Saturday.ACC	from	Sunday.ACC

b. Standard Czech

ze	soboty	na	neděli
from	Saturday.GEN	to	Sunday.ACC

'from Saturday to Sunday'

This led to differing requirements for the case endings. The meanings of the prepositions do not mirror those that would be required by English syntax, meaning that this phrase cannot be attributed to the influence of English.

Adéla, Dana, and Jana, who are all members of the 1.5 or 2nd generation, were the only participants who used prepositions in an unconventional way. It is possible that this is attributable to intergenerational attrition/shift. Vašek (1996) attributes the interchange or omission of prepositions in American Czech to weakening awareness of their meanings. However, where participants do more clearly reflect English syntax, it is possible that the prepositions in question have either acquired meanings more compatible with those available in English or are simply used subconsciously to match the syntax of both languages.

4.1.3. The Nominative Becomes the Default

There is an increased frequency in the use of the nominative case in place of other syntactically required cases in diaspora Czech communities (Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009). Zajícová (2009) regards this as attributable to a joint influence of language-contact-induced transfer and internal attrition processes. Spanish and Modern English do not have fully fledged case systems. Participants may forget or not know case endings due to lack of use and generational attrition/shift. With no similar system operating in English, as the syntax changes to more closely resemble English, use of case systems wanes and word order becomes more prominent as a feature (Larmouth 1974; Maher 1991; Zajícová 2009). Case endings tend to disappear throughout the generational attrition process amongst immigrant enclave communities (Maher 1991). Larmouth's (1974) study of immigrant Finnish speakers in Minnesota found that the case system is standard for first-generation speakers, optional in the second and third generation, and not consistently evident in the fourth. Schmid (2011) suggests that the tendency for complex case systems to merge and simplify over time becomes especially productive in situations of language contact. Yilmaz and Schmid (2019) discuss German and Croatian minority dialects in Italy, wherein young speakers have a tendency to overgeneralize the case marker.[27]

In this study, participants occasionally used unconventional case endings (Table 8). In South Australian Czech, only one 1st-generation participant used an unconventional case, with members of the 1.5 or 2nd generation producing the remainder of the unconventional case endings. This suggests that intergenerational attrition/shift may be playing a role here.

In the example in (7), the nouns *manžel* and *dcera* conventionally require an accusative case ending (*manžela* and *dceru*) but are instead in the nominative. As a 1.5-generation speaker, Adéla has instead used the resource of word order to derive meaning. It is possible that this is due to her knowledge of English, but it must be taken into consideration that this statement also exemplifies the unmarked word order in Czech.

(7) Adéla

mám	manžel-**Ø**	a	dcer**a**
have.1SG	husband-NOM	and	daughter.NOM

'I have a husband and a daughter'

[27] Yilmaz and Schmid (2019: 198–209) attribute this attrition to language contact. Their explanation is cognitively based: they suggest that the additional language system leads to "demands of competition and limited cognitive resources", which "can affect production, perception and comprehension".

Table 8. Use of unconventional case endings

Participant	Number of uses
Adéla	6
Dana	1
Eva	2
Jana	1
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	0
Zuzana	0
Roman	0
Martin	0

In the following example, (8), the preposition *v* conventionally calls for a locative case ending (*Austrálii*). Adéla, however, uses a nominative case ending here (*Austrálie*).

(8) Adéla

jsme	neměli	rodinu	v	Austrál**ie**
AUX.1PL	not.have.PL.PST	family	in	Australia.NOM

'we didn't have family in Australia'

In example (9) below, Eva uses the accusative case (*rodinu*) where the preposition conventionally requires the dative case (*rodině*).

(9) Eva

kvůli	rodin**u**
because.of	family.ACC

'because of the family'

The following is an interesting occurrence, because Dana realizes that the preposition *s* 'with' requires an instrumental case ending on the noun *učitel* 'teacher' but does not apply this to *pan* 'mister', simply applying the nominative case in this scenario, (10a).

(10) a. Dana

s pan-**Ø** učitelem
with mister-NOM teacher.INS

b. Standard Czech

s panem učitelem
with mister.INS teacher.INS
'with the teacher'

This tendency to eliminate oblique case inflection has also occurred in American Czech, where there is a tendency for the nominative- and accusative-case suffixes to be used where a different case is grammatically required (Henzl 1982: 42). In Dutková's (1998: 632) study on the structural features of Texan Czech, she found that the "older generation" (pre-1945 group) "correctly" indicated case markings on translations in the Reduced Task[28] 78.7% of the time, with the "younger generation" (post-1945 group) indicating case markings "correctly" only 26.4% of the time.

4.1.4. Gender Distinction: Masculine and Feminine Are Swapped

In some European languages, and Arabic, there is a tendency for the masculine gender to be either overgeneralized, utilized in situations of unfamiliarity, or reanalyzed as a neutral form in the absence of overt morphological cues for a feminine classification, especially if the masculine is the default, unmarked form in that language (Dieser 2009; Brehmer and Rothweiler 2012; Albirini et al. 2013; Bianchi 2013; Cuza and Pérez-Tattam 2016). However, sometimes phonological cues for a feminine classification (i.e., an ending usually reserved for feminine forms, e.g., *-a*) result in unconventional use of the feminine agreement forms. The example below, (11), from Pereltsvaig's (2004) paper on the absence of gender agreement in American Russian, shows this:

(11) a. American Russian

moj**a** deduška
my.F grandpa(M)

b. Standard Russian

moj-Ø deduška
my-M grandpa(M)
'my grandpa' (Pereltsvaig 2004: 90)

[28] The "reduced task" involved the translation of 20 sentences from English into Texan Czech and was aimed at eliciting features of "reduced" Czech (Dutková 1998).

Phrases which do not show gender concord occur in this dataset (see Table 9), but participants did not **necessarily** default to masculine gender use.

Table 9. Unconventional gender use (no gender concord)

Participant	Unconventional gender used
Adéla	1
Dana	0
Eva	0
Jana	1
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	2
Zuzana	2
Roman	1
Martin	0

It is interesting to compare this to similar situations, wherein use of phrases that do not show gender concord are presumably much more pronounced (Vašek 1996; Zajícová 2009, 2012). It may be the case that, as this community is much "younger" generationally, such a feature may not yet frequently occur.

