

Czech Periodical Press in the USA and its Language

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The USA is now probably the home of the largest number of Czech emigrants. According to Čapek (1926) and Kučera (1990b), the first Czechs probably arrived in what is now the territory of the USA as early as the first half of the 17th century, however the Czech language remained largely unused as the language of communication until the influx of larger numbers of Czech immigrants, which started in the late 1840s. The first Czech periodicals published in the USA appeared in 1860. Newspapers and other periodicals in Czech then represented, along with nationwide Czech social organisations, the principal unifying link for Czech immigrants in America. They continued to grow in number and importance until the 1920s (according to a paper by V. N. Duben published in 1962, there were then 123 Czech and Slovak periodicals in total). Since that time their number has been decreasing. And what is the current state of things? The answer to this question is not a simple one. In a publication from 1999, Formanová, Gruntorád, and Přibáň list 23 currently published Czech-American periodicals¹, whereas an internal information bulletin² issued in 2000 by the Department for Cultural Relations and Czechs Living Abroad of the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs contains as many as 69 Czech-American periodicals. It has to be noted, however, that neither of the sources provi-

- 1 Formanová, L., J. Gruntorád, and M. Přibáň (1999) *Exilová periodika. Katalog periodik českého a slovenského exilu a krajských listů vydávaných po roce 1945*, Prague, 248–316.
- 2 Department for Cultural Relations and Czechs Living Abroad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic (2000) *Adresář českých a československých krajských organizací, společenství přátel České republiky, dalších organizací se vztahem k Čechům v zahraničí, krajského tisku*, Prague, 145–154.

des all the necessary data concerning the periodicals, and that only some of them are published in Czech³.

The present paper explores typical linguistic features of Czech-American periodicals from both the diachronic and the synchronic point of view. The research focuses on Czech language used in Czech-American journalism in two periods: the 1860s, i.e. the time when Czech-American periodicals first appeared, and at present. The synchronic description of current journalistic Czech in the USA is based on the analysis of Czech-American newspapers published at the turn of the millennium, namely in 2000 and 2001.

The analysis of the verbal aspects of the texts takes into account all the relevant specific features of American Czech emerging from the comparison with the language used in corresponding Czech periodicals, and concentrates on those grammatical and lexical means that are stylistically marked. The linguistic and stylistic description is complemented by pragmatic description because it is often extralinguistic, e.g. cultural and historical factors, that mould the language of exile press.

The starting point for the pragmatic analysis is the very reason for publishing Czech periodicals in the USA, and also the role they fulfil in the social and communicative aspects of immigrant life. Periodical press has always been, and particularly so in the 1860s, a means of social and ethnic communication above the scope of the separate immigrant communities, a source of information about the new social, political and territorial reality, as well as an instrument facilitating orientation in the changed circumstances. In this way periodical press made the immigrant groups in their new homes more compact and increased their mutual solidarity. By informing about the original home country in the native language, it provided a safe refuge and relaxation for a number of readers, namely those unable to use English⁴. Moreover, it represented the only forum for public discussion for a vast majority of Czech Americans.

The pragma-linguistic description of journalistic Czech used in the USA in the 1860s focuses on selected issues of the weekly *Slowan Amerikánský*⁵ from 1861

3 Information concerning Czech-American periodicals is available on the website of the Embassy of the Czech Republic in Washington. It contains a list of 69 Czech-American periodicals, but only eleven show evidence of using Czech (in the form of separate pages or texts).

4 Language is a means that, owing to its ability to express concepts, determines the way we think. Any change of the "communication setting" therefore presents serious difficulty for most immigrants.

5 *Slowan Amerikánský*, 2, 1861, No. 5 (31 January) and *Slowan Amerikánský*, 2, 1861, No. 20 (16 May)

(further referred to under the abbreviation SA), and the weekly *Národní noviny*⁶ (NN) from the same year⁷. *Slowan Amerikánský* was published from 1 January 1860 till 5 October 1861 (on Saturdays in 1860, and on Thursdays the following year) in Racine, Wisconsin, while *Národní Noviny* was published from 21 January 1860 till 24 June 1861 in St. Louis.

