

The Czech Republic as Reflected in Texts by Czechs Living in the USA

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Periodicals written in Czech have been published in the United States for about 140 years. The first of these appeared as early as 1860¹ and were written in a language that copied the standard of the classical period of two centuries before to such an extent that it was even more conservative than the language of periodicals published in Bohemia a decade before. This trend was apparent at all language levels, especially at that of grammar, and most prominently at the syntactic level (Jaklová 2002: 1-10).

According to the monograph *Exilová periodika: katalog periodik českého a slovenského exilu a krajanských tisků vydávaných po roce 1945*², about twenty-four Czech papers are now published in the USA, whereas the Department for Cultural Relations and Czechs Living Abroad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic lists as many as 69 Czech-American periodicals in its *Adresář*³,

1 The first Czech-American newspaper in the USA, called *Slowan Amerikánský*, was published in Racine (Wisconsin) from 1 January 1860. Another Czech-American periodical, *Národní Noviny*, appeared in the same month, on 21 January 1860, in St. Louis. Both of these weeklies merged in Racine on 5 October 1861, producing a third Czech-American periodical – the biweekly *SLAVIE*. The first issue was published on 30 October 1861.

2 L. Formanová, J. Gruntorád, M. Přebáň, 1999.

3 The Department for Cultural Relations and Czechs Living Abroad of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, *Adresář českých a československých krajanských organizací, společnosti přátel České republiky, dalších organizací se vztahem k Čechům v zahraničí, krajanského tisku*, Praha 2000, p. 145-154; this is an internal information bulletin intended for civil servants and ex-patriot organisations.

published in 2000. Another list, available on the internet and compiled by Miloslav Rehečígl, SVU⁴ president and editor-in-chief of the bimonthly *Zprávy SVU*, includes 106 Czech-American periodicals⁵. It seems virtually impossible to determine exactly the number of Czech-American periodicals currently published in the USA, not just owing to the different numbers given in separate sources, but also because the evidence of their existence is sometimes incomplete.

The language of the current Czech-American press is significantly different from that used in the Czech Republic. The differences, often perceived in form as elements of non-standard language, are largely due to the influence of English. The process of Americanization, however, is manifested not only in the existence of a particular American variety of the Czech language (American Czech⁶), but even more prominently by the fact that out of the 96 periodicals finally proved in existence, as many as 40 are only published in English. Czech or Slovak are the exclusive languages of a mere ten periodicals, while fourteen papers employ both Czech and English, and some also Slovak. The remaining 32 periodicals are unavailable, the information about them is therefore incomplete, and the languages used in them could not be identified.

This paper aims to give a picture of the Czechs and the Czech Republic as presented in articles by Czech ex-patriots living in the USA – male and female. The texts were published in current Czech-American periodicals, namely in the biweekly *Americké Listy*⁷ (further referred to as AL), the biweekly *Československé noviny* (ČN), the biweeklies *Hlas národa/Voice of the Nation* (HN) and *Hlasy národa/Voices of the Nation* (HNa), the monthly *Hospodář/Čechoslovák* (HČ), the weekly *Našinec* (Na), and the biweekly *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald* (NH). The issues examined for the purpose of this research were published be-

4 SVU – *Společnost pro vědu a umění* (Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences) was established in the 1950s as an alternative intellectual and spiritual society, with the aim to preserve the continuity of free Czech and Slovak scholarship in exile, unaffected by totalitarian influence. Its membership includes several hundred individuals living all over the world, some of them prominent figures from the academic, cultural, social, clerical, and political circles.

5 Information on Czech-American periodicals is also available on the web pages of the Embassy of the Czech Republic in Washington. There is a list of 70 periodicals, however only eleven of these are proved to be written in Czech (there are samples of separate pages or texts).

6 Cf. K. Kučera, 1990.

7 Quotations of the titles of the periodicals preserve their original spelling.

tween 2000 and 2002⁸. The topic of the Czechs and the Czech Republic is part of a broader discourse which has always been at the centre of attention in the Czech-American press. Current issues primarily include the changed political situation after the fall of the iron curtain, not in the Czech Republic alone, but in the whole of Europe. Czechs are beginning to be perceived as participants in the new political, economic, and social development, and, at times, also as victims of the process.

The research into the pictures of the Czechs and the Czech Republic, and into the function of these pictures was based solely on original Czech-American journalistic texts concerning the above two topics, written by editorial staff, readers and regular correspondents whose gender could be unambiguously established.