The examples below demonstrate how the Czech South Australian community have used grammatical gender.

(12) Adéla

vím že moj**e** brácha
know.1SG that my.F brother.M.AN
'I know that my brother'

It is likely that Adéla's use of a feminine possessive pronoun can be attributed to a phonological cue for feminine classification from the noun. However, the noun is masculine animate.

(13) Jana

to jsou moj**e** lidi
it are my.PL.M.INAN/F/N people.NOM.M.AN
'these are my people'

Here the masculine animate noun *lidi* 'people' (whose form is used in the spoken language—in the written language, it is *lidé* in the nominative) requires a possessive pronoun in the masculine animate plural. Jana instead uses the possessive for masculine inanimate, feminine, or neuter nouns. It is possible that the conventional ending was "forgotten" here due to attrition. It is also possible that Jana is using the accusative case here (wherein *moje lidi* would be a correct form for the masculine animate plural) rather than the required nominal case.

There are different forms for expressing 'two' in Czech, depending on the gender of the accompanying noun. The masculine form of 'two' is *dva*, and the feminine and neuter forms are represented by *dvě.* In example (14) below, Milada uses the feminine/neuter form rather than the masculine.

(14) Milada

mám	manžela	a	**dvě**	kluky
have.1SG	husband	and	two.F/N	boys.M

'I have a husband and two boys'

4.1.5. Reflexive Pronouns: Disuse and Unconventional Use

In Czech, reflexive pronouns serve a variety of functions. They can derive a reflexive verb, a reciprocal verb, or a passive, impersonal, or intransitive verb from a transitive verb (Janda and Townsend 2000: 59). They can also represent a required component of a verb that only exists in accompaniment with *si* or *se* (a lexical reflexive) (Janda and Townsend 2000: 59).

Reflexive pronouns inflect for case; the dative case requires the reflexive pronoun form *si*, as in (15a), while the accusative case requires the reflexive pronoun form *se*, (15b).

(15) a. Dative case

Myju	si	ruce.
wash.1SG	REFL.DAT	hands.ACC

'I wash my hands.' (lit. 'I wash for/to myself hands')

b. Accusative case

Myju	se.
wash.1SG	REFL.ACC

'I wash myself.' (i.e., the entire self)

Unconventional reflexive pronouns can thus serve as an example of a loss of case distinction, especially in cases of transitive verbs that can be used re-

flexively. It is also possible that missing reflexive pronouns are more likely to occur with Czech lexical reflexives that are not reflexive in English, following English syntax and directly transferring the phrase over.

Adéla and Eva use the largest number of unconventional reflexive pronouns (see Table 10 on the following page). These participants are from the 1.5 and 2nd generation, and the other user of unconventional reflexive pronouns, Jana, is also from the 2nd generation. Thus, in this dataset the unconventional use of reflexive pronouns may be a result of intergenerational attrition/shift.

In one example, (16), Adéla uses the dative form of the reflexive pronoun with the verb *učit se* 'to learn' (lit. to teach oneself), for which the accusative form is required. It could be argued that the verb *učit* 'to teach' is transitive and, when used reflexively, represents 'to learn', maintaining the idea that utilization of an unconventional reflexive pronoun could represent loss of case distinction.

(16) Adéla

jsem	**si**	učila
AUX.1SG	REFL.DAT	learned

'I learned'

Example (17b) shows the way that the lexical reflexive verb *snažit se* 'to try' (in the sense of 'to strive') is conventionally used in Czech. Eva uses the verb without the reflexive pronoun, (17a). This verb does not require a reflexive in English, so it may be that grammatical replication is at play here.

(17) a. Eva

snažím	**Ø**	ted'ka
try.1SG	?	now

b. Standard Czech

snažím	se	ted'ka
try.1SG	REFL.ACC	now

'I'm trying now'

In the following example, (18), Jana uses the reflexive pronoun where it is not conventionally required.

(18) Jana

jak	**se**	může	říct
how	REFL.ACC	is.able	to.say

'how do I say this?'

Table 10. Forms of reflexive pronouns

Participant	Total REFL pronoun possibilities	Conventional REFL pronoun used	Unconventional REFL pronoun used		
			se vs. *si*	Not included	Used where not required
Adéla	8	5	1	2	0
Dana	28	28	0	0	0
Eva	15	8	1	5	0
Jana	19	17	0	0	2
Ivana	10	10	0	0	0
Kamila	23	23	0	0	0
Milada	10	10	0	0	0
Zuzana	13	13	0	0	0
Roman	7	7	0	0	0
Martin	6	6	0	0	0

Jana mixes the phrases *jak se říka/řekně* 'how does one say' and *jak můžu říct* 'how can I say' in a way that is not conventional in Czech.[29] It is possible that this is an example of redundancy of expression, a phenomenon that occurs when the speaker is not fully confident that the utterance will be parsed and decoded correctly and introduces more "instructional" elements to guide the hearer (Polinsky 1997: 398–99).

4.1.6. Syntax: English Influence?

Several participants adopted English construction types by choosing unconventional constructions and increasing the analytic nature of the sentence by utilizing verbs such as *jít* 'to go' and *dělat* 'to do' as auxiliaries. Sentences considered attestations are somewhat difficult to quantify here, as they represent a number of different phenomena—including use of an auxiliary + infinitive, in keeping with English syntax (see (19–20)), as well as unconventional word order (see (21)). Sentences produced would generally make sense to a Czech person, but they would not sound conventional.

Most participants who produced such attestations are in the 1.5 or 2nd generation (see Table 11 below).

Table 11. Non-Czech conventional word order/English word order/syntax

Participant	Attestations
Adéla	1
Dana	4
Eva	2
Jana	3
Ivana	0
Kamila	0
Milada	0
Zuzana	0
Roman	3
Martin	2

[23] This phrase is not necessarily grammatically incorrect, but it has a meaning different from what the speaker intended. The speaker intended to ask how to say a certain word in Czech, but the phrase produced can be used as a rhetorical question, e.g., 'how can you say X is true?'

This could be evidence for their language development compared with those who arrived later as 1st-generation immigrants (Polinsky 2008: 334). It is possible that these people had divergent attainment of Czech as children, which represents intergenerational language attrition/shift (Huffines 1991; Burling 1992; Waas 1996; Polinsky 1997; Hickey 2010). Van Els (1986) posits that the main cause of language loss is not due to the individual forgetting elements of the language, but rather incomplete transfer between generations and thus incomplete acquisition (now called divergent attainment; cf. Kupisch and Rothman 2016; Polinsky 2018). Indeed, the former is a contributing cause to the latter.

