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CZECH DIALECT CLASSIFICATIONS

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Abstract

This paper gives an overview of the classification of Czech dialects, reflecting two fundamental stages in the development of Czech dialectology, both of which can be assigned to isoglottic dialectology. The first classifications were based on registration and description of isolated (mostly phonological and morphological) phenomena on the basis of a historical principle. This period, characterized by the cooperation between dialectology and ethnography, is represented by Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1864), František Bartoš (1886, 1895), Josef Vavřinec Dušek (1896) and František Trávníček (1924, 1926). In the period associated with the application of the geolinguistic method, the classification was based on a comprehensive view of dialect differentiation, taking into consideration not only territorial boundaries. Dialects were perceived as an internally structured unity, subject to basic developmental tendencies, and diversified by other differential phenomena influenced by extralinguistic factors (e.g., geographical, social, generational, and gender). Besides Bohuslav Havránek (1934), the main representants are found in Jaromír Bělič (1972) and the *Czech Linguistic Atlas* (1992-2011).

Keywords: dialect classification, isoglottic dialectology, geolinguistics, Czech national language

Name: čeština ['tʃɛʃtina]

Language-code: ISO 639-1 cs; ISO 639-2 cze (B) ces (T)

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CLASSIFICACIÓ DIALECTAL DEL TXEC

Resum

Aquest article ofereix una visió general de la classificació dels dialectes txecs, tot reflectint dues etapes fonamentals en el desenvolupament de la dialectologia txeca: ambdues es poden assignar a la dialectologia isoglòtica. Les primeres classificacions es basaven en el registre i la descripció de fenòmens aïllats (principalment fonològics i morfològics) sobre la base d'un principi històric. Aquest període, caracteritzat per la cooperació entre dialectologia i etnografia, fou representat per Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1864), František Bartoš (1886, 1895), Josef Vavřinec Dušek (1896) i František Trávníček (1924, 1926). En el període associat a l'aplicació del mètode geolingüístic, la classificació es basava en una visió integral de la diferenciació dialectal, i es tenien en compte no sols els límits territorials. Els dialectes eren percebuts com una unitat estructurada internament, subjecta a tendències bàsiques de desenvolupament i diversificada per altres fenòmens diferencials influïts per factors extralingüístics (per exemple, geogràfics, socials, generacionals i de gènere). A més de Bohuslav Havránek (1934), els principals representants són Jaromír Bělič (1972) i l'*Atlas Lingüístic Txec* (1992-2011).

Paraules clau: classificació dialectal, dialectologia isoglòtica, geolingüística, llengua nacional txeca

KLASIFIKACE ČESKÝCH DIALEKTŮ

Abstrakt

Příspěvek podává přehled klasifikace českých nářečí. Reflektuje dvě základní etapy vývoje české dialektologie, z nichž obě lze přiřadit k izoglotické dialektologii. První klasifikace byly založeny na registraci a popisu izolovaných (převážně fonologických a morfologických) jevů na základě historického principu. Toto období, charakterizované spoluprací dialektologie a národopisu, reprezentují Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1864), František Bartoš (1886, 1895), Josef Vavřinec Dušek (1896) a František Trávníček (1924, 1926). V období spojeném s aplikací geolingvistické metody byla klasifikace založena na komplexním pohledu na nářeční diferenciaci, zohledňujícím nejen územní hranice. Dialekty byly vnímány jako vnitřně strukturovaný celek podléhající základním vývojovým tendencím, členěný dalšími diferenčními jevy, jež jsou ovlivňovány působením mimojazykových faktorů (např. geografických, sociálních, generačních a genderových). Vedle Bohuslava Havránka (1934) jsou hlavními představiteli Jaromír Bělič (1972) a *Český lingvistický atlas* (1992-2011).

