

Language Management in the Czech Republic

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This monograph, based on the Language Management model, provides information on both the *simple* (discourse-based) and *organised* modes of attention to language problems in the Czech Republic. This includes but is not limited to the language policy of the State. This approach does not satisfy itself with discussing problems of language varieties but tries also to attend to issues pertaining to situations, functions, and other aspects of communication. While Part I deals with theoretical prerequisites of the study, Part II surveys ethnic communities which are resident in the territory of the Czech Republic, and Part III, the most extensive in the study, provides a description of the current state of the major varieties spoken in the country. It is suggested that a weak form of diglossia (Standard vs. Common Czech) is one of the major areas of problems within the Czech language. Among the other communities the Roma community presents most distinctly interactional as well as narrowly communicative problems. All non-Czech communities seem to be gradually assimilating to the matrix (Czech) community, particularly with regard to language. Part IV is devoted to the survey of language management in different situations. The authors particularly deal with changes that occurred after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and resulted in intensive management in all domains of interaction. Part V presents individual observations on areas that have so far failed to attract systematic attention. Included are problems of the functions of communication, problems of communicative settings, problems of participants and networks, problems of the communicated content (such as politeness), problems of the message form and of channels of communication. This section also includes a discussion of problems affecting the use of electronic media. Finally, in Part VI attention moves to issues of theories of language management: the renowned Prague School Theory of Language Cultivation, the Communist Party theory of the 1950s to 1980s, and current theoretical stances. A Table of Contents is appended at the end of the monograph.

Keywords: language management, language policy, ethnic minorities, Central Europe, Czech language, Prague School of Linguistics

PART I: LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT IN CZECH SOCIETY: TARGET AND MODELS

The Target Society and Languages

Why Czech?

In this study we wish to present a portrait of language problems in a mature, small-to-medium sized European nation. The nation we have in mind is the

Czech Republic. The treatment of language problems in the Czech Republic should be of interest to those who have only come in contact with languages such as English, French or German or with languages of the Third World.

The Czech state has existed for more than a millennium but the 'Czech Republic' is new: it came into existence on 1 January 1993, following the break-up of the former Czechoslovak Republic, which itself was in existence for only seven decades. The Czech Republic lies in central Europe, with Germany to the north-west and west, Austria to the south, Slovakia to the east and Poland to the north-east. It has a territory of 78,866 square km (30,450 square miles) and a population of 10,230,060 (as of the 2001 census). It is only slightly smaller than Austria, Portugal or Hungary, and its population approximately equals that of Belgium, Portugal, Hungary or Greece. Ireland is of comparable size but has only 40% of the Republic's inhabitants.

The situation of the Czech language can be briefly characterised by a number of features:

- (1) With over 9 million native speakers, Czech is a relatively small language, although well over the mark at which languages are immediately endangered. Its situation clearly differs from European languages such as Basque, Welsh or Catalan.
- (2) It serves a society that is one of the old industrial societies of Europe, and it serves it well, being the medium of communication from the workplace to the highest levels of tertiary education and science. In this respect it differs from some much larger languages of Asia and Africa, which are not used as tools of economic activities or intellectual inquiry.
- (3) Contemporary Czech draws on resources of other European languages and, although it has a close relationship with German, it has not been unilaterally dependent on any one of them. It is not characterised by strong purism. In its relationship with other languages it differs, for example, from Ukrainian which has been marked by a strong and often unwelcome relationship with Russian.
- (4) The history of the second half of the 20th century, when the whole territory of the then Czechoslovakia was under Soviet domination and strongly influenced by communist ideology, left somewhat underdeveloped certain attitudes to language that are typical for the USA, Canada, Australia and some western European societies. This includes in particular attitudes to language discrimination. An international comparative study will be needed to establish how individual issues of language discrimination are treated in Czech, other European and non-European languages.
- (5) Similarly to many other Continental languages, corpus policies have traditionally been strongly developed at the governmental level, and this feature keeps Czech at variance with English, where corpus policies have remained at the outskirts of public concern with language.

Some more features of the Czech situation will be developed in parts of this study. This concerns for example the fact that some aspects of language management have for decades been supported by the theory of language problems of the Prague School (see Part VI), which has represented the only well-developed approach to language management in structural linguistics. Here, as elsewhere,

our attitude will be in favour of learning from history, without accepting its limitations and failings.

The neighbourhood

The linguistic neighbourhood of Czech is surprisingly simple. The longest linguistic border is with German, as spoken in Germany and in Austria. In the east there is Slovak and in the northeast Polish. Historically Czech had contacts with Upper and Lower Sorbian (Lusatian), spoken in the territory of former East Germany. Note that there is no common border with Hungarian, and that historically Czech-Hungarian direct contacts were limited, this being further reinforced after the division of Czechoslovakia into the Czech Republic and Slovakia in 1993.

Czechs and the Czech language

The core of the nation consists of the Czech ethnic group. According to the 2001 census, people who declare Czech as their 'mother tongue' (the term used in the census) amount to 9,707,397, that is 94.9% of the population of the Republic. Apart from those who reported as Czechs, this figure includes persons who in the 2001 census claimed other ethnic identity but declared Czech as their mother tongue: for example, Slovaks (32,529), Germans (10,836), Poles (4064) and other ethnic groups that have not been singled out in the census statistics. Also, 4527 Roma reported Czech as their mother tongue, but the real number of those who speak the language natively is probably much higher (cf. also Nekvapil, 2000a for data from Census 1991). Czech belongs to the western branch of the Slavic language family and is a language with a long tradition of literature and scholarship. The territory of the Czech language coincides today with the present-day Czech Republic. Up to the end of World War II extensive border areas were German speaking.

Other ethnic communities

Although border languages are limited to three, the fact that the territory of the Czech language has been located in the western part of what is today often called 'Middle and Eastern Europe' meant that it has always been at the cross-roads. France and Italy were not far away. In the 20th century, migrations from eastern Europe and even from Greece took place. However, the most important neighbour was undoubtedly Germany, which throughout history provided waves of immigrants, bringing with them their language. The maximum extension of the German community was registered in 1910, when there were 3,492,362 ethnic Germans in the country. In the 1991 census the number was 48,556, while in 2001 it had decreased to 39,106. Slovakia was immediately to the east and, although the border between the Czech Republic and Slovakia has always been stable, the fact that the two territories formed a joint state from 1918 to 1939, and then again between 1945 and 1993, brought to the Czech territory large numbers of Slovaks. At present the number is not less than 193,190. Two other communities are large: the Polish community, which occupies, together with members of the Czech community, the northeast corner of the country, and the Roma community, which is dispersed throughout the Republic. In 2001 51,968 people opted for Polish identity, while 11,746 identified themselves as

Roma. However, in the case of the latter the actual numbers are much higher, and we shall deal with this matter in Part II.

In Nekvapil and Neustupný (1998) we had already pointed to the fact that the size of a community carries little importance. In the Czech Republic, at least the following communities must be acknowledged along with those mentioned previously: Albanian, American (USA), Armenian, Austrian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Croatian, Greek, Hungarian, Jewish, Rumanian, Russian, Ruthenian, Ukrainian, Serbian and Vietnamese. However, there are further, even smaller, communities that await recognition and encouragement.

Czechs abroad

Czechs do not only live in the Czech Republic, although it is undoubtedly true that the number of Czechs abroad has been relatively limited. Emigration or exile during the 19th and 20th centuries never reached proportions similar to those of some neighbouring nations. Data about Czechs abroad vary, perhaps because they hardly ever define what the term 'Czech' means. According to Mladá Fronta Dnes (30 December 1993, pp. 1–2) in 1990 there were two or two and a half million 'Czechs' who lived in other countries – more than 205,000 elsewhere in Europe, 1,950,000 in northern and central America, 9,400 in South America, approximately 10,000 in Africa, 6,500 in Asia and 15,000 in Australia. More recent estimates, published by the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute (*Československý ústav zahraniční*) in 1999, give lower figures for some areas (e.g. for North America) and their total is 1,602,000 (for details see Kučera, 2003).

From a historical perspective, there were over two million Czechs (and Slovaks) abroad after WWI, principally in Austria, Hungary and in the territory that became Yugoslavia – but most expatriates lived in the USA (about 600,000 Czechs in 1920). The older emigration numbers suffered through natural attrition but there were new reinforcements: i.e. between 1920 and 1930 approximately 320,000 people emigrated from Czechoslovakia for economic reasons. Many left at the beginning of WWII, but returned to the country after the war. Between 1948 and 1967, and again between 1968 and 1989, a total of approximately half a million people left the country, mainly for political reasons (*Sborník hesel*, 1999/2000: 5). Many of these political emigrants did not return to the Czech Republic, but there were other groups of earlier emigrants who did. We shall report on two such recent groups – Czechs from the Ukraine and from Kazakhstan – in Part II. Although this re-emigration affected only several thousand people, their language behaviour has been the object of study by linguists. However, most attention to date has been paid to the language of Czechs in the USA (cf. Eckert, 2002; Kučera, 1990).

It is unnecessary to emphasise that the number of Czechs abroad does not indicate the number of people who speak Czech. Kučera (2003), who starts with an estimate of 1.6 million Czechs living abroad, assumes that this population only includes two or three hundred thousand Czech speakers.

What is Language Management?

This study is based on Language Management Theory. The theory originates in the 'language correction' theory (published in Neustupný, 1978), developed in the 1970s and 1980s mainly by Neustupný and Jernudd, and it grew as an

extension and adjustment of language planning theory. The main features of the Language Management Theory have already been articulated in Neustupný (1983, 1985), but the classical statement, where the new designation 'management' is used, can be found in Jernudd and Neustupný (1987).

In this theory the word *Management* refers to a wide range of acts of attention to 'language problems'. In the language planning theory of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s 'language problems' were principally problems of language in the narrow sense of the word. Current Language Management Theory aims to incorporate not only the whole of language, defined in the traditional narrow sense, but a wide range of additional problems implicating discourse, politeness, communication in intercultural contact situations, matters arising in proof reading, speech therapy or literary criticism. All these appear on the Czech scene.

Simple and organised management

One of the basic features of the theory is a distinction between *simple* and *organised* management of language (see, e.g. Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). *Simple management* is management of problems as they appear in individual communication acts; for example, the problem of spelling a particular word, or the problem of how to redress the use of an expression that a speaker has just uttered but now considers as not sufficiently polite. *Organised management* occurs at a different level. The main features are:

- more than one person participates in the management process;
- discourse about management takes place;
- thought and ideology intervene.

Since these features are present to varying degrees, there is a gradual transition between the two extremes: simple and organised. Management within families often relies on simple correction in discourse, but frequently it also incorporates decisions discussed in detail by parents, and may be connected with ideologies of ethnicity. This was the case in some German families during the post-war period in the Czech Republic (Nekvapil, 2003a). An example of a highly organised management process is language reform – a complex process consisting of many components. Management theory maintains that, in principle, language problems originate in simple management, and from there they are transferred to organised management. However, this does not mean that organised management would be merely a summary of simple management acts. There is more (cf. Neustupný, 2002). Finally, the results of organised management are again transferred to discourse: without correcting individual discourse, the whole management process would make little sense.

The management process

A second prominent feature of the Language Management Theory is its processuality. Both simple and organised management is seen as developing in a number of stages (Neustupný, 1985). They commence with the *deviation* from a norm, with different participants often possessing different norms or 'expectations'. Of course, the norm is a flexible entity that is subject to continuous adjustment. However, it would be unrealistic to suggest that norms do not exist at all (Neustupný, forthcoming 2). Following the deviation stage, the deviation may be

noted, a noted deviation may be *evaluated*, and subsequently an *adjustment plan* selected. In the last stage the plan may be *implemented*. For example, it is important to ask to what extent deviations from norms appear in Czech speech, how they are noted in individual discourse and at what levels of organised management (e.g. by employers); how they are evaluated, what adjustment plans are available and in what way such plans are implemented.

Socioeconomic, communicative and linguistic management

The third feature is the establishment of a hierarchy between language (in the narrow sense), communication and socioeconomic management. Language management alone (e.g. measures taken towards removing gender-loaded forms of language) makes little sense. It is necessary to make sure that such forms are not used in communication. In order to remove them from communication it is necessary to remove them from the socioeconomic structure. The right sequence is:

Socioeconomic Management > Communicative Management > Linguistic Management.

However, communicative management does not automatically follow from socioeconomic management, and linguistic management does not automatically follow from communicative management. Each of them must be pursued in its own right.

Interests, power and management

A fourth feature is the insistence on the recognition of the multiplicity of interests within a community. Language management is not a value-less, objective, 'scientific' process. The interest of the Czech language community and of the Roma, the interests of intellectuals and unqualified workers, differ. Also, the capacity to implement one's interests, in other words *power*, are subject to variation, and no language management system can overlook this fact. While interests have been present in the theory under various names at least since 1983 (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987; Neustupný, 1983), power was added only later (Jernudd, 1996; Nekvapil, 2003b; Neustupný, 1996).

Levels of management

Finally, while language planning theory turned its attention mostly to society-wide management networks, such as governmental committees or various arms of the government, Language Management Theory emphasises management at a number of levels: the individual, associations, social organisations, media, economic bodies, educational institutions, local government, central government, or international organisations. It is obvious that in the Czech Republic management of language takes place at all these levels (Nekvapil, 2000a, 2000b), although it is not possible to capture the entire configuration of the levels at this stage of development of the theory.

A note should be added on the relationship between Language Management Theory and other theories of language problems. As noted in Neustupný (2002: 433), many existing theories operate in a space akin to the theory of languages management, although they may not use the term *language management* or may work in different social systems (language acquisition, language therapy, liter-

ary criticism, critical discourse analysis, etc.). Also, there is no necessary contradiction between the theory of language management and the theory of language planning as displayed, for example, in Kaplan and Baldauf (1997). Language planning is increasingly becoming an enlightened discipline. However, *language management* is a more comprehensive term, and the theory furnishes a wider framework that hopefully can achieve even more.

The Object of Language Management

In order to arrest all communicative problems within a community in a systematic way, one needs a list of rules or strategies that can become the object of language management. The model used in the discussion in this monograph is a 'Hymesian model'. It is based on Dell Hymes' models of speaking of the 1960s and 1970s (see esp. Hymes, 1974) but has been subject to reformulation (cf. Neustupný, 1987, 1993b; Sherzer & Darnell, 1972). Theoretical problems of the model are not discussed here. (For such discussion, see Neustupný, 1997.) The version employed is a relatively 'conservative' one close to Neustupný (1987). It will be assumed that the following types of strategies exist and that they are subject to language management.

- participant strategies;
- variety strategies;
- situational set strategies;
- function strategies;
- setting strategies;
- content strategies;
- frame strategies; and
- channel strategies.

From the point of view of language management, it is essential that all these strategy areas are covered.

Participant strategies

These strategies determine participants and networks in communication processes. When management occurs, these strategies are noted, evaluated, and adjustment may be carried out. In this monograph these strategies are dealt with at two points:

- Part II describes what categories of participants in the language management process within the Czech Republic exist, what problems arise and in what way they are adjusted. Emphasis placed on categorisation according to ethnic criteria, particularly with attention to the problem of assimilation of non-Czech ethnic groups towards the Czech matrix community.
- In Part V (Participants) more detailed problems concerning the categorisation of participants, in particular categorisation according to gender, is discussed.

Language variation strategies

Variation strategies govern the use of language varieties and variables – what languages are spoken and what problems affect these languages and their

individual rules. Part III, which focuses on these matters, constitutes the central and most extensive component of this monograph. Problems of Czech, the language of the matrix community, is treated first, followed by problems pertaining to the languages of other communities living in the territory of the Czech Republic.

Situation strategies

Situations are recurring sets of the use of language. Part IV surveys sets of situations called domains (e.g. daily life, family, friendship, education, work, public and culture domains) and examines what problems are characteristic for each domain.

Function strategies

Language fulfils many functions, extensively described in the literature; with regard to these functions problems may occur. For example:

- Is the communicative function of various language varieties spoken in the Czech Republic performed to the satisfaction of participants?
- Are there any problems concerning the symbolic function of language?
- How does language relate to its social functions (e.g. the issue of connecting two different cultures and societies)?
- How and to what extent does language management take place?

These issues, as far as they appear in the Czech Republic, are discussed in Part V (Problems in Functions).

Setting strategies

Setting strategies determine the time and place of communication. When deviations from these strategies occur, management can take place. A few examples are dealt with in Part V (Problems in Settings). Only one example of speech used in a setting for which it is inappropriate are provided.

Content strategies

These strategies are important, because they select the content of communication. When they do not function satisfactorily, problems occur. As in the preceding parts, analysis in Part V (Problems in Content Strategies), concentrates on only a few examples. Focus is on the communication of politeness, problems of public criticism and a few other matters.

Form strategies

These strategies, also sometimes called message form or frame strategies, determine the form of communication, the form of routine components, or the order of components. Problems occur in this area as well; some of them are presented in Part V (Problems in Form Strategies). Some of the problems discussed here concern the form of proper names (i.e. personal or place names).

Channel strategies

Channel strategies govern the various channels through which communication forms are turned into surface structures. There are problems of the spoken

and written media that overlap with the problem of varieties (spoken and written); these are discussed in Part III. A new problem occurs in the context of the electronic media; this is discussed in Part V (Problems in Channel Strategies).

From this brief survey, readers will understand that, although the entire framework for the analysis of communication problems is presented, the current state of research on language management in the Czech Republic does not permit complete discussion of all pertinent problems. Future researchers will, hopefully, be able to fill out the whole framework and thus provide a more comprehensive picture of the overall problem that language presents.

Part II: COMMUNITIES

Introduction

This part will introduce ethnic communities which reside in the territory of the Czech Republic and their problems. Two introductory comments may be helpful.

Overall census figures

Figures in Table 1 represent responses to the 1991 and 2001 census questionnaire about the respondents' ethnicity (*národnost*).² Table 1 cannot simply be accepted as the 'accurate picture' of the ethnic composition of the population without a commentary. Answers to the census question correspond to the individual's sociocultural management with regard to his/her ethnicity and this management reflects the interests and power relationships within Czech society. For example, respondents themselves evaluate their own ethnic categories negatively or expect that they would be evaluated negatively by others. The result is a process of adjustment during which they change their own categorisation with the expectation that they can, in that way, escape membership in a less powerful social group.

Distance between the communities

It is also necessary to realise that different degrees of sociocultural distance obtain between various communities such as those in Table 1. Basically four groups may be distinguished:

- (1) The Western group (e.g. North Americans or Germans newly arrived from Germany) that is characterised by higher incomes and managerial status. Their numbers are small and they do not appear prominently in Table 1.
- (2) The central European group: the Czech-speaking communities, Germans (the local community), Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians. There is little sociocultural difference among these groups.
- (3) The Peripheral group, that comprises the Ukrainians, Russians, Armenians, and communities originating in the Balkans.
- (4) The Outer group (the Roma, the Vietnamese, the Chinese, etc.). These communities show considerable sociocultural differences.

This distance translates into status and other power relations between the communities, and in view of this the differences may project into language management and must be taken into consideration.

Table 1 Responses to ethnicity from 1991 and 2001 census

<i>Ethnic identity</i>	<i>1991</i>		<i>2001</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>(%)</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>(%)</i>
Czech	8,363,768	81.2	↑ 9,249,777	90.4
Moravian	1,362,313	13.2	↓ 380,474	3.7
Slovak	314,877	3.1	↓ 193,190	1.9
Polish	59,383	0.6	↓ 51,968	0.5
German	48,556	0.5	↓ 39,106	0.4
Silesian	44,446	0.4	↓ 10,878	0.1
Romany	32,903	0.3	↓ 11,746	0.1
Hungarian	19,932	0.2	↓ 14,672	0.1
Ukrainian	8,220	0.1	↑ 22,112	0.2
Russian	5,062	0.1	↑ 12,369	0.1
Bulgarian	3,487	0.0	↑ 4,363	0.0
Greek	3,379	0.0	↓ 3,219	0.0
Ruthenian	1,926	0.0	↓ 1,106	0.0
Rumanian	1,034	0.0	↑ 1,238	0.0
Vietnamese	421	0.0	↑ 17,462	0.2
Austrian	413	0.0	↓ –	–
Jewish	218	0.0	↓ –	–
Serbian	–	–	↑ 1,801	0.0
Croatian	–	–	↑ 1,585	0.0
Albanian	–	–	↑ 690	0.0
Other	9,860	0.1	↑ 39,477	0.4
Undeclared	22,017	0.2	↑ 172,827	1.7
Total	10,302,215		↓ 10,230,060	

The Czechs

The Czech, Moravian, and Silesian communities

Historically speaking, the territory of the Czech Republic consists of three parts: Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia (see Map 1). However, this division is not merely a matter of history. Although normally speaking and writing the same standard language, Czech, inhabitants of these three parts sometimes possess a different identity. The 1991 census provided, for the first time, the possibility to declare under the heading *národnost* ('ethnicity') not only a Czech ethnic identity but also a Moravian or a Silesian one. There is no doubt that Moravia has always been considered a specific cultural entity not only in Moravia and Silesia, but also in Bohemia. This was less so with regard to Silesia, the substantial part of which has been incorporated in Poland for most of the time. The Czech part of Silesia



Figure 1

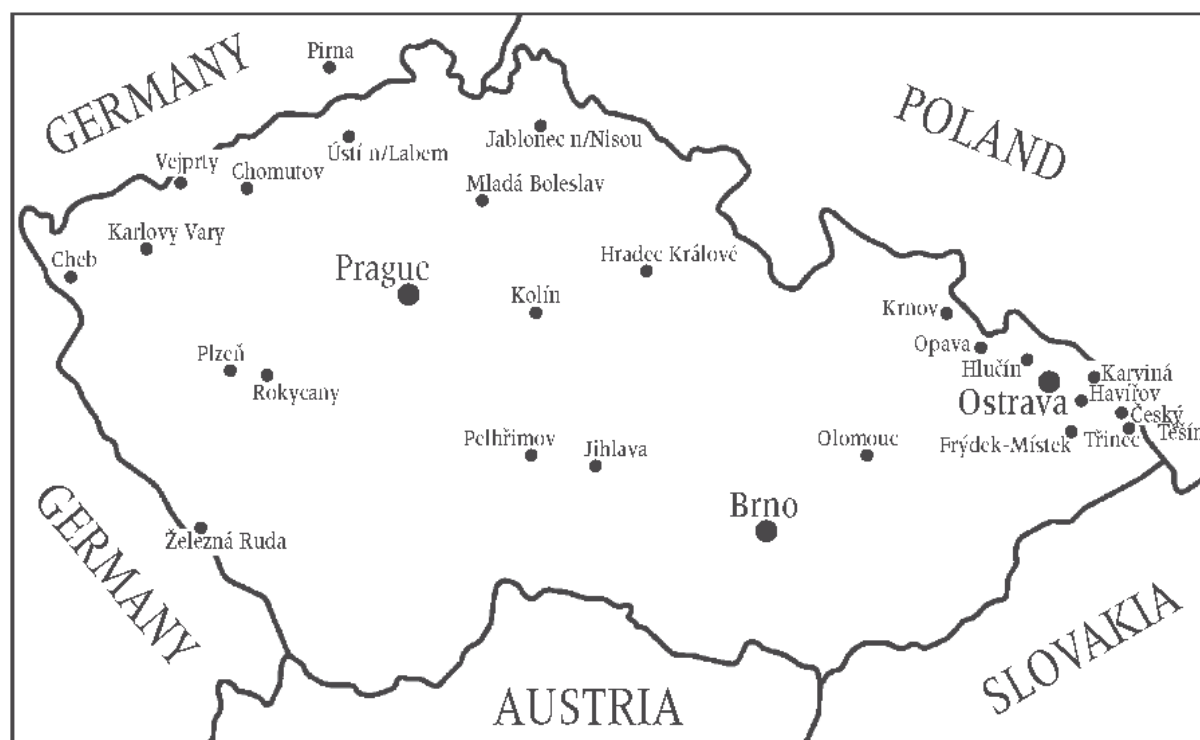


Figure 2

has traditionally been considered in the everyday awareness of inhabitants of Bohemia as a region belonging to Moravia. Throughout its history, Silesia has not only changed its political affiliation; it has also been an ethnically varied territory, and people who identified themselves ethnically as Silesians lived side by side with others who considered themselves Polish, German, Czech, Jewish or more recently also Slovak or Roma. In addition, a large portion of the population was ethnically indifferent, switching its identity depending on the situation.

In the 1991 census 8,363,768 (81.2% of the population) declared Czech,

1,362,313 (13.2%) Moravian and 44,446 (0.4%) Silesian ethnicity. It is important to realise that the distribution of this reporting was geographically uneven. While none of the Bohemian regions reported more than 1.3% Moravians, in the South Moravian Region the number rose to 49.5% and in the other region of Moravia, the North Moravian Region, it represented 15.4% of all inhabitants. It was in North Moravia where virtually all people with Silesian identity resided. Most of them lived in the Opava (see Map 2) District (11.2% of all inhabitants, cf. *Národnostní složení*, 1993, Table 15). The reporting of the Moravian and Silesian identity was thus closely connected with the Moravian and Silesian regions of the Republic. It is highly probable that, in previous censuses, when only the officially approved ethnicities (Czech, Slovak, Polish, German, Hungarian or Ukrainian/Ruthenian) could be reported, most of those who in 1991 declared themselves as Moravians or Silesians had previously reported their ethnicity as Czech or Polish respectively.

The results of the 1991 census with regard to the Moravian and Silesian identity must be taken seriously. Of course, there were special circumstances. Firstly, the census took place not more than 16 months after the Velvet Revolution of 1989. The result of that revolution was that the population felt liberated from any previously dictated social, economic or cultural categories, and plurality and diversity were becoming highly valued. The second, related, circumstance is that the census became a political issue and politically interested groups took up the question of the Moravian and Silesian ethnicity in the media and in the Parliament just before the census day. Therefore the possibility that the reporting was also motivated by momentary political concerns should not be discarded. Note that in the 2001 census, which was conducted in a substantially quieter atmosphere, only 380,474 people (3.7%) declared Moravian, and 10,878 (0.1%) declared Silesian ethnic identity. Within a decade, the number of individuals identifying themselves as Moravian or Silesian has declined by about 75%.

Some analysts conclude that the Moravian or Silesian ethnicity failed to prove its existence (Prokop, 2001). The Report of the Government's Council for Ethnic Minorities also plays down the fact that considerable numbers of people reported as Moravians or Silesians by interpreting it as a sign of special regional (i.e. not ethnic) identity (Zpráva, 2002: 7). However, there is no doubt that this identity is based on cultural and linguistic differences supported by differences in socioeconomic interests and power. Throughout modern history, Moravia and Silesia played a subsidiary role within the western part of the Czechoslovak state, economically and socially, and it is this reality that is being reflected in the consciousness of a part of the Moravian and Silesian population.

The cultural specificity of Moravia and the Czech part of Silesia are evident. However, their special position also manifests itself linguistically. In these regions, local dialects are better preserved than in Bohemia. This fact is connected with less vigorous industrialisation at the outset of the industrialisation process. Common Czech (see Part III) is frequently rejected, and the language spoken in semi-formal situations (and by some speakers on all occasions) is Standard Czech. This fact, as well as the influence of the local dialect (e.g. shortening of vowels in Silesia), distinguishes speakers from Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia on all but very formal occasions. There were some attempts to use Moravian dialectal or dialectally tinted language in written communication. The

first grammars of the 'Moravian language' were published at the beginning of the 19th century, when the future shape of Standard Czech was still in its infancy, and somewhat diffident attempts to establish 'Moravian' as a language appear even today (see Part III, 'The Czech Language').

The question of what language was considered as 'mother tongue' (a term used in the census questionnaire) by those who reported as Moravians or Silesians is of interest. Even within the atmosphere of 1991, 1,356,605 of those who claimed Moravian ethnicity (out of the total number 1,362,313) cited Czech as their mother tongue; 2,702 reported Slovak, 794 reported Hungarian, and 422 reported German mother tongue. Surprisingly, only 151 reported Polish. Of those who reported Silesian identity, 43,474 (out of a total of 44,446) gave Czech as their mother tongue. Other mother tongues claimed were: Polish (449), German (237), and Slovak (103).

Since 8,332,500 of those who declared Czech ethnicity (out of a total of 8,363,768) reported their mother tongue as Czech, it can be concluded that a very high proportion of the population of the Czech Republic in 1991 (95.8%) claimed Czech as their native language. The results of the 2001 census confirmed the stability of this picture. However, as far as ethnic identity was concerned, 8,363,768 (81.2% of the population) claimed Czech identity in 1991 as compared to 9,249,777 (90.4%) in 2001.

Czech-speaking and other-speaking communities throughout history

Was there homogeneity?

It is generally assumed that, at the dawn of history (which in the case of Bohemia and Moravia covered the last few centuries of the first millennium), the territory of the present Czech Republic was ethnically Czech. The actual extent is a matter that may never be clearly established. However, it is certain that the country was not closed to the world. Visitors, including of course members of military expeditions, were many, and merchants of various origins travelled through the territory. Ibrahim ibn Jakub reported in the second half of the 10th century that Prague was an important centre 'built of stone' – this obviously in reference only to churches (Turek, 1963: 36). Progressing urbanisation, which started in Prague as well as the development of other trade centres, saw small groups of foreigners settling down. Communities that have stayed permanently included Germans, Jewish groups (reported as early as the 10th century), and some Italians.

The first immigration wave

The development of agriculture in Europe necessarily led to population growth, and uninhabited territories were sought to accommodate the human surplus. It is only natural that the population unwanted in the territory of present-day Germany headed in an eastern direction where the Czech ethnic group had been unable to occupy fully the large territories of Bohemia and Moravia, formerly dominated by Teutonic tribes (Neustupný & Neustupný, 1961). Especially during the second half of the 13th and the first half of the 14th century, German settlers, encouraged by Czech kings, occupied relatively large areas close to the border. In some cases they spread over the original Czech population. However, a territory as large as the pre-WWII Sudetenland should not be considered for this immigration.

At the same time, the 13th century witnessed an increased tempo of urbanisation in Europe, and, particularly during the second half of the century, this trend affected the Czech lands, when a large number of new towns was created to support economic development. Under these circumstances the nobility, and particularly the Czech kings, found it advantageous to invite foreigners to work in the newly founded cities as well as to found new villages. Chronicles have reported that King Přemysl II (reigned 1253–1278) accumulated great wealth through introducing Germans to his territories (Hoffman, 1992). This wave of (principally) German migration resulted in large-scale ethnic variation: the territory of the Czech Republic has never returned to its short-lived ethnic homogeneity.

The presence of Jewish migrants has been confirmed as early as the 10th century; they were settling down in large numbers by the 12th century, bringing to the country another ethnic and religious minority. Ghettos were not necessarily typical at this stage (Hoffman, 1992).

End of 13th and the 14th century

By the end of the 13th century, migration from the outside decreased, and around the mid-14th century it temporarily stopped entirely. Under the rule of Charles IV Czechisation of towns (of which there was now about 100) continued; even prior to the Hussite revolution, switched on by the burning of the religious reformer John Hus at the stake in 1415, many towns had a Czech majority, while others had Czech minorities of various strength (Hoffman, 1992: 61). Apart from those areas close to the border, the rural population of the countryside was predominantly Czech. Originally, the language used in the German-settled towns was German, but, particularly in the Hussite and post-Hussite period, Czech language was gradually adopted or used along with German.

During the second half of the 14th and into the 15th century, under influence from western Europe, Jewish residents were periodically expelled, especially from the royal towns. In the 15th century they established themselves in towns that belonged to the nobility, but partly also in villages, mainly in trade professions.