Interestingly, one of the first-generation participants who produced such attestations mentioned that they had not been back to the Czech Republic for over seven years, possibly suggesting a lack of use of the language and thus some intragenerational attrition (Stoessel 2002; Clyne and Kipp 2006). This particular participant is also married to an individual with another non-English L1, which has a greater relative importance in terms of speaker population in Australia. It is possible that this other language is thus prioritized in terms of conversation together and with their children.

The example in (19) below shows how Eva utilizes Australian English syntactic structure and substitutes an Australian English word.

(19) Eva

on	nechce	**jít**	**camping**
he	not.want	to.go	camping

'he doesn't want to go camping'

In Australian English, in this context, one would not often say 'he doesn't want to camp', as such a phrasing has a perfective sense, but rather one would say 'he doesn't want to go camping', giving an imperfective sense to the phrase. In English, utilizing the second phrase gives a more accurate depiction of the activities involved in engaging in camping. The sentence becomes more analytic in utilizing the infinitive and a noun rather than simply using the verb.

This is then repeated by Dana in (20):

(20) Dana

tam	můžeš	**dělat**	**i**	**camping**
there	be.able.2SG	to.do	also	camping

'you can go camping there'

The unconventionality here focuses on the syntax, as the English word *camping* and its phonological alternations *kempink* and *kemping* do occur in Czech speech in the Czech Republic (see Appendix 8). Eva also utilizes the verb *kem-*

povat conventionally in the next sentence, perhaps in self-correction. However, after this, Dana continues to use the long form with the English vocabulary *dělat i camping* 'to do camping'. This further shows English syntactic influence.

Increasingly analytic syntax is also evident in Texan Czech (Dutková 1998). Both generations in Dutková's study found it difficult to produce the "correct" Standard Czech imperfective verb, with half of the older generation (pre-1945 group) and most of the younger generation (post-1945 group) opting for use of an auxiliary and an infinitive in its place, confirming Kučera's (1989) observation of exactly this feature in American Czech (Dutková 1998: 64).

The syntax of Jana's sentence in (21a) follows that of SVO English: 'when (did) your kids go to school here?' However, natural Czech speech requires a different word order: 'when go your kids here to school?' (21b). VSO and VOS sentences are the most natural word-order choices for Czech questions, with the WH-question word typically appearing at the beginning of the sentence (Janda and Townsend 2000). Syntactic change to further follow L2 sentence constructions and word order is also evident in Australian German (Waas 1996).

(21) a. Jana

kdy	vaše	děti	šli	do	školky	tady
when	your	kids.NOM.F	went.PL.M.AN	to	school	here

b. Standard Czech

Kdy	šly	vaše	děti	tady	do	školy?
when	went.PL.F	your	kids.NOM.F	here	to	school

'When did your kids go to school here?'

In American Czech, sentence constructions and phrases often completely imitate those present in American English, and over time, a complete elimination of cases have led syntactic function to be derived from word order (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996: 82). It would appear then that attrition processes play a role in the erosion of case endings, leading to a subsequent calquing of English word order, which then serves to further eliminate the need for the use of cases.

4.1.7. Tentative Article Formation

Czech has no distinctive article word class. In this data, participants use the demonstrative *ten* and the numeral *jeden* (and their derivatives) to form definite and indefinite articles, which is also attested in the Zajícová (2009) and Dutkova-Cope (2001a) data from Paraguay and Texas. This use of numerals and demonstratives to create a category non-existent in Czech may be an ex-

ample of filling a "grammatical gap". The filling of grammatical gaps is posited as a reason for grammatical borrowing in situations of language contact, particularly among earlier scholars (Hale 1975; Heath 1978; Hill and Hill 1981; Campbell 1993). The numeral *jeden* 'one' is utilized as an indefinite article in American Czech (Vašek 1996: 81).

It is mostly Kamila, Zuzana, and Martin who produce a possible tentative article (see Table 12 below).

Table 12. Tentative article formation

Participant	Unconventional use of demonstrative as article
Adéla	0
Dana	1
Eva	0
Jana	0
Ivana	0
Kamila	3
Milada	0
Zuzana	2
Roman	1
Martin	2

Two examples found in the data for this study are shown in (22) and (23):

(22) Zuzana

To	byly	takové	**ty**	koule,
it	were	such/some.sort	DEM.NOM.PL.F	ball.NOM.PL.F
to	jsou	**ty**	české	
it	are	DEM.NOM.PL.F	Czech.NOM.PL.F	

'It was some sort of balls, some sort of Czech'

(23) Kamila

mám	**ty**	vnoučata
have.1SG	DEM.ACC.PL	grandchild.ACC.PL.N

'I have the grandchildren'

However, it is also possible that the interlocutors are speaking Common Czech, wherein *ten* and its derivatives are used as definite articles or pronouns (Janda and Townsend 2000). This use of the demonstrative as a definite article is a tendency which is increasingly occurring (Zíková 2017). Zíková (2017) posits that persistence of the referent (speaker-evaluated local importance of the referent in the narrative) may be an explanatory factor in this grammaticalization process. It is possible that the grammaticalization process in the Czech Republic is accelerated by the influence of English as a language of international prestige. Other lexical and grammatical "Anglicisms" have been borrowed into the Czech language in the past, including calquing of idioms (*být in* [*být modní*] 'to be in fashion'), direct lexical borrowing (*billboard*, *newsroom*), and modifications of syntactic patterns (*ten pohled je prostě dech beroucí* 'the view is simply breathtaking'[30]) (Bozděchová 1997: 276–77; Tarnyíková 2009: 205; see also Warmbrunn 1994; Gester 2001; Markova 2018).

Cvrček (2015: 174–75) states that *ten* and *jeden* can be used as determiners to express specificity, or alternatively, express distance from the referent. It is also a possibility that uses of the demonstrative and numerals in this dataset express these concepts. In addition, the use of this feature by primarily Kamila, Martin, and Zuzana, all first-generation participants, means that it is unlikely that this feature is an example of intergenerational shift.