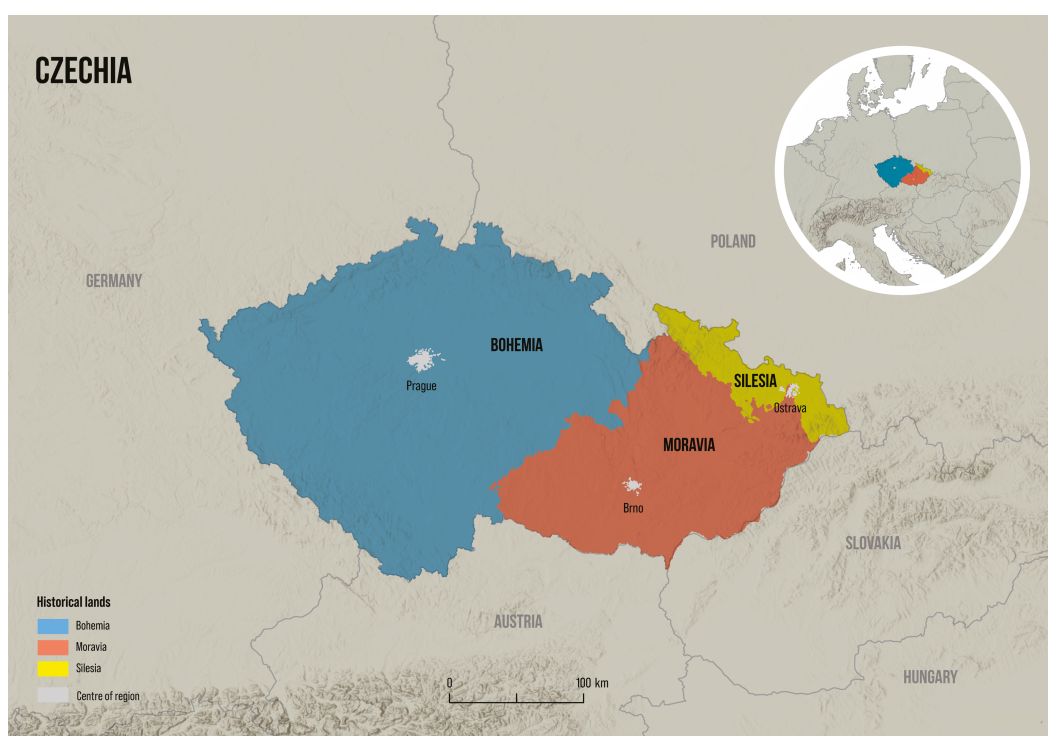
Klíčová slova: klasifikace dialektů, izoglotická dialektologie, geolingvistika, český národní jazyk

1. Introduction

Czech is an official language spoken in the Czech Republic in a territory of 78,871 km² in Central Europe.

The Czech Republic was established on January 1, 1993, when Czechoslovakia was dissolved, and its constituent states became the independent states of the Czech Republic (Czechia) and the Slovak Republic (Slovakia). Czechia consists of three historical lands: Bohemia (Čechy), Moravia (Morava) and (Czech) Silesia (Slezsko), collectively called the Czech lands (see Map 1). Though, at present, it is no longer

divided into historical lands, the tradition of this division is, nevertheless, still alive. The capital of the whole Czechia and of historic Bohemia is Prague. The centre of the territory called Moravia is Brno and the historical centre of Czech Silesia is Ostrava.



Map 1. Czechia. Historical lands. (Author: J. Koniček 2023. Source: Department of Dialectology Archive, Czech language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno. Data from: <https://hranice.moravy.eu/ke-stazeni.html>, open street map)

Czech is a Slavic (Slavonic) language, genetically closely related to Slovak (see Múcsková, this issue) with which it forms the so-called Czech-Slovak branch of West Slavic languages of the Indo-European language family. It developed at the end of the 10th century from Western Proto-Slavic dialects. Its western geographical location is associated with the fact that Czech was formed in the neighbourhood of German and under its influence; however, the influence of Latin is also significant. About 10.7 million people speak Czech as their mother tongue and another 2.5 million speak it as a second language. The earliest written records of Czech date from the 12th century, Czech literature appears in the 14th century.

In terms of language typology, Czech is an inflected language characterized by a complicated system of declension and conjugation and a relatively loose word order; it uses Latin characters with diacritics for written records. The pronunciation is characterized by a fixed word stress on the first syllable, opposition of long and short vowels, and a specific consonant /ɾ/ (raised alveolar non-sonorant trill, spelled as ř). The basis of standard Czech is the Central Bohemian dialect.

Czech dialects developed during the 13th-16th centuries, when the most dialectal differences arose. This process was completed in the 17th and 18th centuries, mainly due to the strengthening of serfdom after the Thirty Years' War, which prevented migration of the population. In the 19th and 20th centuries, due to the industrial revolution and concentration of inhabitants from different dialect backgrounds in urban localities, the opposite process took place – the dialect differences faded away and interdialects emerged. The processes were different in Bohemia and west Moravia on the one hand and in the rest of Moravia with the adjacent parts of Silesia on the other. In Bohemia and west Moravia so-called Common Czech (*obecná čeština*), originally a Central Bohemian interdialect, was formed and this (with slight regional variations) became the basic non-standard communication variety, especially in the western part of Czechia. Due to advancing centralization of state administration, these territorial dialects were significantly levelled and have only been preserved at the outskirts of the region. In central, east and north Moravia and in the adjacent parts of Czech Silesia, with more local urban centres, such centralization tendencies were absent and the dialects have been preserved for a relatively long time.

Of the Slavic languages, Slovak is the closest to Czech; the dialectal proximity was strengthened by the areal neighbourhood and also by cultural, political and economic contacts of some layers of Czech and Slovak society, cultivated, however, with varying intensity in historical times. They then reached their peak in the common state of Czechs and Slovaks, created in 1918. In the interwar period, Czech and Slovak were even considered two standard varieties of one Czechoslovak language (according to the Language Act from 1920), though for most of the historical period, both language communities had their own history, as their territories belonged to different historical-

political formations; the construct of the Czechoslovak language was abandoned after World War II (Vykypělová 2017).