It has to be noted at the very beginning of the pragma-linguistic analysis that the new social and territorial setting, a major pragmatic factor, was reflected in the layout, particularly in the format. While the Czech periodical *Pražský Posel* used a small, approximately A5 format, and *Národní Nowiny* used the Central European format until 1849, both of the Czech-American periodicals used the standard world format from the very beginning. The size of issues 1-13 of the 2nd volume of *Slowan Amerikánský* is 505 by 380 millimetres, while issues 15-51 are even larger, namely 580 by 390 millimetres. A similar format was used by *Národní noviny*: the 2nd volume issues (1861) are 520 by 355 millimetres.

The same pragmatic factors determined the specific non-verbal features of Czech-American periodicals, the most striking being the differences in front page heads. While those in Czech periodicals of the same time contain only the name of the paper, the editor's name, the date, and issue number, those in Czech-American periodicals manifest their allegiance to the new home in the very layout. The head of *Slowan Amerikánský* bears the American eagle, used to this very day as the symbol of American patriotism and democracy, the head of *Národní Noviny* shows an allegory portraying Slavia merging with the American eagle, a union of Czech industriousness and American prosperity.

Let us now proceed to the linguistic analysis of the periodicals under examination. The standard of the Czech language of the first half of the 19th century observed in Czech lands was rather conservative. Dobrovský's codification of grammar⁸, largely accepted at that time, linked the 19th century language with a much ol-

6 *Národní noviny*, 2 1861, No. 4 (9 February) and *Národní Noviny*, 2, 1861, No. 13 (13 April).

7 *Slowan Amerikánský* was initially published, edited and printed by František Kofízek, a native of Letovice in Moravia. He arrived in the USA in 1854, having completed only basic education. *Slowan Amerikánský* was printed in Gothic script, and the subscription was \$2 a year. The first editor of *Národní noviny* was J. B. Erben, a native of Nová Paka. He arrived in America as a 22-year-old theologian in 1859. The subscription to *Národní Noviny* amounted to \$3 a year. On 5 October 1861 the two weeklies merged in Racine to create a third Czech-American periodical, the bi-weekly *Slavie*. The first issue appeared on 30 October 1861 (Čapek, 1911: 81-89, 246).

8 Dobrovský J., *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der Böhmischen Sprache*, 1st edition 1809, 2nd edition 1819.

der tradition of what is known as the classical period of Czech literature two centuries before. It was only the lexicon that was changing rapidly in the early 19th century, particularly through new coinage and by borrowing words from other, particularly Slavic languages⁹.

On the linguistic level, differences between domestic Czech periodicals and Czech-American ones can be found both in grammar and vocabulary. As far as grammar is concerned, i.e. particularly in morphology and syntax, the language of the early Czech-American periodicals¹⁰, namely in *Slowan Amerikánský*, is even more conservative than the language of Czech periodicals of a decade before¹¹. This is probably due to an excessive effort of the first immigrant generation to use a strictly standard and correct language, modelling it after the newspaper that was published in Bohemia by Kramerius¹² and that used, from the very beginning of the Czech National Renaissance, the language of the Veleslavin era (Havránek 1979: 91).

On the syntactic level, the conservative character of the language of Czech-American periodicals is best seen in preserving the sentence structure of the 16th century language, which in turn was modelled after Latin. *Slowan Amerikánský* in particular uses complex subordinate structures, whereas *Národní noviny* employs simple subordinatiuon as well as coordination. The general syntactic complexity is further emphasised by other syntactic Latinism: these also rate higher in Czech-American periodicals than in Czech ones. These Latinisms include the final position of the verb in a sentence, e.g. *Protož Wám laskawy čtenářowe toto k uwědomění podáváme, aby jste wěděli oč se tu jedná, a pakliže k tomu přijde, by jste na to dle*

9 The effort to develop the vocabulary of standard Czech is best manifested in a major Czech-German dictionary by Jungmann, published in five volumes in 1835 – 1839 (*Slovník česko-německý*).