The media are often perceived as playing a very important part in a modern society: that of a public watchdog, or even the fourth power. However, the role of ex-patriot periodicals is very different. At the beginning of their existence in the 1860s all of them were published exclusively in Czech, providing 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 the periodical press made the immigrant groups in their new homes more compact and increased their mutual solidarity. Moreover, for a vast majority of Czech Americans it represented the only forum for public discussion. Now, after more than 140 years in the American setting, the Czech language of the periodicals is increasingly affected by English, which results in the loosening and gradual loss of standard. Czech used in the press in the USA is losing its communicative function, and it is quite possible that in future it will become no more than an ethnic symbol,

8 *Americké Listy* 11, 2000, No. 20 (5 Oct.); *Americké Listy* 11, 2000, No. 21 (19 Oct.); *Americké Listy* 13, 2002, No. 13 (20 June); *Československé noviny* 9, 2000, No. 19 (13 Oct.); *Československé noviny* 10, 2002, No. 1 (16 May); *HLAS NÁRODA/VOICE OF THE NATION* 25, 2000, No. 19 (16 Sept.); *HLASY NÁRODA/VOICES OF THE NATION* volume not given, 2001, No. 16 (11 Aug.); *Hospodář/Čechoslovák* CXI, 2001, No. 8 (August); *Hospodář/Čechoslovák* CXII, 2002, No. 2 (February); *Našinec* 86, 2000, No. 34 (26 May); *Našinec* 86, 2000, No. 45 (18 Aug.); *Našinec* 86, 2000, No. 47 (1 Sept.); *Našinec* 87, 2000, No. 4 (27 Oct.); *Našinec* 87, 2000, No. 5 (5 Nov.); *Našinec* 87, 2001, No. 14 (12 Jan.); *NEDĚLNÍ HLASATEL CV*, 2000, No. 195 (9 Jan.); *NEDĚLNÍ HLASATEL CV*, 2000, No. 201 (30 April.); *NEDĚLNÍ HLASATEL CV*, 2000, No. 202 (14 May); *NEDĚLNÍ HLASATEL CV*, 2000, No. 203 (28 May); *NEDĚLNÍ HLASATEL CV*, 2000, No. not given (9 July).

primarily affecting the readers by its emotional and emotive values⁹.

Letters to the editor by readers, which constitute a part of the material under examination, display the expressive function as their dominant feature. Nevertheless, the picture of the Czech Republic can still be traced from the way in which the information is presented. The important issues are the choice of topics on the one hand, and the use of the language, i.e. American Czech, on the other hand. Another factor is the wording of the arguments and evaluation on different levels of the text. It is therefore only a thorough analysis aimed at the text, sentence structures, and lexis that can offer an overview of the more or less latent components of the overall opinion about the Czechs and the Czech Republic.

The largest number of original texts concerning Czech issues by unambiguously identifiable writers can be found in *Americké Listy* and *Československé noviny*, the least attention to the original home country is paid in articles in *Našinec*. This weekly focuses on current information concerning the life of the Czech immigrant community in Texas, with a profusion of obituaries, local news, and readers' letters to the editor. The letters are clearly written by the older generation of immigrants, who want to share with others their recent experiences or their personal memories. And if some of the letters do concern the Czech Republic, they merely report on visits to places where the ancestors were born, and are profoundly nostalgic.

However, the Czech Republic-oriented discussion forum in Czech-American periodicals primarily concerns topical political and social issues. The following selection offers a flavour of the most frequent topics at the beginning of the third millennium: government and social trouble (*Schodek státních financí v ČR rychle roste; Boj za přežití českého národa pokračuje*), everyday life of common Czech citizens (*O důchodech v ČR*), immigrants' encounters with present-day reality in the Czech Republic (*Česká vláda vydá dvěma obětem holocaustu zabavené domy*, sub-heading *Většinou chybí občanství; Krajané a tuneláři*). *Americké Listy* and *Československé noviny* include a section called *Právní poradna* (i.e. *Legal Advice Page*), offering advice by lawyer to Czech immigrants and their descendants. Some of the issues relate to the Czech Republic, for example ways of re-obtaining Czech citizenship¹⁰.

9 At the 21st Annual World SVU Congress, held in Plzeň on 24 - 30 June 2002. Petr Bisek, editor-in-chief of *Americké Listy*, put it plainly: "It's not for the sake of hot news that we are doing the paper, it's for the sake of the language".