The contemporary thesis on the affiliation of Slovak dialects to the Czechoslovak language therefore found reflection in early classifications of Czech(oslovak) dialects. It was also the gradual transition between the eastern Czech and western Slovak dialects with some phenomena common to both areas that could speak in favour of the unified Czechoslovak language. This was reflected in the dilemma which of the two languages the dialects spoken in the eastern part of Moravia should be assigned to. Some dialectologists assigned these dialects, including the northern (Wallachian) and southern (Slovak, in Czech *slovácký*, not *slovenský*) dialects, to Slovak dialects, however, since Bělič's classification (1972), they have been definitely considered to be Czech. From the political-geographical viewpoint, these dialects (in current dialectology called Eastern Moravian, formerly Moravian-Slovak) are peripheral, archaic dialects of Czech (Chloupek 1958: 148).

2. Classifications of dialects

2.1 Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1864) and František Bartoš (1886, 1895)

Though the references of Czech dialects can be found already in the works of Jan Hus (1370-1415) and Jan Blahoslav (1523-1571), it was Alois Vojtěch Šembera (1807-1882), who carried out the first scientific (synchronic) description and systematic classification of Czech, Moravian and Slovak dialects, subdialects and varieties, i.e. dialects in the Czech lands and in Slovakia (1864). In agreement with the historical period, he considered Slovak to be one of three forms of a unified Czechoslovak language.

Twenty years later, Šembera's successor František Bartoš (1837-1906) related his work only to a part of the Czech territory, to Moravia and Czech Silesia, however, we cannot miss his name, as his work (1886, 1895, 1906) represented the culmination of

dialectological research in the 19th century and became the only reliable source for several subsequent generations of dialect researchers.

2.1.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

The basic task of the early dialectological work was to delimit the dialect boundaries, which were to support and prove their then generally assumed direct connection to the ancient tribal differentiation of the Czech territory in prehistoric times. In carrying out his intention to provide the first comprehensive overview of geographical differences in the vernacular, Šembera worked with the material gained through 1) language experts, 2) own field trips (mainly in the 1840s).

Also Bartoš intended to contribute to the knowledge of the nation's historical roots, which was consistent with the formation of national consciousness and the orientation of contemporary science to historical and genetic contexts. Behind his rich collecting activity stood his scientific, pedagogical and above all ethnographic interests; in addition to his own field research in Moravia and Silesia in 1882-1884, he also obtained material with the help of friends and contributors interested in dialects.

2.1.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

When classifying dialect areas, Šembera chose mostly the geographical aspect and divided the Czechoslovak language into three dialects: Bohemian, Moravian and Slovak (see Table 1). For the names of lower units, he used mainly the names of mountains and rivers; nowadays, however, his terminology is mostly out of use. He determined the geographical extent of each described dialect, subdialect and variety by enumerating the localities, adhering it to the boundaries of court and administrative districts.

Dialect	Subdialects
1. Bohemian	a. Western (with two varieties) b. Central c. Eastern (with only one variety)
2. Moravian	a. Western (with four varieties) b. Eastern (with four varieties, including Wallachian)
3. Slovak	a. Western (with five varieties, including the southern part of current Eastern Moravian dialect) b. Central (with five varieties) c. Eastern (with five varieties)

Table 1. Šembera's classification of Czechoslovak dialects (1864)

The dialects were distinguished by their phonological characteristics (only marginally by grammatical forms), special words demonstrating dialectal differences were attached. Methodologically, the analysis followed the then linguistic practice common in the study of historical language material: dialect phenomena were only listed, or characterized on the background of the standard language.

Throughout the 19th century, Šembera's classification was the only one considering Czech dialects throughout the language territory; it also provided information on the dialect situation in Slovakia.

Šembera is also the author of the first map (*Map of Moravian Land with the bordering parts of Silesia, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary*)¹ showing the dialect boundaries (1881) – the language situation was depicted by lines, smaller dialect units were defined within their boundaries; for descriptions of the dialects see Šembera (1864). Though the map does not cover the whole territory of Czech dialects, for the first time, it is possible to compare the course of administrative, political, etc. division on the one hand and the course of dialect boundaries on the other.

Bartoš's classification, too, was based on the concept of a unified Czechoslovak language. In accordance with the 19th century approach, he relied mainly on the older administrative territorial division of Moravia and Silesia, but he also applied other

¹The map is available at <https://www.digitalniknihovna.cz/mzk/view/uuid:04f156c1-3b5f-469b-83b9-54d331e984ec?page=uuid:6bd363ca-341c-4044-98ab-751d2abf4b1a>.

criteria: tribal, national and ethnographic. In Moravia and Silesia, he distinguished four dialects (Bartoš 1895; see Table 2).