10 American Czech is defined by Kučera (1990b: 66) as a “varied and loosely standardised immigrant variety of the Czech language, historically stemming from the complex system of the Czech national language, however not belonging to the complex at the time, but rather developing separately within the multilingual American society, and constantly exposed to the formative pressure of English”.

11 The specific features of the early Czech-American periodicals were established on the basis of comparison with Czech newspapers dating from 1848 (*Pražský Posel*, 1848, Issues No. 41 and 42), and from 1850 respectively (*Národní Nowiny*, 1850, issues No. 1 and 2).

12 *Krameriusovy c.k. pražské poštovské* (later called *vlastenecké*, i.e. *patriotic*) *noviny* was a newspaper published by M. V. Kramerius from 1789. After his death the paper was edited by Fr. Jan Tomsa, Jan Rulík, and then by Kramerius' son, Václav Radomil Kramerius. It was published until 1825 (Beránková 1970: 86).

*Wašeho wnitřního svědomí připraweni byly*¹³ (SA, 31 January 1961, p. 2), as well as frequent transgressive structures (often incongruent), and periphrastic passive forms, e.g.: *Neuznávají, že by otroctví ustawou, udržováno bylo, nybrž jen skrze přisvědčující zákonodárství udržováno jest, kterážto zákony ani ouplně sile a platnosti nemají, a žeby se otroctwo samo neudrželo ani udržeti nemohlo, kdyby místními zákony udržováno nebylo* (SA, 31 January 1861, p. 2). Even more ancient syntactic Latinisms, such as constructions of the nominative, accusative and instrumental case with the infinitive have not been found in any of the periodicals.

Another point of interest is the position of attributes. Although the traditional position of congruent attributes was after the head nouns, this principle is not observed consistently in the papers. The post-position of the attribute, primarily in the form of a possessive pronoun, is, with some exceptions, typical of *Slowan Amerikánský*, e.g. (...) *jazyka nasseho smrt – hyla hy tudíž i smrti národa nasseho. Národní Noviny*, on the other hand, largely prefers the position of the attribute before the head noun, i.e. the variant common in spoken language.

The archaic character of the language is clearly manifested on the morphological level. Unlike Czech periodicals of the time, Czech-American periodicals use some archaic forms, e.g. the genitive plural ending of masculine nouns *-ův*: *W jednom shromáždění w ohledu zejtrejšsiho wyslyšsení (audienci) bylo 55 poslancůw zwolených* (SA, 31 January 1861, p. 2); *Přec jesti světlo co do jeho přírody bytost až posud od našich učenců a skoumatelův nejméně vysvětlená* (NN, 9 February 1861, p. 1), etc. Another conservative morphological feature is the overuse of the animate ending *-ové* not only in the nominative plural forms of animate masculine nouns, but often also of inanimate ones (*jednatelové, čtenářové, Senátorové, zasilatelové, národové, krajové*), and the almost consistent preference of the older 3rd person singular indicative form of the verb *býti* (to be) – *jest* over the newer variant *je* (NN uses an even older form, namely *jesti*, in almost half of the instances: *Že takový spolek tedy za neupřimný a nepřirožený uznáváme jesti na bílední*, NN, 9 February 1861, p. 2). The use of the longer dative form of the reflexive pronoun *sobě* with reflexive verbs as late as the 1860s may be considered as yet another morphological archaism. This hyper-correct variant can be found in NN even in advertisements: *Přijďte a prohlídněť sobě naše zboží přesvěčte se o dobrotě a láci; a pakliže přece nekoupíte, nebude naše vina* (NN, 9 February 1861, p. 4). Czech-American (as well as Czech newspapers) of the mid-19th century occasio-

13 Quotations are preserved in their original form, spelling, and punctuation, including peculiarities of the period, inconsistencies, variation, and mistakes.

nally still use Past Perfect verb forms, considered archaic as early as the 17th century.