10 See AL, 5 Oct. 2000, p. 4.

The biweekly *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald* manifests a clearly biased point of view, largely negative and resentful with respect to Czechs and the Czech Republic. The criticism aimed at the country and its post-communist transformation policies can be seen both in the choice of topics (*Úplatky a korupce v Česku bují; Politická šaškárna*), and in the range of means of expression employed (*Vlastizrádci Havel, Klaus a Zeman; Česko-zlodějská pošta kopíruje česko-zlodějskou vládu*¹¹).

It is well-known that in the media, reality is only captured selectively, in small fragments. Similarly, this paper does not aim to provide an exhaustive analysis of the texts, but rather to show prominent tendencies in the relationship of the Czech-Americans to Czechs, and to their original home country. However, as the recurrent topics of the texts mainly include problems and difficulties (e.g. corruption, siphoning assets, unreliability, scheming, violence, bureaucratic incompetence, corruptibility, unreliability and irresponsibility), it becomes clear that the Czech Republic is largely seen in negative light. Positive assessment in terms of the choice of topics is more frequent in texts written by women than in those by men: *Pěkná dovolená v Česku a Slovensku* (AL, 5 Oct. 2002, p. 5, author Teresa Straub); *Spolupráce a kultura v Ústí nad Labem* (HČ, February 2002, p. 24-25, author Carol Hochman).

The picture of Czech reality in Czech-American press hinges most frequently on lexico-semantic means. The very headline of the article by Jaroslav Nový *Železná opona se vrátila na jih* (AL, 19 Oct. 2000, p. 1 and 5) evokes negative associations of the pre-1989 period. The author's critical standpoint is further developed in the rest of the article, however on finishing the text, the reader's expectation that the content would correspond to the headline is not fulfilled. What is metaphorically referred to as *železná opona* (*iron curtain*) only concerns the situation on the Czech-Austrian border shortly after the nuclear power plant at Temelín was put in operation, a mere one fifth of the article in terms of its extent. The rest of the article consists of other, potentially equally controversial, topics, introduced by separate subheadings: *Znechucený Motejl skončil; Tošovský zvažuje odchod; Nelichotivá bilance lelectva; ČT pod tlakem Sazky*.

The biweekly *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald* contains criticism that is very explicit in terms of the language. The picture of post-1989 Czechs, and particularly of their political representation and the society as a whole, is composed

¹¹ The quotations preserve the spelling of the original sources, as well as the original punctuation, including all peculiarities, inconsistencies, variation, and mistakes.

of separate words, as well as of whole texts. Some of the structures, such as *podivný převrat s poetickým názvem "Sametová revoluce"*; *armáda bezohledných a ničeho se neštítících rychlokvašených zbohatlíků*; *slibotechna Havel* or slogans like *Samet s námi pěkně zame!*¹² do not even leave room for the readers to create their own associations, but force an unambiguous interpretation. Similarly unambiguous are direct appeals, such as e.g. *Tak ať stát navrátí co je ukradené, i našim exulantům, a budeme si kvít!*¹³. So too the headline *Marně hlas vlastencův zdáli zní!*¹⁴ suggests that the Czech Republic of today is, above all, a place of anarchy - an initial impression borne out by the rest of the text.

Another example of explicit, albeit not quite direct, criticism is in the form of literature. The monthly *Hospodář/Čechoslovák* publishes a serialized novel (or perhaps an extended short story) called *Quo vadis?*, written by Milan Kocourek, who lives in Canada. The situation is described through one of the characters as follows: *v bývalém Československu [...] v Praze mnozí ti zločinní původci tyranie, zlodějen a podvodů byli dokonce povýšeni a nebo štedře kompenzováni, jiní zase za zradu rodné vlasti a kolaboraci s kdejakým vetřelcem a okupantem v minulosti, obdrželi (či jejich potomci) hojně restituce. A do dnešního dne není nikoho, kdo by nesl odpovědnost za tisíce těch zmařených a zničených lidských životů či rozbitých rodin v minulosti a nebo za ukradené a vytunelované stamiliardy v současnosti. Všechny ty velké oběti byly k ničemu! A ti obyčejní řadoví okradení občané jsou zase tam, kde byli před 50 léty. [...] Tenhle zločinný podvod by měl být publikován aby se stal varovným příkladem pro všechny lidi světa*¹⁵.