4.1.8. Summary of Data and Diaspora Comparison

Each of the grammatical features found have been separately discussed and compared with other diasporic communities, and qualitative judgements have been made on the origins of each feature based on both the specific examples shown and the data frequencies.

It would appear that many of the grammatical unconventionalities occurring in South Australian Czech represent grammatical replication rather than borrowing as defined in §1; the way grammatical information is conveyed syntatically is altered rather than morphemes being directly borrowed. This is similar to Zajícová's (2012) observation about Paraguayan Czech; Spanish has had more syntactic rather than morphological influence on Czech. It is likely that at least some of the features observed are attributable to transfer induced by language contact, while other features are explained by attrition processes, especially through incomplete intergenerational acquisition. Some features attributed to language contact or attrition processes by previous authors are possibly due to use of Common Czech.

When considering the similarity of the grammatical unconventionalities occurring in the diaspora communities (see Table 1 on p. 7), it is important

[30] Tarnyíková (2009) discusses how a Czech sentence would typically use a V [lex] predication here, rather than the stative BE-predication typical of English.

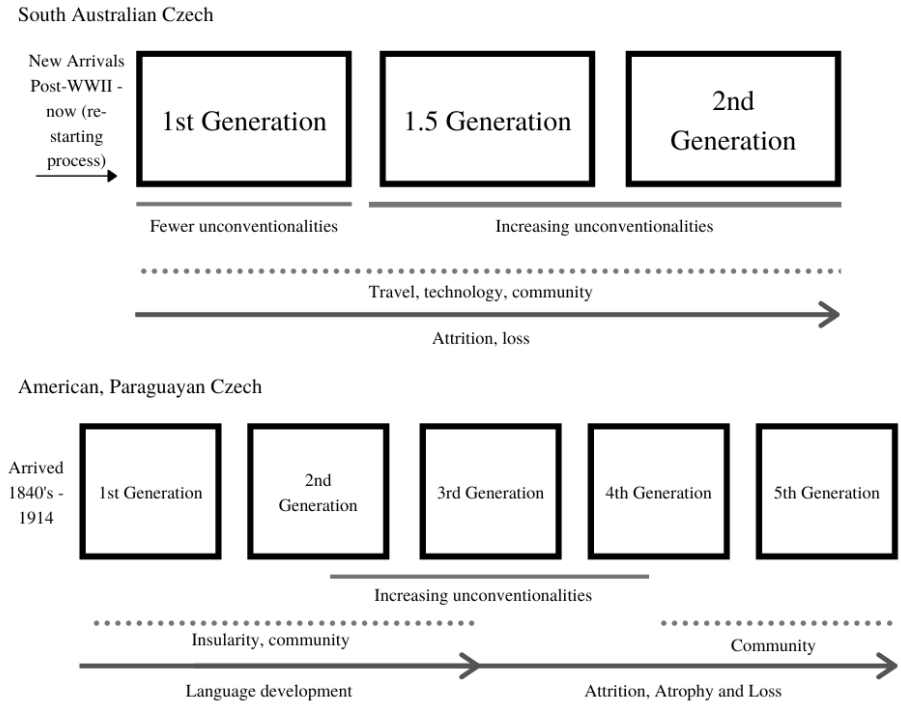

Figure 2. South Australian Czech and American and Paraguayan Czech language (adapted from Castle 2021)

to recognize the effects of a difference in time period of migration. Figure 2 above displays a summary of the current situation in South Australian Czech in comparison with American and Paraguayan Czech language situations. The modern South Australian Czech community consists of primarily 1st–2nd generation adults, who have immigrated between WWII and now. Grammatical unconventionalities tend to increase in the 1.5 and 2nd generation, though travel, technology, and community provide opportunities for language use and therefore a degree of language maintenance. However, as time passes and generations continue, attrition and loss occur (Castle 2021).[31]

[31] It is important to note that, though attrition and transfer are occurring here, maintenance activities still allow for a greater degree of language maintenance than if they were not engaged in at all (Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jessner 2003). It is also important to note that, while maintenance-assistive technologies including travel and phones/the internet are available to speakers now, many of the older participants were completely cut off from communication with relatives and friends in the Czech Republic during Communist Party rule.

The American and Paraguayan communities studied by Henzl (1982), Vašek (1996), Dutková (1998), and Zajícová (2009, 2012), on the other hand, are much further along in the language attrition process. Czechs in these communities arrived between the 1840s and 1914, and therefore their adult descendants are now in the third, fourth, and fifth generations (Dutková 1998; Zajícová 2009). The language was maintained more strongly amongst the first and second generations as the communities were insular at the time, particularly in the Texas Czech community, due to factors including the establishment of community professional, social, and religious institutions; reinforcement of ethnic identity regarding language use; adherence to traditions and language planning; the prevalence of endogamous marriages; maintenance of contact with the homeland through letters from the Czech and Moravian lands; and an ideology of *národnost*[32] (Eckert and Hannan 2009: 103, 133). However, forces for assimilation during and after WWII created a distancing of the second and third generations from their language, which was a factor in attrition and atrophy (Eckert 2006; Eckert and Hannan 2009; Vaculík 2009). In the current era, many Czech descendants seek to experience community together, though the language is mostly lost apart from some key greetings and phrases (Hannan 2004; Cope 2011; see Castle 2021 for more details on this).

4.2. Analysis: Contact-Induced Replication or Attrition?

In this section, the qualitative conclusions reached about language-contact-induced borrowing are further considered by utilizing steps to establish that contact-induced structural change has occurred (Thomason 2001: 93–94). These steps to establish **structural** change, or **replication**, are able to be used as it is replication rather than borrowing that has occurred here (§4.1.8). It is made clear here that the steps are adapted to identify the source of potential unconventionalities—the focus is on whether these features are contact-induced rather than representing community-wide change (see §1).[33]

The paraphrased steps/rules are as follows:

1. Cases for contact-induced structural changes must be supported by other instances of structural interference from the same source language in the same receiving language: there must be more than one type of case.

[32] This is described by Eckert and Hannan (2009: 103) as a vision that was focused on the "Czech language of national literature".

[33] Of course, such features may represent community-wide change, but proving such a change is outside the scope of this article.