From the beginning of 15th century, the Roma became a permanent feature of the Czech scene. Needless to say, the language of religion and science of this period was Latin, which also served as the international *lingua franca* among the educated. The religious leader, John Hus (1371–1415), delivered his sermons in Czech, using Latin notes. He wrote both in Latin and in Czech. Later, so did the educationalist Comenius (1592–1670, died in exile in Holland).

New immigrants

The end of the 15th century again witnessed a population surplus in central Europe which translated itself into a new wave of German immigration into Czech lands in the 16th century. This time the settlers occupied areas of non-agricultural land, particularly in the northern mountains. They engaged in textile industries, production of glass, and other occupations for which the quality of land was irrelevant.

At about the same time, a small group of Valachian shepherds arrived in Northeast Moravia. The migration started in Rumania, but, when it reached Moravia, the population consisted mostly of Slavs, who, in the course of the

following centuries, assimilated linguistically (but less so culturally) to the base population (Maur, 1998a). Two more migration waves were directed toward Moravia. One wave consisted of Croats who were seeking refuge from the Turks. In 1945 only three villages retained their Croat identity. The second wave consisted of a large group of Anabaptists (Calvinists) who fled religious persecution in Switzerland. They exercised considerable influence in wine production and pottery making, but had to leave again with the loss of religious freedom in the Czech lands after the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, following the Czech Protestant revolt against the Hapsburgs.

The persecution of Jewish residents continued; however, in the second half of the 16th century the Prague Jewish community experienced a kind of cultural boom. The renaissance court of Emperor Rudolph II (reigned 1576–1611) brought a large number of foreign artists and scientists to Prague. In the society at large, along with Czech, the language of the majority of the emperor's subjects and the nobility, German, was widely used. The importance of Latin as the language of ideology was still paramount, even though German and Czech started making inroads.

The Hapsburg period and the aftermath

The Hapsburg dynasty was on the Czech throne permanently from 1526 till 1918. The Hapsburgs were antagonistic to the reformation, which since the Hussite period was strongly represented in the Czech lands, and it is particularly the period of the Hapsburg rule after the battle of the White Mountain (1620), in which the Czech side was defeated, that is normally associated with the name 'Period of Darkness'. Under the Hapsburgs, the boundaries of the Czech and German ethnic groups moved toward their 1945 position, but there was no large immigration to speak of (Maur, 1998b).

Before and during the first part of the Hapsburg rule, the multi-ethnic character of the country was accepted as a fact of life. Regions or villages spoke different languages, but they were not in competition. There was a relationship of complementarity between the agricultural areas and the towns. Occasionally, ethnic conflict flared up when socioeconomic interests were involved. Within the towns, ethnic origin was one factor in the distribution of power, but even there it was not the only factor, and it should not be perceived through 19th century eyes. After all, the nobility often ruled over a varied collection of fiefdoms, and the Bohemian kings also held other crowns, serving as emperors within the Holy Roman Empire. They married with partners from various ethnic origins. It was only natural, therefore, that they spoke various languages and that their courts harboured people of various provenances. The Czech lands belonged to the medieval Holy Roman Empire within which the German language held the strongest position. Although Latin was the language of culture and ideology, it gradually lost ground to the vernaculars, first of all to German, but also to Czech. The knowledge of both Czech and German was widely distributed, though for no period of Czech history should we imagine a situation approaching perfect bilingualism.

Under Hapsburg rule the position of German was definitely strengthened. However, with the process of the formation of the Modern German and Czech Ethnicities (Hroch, 1999a, 1999b), commencing during the second half of the 18th

century, language was increasingly connected with the interests of ethnic groups which started using language as the primary symbol of their identities (Hroch, 1999b). In particular, through the process of industrialisation, the position of the Czech element was reinforced, so that the structure of employment among the Czechs and the Germans in Bohemia and Moravia in 1910 was virtually identical (Horská, 1998). It was on this basis that a relationship of ethnic antagonism developed on both sides (Musil, 1998), leading eventually to the Munich Agreement of 1938, which mandated the incorporation of the Sudetenland into Germany, and which set the stage for the deportation of Germans from Czechoslovakia after WWII. According to the Munich Agreement, Czechoslovakia was required to hand over to Germany, Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union 37% of its territory together with 37% of its population. There were 855,000 ethnic Czechs in this territory; approximately half of them were forced to, or elected to, leave the territory. After WWII, in accordance with a decision reached at the Potsdam Conference (1945) close to 2.7 million Germans were required to leave Czechoslovakia. Only a small number were permitted to remain.

Returnee communities

This section is devoted to the history of the Czech-speaking communities. It finishes with a brief outline of emigrant communities of Czech origin which eventually returned to the Czech Republic.

As mentioned previously, Czech emigration of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries was less extensive than similar phenomena in many other European countries. No doubt this was the consequence of the relative affluence of the Czech lands and the fact that they underwent early industrialisation. Czech immigration headed mostly to the USA, although there was another stream departing to some Balkan countries (cf. Vašek, 1976) as well as in an eastern direction to Czarist Russia. There, following the abolition of serfdom in 1861, opportunities were created for free farmers to acquire land under conditions that seemed to promise prosperity. Conditions for the emigration of Czech farmers were the object of negotiation with the Czar's government by the prominent Czech political figure F. Palacký (1798–1876). Czech politicians were interested in the possibility of retaining the ethnicity of Czech emigrants within a Slavic environment. On the other hand, the Russian side was interested in immigrants with a high level of agricultural skills as well as in stopping the advance of the Polish element. At the time of the first Russian census in 1887 there were approximately 50,000 Czech settlers living in more than 200 villages and hamlets.

However, emigration to the east did not meet with success, at least not in the long run. The emigrants came back from the Ukraine (in two waves) as well as from Kazakhstan.

Czechs from the Ukraine

Most Czech emigrants during the 19th century departed towards Volynh prefecture in the western Ukraine. Between 1868 and 1886 alone approximately 20,000 Czechs settled there. Initially, Czech settlers enjoyed a number of economic, religious and other privileges. They had their own schools, theatres, choirs and public libraries. These privileges were gradually trimmed, and in 1937 the teaching of Czech was entirely abolished. During the course of WWII, the

Czechs actively fought Germans either in the Red Army or in the Czech Army Corps, and this fact became the basis on which their repatriation was negotiated and finally approved. In 1947 alone 37,000 people returned, and the total number of returnees was over 40,000. Original pledges of the Czechoslovak government notwithstanding, they were not able to occupy a compact territory and thus lived dispersed in various regions. Nevertheless, they maintained their networks, including intermarriages (Kastner, 1998).

However, the post-war agreement between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union only concerned Volynh, not the Kiev prefecture. In 1989, some 9000 Czechs who retained their ethnic consciousness as well as some knowledge of the Czech language were still resident in the Ukraine. Out of these, some 2000 people returned to Czechoslovakia between 1991 and 1993. These people lived mostly in the villages of Mala Zubovshtina and Malinovka, and in a few adjoining areas of Belarus, all within 80 km of the Chernobyl nuclear plant. They claim that, had there been no nuclear accident in Chernobyl and no humanitarian offer to accept refugees from the area from the Czechoslovak government, they may have remained 'imprisoned' in the territory of the former Soviet Union. Approximately 600 families returned, settling in more than 40 localities in Bohemia and Moravia. The success of the action was guaranteed by a positive response from Czech local governments which provided lodging as well as work for at least one family member.

Although repatriation met with wide-ranging support, there were problems. While Czech settlers in the Ukraine were perceived as aliens because of their actively proclaimed Czech ethnicity, in Czechoslovakia they were marked by their Ukrainian/Russian cultural and linguistic features. Although these people did not classify themselves as Volynh Czechs (*Volynáci*), this is how the Czech community perceived them, probably in recollection of the first wave of repatriation after WWII. Another problem was that they arrived from the former Soviet Union just at the time of heightened anti-communist feeling as well as the general anti-Soviet and anti-Russian atmosphere that developed following the events of 1989. One of the repatriated people reported: 'In the Ukraine I considered myself Czech. That I am a "*Volynák*" (Czech from Volynh) I only learned here. It is still better to be called *Volynák* than a *Rusák* [a Russian, pejorative]' (MFD 30 March 1995: 24). Incidentally, this speaker is one of those who personally consulted with President Havel concerning their return. 'Ten years back "at home". In other words Czechs or Russians?' was the title of a TV programme broadcast in 2001 which showed that negative attitudes were not isolated. Another unfavourable circumstance was that the repatriated Czechs were confused with Ukrainian and Russian guest workers who began to appear at the same time. In the mid-1990s, the Czech community at large was unprepared to accept the rights of people who were different.

Czechs from Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan was not the original destination of Czech emigrants (Valášková, 1998). They proceeded there from the Ukraine and Bessarabia (present Moldova) where they had settled in the mid-19th century. In addition, dozens of people of Czech origin were transferred by force to Kazakhstan as 'kulaks' when Bessarabia was occupied by the Soviet Union in 1940. In 1911, the first Czech

colonists arrived in northwestern Kazakhstan, where they purchased land and founded the village Borodinovka approximately 120 km from the city of Akt'ubinsk. As a part of systematic colonisation, further villages with Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian and Bulgarian) farmers were established close to Borodinovka. However, the closest settlement to Borodinovka, only 2 km away, was a Kazakh hamlet. In 1929 a *kolkhoz* (collective farm) was formed in Borodinovka, where Czechs worked together with the Kazakhs. The school, in which the language of instruction was Russian, was also shared. However, this long history of Czech-Kazakh contacts had no influence on the marriage policy of either group – when, after WWII, mixed marriages started appearing, they involved Czech-Russian pairs. In the post-war period, many people from Borodinovka emigrated to cities, mainly to Akt'ubinsk, but they did not lose contact with their native village. Prior to re-migration to the Czech Republic, the Czech population of Borodinovka stood close to 350, and there were approximately 300 Czechs in Akt'ubinsk, including members of other ethnic groups who were related to the Czechs by marriage.

The atmosphere of political liberalisation towards the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s resulted in acts of assertion of their ethnicity by the Czech community. In Akt'ubinsk they founded the *Kulturně-osvětové centrum Čechů v Kazachstánu* (Cultural and Educational Czech Centre in Kazakhstan) (1992). The teaching of Czech started both in Akt'ubinsk and Borodinovka with the help of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Moscow. However, this ethnic emancipation of Czechs and other ethnic groups in Kazakhstan met with resistance from the Kazakhs. Following Kazakh independence in 1991, Russian schools were abolished, and the Kazakh language was introduced as the official language. The economic opportunities of the non-Kazakh population diminished as a result of labour market discrimination. The danger of ethnic conflicts increased, and the non-Kazakh population started leaving the country.

In this situation, Czechs in Kazakhstan commenced negotiating with the Czechoslovak government as well as with private institutions regarding a move back to Czechoslovakia. The first such initiative appeared in 1992, but the first Czech families did not arrive in the Czech Republic until 1995. By the beginning of 2000, approximately 150 families (more than 500 people) changed their domicile and found new homes in a number of Czech localities (cf. MFD, 16 July 1999: 1).

The repatriation of Czechs from Kazakhstan did not attract as much attention of the media or of the Czech community as had the repatriation from those areas of the Ukraine and Belarus which had been affected by radioactivity from Chernobyl. Occasionally, those arriving from Kazakhstan were considered foreigners, and discrimination appeared (MFD, 26 October 1998: 3). Although many of them possess secondary or tertiary education, they were still only able to find work as manual labourers.

The Slovaks

The Slovak community, which in the 2001 census consisted of 193,190 people (1.9% of the population of the Czech Republic), has undergone remarkable changes in the course of the 20th century. These changes did not merely affect the

size of the community. With respect to the status of the community, during the years of the Republic, Slovaks constituted one of the two principal contributors to the demographic, economic and cultural profile within the society; since the partition of Czechoslovakia in 1993, their status was again relegated to that of a minority.

Czechs and Slovaks have occupied separate territories that do not historically overlap. Slovakia starts where Moravia, the eastern part of the Czech territory, ends. Still, the Czech–Slovak partnership has a long history. The territories are adjacent, and the linguistic and cultural proximity overrode the fact that the Czech–Slovak border was also a political one. While Czechs had had their own strong and independent state and even later, under the Hapsburgs, had retained an independent identity, Slovaks had not enjoyed the same favourable conditions. Throughout the Middle Ages and up to 1918, they lived within a single state with the Hungarians. The close linguistic and cultural relationship between Czechs and Slovaks achieved particular relevance under the conditions of modernisation when the formation of the Czech and Slovak ethnic identity rose to occupy the agenda of the day. Throughout the 19th century, contacts were comprehensive. Many Slovaks studied at Czech schools, and this fact transferred to the relationship between organisations to which former school friends belonged. Apart from students, Slovak labourers, seeking better working and pay conditions, came to the Czech lands. While, towards the end of the 19th century, the current Czech Republic already was an industrial society, Slovakia remained agricultural.

In 1918, on the debris of the Hapsburg monarchy, a new state, Czechoslovakia, was born. Within the state, Czechs and Slovaks were formally equal, but in fact the distribution of power was strongly biased toward the Czechs. Many Slovaks started moving to the Czech ‘metropolitan’ areas. In 1921 there were 16,000 Slovaks in the Czech lands, in 1930 the number rose to 44,000 and before the outbreak of WWII, in 1937, the census revealed the presence of 65,000 who were dispersed throughout the territory. After 1918, there also was migration from the Czech part of the Czechoslovak Republic to Slovakia. At least some of this migration consisted of intellectuals and public servants (Šrajerová, 1999), a development motivated by the fact that Hungarian rule left the Slovak territory with an extremely limited intellectual class. The movement of Czechs and Slovaks within the territory of the Czechoslovak Republic is not easy to document on the basis of census data, because the censuses worked under the assumption of a single ‘Czechoslovak’ ethnicity. This assumption, incorporated into the Constitution, was partly pragmatically motivated (to show the strong Czech–Slovak ‘majority’ within a state which incorporated 23% Germans and almost 6% Hungarians), but it had its ideological roots in the early 19th century belief of a single ‘Slavic’ ethnicity, which, for many people, was used as a programmatic statement. This programme was more acceptable to the Czechs than to the Slovak intellectuals whose numbers were growing in Slovakia, because the ‘Czechoslovak identity’ was being formulated at the expense of the specificity of Slovakia (cf. Berger, 2003; Marti, 1993). Between the two world wars, Slovakia became a kind of ‘colony’ of the Czech component of the state.

The discontent of the Slovaks with the state of affairs within the common Republic was one of the reasons why the independent Slovak State was created,

under the sponsorship of the Nazis, in 1939, and which continued its existence throughout the period of WWII. After WWII, Slovakia was 'naturally' reincorporated into the liberated Czechoslovakia, but the experience of independence left a strong mark on the ethnic consciousness of Slovaks.

The deportation of some 2.5 million Germans after the war (mid-1940s) left a vacuum in the formerly German parts of the Czech territory, and this vacuum could not be filled through appeals to the Czech population alone. As early as 1946, the cabinet plan counted on the arrival of Slovaks. Between 1945 and 1947 some 110,300 people migrated from Slovakia. Largely, they settled in western and northern Bohemia; very few went to Southern Bohemia and Moravia (Prokop, 2000; Šrajerová, 1999). However, a continuous Slovak settlement did not eventuate. Slovaks who arrived were primarily motivated by a desire to improve their economic conditions, to acquire land and real estate or to work in industrial enterprises. There were virtually no intellectuals among these people. Nevertheless, they were initially interested in maintaining their Slovak identity, a fact that surfaced in the foundation of local branches of the *Matice slovenská*, an ethnic maintenance-and-development organisation that played an important role in Slovakia. Fifty-three branches of this organisation were created in 1946–1947, engaging in establishing Slovak libraries, extending the distribution of the Slovak press and arranging theatre performances in Slovak. However, in a few years, a trend appeared that gradually strengthened through the end of the 20th century: a shift toward Czech culture and language. This trend developed not only to help simplify interaction within a new environment but also as a shift to a culture that was perceived to be more powerful and desirable. As a consequence, in the course of the 1950s, branches of *Matice slovenská* ceased to exist (Šrajerová, 1999: 144).

The main impulse for the massive migration of Slovaks to the Czech territory in the 1950s and 1960s was the growth of heavy industry. Apart from northern Bohemia, this growth mainly took place in the Ostrava region in northern Moravia, and that is where many Slovaks headed. Again, most of these people were unqualified labourers, but some of them came with the intention to gain qualifications and return to work in similar establishments in Slovakia. In the Ostrava region, workers from Slovakia were given special benefits, in particular in housing. This meant that in some areas of the region, such as in Havířov, Karviná or Petřvald, Slovaks were soon in the majority. In the Karviná district, 3838 Slovaks were resident in 1950, but 30 years later the number had reached 25,558 (Prokop, 2000). In 1970, this district showed the largest concentration of Slovaks in the Czech lands. Karviná City established its first Slovak elementary school in 1956 and its second in 1969. In 1968 the city saw the rebirth of a branch of *Matice slovenská* that continued to be active until the mid-1970s. The introduction of Slovak schools was also considered in Havířov, Třinec and Ostrava, but these plans met with little enthusiasm among the Slovak population. The Karviná schools thus remained the only Slovak schools that ever existed in the territory of the present day Czech Republic. It is paradoxical that, throughout the duration of the Czechoslovak Republic, Slovaks, as one of the basic ethnic groups of the Republic, were legally not a minority, and consequently did not have a right, like the designated 'minorities', to schools in their own language.

Since the 1950s, the number of Slovaks in the Czech lands gradually rose:

258,025 in 1950, 275,997 in 1961, 320,998 in 1970 and 359,370 in 1980. Throughout this period, Slovaks were accepted by the Czech matrix population with a friendly but sometimes patronising attitude, whether they spoke Slovak or Czech. In the 1950s most Slovak students who studied at Czech universities continued speaking Slovak while in the Czech lands. There was social pressure on the side of Slovak society to do so. After the introduction of the federation system in 1968, the Slovak community also included people who went to Prague to represent Slovakia in the federal government and in other institutions; these people, too, continued speaking Slovak. At the same time, Slovak culture, in particular popular music, television and films, as well as science and humanities were happily accepted by the Czech population. Nevertheless, the average level of education within the Slovak community remained at a level lower than that of the average for the Czech community, and this was reflected in the structure of Slovak employment. Davidová (1990), in the course of her research on communication within large enterprises of the Ostrava region, collected useful sociological data that bear witness to the position of Slovaks compared to that of other ethnic groups. For example, in a coal-mine in Petřvald close to Karviná, which employed 5300 people, 81% were Czechs (today some might categorise themselves as Moravians or Silesians), 15% Slovaks and 3% Poles. While 3% of the Polish employees were in executive positions, only 1% of Slovaks could be included in the same category. Other enterprises demonstrated a similar power structure (Davidová, 1990: 43).

The 1991 census was the first in the 20th century that registered a decrease in the number of Slovaks in the territory of the present day Czech Republic. The decrease was about 40,000 people. Slovak ethnicity was recorded by 314,877 people – i.e. 3.1% of the overall population. However, this was not the result of the return of Slovaks to the land of their origin. Two other factors were decisive: firstly, a number of people opted for Czech ethnicity both for themselves and for their children; secondly, many Roma, who had previously considered themselves Slovaks, reported for the first time as Roma. Census questions had not enabled the Roma to identify as Roma between 1930 and 1991. Since the bulk of the original Czech Roma were exterminated in the Nazi concentration camps, and the Roma who resided in the Czech lands were post-war immigrants from Slovakia, it was only natural that in the pre-1991 censuses they declared themselves as Slovaks. This has to be taken into consideration when evaluating demographic statistics. Šrajerová (1999: 149) assumes that in 1970 the share of the Roma who declared Slovak ethnicity was 13.1%, 10 years later it was 15.6% and in 1991 the number actually grew to 23.5% (i.e. 74,000 individuals), notwithstanding that they could (and some did) report as Roma.

Slovak immigration to the Czech Republic of the 1990s was characterised by the fact that all strata of Slovak society were included. The decisive factors were no longer economic but social (e.g. the reunification of families) and, following the birth of an independent Slovakia, also political (dissent from Prime Minister Mečiar's authoritarian political attitudes). At the same time, 'symbolically' speaking, in the 1990s the situation of the Slovak community in a sense deteriorated. They now became a minority, and many regretted this change of status. According to sociological surveys, their majority disagreed with the partition of the Czechoslovak Republic (Šrajerová, 1999). Since dual citizenship was not

allowed by the legislation of the day, they had to opt for one of the two, and on the basis of pragmatic considerations they mostly opted for the Czech one. On the other hand, throughout the decade, politicians on both sides aimed for 'closer-than-standard' relations between the Czech and Slovak Republics and this favourably influenced the position of the Slovak Community in the Czech Republic. For example, on the basis of agreements between the two governments, thousands of Slovak students study free of charge at Czech universities. The freedom of thought characteristic of the 1990s enabled the cultural flourishing of the Slovak community, and its political as well as cultural diversification, especially in Prague (Haluková, 1998; *Praha a národnosti*, 1998).

The 2001 census showed a substantial decrease in the Slovak community, from 314,877 to 193,190 individuals within a decade. This decrease of more than 120,000 people is not easy to explain by any single factor. Probably the trend of the older residents to declare Czech ethnicity had accelerated. At the same time, the trend for greater intermarriage between young Slovaks and Czechs has intensified, while recent migration from Slovakia that would have increased the numbers of Slovaks has lost momentum. It is also likely that more and more Roma, who formerly registered as Slovaks, opted for Czech ethnicity.

On the whole, one might conclude that the shaping of the Slovak community in the Czech Republic has been determined largely by two factors:

- The low cultural and linguistic distance between Slovakia and the Czech lands which enables successful communication and fast reaction to changes in the labour market and networks of social contacts. The high rate of intermarriage is not surprising.
- The power structure. Since the Czech culture has been perceived as superior, Slovaks, especially those with lower educational levels, showed little inclination to pursue education in Slovak schools and participate in Slovak cultural institutions. The perceived superior status of the Czech culture can be assumed to have contributed substantially to the ethnic shift of the Slovak community in the Czech lands.

The Roma

With the gradual decrease in the Slovak community within the Czech milieu, as described in the previous section, it is almost certain that the Romani community has become the largest non-Czech community in the Czech Republic. This is not a fact that is readily discernible in statistics. In the 2001 census only 11,000 persons admitted Romani ethnicity. In the 1991 census almost 33,000 persons had opted for this alternative, while official records kept by local authorities until 1989 (a tradition established by the Austro-Hungarian Empire) counted 145,000 persons. Today it is generally estimated that, due to a high birth rate and other factors (such as underestimation in previous statistics), the number is between two-hundred- and three-hundred-thousand (Možný, 2002). The Roma live virtually everywhere in the country, but the largest concentration can be found in northern Moravia and north-central Bohemia (Zpráva, 2002). In comparison with the rest of Europe, the number of the Roma is high, following Rumania, Bulgaria, Spain, Hungary, Slovakia, the former Yugoslavia and Turkey.

The basis of the Roma question is not in the physical features of the Roma,

which sometimes, though not always, differ from the matrix population. (Dark complexion and certain features of the physique tend to be interpreted as Roma characteristics.) Rather, the Roma question constitutes the most significant ethnic problem of present day Czech Republic because of sociocultural disparity between them and the matrix population. Sociocultural difference leads to differential socioeconomic power, and this projects into all domains of conduct, including linguistic behaviour. It is necessary to realise that the problem is not based only in the Roma population but also in the matrix community. Hence, when policies are formulated, they must address the Czechs as well.

The Roma immigration to the Near East and Europe originated in India. Although the Roma themselves do not possess any memory of their Indian origin (Hancock, 1988), their language and culture point to India in an indisputable way. In the territory of the present Czech Republic, their appearance has been confirmed as early as the end of 14th century, and they have been present ever since. The original Czech Roma were virtually exterminated in the Nazi concentration camps during WWII, while Slovak Roma were not. (During the war the independent Slovak state was not directly governed by Nazi Germany.) The bulk of the contemporary Roma population arrived from Slovakia after WWII, and it is necessary to understand that even at the present time they retain close ties with the Roma in that country, although the links may be waning in the case of the very young. Keeping up family relationships across national boundaries has also been the rule for other smaller Romani groups. While the pre-war Czech Roma maintained the nomadic way of life often associated with the Roma as a whole, the Slovak Roma were basically sedentary.

Although the contemporary Roma community appears to the Czechs to be homogeneous, it is not. Linguistically it can be divided into the original Czech Roma (now a very small group), the Slovak-and-Czech Roma, the Hungarian Roma, the Vlach Roma and various other smaller groups. These groupings, already lacking homogeneity in themselves (Elšík, 2003), live side by side in their Czech environment, rather than in a single social structure. The Roma continue to be a sum of many smaller groups ('clans' based on family ties) which lack cohesiveness, although there are attempts to create the consciousness of a whole.

One of the basic issues involved here is that the sense of Roma ethnicity has not yet been fully established. The political elites within the community have realised this problem and are trying to amend it (Leudar & Nekvapil, 2000). The issue of an underdeveloped ethnicity creates not only inadequacies in the political representation of the Roma but also supports the ongoing loss of the Roma culture and language. Within the younger generation, the traditional value system has been seriously threatened. To many Czechs, the Roma appear to be a community without any culture. However, traditional culture – tales, proverbs or music – is in fact still alive and new culture – poetry, literature or painting – is quickly developing.

In Slovakia and other countries east of the Czech Republic the Roma typically live in settlements at the outskirts of villages or towns of the matrix population, but in the Czech Republic the usual domicile is within towns and cities, where the Roma are concentrated in areas, sometimes very central, which have been abandoned by other dwellers. These areas are normally characterised by low quality slum housing, frequently beyond repair. Prior to 1989, the Communist Party

government exercised a policy of dispersing the Roma, but within the more liberal atmosphere of the 1990s the concentration of the Roma in certain areas has continued to be the rule. The traditional occupations have long been lost; men typically work in jobs in the construction industries, and women in cleaning. Their income is at the level of about 60% of the average wage for men and about 25% in the case of women. Additionally, there is a very high rate of unemployment, an amazing 70% in some areas and occasionally even as high as 90% within a society where, in the 1990s, the overall unemployment was under 10% (Možný, 2002). It is not surprising that, under these conditions, delinquency within the community does occur; from the point of view of the matrix population, the Roma more than occasionally are seen as thieves and prostitutes. More recently, drug dependence has also been reported. However, the extent of criminality together with other comparisons across ethnic groups needs more objective assessment than is currently available.

The attitudes of the matrix population toward the Roma community are negative. While the overall indices of xenophobia are not particularly high (Bártová, 2002; Jesenský, 2000), the Roma are more than disliked. The behaviour that is stereotypically the object of criticism includes their lack of interest in children's education, the handling of apartments and other dwellings ('they burn parquets for heating'), the level of hygiene, the erratic attendance at work, etc. The problems, real or assumed, are not seen as a heritage of the past that cannot be overcome in a decade, but as personal deficiencies of individual Roma. Normally, however, such criticism is not based on personal experience. The Roma are not invisible, but few people have had direct interaction with them. Still, when asked in 1999 whether they would like to have a Romani family as their neighbours, more than 40% of respondents in the survey answered univocally 'no'. (Incidentally, this is identical with the European average; cf. Možný, 2002: 134.) In 1991 negative response had still been over 70%. Seen from the Czech Republic point of view, one might reverse the judgment and say 'only 40% said no'. Bártová correctly points to the fact that, west of the Czech Republic, tolerance towards the Roma does not differ from tolerance to foreigners in general because, apart from Spain, the numbers of the Roma are small and the issue does not stand out. Within the Czech Republic, criminality on the Roma side is paralleled by discrimination and brutal attacks from the matrix community. Such attacks are usually performed by extremist right-wing groups, such as Skinheads or their sympathisers, but silently approved by many Czechs. The Roma community is frightened, because they can be killed for no apparent reason, including women and children. The Czech police are sometimes overtly anti-Roma, and Czech courts have so far been lenient towards the killers.

A large comparative study of the presentation of the Roma in Czech, Slovak and Hungarian media was conducted by Nekvapil *et al.* (2000). For the Czech media, analysed by J. Homoláč, four findings were of particular interest:

- (1) The comparison of reports on three separate killings of Roma (1991, 1993 and 1995) revealed that newspaper reporting increased in quantity as well as quality.
- (2) The killings were not perceived as events in their own right but rather as responses to Romani criminality; they were not seen as racially motivated

unless the victim was classified as a 'decent Romany'. There was a trend to present characteristics stereotypically attributed to the Roma and to employ them as a means of explaining the violence.

- (3) Even when there was a one-sided attack, the situation was explained as a 'skirmish' between the Roma and Skinheads, not an act of the majority community directed towards the minority.
- (4) It was unusual for the Czech media to describe positive actions of the Roma, and when the media did describe positive actions, those actions were presented as exceptional. Negative reporting, based on stereotypes, abounded in the Czech press (see also Homoláč *et al.*, 2003; Nekvapil & Leudar, 2002).

The sociologist Keller (2002) summarises the discrimination against the Roma in the following points:

- (1) A Roma child is discriminated against at the moment he or she enters a Czech school. There are sociocultural as well as linguistic barriers to education. Large numbers of Roma children have been placed in 'special schools', a fact that seriously affects their further education. Only a small number of Roma children complete more than elementary schooling.
- (2) The second level of discrimination occurs in employment. The rate of unemployment is huge. If unqualified work is available, it is often so poorly paid that social welfare benefits constitute the more attractive option. This is not to say that there are not many Roma who would like to work.
- (3) Especially since the beginning of the 1990s, a trend has appeared in the matrix community to assert its 'right to intolerance'. The Roma have often been refused access to restaurants or swimming pools and have been physically attacked, though the agents were not normally typical members of the matrix community (Keller, 2002).

Another point should be added: the Roma have suffered the loss of their language. This matter will be dealt with in Part III.

This is a very dangerous situation. The political system of Czechoslovakia under the communist government dealt with some of the issues within an assimilationist framework, but failed to resolve them. Towards the end of the 1990s, some Roma attempted to improve their situation by emigrating, for example, to Britain or Canada. However, these avenues have been closed by the governments of the countries in question. Admittedly, some work has been done, and the future is not entirely grim. The government of the Czech Republic is obviously under international pressure, particularly in view of its expected entry into the European Union which requires that all member countries have a clean record on human rights and ethnic relations. Hence, in the 2000s, more and more measures have been taken to improve the situation, including attempts to change the attitudes of the police force (Zpráva, 2002). In 2001, the Government reorganised its interdepartmental Council of the Czech Government for Matters of the Roma Community, to include 14 Roma out of the total membership of 28. The government further approved a *Koncepce politiky vlády vůči příslušníkům romské komunity* 'The Principles of Government's Policy Towards Members of the Roma Community', a document that must be welcome after a decade of a -

laissez-faire policy (see Part II, Communities: A Summary). In 2002 there was one appointed Roma Member of Parliament. A Roma representative is a member of the Czech Radio Consultative Working Party for Ethnic Broadcasting, and the Roma are represented on the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities. The government financially supports the Museum of Roma Culture in Brno as well as a number of Roma periodicals and cultural programmes (Zpráva, 2002).

At present, the Roma are prepared to defend their interests; however, the matrix community often perceives its interests as being opposed to those of the Roma, and it possesses the power to realise its interests. The only power the Roma can exercise is through radical social and political action, and there is no doubt that they are able to do so. A question that is of importance is to what extent the interests of the Roma intellectual elites, which represent the Roma in the community at large, will in the future coincide with the interests of average members of the community. Responsibility lies with the government to show that it is prepared to take further effective measures to alleviate the situation. In 2002, the new Prime Minister, Vladimír Špidla, appealed to the Roma to cooperate with the government on a policy to improve the conditions of the community. As Keller notes (2002), the basic prerequisite is the improvement of the economic performance of the country in general, but much more can be achieved before that happens if the ideology of the matrix community moves towards more ethnic tolerance.