The biweeklies *Hlas národa/Voice of the Nation* and *Hlasy národa/Voices of the Nation* pay little attention to the present of the Czech Republic and if they do, their assessment is primarily implicit. This is because both of these papers focus on information concerning the life of the Czech Catholic community in the USA¹⁶, publish liturgical texts and herald events organized by Czech immigrants. The bi-weekly *Hlasy národa/Voices of the Nation* contains a serialized novel called *Kronika jednadvaceti dnů*¹⁷. News sections in both papers cover primarily world news.

12 *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald*, CV, 2000, No. 202, p. 7 (14 May).

13 *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald*, CV, 2000, No. 203, p. 4 (28 May).

14 *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald*, CV, 2000, No. 201, p. 7 (30 April).

15 *Hospodář/Čechoslovák* CXII, 2002, No. 2, p. 32 (February).

16 The subheading of the periodical *Hlasy národa/Voices of the Nation* is *Čtrnáctideník české katolické mise v Chicagu*.

17 The author of the novel *Kronika jednadvaceti dnů* is Maximilian Kolbe. He died in the concentration camp of Auschwitz in August 1941. The novel was published by the Christian Academy in

Hlas národa/Voice of the Nation of 6 September 2000 has an article on page 6 by Eda Vedral (self-referred to in the article as the sheriff of the Chicago tramp settlement) under the headline *Josef Fousek navštíví Chicago*. It is actually an invitation to a concert of Josef Fousek, a folk singer-songwriter, and it contains implicit criticism of the current development in the Czech Republic: *Jeho koncerty ve vlasti mají stále početnější návštěvnost, protože veřejnost přichází na to, jak pravdivé jsou jeho písničky [...]. Fousekův trefný pohled zdola na tamní poměry dosti mnohým v určitých postaveních vadí*. The following text stresses the differences between Czech immigrants living in the USA and the Czechs: *My navíc víme, že v jeho tvorbě se zároveň odrážejí vnitřní pocity i postoje naši exulantské a krajaňské větve v celém světě*.

The dichotomy Czech versus Czech-American sometimes runs through whole texts. For example, the article *Jsou krajané cizinci?* (AL, 5 Oct. 2000, p. D) uses the form of a rhetorical question to make its point clearly in the very headline. The following text then explicitly states that *komunistickou propagandou rozšířený pocit nevraživosti vůči exulantům a emigrantům sametová revoluce nevymýtla. Naopak, trvalo deset let, než bylo Čechoameričanům [...] umožněno obnovit si české občanství*. The strict delimitation of the two groups is apparent from the periphrastic phrase “*my daleko za vodou*” in a subsequent part of the text, where the author¹⁸ recalls the support provided by Czech-Americans in the process of the Czech Republic joining NATO. He points out, however, *že se česká veřejnost o této podpoře amerických krajanů prakticky nedověděla*. The closing part of the article uses the plural to mark the opinion presented as commonly shared: *Jsou-li tedy krajané cizinci, a často se tak opravdu cítíme, pak proti své vůli*.

The above-mentioned antagonism is by no means an infrequent phenomenon in the current Czech-American periodicals. Actually, the whole of the first issue of *Československé noviny*, volume 10, of 16 May 2002, manifests the same negative point of view. There are references throughout the paper to a single cause, namely *Prodej Národní Budovy v New Yorku České republice*¹⁹. The negative attitude of the representatives of *Československé noviny* is signalled through expressions such as “*výhodná spolupráce*”; *kontroverze; žaloba; oznámení o odvolání; změnit*

Rome in 1985.

18 The author of the text is Petr Bisek, editor-in-chief of *Americké listy*.

19 This is a critical response to the purchase by the Czech Republic of the National Hall in New York from the immigrant non-profit charity organization BBLA (Bohemian Benevolent & Literary Association) for the symbolic price of \$1.

rozhodnutí soudu; bez vlastnictví Budovy nemůže BBLA svoje poslání plnit; petice vládě České republiky; uspořádání sbírky; přizvání veřejnosti k záchraně Národní Budovy. It is impossible to map in detail the range of possible associations evoked by these expressions, but it can be assumed that the associations are likely to have a lasting effect on the reader. However, the visual aspect of the paper (a photograph of the National Hall on page 12 with, a caption saying that while in 1996 there were the Czech, Slovak, and American flags streaming alongside on the building, now there is only the Czech one on a single pole) renders the interpretation immediately clear.