Dialect	Subdialects
1. Bohemian (in current terminology Bohemian-Moravian)	
2. Hanakian (in current terminology Central Moravian)	
3. Slovak (in current terminology Eastern Moravian or Moravian-Slovak)	a. Wallachian b. Dolak c. Slovak (in Czech current terminology <i>slovácký</i>)
4. Lachian (in current terminology Silesian)	

Table 2. Bartoš's classification of Moravian and Silesian dialects (1895)

In addition, he terminologically defined the transitional zone (1895: 1-6); this term has been used in contemporary dialectology until these days. Bartoš's work, highly appreciated for its material, offered, for the first time, a systematic description of the dialects, subdialects and types. His findings that the dialect boundaries do not always coincide with the ethnographic or political ones, inspired succeeding generations of dialectologists. His classification, however, is partly unclear, partly incorrect (Trávníček 1926: 17); Bartoš himself felt the vagueness of the dialect differentiation according to ethnographic viewpoint.

2.2 Josef Vavřinec Dušek

Josef Vavřinec Dušek (1858-1911), an organizer of dialect research for the Czech-Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition (1895), which was to introduce the dialects of the national language, first used the geolinguistic method to collect the dialect material.

2.2.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

As a supporter of the Neogrammarians, he promoted the study of the living language, and he, too, in the spirit of contemporary theories, tried to find – within the dialect boundaries – the boundaries of a prehistoric, tribal settlement.

2.2.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Inspired by the method of the German linguist Georg Wenker, Dušek prepared a questionnaire of 50 sentences and distributed it throughout the Czech lands. The sentences were to be translated into dialects. The material was the starting point both for a dialect map (1894), on which he delimited the basic dialect areas in Bohemia (see Map 2), and for the classification of Czech and Slovak dialects (1896: 83-96).



Map 2. Dialect map of Bohemia. (Author J. V. Dušek (1894), redrawn by F. Harnachová (1919). Source: Department of Dialectology Archive, Czech Language Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences, Brno)

Dušek categorized three main dialects (see Table 3). He applied his view of dialectal differentiation when describing the situation in Bohemia; in the characteristics of dialects in Moravia, Silesia and in Slovakia he followed the classification of Šembera (1864) and Bartoš (1886, 1895), associating the Eastern Moravian (or Moravian-Slovak) dialects with the Western subdialect of Slovak.

Dialect	Subdialects
1. Bohemian (Western)	a. Southwestern b. Central Bohemian c. Northeastern
2. Moravian-Silesian (Central)	
3. Slovak (Eastern)	

Table 3. Dušek's classification of Czechoslovak dialects (1896)

2.3 František Trávníček (1924, 1926)

František Trávníček (1888-1961) was the first after Šembera to make a systematic classification of Czech and Slovak dialects. He was very well acquainted with the dialects in Bohemia and especially Moravia and he also studied dialects in Slovakia.

2.3.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology

In accordance with the Neogrammarians, Trávníček used predominantly a diachronic approach in linguistics. Looking for new methods in dialectology, he especially tried to apply a historical viewpoint to the interpretation of dialectal phenomena and thus became one of the pioneers of historical dialectology; he used the historical approach mainly in solving the problem of the so-called transitional dialects, for instance, Czech-Polish and Slovak-Polish (1954). Trávníček saw dialects as an important source of knowledge about the history and development of the language and this view was fully manifested in his historical grammar of Czech. As an advocate of acoustic phonetics, he was mainly interested in phonetic and morphological differences in dialects and their causes.

2.3.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

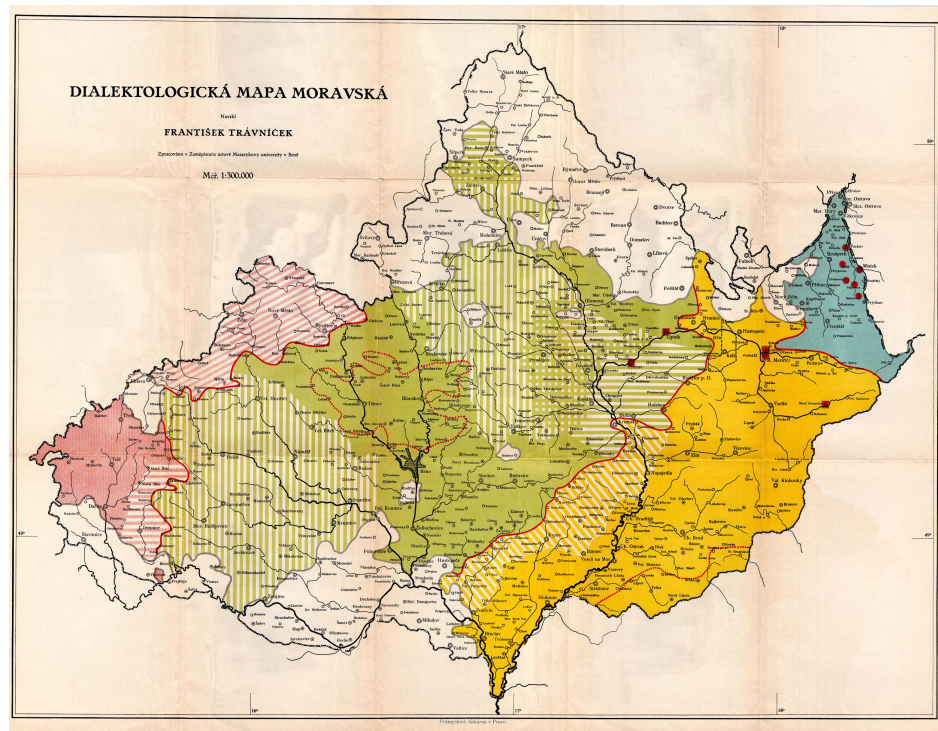
As a proponent of the contemporary thesis on the affiliation of Slovak dialects to the Czech(oslovak) language,² Trávníček distinguished four basic dialects, named according to individual lands (see Table 4), and gave their concise characteristics.