A considerable number of cultural, social and political Roma organisations are oriented not only toward the left but also toward the right (cf. Zpráva, 2002: 71).

The Poles

In the 2001 census, 51,968 people reported Polish ethnicity. In 1991, the number was 59,383. Most of these people live in the Těšín region, a relatively small North Moravian territory which is a component of the Czech part of historical Silesia that borders on Poland. It consists of two districts: Karviná, where, in 2001, 19,040 people (6.8% of the population of the district) registered as Poles, and Frýdek-Místek, 18,077 people (8% of the population). The remaining Poles live dispersed among the Czechs and other ethnic groups, essentially over the whole territory of the Czech Republic – a higher density can be observed only in northern, eastern and central Bohemia. It is necessary also to take into consideration that at present several thousand Poles work on long-term permits in the Republic. In the Škoda-Volkswagen automobile factory in Mladá Boleslav alone, several hundreds were employed in 1996. In the case of Poles in the Czech Republic it is therefore possible to identify at least three categories (Zeman, 1994):

- the Těšín community;
- Poles living in other districts; and
- foreign workers.

However, it is the first category that attracts most attention, and that category will constitute the target of this account.

Maximum size was attained by the Polish community in 1910 when 158,261 people reported Polish as their mother tongue. In the following decade the

number dropped to 103,521, a decrease caused partly by a change in patterns of reporting in the Těšín region where many people were ethnically indifferent, and partly by emigration. Since then, the number of people who declared themselves to be Poles has consistently declined to the current level. It seems that, in the years from 1950 to 1980, almost 33,600 Poles (46.2% of the 1950 community) changed their ethnic allegiance, now mostly reporting as Czechs (Srb, 1987).

The Polish minority of the Těšín region originates in the decision of the post-WWI negotiations about central Europe when the region was allotted to the Czechoslovak state. This was an act of management by force, and there was no way of opposing the power of those who made the decision. Many Poles, who in this way found themselves living outside of Poland, considered the decision as unjust. This feeling marked the cohabitation of Poles and Czechs on the territory ever since, and language management within the situation has attracted much attention from Czechoslovak (now Czech) and Polish authorities (Borák, 1999) ever since. At the end of the 1930s, and also immediately following WWII, the incorporation of the region into Czechoslovakia became the object of severe conflict between Czechoslovakia and Poland. The post-war conflict was terminated only following strong pressure from the Soviet Union in 1947.

In the period between the two world wars, the Těšín region witnessed the development of a dense network of Polish schools and a large number of Polish cultural, sports and economic institutions. Initially, there were few Polish intellectuals of local origin, and these were mostly school teachers. The population predominantly found employment in the mining and iron works industries. The process of further industrialisation which followed WWII led to the dissolution of the original ethnic structure. It brought to the Těšín region tens of thousands of Slovaks whose overall percentage in the Karviná district in 1991 was as high as that of Poles. In 2001 Poles (19,040) were, however, again more numerous than Slovaks (15,948). In comparison, the Czech element comprised 229,658 people. Polish ethnicity was also negatively influenced by the disappearance of Polish villages and the movement of the population to urban centres such as Havířov. Under the Communist Party government, Polish associations were reduced to a single organisation, the *Polský kulturně-osvětový svaz*, founded in 1947. This name itself makes it clear that the aim of this organisation was strictly non-political. At the beginning of the 1950s, the network of Polish schools expanded, but subsequently, with the decline in demand, the number of schools also decreased. In 1955, the principle of bilingualism, which guaranteed bilingual signs on buildings, bilingual official notices, etc. in towns and villages with a larger number of Polish inhabitants, was accepted in the region (obviously approved by a top organ of the Communist Party before it was codified in official regulations). The implementation of the principle has been a sensitive issue up to the present time. There are indications that, for the Polish community, it has primarily been understood as a strategy symbolising the equality of Poles and Czechs within the region (Sokolová, 1999b). In daily life most Poles are at least receptively bilingual in Polish and Czech. However, an important non-symbolic role was played by Polish libraries, or the Polish section within local libraries, as well as by the Polish section of the Těšín Theatre. Since 1951, Polish broadcasting is also available on Czech national radio.

Following the changes of 1989, social organisation became freer, and Poles

diversified in their allegiances. Apart from the *Polský kulturně-osvětový svaz*, a more ambitious *Rada Poláků* came into being. However, it seems that no major change in the life of the community eventuated (Borák, 1998). Previous trends continue, and the most prominent of these is assimilation. According to the available statistics in 1994, Poles entered into only 27.9% of ethnically homogeneous marriages. One of the factors in the decline of opting for Polish ethnicity has been the emergence of the Silesian ethnic category, which attracted 44,446 people in 1991 and 10,878 in 2001.

The trends mentioned above notwithstanding, Poles in the Těšín region remain the only territorially bound historical ethnic minority in the Czech Republic. Hence they have attracted the attention of a number of specialists, for example from the *Slezský ústav* (Silesian Institute) in Opava. Since the end of the 1980s sociolinguistic work has started to appear. In 1990, Ostrava University established a special *Kabinet pro výzkum polského etnika v České republice* (Unit for Research of the Polish Ethnic Group in the Czech Republic). After the demise of Czechoslovakia in 1993, more attention of the Czech and Polish authorities has concentrated on the Polish minority of the Těšín region than had occurred in the ethnically more varied Czechoslovak state.

At the time work on this monograph ended (February 2003), there were definitely Poles who felt that their interests were being suppressed through the power of the Czech state. The Report of the Government's Council for Ethnic Minorities mentions that its Polish member negatively evaluated the conduct of the 2001 census because, immediately prior to that census, the Czech media reported that the census documents might be misused, thus in fact deterring minority individuals from declaring their true feelings. According to the Polish member of the Council, the actual number of Poles in the territory of the Czech Republic was 70,000. In this figure, he included all those who had declared Silesian ethnicity. In that part of the Report that conveys the views of individual members of the Council, the Polish representative criticised the current situation on many counts, including hidden intolerance and discrimination (Zpráva, 2002: 68). His attitude shows that problems do exist. It is an important question to what extent the joint entry of Poland and the Czech Republic into the European Union in 2004 will change the overall situation.

The Germans

Germans, or German-speaking inhabitants, have lived in the territory of the present Czech Republic for more than 10 centuries. The co-existence of the Czech and German elements has had a special historical significance and has been highlighted earlier in this paper. The current situation will be the focus of the following text.

As mentioned above, the largest number of Germans in the territory of the Czech Republic was attested in 1910, when the population reached 3,492,362 (Srb, 1988). Old continuous settlements could be found, primarily near the borders with Germany and Austria, but there were ethnic islands within areas that were almost totally Czech. The German element was particularly strong in cities and towns, especially in Prague, Brno, and Jihlava. The wide distribution of the German population is attested by the fact that a recent project to produce an

Atlas historických německých nářečí (Historical Atlas of German Dialects) found it necessary to collect data from nearly one-third of the present-day territory of the Czech Republic (Bachmann, 2002). After WWI, large numbers of Germans – e.g. Austrian officials and others who were not native to the country – left; a similar exit of foreign officials, soldiers and others brought in by the occupation during the period between 1939 and 1945 occurred after WWII. Nevertheless, in the middle of 1945 the remaining native German element represented approximately 2,809,000 individuals – i.e. 26.3% of the entire population. Yet, two years later, following the large-scale deportation of Germans to Germany and Austria, only some 180,000 (2.1% of the population) remained (Srb, 1988). This deportation was arranged on the basis of agreements reached at the Potsdam Conference (1945) and the implementation of the agreement was accepted by virtually the entire Czech population which considered the deportation a logical conclusion to WWII, a period marked by atrocities committed by the Nazis who, in their turn, had been enthusiastically supported by the majority of Czech Germans. No major objections were raised abroad either. At present, a number of people, including many Czechs, see the decision in a different light, but both the emotional and ideological atmosphere of the mid-1940s led to virtual universal acceptance of its justification at that time. Deportation did not affect German antifascists (often Social Democrats or communists), some old people, Germans from mixed marriages, and persons who were necessary for the functioning of the economy. These exemptions, of course, did not guarantee that such people would not be discriminated against. Often the decision regarding who should be allowed to stay was a matter of chance. The implementation of the deportation was not always compassionate; on the contrary it was sometimes even brutal – a record that has been reported in biographical research by many participants (see, e.g. Stehlíková, 1997: 70).

Over the course of the following decades, the numbers of Germans decreased further: 159,938 in 1950; 134,143 in 1961; 80,903 in 1970; 58,211 in 1980 and 48,556 in 1991. The most recent figure represented only 0.5% of the population. This decline was partly due to emigration to the German Federal Republic and partly to rapid assimilation. In the period from 1965 to 1969 alone, when emigration procedures were eased, some 48,000 people left. The process of assimilation was aided by territorial dispersion, mixed marriages, the absence of German schools and negative attitudes among the Czech majority to anything German, based on the experience of repression by the Nazis during wartime. Demographic research conducted in the 1980s showed that the German community was characterised by a low percentage of children and a high participation in the economy, mainly in working-class jobs. The majority in the German population consisted of women (a higher ratio than in the matrix population), and 55% of the community was over 50 years of age. The education profile of the community was one of the worst in the country (Srb, 1988).

Assimilation of the German community further deepened in the 1990s. In 1991, within the group up to 35 years of age there were only 9% homogeneous marriages (i.e. both husband and wife German), while a few years later this figure declined to a mere 3%. Sokolová *et al.* (1997: 67) spoke about the dissolution of the community in the Czech matrix community. This view seems to be confirmed by the most recent census (2001), when only 39,106 (0.4% of the

population of the country) claimed German ethnicity, 10,000 less than in 1991. This drift occurred notwithstanding the fact that German ethnicity no longer carried any social or political stigma or disadvantage.

Although in the course of the deportation the composition of the remaining German community was selected to suit the world view of the Communist Party, when the Party assumed unlimited political power in 1948, its approach to the community was guided by principles of discrimination rather than 'proletarian internationalism'. It is true that, at the beginning of the 1950s, four persons of German origin were 'elected' (i.e. in fact appointed by the Party) to the Parliament, but it was not until 1953 that all Germans were granted Czech citizenship, and the community did not achieve the legal status of a 'minority' until 1968, eight years after other groups. After the Prague Spring, the first official organisation of the Community, founded in 1969, was the *Kulturní sdružení občanů ČSSR německé národnosti* (The Cultural Association of Citizens of German Ethnicity) which continued to exist through the following decades. Before the Velvet Revolution (1989) it had 8000 members in 60 branches.

After the Velvet Revolution of 1989 a number of changes took place. However, these changes pertained largely to the political rather than to the daily-life domains. The most prominent feature of the change was the appearance of a new organisation, *Shromáždění Němců v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* (Assembly of Germans in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia). This body tries to work within the spirit of the democratic society of the 1990s. However, the survival of the *Kulturní sdružení* shows that not all Germans negatively evaluated their previous form of association. At the beginning of the 1990s, intensive contact took place between the *Shromáždění Němců* and representatives of the *Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft* [Sudeten German Welfare and Cultural Association], which represents one segment of the Germans deported to the German Federal Republic. Through this channel, economic aid was directed to Germans in the Czech Republic (Staněk, 1998). Later, however, aid was distributed by official organs of the German government, because the *Landsmannschaft* was viewed with concern not only by the Czech community but also by some members of the *Kulturní sdružení*. The attempt, in 1992, to found a political party called *Demokratická strana Sudety* (Democratic Sudeten Party) in Plzeň, met with considerable resistance not only in the Czech community but even among Czech Germans (Leudar & Nekvapil, 1998). This attempt clearly opposed the interests of the Czech community, being interpreted as an attempt to return to the pre-war period when Henlein's Nazi Sudeten Party pursued a clear policy of attaching the Sudeten region to Germany. Within the Czech community as well as within the German community itself the question appeared regarding what German organisations in the Czech Republic should actually do. Should they concentrate on revitalisation of German culture and language, or should they include political programmes, such as the abolition of the 1945 Beneš Decrees through which German property in Czechoslovakia was confiscated? It is an undisputable fact that the issue of compensation for the deported Germans will remain as an international political issue. However, equally undecided is the question of compensation for Germans who lost their property even though they were permitted to stay in the country. The economic situation of some members of the German community in the Czech Republic is at present satisfactory. Those who possess a

knowledge of German often work in foreign (German) companies where pay is much higher than in Czech enterprises. Many others work in Germany. The case of the Hlučín region (cf. MFD 11 May 2000) shows that such arrangements can affect thousands of people.

The German community is not restricted to Germans who were born and educated in the country. A considerable number of German companies are active in the Czech Republic with the consequence that a number of sojourner executives and other employees arrive from Germany. The number is not easy to establish. The 2001 census showed 3438 persons who possessed German citizenship. These Germans, mainly managers, enjoy a high socioeconomic status which is at variance with the Czech Germans. While an average Czech hardly notices that remnants of a formerly huge German community still live in the country, the 'German Germans' are in focus. They are the bearers of foreign capital, which is important to the country, but that foreign capital is also frequently viewed as a risk (Houžvička, 2001). This group of German Germans have tried to prevent resistance due to the fear of German economic dominance by representing their companies as international rather than German (Nekvapil, 1997b).

The long history of Czech-German contact has led to a variety of names for the Germans. Along with the neutral word *Němec*, well documented as early as in the 14th century, there are a number of pejorative denominations such as *Němčour* (a pejorative ending, *-our*, added to the designation *Němec*) or *Skopčák* 'a mouton man' (after the leather trousers German nationalists used to wear) (Skála, 1977), which attest to negative attitudes.

The Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Russians

The arrival of large numbers of Ruthenians (Rusyns), Ukrainians, and Russians in the territory of the present-day Czech Republic occurred after WWI as a consequence of the October Revolution in Russia and, in the case of Ruthenians, the incorporation of Ruthenia (now a part of the Ukraine adjoining eastern Slovakia) into the newly formed Czechoslovakia. In the first days of Czechoslovakia, it was once suggested that the country should be called *Česko-slovenská-rusínská republika* 'Czecho-Slovak-Ruthenian Republic' (Praha: Osobnosti, 2000: 127).

Following the Russian Revolution, a refugee assistance programme resulted in the arrival from former Czarist Russia of a large number of Russians and Ukrainians and a number of members of other ethnic groups (Georgians and Kalmycks for example). This programme was organised by the Czechoslovak government, with the first President, T.G. Masaryk, playing a leading role. It has been estimated that the number of refugees increased from an original 6000 to more than 20,000 in the 1920s and 1930s (Sládek, 1999: 14). Initially, the Soviet regime in Russia was expected to be a temporary phenomenon, and consequently the refugees considered their stay as a temporary one. They did not enter into local networks, living mostly in their closed communities, a lifestyle for which they were provided excellent conditions by the Czechoslovak government which supported their associations and paid for Russian and Ukrainian schools from kindergarten to university. Both a Russian and a Ukrainian university operated in the Republic (for details see Veber *et al.*, 1996; Zilynskij, 1995).

However, the refugee assistance programme was made problematic in the 1930s, when Czechoslovakia, like France, realised that the Soviet Union was both a large export market and politically a potential ally against the German threat. The anti-Soviet émigré community was considered a nuisance and its financial support dried up. Under these conditions, émigrés started leaving the country. On the other hand, Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia did not result in the demise of the Russian and Ukrainian organisations: for example, the Russian and Ukrainian gymnasia (high schools) as well as the Ukrainian University were active throughout WWII (Kopřivová-Vukolová, 1993; Zilynskij, 1995: 54) – this despite the fact that the operation of the Czech universities was suspended. The end of the ‘good old days’ arrived with the termination of the war, when the Soviet Army, as it advanced, detained approximately a thousand émigrés, mainly members of the Russian intelligentsia, and hauled them off to concentration camps in the Soviet Union. Only a small number of those people survived and still fewer returned to Czechoslovakia after a long period of forced labour in the camps (Kopřivová-Vukolová, 1993). Many members of the Ukrainian community, seizing the opportunity presented by Hitler’s advance into the Soviet Union to further their claims for independence, collaborated with Nazi Germany, but managed to escape to the West before the Red Army arrived.

With the end of WWII, Ruthenia was claimed by the Soviet Union and this resulted in bringing an end to any further reinforcement of the Ruthenian community. New additions could only arrive from eastern Slovakia, but reliable statistics do not exist, because Ruthenians were now identified as a subset of Ukrainians and were registered as such. In eastern Slovakia, a programme of forced Ukrainisation of the Ruthenians started in 1953 and, interestingly, was also directed against their Russification. Under these circumstances, many declared Slovak identity. However, the situation was not completely clear, and the category and term *Ruthenian* did not entirely disappear. The constitutional law of 1968 used a strange formulation to describe one of the officially acknowledged nationalities – ‘Ukrainian (Ruthenian)’.

According to the authoritative work about national minorities published in Czechoslovakia before the Velvet Revolution, in the 1950 census 19,384 people resident in the Czech lands registered as being of Ukrainian/Russian ethnicity. Thirty years later the number had decreased to 15,322 (Sokolová *et al.*, 1987: 35). Note that the category used was Ukrainian/Russian and that the term *Ukrainian* was intended to include Ruthenians.

For the first time, the 1991 census allowed individuals to opt freely for either Ruthenian, Ukrainian or Russian ethnicity; 1926 respondents living in the Czech part of the then Czechoslovakia, reported as Ruthenians, but 10 years later, in the 2001 census, the number had decreased to 1106. The community itself claims 10,000 individuals (Zpráva, 2002: 74). Although their number is small, they are well organised (see, particularly, the *Společnost přátel Podkarpatské Rusi* ‘The Society of Friends of Ruthenia’), and they have developed wide-ranging publication activities. Thanks to their long-term status, their importance has been acknowledged in the fact that they are represented on the government’s Council for Ethnic Minorities and in organs of the Prague City office.

As for Ukrainians, the 1991 census registered 8220 individuals, while 10 years later the number had increased to 22,112. In the contemporary Czech Republic,

Ukrainians represent the largest group of foreign workers; it is assumed that the 2001 census captured only part of them.³ Whether university graduates or individuals with only basic education, they are mostly active as manual workers. Attitudes of the matrix community are more often negative than positive (Zilynskij, 1996) because, for an average Czech, they are not easily distinguished from Russians, and the media often refer to 'Russian-speaking gangs and mafia'. Ukrainians, like other ethnic groups, receive financial support from the government for their social, cultural and publication activities. The most active organisation is *Ukrajinská iniciativa v ČR* 'Ukrainian Initiative in the Czech Republic'.

Russian ethnicity was declared in 1991 by 5062 people, but in 2001 the number rose to 12,369. This increase is no doubt partly due to Russian foreign workers who are active in the Czech Republic under conditions similar to those of the Ukrainians. However, not a negligible segment of the new arrivals consists of well-to-do Russians who own shops and real estate. Among Czechs, the view – not quite without substance – prevails that this segment of the Russian community has established itself particularly well in the internationally well-known resort, Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad). The social life of the Russian community has only commenced – the Czech population still vividly remembers the Soviet invasion of 1968 and the ensuing occupation, and these memories do not favour the existence of organised elements of Russian society in their midst.

The Vietnamese

The first groups of Vietnamese arrived in the Czech Republic as a consequence of the 1955 agreement on economic, scientific and technical cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Vietnamese Democratic Republic. The Vietnamese came to Czechoslovakia to obtain practical qualifications in mechanical engineering, metallurgy and other areas; indeed, some of them were sent to study in high schools and universities. Their numbers gradually increased, and the peak was reached at the beginning of the 1980s when approximately 30,000 resided in the territory of Czechoslovakia. Because the aim of their stay was apprenticeship in a profession, they were mainly young people. Some of them came for a few years of practice in industrial organisations, having first obtained basic qualifications in their own country. Two Czech enterprises, ČKD Praha and Tatra Kopřivnice, alone offered placement for more than 500 Vietnamese sojourners. Admittedly, many of them were not exclusively concentrating on their work – they had families to look after in their home country and earning money as well as purchasing goods not available in Vietnam were important side purposes of their stay. In this respect they were perhaps not very different from the category of foreign workers, except that their selection and arrival were strictly regulated by the state and both governments perceived their stay as having ideological significance. In the first two decades of this program, the Czech population maintained a positive attitude, but in the 1980s the atmosphere changed somewhat because the Vietnamese sojourners were allegedly buying large quantities of merchandise that were in short supply (motorcycles, bicycles, sewing machines, etc.). In mid-1980s intermarriages appeared. Following the demise of the Communist Party regime in 1989 the new Czechoslovak government cancelled the agreement with Vietnam which resulted in a radical decrease in the size of the Vietnamese

community. In the 1991 census, only 421 people reported Vietnamese ethnic identity, but the demography later changed again. In the 2001 census, 17,462 persons claimed Vietnamese ethnicity. It is not entirely clear how to explain this discrepancy; at least four factors must be considered:

- In the 1991 census some Vietnamese did not declare their ethnicity because they were frightened of being deported.
- The 2001 census included residents with a long-term visa (over 90 days), while the 1991 census only registered people with permanent permits.
- On the basis of a new intergovernmental agreement with Vietnam, new young Vietnamese commenced arriving to obtain work practice in the industrial sector.
- As Müllerová (1998) noted, there was a massive influx of Vietnamese who arrived from former East Germany.

The Vietnamese from East Germany deserve special mention. Their entrance was principally caused by the liberal rules for conducting commercial activities in the Czech Republic; e.g. foreigners were allowed to open commercial enterprises without having a permanent visa. It is not surprising that relatively large Vietnamese communities are located in areas bordering Germany, the former GDR (Köppen, 2000) or what used to be West Germany. For example in Cheb, with 33,000 inhabitants, there were, in 2001, 1488 Vietnamese who thus represented the leading non-Czech community (4.5%). The largest concentration of Vietnamese seems to be the border community of Hřensko, where, out of a population of 247, 43 people (17.4%) are Vietnamese. In the somewhat larger township of Železná Ruda (approximately 2000 inhabitants), 11.8% are Vietnamese. When interpreting these figures, it is necessary to realise that ethnological research conducted by Jitka Slezáková in Jihlava (Slezáková, n.d.) showed that the Vietnamese community residing in that city was in fact just double the 2001 census numbers.

The Vietnamese belong to the most visible communities in the Czech Republic. Not only is their physical appearance different from that of the matrix community, but the matrix community is in frequent contact with them. The Vietnamese are vendors in local markets, or failing the opportunity to sell in local markets, their stalls flank a number of highways and some city streets. Czechs often purchase merchandise at these stalls, because the goods are cheap. However, the attitude towards the Vietnamese community is basically hesitant. Pejorative descriptors such as *rákosníci* 'cane people/reed warblers' are sometimes used in reference to them.

However, in fact the power relationship between the matrix and Vietnamese community is sometimes reversed. A Nova TV programme (7th February 1996) demonstrated that in Železná Ruda, previously mentioned, Vietnamese enterprises constitute the main economic support of the township, Czechs are employed by Vietnamese shop keepers (for example as cleaners) and little Vietnamese children are looked after by Czech nannies.

The Vietnamese do not necessarily trade only in street stalls. Some sell through normal shops, in which they often employ Czech assistants. The birth of the *Svaz vietnamských podnikatelů*, 'Association of Vietnamese Entrepreneurs', occurred in 1992; the organisation participates in the publication of the magazine

Que Huong/ Domov (Slezáková, n.d.). In 1999 a *Svaz Vietnamců* 'Vietnamese Association' was formed in Prague to protect the interests of the community. There is a branch in Ostrava. A new magazine *Bambus* was founded in 2003.

The Vietnamese presence in areas that immediately border Germany has a special character. Consider the township of Vejprty (population of 3336), where only 60 Vietnamese were recorded in the 2001 census, but the activities of these 60 are easily visible. They engage in the sale of goods in street stalls, in shops and in the town market hall. The town is located very close to the border control point. The shops are clearly oriented toward German, not Czech, customers: the German proficiency of the Vietnamese is reportedly better than their Czech, and they have erected a large advertisement on the roadside which reads, in German, *Sparen, sparen, nach Vejprty fahren* 'Save, save, come to Vejprty'. A negative attitude toward the Vietnamese also characterises people on the German side of the border, because these activities harm German retailers. The Vietnamese exploit the economic asymmetry between Germany and the Czech Republic. Given the enlargement of the European Union, they will lose the opportunities for their business operation.

The Hungarians

Hungarian ethnicity was claimed in 2001 by 14,672 inhabitants. Ten years earlier the number was 19,932. It is necessary to realise that the character of the Hungarian community radically differs from that of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia (see e.g. Lanstyák, 2002) or Rumania. They are a small group with an opaque history having always lived dispersed rather than in a single coherent settlement. Also, there is no common border between Hungary and the Czech lands; apart from some memories of WWI, when Czech soldiers, drafted into the Austrian Army, passed through Hungary and a later limited experience with Hungarians from Slovakia, for Czechs Hungary has never been a country on which they focused much attention. In 1921 the number of Hungarians in the Czech lands was 7049 – mostly people who migrated from Slovakia or Ruthenia during the Hapsburg era, but from that time up to 1991 the community experienced a continuous, though limited, increase. Most of these people came because of work opportunities. A sharp and sudden increase occurred in 1945 and 1946 when approximately 45,000 thousand Hungarians were deported from Southern Slovakia to the Bohemian border zone with Germany. This was a phenomenon similar to the deportation of Germans. (Hungary was an ally of Germany throughout WWII and occupied parts of Slovakia during the war.) However, this was not a case of deportation to the 'home' country, and it did not last. When it was cancelled in 1948, most of those concerned returned to the place of their origin. Statistics from 1950 showed only 13,201 people. Hungarians have lived dispersed in all regions of the present-day Republic, especially in the industrial areas of northern and western Bohemia, in Silesia (the Karviná district) and in Prague, which is the cultural centre of Czech Hungarians. Between 1954 and 1989 Hungarians living in the Czech lands did not have an independent cultural organisation. Only after the political changes of 1989 was the *Svaz Mad'arů žijících v českých zemích* (The Association of Hungarians Living in the Czech Lands) formed. This organisation engages in publication activities (e.g. in publishing the

cultural revue *Prágai tüikör* 'The Prague Mirror'), among other activities, i.e. it cooperates in broadcasting Hungarian programmes on radio. (For more details see *Praha a národnosti*, 1998: 34–49.)

The decrease in the number of people who declared Hungarian ethnicity in the 1991–2001 decade was more than 25%. On the one hand, this change can be explained by deepening assimilation; on the other, by the fact that replacement of natural decreases by new immigrants became difficult, because what was now involved was migration from abroad rather than from other areas of the same state.

Although the Hungarian community is not one of the smallest, apart from the activities of Hungarian intellectuals (who, however, are often not identified as such, because many Slovaks also have Hungarian names), it is one of those which is least visible. A sociological survey conducted in 1992 showed that many Hungarians did not wish others to know about their ethnicity (Sadílek & Csémy, 1993: 17).

The Greeks and Macedonians

Greeks

Greeks appeared in the territory of the Czech Republic as a consequence of the Greek civil war between 1946 and 1949. As a result, approximately 12,500 refugees arrived, and this first wave included 3500 children. In 1950 there were 5200 Greek children of whom 4000 had arrived without their parents. Subsequently, the size of the Greek community fluctuated due to family reunions and increased somewhat in 1956 as a result of an influx of Greeks from Hungary, where refugees were afraid that the Hungarian uprising might lead to the persecution of people with left-wing political views. Left-oriented ideologies were typical for the majority of the Greek community (Otčenášek, 1998).

Greek refugees were assigned domicile in border areas sparsely populated after the deportation of Germans, in particular in northern Moravia. Purely Greek villages came into being, and there was a high concentration of Greeks in some towns; for example, in the mid-1950s, Krnov had a Greek population of 2500, approximately 12% of the total population. The Greeks worked principally in the textile and machine manufacturing industries. The information given so far is valid not only for Greeks but also for Macedonians. Since both groups arrived from Greece under the same circumstances, the numerical relationship between them is difficult to establish and has been the object of debate (cf. Dorovský, 1998; Sloboda, 2000/2001; Sloboda, 2003); however, since the sociocultural and communicative behaviour of the two groups shows differences, it is necessary to deal with them separately.

Members of the Greek ethnic community hoped that they would soon be able to return to their country and did not, therefore, make any effort to adapt themselves to their Czech environment, except in the most basic respects. Children were initially educated as Greek children in Greece. However, it soon became obvious that return to Greece would not be a matter of months or years, and in the 1951–52 school year children started attending Czech schools.

A Greek newspaper *Agonistis* (Fighter), among other periodicals, was published from 1950, and up to 1969 it included a Macedonian page. There was also radio broadcasting in Greek. However, the community was still oriented towards returning to Greece, a fact clearly visible in marriage preferences, the

range of which was restricted to the community. When return became possible, approximately three-quarters of the Greeks opted to go back; this happened in three waves between 1975 and the end of the 1980s. In the 1990s, the number of Greeks stabilised at approximately 3300 individuals (3379 in the 1991 census and 3219 in 2001). However, representatives of the community itself estimate the number of individuals of Greek origin at 7000 (Zpráva, 2002). Greeks who remained in the Czech Republic and those who returned to Greece developed an active relationship, often of a commercial nature. Slovaks apart, Greeks still represent the largest single non-Czech group of students enrolled at Czech universities (500 in 2000).

Greeks living in the Czech Republic have formed a number of associations, the strongest of which is the *Asociace řeckých obcí v České republice* (Association of Greek Communities in the Czech Republic) which concentrates on such tasks as maintenance of the Greek language, Greek dances, festivals, and the local Greek press. In 2002 a representative of the community was a member of the *Rada vlády pro národnostní menšiny* (Governmental Council for Ethnic Minorities).

Macedonians

Macedonians emerged as an ethnic community in the Czech lands under historical circumstances analogous to those affecting the Greeks – i.e. as a consequence of the civil war in Greece. They represented approximately a third of the arrivals from Greece. Their reception paralleled that of the Greeks in that they received schooling in Macedonian (textbooks were provided from abroad), broadcasting in Macedonian was instituted, and there was a Macedonian press. Exact numbers are difficult to establish because the emergence of the Macedonian ethnicity was still recent, and because some speakers of Macedonian considered themselves to be Greeks or Bulgarians (Sloboda, 2003). A basic difference between them and the Greeks was that they were not able to return to their homes in northern Greece even after the end of the dictatorship in 1974, because Greek authorities continued to refuse their applications, unless they declared Greek nationality and ethnicity and changed their names. This practice resulted in a higher degree of assimilation of Macedonians to Czech society which was linguistically facilitated by the fact that, unlike Greek, Macedonian is a Slavic language. Being barred from Greece, the only possibility for them, if they wanted to move closer to their homeland, was to resettle in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, which welcomed them. Many, indeed, left for that destination. Among those who remained in the Czech lands, some assimilated to the matrix population while others opted for Greek ethnicity. It is interesting that the Macedonian ethnicity was not reported at all in either the 1991 or the 2001 censuses, although some other very small groups (413 Austrians in 1991 or 690 Albanians in 2001) were. Some of them may have been included in the category *Others*. There were new Macedonian arrivals in the 1990s. A Macedonian periodical, *Makedonska misla* (Macedonian Thought), is currently being published in Prague.