A thorough analysis of the written texts of Czech-American periodicals naturally includes pragmatic assessment of language means of all levels of description. The area that yields the most interesting results in this respect is the lexicon. This is largely due to the above mentioned territorial, social and communicative circumstances experienced by Czech immigrants in the USA, as well as to some other pragmatic factors, such as the context of communication and communication strategies employed by the writers of the texts.

The lexicon of the early Czech-American periodicals contains a high proportion of loanwords, borrowed from Latin, German, and English. *Latinisms* are relatively infrequent, considering the surviving tradition of the 16th century Czech language. When they do occur, they are used either without translation or explanation, e.g. *partesy*, *ministeriá*, *disharmonie*, *kritikus*, *furie*, *agent*, *praemie*, or as terminological synonyms given in brackets after their Czech equivalents, e.g. *staré bajesloví pohanské (mythologie)*; *rtuť (Mercurium)*, *wyslysseni (audience)*, *poručení (mandat)*, etc.

Germanisms function differently in the texts under examination. It is quite evident that all Czech Americans were already familiar with German in their original home country, and moreover, they often settled in their new homes next to German immigrants – precisely for the reason of communication ease (Kučera 1990b: 19). In spite of that, Czech-American newspapers contain a minimum of lexical Germanisms, probably owing to strong purist tendencies. The examples found are: *punky (der Punkt = point, article, dot)*, *spekulovat (spekulieren = think, reflect, ponder)*, and *šanovat (schonen = spare)*. Germanisms may exceptionally be used as terminological synonyms: *Tento ústav (...) kupuje a prodává směňky (Wechsel)* (NN, 9 February 1861, p. 4).

Grammatical Germanisms are much more frequent in the early Czech-American periodicals, and the writers were, due to their Czech-German bilingualism, probably unaware of them. The most frequent phenomenon is the use of possessive pronouns instead of the reflexive possessive pronoun *svůj* referring to the subject (it is to be noted that this phenomenon is common even now in non-standard Czech), e.g. *Já měl ještě ondino mé vlasy stářím ošedivělé; Zwolený předseda p. Linkoln pry se asi w polowici unora s celou jeho rodinou do Washingtonu stěhowati bude.*

Loan translations of German grammatical structures are another typical feature, particularly those of prepositional phrases and verb phrases, e.g. *Kdo ještě ze Sta-*

ročechu na tom pochybuje (Germ. zweifeln an etwas) NN, 9 February 1861, p. 1; *a že se sotwá v běhu jednoho roku skončí* (Germ. im Laufe eines Jahres) SA, 16 May 1861, p. 2, etc.

The influence of German is clear even in syntax. The structure of German sentences provided a model for frequent use of the infinitive: *Všeci naši jednatelé na venku jsou tuto láskavě požádání, zbytečné listy „Nar. Novin“ od čísla 46 a 47 nám nazpět na redakci zaslali* (NN, 9 February 1861, p. 2); *v tomto státě se zdají otrokařští náhončí nejvíce působiti* (ibid, p. 2), etc. The final position of finite verb forms (namely in subordinate clauses) is another manifestation of the syntactic influence of German, as well as the final position of infinitives in complex verb forms, e.g. *My tedy vssem příznivcum českého divadla toto poučení odporoučíme a doufáme, že ono časem swym owoce usslechtile zábawy pro nasse ctěne obecnstwo přinese* SA, 16 May 1861, p. 1).