Dialect	Subdialects
1. Bohemian – in Bohemia	a. Central Bohemian b. Eastern Bohemian c. Southwestern Bohemian d. Bohemian-Moravian
2. Moravian – in Moravia	a. Moravian-Bohemian b. Hanakian c. Moravian-Slovak (also called Slovak)
3. Silesian (Lachian) – in Silesia	
4. Slovak – in Slovakia	a. Western b. Central c. Eastern

Table 4. Trávníček’s classification of Czechoslovak dialects (1924)

In his subsequent work (1926), he focused exclusively on the dialect situation on the territory of Moravia, delimited by the historical land borders. Working with older dialect literature – his starting point was especially Bartoš (1886, 1895) –, he also considered contemporary works and his own findings. The booklet includes a separate map of Moravian dialects (see Map 3) with colour differentiation of four basic subdialects (and varieties): 1. Moravian-Bohemian (pink), 2. Hanakian (green) 3. Moravian-Slovak or Slovak (yellow), and 4. Lachian (light blue).

² Trávníček later (1953: 28-34) corrected his opinion in favour of understanding Czech and Slovak to be two separate languages.



Map 3. Dialectological map of Moravia (Trávníček, 1926)

Trávníček's work was a great benefit for Czech dialectology: he brought the first clear definition of dialect differences and simplification of the hitherto complex terminology. He also introduced new terms, for instance, he unified the dialects spoken in East Moravia (so far mostly referred to as Slovak), under the term Moravian-Slovak, and in this way, he distinguished these dialects from Slovak dialects in Slovakia; he also introduced the term Kopanice dialects (lacking typical Czech consonant *ř*: Czech *ořech* x Kopanice *orech* 'nut') for the dialects at the Moravian-Slovak border, based on late Slovak colonization.

2.4 Bohuslav Havránek (1934)

A new picture of the dialect variation of Czech throughout its territory was submitted by Bohuslav Havránek (1881-1978), a leading figure and co-creator of Czech linguistic structuralism known as the Prague Linguistic Circle.

2.4.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology and structuralism

In the first scientific treatise on the tasks of Czech dialectology (1924: 263-271, 337-358), Havránek drew attention to the monitoring of linguistic phenomena in their territorial distribution. Based on the current research and his own new material, Havránek (1934: 84-218) then determined the boundaries of the dialects and revealed the basic features of the dynamics of their retreat and the formation of interdialects. He warned against mere registration of language phenomena in a geographical projection. His dialectological work and interpretation of Common Czech not only significantly influenced dialectological research, until then focused only on archaic units, but also motivated research into the complex relationships between the standard language and the non-standard language varieties. He was the first Czech dialectologist to use the geolinguistic method to define dialect differences, including their historical causes. In this way, he examined dialect phenomena in both the developmental and system contexts of the language.

2.4.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Continuing the contemporary thesis on the Czechoslovak language with two standard languages, Czech and Slovak, Havránek divided the Czechoslovak dialects into the Western (Czech, more precisely Czech-Moravian-Silesian) and Eastern (Slovak) groups. Havránek only dealt with the Western group, i.e. Czech dialects, the dialects spoken in Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia.

The basis of his classification were differences in the development of long vowels. He distinguished four dialects (see Table 5 and Map 4).

Dialect	Subdialects
1. Bohemian – in Bohemia and western part of Moravia	a. North-eastern b. Central Bohemian c. Southern together with Western d. Transitional Western (Bohemian-Moravian)
2. Central Moravian (Hanakian)	a. Central b. Western c. Southern d. Marginal zones (distinguished according to the system of short vowels)
3. Lachian – in north-eastern corner of Moravia and in Silesia	a. Moravian b. Ostrava c. Western (Opava)
4. Slovak	a. Western (including the transitional Moravian-Slovak dialects between the Hanakian dialects in Moravia and the Slovak dialects in current Slovakia) b. Central c. Eastern

Table 5. Havránek's classification of Czechoslovak dialects (1934)



Map 4. Dialect map – Classification of Czech dialects (Havránek 1934: 154)

In the same publication, an extensive chapter by the Slovak dialectologist Václav Vážný (1934: 219-310) classified the Slovak dialects; the classification also covered the

Moravian-Slovak (current Eastern Moravian) dialects, nowadays belonging to Czech dialects spoken in Czechia.