Other Communities

In this section, some other smaller communities residing in the territory of the Czech Republic will be mentioned. Nekvapil and Neustupný (1998) speak of the

smaller communities as groups characterised not only by their size, but also by their relatively 'limited visibility'. This is still true of some of those groups, although others, such as the Vietnamese group, do attract considerable attention from the matrix community. They have been discussed separately in a previous section. In Nekvapil and Neustupný (1998: 126) it was pointed out that 'no community is too small to be ignored', and this point of view has recently been endorsed by others within the Czech Republic (Šatava, 2001).

Some of those communities are known to the authors from personal experience, while the presence of others is also attested in the existing literature. However, such information is rarely sufficient to provide a clear picture of the present state of their range of interaction within the Czech Republic. In preparing the 2001 census, the Czech authorities anticipated the existence of some of these smaller communities when they prepared their questionnaires not only in Czech, Polish, German, Romani, Ukrainian and Russian, but also in English, French, Arabic, Vietnamese and Chinese. But even this linguistic diversity did not cater for the whole range of ethnic diversity in the country.

The 2001 census documented the presence of 690 Albanians, 1801 Serbs and 1585 Croats. These numbers may underestimate the real strength of those communities. The numbers reflect the unrest of the 1990s in the Balkan peninsula. Nevertheless, the unrest is not the only factor, at least not in the case of the Croats whose presence in the Czech territory has a long history. As mentioned previously, since the 16th century, several Croat villages have existed in southern Moravia. In view of the support by the Croatian government of Nazi Germany during WWII and in view of the alleged collaboration with the Nazis by the Croat community in Moravia, the then over 2000 Croats were forcibly dispersed into more than a hundred Moravian towns and villages where they were soon assimilated. Only after 1989 could those who still possessed their former identity form an association. From 2001 their representative is a member of the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities. Apart from concern about the maintenance of their folkloristic traditions, they have also declared an interest in the maintenance of their *čakavian* dialect of what used to be called *Serbo-Croatian*. The community had never had the opportunity to receive education in their own language. Before and during the war they attended German schools; then Czech schools became the only option. A brief account of their language was written 70 years ago (Vážný, 1934) but no further research has been published to date.

Bulgarians and Rumanians (4363 and 1238 persons respectively in the 2001 census) are more recent, though not very recent, arrivals. Both groups participated in the resettlement of the border areas vacated after the original German population was deported. Members of the Bulgarian community are currently organised in a number of associations, publish periodicals and have a representative on the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities. There is an elementary and a middle school bearing the name of Petr Beron collectively accommodating 120 students. These schools were established by the Bulgarian Embassy in Prague (Zpráva, 2002). There is little information available concerning the language behaviour of the Bulgarians; however, some are known to use Russian, which is linguistically close to Bulgarian, a feature which has sometimes elicited negative comment. In the Report of the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities, the representative of the Bulgarian

community was critical of some attitudes of the administration, but he anticipated that improvement would be imminent due to the adoption of the new Law (see Ethnic Policy of the Czech State below). The Rumanian community has always been much smaller than the Bulgarian community, and information on its behaviour is scarce.

A post-1989 community that cannot be ignored originates from North America. Sometimes it is claimed that in the 1990s Prague became for the 'Americans' what Paris was for them in the 1920s. Some 20,000 of them are estimated to live in Prague alone, although the census recorded no more than 3000 people with US nationality. Sherman (2001) noted that this group of foreigners, who come for other than economic or political reasons, find it difficult to integrate into Czech society. The grounds for this behaviour should be looked for both on the side of the North American citizens, who sometimes lack willingness to give up their expatriate status, and Czechs who do not easily admit foreigners of this type into their networks. Sherman also claims that, in the case of mixed American-Czech marriages, while the couples often live in the territory of the Czech Republic, the language used is English and socioculturally US patterns dominate. In the same study, Sherman points out that in communicative situations massive language management takes place, with misunderstanding being common on both the US and Czech side. In the following extract from her data B (male, US citizen) describes how, in conversation with Czechs, he used compliments in the belief that this practice would improve communication:

(Translated from Czech; E = researcher, P = Czech wife of B)

- B:** I tried it, like, about ten times or so.
E: And they didn't, they didn't react to it?
B: It was almost like for nothing, it was (they were) like 'Oh come on!', they were like that, a typical Czech reaction, that is.
E: Yeah.
B: Yeah it's like 'Hey, that was, like, good food' or (they reacted) like 'Noooo!'.
P: Compliments make people nervous, those simple ones.
B: Or it was only so-so or I don't know what, what, like 'That's a nice suit you're wearing' and so (they say) 'It's so, so, it isn't true.' (laughter)
 (from Sherman, 2001: 271)

B refers to the presence of communication problems due to differences in the use of compliments.

In the most recent census (2001), no respondents reported Jewish ethnicity (*národnost*), although 218 individuals claimed being ethnically Jewish in 1991. There is a private elementary school (serving about 100 students) as well as a Jewish high school (a four year *gymnázium* with approximately 80 students), which teach Hebrew as part of their curricula. These institutions receive a governmental grant (Zpráva, 2002: 34). In the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities there is an active Jewish observer. However, it is apparent that at present members of the Jewish community in the Czech Republic consider themselves as a religious rather than an ethnic group. The history of the Czech Jews may provide an explanation. Unlike in eastern Europe, in the Czech territory

they had begun to migrate from the country into towns and cities in the 19th century. They became merchants, industrialists, lawyers, doctors or intellectuals and this change contributed both to their loss of religiosity and to their linguistic assimilation (Kieval, 1988). At the beginning of WWII, many emigrated and during the war most of those who did not, perished in German concentration camps. There was another wave of emigration when the Communist Party took power in 1948, and these population movements left only some 3500 people to enter the 1990s (Pěkný, 1993).

This brief survey of 'other communities' does not mention many other groups. There are, for example, refugees from various parts of the world, e.g. Armenia. The study of Turks and Arabs has only begun. There are quite a few individuals from societies which were a part of the Soviet Union, such as the countries of the Caucasus, or which maintained friendly relations with the Soviet bloc, such as Cubans or Africans, who settled in the Czech Republic after WWII. Kalmycks, discussed in Nekvapil and Neustupný (1998), have not been included here, because fresh information about this population was simply not available. There is a Chinese community (more than 1500 people with Chinese citizenship (PRC)). The 1991 census registered 413 people with Austrian ethnicity, while the 2001 census does not speak of this group at all; however, the most recent census noted 1000 people with Austrian citizenship. Furthermore, there are student communities that deserve special treatment. Neustupný (2003) reports on communication problems of Japanese students in Prague, but his paper represents only a limited contribution to a vast area. Tourists have not been mentioned at all.⁴

Communities: A Summary

The Czech Republic, as already discussed, is by no means a homogeneous society. Even at the present time, having been given the opportunity to identify their preferred ethnic association in the census, close to 10% of the population select a category other than 'Czech'. This survey has, however, demonstrated that, had the count been taken a few decades earlier when the process of assimilation was relatively undeveloped, the heterogeneity of the country would have been significantly higher than it currently is. This original situation still survives in the memory of the older members of the communities.

Types and size of the communities

The largest community is, of course, the Czech one, with its Moravian and Silesian branches which, while not accounting for the whole population of Moravia and Silesia, do in many respects claim a somewhat separate identity. Furthermore, the figures often given for the Czech community include a number of less than whole-hearted members: those who were afraid (socially, not politically) to declare other membership, those who changed their declaration recently and those who hesitated because of mixed allegiance. Not many (altogether 12,978) used the opportunity, given in the census, to claim plural ethnicity. Since membership is always a matter of degree and situation (see Nekvapil, 2000c), the Czech community, in particular, cannot be seen as entirely homogeneous. Moreover, there are differences of interests and power within the community.

Some communities can be designated as historical (Neustupný, 1997). The

German community is the most representative of these, although its numbers have definitely been declining. Discrimination lasted for decades, and it seems too late now to restore the community at least to its post-WWII structure. The only historical community that is continuing its efforts for maintenance is the Polish community in the Těšín region; but its numbers are declining as well. The Roma were a historical community before the extermination of the Czech Roma in concentration camps; the contemporary Roma are immigrants from Slovakia. So are the Slovaks. Other groups are immigrant as well, except for the Germans-from-Germany, Anglo-Americans and some other expatriate communities whose members are sojourners.

One of the specific features of the Czech situation seems to be that, apart from the Roma and the Slovaks, there are no really large communities. There is no clear boundary between middle sized and small communities and for some of them virtually no reliable data are available.

The phenomenon of assimilation

The most prominent feature of the non-Czech communities is their high degree of assimilation. There was political and social pressure in the case of Germans and, no doubt, social pressure in the case of others. The ideology of the Communist Party expected assimilation (see Part VI). However, there is no evidence of strong overt pressure toward giving up one's ethnic identity in recent history. This fact notwithstanding, major communities in the Czech Republic do assimilate.

The basic factor in assimilation seems to be the fact that Czech society, until the political changes of 1989 and beyond, has been a Modern, rather than a Post-Modern society. Unlike an Early-Modern society, such as that of 19th century Europe, Modern society is deeply assimilative without exerting much overt pressure (Neustupný, forthcoming 2). Assimilation is expected – both by the matrix community and by other, minority, communities. It is not necessarily viewed as a tragic event. Members of many communities in the Czech Republic assimilate silently and, so to speak, 'voluntarily'.

The wave of the Post-Modern multiculturalist ideology arrived only in the 1990s and, in our view, has not yet fully established itself. The European Union requires that candidates for membership subscribe to it. In the Czech Republic, a new Minority Act was adopted in 2001 and active policy-making both preceded and followed it (see next section). An inspection of the relevant documents reveals a willingness to comply. On the other hand, there is some doubt whether this willingness is genuine – (is it in other countries?) – and whether it is matched by changes in the consciousness of the general population. If the figures cited in an earlier section can be believed, they seem to indicate that opposition to Roma neighbours has declined over the last decade; it is, consequently, necessary to accept the fact that change does occur.

Interests and power

When observed historically, the questions of interests and of power vary extensively. In relation to the German community, it is notable that in some periods the power of the Czech majority asserted itself, but there were long historical stretches, such as that of the Hapsburg rule (mainly from the 17th century to

1918) and of the wartime occupation of Czechoslovakia (1939–1945) when the interests of the German community, with the active assistance of external German states, absolutely prevailed. It is necessary to realise that, in the mid-20th century, people still remembered the Austro-Hungarian Empire not as a fairy tale kingdom under a benevolent Kaiser but as a stage for the struggle among ethnic interests and the struggle for power. It was obvious that the Czechs were the underdogs, with the German element retaining its privileges by using the support of the economic establishment and the Vienna dominated state. The first period of the Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1939) reversed the situation to some extent. However, the interests of the German community and of other minorities were safeguarded through international pressure. Nevertheless, the situation did not appear to the German community as satisfying its interests, which were seen in the context of the Modern paradigm as unification with bordering Germany and Austria. This unification was achieved through the Munich Agreement of 1938 which dictated that large territories be handed over by Czechoslovakia to Germany. The occupation of the remaining part of Czechoslovakia by Germany followed in 1939, and the ensuing period of terror is still vividly remembered by many Czechs.

The post-war period saw the reversal of the power relationship when, in the interest of removing the ethnic problem, Czechoslovakia deported over 2.5 million Germans. In the immediate post-war period, the memory of the war led to social stigmatisation of those Germans who were not deported and of the German language. However, owing to the deportation of the Germans, the German interests within the society became indistinct. The fact that two German states existed and that one of them was in very friendly relations with the communist government of Czechoslovakia made the exercise of overt political power against the Germans and German difficult. It remains to be ascertained whether the assimilation of the Germans in the 1970s and 1980s was still due to the negative attitudes of the matrix society. At present, the prestige of Germany is high, and discrimination hardly exists. Still, the community continues shrinking.

The problem of the interests of the Těšín Polish community has also been connected with international relations. While Czechoslovakia was strong, the power of the Czechoslovak state prevailed. With its weakening in the wake of WWII, Poland occupied the Těšín region, but the situation returned to the domination of Czech interests after WWII. Since then, the Czech state has been careful not to initiate assimilative measures, but assimilation proceeded automatically as a process characteristic for a Modern society.

In the case of the Slovak community, Slovak interests were not safeguarded before WWII. This was one of the reasons why the Slovaks established their own state in 1939 which, however, had a short duration. Under the cover of communist state control, ethnic problems appeared to be basically solved, although from time to time voices of protest were heard from the Slovak side. When that cover was lifted, Slovak politicians decided, during 1992, that their interests were not adequately served within the power structure of Czechoslovakia, and, in 1993, opted out. Czech politicians were happy to assist. There was no referendum. At present, the situation of the Slovak community in the Czech Republic seems to be satisfactory, although continuing assimilation requires detailed analysis of the underlying power relationships.

The Roma have been the most strongly affected population. Their interests have been neglected. The matrix community is gradually realising that the Roma community is acquiring the power to speak and act for itself. While it is unlikely that other communities might assume a strong antagonistic position against the Czechs, it is possible that the Roma will.

What to do?

On the surface, the ethnic situation in the Czech Republic seems to be well managed, with the exception of the Roma and some parts of the Polish community. There is no overt ethnic conflict. In fact, however, antagonism does exist, and may intensify, especially as Czech society immerses further into the Post-Modern era. For example, the question of schooling in native languages is likely to emerge. It is important not to succumb to the view that social problems can be totally eliminated through the action of a benevolent state. On the other hand, there is a need for the state to improve its management tools and for the subjects of those policies to exert pressure within the state.

Ethnic Policy of the Czech State

This section will supplement information included in previous sections by providing a systematic account of the structure of contemporary governmental management of ethnic policy. (For the history in the second half of the previous century see Nekvapil, 2003c.) The problems of ethnic communities were not given adequate attention in the 1990s, but the situation has changed since the beginning of the present century. As already mentioned, it is in particular the question of the entry of the Czech Republic into the EU that has played a key role in the change of heart of the Czech government. However, the change of the government, from conservative to social democratic, may also have contributed to the transformation in the atmosphere.

Legal norms: The ethnic minority law

The *Zákon ze dne 10.července 2001 o právech příslušníků národnostních menšin a o změně některých zákonů* (Law on the Rights of Ethnic Minorities and Amendment of Some Laws made on 10th July 2001) (No. 273/2001) is the basic legal instrument of this period. It should be noted that a distinction is made between the majority and the minorities: the law does not employ the concept of community, an idea which would imply that the majority is also a community and thus also subject to particular rights (Clyne, 1991). A *národnostní menšina* (ethnic minority) is defined with reference to its ethnic origin, language, culture and traditions, its size and its will to be considered a minority. This definition is in agreement with the concept held by the Council of Europe (Zpráva, 2002: 12). A *příslušník* (member) of a minority is a citizen of the Republic who wants to be considered as a member of a minority. This citizenship condition on ethnicity rights is old-fashioned. It is also important to note that the law accepts the existence of minority groups as primary and derives the concept of its members from there. This is in opposition to the way of thinking of the previous conservative government which claimed that all rights were rights of the individual and not group rights (Frištenská & Sulitka, 1995). Administration authorities do not keep

evidence about ethnic membership. Such membership is established on the basis of rules not provided in this law.

Members of ethnic minorities are guaranteed the rights of:

- assemblage;
- participation in decision making about their minority;
- use of personal name in the minority language form;
- multilingual names of companies and other institutions, street and other signs;
- use of the minority language in contact with authorities, in the courts, and at elections;
- education in the minority language, development of their own culture, and
- diffusion as well as reception of information in their own language.

Five important laws have been revised as a part of this new law.

With regard to the participation in decision making, the law stipulates that it should be implemented through committees established in separate regulations and through the *Rada vlády pro národnostní menšiny* (government's Council for Ethnic Minorities; see following discussion), of which it gives limited details. The law also says that the integration of the Roma community will be coordinated by regional and local government. All articles specify that details will be decided in separate legal documents. The right to the use of one's personal name is unlimited, but the right to use other proper names, and to use a language in administration, in the courts, in elections and in education only applies to minorities *kteřé tradičně a dlouhodobě žijí na území České republiky* 'which traditionally and over a long period of time live in the territory of the Czech Republic'. However, any minority is free to establish private schools where the ethnic language is taught as a subject. State funding for culture and media is also limited to the 'traditional and long-term' resident communities. This funding is, of course, available on the basis of application. No community has the right to receive a subsidy.

Some participants from the ethnic communities expressed hesitation and regret during the language management processes that preceded the adoption of this law. They sought the establishment of ethnic minority government and ethnic minority elections, and they proposed that articles concerning rules about minority matters, which are at present dispersed in a large number of legal acts, be collected and incorporated into the law. These proposals were, however, rejected by the government (Zpráva, 2002: 13).

In practice, the right to use minority languages in contact with administration authorities and in the courts, specified in the law, has failed to acquire backing through additional legislation, and, in 2002, it was not implemented (Zpráva, 2002: 10).

Management agencies

The agencies and agents involved in the management of ethnic relations are listed in Zpráva (2002). They are:

- (1) The Parliament (in particular, its Petition Committee).
- (2) The Government's Council for Ethnic Minorities.

- The Council consists of 18 representatives of ethnic communities (one to three members for each, depending on community size) and 11 members representing the government. The membership formula does not allow for the membership of academics or of any other specialists. The Council discusses proposals put before the government, presents recommendations about grants, etc.
- (3) Governmental Council for Matters concerning the Romani Community. This Council consists of 14 representatives of the Romani community and 14 representatives of the government. Again, there is no place for academics or other specialists. A major task of the Council is to oversee the implementation of the *Principles of Policy of the Government toward Members of the Roma Community*.
 - (4) Ministerial committees. Consultative committees have been established in the Ministries of Culture and of Education, Youth and Physical Training. There is a Consultative Committee of the Minister of Education for Questions of Ethnic Schools, which in 2001 included members of the Polish, German, Roma, Slovak, Hungarian and Ukrainian communities (Zpráva, 2002: 28). There is also a consultative committee in the (state) Czech Radio, but no similar structure in the Czech Television exists, a fact that has been criticised by members of the ethnic communities.
 - (5) Public Defender of Rights (Ombudsman).
 - (6) Commissioner for Human Rights. This office was occupied by Petr Uhl who prepared both the *Ethnic Minorities Law* and the *Principles of the Government's Policy towards Members of the Roma Community*. However, the progressive character of his proposals has frequently been watered down in the subsequent process of political decision making (cf. Uhl, 2000).
 - (7) President of the Republic. Václav Havel and his office actively established contacts with members of the ethnic communities and supported their activities. Particularly important was his endorsement of some attitudes and projects of the Roma community.
 - (8) Local Government. Legal regulations prescribe that villages or towns in which more than 10% of inhabitants are of other than Czech ethnicity (in Prague and in the regions, more than 5%) must establish Ethnic Minority Committees. In 2001, such committees existed in 32 villages or towns, 4 regions and 2 cities. Where the statutory conditions have not been fulfilled but a need exists (as in Prague), special committees may be established. (Zpráva, 2002: 14).

Management acts

As an example of a management act that emanates from the agencies mentioned above, attention is called to the *Principles of the Government's Policy towards Members of the Roma Community, Assisting in their Integration to Society* (see www.vlada.cz/IS02/vrk/komise/krp/dokumenty/navrhk.il2.htm). Prepared by the networks listed above, it was adopted by the Cabinet under number 279 on 7 April 1999. The title of the policy may appear assimilationist, but in fact it is an enlightened document which states that the loss of the Roma culture would be a

serious cultural loss, and that integration must proceed while at the same time respecting Roma culture. The policy establishes the principle of legally guided positive discrimination. The government also requires a policy towards Czechs: preventing racial discrimination, popularisation of Roma culture and teaching about the Roma in schools. This policy is being implemented by branches of the government – it is too early to say what results may ensue. The government's target for achieving the conditions which will make the Roma equal to those of the matrix community is the year 2020.

Part III: MANAGEMENT OF LANGUAGE VARIETIES

The Czech Language

The Czech language: A brief history of its management

Czech before the Hapsburgs

With the ascent of the Czech lands into history, the Czech language, one of the western Slavic dialects, underwent extensive language management. From a purely spoken variety it developed into a language of considerable sophistication.

Christianity, the ideology of the European Middle Ages, was embraced in the 9th century. It came from two sources: initially from the Western Church, based in Rome, and later from the Byzantine Empire. The Western Church established itself firmly in Bohemia and Moravia, and it was one of the factors that led the country not only into the domain of the Holy Roman Empire of the medieval period, but linguistically into the sphere of influence of Latin. Latin served as the first written language of the country not only in religion but in historiography, law and administration.

The Byzantine connection was initiated in the 860s (CE) by the ruler of Great Moravia as a means of political support against the expansive West. It was short-lived in the Czech lands. For a religious mission to materialise, it was necessary to prepare liturgical texts, for which a language had to be found and a script created or adapted. The resulting acts of language management gave rise to the language called Old Church Slavonic, derived from a Bulgarian dialect, and two scripts: the Glagolitic and later the Cyrillic alphabet. This process of language management was implemented by two Greeks from Salonika, Constantine and Method, prior to their departure for Moravia. The tradition of Old Church Slavonic and the script was transferred from Moravia to the East where it was used in the formation of the East European Orthodox Church and the East Slavic civilisation.

Graphisation of Czech, the management process from which Czech emerged as a written language, occurred on the basis of the Latin alphabet. It took the form of simple management, solving the problem of writing individual proper names first, moving to the use of other words (such as Old Czech legal terms) in Latin documents, and finally to the writing of individual sentences and subsequently whole texts. The first continuous texts are dated from the 13th century. By the end of the 14th century, Czech was a stylistically highly elaborated language which had penetrated to the domains of administration and ideology. Spelling

was relatively fixed. At the same time, as norms were being established, management appears in the form of commentaries on texts (Šlosar & Večerka, 1979). The religious reformer John Hus (1371–1415) was not only a theologian but was also actively involved in language management. He is known for having spoken out against loans from German and is supposed to be the author of the book *De orthographia bohémica*, which proposed that cluster spelling, used up to that time, be replaced by a diacritical system, which would employ the signs ´ and ` (later changed into ˇ). So, *chzezzt* ‘honour’ would be written *čest*. This proposal was not immediately implemented, but it eventually led to contemporary Czech spelling, which has influenced the spelling of a number of other languages.

In the following period, Renaissance humanism, the Czech language was the object of further management and was developed to serve in all domains of communication. This is sometimes designated the ‘Golden Age’ of the language. As far as management is concerned, the following points must be mentioned:

- (1) Czech received and accepted influences from Latin (including syntax), German and other languages.
- (2) Language received ample attention in various grammars, dictionaries or stylistic handbooks.
- (3) Spelling was further systematised, applying most principles of the diacritic system.
- (4) The requirement that foreigners learn Czech was enacted, and the extensive implementation of that Parliamentary Act was only arrested by political developments at the beginning of the 17th century (Šlosar & Večerka, 1979).

The ‘Period of Darkness’

The development of the Czech language received a serious blow in the 17th century. In 1620 Czech nobility lost the decisive battle at White Mountain to the Hapsburgs. Many people were executed or lost their property, and those who did not agree to convert to Catholicism, the religion of the Hapsburgs, were required to emigrate including, for example, the educationalist Comenius (1592–1670). The country was ruled from Vienna, and that situation was not to change for 300 years. The new order not only meant that the administration of the country in principle passed over to German hands, it also meant that the social and communication networks which supported the ‘Golden Age’ of Czech civilisation were fatally disrupted. Protestant scholars, authors and readers had to leave the country. Legally, according to the *Obnovené zřízení zemské* ‘*The Reinstated Constitution of the Land*’ of 1627, Czech and German were equal, but in fact they were not. The range of the functional use of the Czech language was narrowed. Czech needed to be retained, of course, to preach religion to the peasants to keep them obedient. Literature was limited to works with religious or practical content. In the end, the language found itself largely removed from schools, the sciences, the humanities, law and administration. Norms of language suffered. Although some emperors, such as Joseph II (1741–1790), were clearly in favour of German only, these changes were not necessarily the result of a centrally organised management, but rather were a process originating at lower levels (see Berger, 1999). This era of the deconstruction of Czech has, in the nationalistic idiom of Czech historiography, been designated as the ‘Period of Darkness’.

At the present time everything is not seen as black and white. As far as the Czech language is concerned, there was a reduction in its functional use but, as Stich (1993) has stressed, it is difficult to speak of overall decay. The language, used with a different audience, admitted novelties, but these cannot be said to be outside the normal course of development of a language. The influence of dialects on the written language was not as marked as is sometimes claimed. The language should not be judged by comparing it with the grammars and dictionaries of the period which, admittedly, were not always successful in managing lexical development (Stich, 1993). Moreover, Newerkla (1999, 2000) notes that, although the situation of Czech was deteriorating, Czech was taught at three high schools (*gymnázium*) until 1779. As already shown by Havránek (1980: 72) and confirmed by recent research (Berger, 1999), Czech was even used, to a certain extent, in written documents within the administrative domain.

Nevertheless, the nearly two centuries of this development meant that written Czech diverged widely from the language of the previous period; it was underdeveloped in many respects and could not easily serve either as a national symbol or as the tool of communication in a society aspiring to enter the age of modernisation. The language of the nobility and of many cities and towns was German, without reference to whether the people concerned were of German or of Czech origin.

The 'Revival Period'

The negative evaluation of the linguistic situation of the 'Period of Darkness' crystallised towards the end of the 18th century – the period when modernisation commenced in Europe. In Austria, of which the Czech lands then formed a part, the new management processes manifested themselves as a 'National Revival'. Adapting to a certain extent the periodisation scheme suggested by Hroch (1999a, 1999b), this National Revival can be divided into three periods.

The First Revival period: Language as a symbol

At the beginning of the process, the atmosphere of the ongoing economic, social and cultural changes was reflected in the need to identify the boundaries of the new society. A set of symbols was needed: common history, literature, religion and language. Language normally becomes one of the most important components of the set, because it symbolises not only the exchange-of-information networks, but also networks of the aesthetic and of emotional life of the population. Since, in the case of Czech society, the language of the day was held in little esteem, a necessity arose to find a language that would serve as a more effective symbol.

Hroch (1999a) describes this period as the time of scholars. It is the scholars who pursued language management by creating a symbol through the act of describing it. In the case of the Czech lands of the end of the 18th century, much of the work in language management was undertaken by Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) or under his influence. The language he selected as that symbol, not against the will of others around him, was the Renaissance Czech of the 16th century. There was no doubt that this was a highly sophisticated language and that it made an excellent symbol. It did not coincide with the language of the day, so it was difficult to master for those who did not possess necessary resources. In this and the following periods one may often read about Czechs who had to learn

their own language. Of course, there were people from Germanised environments whose spoken Czech was imperfect, but these remarks probably mostly relate to the need to learn the written language which, in Dobrovský's codification, was a language substantially different from the spoken Czech of the time.

Apart from codifying the norm, important for the establishment of the symbol were pamphlets called the 'defense (*obrana*) of the Czech language'. Between 1773 and 1793 at least ten such texts were published (Hroch, 1999b: 64). Another management act was the establishment, in 1791, of a Chair of the Czech language at the university in Prague, but since this was the only place in the country where written Czech could be acquired in an organised way, the Czech language programme also performed an important practical role. On the whole, participants in this series of management acts were not aware of the historical significance of their acts. They were in fact sceptical about the future of the Czech language.

Aside of this elitist management one can identify the more spontaneous activity of the publisher V.M. Kramerius, whose work affected a large number of readers, as well as the development of the Czech theatre (Hroch, 1999b).

The Second Revival period: The period of national propaganda

This period commences in the first decade of the 19th century. Its principal actors were the members of the younger generation – the 'patriots' – a group of individuals who assembled in various groups. The most important of them was Josef Jungmann (1773–1847) and his associates. There were attempts at organised language management in many areas. New grammars were published and Jungmann edited a voluminous dictionary of the Czech language. Wide use of the language was promoted, and attempts were made gradually to broaden its application as the language of instruction.

It would be wrong to assume that, in the previous period or in the time before it, the coexistence of the Czechs and the Germans was always without problems. However, on the whole, there was coexistence. During this second Revival period, the patriots appeared to be in quite obvious confrontation with the German element (Cuřín, 1985: 88). Even at the beginning of the 19th century one should not think that the Czech lands were actually bilingual. The population of the Czech towns or villages was monolingual in Czech, and the problem of communication was thus considerable for those who wanted to climb the social ladder. Even if the study of German was initiated early in life, Czech speakers did not achieve native-like competence (Hroch, 1999b) – a situation that marked the experience of the new generation of the 'patriots' and on which their language management attitudes were based.

One important area of management concerned the teaching of Czech and the place of Czech as the language of instruction. Apart from the 'trivial' (elementary) schools, all other schools used German as the language of instruction. Czech was taught as a subject at Prague University, and in theological seminaries. In general, the Catholic Church, for pragmatic reasons, played a very positive role in Czech language management. As early as 1818, an article appeared in one of the Czech periodicals, recommending that the language of instruction in all middle schools for Czech pupils should be Czech. Subsequently an attempt was made, in 1820, to introduce Czech as the language of instruction at one school in

Prague, but without success. At the high schools (*gymnázium*), Czech first appeared only occasionally and as a selective subject, but gradually it was accepted (Hroch, 1999b). Translation into Czech was another important vehicle of language management, as was original writing (initially mainly poetry) and non-fiction writing.

Another language management act that took place in this period was spelling reform undertaken by a group of patriots. The spelling that was adopted, against the wishes of conservative members of the Czech community, was basically identical with the spelling used at the present time (see below). Considerable attention was devoted to word formation and lexicographical work, normally undertaken by individuals, for example natural scientists, who created the entire terminology of their disciplines. These examples point to the importance of simple management and to lower levels of organised management by individuals or by small groups of individuals. Many inadequacies of Czech perceptible at the beginning of the period were largely resolved by the middle of the century, without any intervention of community-wide agencies. The only agency that could be mentioned was the *Matice česká*, founded in 1831 as a branch of the Museum of the Czech Kingdom, which was particularly active in publishing. However, even this was a private initiative, without the sponsorship of the state.

The Third Revival period: Ethnic identity established

According to Hroch (1999a), this period was characterised by a complete social structure of the ethnic group, from top to bottom. It was not individual patriots but the full community which took part in the management process, and the management process thus acquired national political significance; consequently, there could be coordinated action, and normal political processes could apply. In Hroch's view, this phase commenced in the Czech lands around the middle of the 19th century, in particular at the time when Austria changed over to a constitutional system.

Under repeated pressure from the Czech community, radical changes occurred. In March 1848, the Emperor confirmed, in his own hand, the equality of the Germans and the Czechs and of their languages. This act resulted in Czech versions of all laws being promulgated in parallel with German versions, and it also resulted in Czech being widely introduced in the high schools (*gymnázium*). There were additional complications and transformations. Since 1867, the principle prevailed that, depending on the native language of the population, only one language was to be used as the language of instruction so that no one would be forced to study in a language they did not choose. Thus, the language of instruction in all schools for Czechs was now Czech (Newerkla, 1999, 2000). Prague University was split into separate German and Czech institutions in 1882 and the Czech university was teaching entirely in Czech (Havránek, 2002).

The clause in the 1867 law that forbid making any language compulsory in fact served the language interests of the Czech Germans. Since German continued to be the language of internal administration at the level of the empire, all Czechs had to study it anyway. There was no problem there. However, for Germans, the learning of Czech was not only tedious; any acknowledgement that a knowledge of Czech was necessary would endanger their privileged position in state administration. Since the mid-1800s, Czechs continued their attempts to secure a

greater share of such positions, and such interests can be understood to underlie the background of contemporary writings about language policy (such as Pacák, 1896).

At the beginning of the third period, many other problems still remained unresolved. Yet, the Standard language, as codified by Dobrovský and further developed by Jungmann and others, was generally accepted and tested in literary work. From the 1830s, the first lasting literary achievements appeared from the pen of Mácha, Němcová, or later of Neruda.