The use of Americanisms has a very different motivation. The early Czech immigrants mostly could not speak English, and those who lived in Czech-American communities, or in the countryside, farming exclusively with the members of their families, often did not master English till the end of their lives (Kučera 1990b: 47). This is, of course, only true about the first-generation immigrants¹⁴, while their children were always bilingual, and their grandchildren often spoke no Czech at all (Čapek 1926: 410). The Americanisms occurring in the early Czech American periodicals therefore share a purely pragmatic motivation, the most frequent type being lexical Americanisms: English words are used where the Czech equivalents are lacking or unknown to the writer. Americanisms are also frequent because the English expressions describe the changed communicative context more fittingly. This is especially true about words denoting social organisations and institutions, firms, shops, products, as well as place names. This kind of Americanisms is common primarily in advertising, e.g. *ARSENAL DRUG STORE, MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE COMP. of St. Louis, LUNCH!, Dry Good & Clothing, Lager & Bro., Prof. WOOD'S HAIR RESTORATIVE*, etc. Exceptions to this tendency are infrequent: *Narodní Sportelna, CUKRARNA a PEKARNA!, LEKARNA*. Some Americanisms are complemented with translation; the Czech equivalent is then given in brackets under the English expression or after it, e.g. *Commercial College (Kupecká škola)*,

14 The term *generation* is used, in accordance with Kučera's concept (1990b: 9-10): *the first (immigrant) generation* denotes persons who moved to another country, their children are referred to as *the second (immigrant) generation*, their grandchildren as *the third (immigrant) generation*, etc.

BOARDING HOUSE (ČESKY HOSTINEC), CAMP – SPRING MILL (Mlýn na mouku).

The grammar of Czech used in the early Czech-American periodicals is not very different from that used in Czech periodicals, and the principal difference between the two varieties of Czech in the 1860s therefore consists in the use of lexical Americanisms. Although Czech is undoubtedly the dominant language of the early immigrants, full integration into life in the English-speaking community requires the development of complementary biligualism (Henzlová 1995: 330). Evidence of the initial stages of this process can be found in the early Czech-American periodicals, namely in the substitution of English expressions for some Czech words, usually with the aim to capture as precisely as possible the changed reality.

Current Czech-American periodicals are represented in the research by selected issues¹⁵ of the following papers: *Americké listy* (further referred to as AL), *Československé noviny* (ČN), *HLAS NÁRODA* (HN), *NAŠINEC* (Na), *Nedělní Hlasatel* (NH), *POSEL ČESKÉ KATOLICKÉ JEDNOTY* (P), and *Glorious Hope/Slavná naděje* (SN)¹⁶. Attention was given only to original texts, i.e. those written by

15 *Americké listy*, 11, 2000, Issue No 20 (5 October); *Americké listy*, 11, 2000, Issue No 21 (19 October); *Československé noviny*, 9, 2000, Issue No 19, (13 October); *NAŠINEC*, 87, 2001, Issue No 14 (12 January); *Nedělní Hlasatel*, CV, 2000, Issue No 195 (9 January); *Nedělní Hlasatel*, CV, 2000, Issue No 201 (30 April); *Nedělní Hlasatel*, CV, 2000, Issue No 202 (14 May); *Nedělní Hlasatel*, CV, 2000, Issue No 203 (28 May); *Nedělní Hlasatel*, CV, 2000, Issue No not stated (9 July); *HLAS NÁRODA*, 25, 2000, Issue No 19, (16 September); *POSEL ČESKÉ KATOLICKÉ JEDNOTY*, 73, 1996, Issue No 3, (May-June); *Glorious Hope/Slavná naděje*, 26, 2000, Issue No 2 (March).

16 *Americké listy* is an independent Czech and Slovak bi-weekly that was started in 1874 under the name *New Yorkské Listy*, then was published as *Československý Týdeník* between 1990 and 1996. The paper is printed in New York under editor-in-chief Petr Bisek.

The front-page head of *Československé noviny* identifies the paper as an independent Czech bi-weekly, published in Brooklyn, New York, and edited by Jan Krondl.

Nedělní Hlasatel was started in 1891(?), originally as a weekly, now a bi-weekly. It is published in Woodridge, Illinois and edited by Josef Kučera and Josef Kučera Jr. Besides *Nedělní Hlasatel*, between 1891 and 1994 there was also a paper called *Denní Hlasatel*.

HLAS NÁRODA, with the English sub-heading *VOICE OF THE NATION*, is a bi-weekly published by "Velehrad", a Czech-American centre in Chicago.