2. The source and receiving languages must be shown to be in intimate enough contact to make structural interference possible.
3. Structural features shared by the proposed source and receiving languages need to be identified.
4. Prove that the proposed interference features were not present in the receiving language before coming into contact with the source language.
5. Prove that the proposed interference features were present in the source language before coming into contact with the receiving language.
6. Consider plausible internal motivations for the changes and the "very real possibility of multiple causation".

(Thomason 2001: 93–94)

In terms of step 1, there are several types of potential cases that have been identified (§4.1). Participants' languages are in intimate contact and have been for several generations (step 2). They utilize both the source and recipient languages in their daily lives, with the source language being used by the wider society and recipient language in their homes, with family and friends, and at the Club (Table 4 on p. 11). The relevant structural features of the two languages are presented in Table 13[34] (step 3). Table 13 can also be utilized to position each proposed change with respect to the host linguistic system and detect presumed causes, as well as showing whether the proposed interference features were not present in the pre-contact variety and present in the source variety prior to contact (steps 4 and 5).

In the discussion below, I analyze and explain each feature, with consideration of internal motivations (step 6). The overt subject feature is not present in Czech, as Slavic languages are pro-drop (Haspelmath et al. 2001). However, it does occur in Common Czech. Overt subject marking is required in English (Haspelmath et al. 2001). This feature could be contact-induced, as well as a result of attrition, but it is also possible that it represents use of Common Czech.

Slavic languages tend to have fully fledged case systems, whereas case inflection in English is present only in some pronouns. It is possible that the unconventionalities observed in the dataset are a result of grammatical replication of syntax due to attrition of case endings. The participants who produced unconventional case endings were in the 1.5 and 2nd generation (§4.1.3). This interacts with an increasingly analytic syntax; the roles of core syntactic cases

[34] The grey bars for prepositional system and reflexive pronoun phenomena are included because these features could not be analyzed in the same way (the unconventionalities observed represent several phenomena within these categories, so a Yes/No/Maybe answer was not possible here).

Table 13. Presence of feature in Czech and English with possible causes

Feature amongst South Australian Czech participants	Is feature present in Common Czech?	Is feature present in Australian English?	Is feature contact-induced?	Is feature a result of attrition/shift?
Use of overt subject	Yes	Yes	Maybe	Maybe
Prepositional system				
No case system	No	Mostly	No	Yes
No gender distinction	No	Yes	No	Yes
Reflexive pronoun phenomena				
Analytic syntax	No	Yes	Yes	Maybe
Articles required	No	Yes	Maybe	Maybe

become increasingly redundant in speech with a rigid word order to provide grammatical information. It is not possible here to establish the directionality: whether the language has become more analytic in response to divergent attainment (Andersen 1982; §4.1.1), or whether the case system is rendered redundant with a fixed word-order system providing the grammatical information.

Czech has three grammatical genders and an animacy distinction. English does not have a productive gender system (excepting some nouns and pronouns). It is possible that the observed unconventional use of grammatical gender represents attrition processes and language contact, as in Zajícová 2009, where a frequent use of the nominative in place of other cases is attributed to a "combined influence of Spanish and attrition" (p. 144). However, the extremely small number of attestations could suggest that the community is still quite young in comparison with other Czech diaspora communities in terms of generation and therefore aspects of intergenerational attrition.

The reflexive pronoun could not be analyzed in the same way, because the unconventionalities represent three phenomena: use when not conventional, non-use when conventional, and use of *se* or *si* (§4.1.5). There is some evidence here for attrition processes, as all attestations of these unconventionalities are from the 1.5 and 2nd generations. The prepositional system also could not be analyzed in this way because the unconventionalities represent several phenomena: inclusion where unconventional, non-inclusion where unconventional, and unconventional choice. All attestations of these unconventionalities also come from the 1.5 and 2nd generation, providing evidence for the role of attrition.

Articles are not required in Czech (Dryer 2013). However, in Common Czech, demonstratives are used more often in places where there would be articles in other languages (Janda and Townsend 2000). This is part of a process of grammaticalization into articles (see §4.1.7). Articles are required in English (Dryer 2013). It is thus possible that article use could represent attrition, grammatical replication, or use of Common Czech.

Table 13 shows that several of the proposed changes were not present in the pre-contact variety, including the lack of a case system, lack of gender distinction, analytic syntax, and the requirement of articles. Overt subject use and the extended use of demonstratives are possible in Common Czech and may thus represent internal variation (step 6). However, it remains possible that this also represents contact-induced grammatical replication (see §4.1.1, 4.1.7). These features were all possible in the source language prior to contact between the South Australian Czech community and Australian English.

Divergent attainment is particularly likely to be a contributor to the instability of prepositions, loss of case distinction, loss of gender distinction, and increased analytic nature of the language, as the speakers engaging in these were primarily from the 1.5 and 2nd generation. Widely recognized signs of a

language undergoing attrition include increased analytic nature no matter the source language structure, issues with loss of case distinction and increase in the use of the nominative case, preposition instability, and loss of gender distinction (Andersen 1982; Polinsky 1997; Zajícová 2009). However, it is also likely that the speech of divergent attainers is influenced by their dominant language. Indeed, some authors consider this to be part of the attrition process (Sharwood Smith and Kellerman 1986; Grosjean and Py 1991; Pavlenko 2000; Gürel 2002; Schmid and Keijzer 2009; Cherciov 2013).

The Czech South Australian community is moving through processes of language shift. The Czech South Australian community is at the attrition stage, though the possibility of an influx of new community members from the Czech Republic keeps the cycle continuing (Castle 2021; see also Figure 2, this paper).

Excepting those possibly created by internal motivations, all of the unconventionalities discovered are the product of the sociolinguistic situation induced by language contact. A key premise of Dynamic Systems Theory is applicable here: a dynamic system is a set of variables that mutually affect each other's changes over time (van Geert 1994; Herdina and Jessner 2002). In this case, contact-induced transfer and attrition represent those variables; they have a somewhat symbiotic relationship, influencing one another and acting jointly to produce the features observed. Attrition occurs in the contact situation due to the introduction and required use of the majority language, and thus ever-decreasing frequency of use of one's own language, possibly resulting in language loss and language death. As resources from one language are lost due to attrition, resources from the other language are borrowed. For example, as the resource of a full-fledged case system is lost in Czech, there is a tendency to use a more rigid word order, which is a feature of English but is also a tendency of languages undergoing attrition and shift.