In the 1870s, anti-German purism was embodied in the *Brus Matice české* (1877, 1881, 1894) and other handbooks of correct Czech usage. However, the anti-German character of these publications was not obvious on the surface and, in any case, the *Brus*, its backing by prestigious personalities notwithstanding, had little effect on actual usage. The recommended pedantic adjustments did not gain the support of speakers/writers in their daily simple management. The first *Rules of Czech Spelling (Pravidla českého pravopisu)*, a generally binding handbook of spelling and morphology, was authored by Gebauer *et al.* in 1902 (see more in a later section). *Kallilogie čili O výslovnosti* (1873), by Durdík, represented the first attempt to codify the pronunciation of the Standard.

Management of Czech in Czechoslovakia

The state of Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 out of the debris of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy. The official ideology claimed that there was one Czechoslovak language, with two branches, Czech and Slovak. Within the Czech part of the territory, Czech became not only the universal language of education (apart from schools of the German and Polish minorities, see Nekvapil, 1997d) – that had already been achieved in the years of the monarchy – but it also became the language of law and administration at all levels. There was initially a feeling that Czech was not yet sufficiently elaborated to fulfil all of these tasks. Many areas of usage had to be newly developed; e.g. diplomacy, finance, defence, and some areas of law. The problems did not lie only in the lexicon but also in the style.

Owing to the democratic character of the new state, the use of the Standard was required from a wide range of citizens in a number of public situations. Since the native language of the population was so-called *Common Czech*, or a dialect (see sections that follow), the Standard sometimes created obstacles for speakers with lower levels of education. However, this matter was never raised as an issue of organised management. The puristic attitude of the *Brus* type was defeated by speakers in their refusal to apply it in simple management. It was attacked theoretically and destroyed by the Prague Linguistic Circle in the 1930s. Czech is not a language that easily accepts loan words, but this is a consequence of its typological profile (Neustupný, 1989a), not of a policy of purism. There are many loans and, in particular, there is no hesitation to accept them if they are based in the Greek or Latin lexical tradition.

To a large extent, literature ceased to be perceived as a form of organised language management, a method of developing the community language. However, it continued to be a locus of simple management, when authors encountered problems in coding their thought in already existing language. One of those who approached the task of coding his modern thought in modern

language with considerable success was Karel Čapek (1890–1938), who, in the 1920s, used colloquial Czech in his writings.

After the Munich Agreement of 1938, areas close to borders were incorporated into surrounding states (i.e. Germany and Poland); the remaining territory was occupied by Germany in March 1939. By this time, the Czech language was already fully developed and codified, so that it was both structurally and attitudinally resistant to German. Also, the occupation was relatively short (1939–1945). Linguistically there was no impact extending beyond the period itself. However, for at least two decades, Czechs developed a distaste for German even in simple management (Cizí slova, 1971: 14).

After WWII, the Institute of the Czech Language (*Ústav pro jazyk český*) was created in 1946 as the first institution in the country to monitor Czech and to contribute to its management. The Institute operates a language consulting service (Uhlířová, 1998).

Language management in Czechoslovakia under Communist Party rule

The rule of the Communist Party extended from 1948 to 1989. Throughout this period, especially after the unsuccessful attempt in 1968 to liberate the country from Soviet influence, the Communist government emphasised the necessity 'to learn' from the Soviet Union. Principles of status management directed to ethnic community languages were strongly influenced by Soviet models. It might be expected that a similar situation obtained with regard to corpus management and that loans from Russian would be welcome. However, the contribution of Russian has been meagre (Daneš, 1997a) even in areas such as military terminology, where more loanwords might be expected. On the contrary, although the official attitude was hostile, as early as the 1960s one could see many loans from English, in particular in the registers of pop-music, sport, and (later) computing. After 1989, Russian loan words that referred to Soviet institutions and life (and sometimes also to similar phenomena as introduced to Czechoslovakia) have been relegated to the lexicon of historiography. The same is true about the stylistic features of the language of political propaganda.

However, it cannot be denied that the destruction of the class structure of the previous society resulted in certain informality of speech. In many situations of informal communication, particularly in the territory of Bohemia, the use of the Standard was negatively evaluated and Common Czech (see the following section) was used. This contributed to rapprochement between the Standard and the Common language, a fact that was sometimes described under the heading 'democratisation of Standard Czech' (Cuřín, 1985: 123; Havránek, 1947).

At the level of organised management, an act of importance was the review of the Rules of Czech Spelling (*Pravidla*), conducted in 1957, which brought the spelling of foreign words closer to their pronunciation.

The Institute of the Czech Language completed nine volumes of the *Příruční slovník jazyka českého* (Reference Dictionary of the Czech Language, completed 1957), and four volumes of *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (Dictionary of Standard Czech, 1971), an extensive grammar of Czech *Mluvnice češtiny* (A Grammar of Czech, 3 vols, 1986, 1987), and an officially sanctioned codification of Standard pronunciation (*Výslovnost spisovné češtiny I*, Pronunciation of Standard Czech, 1954 and II, 1978). A *Český jazykový atlas*, Czech Linguistic Atlas, commenced in

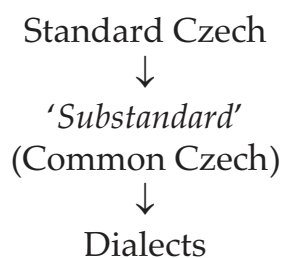
the 1960s, and is now close to completion. After 1968, the Party required that the Institute concentrate on large prestigious projects of 'national' importance, such as the Dictionary of Old Czech, rather than pursuing theoretical work, where connections with Western linguistics would be necessary. There was an emphasis on the study of the Standard language. After 1968, a narrow stratum of linguists attempted to support the government, which had been installed by the Soviet occupation authorities, by creating 'Marxist linguistics', but in actual research most linguists continued working in a framework which was an extension of prewar structuralism.

There was no major positive initiative to manage the situation of ethnic community languages. Some more information on this issue will be presented in sections devoted to individual community languages.

The problem of Standard and Common Czech

The problem

One of the issues that leads to both simple and organised management, and possibly the most serious problem of variation within contemporary Czech, is the difference between the Standard and the Common language (*spisovná vs. obecná čeština*). This difference affects the daily linguistic practices of all native speakers of the language. In the 1990s, the term 'substandard' was used by Mattheier and others (cf. Mattheier, 1997; Daneš, forthcoming) to refer to varieties (such as Common Czech) which are situated between the Standard and the dialects⁵. They share some properties of the Standard, mainly the fact that they are supra-regional, but they are situated below the Standard (hence *sub*), between it and the dialects. Thus, there are three different points on the scale of Standardness:



The Standard and Common Czech seem to be at first sight two strictly separated varieties of language. This is not so. There is a continuum between an extreme form of the Standard (such as that used in writing), the Common language and a dialect. Speakers select forms from this range depending on the situation and on their regional background. A strong management process is involved, in the course of which certain forms are evaluated negatively if they are too Standard and others if they are too 'substandard' or dialectal. All regions of the country participate in the three-level variation. However, in Bohemia and Western Moravia (zone 1) the dialects are weak (have in fact been largely 'lost'), while Common Czech is very strong. The impression is that there is a dichotomy of the Standard and the Common language. On the other hand, in most of Moravia (zone 2) it is Common Czech that is weak, with the dialects being strong. The impression in zone 2 is of a dichotomy between the Standard and dialects.

Although formality is not the only feature that selects between the three types of language, it can be used as the initial approach in characterising the usage. The following can be said:

- Formal situations require the Standard in both zone 1 and 2. This covers the language of written documents, most TV and radio media, newspapers and most public speaking. Some shopping situations are included, especially with regard to the language of shop attendants. The Standard is the sole object of instruction in schools. In other words, it is the language of power.
- Semi-formal situations in zone 1 admit a considerable number of Common Czech forms in the case of zone 1 speakers. These may be negatively evaluated by speakers of zone 2. Zone 2 speakers communicating in semi-formal situations use Standard forms but may mix in some features of their local dialects, and such features are open to negative evaluation. These situations include the language of instruction in schools and universities that may, in zone 1, include a considerable number of Common Czech features.
- In informal situations a strong admixture of Common Czech in zone 1 and of dialects in zone 2 may occur. The percentage normally varies depending on the norms of social strata and individuals.

The extreme form of the Standard is codified, and in written language (except for some literary works) it appears in its pure form. Common Czech is not codified, but the boundary between it and the Standard is relatively clear. So too normally is the boundary between Common Czech and the dialects (the features of which are marked as dialectal by speakers of other regions, e.g. the masculine ending *-ovo* of possessive adjectives, as in *tátovo bratr* 'father's brother', which is marked as western Bohemian if used in semi-formal situations). Common Czech differs from the Standard not only in its lexicon but also in the morphological system where some areas (such as the declension of adjectives) diverge quite radically.

	Standard Czech	Common Czech
Sg. Nom. / Acc.	velké město	velký město
Gen.	velkého města	velkýho města
Dat.	velkému městu	velkýmu městu
Abl.	velkém městu	velkym městu
Instr.	velkým městem	velkym městem
Pl. Nom. / Acc.	velká města	velký města
Gen.	velkých měst	velkejch měst
Dat.	velkým městům	velkejm městům
Abl.	velkých městech	velkejch městech
Instr.	velkými městy	velkejma městama

Some of the forms can be explained by sound change (e.g. *é > ý*) but some cannot. However, there are no differences in the inventory of phonemes.

On the whole, discourse studies of the opposition of Standard and Common Czech have been rare, and linguists and others still base their considerations on

personal experience rather than on discourse data (Uličný, 1998/1999). This is not a situation peculiar to this problem, or to the management of Czech. Discourse data will be particularly vital to establish in what way one can conceptualise the dichotomy in terms of individual variables that do not allow a clear boundary between the two opposites.

A note concerning the origin of the Standard/Common Czech dichotomy may be useful. As mentioned in a previous section, Standard Czech is a language artificially established (or 'revived') in the course of the 19th century on the basis of certain varieties of Renaissance Czech of the 16th and 17th centuries. Between the Renaissance period and the 19th century, the spoken language underwent changes, and the changed language has survived as Common Czech. However, the Standard has basically retained the Renaissance form. Sometimes Standard and Common Czech are supposed to be in a relationship similar to diglossia, the Standard being the High and the Common language the Low variety in the sense given to these terms by Ferguson (1959; Neustupný, 1989b).

Simple management

The distinction leads to problems in discourse in five areas. The first is noting Common Czech forms or marking them negatively by speakers in zone 2. To what extent this happens in discourse is a matter to be established in empirical research. The second area occurs within zone 1. There may be an indecision as to which of the two sets should be used. This indecision often results in the use of the lower forms (Common Czech), which subsequently may be upgraded to the higher variety (the Standard). This is what happens in the following TV conversation.

M: *Komu zavoláme?* 'Whom should we call?'

S : *Jendovi Šuranskýmu.* 'Jenda Šuranskej.'

M: *Jendovi Šuranskému?* 'Jenda Šuranský?'

S : *Jendovi Šuranskému.* 'Jenda Šuranský.'

M is the moderator of a TV programme and S is a participant. In the second line S uses a Common Czech form *Šuranskýmu* 'Šuranský (Dat.)', but after the moderator utters the Standard form in a confirmation move, S too switches to the Standard form in the fourth line. Similar adjustments, including the language of TV moderators (Nekvapil, 2000b: 174), abound. Another interesting case of simple management has appeared in our data containing train conversations. The conductor enters the train compartment saying *dobré/ý ráno* 'good morning' and leaves with *děkuju/i* 'thank you'. This is a case of avoidance of the difference by pronouncing the endings between the Standard (*dobré* and *děkuji*) and the Common form (*dobrý* and *děkuju*) indistinctly (see Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming). The third problem is the lack of competence of some native speakers of Common Czech to use the Standard in speaking, or to use individual Standard forms together with Common Czech forms as expected. Fourthly, there is occasionally the feeling that speakers would like to adhere to their first language (Common Czech) rather than to employ the 'artificial and stiff' forms of the Standard. This is sometimes felt with regard to the written medium as well. Finally, some Common Czech lexicon and phraseology is stylistically perceived as substandard or vulgar even by native speakers of Common Czech. Nekvapil

(2000b: 173) gives an example of a sentence from a private letter that commences with:

Píšu asi krávoivinky, ale aspoň si počteš. Zrovna se rozmejšlím dát to naši malý zkonzultovat, ale radši ne, вона by mne nadávala . . .

'I guess I am writing stupid things, but at least you'll have a good read. Right now I'm considering whether to ask our "little one" to check it for me, but no, she would blast me . . .'⁶

It is not so much the Common Czech forms *rozmejšlím* 'considering' (for Standard *rozmýšlím*) or *vona* 'she' (for *ona*) that attracts attention. The passage is filled with emotion-loaded expressions such as *krávoivinky* 'stupid things', *si počteš* 'you'll have a read', *naši malý* 'to our little one', or *nadávala by* 'would blast', out of which some are just informal (*si počteš*, *nadávala*), but some are on the verge of being vulgar (*krávoivinky*, *naši malý*). The question is whether or not it is the use of Common Czech that not only tolerates but directly invites the vulgar expression. Some speakers feel that Common Czech does invite such modes of language.

Organised management

Organised management over the last decades has reflected these discourse problems when in several cases it re-codified Standard Czech to a position close to the Common language. For example, for the 1st person present tense of certain verbs, the Standard (as codified in the Rules of Czech Spelling) has accepted the Common form ending in *-ju*, e.g. *kupuju* 'I buy' along with the original Standard form *kupuji* 'I buy'.

However, on the whole, in organised management the attention given to the existence of Common Czech is limited. Perhaps the modern Standard norms have been too strongly established; perhaps it is felt that a far-reaching reform implicating a switch to a new Standard is not warranted. There is a pro-Common Czech camp among Czech linguists headed by Petr Sgall (Sgall, 1999; Sgall & Hronek, 1992; Sgall *et al.*, 1992) which has pointed to such facts as the need of speakers to concentrate on formal features of discourse (its Standard-ness) at the expense of content. They also point to the fact that, while some Standard forms are too bookish (e.g. *lidmi* 'people [Instr. Case]') the corresponding Common forms (*lidma*) remain outside the codified Standard, resulting in problems concerning the expression of certain contents. Members of this group, particularly Petr Sgall, have made suggestions about gradual acceptance of some Common forms into the Standard, but their suggestions have failed to convince the majority of participants in the management process. In the view of many linguists, the difference can be evaluated as one of style; it has been suggested that the selection of one form over another should be guided by the relative formality of the situation. Yet, it must be admitted that the situation does not fully resemble stylistic selection: the difference lies between arbitrarily diverging varieties, and is not merely a matter of stylistic choice. The Common language form *dobrej* 'good' as a form has nothing to do with the informality of the situation in which it replaces the Standard form *dobrýj*. Most other languages of Europe use, for different degrees of formality, different styles (where the form of expression reflects the characteristics of the situation), but not devices that resemble differences between separate varieties of a language.

However, within the atmosphere of the Czech Republic at the end of the 20th century, the strengthening of middle-class norms, not the democratisation of language, was the program of the day. Although the new political leaders (who came out of the underground after the disintegration of the socialist world in 1989) in public speaking initially used a variety that contained an admixture of a number of Common language elements, soon switched to the Standard. A similar leaning towards traditional norms could be observed throughout the nation. In this situation it would be unrealistic to expect that the diglottic situation of zone 1 would soon change.

In any case, as already noted in Nekvapil (2000b), no organised management should take place before a systematic inquiry is conducted to establish how the use of the Standard and the Common Czech forms is in fact managed in discourse. There should be no compulsion to use the Standard in informal contexts (Čechová, 1996), but in any case this is not happening at present to any significant degree.

The problem of dialects

The situation

Whereas Common Czech can be defined as a supra-regional koine, there are dialects, specific to a particular region or locality both in zone 1 and zone 2, as noted in the preceding section. While features of the Common language in principle do not bear any specific local markers within zone 1, dialectal features are perceived as such. Dialectal marking of speech is a different problem.

The dialectal differentiation of contemporary Czech territory is not sharp in Bohemia. In west and southwest Bohemia, a 'sing-song intonation' is the most prominent feature, but there are other features in the lexicon and morphology. Compared to this situation, the north of Bohemia (resettled in the 1940s and 1950s after the forced evacuation of the German population) developed into a basically dialect-free zone where Common Czech is spoken. Remnants of the original dialects exist in eastern and southeastern Bohemia and, surprisingly, even in some parts of central Bohemia (Jančáková, 1997a). Moravia shows much more extensive survival of dialects, with three dialectal zones: Haná dialects, with a centre around Olomouc and covering the area of Brno; the Silesian dialects of the north; and the Moravian-Slovak dialects of the southeast. In Moravia, although some morphological features support the Standard rather than the Common language, other features are specific to the dialects.

Simple management

Where dialects exist, they constitute the native languages of the population. When communication in the public domain occurs, dialectal features are in general adjusted. Such adjustment, connected with the belief that dialects are the language of the less educated and less prestigious countryside (Krčmová, 1997), is accepted as natural. A different attitude can be observed when a speaker returns to his/her own dialectal community; in such cases, switching to the dialect and management of deviations from norms of the dialect can be observed. In this way speakers communicate solidarity with their original community (Krčmová, 1997). This much can be said in the absence of discourse data that would show details of the processes involved.

Organised management

In some societies, such as Britain, local (and ethnic) accents have been accepted through organised management within the media as the language of announcers on the radio and TV. No such positive management measures have been recorded for the Czech situation, although strong noting (in the sense of the Management Theory, see Part I), negative evaluation and adjustment to the Standard are evident. Of course, admixture of the dialect appears in the speech of other than radio/TV personnel, either because of their inability to adjust, or because of individual's policies. Incidentally, this is also true of the intrusion of the Common language.

There is no evidence of large-scale management resulting from the positive evaluation of dialects. However, it was noted earlier that the profound linguistic and sociocultural differences between Bohemia and Moravia have led to the idea of recognising a separate Moravian language, an idea which first appeared at the beginning of the 19th century and which has mainly been defended by authors and politicians rather than by linguists. The last contribution to a series of attempts at codification of such language was published in 1998 (see Berger, 2000). It is doubtful that the establishment of another Standard, which would necessarily oppress dialects existing under its umbrella, is the best contemporary answer to the problem of the dialect.

Slang

The situation

The meaning of the term *slang* is subject to considerable variation in English (Chapman, 1986) as well as in Czech. In Czech the following understanding of the term is common:

Slang is an integral part of the national language; it is a substandard stratum of specific naming units which is adopted in day-to-day (most often semi-official or unofficial) communication among people who interact in the same working environment or in the same sphere of interest; it serves partly the specific needs of language communication, and partly as a means of expressing affiliation to a certain social environment. (Hubáček, 1979: 17)

This definition includes not only so-called group or interest slangs but also professional jargons (Nekvapil, 1993). It is obvious that language problems relating to slang mostly concern lexical variation.

The main differences between the Standard and slang can be characterised in the following way:

- frequent employment of certain word-forming procedures, of which some suffixes are especially typical of slang (-*ák*, -*ař*, -*ka*);
- frequent employment of metaphoric and metonymic transpositions;
- a general tendency towards shortening, manifesting itself through univerbalisation of naming units and abbreviation of Standard words.

In Czech linguistics *slang* is not used to denote a substandard linguistic stratum distributed in principle over the whole community, as is Common Czech. Nevertheless, slang shows a strong tendency to co-occur with Common Czech. Slang expressions are difficult to apply in combination with Standard grammar

and the Standard lexicon, whereas Common Czech grammar seems to invite (though not require) slang expressions. This relationship gives the slang-related variation a particularly strong position within the system of the Czech language.

The possibility of using a slang expression only exists in languages in which the process of standardisation has advanced. It is only against the background of the Standard that a slang expression is recognised as such. Normally this happens in the period of a large-scale build-up of languages for special purposes (Nekvapil, 2002). It is not a mere coincidence that, in Czech, slang begins to be discussed only after the formation of Czechoslovakia in 1918. In the Austro-Hungarian Empire, German was the dominant language and it was not until after 1918 that Czech started being extensively used in such communicative domains as the army, governmental offices and the railways. Terminological committees were formed, and they produced sets of Standard terms. Under these conditions, the function of slang started being fulfilled by German terminology that sometimes continued to be used against the background of the newly formed Czech Standard lexicon. By that time, loans from German in general had acquired a non-Standard accent. This was not understood by the German Army when it occupied the Czech lands in 1939 and issued ordinances in Czech that were full of Germanism: these were accepted with ironic smiles by the Czech population as inappropriate to the serious intention the occupiers wanted to communicate.

At present in Czech linguistic literature about 70 different slang strata (Klimeš, 1997) are normally mentioned: students' slang, railway slang, miners' slang, musicians' slang and sports slang are among those that seem to be best developed and that have received most attention. An extensive expansion is taking place in the case of computer slang.

Simple management

Problems that occur in discourse and are connected with slang are of two types: first, the speaker may be unable to distinguish a slang expression from a Standard term and may use the slang expression in a formal situation or, conversely, may use a Standard expression in an informal situation where slang would be expected. Management (including negative evaluation) by other participants may then follow. This closely connects with the second problem: an individual may not possess slang competence characteristic for the situation in which he or she interacts. The latter is typical for people who are not yet fully incorporated into a new environment, e.g. apprentices or new army conscripts. Normally, speakers realise that the knowledge of a slang and its correct application serve as proof of membership in a certain social group. This function is, of course, also fulfilled by Standard specialised terminology adequate to the situation, but the impact of the slang is much more forceful.

Organised management

Since organised management has normally been dedicated to the cultivation of the Standard language, it considers the existence of slang as a menace. Slang develops in a spontaneous way and its originators frequently, and sometimes intentionally, violate the structural patterns of the Standard lexicon. The traditional management strategy is not to mention slang at all. Even at the level of description ('noting' within the management theory), it receives little attention by language managers. In Czech linguistics, it has never been a well established

object of research, although since the 1960s a considerable number of short papers have been published, mainly in non-centrist periodicals, pointing to the importance of this aspect of social variation in Czech. At central institutions, such as the Institute of the Czech Language, some slang expressions (especially in the case of components of so-called 'professional jargons') were noted, evaluated and incorporated into the Standard norm. At school and in apprentice schools the use of the slang continued to be considered 'vulgarisation of language', and the schools made an attempt to eradicate it. At present, attitudes toward slang are more relaxed, and this is connected, among other things, with a more frequent use of slang expressions within the language of the mass media.

A large number of words that are presently borrowed from English (e.g. in computing, popular music or sports) are felt to be slang. A new feature in this case can be seen in the relatively rapid loss of their slang character. A number of such expressions are accepted into special usage dictionaries, which fulfil the codifying role. When these expressions leave the specialised networks, they easily become a component of the Standard. There is not much resistance from other areas of organised management devoted to codification, such as the journal *Naše řeč*.

Language of returnees

Speech of Czechs from the Ukraine

Situation, problems

Little attention has been accorded to the language management of Czech repatriates from the Ukraine after WWII. In contrast, the language of the returnees of the 1990s was subjected to systematic research because the settlements Mala Zubovshtina and Malinovka, from which 1990s returnees arrived, represented a Czech language island; the data from these isolates made possible the study of older or dialectal stages of the Czech language (Jančáková, 1997b). Use of that data for language management was a secondary consideration. However, relatively early researchers pointed to the deficiencies of this approach: the influence of Ukrainian and Russian could not be ignored. This resulted in the involvement of sociolinguists, who investigated the situation both before and after repatriation (Pišlová, 2002). In summary, one can claim that, in the pre-repatriation language, typically an archaic dialect of Czech (of the Northeastern group) was in contact with Ukrainian and Russian (Čmejrková, 2003). Interestingly, through contact with Ukrainian, Czech dialectal features were reinforced (e.g. the bilabial pronunciation of *v*, word-final *u* instead of *l*, or the loss of hiatus and prothetic *j*). It became apparent that a number of originally assumed Ukrainian influences cannot be separated from the influence of Russian, especially when, in the lexicon or in the inflection of the numerals, the rules of these two languages coincide. This point is important with regard to the noting and evaluation of non-Czech elements in the speech of these speakers. Czechs from the matrix community perceive a 'Russian accent' where the phenomenon may actually be of Ukrainian origin. This management cannot easily be eliminated because little knowledge of Ukrainian is distributed in the Czech community, while Russian was the object of systematic compulsory instruction until 1989. The perception as 'Russian' cannot be

challenged on the basis of other typically Ukrainian features (*h* instead of *g*, etc.), because competence in Russian reaches only a limited level and many non-Russian features are covert for Czech speakers.

After repatriation some specific features of the speech of Ukrainian Czech started subsiding. This change occurred faster in the lexicon but was relatively slower in the prosody. It is clear that, although matrix Czech norms are accepted, noting of deviations from them is stronger in some parts of language (the lexicon) than in others (phonemics). The speed of adjustment differs according to the generation of the speaker, with younger speakers proceeding more rapidly, because for them the degree of incorporation into local networks seems to be of great importance (Pišlová, 2002). Since the socioeconomic position of the returnee community (including some active businessmen, doctors and academics) was at the centre of attention, it can be assumed that their sociocultural, non-grammatical as well as grammatical communicative competence already has approached, or soon will approach, that of the matrix community.

Simple management

A.N., born 1924, says:

Ptali sme se tudletech teda, tech místních Čechu, teda říkáme. Co že vi ináč, ináďž hovoříte. Přidu do opchodu, a voňi říkaj drožďi. Já poudám drožďi, co to je? Poudám, proč neříkáte kvasnice. A proč neříkáte vjedro a říkáte kíbl. A voňi se smejou.

We asked then those people, those local Czechs, we say, how come that you speak differently. I come to the shop and they say *drožďi* ('yeast'). I say *drožďi*, what is that. I say why don't you say *kvasnice*. And why don't you say *vědro* and say *kýbl* ('bucket'). And they laugh. (Jančáková, 1997b: 53)

In this example, A.N., a member of the oldest generation of returnees, notes certain lexical features in the speech of matrix Czechs and evaluates them negatively. Adjustment is suggested, but this is laughed at. The words proposed as adjustment are not actively used in the younger generation of many matrix community speakers but they are fully comprehensible. *Vědro* 'bucket' tends to be made of wood (as it was when the emigrants were leaving the Czech lands) – *kýbl*, made of other materials, is strongly non-Standard. However, linguistic discrimination would hardly be based on these examples.

Otherwise the speech of A.N. more or less agrees with the norm of northeastern Bohemian dialects. Some of the features may be archaic (*smejou se* for *smějou se* 'they laugh'), but there are no obvious 'mistakes'. Again, the archaic features are not enough for a strong negative evaluation. Discrimination is most likely to be based on prosodic features of returnee speakers, which are not only deviant but also carry, for many Czechs, the negatively evaluated meaning 'Russian'.

The following excerpt from an Introduction to the Master's thesis of Alena Pišlová, herself a member of the youngest generation of the returnees, documents a decision at the 'individual level' of management to further adjust her own Czech in courses of Czech for foreign speakers. The writer hints at the number of individual management processes on which the decision was based.

Narodila jsem se ještě na území bývalého Sovětského Svazu českým rodičům, jejichž prarodiče byli potomky českých kolonistů nebo sami přišli na Ukrajinu jako malé děti. Od své matky a otce jsem zdědila vědomí vlastní národnosti a ruku v ruce i vědomí českých tradic a mateřského jazyka. Je třeba samozřejmě brát v úvahu relativnost míry a úrovně získaných poznatků. Jazyk, kterému jsem se naučila, jsem považovala za český a jasně jej oddělovala od jazyka společnosti, ve které jsem vyrůstala. Po přesídlení do České republiky bylo zajímavým zjištěním, že podoba mé mateřštiny je jiná než ostatních lidí kolem mne, i když jde o stejný jazyk. Tak se projevil zájem o hlubší poznání češtiny . . . Tehdy ((tj. v r. 1996)) jsem si podala žádost na FF UK obor čeština pro cizince . . .

I was born in the territory of the former Soviet Union to Czech parents, whose grandparents were off-spring of Czech colonists or themselves came to the Ukraine as little children. From my mother and father I inherited my ethnic awareness and with it the awareness of Czech traditions and our mother tongue. It is necessary, of course, to take into consideration the relativity of measure and level of the knowledge I gained. The language I learned I considered as Czech and divided it clearly from the language of the society in which I was growing up. After moving to the Czech Republic it was an interesting realisation that the form of my mother tongue is different from that of other people around me, even though it is the same language. In this way an interest in a deeper understanding of Czech appeared . . . Then [in 1996] I applied for admission to the Faculty of Arts at Charles University, with specialisation in teaching Czech to foreigners . . . (Pišlová, 2002: 2, 9).

Organised management

Prior to their return to the Czech Republic, the Czech Ministry of Education organised a two-month course (in the Bohemian city of Pelhřimov) for students from Czech villages in the Ukraine to smooth out their further studies at Czech schools on their final arrival in the Republic. This is where Czech linguists commenced their research. On their return, these students were integrated into the Czech education system, commencing with kindergarten and continuing up to university.

Speech of Czechs from Kazakhstan

No linguistic accounts concerning the language behaviour of the Czechs from Kazakhstan exist. This account is, therefore, based on the observations of journalists and ethnographers (in particular Valášková, 1998). There seems to be no doubt that competence in Czech is scanty among this population. Czech stopped being used in the local school at the end of 1920s and its place was taken by Russian. This fact notwithstanding, the older generation possesses knowledge of Czech, though influenced by Russian. Valášková (1998: 164) reports that even younger women are able to pray in Czech and possess an active knowledge of a number of folk songs. Some repatriates brought with them the knowledge of Kazakh (and left behind some knowledge of Czech). The younger generation could hardly do more than acquire elementary Czech, taught in courses organised in Kazakhstan at the beginning of the 1990s. Young families apparently still use Russian in the family domain, especially when the partner is ethnically

Russian or Ukrainian. Those concerned with the re-emigration stress the point that a 'language barrier' exists. This barrier is probably higher in the case of the written language, where a transition from azbuka to the Latin alphabet is needed and where stronger language norms are in place than in spoken contact. Although Czechs are often willing to act as language teaching volunteers (MFD, 26 August 1998: 3), it remains a fact that repatriates from Kazakhstan experience negative attitudes common in dealing with 'Russian-speaking foreigners'.

Written language and spelling

Orthography is a system of strategies and rules that allow us to switch from speaking to writing at the phonemic/graphemic level. As pointed out early in the Prague School (Vachek, 1939), the difference between spoken and written language cannot be reduced to questions of orthography, a fact that has continued attracting attention ever since. There are important and inescapable differences in the lexicon and grammar of spoken and written texts, and in the case of Czech these differences have attracted the attention of language management activities. Yet, the question of correspondence at the phonemic level has always maintained its position as the most important issue of language management. In this sense, the situation in Czech has not differed from language cultivation in other languages. Both in schools and in the community at large the problem of orthography has attracted attention at the expense of other problems. However, as in other languages, the weight of orthography within language management is gradually diminishing at present.

The principles of Czech orthography

The Czech language uses the Latin alphabet, augmented by three diacritics as in letters á, ř and ů. Orthographical systems use various principles which determine what elements of the spoken language are represented by a single sign (grapheme) in the written language.