This critical attitude of Czech-Americans towards the current situation in the Czech Republic has a range of causes. Some of them may be of general nature, historical or other, concerning the development of the whole society over the last decade, however, some of the reasons are individual, strictly private, and these cannot be, for obvious reasons, captured in this paper. Nevertheless, it remains an open question whether the negative attitude towards the original home country is the prevailing feeling among the Czech immigrants and a topic of public discussion, or whether it represents individual authors' standpoints, determined by negative personal experience. Another point in question is the role of the commercial aspect in Czech-American press. It is a well-known fact that readers are more attracted by unusual, sensational news than by dry, factual information about everyday life. In this respect it has to be borne in mind that the largely negative treatment of current events in the Czech Republic might be used as an instrument in defining and strengthening the immigrants' identity in relation to their original home. On the other hand, the press has ceased to be the only or even the most important source of information about the Czech Republic. There are now other media available, the most important of these becoming the internet.. In addition, personal contact is now easier than before.

The criticism encountered in Czech-American press is not aimed solely at the Czechs and the Czech Republic. Sometimes its target is the immigrant community itself: *Žijeme v době úpadku krajanů, mizí krajská občanská společnost. Přestávají vycházet krajské noviny, upadá návštěvnost krajských akcí i zájem provozovat krajskou činnost. Mladší krajané, kteří by možná měli dost elánu tuto situaci změnit, nemají o krajskou činnost zájem. A současná krajská reprezentace neudělala nic pro to, aby tento zájem v nich vyvinula.* (ČN, 16 May 2002, p. 5; the author of the text is Lukáš Martín, living in Australia; this text is his response to the sale of the National Hall in Manhattan to the Czech Republic).

The comparison of immigrants' texts written by men and women respectively reveals some differences, namely in the choice of topics and vocabulary, as well as on the level of, syntax, and in the content²⁰. Before attempting further analysis, it has to be admitted that there are many fewer "female" texts in the periodicals than "male" texts. The reason lies in the fact that there are fewer women-authors, whether members of editorial staff, correspondents, or readers. Male authors prevail significantly in Czech-American press, representing the male element and forging the character of the immigrant journalistic discourse.

The most striking difference between male and female authors lies in the choice of topics; women as a rule choose less controversial ones, often based on personal experience. In the papers examined they were mostly in the form of short accounts of travel. An example of such text is, for instance, an article called *Topkapi* (NH, 28 May 2000, p. 8)²¹. Its authoress Milada Kozáková describes in it the Topkapi palace in Istanbul, which she visited several times, and gives an account of its history. Similar in character is a text by Marta Hudec *Naše cesta po španělské zemi* (NH, 30 April 2000, p. 8). Although the writers concentrate on passing on their travel experiences to the readers, their articles do not lack critical stings. Mrs Rose Kučera writes in her letter to *Nedělní Hlasatel* about her journey to the Czech Republic, and, among other things, states: *Nestačí, že exulantům, hlavně z USA, nechce vláda ČR vrátit co jim patří, ale když se s opravdovou poctivou láskou jedou podívat na ty hrady, zámky a přírodu, žádá se od nich vyšší vstupné, než od lidí, kteří bydlí v ČR. Nevím proč?*²² A number of articles by women-writers is in the form of factual reporting on immigrant events, and some of them are administrative texts written with the aim to preserve the paper. This type of texts can be found e.g. in the monthly *Hospodář/Čechoslovák*, No. 2 of February 2002, where the administrator Marcela Vaculík publishes a total of nine short articles, such as *Zvláštní oznámení administrátorky*; *Naléhavá žádost o pomoc*; *Použijte naši správnou adresu*; *Dobrá odměna za předplatné Hospodáře*, etc.

I. SAMEL (2000: 167) states in her book that terms such as "genderlect" or "womentalk" (Frauensprache) are not used any more in current research papers, because they suggest greater homogeneity among women, and greater differences between men and women than there actually are. So while it is impossible to think of distinctly male or female language, there still are certain specific features of the fe-

20 Cf. the same in the language of the youth (Jaklová, 1984).

21 This text was serialized in the biweekly *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald*.

22 *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily*, CV, 2000, No. 203, p. 14 (28 May).

male communication, manifested in the choice of means of expression, and depending on the particular context.