5. Conclusion

Observation session data on individuals in the Czech South Australian community was collected and analyzed to detect whether contact-induced **borrowing** and **grammatical replication** innovations occurred. Participants displayed several grammatical features in their speech, including increasing the analytic nature of the language, use of the overt subject, loss of gender distinctions, preposition instability, tentative article formation, and loss of case distinctions. These features match those that have occurred in America and Paraguay (Henzl 1982; Vašek 1996; Dutková 1998; Zájícová 2009; 2012). Grammatical replication rather than borrowing (Heine and Kuteva 2008; Kuteva 2017) has occurred in South Australian Czech, similar to Zajícová's (2012) study.

Despite similar findings as those in other diaspora communities, this paper notably analyzes a different period of migration and thus examines a language contact situation in the era of increased connectivity in terms of travel and the availability of phones and internet access (Keijzer 2020). It might be predicted that interconnectivity would mitigate against language attrition and contact-induced transfer, but despite this, the study demonstrates that unconventionalities are occurring at the level of morphology and syntax. However, it is also noted that engagement in maintenance activities does mitigate against attrition and transfer more than if such activities are not engaged in (Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jessner 2003). By adding data from a vastly different temporal and geographical context, this study aids in developing a more nuanced understanding of how and why speakers use different resources from between their languages.

Through analysis using Thomason's (2001) steps to identify instances of contact-induced structural change and dynamic systems theory, it is posited that at least increasingly analytic syntax, overt subject usage, and tentative article formation are partially attributable to language contact and grammatical replication. This paper therefore adds to the literature which states that it is possible for language-contact-induced grammatical borrowing to occur, while also positing that contact-induced language transfer and shift and attrition processes exist in a symbiotic relationship.

Future research could involve an analysis of whether innovations have resulted in community-wide propagations. This would require a larger sample size, more time analyzed per speaker, and a large Czech-habitant comparison group to allow researchers to be able to make generalizations and stronger assertions about causation. Other future research could include the study of Czech in contact with a language with equal or richer morphology.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: ABS Statistics – Czech Ancestry in SA (Choice 1)

For the group who chose Czech ancestry as choice 1, the following parameters were selected:

- 2016 Census > Cultural Diversity

COLUMNS: > Geographical areas (Usual Residence) > Main Statistical Area Structure > South Australia (State UR)

ROWS: > Selected Person Characteristics > ANC1P Ancestry 1st response > Southern and Eastern European > Eastern European > Czech

The results generated by TableBuilder are reproduced below.

Australian Bureau of Statistics

2016 Census - Cultural Diversity
ANC1P - 4 Digit Level by STATE (UR)
Counting: Persons Place of Usual Residence

Filters:
Default Summation Persons Place of Usual Residence

STATE (UR)	South Australia	Total
ANC1P - 4 Digit Level		
Czech	870	870
Total	870	870

Data source: Census of Population and Housing, 2016, TableBuilder

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. No reliance should be placed on small cells.

Appendix 2: ABS Statistics – Czech Ancestry in SA (Choice 2)

For the group who chose Czech ancestry as choice 2, the following parameters were selected :

- 2016 Census > Cultural Diversity

COLUMNS: > Geographical Areas (Usual Residence) > Main Statistical Area Structure > South Australia (State UR)

ROWS: > Selected Person Characteristics > ANC2P Ancestry 2nd response > Southern and Eastern European > Eastern European > Czech

The results generated by TableBuilder are reproduced below.

Australian Bureau of Statistics

2016 Census - Cultural Diversity
ANC2P - 4 Digit Level by STATE (UR)
Counting: Persons Place of Usual Residence

Filters:
Default Summation Persons Place of Usual Residence

STATE (UR)	South Australia	Total
ANC2P - 4 Digit Level		
Czech	809	809
Total	809	809

Data source: Census of Population and Housing, 2016, TableBuilder

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. No reliance should be placed on small cells.

Appendix 3: ABS Statistics for Figure 1 – Czech Ancestry in SA (Choice 1)

For the group who chose Czech ancestry as choice 1, the following parameters were selected:

- 2016 Census > Cultural Diversity

COLUMNS: > Local Government Areas (2016 Boundaries) (UR) > South Australia (LGA (UR))

ROWS: > Selected Person Characteristics > ANC1P Ancestry 1st response > Southern and Eastern European > Eastern European > Czech

The results generated by TableBuilder are reproduced below. The map function was then used to create the maps in Figure 1. This function is no longer available in TableBuilder.

Australian Bureau of Statistics

2016 Census - Cultural Diversity
LGA (UR) by ANC1P - 4 Digit Level
Counting: Persons Place of Usual Residence

Filters:
Default Summation Persons Place of Usual Residence

ANC1P - 4 Digit Level LGA (UR)	Czech	Total
Adelaide (C)	8	8
Adelaide Hills (DC)	25	25
Alexandrina (DC)	10	10
Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AC)	0	0
Barossa (DC)	4	4
Barunga West (DC)	0	0
Berri and Barmera (DC)	0	0
Burnside (C)	25	25
Campbelltown (C)	20	20
Ceduna (DC)	0	0
Charles Sturt (C)	60	60

Clare and Gilbert Valleys (DC)	0	0
Cleve (DC)	0	0
Coober Pedy (DC)	3	3
Copper Coast (DC)	0	0
Elliston (DC)	0	0
Flinders Ranges (DC)	0	0
Franklin Harbour (DC)	0	0
Gawler (T)	5	5
Goyder (DC)	4	4
Grant (DC)	0	0
Holdfast Bay (C)	41	41
Kangaroo Island (DC)	0	0
Karoonda East Murray (DC)	0	0
Kimba (DC)	0	0
Kingston (DC)	0	0
Light (RegC)	4	4
Lower Eyre Peninsula (DC)	3	3
Loxton Waikerie (DC)	0	0
Mallala (DC)	3	3
Maralinga Tjarutja (AC)	0	0
Marion (C)	67	67
Mid Murray (DC)	0	0
Mitcham (C)	49	49
Mount Barker (DC)	10	10
Mount Gambier (C)	3	3
Mount Remarkable (DC)	0	0
Murray Bridge (RC)	4	4
Naracoorte and Lucindale (DC)	4	4
Northern Areas (DC)	0	0
Norwood Payneham St Peters (C)	23	23
Onkaparinga (C)	129	129
Orroroo/Carrieton (DC)	0	0
Peterborough (DC)	0	0
Playford (C)	25	25