- (1) The distinctive feature principle: individual distinctive features of phonemes are represented by single signs. Many languages use this strategy, but in no language does it become the governing principle. In Czech, vocalic length is represented by the diacritic called *čárka* 'accent' a/á, i/í, u/ú (however, most long u are written as ů), e/é, o/ó. This sign is not used in any other role. On the other hand the Czech *háček* 'hook' does not represent any single phonemic feature. In each of the pairs t/t' (in printing after t and d the *háček* is normally represented by an apostrophe), c/č and r/ř it represents a different phonemic distinction.
- (2) The phonemic principle: phonemes are represented by single graphemes. This is the leading strategy in the Czech system of spelling. However, there are a number of exceptions, due to the application of the 'morphological principle' (see below). Phonemically conditioned exceptions are:
 - (a) The representation of the phonemes t', d' and ň. They are written t, d, n before i and t', d', ň elsewhere. (However, in foreign words t, d, n before i retain their normal value.)
 - (b) The grapheme ě basically corresponds to the phoneme e. However, additionally it also marks other phonemic distinctions. After t, d, n it

means that the preceding consonant is 'softened' to *t'*, *d'*, *ň*. After *p*, *b*, *v* it means that *j* must be inserted between the consonant and the vowel *e*. And after *m*, it marks the insertion of *ň*.

(c) In foreign words the grapheme *s* can represent the phoneme *z*.

In principle each phoneme occupies the space of one letter. Some phonemes have their own graphemes (*a*, *t*, *r*, etc.) while other phonemes are represented by a letter plus a diacritics (*á*, *ř*, *t'*, etc.). However, this principle is violated in two cases:

- (a) The combination of graphemes *c* and *h* represents a single phoneme χ (as in Scottish *Loch* or German *Bach*).
 - (b) The grapheme *x* represents two phonemes: *ks*.
- (3) The morphemic principle: this principle means that the same morpheme is represented in the same way (whatever the pronunciation may be) and different morphemes are represented differently (even if their pronunciation is identical). There are several types of application of this principle:
- (a) Final unvoiced consonants are written as voiced consonants if in other forms of the word the consonant is voiced (e.g. *dup* 'oak' is written *dub*, because the genitive case is *dubu*). Here writers must realise what the 'basic' form of the morpheme is.
 - (b) The vowel *i*/*í* is written *y*/*ý* in the stem of some morphemes (e.g. *být* 'to be'). (This spelling mostly reflects the historical pronunciation; at the present time, there is no difference in pronunciation.) Writers must know which morpheme has *i* and which has *y*. Primary school children memorise a list of words which contain the *y*-morphemes, and must judge for themselves which other words contain the same morpheme.
 - (c) In endings, the phoneme *i* is also represented differently, depending on the morpheme: for example if it represents 'past+male+plural+3rd person' it is written *i*, but if it represents 'past+female+plural+3rd person', the correct spelling is *y*. Writers must be able to analyse the morphemes in question.
 - (d) For the long *u* there are two graphemes (*ú* and *ů*) that are differentiated by their position vis-à-vis the boundary between morphemes.
 - (e) The phonemic sequence *mňe* is written *mně* if it is related to a morpheme which includes both *m* and *n/ň* (e.g. *vzpomněl* 'remembered' because of *vzpomenout si* 'to remember'), otherwise it is written *mě* (*město* 'a town'). Writers must be able to analyse words morphemically.
 - (f) Apart from this, the phonemic sequence *mňe* is written *mě* in the accusative case of *já* 'I', but *mně* in the dative and locative cases. Writers must understand the grammatical character of these words.
 - (g) Some morphemes use voiced graphemes for unvoiced phonemes without any particular reason: *ž* in *až* 'when', or *z* in *způsob* 'mode'. The morpheme pronounced *gdyš* 'when' is written *když*; there are only historical reasons for this. (Similarly, *kdy* 'when', *kde* 'where', etc.) In this case, writers must remember how each of these morphemes is written.

- (h) In numerals, the stem is written with a numerical symbol, while the ending is indicated either by a dot (*v 9. století*, pronounce: 'v devátém století'), or the ending is directly added (*v 9tém století*, pronounce: 'v devátém století').
- (4) The lexical principle. One or several words are written in a particular way. This happens only in the following cases:
- (a) Cardinal numerals and signs: 3 (pronounce *tři*), 21 (pronounce *dvacet jedna*), 1/6 (pronounce *jedna šestina*), signs in scientific language, etc.
- (b) Abbreviations: ČTK (pronounce *četéká*), UK (pronounce *univerzita karlova*).
- (c) Foreign words: *management* (pronounce *menedžment*).

This tedious list of principles and rules has been given in full, except for some equally difficult rules of punctuation, in order to illustrate the size of the spelling problem native speakers face.

These principles of spelling have been influenced by the typological profile of the Czech language. As Skalička (1979: 309–10) has shown, the inflectional type, which is strongly represented in that profile, can lead to a larger than average number of consonants. This problem of too many consonants (compared with the limited number of Latin script graphemes) has been solved in Czech by using the diacritics. At the same time, the language uses the morphological principle, which is also important for inflection. The lexical principle is well established for numerals, but abbreviations have never been popular and the spelling of foreign words has gradually been more and more adapted to Czech spelling, although in proper names and recent borrowings the foreign graphemic form persists.

As a result of the application of these principles, correct spelling presupposes a knowledge of a number of lexical and grammatical rules. For example, the spelling of the word *výmyk* 'upward circle (in gymnastics)' with *y* requires its morphological analysis and the recognition of the morpheme *-myk-* as identical with *-myk-* in more common words such as *zamykat* 'to lock up'. In addition it is necessary to possess the knowledge that the morpheme *-myk-* is one of the morphemes using *y* (not *i*). Or, in order to determine whether the phonemic sequence *mňe* in *nebaví mě to* 'it doesn't amuse me' should be spelt as *mě* or as *mně*, the writer requires the knowledge that it is an accusative, not a dative. Of course the use of such rules is automatised in the case of frequent active users of the written language, but those who only write occasionally have to manage (in the sense of the management theory) their spelling in each case. In the course of compulsory school education, the basic rules of Czech spelling are acquired by nearly all native speakers, but the active use of some rules is socially limited, particularly in reference to the use of capitals and the writing of foreign words. The spelling system is normally very difficult for members of communities other than Czech communities. This was, for example, true of Germans who remained in Czechoslovakia after WWII. In biographical research (Nekvapil, 2001) they claimed that mastering Czech spelling was the most difficult task in their linguistic adaptation to the new environment.

As in all societies of the Modern stage of development, correct spelling has been considered the first requirement of education. In Czech, the inability to distinguish between *i* and *y*, in particular has been looked upon as a sign of intellectual

primitivity. In the eyes of the public, spelling has often been seen as logical, and deviations from it as evidence of the lack of the ability to think logically. In passing, it must be noted that the division of the former Czechoslovakia was, at one stage, closely connected with a spelling problem. The political representatives of Slovakia (correctly) pointed to the fact that the component *–slovensko* in *Československo* was not transparent and required the form *Česko-Slovensko*. Linguists were summoned when the matter was discussed in the cabinet.

Simple management

Simple management of spelling is widely distributed within the community whenever the written language is used. One of the authors of this paper (JVN) has written Czech frequently, but he has always 'noted' the problem of *mě* or *mně* and sometimes selected the correct spelling only after a complicated adjustment process. He believes that his use of the *i/y* is automatised and correct. He does not 'note' the problem. He occasionally 'notes' other problems, such as capital letters, or the spelling of foreign words, but in these cases the sanctions are weak, and in his manuscripts he relegates the problem to professional proofreaders.

In general we can say that simple management of spelling has gradually been decreasing. This decrease is the result of changes in educational philosophy which have tended to emphasise content over form. To some extent, the influence of electronic mail can also be perceived. Since some users cannot use (or elect not to use) specific Czech graphemes (with accents and hooks), e-mail can differ to a considerable extent from normal Czech texts. For example, the sentence

Jirí slíbil, že mně to dá včas 'George promised that he would give it to me in time'

is transformed into

Jiri slibil, ze mne to da vcas.

These pseudo-Czech texts contain so many deviations from normal Czech that a few additional deviations due to spelling problems may remain unnoticed.

However, the extent of simple correction still remains vast. Although studies of adult spelling processes are rare – if they exist at all – the extent of confusion is revealed by the number and range of questions addressed to the Language Advisory Unit of the Academy of Sciences (Uhlířová, 2002). Questions frequently address the *i/y* problem, capital letters and loan-words. The fact that most of those addressing the Advisory Unit are people who write for the public (journalists, editors, proofreaders, authors of official and legal documents, etc.), as well as teachers of the Czech language, shows that the extent of uncertainty within the community is considerable and that, unlike in English speaking communities, the questions involved often cannot be easily resolved by reference to dictionaries or standard manuals.

Organised management

Organised management begins at school, where considerable emphasis is placed on correct spelling. Much of the training in spelling is through the use of 'dictation' exercises in which the teacher reads individual sentences containing difficult points of spelling and subsequently corrects the students' mistakes.

The following examples are from a dictation presented in 1999 to students in Year 9 at a public school in eastern Bohemia. The student whose work is considered here in the meantime went on to high school (gymnázium), and can minimally be considered average, but most likely he is an above-average performer.

Zbyla nám milá vzpomýnka [the grapheme *ý* has been underlined twice in red by the teacher]. *Masitá strava je sytá. Psík se svynul do klubíčka* [the syllable *svy* has been crossed out by the student and replaced by *svi*]. 'We have been left with a pleasant memory. Meat dishes are nourishing. A dog curled up.'

In this extract we can see a case of simple post-management by the student (*svy*→*svi*). The teacher's correction (*vzpomýnka*→*vzpomínka*) is a part of organised management within the education system. The double underlining shows that the mistake is considered to be serious. In a follow-up interview, the student explained his spelling of *vzpomínka* 'memory' with *ý* by (a false) morphemic association of the word with the word *myslet* 'to think'.

At the level of the mass media, the state television TV1 in 1998 introduced a programme called *Diktát* 'Dictation' within the busy evening primetime zone. The teacher (originally Zdeněk Svěrák, otherwise known as the leading actor in the Oscar-winning film *Kolya*) dictates a text which is being taken down by 'students' in the studio and by many people throughout the country. The prestige of the programme is enhanced by the fact that the final evaluator is the Director of the Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic. The programme is still very popular.

Rules of Czech Spelling

By far the most influential instrument of language management with regard to spelling is the publication called *The Rules of Czech Spelling* (*Pravidla českého pravopisu*) which has a history stretching back for more than 100 years. The beginning of a system which is on the whole identical with current spelling can be identified in the first half of the 19th century. However, there were differences, and considerable variation still existed, although the system was accepted by the community as 'natural' (Sedláček, 1993). The situation rapidly changed in the second half of the century, when schooling in Czech developed in an unprecedented way, making a further codification of the spelling system necessary. At the same time, new Czech literature, which liberated itself from the provincialism of the previous period, was heading in a direction towards further unification of the usage in a way different from the tradition of the first half of the century. The association *Matice česká* published a handbook called *A Sharpener of the Czech Tongue* (*Brus jazyka českého*) in 1877 which, in a way, was a predecessor of the *Rules*. Furthermore, textbooks for all schools had to be approved by the authorities and as a consequence, in fact, had a codifying effect. Nevertheless, the situation was opaque, and the government asked a leading linguist, Josef Gebauer (1838–1907), to head a committee that would compile a handbook for high schools, presenting a comprehensive picture of the problem. The result of the work of the committee, published in 1902, created the tradition of the *Rules* that has lasted to this day. The *Rules* handbook is revised from time to time, sometimes after a long interval. The dates of the more substantial revisions were:

1913, 1941, 1957 and 1993. However, small individual changes in codification occurred in between these dates.

The 1902 first edition of the *Rules of Czech Spelling* emphasised on its title page that it was 'the only edition approved by the Ministry of Culture and Education'. The full title which was 'Rules Directed to Czech Orthography and Morphology, Accompanied by an Alphabetic List of Words and Forms' points to the fact that: (1) the *Rules* consisted both of a set of rules and an alphabetically arranged glossary, and (2) the *Rules* contained not only an orthographic but also a morphological part.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Czech society was sufficiently modernised to be sure that no radical reform would be forthcoming. Gebauer and his Committee were conservative. They referred to Jungmann (1773–1847) and Palacký (1798–1876), and even older literature, as the source of models for correct language, notwithstanding the fact that these possible models were the sources of variation the handbook intended to overcome. However, the members of the committee admitted that there was a need for a more efficient way of finding out and, in fact, the handbook demonstrated at least two relatively progressive features. Firstly, as concerns morphology, the members of the committee took a stand against arbitrarily changing language, and they accepted only those forms that had actually existed in language (even though they often preferred older forms to more contemporary ones). Secondly, Gebauer's Introduction (Gebauer, 1902) mentioned the requirement of uniformity, but also accepted some of the existing variation; for example, both *dveře* and *dvěře* 'door' were accepted.

Even this degree of liberalism was unacceptable to many established language teachers who required strict codification. As early as the 1903 printing, the number of alternative forms was reduced. The preference for a 'straightforward regularity' (*přímochará pravidelnost*, Vilém Mathesius' later term) became still more pronounced in the 1913 edition which was criticised, in the 1930s, on behalf of writers and journalists, by the Prague Linguistic Circle (Sedláček, 1993: 69).

The *Rules* established themselves within the Czechoslovak Republic as the arbiter of usage, particularly in education and official work. Although the use of the *Rules* was not legally binding until recently (see the following discussion), they have been widely accepted as the norm for all written language. Publishers required authors to comply with the *Rules*. Except for the 1902 edition, the authors of the *Rules* remained anonymous, although it was well known that leading linguists, such as Bohuslav Havránek or František Daneš took part in the compilation of the post-war editions.

After 1948 (the year when the Communist Party assumed power), the changed political situation brought new factors into play. The functionalist attitude, established by the Prague Linguistic Circle before WWII – an attitude which considered language and its parts, such as the orthography, as tools – was on the whole accepted, and no major reforms of the spelling system were forthcoming. No need was seen for major changes in the name of democratisation of language (Havránek, 1947). For instance, the distinction between *i* and *y* has never been seriously considered as an object of reform (Sedláček, 1998: 156). The lack of reformist thought was in line with the Communist Party's self-image as a defender of national traditions. On the other hand, a few areas of the *Rules* were considered to have ideological implications. One such area was the use of capital

letters. Capital letters were always considered honorific (cf. the traditional – now somewhat obsolete – honorific singular-address *Vy* against the non-honorific singular address *ty*). It is interesting that immediately after WWII, when anti-German emotions were fed by the fresh memory of war-time atrocities, the word *Němec* ‘a German’ was often written (against the codified norm) as *němec*. In the 1957 edition of the *Rules* (the first edition to be approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party), the names of established institution such as *ministerstvo zahraničí* ‘Foreign Ministry’ continued to be written with lower case letters, while new socialist institutions, such as *Pohraniční stráž* ‘State Border Guard’, were capitalised. The February 1948 communist takeover was designated as *Únor* ‘February’. Even if the words concerned were not necessarily mentioned in the glossary part, the honorific meaning of capitalisation was obvious in the first (*Rules*) part, where these words were given as examples.

Another ideologically sensitive point of the 1957 *Rules* was the attitude to foreign words, in particular the differentiation of *s* and *z* in some particular words. The integration of foreign words into the Czech spelling system began as early as the 1913 *Rules*. The 1957 edition further extended the range of words in which pronounced *z* was written as *z*; for example, the word previously written *analýsa*, was hereafter to be written *analýza* ‘analysis’. However, the Central Committee did not approve the words *prezident* and *socializmus*, because it was afraid that the untraditional spelling with *z* might lessen the authority of these institutions, notwithstanding the fact that the pronunciation *president* or *socialismus* (with *s*) did not occur at all. ‘Museum’ became *muzeum*, except that in the case of the historically important *Národní museum* ‘National Museum’ the Minister of Education (formerly a history professor) pushed through an exceptional spelling with *s*.

A change that was not ideologically tinted concerned the unification of vocalic length in foreign words. In view of considerable variation in Common Czech and in different areas of the Czech territory, the authors of the 1957 edition attempted not simply to reflect the usage but to present codification rules that would guide and influence Standard pronunciation.

The first post-Communist *Rules* of 1993 proposed only a few changes, but these were welcomed in a very critical fashion. This critical tone was partly the consequence of the fact that this was the first time in the second half of the century when the public could freely express their opinions. Nothing was considered ‘obvious’ (cf. Ajvaz’ title *Proti samozřejmosti* ‘Against obviousness’; Ajvaz, 1994). Nevertheless, at least two important themes surfaced in the discussion. First, the principle of integration of loans into the Czech phonemic system was attacked. The reason was the newly perceived need to retain uniformity with western European languages. The author Josef Vaculík wrote about a ‘barbaric plan to erase in the graphical picture the pedigree of words, and to obscure in the general graphical consciousness of history Romance, Germanic and Celtic influences’, while the linguist Marvan spoke about ‘a distinct boundary between the orthographic spirit of the West and the East’ (see Marvan, 1993). The second theme in the discussion concerned the attempt of the authors of the 1993 *Rules* to make the handbook easier to use for the ‘average user’ by excluding some more difficult alternative spellings. After the fall of the communist system in 1989 there was no space left for defending the position of the socially weak, who

preferred more regularity. The public required more freedom for the strong, in this case the middle class, and defended variation against uniformity. The stand was further influenced by the penetration of new postmodern attitudes that placed variation at the top of sociocultural values.

The Ministry of Education, which approves each new edition of the *Rules* for use in schools, reacted by refusing an immediate endorsement. The handbook was actually introduced into schools in 1994, with the proviso that alternative spellings were allowed. The acceptance of alternatives is now characteristic for magazines and journals within various special fields, which give authors the opportunity to decide which alternatives to employ. This postmodern spirit contrasts with the previous situation, when the *Rules* had to be followed and the publisher decided in case the handbook allowed more than one choice. The principle of accepting alternatives has also been endorsed in later publications based on the 1993 *Rules*: the *Akademický slovník cizích slov* (Academic Dictionary of Foreign Words) (1994), or *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* (Dictionary of Standard Czech for the School and the Public) (1995). The current situation thus reflects the overall decline in normativism and the creation of conditions for differentiated norms. The target does not any longer seem to be 'spelling for the Standard language', but rather 'spelling for everyday life', 'spelling for specialised communication', or 'spelling for literary works'.

Interestingly, it is difficult to identify Russian influences during the period of Communist Party rule, except that some authors (e.g. Sedláček, 1998: 157) consider the 'phonetic' writing of foreign words as an influence of Russian. However, it has had a long tradition in Czech extending back before WWII. At present, the influence of English has not penetrated into the codification, but is felt in practice, particularly in the case of capital letters or punctuation.

With regard to spelling, Czech organised management has thus remained the 'property' of the middle class. The difference between the 1902 *Rules of Czech Spelling* and the 1993 handbook is vast, but most of the changes occurred at the beginning of the century; in fact, the second half of the century brought few changes (Sedláček, 1998: 163). The strategies that guided the development were modernisation strategies, principally of the Modern stage. This implied changes toward the spoken language. However, the spoken language involved was a variety of the Standard, not Common Czech. Little intentional democratisation can be detected, although it is true that the current form of the spelling is easier to apply for an average user.

Literacy

Literacy refers to the ability to use the written language. However, to read and write is not identical with the ability to use the script. We can divide the related problems into three large areas:

- (1) Problems of 'grammatical' competence; i.e. the knowledge of the script, orthography and punctuation (in the case of Czech, the knowledge of the strict rules of spelling).
- (2) Problems of non-grammatical communicative competence; i.e. the selection of the suitable variety of language (in Czech, the Standard), special

- functional features of language, the selection out of a range of texts to read, the establishment of settings for reading and writing, etc.
- (3) Problems of sociocultural competence; i.e. the social needs and rewards for reading/writing or sufficient funding for the time spent on the use of the written language.

As in the case of other language problems, the solution of sociocultural problems precedes problems of non-grammatical communicative competence, and these again precede those of grammatical competence. At present it is widely accepted that literacy is not primarily a problem of script and orthography.

The Czech lands have always belonged to those parts of Europe with the highest rates of literacy. In the 15th century, Aeneas Sylvius (later Pius II) commented that Hussite women knew the Scriptures better than Italian bishops (Polišenský, 1991: 46). In the 19th century, Bohemia, together with areas such as Scotland or the Nordic countries, belonged to the most literate countries in Europe (Cipolla, 1969). This should not be taken to imply that the problem of literacy was solved. Before World War II, full literacy was restricted to the middle and upper classes. Even if in full command of the skill of reading, perfection in writing was difficult to achieve for those who had not completed secondary school education. One mistake in a letter (e.g. 'y' instead of 'i' or a hypercorrect lexical item) was sufficient to declass the writer. The fact that the morphology of Standard rather than of Common Czech was required exacerbated the problem.

Under the communist government, problems of literacy did not receive serious attention. The attitude of the Modern society, which assumed that the problem of literacy had been solved (Neustupný, 1984), was compounded by Communist Party ideology which claimed that the principle of free education for all was the universal answer to the problems of the past. This view was partly correct, because class distinctions were largely removed from the education system, and the system itself stopped reproducing inequality. However, in the second half of the 20th century the problem of literacy in advanced countries had already moved to functional literacy (cf. Verhoeven, 1994). Mere equalisation of educational opportunities can solve differentials with regard to the grammatical components of literacy but it does not automatically solve problems in the use of written language and in social needs for it. However, it must be admitted that the second half of the 20th century also brought changes in the teaching of the Czech language which, under the influence of B. Havránek, F. Daneš and other members of the former Prague School of Linguistics, was thoroughly modernised; there was also considerable expansion of publishing and development of public libraries. Books were cheap and the quality high, with many titles also being translated and marketed abroad. However, from the histories of countries of similar socioeconomic profile, it is clear that the rate of functional illiteracy often exceeds 10%. For example, research conducted in Holland demonstrated that 11 to 17% of Dutch adults experienced problems in writing within the range of their daily life and / or work situations (Doets, 1994). Similarly, the final report of IALS (Literacy, 2000: xiii) illustrates that even in countries with very high literacy profile, 8 to 15% of the adult population encountered severe literacy deficits in everyday life and in work situations. It would therefore be misleading to imagine that in the Czech Republic the literacy problem was solved.

Moreover, in the Czech situation the Communist Party's claim that all children had equal access to education was partly but not entirely true. Children from some 'bourgeois' families or from families of dissidents (including a large number of children of those who were expelled from the Communist Party after 1968) were refused higher education which resulted in limiting the range of functional literacy they could achieve. Problems in completing their education affected the children of the German ethnic group after 1945, when education in German suddenly became unavailable (see the section on German that follows). In view of the Czechoslovak government's attitude towards literacy prior to 1989 and its negative attitude to social surveys that would reveal deficiencies, and in view of the right-leaning policies of the first post-Communist governments, little statistical data on the Czech situation within the last 20 years exists. However, there are certain expectations based on participant observation within the communities involved.

Firstly, there is only one large group that is affected widely and seriously – the Roma community. Most of the Roma migrated from Slovakia after World War II, where they had not normally achieved literacy in Slovak or any other language. Still, there were no attempts to provide them with literacy in Czech. This observation is probably also true of some others who arrived in the Czech lands from Slovakia. The use of Romani in print has so far been restricted to the Roma intellectual elites, and as such it could not become a vehicle for building literacy. Of course, one should not presume that the whole Roma community is (functionally) illiterate. However, with the rate of unemployment close to 80%, the effects of (functional) illiteracy make themselves felt while, on the other hand, unemployment further reinforces (functional) illiteracy. The situation is serious. Illiteracy is not only affecting the old. Some Roma children placed in special schools never achieve a base on which their literacy could later develop. A similar situation has been noted in the case of some other foreign groups (e.g. the Vietnamese community), although there child illiteracy in Czech does not emerge as a serious menace. Obviously, functional literacy in Czech among most other recent immigrant communities must also be considerably low, but this situation remains covert. Secondly, there is the problem of mentally or aurally handicapped children. Their literacy needs have remained largely unmet. Thirdly, there is the problem of functional illiteracy among native speakers of Czech who are not handicapped but who, for social reasons, missed some stages of their schooling or lost literacy skills later. Evidence from other countries suggests that the number of such individuals can be surprisingly high. The Czech Army is one of the institutions that had first hand experience with such illiteracy. However, due to the reorganisation and reduction of the Army, this situation has now changed.

Although, by international comparison, literacy in the Czech Republic may be high, similarly to many other societies with the same degree of development, the need for full literacy is restricted. This restriction, together with the need to employ a Standard (i.e. Standard Czech) that is no one's native language, as well as the difficulty of Czech orthography, leads to a situation in which literacy appears to be a matter that should be closely monitored by language managers.

The IALS Project

The issue of functional literacy has been raised in the context of economic

rationalism in the International Adult Literacy Survey, launched in 1994. The Czech Republic participated in its second phase (SIALS), conducted in 1998 (Human Resources, 2000; Literacy, 2000). Functional literacy was defined as 'the capacity to participate in the world of information' and was considered, in the tradition of 'economic rationalism', primarily a problem in the employment domain of communication. The problem was divided into five levels, from level 1, which was elementary, to levels 4 and 5 that required complex processing of incoming information. Level 3 was the first level considered to be a suitable minimum for coping with the demands of everyday life and work. Furthermore, three types of literacy were in focus:

- (1) 'Prose literacy' was the competence needed to understand texts (e.g. newspaper texts, brochures, etc.).
- (2) 'Document literacy' refers to the competence necessary to use information from formats (e.g. application forms, transportation schedules, tables, etc.).
- (3) 'Quantitative literacy' designates so-called numeracy (i.e. the competence to deal with numbers and numerical functions).

Among 20 participating countries, two groups of countries performed, respectively, exceptionally well or exceptionally poorly. The former group included Sweden, Finland and Norway (and to a lesser extent Denmark and The Netherlands), while the latter group included Hungary, Slovenia, Poland, Portugal and Chile. The results for these two groups are not difficult to explain. The Czech Republic is in the same group with Belgium, The United Kingdom and Ireland (ranks 11–14) for prose literacy. In the case of document literacy it rises to the group that includes Germany, Canada and Belgium (ranks 6–9), and for quantitative literacy it appears close to the top of the scale – in the same group as Denmark and Norway (ranks 2–4), second only to Sweden.

One of the special features of literacy in the Czech Republic is its relatively equal distribution across groups with different educational levels (tertiary, completed upper secondary, less than that). These results seem to indicate that working environment, rather than education, plays a decisive role. However, since in the Czech sample young graduates showed exceptionally good results, there is hope for further improvement, given improved access to higher education.

Nevertheless, the Czech results are relatively weak in the case of prose literacy in general, as well as in its composition: the Czech ranking falls to rank 14 when compared with the number of respondents on level 3 or above. This again points to the need for improved access to higher education.

However, the difference in ranking between the three types of literacy has not yet been fully explained. Why are Czechs good on numeracy and looking at documents, but not equally good at reading newspapers? The answer probably cannot be given before the actual instruments used in the survey become readily available. The only example of the instrument given in the Report (Literacy, 2000: 108) is hopelessly North American in orientation; should it have remained in questionnaires in languages other than English without a profound rewriting, it could not have yielded valid results. (What does it mean 'to swim three laps around Manhattan' for someone who has never heard of long-distance swimming? What is Manhattan anyway?) We would be sympathetic to France, which

withdrew from the project partly because 'test items were biased in favour of "Anglo-Saxon" cultures' (Report, p.123).

Further clarification of the issue can be provided by adding the rankings for four non-European, English speaking countries (US, Canada, Australia, NZ) on one hand and for four European countries of the 'middle zone' (Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, ČR) on the other (cf. Figure 2.3 of the Report). The results are in the following table.

	<i>Prose literacy</i>	<i>Document literacy</i>	<i>Quantitative literacy</i>
4 Overseas English speaking countries	34	48	49
4 Continental European countries	45	34	28

The figures are added ranks of the four countries. The lower the figure, the better relative competence.

These figures seem to show that the English speaking countries perform significantly better on Prose literacy. With decreasing importance of language expression in Document and Quantitative literacy tests, their performance deteriorates. On the other hand, the Continental countries of the middle zone lag behind on Prose literacy but when language expression becomes less important, they outperform the English speaking countries in a significant way. Should these considerations be correct, how can they be explained? One factor seems to be that language is not simply 'grammatical competence'. It does not suffice, when setting questions, to translate sentences, if the settings, topics and other components of non-grammatical ('sociolinguistic') competence are left unchanged. Should the questions have simply been translated from English into the other languages they still may have retained a sizable advantage for English speakers. The second reason may be in the language of testing/interviewing, i.e. the way questions are formulated and answers required. The only example in the Report reveals a typical English language testing pattern. We are not experts on this matter, but this pattern may certainly be unfamiliar at least to Czech respondents.

Simple management

Literacy is accessible to acquisition through simple management processes if:

- a sufficient base for further acquisition has already been built through learning the script and some basic strategies of orthography;
- settings for acquisition are available; and
- there are sufficient needs and rewards for becoming literate.

Under these circumstances, learners acquire not only grammatical, but also non-grammatical communicative and sociocultural competence necessary for literacy. There is no doubt that many of the IALS indicators are acquired in this way.

Czech parents, like parents in many other societies, are eager to support their children's acquisition of literacy by providing them with a selection of reading materials and with access to the internet. This practice is particularly true for

middle-class parents, but in Czech society this support involves a much wider scope. The internet as a means of supporting literacy, among other skills, has also been highlighted in the decision of the Ministry of Education to provide internet facilities to each school. Schools guide parents in supporting their children's literacy acquisition by checking their reading. However, such guidance is normally unavailable in Roma households (Hübschmannová, personal communication).

Organised management

The school system is the main place where organised management leading to literacy takes place. However, there is also adult education. Although the OECD report for the Czech Republic (Literacy, 2000: 42) showed that the mean hours of participation in adult education were quite low (ranking 4th from the bottom of the list of 20 countries), in fact opportunities exist even in this area. There is also the possibility to participate in distance education. A number of courses aiming at requalification can include the Czech language as one of the subjects. However, all these courses presuppose completed compulsory education and are, therefore, not available to many Roma applicants. No tuition specifically dealing with the literacy problems of adults could be identified.

An important role has been played by the so called 'special schools' (*zvláštní školy*). Under this system, children who, for various reasons, do not perform well are transferred to 'special schools' where the teaching process is slowed down; as a consequence, lower levels of literacy are achieved. For many years this was the only procedure to deal with the needs of Roma children. Positive evaluation of this system lies in the assumption that children who underachieve should be given the opportunity to proceed at their own pace; conversely, children who show special talent should be enabled to develop their talent further. Negative evaluation of the 'special schools' is represented, for example, by the attitude of Roma activists, who have opposed placing their children in ghettos which only result in the reality that normal employment channels will be closed to them. These activists have, partly through judicial channels, achieved the decision that, from the 2000/2001 school year, the transfer of children to 'special schools' can be effectuated only on the basis of a special test independent of the child's competence in the Czech language (MFD, 16th June 2000). With regard to selective schools for especially talented children, the opposition argues that, through the transfer of talented children, the normal schools are impoverished and their levels are diminished.

Within the current ideological situation in the Czech Republic, equalisation of access to literacy is perceived as a 'return to communism'; any policy proposing such a practice is likely to face strong criticism from right wing and centrist politicians. No clear drive towards radical increases in functional literacy across the board can be identified. The interests of the middle classes are well served: the SIALS survey has surprisingly shown that in the Czech Republic higher levels of education are more open to children of educated parents than in the developed EU countries (Human Resources, 2000: 102). After decades of Communist Party rule, this phenomenon is seen by many as a way to raise the economic condition of the whole nation to a higher level.