In each dialect, Havránek further defined the edge zones and the individual subsections. For instance, within the Lachian dialect, he delimited the local marginal dialects (the Branice dialect) and the dialects of the Czech-Polish border zone (here he distinguished the Northern and the Teschen variety).

Havránek's dialectological work and his interpretations of Common Czech not only significantly influenced dialectological research, until then focused only on archaic units, but also motivated research into the complex relationships between standard language and non-standard language varieties.

2.5 Jaromír Bělič (1972) and the Czech Linguistic Atlas (1992-2011)

From 1934 to 1972, a comprehensive information on Czech dialects could only be found in the pioneering work of Bohuslav Havránek (1934). Especially since the 1950s, the need for a new description has been felt (after World War II, and particularly since 1948, the dialects have been rapidly fading; some phenomena have receded or even disappeared, and the dialect boundaries have shifted).

Jaromír Bělič (1914-1977), a linguist and Slavic dialectologist, organically connected the synchronic and diachronic aspects in Havránek's tradition. He gave the first systematic view of the areal diversification of Czech dialects, especially in terms of phonology and morphology.

The geolinguistic aspect then culminated in the six-volume *Czech Linguistic Atlas* (Balhar et al. 1992, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2005, 2011).

2.5.1 Framework: Isoglottic dialectology and linguistic geography

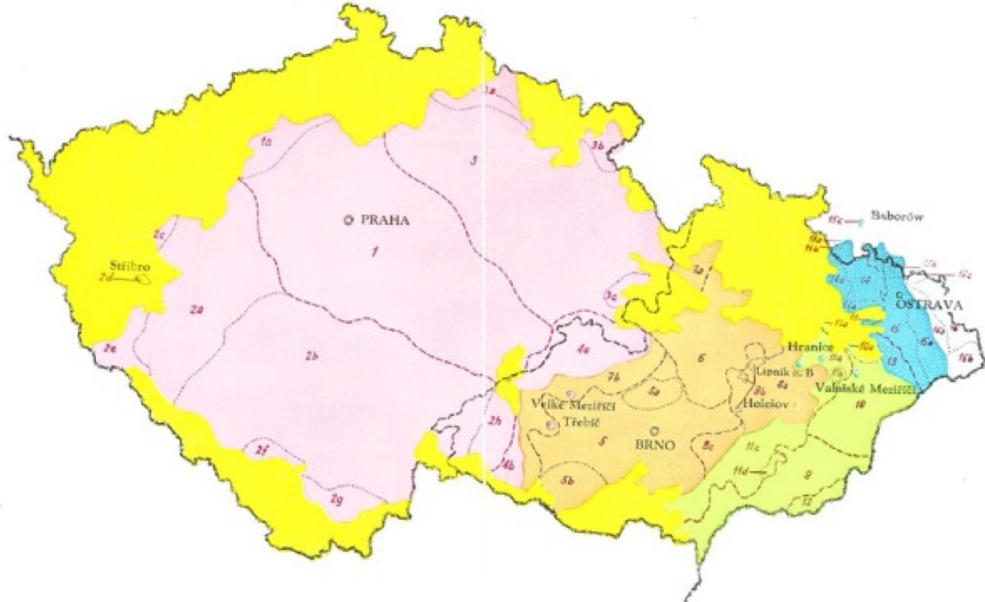
The first half of the 20th century saw a rapid growth of linguistic geography in European dialectology, resulting in the national (supranational or regional) atlases. In Czech dialectology, the main initiator of geolinguistic survey of dialects was Havránek

(1924). In the 1940s, regional questionnaires were prepared and the collection of dialect data began. In the subsequent period, two phases can be distinguished:

- (a) a preparatory phase of indirect survey via questionnaires, resulting in the dialect compendium by Jaromír Bělič (1972),
- (b) a direct survey phase, resulting in the *Czech Linguistic Atlas* (1992-2011).

(a) Bělič's exhaustive classification is based on a description of the development of Czech dialects, i.e. dialects on the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Czech Silesia, their older and more recent developmental stages, definitions of archaic relicts as well as of the sources of dialect innovations. The depth of such a view and analysis was enabled by the amount of dialect data and sophisticated methods of dialectological work in partial studies. A set of forty schematic maps showing isoglosses of selected typical dialect phenomena has been attached separately; one of them is the map presenting the classification of Czech dialects (see Map 5). Bělič unified the existing terminology and named the main dialect groups and subdialects according to a uniform historical-geographical criterion; his dialect classification and terminology is basically valid to the present day.

40. Přehled nářečí českého jazyka



Map 5. The map presenting the classification of Czech dialects (Bělič 1972: map No. 40). Description of the map: 1-4b Bohemian (pink), 5-8c Central Moravian (or Hanakian) (orange), 9-12 Eastern Moravian (or Moravian-Slovak) (green), 13-15c Silesian (or Lachian) (dark blue), 16a-c Mixed Polish-Czech (light blue); areas with a dialectally diverse population (yellow)

(b) A principal work of Czech dialectology, the *Czech Linguistic Atlas*, based on the results of extensive fieldwork and carried out as part of a uniform research programme, provides the most detailed geolinguistic analysis of the Czech national language covering all language levels. Linguistic phenomena are presented in their developmental, generational and geographical integrity on about 1600 maps with comprehensive commentaries.