NAŠINEC is a Czech-American weekly with a very long tradition. First appearing in 1914 in Halletsville, then published in Taylor, and later probably also in Houston, it is now published in Granger, Texas. The name of the editor is not stated in the paper.

POSEL ČESKÉ KATOLICKÉ JEDNOTY is identified as "Ústřední orgán České Katolické Jednoty" (The Central Organ of Czech Catholic Unity). It is published as a bi-monthly in Cleveland.

Czechs living in the USA or in Canada, while those reprinted from Czech or Slovak papers were not included in the study.

Comparison of Czech American journalistic texts of the two periods, as well as of current Czech American and Czech texts reveals the influence of English as the principal discriminating factor. In comparison with text of the earlier period, both lexical, and primarily grammatical Americanisms are currently growing in number. In addition, some Czech-American papers include whole texts in English, e.g. *Glorious Hope/Slavná naděje*, *Americké listy*, *Československé noviny*, and there are periodicals written largely in English. For instance *POSEL*, "Ústřední orgán České Katolické Jednoty", is published in English, with the exception of the title, the imprint, and some readers' contributions.

Lexical Americanisms appear in Czech American periodicals in the form of frequent quotations, but even more typical, although less striking, are cases of loan translations of semantic units. Quoted forms of lexical Americanisms, often without Czech inflections, refer to phenomena concerning all aspects of social life, not exclusively to specifically American issues, as it used to be in the early papers, e.g. *Novinkou na letošní block party jsou nafukovací matrace pro děti* AL, 5 October 2000, p. 11; *Kde vzít ten správný metr na quality of life?* (a very general concept in English referring not only to economic well-being but to a number of other aspects, and therefore hard to describe briefly in other languages) AL, 19 October 2000, p. 9; *Pokud máte vy nebo vaše děti zájem o martial arts, bližší informace získáte na adrese ...* ČN, 13 October 2000, p. 8; *Byl mužem up to date, který na skutečnost pouze nereaguje, ale sám ji tvoří* AL, 19 October 2000, p.11, etc.

Some lexical Americanisms, however, do stem from the American setting, e.g. in an advertisement in AL, 19 October 2000, p. A: *Pořad dne: v 10:15 am mše svatá, ve 12 pm vydávání obědů, od 1 do 6 pm hraje k tanci krajanská hudba* (unlike Czech, English often uses a 12-hour system, discriminating between the morning and the afternoon by abbreviations of the original Latin structures 'ante meridiem' and 'post meridiem' respectively). Food recipes published in the papers abound in units of weight typical of the English-speaking world, e.g. *Jádrové koláčky: 1 lb hovězích jater* (lb, i.e. a pound of weight = 0.454 kg) AL, 5 October 2000, p. 11; *Kuřecí čtvrtky: 4 oz slaniny, 4 oz másla, 4 oz drůbežích jater* (oz, i.e. ounce = 28.35 grams) ČN, 13 October 2000, p. 10.

Ohio. *Glorious Hope/Slavná naděje* is a periodical of the Czechoslovak Baptists living in the USA and in Canada. It is published as a bi-monthly in Oakville, Canada, under editor-in-chief Natasha Legierská.

The existence of loan translation forms suggests that American Czech is to a large extent developing independently of the language used in the Czech Republic, owing to its status of a language torn away from its original source (Henzlová 1995: 331). Adding to the picture the changed language sensitivity of speakers of Czech in America and the resulting diminished competence in Czech, it comes as little surprise that expressions denoting modern phenomena are translated literally, and often inaccurately, from English into Czech because the writers do not know the Czech equivalents. The literal translations (cf Kučera 1990: 183) include e.g. *dálkové střely* (long-range missiles ‘střely s dlouhou dráhou letu’); *mezera mezi chudými a bohatými* (gap - the Czech equivalent in this context is ‘propast’); *mozkový záchvat* (brainstroke ‘mozková mrtvice’); *pod úrovní chudoby žije 34 procent obyvatel* (below poverty line ‘pod hranicí chudoby’); *prezidentu Wahidovi se nepodařilo zlepšit stav indonéské ekonomie* (economy ‘ekonomika’), etc.