The Slovak Language

Situation, problems

Language shift that characterises the communicative attitudes of the Slovak community in the Czech Republic should be seen in the light of the economic, social and political power relationships within Czechoslovakia, where the Czech element was definitely the stronger partner. However, it should also be related to the close relationship between the two languages. Slovak and Czech historically belong to the same group of western Slavic languages which, among living languages, also includes Polish and Sorbian (Upper and Lower). However, within this group, Slovak and Czech share a particularly close relationship. Degrees of agreement between the two languages exceed differences. Even though the phonological systems are not identical (Standard Slovak has an additional vowel *ä* and a range of *r/l*-like sounds, while Czech has the special consonant *ř*), most of the divergence falls within the range of differences usual between dialects of the same language. In the morphological system, nominal as well as verbal endings definitely differ, but these differences, although extensive, are systematic and easy to comprehend. Both languages possess basically the same lexicon. Zeman (1997a: 1653) notes that 'among the 500 most frequent words in both languages, 230 (46%) are the same and 154 (30.8%) are in partial coincidence.' A Slovak easily becomes a receptive bilingual in Czech and a Czech in Slovak (cf. Kořenský, 1998b). However, active use of the other language is not automatic and must be specifically acquired. Since there are 'false friends' in the lexicon, 100% competence is not guaranteed.

Of course, there was a question whether a 100% understanding was taking place when Czechs and Slovaks still lived in the same state. Lexical items that are completely different are rare but sometimes puzzling. Slovak [Sl.] *raňajky* against Czech [Cz.] *snídaně* 'breakfast' is difficult to interpret unless the speaker has acquired the item. Sl. *t'ava* corresponds to Cz. *velbloud* 'camel', Sl. *pivnica* means 'cellar' while Cz. *pivnice* designates a 'beer hall'. Words that sound the same and have a similar meaning can have very different stylistic values. The sociolinguistic profile of the two languages is also different. In Slovak, the Standard is directly opposed to the dialects (i.e. there is no Common Slovak), and the dialects are vigorous. There are differences in sociolinguistic rules of address and there are other rules that have not been sufficiently examined.

Prior to the division of Czechoslovakia, some authors had argued that assuming complete mutual understanding would be naive. In this sense, one can, with justification, use the term *semicommunication*, coined by Haugen (1966), who used the term to describe the uses of Danish, Norwegian and Swedish in situations in which each speaker continued speaking his/her own language. He described *semicommunication* as 'the trickle of messages through a rather high level of "code noise"' (Haugen, 1966). On the other hand, he also emphasised the idea that what was necessary was the goodwill to understand each other. Apart from the Nordic languages, Haugen referred to the case of Czech and Polish and, of course, Czech and Slovak. Budovičová (1987a, 1987b), who introduced Haugen's term to Czechoslovak linguistics, emphasised the existence of language problems. This orientation towards the negative aspects of Czech/Slovak *semicommunication* was fresh and useful in the 1980s when the establish-

ment, by definition, saw all social problems as having been solved. Now the phenomenon can be seen in a more positive way.

It is doubtful whether the Czech/Slovak *semicomcommunication* during the time of the Czechoslovak Republic was equally developed in both directions. Czech was the language with more prestige and more power. On the whole, the receptive competence of Slovaks in Czech was superior to that of Czechs in Slovak. Slovaks read in Czech, while Czechs rarely touched a Slovak book. Since in the 1960s, the publication policy of the Slovaks was more flexible than that of the Czechs, the translation of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* by Solzhenitsin first appeared in Slovak, and Czechs who acquired it as their first-ever Slovak book were surprised that their competence was not adequate to understand more than the bare story. Incidentally, no Czech-Slovak or Slovak-Czech dictionary was on the market until 1967 when Gašparíková and A. Kamiš published their *Slovensko-český slovník*. One of the authors of this monograph used the combination of a Slovak-Hungarian and subsequently Hungarian-Czech dictionary (because he did not know Hungarian) when reading the Slovak translation of Solzhenitsin's novel.

The hierarchical relationship between Czech and Slovak has a long history. In Slovakia, Czech fulfilled the role of the written language as early as the 15th century, and continued its supremacy until Standard Slovak was established in the first half of 19th century. Czech remained the written language of Slovak Protestants (Nábělková, 2002a) longer than it did in the case of Catholics, who had switched to a variety of Slovak earlier. It was the Protestants who, in the 17th century, formulated the idea of Czechoslovak unity (Pauliny, 1983: 112). At that time, the linguistic relationship was not paralleled by differential power: if anything, it supported the case for the liberation of Slovaks from Hungarian rule. The relationship changed, however, when the Czechoslovak Republic was born and Slovakia assumed second position in the new State. Czech intellectuals and public servants held the power, and this was reflected in the power relationship between the languages. Even contemporarily, the presence of Czech in Slovakia is conspicuous. Bookshops keep Czech literature and even Czech translations from other languages. In 1999 the largest Slovak television channel, Markíza, broadcast more than one-sixth of its programmes in Czech. This programming comprised mainly television serials and films (Kompasová, 1999/2000). The privileged position of Czech seems to have been retained even among the youngest generation of Slovaks (Ivaňová, 2002).

Problems of communication are not exhausted by issues of grammatical competence. An important role is played by sociocultural competence. In this respect, Zeman (1997b) points to two circumstances: Firstly, prior to the division of Czechoslovakia, the federal media, accessible to the average listener/viewer emphasised the overall Czechoslovak context, rather than the specifically Slovak or Czech context. Secondly, after the division, the unfamiliarity of the specifically Slovak context may present a more serious hindrance to communication than do grammatical and lexical differences between Slovak and Czech. Needless to say, the lack of sociocultural knowledge of the other society negatively affects daily life communication as well.

The linguistic behaviour of the Slovak community in the Czech Republic is strongly influenced by the attitudes of the Czech community. Therefore, it will be

necessary in the future to watch carefully the behaviour of both sides in actual discourse situations between Czechs and Slovaks. No management recommendations can be formulated without an understanding of simple management.

Simple management

Never in the history of the Czechoslovak Republic have the modes of actual communication between Czechs and Slovaks become an object of linguistic research. Any understanding of simple language management throughout this period must therefore derive from data other than discourse interaction. Informal evidence must be considered, and more recent studies must be used for extrapolation of results in the direction to the past.

Eva Vrbová, a Slovak researcher who is a member of the Slovak community in Prague, has pointed out that in discourse between Slovaks and Czechs receptive bilingualism was not expected to function equally for all speakers (Vrbová, 1993). In the case of small children and also of old people there was automatic switching to the code of these addressees or at least presumably difficult features were transposed to the other code. These discourse management strategies, which remind one of Ferguson's 'simplified registers' (Ferguson, 1981), were applied as pre-adjustment, before any communicative inadequacy occurred. Two conclusions can be derived from this fact:

- (1) Czech-Slovak receptive bilingualism was not a 'natural' phenomenon that developed out of the similarity of two systems of grammatical competence, but was rather a management strategy that was tailored to the needs of particular speech situations;
- (2) Such discourse management strategy was capable of growing into active bilingualism, particularly in the case of Slovaks.

Except for small children and old people, Czechs and Slovaks applied their own system of grammatical competence, especially if they did not know each other well. However, according to Vrbová's observations, adjustment to the language system of the addressee was not unusual even in other situations. It occurred in the language of those who knew each other and were assured that the addressee lived on the territory of the other language on a long-term basis (Vrbová, 1993).

In discourse, Czechs have certainly not remained unaffected by Slovak. For example, in the following conversation, which took place in Prague in the 1990s, a Slovak female speaker SF1 speaks with a Czech female speaker CF1. SF1 speaks Slovak and CF1 Czech. However, CF1 takes over the word *korčuľovať* from Slovak for Czech *bruslit* 'to skate', giving it a Czech pronunciation *korčuľovat* and dropping the reflexive particle *se/sa*. She also uses the Czech past tense of the verb (*korčuľovala*); in this case the ending happens to coincide with the Slovak one.

SF1: *My sme sa boli korčuľovať v nedeľu. 'We went skating this Sunday.'*

CF1: *Já neumím korčuľovat, ja sem korčuľovala naposledy, když mi bylo dvanáct. Pak sem jezdila na kolečkovejch teda. 'I cannot skate, I skated for the last time when I was twelve. Then I used roller (skates), you know.'* (from Ivaňová, 2002: 37).

In this example, CF1 probably uses the Slovak word for 'skating' for complex discourse reasons. However, in the past, many Czechs used Slovak expressions in

their conversation, even in the absence of Slovak speakers, as word play. Nábělková (2002b) reports that Slovaks, in pub conversation, also use Czech as word play.

Within contemporary Czech-Slovak communication, there are a number of communication problems that originate in 'semicomunication'; i.e. noting of problems, evaluation and adjustments. One example occurs across the two following conversational turns:

CF2: *Sem dostala dneska takovej imejl, že se nemůžou dovolat a věčně se dovolaj k těm Moravákům.* 'I got today such an e-mail, that they cannot get us on the telephone, and all the time they can get the Moravians.'

SF2: *Pretože si im dala zlou zlú linku.* 'Because you gave them the wrong line.'

CF2 is a Czech woman who claims to always speak with Slovaks in Czech. SF2, a Slovak woman, answers in Slovak, originally mixing into her Slovak a Czech form *zlou* for Slovak *zlú* 'wrong'. She notes, evaluates her usage negatively and immediately implements an adjustment. This example shows that communication problems are not always the result of misunderstandings. In this case no misunderstanding occurs: there is only a negative evaluation of SF2's own grammatical choice in discourse.

Another discourse strategy is to pre-adjust individual items that might cause communication problems. This can be performed in three ways:

- (1) As noted already by Budovičová (1986) for the situation of former Czechoslovakia, speakers avoided differing elements and selected elements that were shared by both languages. For example, a Slovak speaker may use the Slovak word *tužka* for Czech *tužka* 'pencil' rather than the synonym *ceruzka* which may be incomprehensible to his Czech interlocutor.
- (2) Slovak speakers employ basically Slovak, but when a Slovak expression differs from its Czech counterpart, they use the Czech word (Ivaňová, 2002). The reverse is also true. As documented by Zeman (1988), Czech speakers who speak to Slovaks in Czech select Slovak alternatives for differing lexical items, e.g. Slovak *pečeň* for Czech *játra* 'liver'.
- (3) Speakers may pronounce endings indistinctly in order to cover the difference between Slovak and Czech; for example *počk[ɨ]* to minimise the difference between Czech *počkej* and Slovak *počkaj* 'wait' (Hoffmannová & Müllerová, 1993: 316).

The most recent research is that by Ivaňová (2002), who studied the interaction patterns of Czech and Slovak university students in Prague and formulated the following conclusions.

- (1) Czech speakers are not bilingual; their competence in Slovak remains at the level of receptive bilingualism. However, on the basis of the knowledge of a few structural differences between the two languages, they modify their Czech structures in discourse and present them as Slovak. As they use, or attempt to use, Slovak, they try to oblige, convey their liking of the other side, to use humour and language play. They do not expect the use of Czech from their partners; on the contrary, they encourage them to use Slovak. In the opinion of the present authors, one can observe a friendly attitude on the Czech side, but it might be a patronising attitude.

- (2) Slovak speakers, on the other hand, are not merely receptively, but also actively, bilingual, and they use their active competence in communicating with some Czech interlocutors. There is shifting depending on their relationship to their partners and on the domain of communication (public or private). The closer the partner, the more Slovak will be used by the Slovak interlocutor.

Large-scale sociological investigations in the *Slezský ústav* (Silesian Institute) in Opava have been mainly directed towards the ethnic situation in northern Moravia and partly also towards that in northeastern Bohemia in the 1980s. These investigations demonstrated that the shift of the Slovak community toward Czech is intensive in a number of situations and that it is continuing to intensify. There was a lack of agreement between declared ethnic membership (which remained Slovak) and declared language use (that was biased towards Czech). The last extensive research, conducted in 1994, showed that, according to their parents, only 5% of ethnically Slovak children spoke predominantly Slovak while 68.5% of children spoke predominantly Czech (Sokolová *et al.*, 1997: 84). The number of mixed marriages is increasing: according to marriage statistics, Slovaks in 1994 reported only 16.2% of ethnically homogeneous marriages. Nevertheless, Sokolová *et al.* (1997) claimed that their Slovak respondents were not as much oriented to the use of Czech as respondents were in previous decades; it is possible to identify a more bilingual and bicultural orientation – as opposed to the Czech monolingual and Czech monocultural orientation of past decades. For language management, this means that, since all cases of shift start in discourse, it will be important to understand its mechanism if there is an intent to arrest this shift. Moreover, if some Slovaks assume more positive attitudes to the maintenance of Slovak, are such attitudes reflected in discourse, or are they rather a part of the ideological structure of the communities? If the latter, how can they be transferred to discourse, the only location in which maintenance can take place?

There are definitely changes in the behaviour of Czechs and Slovaks in contact situations. A Slovak woman (T), who is a student and simultaneously works in an office in Prague (Ivaňová, 2002), can serve as an example. In communication with her company's clients, who are mostly Czech, Czech is spoken and written. In communicating with her Czech colleagues of the same age she uses Slovak. However in discourse with a female colleague, who is her senior by age, she uses Czech in order 'to be polite'. This happens notwithstanding the fact that the older woman possesses considerable experience of being exposed to Slovak during the period of the Czechoslovak Republic. In this case, the atmosphere of the former Czechoslovak Republic, which would lead one to expect a 100% Slovak from T, is gone. T's usage resembles that of Czechs in the office. They would speak Standard Czech to their clients and to an older woman, and Common Czech to their peers. This new pattern does not place Czech and Slovak into a hierarchical relationship. The ideal relationship between Czech and Slovak probably lies in the retention of the Czech-Slovak 'semicomcommunication' devoid of any emotive management and accompanied by switching to the other language as the domain of communication and the situation require.

This attitude can be seen in the following testimony, where it seems to be conscious. For X, an author, the Czech Republic is just another foreign country.

Why should one declare one's ethnic specificity and symbolise, through the use of Slovak, a non-existent past? In an internet magazine X formulated this view in the following way:

... ked som predtym par rokov hovoril v anglosaskom prostredi po anglicky, v cesku teraz hovorim cesky. ked na to pride, som slovak, ale nepotrebujem to neustale demonstrovat a riesit narodnostne vzťahy ... (Slovak, the writer does not use diacritics)

... since I spoke in an Anglo-Saxon environment over a few years English, in Czechia now I speak Czech, when it matters I am Slovak, but there is no need to constantly reassert that and try to solve ethnic relations ...

Nevertheless, the inequality problem persists. From the internet magazine *Inzine*, Ivaňová (2002) selected a number of strategies which Slovak contributors employ to legitimise the reason they select Czech in discourse in Czech environments. Several of these legitimisations claim that Czech is richer in expressive power than Slovak. Czech is presented as a language in which all problems have been solved. Slovak intellectuals, rather than creating their own expressive means, just employ Czech. This practice provides a prerequisite for a massive influx of Czech elements into Slovak and creates problems for Slovak organised management.

Organised management

In the first constitution of Czechoslovakia (1920), the national language, called the 'Czechoslovak' language, had two forms: Czech and Slovak. This was a legal construct. In fact it was assumed that the 'forms' were two national languages which were equal in law. However, Slovak occupied the position of the weaker partner. Since it had fewer speakers and was considered less developed than Czech, it could not in fact assume a position equal to Czech (Marti, 1998). The inequality of Slovak surfaced in the fact that Czech started being widely used in Slovakia, serving partly, for example, as the language of instruction at the university in Bratislava. As late as the 1930, discussions were held as to whether it was feasible to develop Slovak as a language of science and technology, or whether it would not be more rational to use Czech in such contexts. In view of this situation, it is not surprising that Czech influence on Slovak was massive. While the existence of Czech elements in Slovak has persisted as a problem in organised language management in Slovakia up to the present, the influence of Slovak on Czech has been minimal, and when it occurred, it was not considered a threat but rather an enrichment. This situation is typical for partnerships of unequal power. Towards the end of the second decade of the existence of Czechoslovakia, Slovak intellectuals, who were leaders in introducing Slovak to all registers of social life, were already emancipated and linguistically mature leaders in language management. However, there was no organised management with regard to Slovaks who resided in the Czech lands during the time of the inter-war Czechoslovak Republic.

Following the end of WWII, the situation changed. The concept of a 'Czechoslovak language' was abandoned, and Slovak intellectuals began to mount resistance to all forms of Czech domination. As massive emigration to the Czech lands proceeded, some weak attempts at organised language management also

appeared. Šrajero \acute{v} a (1999: 144) mentions a Cabinet decision according to which, in the 1952/1953 school year, 'Slovak language circles' were to be established. The decision required that 279 such circles were to be established in the Karlovy Vary region and 38 in the Plze \acute{n} region. A provision for the training of 160 teachers was approved. There are no reports to assess to what extent these circles were successful, but it is evident that in the course of time they met the same fate as the local branches of *Matice slovensk \acute{a}* , mentioned in the earlier section on the Slovak Community; that is, they ceased to exist.

The equal rights of the Czech and Slovak languages were explicitly formulated in the 1968 Constitution that established the Czech-Slovak federal system. Both languages were supposed to be different from minority languages. These were the only languages in which laws were published and which were the official languages of the national administration. The state administration (within the Czech and the Slovak part of the Federation) could be addressed in either language, but the administration was not obliged to respond in other than the local language. The conviction that receptive bilingualism should be promoted was thus actively supported by organised language management. The idea of full bilingualism was still missing.

Budovi \acute{c} ov \acute{a} (1987a, 1987b) noted that the negative aspects of semi-communication were strongest in the language of literature (where understanding was most difficult), less pronounced in the language of the media and daily life, and least serious in specialised forms of language. This hierarchy can, in fact, be observed in acts of organised language management. Even prior to the division of Czechoslovakia, it was common for poetry and prose to be translated from one language to the other. In order to coordinate terminological work, joint terminological committees for individual disciplines worked to achieve parallel development of special terminologies. School curricula included teaching about the other language and specified that examples of texts had to be studied. The alternation of Czech and Slovak announcers on television and radio news and sports and in other programs was very effective.

After the division of Czechoslovakia in 1993, Slovak disappeared from school curricula. The situation at the universities was chaotic. Some institutions in the Czech lands continued teaching Slovak within the framework of Slavic or Czech studies; others discontinued it. However, towards the end of the 1990s, it was felt that systematic attention to Slovak was necessary. This impetus appeared in a most vocal way at a National Seminar on Teaching Slovak and Slovak Literature at Czech Universities, organised in 2000 by the University of Hradec Kr \acute{a} lov \acute{e} (Zeman, 1999/2000). Among the conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar the following should be mentioned:

- (1) The Ministry of Education lacks a comprehensive policy concerning the teaching of Slovak.
- (2) In view of the current estrangement of Czech and Slovak and the two nations, it is essential that at least some universities establish a Czech-Slovak major.
- (3) It will be necessary to posit at least three aims for the teaching of Slovak:
 - (a) the education of Bohemists with a wide background of the knowledge of Slavic languages;

- (b) the education of teachers of Slovak to Czechs;
 - (c) the education of Bohemists with a very high command of Slovak who could teach Slovak children in the Czech Republic;
- (4) It is desirable to incorporate the teaching of Slovak and Slovak literature in primary and secondary schools within the fund allocation for multicultural education. This process has already begun.

The interest in reintroducing Slovak into Czech schools has also been confirmed in public opinion surveys. In an extensive survey carried out by Musilová and her colleagues in 1998, 53% of Czech respondents agreed with the suggestion to reintroduce Slovak. Among those who disagreed, one fourth claimed that this was unnecessary because 'everyone understands Slovak' (Musilová, 2000). Hence, even after the division of Czechoslovakia, the perception of receptive bilingualism appears to have been widespread.

A similar attitude exists at the highest level of the government. In a meeting held in 2002 between Czech Prime Minister Zeman and Slovak Prime Minister Dzurinda, the incorporation of Czech texts in textbooks of the national language and the showing of Slovak programmes on the Czech TV were emphasised (Mlčoch, 2002). A significant language management act at the level of publishing is demonstrated in the publication of a new textbook authored by M. Sokolová, K. Musilová, D. Slančová and J. Dršatová (forthcoming): *Renovovaný kurz jazyka slovenského pro Čechy – Renovovaný kurz českého jazyka pro Slovákov* (A Revised Course of Slovak for Czechs – A Revised Course of Czech for Slovaks).

What is the situation in Czech television? It has frequently been suggested that TV played a decisive role in the development of receptive bilingualism in the past. The media claim, with obvious partiality, that young Czechs no longer understand Slovak because of its disappearance from TV. This view can be only partly supported. While the Slovak cultural programme that used to be scheduled every Monday on Czech television disappeared, it would be an exaggeration to claim that most viewers were waiting for it with bated breath. It is certainly more significant that the alternation of announcers in news and sports programmes disappeared. However, it is important to realise that, in socialist Czechoslovakia, there was in principle only one TV programme, and the share of it that Slovak got was overall limited. At present there are four channels and, although the occurrence of Slovak is not 'planned', much Slovak can be heard in the speech of Slovak artists and other personalities who live in the Czech Republic and who are interviewed on Czech TV. Slovak sports personalities often speak, and they are the ones who are noticed by young people. Until empirical surveys become available, it will be necessary to listen with a grain of salt to arguments about the disappearance of Slovak from Czech TV. Such arguments may constitute one of the components of an overall myth about Czech and Slovak growing further and further apart. (Concerning the deconstruction of the myth see Nábělková, 2000, 2002b.)

On a number of occasions, it has been noted that organised management grows from the platform of simpler forms of management; e.g. management within families. This point can also be claimed in the case of Slovak in the Czech Republic. Maintenance within families has been minimal, and little interest has been shown in Slovak schools. The lack of interest in simple management has

contributed to the scarcity of organised management. In Prague, where about 20,000 Slovaks live, there has never been a single Slovak school. In the mid-1990s, the association *Obec Slovákov v České republice*, organised a project, approved by the Education Ministry, to establish a Slovak High School (gymnázium) in Prague; however, that experiment failed because only eight applicants turned up, while the minimum target was 20 (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 96). The only primary Slovak school in the territory of the Czech Republic, in Karviná, ceased to exist at the end of the millennium.

It has been argued that the old conception of the linguistic life of the Slovak community within the Czech Republic, based on the model of post-war Czechoslovakia, has been overtaken by time. Although a power relationship between the two societies and the two languages still partly exists, it is giving way to arrangements common in international society. There may be inequality, but it is covered under the ideology claiming that all states are equal. It is natural that more and more Slovaks in the Czech Republic speak Czech at work, in education, or in the public domain. However, there is no reason to use Czech in the family or in the friendship domain. Using Slovak in these latter domains will occur more and more frequently. On the other hand, there will be Slovaks who want to assimilate, and language managers have no right to prevent this.

Semicommunication is not a vice. It will be used more and more within international society, and it would be absurd to claim otherwise. One can assume that, in view of the linguistic closeness of Czech and Slovak, semicommunication will flourish. Perhaps a different name for the phenomenon should be created; one that would not suggest that something has gone wrong.

The Romani Language

Situation, problems

Romani is structurally and lexically an Indian language, closely related to the languages of present-day northwestern India. A large number of grammatical features and common lexical items can easily be identified. On the other hand, Romani dialects also contain a number of lexical features borrowed from the languages with which its speakers have historically come in contact and, primarily, from the languages of the matrix societies in which the Roma have lived. These borrowings also include some grammatical words (e.g. in the Czech-Slovak dialect *al'e* 'but'). Romani is divided into a number of dialects. The original Czech dialect and the Sinti (German) dialects spoken in pre-war Bohemia and Moravia have become virtually extinct since the holocaust (Elšík, 2000/2001), and continue to be used only in individual families (M. Hübschmannová, personal communication). Present-day Romani as spoken in the Czech Republic derives mostly from Slovakia. The dialects are:

- (1) Slovak-and-Czech Romani (Elšík, 2003, aptly calls it the 'Central' group) is the majority dialect, which further splits into an Eastern and a Western variety.
- (2) Hungarian Romani is a grammatically conservative dialect, mostly spoken in Hungary and adjoining countries. It came to the Czech Republic from Slovakia.

- (3) Vlach (Wallach) group. The particular dialect which is present in the Czech Republic is Lovari. Members of the Vlach group were itinerant until a strict law was adopted and enforced in 1958.

The dialects are distinct but there is at least basic inter-intelligibility among them (Hübschmannová & Neustupný, 1996: 104).

Multilingualism of the Roma

While speaking about language management of the Roma, it is necessary to realise that many of the middle and older generation are bilingual or multilingual. Apart from their dialect of Romani, they also use Czech, often Slovak, and sometimes Hungarian. The knowledge of Slovak and Hungarian is required to maintain personal networks abroad. The Czech they speak may be pidginised in the case of communication with other Roma, and it will be necessary to determine whether they distinguish between a variety of Czech spoken among themselves and another variety spoken to the *gajo* (non-Roma people). Similarly, their Romani may be characterised by a smaller or larger admixture of the matrix language, and their Czech and Slovak may combine into a single variety. This situation resembles the relaxed strategies of language use described by Khubchandani (1981) for India, with the proviso that one cannot assume that the pattern is in any way necessarily connected to the Indian origin of the language. For many of the younger generation, a variety, or varieties, of Czech become the only language available for active use. The government's Council for Ethnic Minorities estimates that approximately one half of the Czech Roma uses Romani (Zpráva, 2002: 4), but the use of a language is a complicated phenomenon, and experts assume that, even in the case of those who do not actually conduct daily conversation in the language, sometimes amazing degrees of competence still remain.

Simple management

There is evidence that native speakers of Romani note and evaluate dialectal difference in discourse. In Hübschmannová and Neustupný (1996), apart from individual examples (p. 97), three speakers of the eastern dialect of Romani were asked to comment on a text written in the western dialect of Slovak-and-Czech Romani. Certain, though not all, differing features were noted and some were evaluated by the judges. It was interesting that the word *mamuj* 'against' (*prociv* in the eastern dialect) was evaluated once negatively and once positively. On the whole, the management was not strong, with one of the three speakers, in particular, noting differences but refusing to evaluate. A stereotypic evaluation appeared in one case when the word *čulo* 'a little' was marked as belonging to a *degeša* (unclean, language of dog and horse flesh eaters) dialect despised by the *žuže* (clean) Roma. There is, in fact, no linguistic difference between the *degeša* and *žuže* communities, and the word *čulo* is simply a regional variant.

While Romani shows a relatively high degree of maintenance in the settlements of the Slovak type, within the Czech urban setting, shift is rapid and, unless the trend can be reversed, there may be nothing to maintain within 10 or 20 years. One should realise that, not unlike many other communities, a number of Romani intellectuals do not support the maintenance of the language, rather claiming that their

romipen 'Roma-ness' does not depend on the language. Ironically, the writer Dezider Banga (Hübschmannová, personal communication), who himself also publishes in Romani, is among such individuals.

There does not appear to be any study of Romani discourse that demonstrates how management takes place when the spoken language is used. Informal observations confirm that there is much switching at lexical level between Romani and Czech, and such switching testifies to problems in communication that are solved through switching. Of course, this is not the case when a Czech word is already a component of the Romani lexicon. When it is not, there is a possibility that switching will become automatised at the level of the speaker in question. This illustrates how language loss proceeds: from individual utterance, to the language of an individual, and then to the language of the whole community. In formal contexts, for example, when a Roma speaks at a conference, his/her Romani can be completely free of switching, but the language expression, in this case, is of course managed: within a very formal context such as this, problems are noted, and adjustment is implemented so that no switching takes place.

Hübschmannová (1979) showed another important phenomenon connected with management of language by the Roma in discourse. The Czech of Romani children at Rokycany (western Bohemia), where 82% of the children included in her study reported using Romani at home, was ungrammatical. However, the Czech of Romani children in a Prague sample, where only 6% of children used Romani at home, was equally ungrammatical. This example shows the lack of management of the children's Czech. A pidgin or a creole was being born. This process, typical for a situation of limited networks between native and non-native speakers (Hymes, 1971), still continues at the present time.

On the other hand, as the formation of ethnic awareness proceeds, more and more individuals try to speak and learn Romani. In some families, children are systematically addressed in the language. However, there is little opportunity to develop and reinforce this knowledge further in classroom situations.

Organised management

While the Romani language is still in use, attempts at its management appear at higher levels of organisation as well. Although practically all political programmes produced by Romani groups, and recently also by governmental organisations, praise the language as a symbol of the existence of the Roma, little management is conducted. Most of the following management acts have been pursued with the strong assistance of agents who are not themselves Roma.

Romani at primary level

There is no primary, or other, education that uses Romani as the vehicle of instruction, although there are Romani children who arrive at school with a mixture of Romani and Czech, or with Czech that is lexically (and grammatically) pidginised. Nevertheless, the question of Roma education has been discussed intensively, and certain steps have been taken towards improving its level. For example, the establishment of preparatory classes has contributed to the improvement of the education of Roma children. Such classes were originally designed for Roma children, but they are now open to all 'socio-culturally disadvantaged children' (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 25). In 1998, the Ministry of Educa-

tion approved the employment of Roma assistants whose task is to make it easier for Roma children, using their own language, to start school attendance at Czech primary schools. In the school year 1999/2000, there were 114 preparatory classes operating at kindergartens (11), primary schools (62) and special schools (41) (Statistická ročenka školství, 2000). Towards the end of 2001, the Ministry employed 264 Roma assistants; however, there were large districts with dense Roma populations that had no assistants (Zpráva, 2002: 33).

Because of different linguistic and social background, Roma children experience considerable communication difficulty, even if, on the surface, their Czech reveals no major problems. A standard adjustment measure has consisted of transfer to 'special schools' which were basically designed for mentally retarded children. Formally, a psychological test for retardation must be conducted, but cases have been recorded in which children were moved solely on the basis of an interview with their parents. Teachers schedule appointments for the tests, but parents do not take their children to be tested, and the special school does not refuse the children. Parents endorse, or even initiate, the transfer if they know that the child is unhappy at the normal school. Roma children themselves mostly enjoy the special school where requirements are grossly reduced and where most children come from Roma families. Teachers in normal classes are glad to get rid of underachievers. None of the participants in this adjustment process worry about the fact that the children will be unable to proceed to higher education (graduates of the special schools cannot enter secondary education) and that they are for life excluded from jobs that require anything more than the very elementary education level. A new generation of the unemployed is in the making (Wilková, 1999). Czech authorities and teachers take the special schools and the treatment of the Roma children to be natural and unavoidable. The self-assured tone of their statements is frightening (cf. the daily MF Dnes, 16 June 1999).

Roma activists and foreign experts have pointed to the fact that the psychological tests are culturally biased. For example, Roma children arrive at school without control of such concepts as 'first name' or 'surname'. At home they are called by nick-names. Many other speech patterns are different. The children lack the support of tutoring by parents, because in families of unemployed manual workers such a pattern does not usually occur. Regular attendance at school is not enforced by parents, especially if they find that the children are unhappy about their classes. The negative attitude of many parents to schooling is soon transmitted to the children. Under these circumstances it is difficult to speak of objective psychological testing.

Secondary and adult education

The Roma Social Secondary School (*Romská střední škola sociální*) at Kolín, approximately 50 km east of Prague, was founded in 1998. This school provides full secondary level training in the area of social care for Roma ethnic communities. Graduates are expected to find employment in national or local government or in other social work institutions. The curricula include classes in Romani, a survey of the history and culture of the Roma and Roma literature (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 75). There is also a Protestant Academy (*Evangelická akademie*) in Prague which, since 1997, also includes a *Roma Academy*. This institution trains adult students of Roma extraction for social work as advisers in Roma problems

in local government. The curricula also include Romani (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 73). Both schools receive financial support from the government. In Brno, classes of Romani are available at the Cultural and Educational Centre for Roma Children and the Young (*Kulturní a vzdělávací centrum pro romské děti a mládež*). These courses also accommodate teachers, public servants and police officers (Lidové noviny, 27 January 1999). A television course of Romani entitled *Amare Roma* was broadcast, by Czech TV, from 2000 to 2001 (Elšík, 2000/2001).