Port Adelaide Enfield (C)	61	61
Port Augusta (C)	3	3
Port Lincoln (C)	4	4
Port Pirie City and Dists (M)	0	0
Prospect (C)	6	6
Renmark Paringa (DC)	4	4
Robe (DC)	0	0
Roxby Downs (M)	5	5
Salisbury (C)	98	98
Southern Mallee (DC)	0	0
Streaky Bay (DC)	0	0
Tatiara (DC)	4	4
Tea Tree Gully (C)	60	60
The Coorong (DC)	0	0
Tumby Bay (DC)	0	0
Unley (C)	26	26
Victor Harbor (C)	5	5
Wakefield (DC)	4	4
Walkerville (M)	4	4
Wattle Range (DC)	0	0
West Torrens (C)	28	28
Whyalla (C)	5	5
Wudinna (DC)	0	0
Yankalilla (DC)	3	3
Yorke Peninsula (DC)	4	4
Unincorporated SA	4	4
No usual address (SA)	0	0
Migratory - Offshore - Shipping (SA)	0	0
Total	870	870

Data source: Census of Population and Housing, 2016, TableBuilder

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. No reliance should be placed on small cells.

Appendix 4: ABS Statistics for Figure 1 – Czech Ancestry in SA (Choice 2)

For the group who chose Czech ancestry as choice 2, the following parameters were selected:

- 2016 Census > Cultural Diversity

COLUMNS: Local Government Areas (2016 Boundaries) (UR) > South Australia (LGA (UR))

ROWS: > Selected Person Characteristics > ANC2P Ancestry 2nd response > Southern and Eastern European > Eastern European > Czech

The results generated by TableBuilder are reproduced below. The map function was then used to create the maps in Figure 1. This function is no longer available in TableBuilder.

Australian Bureau of Statistics

2016 Census - Cultural Diversity
LGA (UR) by ANC2P - 4 Digit Level
Counting: Persons Place of Usual Residence

Filters:
Default Summation Persons Place of Usual Residence

ANC2P - 4 Digit Level LGA (UR)	Czech	Total
Adelaide (C)	19	19
Adelaide Hills (DC)	28	28
Alexandrina (DC)	13	13
Anangu Pitjantjatjara (AC)	0	0
Barossa (DC)	3	3
Barunga West (DC)	5	5
Berri and Barmera (DC)	0	0
Burnside (C)	21	21
Campbelltown (C)	28	28
Ceduna (DC)	0	0
Charles Sturt (C)	44	44

Clare and Gilbert Valleys (DC)	3	3
Cleve (DC)	0	0
Coober Pedy (DC)	11	11
Copper Coast (DC)	3	3
Elliston (DC)	0	0
Flinders Ranges (DC)	0	0
Franklin Harbour (DC)	0	0
Gawler (T)	14	14
Goyder (DC)	0	0
Grant (DC)	5	5
Holdfast Bay (C)	20	20
Kangaroo Island (DC)	0	0
Karoonda East Murray (DC)	0	0
Kimba (DC)	0	0
Kingston (DC)	0	0
Light (RegC)	13	13
Lower Eyre Peninsula (DC)	5	5
Loxton Waikerie (DC)	0	0
Mallala (DC)	5	5
Maralinga Tjarutja (AC)	0	0
Marion (C)	50	50
Mid Murray (DC)	0	0
Mitcham (C)	41	41
Mount Barker (DC)	26	26
Mount Gambier (C)	13	13
Mount Remarkable (DC)	0	0
Murray Bridge (RC)	6	6
Naracoorte and Lucindale (DC)	3	3
Northern Areas (DC)	0	0
Norwood Payneham St Peters (C)	27	27
Onkaparinga (C)	94	94
Orroroo/Carrieton (DC)	0	0
Peterborough (DC)	0	0
Playford (C)	28	28

Port Adelaide Enfield (C)	42	42
Port Augusta (C)	0	0
Port Lincoln (C)	7	7
Port Pirie City and Dists (M)	0	0
Prospect (C)	9	9
Renmark Paringa (DC)	4	4
Robe (DC)	0	0
Roxby Downs (M)	0	0
Salisbury (C)	49	49
Southern Mallee (DC)	0	0
Streaky Bay (DC)	0	0
Tatiara (DC)	3	3
Tea Tree Gully (C)	48	48
The Coorong (DC)	4	4
Tumby Bay (DC)	0	0
Unley (C)	27	27
Victor Harbor (C)	5	5
Wakefield (DC)	0	0
Walkerville (M)	4	4
Wattle Range (DC)	0	0
West Torrens (C)	38	38
Whyalla (C)	14	14
Wudinna (DC)	0	0
Yankalilla (DC)	0	0
Yorke Peninsula (DC)	0	0
Unincorporated SA	0	0
No usual address (SA)	0	0
Migratory - Offshore - Shipping (SA)	0	0
Total	809	809

Data source: Census of Population and Housing, 2016, TableBuilder

INFO Cells in this table have been randomly adjusted to avoid the release of confidential data. No reliance should be placed on small cells.

Appendix 5: Diskusní Témata/Discussion Themes

Discussion themes were originally provided in Czech:

Cestování:

kde jste všude byli?
jaká místa chcete ještě navštívit?
v Austrálii, v ČR, jinde na světě

Život v České republice

Život v Austrálii

Filmy, které jste viděli v poslední době:

české filmy
americké filmy
australské filmy
filmy odjinud

Tři nejzajímavější věci, které jste kdy udělali

Oblíbená kniha nebo nejhorší kniha, kterou jste kdy četli

Oblíbené jídla nebo neoblíbené jídla, recepty, rozdíly mezi českou a australskou kuchyní

Co budete dělat o víkendu?

Jaké je vaše vysněné povolání/zaměstnání?

The translation is given below:

Travel:

where have you traveled to in the world?
what places do you want to visit?
in Australia, in the Czech Republic, elsewhere in the world

Life in the Czech Republic

Life in Australia

Films that you have seen recently:

Czech films
American films
Australian films
films from other countries

The three most interesting things you have ever done

Favorite book or worst book you have ever read

Favorite or least favorite food, recipes, differences between Czech and Australian cuisine

What are you doing on the weekend?