Alongside lexical Americanisms are grammatical Americanisms; their motivation does not arise from changed communication needs, but rather is the result of the bilingualism of current Czech Americans (Kučera 1990: 107). The grammatical influence of English is best seen in the changed patterns of verb complementation, often due to literal translation of English structures, e.g. *Podrobnosti budou oznámeny v krajaňských novinách a na krajaňském rozhlasu* (‘on the radio’) NH, 28 May 2000, p. 3; *Volejte naši newyorskou kancelář pro více informací* (‘call our office for more information’) AL 19 October 2000, p. 9; an advertisement: *Překlady do a z Češtiny a Slovenštiny* (‘translation into and from Czech’ - coordinated prepositions are common in English; also the spelling of the languages with initial capital letters is motivated by the English standard) ČN, 13 October 2000, p. 9.

The Czech American periodicals contain a number of other kinds of syntactic Americanisms, e.g. frequent use of the infinitive, either the infinitive postmodifying a noun, e.g. *A tak žijí v domnění, že nastává doba, dostat teologii pod státní dozor, návrat k nové totalitě, byt’ v jiném hávu – načervenalém* (‘the time is coming to subject theology to ...’) ¹⁷ NH, 28 May 2000, p. 4., or in the function of nominal clause constituents, such as the object or extraposed subject, e.g. *A tak mu napadlo, postavit minaretů šest a říci sultánovi, že mu nerozuměl* (‘it occurred to him to bu-

17 Wrong punctuation in this example is not due to the influence of English.

ild¹⁸; the form *mu* cannot be considered strictly as an English influence¹⁸, although it is supported by the rough correspondence of the English preposition *to* and the Czech dative case) NH, 28 May 2000, p. 8. On the word-order level, the grammatically determined and relatively fixed sequence of clause constituents in English (subject – verb – object – adverbial) increasingly replaces the freer word-order of Czech, irrespective of the functional sentence perspective, e.g. *Přesvědčili jsme se, že se mnoho od těch dob nezměnilo od Východu* (the thematic adverbial of place, although marginal in terms of the information it carries is in the post-verbal position, whereas in Czech it would naturally be placed preverbally) NH, 9 June 2000, p. 4, etc.

The ever-increasing frequency of both lexical and grammatical Americanisms in the language of Czech-American periodical press provides evidence that the functional limitation and uneven status of Czech compared with English in the USA, i. e. pragmatic factors, result in a change of the original diglossic situation. The position of standard Czech is becoming weakened in Czech-Americans, and the narrowing of Czech language means available is compensated by adopting English ones, bringing about a situation known as complementary bilingualism (HENZLOVÁ 1995: 330). While this Czech-English interference in Czech-American journalism is most obvious on the lexical level, the adoption of English syntactic structures and English word order is even more symptomatic in terms of development tendencies.

The current language of Czech-American journalism is characterised, besides the above-mentioned “Americanisation”, by the loosening of its standard, i.e. by the intrusion of non-standard grammatical and, to a lesser extent, lexical means. The reason for this process is again pragmatic: written language is influenced by spoken language. The Czech language that is currently used and further developed in the USA is primarily the language of spoken communication (Henzlová 1995: 331), particularly private or even intimate. This is manifested in the current Czech-American periodical press by the occurrence of non-standard colloquial expressions, e.g. *muzika, paráda, strefovat se, tehda, trefný, mohl by jste otevřít, hájil svojí práci, Tošovský kandidaturu stáhnul*, as well as some dialectal ones¹⁹.

18 This may be explained as the influence of the original Czech dialect of the writer; in the South-West dialect the dative and accusative forms of the pronouns *já, ty, on, ona, ono* (I, you, he, she, it) interfere with each other.

19 The highest frequency of dialectal expressions can be found in the weekly *NAŠINEC*, probably because a substantial part of the texts are readers' letters to the editor.

On the syntactic level, there are frequent deviations from the regular sentence structure, such as structural blends and anacoluthon.