As stated earlier, texts written by women represent only a small part of the whole corpus underlying this research, and it is therefore difficult to pinpoint the difference in patterns of language and communication between male and female immigrants living in the USA. Apart from the above-mentioned distinctions in the choice of topics, it is worth noticing that texts by women are more strongly subjective than those by men. Men tend to use the 3rd person singular or plural forms to indicate general agents, and sometimes the 1st person plural to mark the author, whereas women prefer the 1st person singular forms: *Píšu v předvečer výsledků voleb, které jsou možná nejciv jakýmsi referendem o setrvání Václava Klause v politice; Tak jsem se nedávno dočetla ve Smithsonian časopise, že se bude pořádat v San Diegu výstava pokladů; Byla jsem v Instambulú čtyřikrát a nikdy jsem si nenechala ujít tuto příležitost, navštívit Topkapi; A ještě než se s těmito ostrovy rozloučíme, musím zde napsat příběh Romeo a Julie v tahitské verzi.*

The subjective character of a personal point of view is apparent from a range of other means used in texts by women, e.g. *Moje osobní pořadí toho, co bych chtěla od příští vlády a poslanecké sněmovny je následující: [...].* Letters to the editors of immigrant periodicals also reveal that women are basically telling a story of their own: *Rodina z Bratislavy odjela včera zpět a letos jsem je navštívila jenom jedenkrát v Houstoně, ale jsme mluvila po telefonu často. Oni žádali, abych jsem jim pomohla jak a co mají dělat, aby mohli investovat něco co by měli větší výdělek.*

Another characteristic feature of women's text in this corpus is the frequency of expressions of evaluation, particularly adjectives or adverbs evoking positive or negative connotations in the readers: *přespali jsme v super hotelu; je vyzdobena úžasnými kamennými sochami; pohádkový hrad s věžičkami; dovolená byla nezapomenutelně krásná, drahá a šilená* (Marta Hudec, NH, 30 April 2000, p. 8); *A teď to žádají od drzých exulantů; Prý neměli utíkat, řekla jedna dutá hlava; V Čechách roste křehká květinka. Ráda bych tu květinu viděla, jen pozor na jazyk* (Rose Kučera, NH, 28 May 2000, p. 14). On the other hand, men like to present themselves as authoritarians, making general statements, e.g. *Český národ si může blahořečit, že se toto místo nalézá právě v jeho vlasti* (J. Lhotka, NH, 28 May 2000, p. 8), or wording pompous appeals: *Učme se z dějin. Musíme věřit v budoucnost českého národa* (J. Lhotka, NH, 28 May 2000, p. 8); *Vymažeme ze svých mozků představy, že je jen cesta "hot a čehý"! [...]. Nezapomínejme na moudrý poznatek zlaté střední cesty, a ať je dálnicí pro nás!!! [...]. Vždyť jde o záchranu evropské civilizace!!!* (Bohumil Kobliha, NH, 30 April 2000, p. 5).

As women mostly write about topics they know from their own experience, our original hypothesis had been that their communication would be more heavily loaded with emotion than that of men. Surprisingly, this hypothesis was not corroborated by the analysis of the actual language samples. It is true that women resort more frequently than men to evaluative terms, a number of which are expressive or emotive naming units, but in terms of expressive forms alone, their frequency is identical in texts by men. Moreover, expressives in men's texts often carry negative colouring, which cannot be said about their women's counterparts, e.g. *Souhlasím, že výraz "Česko" je odporný* (Jan Krondl, ČN, 13 Oct. 2000, p. 8); *Někteří doma říkají, že jsme prostě národem hňupů, a lhostejní ke všemu. Že je u nás devadesát pět procent idiotů* (Bohumil Koblíha, NH, 30 April 2000, p. 5).

These partial outcomes arrived at through analysis of Czech-American journalistic texts do not, in our opinion, justify distinguishing between a typically male and female language. We are of the opinion that the main indicator of verbal communication is not the authors' gender, but rather their individual communicative competence, their social and communicative roles, and also the context of communication. Consequently, it remains an open question whether it is justified to speak about distinct male and female language styles.

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Česká republika v textech krajanů a krajanek žijících v USA

Obsahem příspěvku je popis obrazu Čechů a České republiky, který je obsažen v textech mužů a žen – krajanů a krajanek žijících v USA. Materiálovou bází pro tento výzkum byla vybraná čísla současných čechoamerických periodik, čtrnáctideníku *Československé noviny*, čtrnáctideníků *Hlas národa/Voice of the Nation* a *Hlasy národa/Voices of the Nation*, měsíčníku *Hospodář/Čechoslovák*, týdeníku *Našinec* a čtrnáctideníku *Nedělní Hlasatel/Czechoslovak Daily Herald*, která vycházela v letech 2000 až 2002.

Příspěvek se na základě analyzovaného materiálu dále zabývá otázkou, jaké difference existují mezi maskulinním a femininním užíváním jazyka, a zda je tedy možné definovat pojem mužský a ženský jazykový styl.