2.5.2 Classification of dialects and subdialects

Bělič categorized Czech dialects into four dialect groups (see Table 6).³

Dialects	Subdialects
1. Bohemian – in the territory of Bohemia and an adjacent southwestern part of Moravia	a. North Bohemian b. Central Bohemian c. South-West Bohemian d. South-East Bohemian (Bohemian-Moravian)
2. Central Moravian (Hanakian) – central part of Moravia	a. Central b. Southern c. Western and Eastern marginal zones
3. Eastern Moravian (Moravian-Slovak) – wide territory at the eastern border of Czechia	a. Northern (Walachian) b. Southern (Slovak, in Czech: <i>slovácký</i>) c. Western marginal zone d. Kopanice
4. Silesian (Lachian) – northeastern part of Moravia and the adjacent part of Czech Silesia (Czech-type Silesian dialects)	a. Western (Opava) b. Eastern (Ostrava) c. Southern (Frenštát) d. Mixed Polish-Czech – the dialects spoken in the Czech-Polish-Slovak borderland

Table 6. Bělič’s classification of Czech dialects (1972)

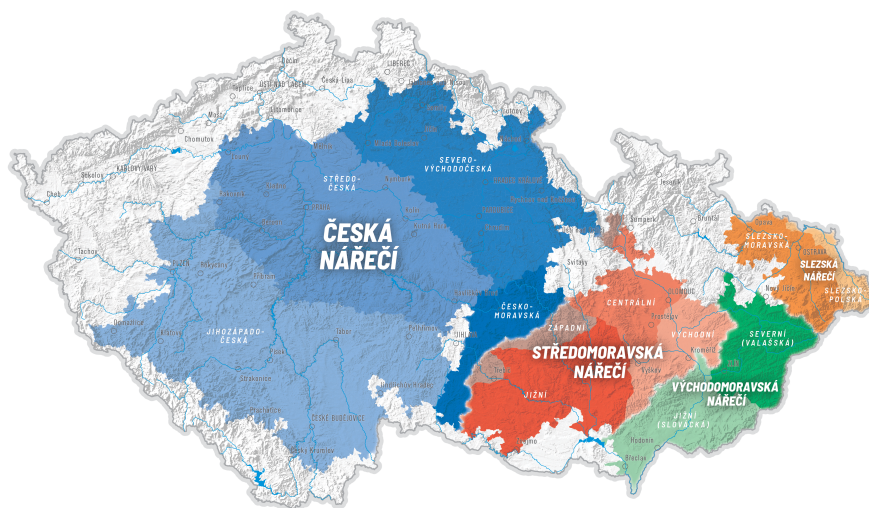
Bělič (1972: 12) drew attention to the need to distinguish the Czech-type Silesian dialects from the Polish-type Silesian dialects behind the state border and justified the inappropriateness of the older terminology for some dialects. He newly refers to

³ For the Bohemian dialects, Bělič uses the term “Czech dialects in a narrower sense”, in order to distinguish the dialects in Bohemia and the adjacent part of Moravia from the term “Czech dialects”, i.e. the dialects in the whole of Czechia.

1. the former Lachian dialects as the Silesian dialects, since the word *lach* is partly understood to have a pejorative meaning;
2. the former Hanakian dialects as the Central Moravian or Hanakian dialects, since the ethnographic name “Hanáks” only refers to the inhabitants of the northern part of the large Central Moravian areal;
3. the former Moravian-Slovak dialects as the Eastern Moravian or Moravian-Slovak dialects, since the term Moravian-Slovak dialects raises the misconception of the linguistic affiliation of these dialects to the Slovak language.

The *Czech Linguistic Atlas* basically keeps Bělič's classification and terminology. It distinguishes the Czech-type Silesian dialects from the Polish-type Silesian dialects and classifies them as the Silesian-Moravian and Silesian-Polish dialects. In addition, the fifth volume of the *Atlas* is concluded by maps of isogloss bundles that significantly push forward the knowledge on dialect differentiation of Czech dialects (Kloferová 2003: 5-18).

The latest map of the classification of Czech dialects is based on these sources (see Map 6); to the main distinguishing features see Table 7.