On the other hand, current journalistic Czech in the USA also employs very formal “bookish” expressions and structures (*misto se nalézá, věčný svár, nitro, potěcha, zhotovit litografované podobizny, idea odňala*), neologisms (*záľudy, snivec, nastrkatelný, velesnadno*), as well as lexical and morphological archaisms. The most common of these are participial transgressive structures²⁰, infinitive forms ending in *-ti*, the genitive case used instead of the accusative, and even the archaic 3rd person singular present indicative verb form *jest*. Reasons for this are again largely pragmatic; owing to loss of contact with the language currently in use in the Czech Republic, the language of a particular generation of immigrants has become rigid, without further development.

The study of exile periodical press in the USA yields very interesting results. Czech-American periodical press is an authentic and representative source of evidence of the life of Czech-American community. In the early stages its main function was to inform the readers, influence them in terms of culture and language, and provide a kind of cement for the distinct ethnic community (Kučera 1990b: 38-39). While the role of the Czech-American press in the 1860s may be primarily seen as that of ethnic preservation, currently it is the informative role, and to a lesser extent the persuasive role, that are most prominent. Both of these roles, however, operate on a locally limited basis. As far as the language of Czech-American press is concerned, it is becoming increasingly influenced by English, and this trend is here to stay. It is possible that Czech in the USA will lose its communicative role and preserve only the role of an ethnic symbol; in some Czech-American periodicals this is apparent even now. By reflecting the changing communicative situation and the relationship between Czech and English, Czech-American periodical press becomes a witness of a process that is coming to an inevitable end, which has been accepted by the majority of Czechs living in the USA, and which may be called “the end of original identity search”²¹.

20 The use of participial transgressive structures in Czech-American press is also supported by the influence of English, where they are relatively frequent, albeit in more formal, primarily written texts.

21 It is interesting in this respect to refer to a note from Čapek’s work published in 1911, where he says on page 48: “Browsing through the oldest newspaper volumes one cannot miss the editor’s effort and apparent indulgence in publishing political articles about the Czechs and the Slavs in general. This topic receives almost as much attention as American issues. This interest grows weaker in every successive year, and in the latest volumes the ‘News from home’ section becomes

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Český periodický tisk v USA a jeho jazyk

Ve Spojených státech amerických sídlí pravděpodobně nejpočetnější skupina českých emigrantů. První česky psaná periodika začala v USA vycházet v roce 1860. Čechoamerické noviny a časopisy tehdy představovaly (vedle celoamerických českých or-

marginal. The reason is this: we are becoming Americanised. The pace of this invisible but undeniable process is best seen on the example of the current Slovak journalism. 'Slovenský deník', published in Pittsburgh brings an editorial devoted to Slovakia every other day. The editorial page of Czech papers is exclusively American in terms of content, while a Czech-focused editorial is an exception. And Czechs have been a mere 30 years longer in America than the Slovaks! It is therefore only proper to say that while in the past Czech papers were published in America, now there are American papers in the Czech language".

ganizaci) hlavní pojítka českých imigrantů v Americe. Význam a počet čechoamerických periodik rostl až do 20. let 20. století, od té doby se jejich počet zmenšoval. V současnosti existuje zhruba osmnáct čechoamerických listů, jen část z nich je ale tištěna česky. Obsahem příspěvku je charakteristika verbální stránky čechoamerických periodik z hlediska diachronního a synchronního. K dosažení tohoto záměru byla provedena dvojí studie zaměřená na popis americké češtiny užívané v čechoamerickém tisku jednak na začátku druhé poloviny 19. století a jednak v současnosti. Při charakteristice verbální stránky analyzovaných textů se orientujeme na všechna jazyková specifika žurnalistické americké češtiny vyplývající z komparace s jazykem dobově odpovídajících periodik českých a dále na ty gramatické a lexikální prostředky, jež jsou nositeli různých stylových příznaků. Jazykově-stylistické hodnocení je průběžně doplňováno deskriptivní pragmatikou.