What is your dream job?

Appendix 6: Bilingual Ability Section of the Basic Information Form

Bilingual ability/dvojjazyčné schopnosti:

English/Angličtina:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Czech/Čeština:

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

0 = does not speak the language at all/nemluví jazykem vůbec

10 = native-level fluency and maintained use of language/rodilý mluvčí a udržované používání jazyka

Appendix 7: Total Minutes Participant is Speaking in Observation Session

Participant	Minutes of participant speech within observation session	Total observation session time
Adéla	4 mins 5 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds
Dana	5 mins 16 seconds	9 mins 58 seconds
Eva	3 mins 48 seconds	9 mins 58 seconds
Jana	8 mins 37 seconds	14 mins 6 seconds
Ivana	3 minutes	14 mins 6 seconds
Kamila	6 mins 52 seconds	16 mins 21 seconds
Milada	3 mins 35 seconds	14 mins 6 seconds
Zuzana	8 mins 5 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds
Roman	3 mins 15 seconds	16 mins 21 seconds
Martin	2 mins 38 seconds	15 mins 7 seconds

Appendix 8: Presence of Participant Attestations in the Czech National Corpus (SYN2020) (Křen et al. 2020)

The following table presents the participant attestations discussed in this article, shows whether they are present in the SYN2020 subcorpus of the Czech National Corpus, and offers an explanation or comparison of attestations' appearance or non-appearance in the CNC. This gives some insight as to whether the attestations produced by participants occur in Czech as spoken in the Czech Republic. The focus of the attestation is highlighted in bold (as it is in the main text). The KonText interface was used to search the corpus, to allow for the specific phrases to be searching using the "word" attribute.

Sections are shaded grey if they represent an example (to aid in the description of a certain grammatical phenomenon) rather than data.

	Attestation	In Czech National Corpus (SYN2020)?	Explanation/Comparison
1			
2	my jsme si to projeli, **my** se podivame	*my se podíváme* occurs 6 times, 0.05ipm* *podíváme se* occurs 268 times, 2.2ipm	Used more frequently without pronoun Unconventionality more due to repetition of pronoun in subsequent phrase
3	**já** musím jet domů	*já musím jet* occurs 2 times in corpus, 0.02ipm *musím jet* occurs 91 times, 0.75ipm	Used more frequently without pronoun
4	takže místo tu rodinu **v** tam	*v tam* occurs 9 times in corpus, 0.07ipm *tam* occurs 113,193 times, 929.12ipm	Used much more frequently without preposition
5	osobní třídy čtvrtek-**Ø**	No results for *osobní třídy čtvrtek*	*třídy* occurs rarely in corpus (5 hits, 0.04ipm), alternate possibility to test *čtvrtek* without a preposition = *jít* (occurs 17,402 times in corpus, 142.84ipm), still no results found for *jít čtvrtek*
6	**na** sobot**u** z neděl**i**	No results for *na sobotu z neděli* 3 hits for *od soboty do neděle*, 0.02ipm	No results for this phrasing, but results for conventional phrasing (though few)
7	mám manžel-**Ø** a dcer**a**	*mám dcera* = no results, but *mám dceru* = 28 hits, 0.23ipm *mám manžel* = no results, but *mám manžela* = 8 hits, 0.07ipm	No results for unconventional (nominative) phrasing, but results for (accusative) conventional form
8	jsme neměli rodinu v Austrál**ie**	*v Austrálie* = no results *v Austrálii* occurs 658 times, 5.4ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (nominative), but many more results for conventional form (locative)

* Instances per million words.

9	kvůli rodin**u**	*kvůli rodin*u = no results *kvůli rodině* = 33 hits, 0.27ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (accusative), but results for conventional form (dative)
10	s pan-**Ø** učitelem	*s pan učitelem* = no results *s panem učitelem* = 17 results, 0.14ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (nominative), but results for conventional form (instrumental)
11			
12	vím že **moje** brácha	*moje brácha* = no results *můj brácha* = 66 results, 0.54ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (feminine gender), but results for conventional form (masculine gender)
13	to jsou **moje** lidi	*moje lidi* occurs 10 times	Each of the times *moje lidi* occurs, it is in the accusative case (whereas Jana uses it in a nominative position)
14	mám manžela a **dvě** kluky	*dvě kluky* = no results *dva kluky* = 52 hits, 0.43ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (feminine/neuter gender), but results for conventional form (masculine gender)
15			
16	jsem **si** učila	*jsem si učila* = no results *jsem se učila* = 52 hits, 0.43ipm	No results for unconventional phrasing (*si*), but results for conventional form (*se*)
17	snažim **Ø** ted'ka	*snažim ted'ka* = no results *snažim se ted'ka* = also no results	No results for *snažim se ted'ka*, but context may be too specific. 8 hits for *snažim*, and each of them include *se* (0.07ipm)
18	**jak se může říct**	*jak se může říct* = no results	Issue here is contextual rather than grammatical correctness/frequency of use

19	on nechce **jít camping**	*jít camping* = no results *jít kempovat* = 1 result, 0.01 of corpus *kempovat* = 24 results, 0.2ipm *kempink, camping, kemping* = 32 hits, 0.26ipm no *jít kempink, camping, kemping*	Much rarer to use more analytic *jít camping, kempink, camping, kemping, kempovat* than to use *kempovat* or *kempink, camping, kemping* as a standalone
20	tam můžeš **dělat i camping**	*dělat i camping* = no results *dělat kempovat* = no results no *dělat kempink, camping, kemping*	No results for this construction
21	kdy **vase děti šli do školky tady**?	*kdy vase děti šli do školky tady* = no results	Phrase too long to test in corpus (unlikely this exact sentence or one comparable has been said/written). No results, in any case.
22	to bylo takové **ty** koule, to jsou **ty** české	*ty koule* = 13 hits, 0.11ipm *koule* = 2,051 hits, 16.84ipm *ty české* = 52 hits, 0.43ipm *české* = 34, 766 hits, 285.37ipm	Occur much more frequently without the demonstrative/tentative article
23	mám **ty** vnoučata	*ty vnoučata* = no results *vnoučata* = 518 hits, 4.25ipm	Occur much more frequently without the demonstrative/tentative article