Map 6. Latest dialect map (Ireinová et al., 2022). Description of the map (basic dialect groups): Bohemian (shades of blue), Central Moravian (shades of red), Eastern Moravian (shades of green), Silesian (shades of orange); areas with a dialectally diverse population (white)

DIALECTS Subdialects	Main features
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – reflexes of the Old Czech long vowels [y:] (back variant of high front vowel), partly [i:] (high front vowel) and [u:] (high back vowel) – vowel quantity – word stress
BOHEMIAN	– diphthong [ɛj] (traditionally spelled as <i>ej</i>), it developed from Old Czech monophthong [y:], partly [i:]: <i>starej</i> ‘old’, <i>mlejn</i> ‘mill’, <i>sejtko</i> ‘sieve’;
Northeastern Bohemian	
Central Bohemian	– diphthong [ou] (traditionally spelled as <i>ou</i>), it developed from Old Czech monophthong [u:]: <i>mouka</i> ‘flour’, <i>dobrou</i> ‘good’ (acc., instr. sg. f. adj.)
Southwestern Bohemian	
Bohemian-Moravian	
CENTRAL MORAVIAN, formerly HANAKIAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – monophthong [ɛ:] (traditionally spelled as <i>é</i>), it developed from [ɛj]: <i>staré</i> ‘old’, <i>mlén</i> ‘mill’, <i>sétko</i> ‘sieve’; – monophthong [o:] (traditionally spelled as <i>ó</i>), it developed from [ou]: <i>móka</i> ‘flour’, <i>dobró</i> ‘good’ (acc., instr. sg. f. adj.)
Central	
Southern	
Western	
Eastern	
EASTERN MORAVIAN, formerly MORAVIAN-SLOVAK	Old Czech monophthongs [y:] and [i:] (traditionally spelled as <i>ý</i> and <i>í</i>) preserved; in the Slovak subdialect vowel [y:] merged with vowel [i:]: <i>starý/starí</i> ‘old’, <i>młyn/mlín</i> ‘mill’;
Northern / Wallachian	Old Czech monophthong [u:] (traditionally spelled as <i>ú</i>) preserved:
Southern / Slovak (in Czech <i>slovácký</i>)	<i>múka</i> ‘flour’, <i>dobrú</i> ‘good’ (acc., instr. sg. f. adj.)
SILESIAN	Old Czech monophthongs [y:], [i:] and [u:] preserved and shortened: <i>stary</i> ‘old’, <i>młyn</i> ‘mill’, <i>muka</i> ‘flour’, <i>dobru</i> ‘good’ (acc., instr. sg. f. adj.);
Silesian-Moravian, formerly Lachian	lack of vowel quantity: <i>rano</i> ‘morning’, <i>dobremu</i> ‘good’ (dat. sg. m./n. adj.);
Silesian-Polish / Mixed Czech-Polish	fixed stress on the penultimate syllable

Table 7. Current classification of Czech dialects

3. Discussion

Early research into dialects focused on documenting the most conservative forms of regional dialects, least contaminated by ongoing changes or contact with other dialects. In the period connected with the historical-comparative method, the description of isolated, mostly phonetic and morphological phenomena from a historical principle prevailed. In agreement with the contemporary theory of a common Czechoslovak language, the classification of dialects included dialects in

today's Slovakia. Within the framework of the historical-comparative method, ethnographic approaches were applied to various extent, especially by Bartoš or Dušek, but did not go beyond the scope of traditional dialectology. When classifying dialect areas, researchers, for instance, wondered whether it was right to give the dialects an ethnic, historical, or geographical name (Hlavsová 1983: 132-141). This phase was represented by Šembera (1864), Bartoš (1886, 1895), Dušek (1896) and Trávníček (1924, 1926).

In the period connected with linguistic geography, the classification of dialects was based on a comprehensive view of dialect differentiation. The aim was not only to display territorial boundaries of dialect phenomena but also to reveal their origin. In Czech dialectology, the main initiator of geolinguistic survey of dialects was Havránek (1934), his classification, however, still continued the contemporary thesis on the common Czechoslovak language. The main representative of the geolinguistic approach was Bělič (1972), the supporter of a uniformly organized direct research into Czech dialects, which culminated in the *Czech Linguistic Atlas* (1992-2011). Bělič's work was – and still is – not only a much-needed handbook in the field of dialectology, but also an invaluable source for present-day Slavic dialectology, and his terminology is for a large part still in use.

Under the influence of sociolinguistics, dialectology became more interested in the ongoing linguistic innovations that differentiate regions from each other, directing more attention to the speech of younger speakers in urban centres. In this way, newer methods, such as quantitative ones, appeared in Czech linguistics from about the 1960s onwards, especially in urban speech research, but they were not substantially applied within the classification of Czech dialects, nor were the methods of perceptual dialectology analysing how speakers perceive and evaluate the use of different variants in different contexts (Chromý 2014: 1-12), though the discussions on the need to supply the speakers' attitudes to the language, appeared already in late 1970's (Daneš 1979: 79-91).

As part of the project "Atlas of the Czech Language 2027: Nationwide Research of Czech Dialects 50 Years Later", a new nationwide research of Czech dialects (2023-2027) will be carried out, which will provide data both for the current classification of

Czech dialects and, newly, also for perceptual approaches to the investigated linguistic phenomena. The use of geoinformatic tools, e.g. methods of spatial synthesis (delimitation of types) with dialect data generated by an algorithm, will contribute to a more accurate description of current dialect areas.⁴

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