University courses

The fullest and most rigorous tertiary programme is available in the Faculty of Arts at Charles University in Prague – a five-year course, developed in 1991 by the specialist in Romani language and culture, Professor Milena Hübschmannová, in which 20 students devote themselves fully to the study of the Romani language and culture or the study of Romani together with another discipline. The students are partly of Czech, partly of Romani origin. Graduates of the programme normally become teachers, public servants or work in other positions connected with the Roma issue.

The Romani language is also available in the Education Faculty of Charles University, where teachers are trained, and in the Education Faculty of the J.E. Purkyně University at Ústí nad Labem, in an area characterised by a high density of Roma population. Many students are connected with the Special Schools where Roma children form a majority. Teachers are non-native graduates of the Charles University programme (Elšík, 2000/2001).

Overall, the programmes described constitute a very limited range for a country in which the Roma community is the second or third largest community.

Textbooks

The compilation of textbooks is an important act of language management. Antonín Puchmajer's *Románi Čib*, published posthumously in 1821, was the first textbook of the language ever written. There were no other textbooks until *Cikánsky snadno a rychle* was launched in a popular series of textbooks in 1900. These books were based on the Czech variety of Romani, which has since become extinct. The first modern textbook was Jiří Lípa's *Průručka cikánštiny* (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1963); this was followed by two short books authored by Milena Hübschmannová: *Základy romštiny* (Prague: Academia, 1973) and *Cikánština* (Ústí nad Labem: Krajský pedagogický ústav, 1976). The most recent textbook is *Romaňi čhib*, published in 1999 by Hana Šebková and Edita Žlnayová by the Fortuna publishing house. This was the first 'full' textbook of the language. All texts published after Lípa's present the Slovak-and-Czech variety of the language (Elšík, 2000/2001).

Of great importance is the *Romsko-český a česko-romský kapesní slovník* by Hübschmannová, Šebková and Žigová, published in 1991 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství), one of the most rigorous dictionaries of Romani that has ever been published.

Standardisation and elaboration

No attempts at standardisation have been made, except for the standardisation of spelling. The spelling rules were developed at the end of the 1960s by the

Linguistic Commission of the Union of Gypsies-Roma, and they have been adhered to with relative consistency (cf. Hübschmannová & Neustupný, 1996).

Elaboration of Romani takes place in individuals' efforts on the pages of Romani journals such as *Romano džaniben* (published in Prague, 1994 to date). No systematic attempts at elaboration of the lexicon or the grammar are known, although Hübschmannová *et al.* (1991) in fact has developed the language in many respects.

Governmental level management

The Czech government has always featured Romani on its list for potential language management action. One reason for this was the pressure from the USA to keep the Roma problem under control. However, under the new-liberalism philosophy of the Klaus government, the *status quo* was to be preserved. In the eyes of the government, ethnic issues were sufficiently attended to, and positive discrimination with regard to any group was out of the question. The following Social Democratic government of Miloš Zeman appointed Petr Uhl as a Cabinet Commissioner for Human Rights. Uhl submitted a number of proposals to solve the Roma question, including special provisions within the proposed Ethnic Minorities Act.

It was only in the late 1990s that the attitude of Czech politicians changed. The Czech Republic ratified the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and signed the Charter of European Regional or Minority Languages; the Ethnic Minorities Law was accepted in 2001. A number of special measures which also affect the Roma have been adopted (see previous sections on the Roma). Of basic importance for future language policy is the establishment of the government's Council for Matters of the Roma Community.

Further management?

One of the basic problems unlikely to be attended to at the educational or governmental level is the issue of networks. One branch of this problem consists of networks between the Roma and the matrix population. Only such networks can contribute to arresting the pidginisation of Czech spoken by the Roma and open the way to wide-ranged acquisition of the matrix system of communication. At the same time, such networks will, without necessarily wiping out their specificity, help to integrate the Roma into the matrix community from the point of view of their sociocultural behaviour. The second branch of the issue consists of networks within the Roma community – networks that will reinforce the process of formation of Roma ethnicity and that will make it possible for the Roma to join forces in order to maintain their language – should this be their wish.

Another issue that may appear on the program of the day is standardisation. In Hübschmannová and Neustupný (1996), the authors argued that old (modern) models of standardisation should not be used for Romani. Whether or not to standardise, and in what way, should be a choice for the community as it achieves maturity and as it faces the issue.

Whatever language management at whatever level may take place, one thing is certain: language management will not succeed unless it is preceded by empowering the Roma through socioeconomic and communicative management (Neustupný, 1993a). Perhaps it is possible to exterminate the language

without socioeconomic planning, because maintaining the current socioeconomic regime is in fact a policy. However, to solve existing problems, to maintain the language and to develop it requires the strengthening of the socioeconomic position of the Roma.

The Polish Language

Situation, problems

Polish shares with Czech, Slovak and Sorbian membership in the group of Western Slavic languages. This fact alone indicates the closeness of the two languages. Though at present Czech and Polish show a number of structural differences (see Lotko, 1998), the comprehensibility of speech in the other language is relatively high. Haugen (1966) correctly included Czech and Polish among his examples of the phenomenon he called *semicomcommunication* (see section on Slovak language). The best conditions for receptive Czech–Polish bilingualism no doubt exist in the Těšín region, but it could become a wider phenomenon in other Czech territories as well. For example, when, in the 1970s and 1980s, Polish TV was more attractive than Czech TV, many television antennas in Czechoslovakia were set to receive Polish signals. This was true not only of the Czech–Polish border areas but also of some large east Bohemian towns such as Hradec Králové, and the occurrence was not limited to intellectuals. It seems that between Poles, Czechs and Slovaks potentially a similar communicative relationship can obtain as between Danes, Norwegians and Swedes. This fact awaits the attention of language managers, especially in view of the expected entry of the three central European nations into the European Union.

In the Těšín region, the Polish community, in daily communication, employs three different varieties of language: their Těšín region mother dialect, a locally influenced variety of Standard Czech and an equally locally affected variety of Standard Polish (cf. Bogoczová, 1994). More than half of the Poles have been reported to use these three varieties in the family domain as well (Bogoczová, 1994: 24). The most extensive use is made of the Těšín dialect. This phenomenon is connected with the fact that Standard Polish is seen as a hard variety, used principally in official Polish schools. A sophisticated form of conversational Standard Polish could not develop in the region, due to politically induced isolation from the Polish spoken in Poland, since contacts were limited. In view of this, Poles from the Těšín region experience difficulty in everyday conversation with Poles from Poland: the amount of discourse management in which they must engage is excessive. The prestige of the Těšín dialect is increased by the fact that it is also used by a population that reports Czech ethnicity. For such speakers, it may be either the native dialect or a form of speech they acquired through long residence in the region. The dialect stands linguistically half way between Polish and Czech. Ironically, the variety which enjoys the highest prestige in the Polish community is Standard Czech which connects with the power of the state and of the Czech matrix community in general. Czech is also the language offered by Poles in communication in first encounters with strangers. The degree of Standardness of the Czech used by members of the Polish community is often higher than in the case of Czech speakers of the same region. (An illustrative example is provided below.) Hence, one cannot easily derive conclusions about

ethnicity on the basis of speech behaviour alone. Bogoczová (1997) showed that, in the language of the youngest generation of Poles, it is the influence of Czech, not of Polish, which asserts itself strongly in the lexicon and with regard to prepositions, conjunctions and particles. Less influence of Czech is noticeable in pronunciation, and still less in inflection.

A note on the attitudes of the Czech population to Polish seems useful. This attitude largely reflects their relationship with the Poles and with Poland. Bogoczová (2002) claims that when the Polish economy began to prosper during 1990s, Czech attitudes to Poles and Polish improved. The current interest in Polish has partly been invoked by the demise of the linguistic monopoly formerly held by Russian. Polish is becoming the leading Slavic language studied by Czechs studying in departments of Slavic Studies at Czech universities.

Investigations by the *Slezský ústav* confirm that the language shift of Poles towards Czech is not as extensive as it is in the case of Slovaks, but it does reach high levels. The most recent extensive research conducted in 1994 revealed that, according to the opinions of parents, only 24.1% of children spoke (given no specification of a domain) predominantly Polish, 40% spoke Polish and Czech, and 31.9% predominantly used Czech (Sokolová *et al.*, 1997: 84). However, considering long-term trends, it seems that there is an accompanying increase in the orientation of the Polish community towards bilingualism and biculturalism (Sokolová *et al.*, 1997: 88). This trend is less evident among Slovaks in the Tešín region, and the bilingualism of the Czechs clearly lags behind both groups. Two languages are spoken by only 16% of Tešín Czechs, and those languages are Czech and Polish (Sokolová, 1999b: 130). Incidentally, it is necessary to add that figures from the investigations just quoted, as well as from the 1991 and 2001 censuses, must be interpreted with care, because the Tešín dialect used by both Poles and Czechs is often taken for Polish by Poles and for Czech by Czechs (Bogoczová, 2000: 28; Sokolová, 1999a; cf. also Lotko, 1994: 15).

Simple management

In the work domain, the selection of varieties is normally determined by the variety preferred by the superior. Bogoczová (2000: 21) notes that, when the superior is oriented towards the use of Czech, Czech is used. On the other hand, if the code preferred by the superior is the Tešín dialect, subordinate employees use the dialect or Czech. It is not unusual that subordinates have a better command of the variety than their superior. In the following conversation, which is a fragment of a meeting in the Třinec Iron Works, A is the superior (over 50, local origin, Czech), while B is a female employee within his section (37, local origin, ethnically Polish, graduate of a Polish primary and high school).

- A:** *É tady mi říkáte konkrétní věci, ale výsledek je takový, že komunikace vazne . . .*
 'Well, here you tell me concrete results, but the result is that communication comes to a deadlock . . .'
- B:** *Já jestli dovolíte, doplním, doplním trošku šéfa . . .* 'If you allow me, I'll supplement, supplement the chief's . . .'

It seems clear that A is oriented towards the use of Czech, but his management of Standard Czech is limited. B, who uses the Tešín dialect in her daily life, adjusts

her language to the choice of her superior. Her Czech, unlike the Czech of her superior, is managed and void of the influence of the dialect. In the language of A, there is a shortening of long vowels (*řikate* instead of *řikáte* 'you say', *takový* instead of *takový* 'such') and an assimilation of voiceless consonants before voiced ones (*vysledeg je* instead of *výsledek je* 'the result is') (from Bogoczová, 2000, abbreviated).

Organised management

Reference to organised language management has been made throughout this section; at this point, a more detailed note on Polish schools should suffice to complete the review. The Polish community has at its disposal a relatively extensive network of kindergartens and primary schools, a high school (*gymnázium*) and Polish classes at a number of other secondary schools. In the Polish primary schools, the language of instruction is Polish but, starting from Year 2, pupils must attend the subject 'Czech language' which has been allocated the same number of hours as Polish. There has been a decrease in the number of students (in 1950: 81 Polish primary schools with 8176 pupils; in 1995: 29 schools with 2617 pupils), but this decrease is not only caused by the decrease in the number of Poles but also by smaller families. In families of those who reported as Poles in 1991 only 142 children (out of the total number of 3279) in the Těšín region attended Czech primary schools. More recent data show that interest in Polish schools is increasing (Sokolová *et al.*, 1997: 110). It appears that problems are caused not so much by a lower number of schools as by their location (Sokolová, 1999b). A matter that is being discussed is the minimum number of children per class.

Language management for Polish has as its target the language of the only historically established and geographically specific minority in the Czech Republic. Historically, there has been a power element, accompanied throughout the Soviet period by the 'friendly' relations between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Unlike the case of German, management has not been affected by memories of WWII. However, there are few indications so far that the management would be moving over into a 'postmodern' system. If this trend actually exists (see, e.g. remarks on mutual receptive bilingualism between Czech, Polish and Slovak in previous sections), it may be more characteristic for regions other than the Těšín region, where older patterns of relationship seem to survive.

The Slovak community in the Těšín region has already been mentioned. Its position can be characterised in the following way: Slovaks have lost the character of one of the constituent ethnic groups of the state, but they have not yet accustomed themselves to the position of a minority. Hence, they are not sure how to use their minority rights. However, many of them feel that the authorities in the Těšín region should not limit their attention in language management to the relationship between Czechs and Poles. Statements by the only two Slovak respondents who evaluated the language management principles as currently practiced in the Těšín region negatively are provided.

[The first comment is] Why Polish only? All citizens of the Republic know Czech. If more than Czech, then Polish *and* Slovak should be acknowledged as equal. [The second respondent commented:] This region is settled not merely by Czechs and Poles but by other ethnic groups as well. Bilingualism is discriminating against other groups. (Sokolová, 1999b)

The German Language

Situation, problems

As early as the 9th century, some, though limited, strata of the population were bilingual in Czech and German (Skála, 1977). In the course of the following centuries, the relative status and the function of these two languages varied depending on the political and economic situation. It should be mentioned that German, as it was used in Prague, was considered in some periods (e.g. the period of the rule of Charles IV (1346–1378)) as highly cultivated and was sometimes called the precursor of later Standard German (Povejšil, 1980). While this interpretation was later corrected and relegated to the list of myths about Prague German (cf. Trost, 1995), it remains a fact that Prague German occupied an important position in the development of the German language. The literary production of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (e.g. the poetry and prose of Rilke, Kafka or Werfel) should also be noted. Admittedly, German was used in Bohemia and Moravia, and not only by German intellectual elites. Apart from cultivated German there was also macaronic German (Kauderwelsch) and kitchen German (Kücheldeutsch), based on various regional koine (especially Austrian) and on dialects. Incidentally, there was also kitchen Czech (Küchelböhmisches). Czech–German bilingualism thus operated on a number of socio-cultural levels and, depending on its location, on a number of regional varieties of language (Nekula, 2002b; Trost, 1995).

The boundaries between the two languages, as they are attested from the first half of the 20th century, had stabilised at the roll over from the 18th to the 19th century. One of the extreme positions of the German isogloss was situated only 40 km north of Prague (Skála, 1977). Although most of the population was monolingual in either Czech or German, up to the end of the 18th century the use of one language or the other did not constitute uncontroversially testimony of ethnic membership. The belief that Czechs speak Czech and Germans German was the result of sociopolitical polarisation that took place in the 19th century. Even then it was possible to witness a numerous group of speakers who were bilingual and in principle ethnically uncommitted (Trost, 1995).

The long-term intensive contact between Czech and German on various sociocultural levels leads to the question to what extent and in what ways did these languages influence each other. On the whole, one can say that their coexistence has not led to any far-reaching changes in their structure or identity. However, although historically they belong to two different branches of the Indo-European family, Czech and German share a number of features that are due to their areal proximity. The study of such management phenomena, known as the Sprachbund (language union), only gained momentum towards the end of the 20th century. The shared features are numerous, although they do not necessarily affect central areas of language. Some of them are due to the authority of Latin, which influenced both languages independently; others are the consequence of direct contact on the Czech territory, in which case German mostly had the upper hand. Although the outward shapes of words are different (except for international words of Latin and Greek origin) the structure of the lexicon and phraseology is very similar.

The number of words directly borrowed from German was considerable in

Renaissance Czech, but most of such words were replaced by Czech words due to a wave of purism in the 19th century. Words which remain can be divided into three strata:

- (1) First, there are some old borrowings, for which awareness of their origin has been completely lost (Cz. *mušet* from Gm. *müssen* 'must', Cz. *hřbitov* from Gm. *Friedhof* 'cemetery').
- (2) Second, Czech contains a number of substandard words, sometimes used as slang (see section on Czech language), which are not restricted to particular generations of speakers (Cz. *cálovat* from Gm. *zahlen* 'to pay', Cz. *kumšt* from Gm. *Kunst* 'art'). Many of these words are limited to specific professions (Cz. *hytlák* from Gm. *Hüttelwagen* 'railway van').
- (3) Finally, some words are limited only to the oldest generation of speakers, sometimes to speakers of a dialect: the authors of this monograph only know them from lexicographical manuals (Cz. *búny* from Gm. *Bohnen* 'beans', Cz. *firhank* from Gm. *Vorhang* 'curtain').

The words listed above show that loans from German have been morphologically adapted to suit the system of Czech phonology and grammar. For example, the substandard word *cálovat* derived from German *zahlen* 'to pay', receives Czech verbal ending *-ovat*, and in a sentence undergoes morphological changes as any other Czech verb (*cáluji, cáluješ, . . . cáloval, zacálovat*, etc.). They can also become the base for further word derivation (*hytlák* 'railway van', diminutive *hytláček*).

However, as far as lexicon is concerned, the physical proximity of German as well as direct contact led to a large number of calques, especially in compounds; for example, in Cz. *hanopis*, Gm. *Schmähschrift* 'slandering writing', Cz. *chvályhodný*, Gm. *lobenswert* 'praiseworthy', Cz. *vlastnoručně*, Gm. *eigenhändig* 'by own hand'. Incidentally, Czech loans in German have been recognised in Gm. *Peitsche* from Cz. (or West Slavic) *bič* 'a whip', Gm. *Grenze* from Old Cz. *granicě* 'border' and a number of words in German dialects spoken in border areas (such as Gm. *Brewenze* from Cz. *mravenec* 'ant' or Gm. *Schischka* from Cz. *šiška* '(pine) cone'; cf. Skála, 1977). The lexicon of German spoken in Bohemian towns was probably more substantially affected by borrowing from Czech than assumed so far (Jodas, 2001; Krčmová, 1993).

An areal relationship between Czech and German also obtains in the case of phrases such as Cz. *to je k dostání*, Gm. *das ist zu bekommen* 'it is available', Cz. *dělat kyselý obličej*, Gm. *ein saures Gesicht machen* 'to make a sour face' (Šlosar, 2002). The fact that some of these expressions occur in Austrian but not German German makes linguists wonder about the direction of the borrowing process (e.g. Newerkla, 2002, referring to the work of Kurzová and others).

The relationship on other than the lexical level is less perspicuous. Some features of Czech that have been mentioned include diphthongisation (Berger, 1998); also, loss of the genitive of negation, of the instrumental of predication and of certain kinds of participles may be due to the influence of German (Berger, 1998; Trost, 1995). On the other hand, management does not seem to have worked only in a single direction. Consider, for example, grammatical gender in European languages. While only a few remnants of the original three genders characterise English, French has retained two, and German three. The vicinity of

the Slavic languages (Czech more than others), which have three genders, cannot be omitted from the consideration of this phenomenon, or from the consideration of the maintenance of other historical features in German. On a more particular level, it has been argued that the German periphrastic future (*ich werde sprechen* 'I'll speak') was influenced by Czech (Leiss, 1985).

In the second half of the 19th century, Czech–German bilingualism received a strong blow from the nationalistic feeling, developed on both the Czech and German side, that language and ethnic loyalty are inevitably connected. German still remained the language of the top levels of the society, intertwined with foreign elites, but, following the inauguration of Czech as the language of instruction at the university level (1882), it became possible to achieve the highest level of education in that language. This development further decreased the need for bilingualism. Fewer and fewer Czech pupils enrolled in German middle schools (Nekula, 2002b). The foundation of Czechoslovakia in 1918 resulted in a language law, adopted in 1920 (amended in 1926) that required, of public servants and employees in the public sector, knowledge of Czech or Slovak (Staněk, 1999: 98). This requirement meant that, among other things, Czech officials took over positions in the Sudeten areas close to the border, because there were few local German speakers who possessed a sufficient knowledge of the new official language (cf. Povejšil, 1997).

The occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany at the beginning of WWII brought a complete reversal of the relative weight of the two languages. Within the remaining Czech territory of the *Protektorat Böhmen-Mähren*, German was the language of the masters. On the other hand, after WWII German became a despised language, and a trend appeared to discourage Germans who were not deported from speaking their language (Nekvapil, 2000c). The negative attitudes toward the Germans extended to attitudes toward the German language, including words of German origin (Tejnor *et al.*, 1982). The pragmatic decision at the end of 1947 to reintroduce German as an elective subject in schools was commented on in the press in the following way: 'all right, let's learn the language, but let's not speak it, especially not with the Germans!' (from Staněk, 1993: 52). More than half a decade of terror, with daily executions, mass murders, and concentration camps, all associated with the German language, were not easily forgotten. In the 1960s, a revival of interest in learning German first appeared, but it was not until the 1990s that a more tolerant attitude to borrowings and calques from German emerged (Nekula, 1997).

Germans who were not deported gradually altered their language behaviour. Owing to the fear of discrimination and the complete absence of German schools, Germans oriented their language management toward the use of Czech. Sociological research demonstrated that, within a single generation after WWII, the role of German as an ethnic symbol substantially declined. While in 1970 only 7.2% of Germans considered Czech to be their native tongue, by 1987 the figure had risen to 33%. In the same year, from among those who considered German their native language, 8% used Czech predominantly at home, and 79.8% used Czech and German; only 5percent used German alone (Sokolová, 1991). Linguistic studies, which employ more detailed scales (minimally, German dialect, Standard German, Czech), confirm the importance of generational classification. For example, these studies have revealed that, in the 1960s in the Cheb region, the

oldest generation of Germans used their native dialect together with dialectally influenced Standard German, while the middle generation added Czech, and the youngest generation retained only the German dialect and Czech (Povejšil, 1975). Research conducted in the town of Jablonec and its surroundings 20 years later showed a definite decline in bilingualism in the middle generation and a substantial decline in the youngest generation, which tended to be monolingual in Czech. The oldest generation still retained German within the family domain but spoke Czech in public (Bezděková, 1988). These studies demonstrate a significant assimilation trend in all generations of the German population. These results are supported by additional evidence arising from qualitative methodology using biographical research (Nekvapil, 2001, 2003a). Biographies of Germans who were approximately 20 years old in 1945, confirmed that their grand-children first started acquiring German at school – if they started learning it at all.

Nevertheless, the German community has not completely lost its language. Dialectologists who work on the Atlas of Historical German Dialects discovered, to their surprise, that competent informants could be found in all the main centres of their research (Bachmann, 2002). Admittedly, it is a different matter to provide responses to a dialectological questionnaire and to use the language proficiently as a means of daily communication. Leaving the ongoing work on the Atlas aside, the German of the original German population has not yet been subjected to systematic description. That variety seems to be strongly dialectal; there is a lack of labialisation of vowels (*ö, ü* are replaced by *é, í*; cf. Krčmová, 1993), and the phraseology is influenced by Czech (e.g. *ich habe keine tschechische Schulen* modelled after *nemám žádné české školy*). Many Czech Germans are ashamed to use their German in communication with Germans from Germany.

What is the Czech of the German population of the Czech Republic? In the case of the middle and young generation it is undistinguishable from the Czech of other native speakers. The Czech of the oldest and older generations of speakers shows specific features: replacement of voiced by unvoiced consonants (*tobytek* for *dobytek* ‘cattle’), lack of palatalisation of dental plosives (*nedelal* for *nedělal* ‘he didn’t do’), replacement of *ř* by other consonants (*žeknu* for *řeknu* ‘I’ll say’), and displacement of the accent connected with lengthening (*vychovála* for *vychovala* ‘she educated’) (Hašová, 2000); there are also problems with the Czech aspectual system and with gender (Skála, 1977), as well as with nominal and adjectival declension (Hašová, 1996).

In the context of German expatriate managers’ use of Czech, research conducted in the Škoda-Volkswagen joint venture company at the beginning of the 1990s showed that the initial enthusiasm to learn Czech was soon replaced by the realisation that the language is not easy to acquire, and active competence stopped at a few greetings such as *dobrý den* ‘hello’ and a few other words such as *porada* ‘meeting’.

Language biography of Mr S

Socioeconomic and sociolinguistic problems of the original German community throughout the 20th century are well illustrated through biographical research. The following example from Nekvapil (2003a) will serve as a suitable closing to this section of the monograph.

Mr S was born in 1926 in the family of a village cobbler. His father and mother were Germans. The family lived in a village in east Bohemia, near the Czech-German language boundary. German was the only language spoken in the family. The father of Mr S could speak a little Czech, his mother none at all. The most important contacts of Mr S with Czech during his childhood occurred on the following occasions:

- (1) In 1937/1938 he learned Czech at primary school for two hours a week (this lasted for only one year, till the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Hitler);
- (2) For a short time, a Czech boy lived in the family to learn German;
- (3) Several Czech children attended the same school as Mr S for a longer time to learn German.

Apart from Czech, Mr S did not learn any foreign language at school. Originally, Mr S wanted to become a farmer. However, when he was 17 (in 1943), he was drafted into the German army. As a German soldier, he went to Hungary where he learned a little Hungarian. He can still remember some Hungarian words. Immediately after the end of World War II, he was sent to work in the interior by the Czech authorities. His family was deported to Germany.

Living in an exclusively Czech environment in the interior, he had to learn Czech. In 1948 he met his future wife – a German, born in 1928. She did not live in a purely Czech environment after 1945 which was why she did not master Czech as well as Mr S. Being a Czech citizen, Mr S had to serve in the Czechoslovak army in the early 1950s (for three years, followed by three years' work in the mines); he started learning Russian there. However, he took only the first steps. During this period, he constantly improved his Czech. He also devoted himself to learning written Czech systematically.

When he finished working in the mines, he was (together with his wife) employed as a worker in a textile factory in east Bohemia up to his retirement, i.e. for 34 years. He and his wife lived in the nearby village K. In 1958, he was nominated by the local council officials to become a representative of the German minority in the council, as a consequence of his good knowledge of Czech. Mr S accepted the offer and held the office till 1974.

Mr and Mrs S have always spoken German to each other, as well as to their sons. Two varieties of German, however, were used in the family. Mr and Mrs S spoke a dialect to each other, and standard German to their sons. The sons of Mr and Mrs S, Horst and Kurt, have actively learned Standard German, which made it possible for them to become representatives of foreign companies in the Czech Republic after 1989. They have a passive knowledge of the local German dialect, their parents' basic means of communication. Both mastered Czech perfectly. Both married Czechs. Their wives have only a passive command of German. Czech is spoken in Horst's and Kurt's families. The first language of their children – i.e. the grandchildren of Mr and Mrs S – is Czech. German (and English) is a foreign language for them. They learn it at school in the county town where both the families live. When the children visit their grandparents in the village K., Mr and Mrs S try to modify the children's behaviour, and talk to

them in German – the grandchildren understand, yet reply in Czech. (Nekvapil, 2003a: 70, 71)

Simple management

Thanks to language biographical research, a number of narratives in which members of the German community reflect on their language management are available. Such reflections show that, on occasion, the subjects immediately react to language problems as those problems appear in discourse. This practice is demonstrated in the following extract from the narration of Mr S whose story has been presented.

S: . . . now look, the fact that I learned Czech, I moved only among Czechs. There was nothing else I could do but learn the language. Well and I was lucky, for I always bumped into people who were willing to help me. When I asked, when I say something wrong, correct me, and the same goes for grammar too. When I began to write in Czech, I was working in the mine and there we had boys, down from South Bohemia or some such place, so we became friends and Peter in particular, you know, any time when I began to write Czech, he'd say write something, and I'll correct it for you, and so I did. Well, at first he explained this and that and then he says, you know what, to hell with you, you're you're pretty good now, us having Czech schooling, unlike you, but we make mistakes the same as you do. (translated from Czech, Nekvapil, 2001: 83, abbreviated)

This passage directly refers to processes of simple management, particularly in the case of written Czech. Correction in discourse by native Czechs was a necessary prerequisite for integration of the German community into mainstream society. For the older generation, no opportunity for organised management existed.

When the Czech society implemented the strategy that Germans should not use German, a crucial decision for each German family arose about how to conduct language management of their children. This problem is well illustrated in a fragment from Mr S's narrative (translated from Czech in Nekvapil, 2001, abbreviated).

S: We were, when eh the children came, the first-born was Horst, so we were telling ourselves, well eh to teach him bad Czech, that would be a bad thing. He'd better speak proper German, 'cos he'll learn Czech among children in no time at all. And that's what happened. There was this kindergarten teacher, I went to see her when he was old enough to go to the kindergarten, and I said: Look here. That's the way it is with him, he doesn't speak Czech too well yet, and she says: Mr S don't you worry, I'll teach him and so she did.

The passage indirectly refers to simple management of German within family situations that led to the acquisition of the German. At the same time simple management of Czech within the kindergarten situation is also described.

Another strategy that has been attested in more than one family concerns the functional distribution of a dialect and the Standard in the case of German. Parents who spoke a dialect to each other reported that they intentionally selected Standard German when speaking to their children. This was a consequence of the fact that, after 1945, no German schools existed, and any variety of German could only be transmitted to the next generation within the family domain. The important point is that the informants themselves selected speaking the Standard as a management strategy.

However, anti-assimilationist management was not as widely practised as the examples given so far might indicate. On the contrary, a large proportion of the Germans who escaped deportation selected pro-assimilation management. No doubt, this management performed a social function: assimilation was socially advisable. At the same time, the energy needed for simple management in discourse is considerable, and simple management was no doubt also avoided on this account. At the present time, the attitude of those concerned is different. Here is what Mr S reports.

S: Many regret today that they put aside German then, after forty five, so that today they don't speak German any more. Many regret it. And they almost envy us now that our two sons speak perfect German. (translated from German, abbreviated, the original in Nekvapil, 2000d: 42)

Organised management

Czech language policy in relation to German passed through several stages. In the 1920s and 1930s, Germans, like other minorities within Czechoslovakia, enjoyed a number of linguistic and cultural privileges. Special rights could be claimed in districts where a minority represented more than 20% of all inhabitants. The German minority was granted an extensive system of primary, secondary and specialised schools, and a German university continued operating in Prague.

During the occupation of Czechoslovakia, from 1939 to 1945, Czech language policy was in fact suspended: German was the language of the masters, and it was Czech that had to defend itself. However, formally, the state was a 'protectorate', and since Czech-German bilingualism was rare by then, an immediate removal of Czech was impracticable. However, a strong programme of Germanisation was mounted; the overall aim of Germany was a complete liquidation of Czech and the Czech nation (Malý, 1991). All public announcements and radio broadcasting were in German, followed by Czech; public notices and signs were in German (large) with Czech translations (small); publication in Czech was restricted; secondary schools were only allowed a limited intake, and Czech universities were closed.

Language policy with regard to those Germans who were allowed to remain in the country after WWII reflected the wartime experience of the Czechs and was in accordance with discriminatory state policies in other respects. An important role in the policy was played by the school system. Compare the experience of Mr P who described the interrelation of the family, individual and organised management in the following way:

P: ... my wife, she spoke German also, she was from a mixed marriage. From the very beginning we spoke German with our children. Well, right, it worked till a certain point, until they went to school. And then the children came home and said: We don't want to speak German any longer, because they keep telling us we are fascists. Right, in the books it was simply so, Germans and so on they were fascists. (from Nekvapil, 2000c, translated from German, abbreviated)

Only after 1968 were Germans granted a constitutionally guaranteed right to education in their first language. However, no German schools were opened. The main argument of the government was the high dispersion of the German population and its progressive assimilation, especially in the youngest generation. According to statistics, in 1990 only 585 ethnically German children attended primary schools in the territory of present-day Czech Republic.

Commencing in mid-1950s, German children could improve the knowledge of their mother tongue in elective 'language circles'. This, however, did not contribute much to their competence. On the other hand, the 1950s witnessed the introduction of some other elements into the life of the German community. From 1951, a weekly magazine in German, *Aufbau und Frieden*, was published. In court proceedings, the use of German was allowed. In the case of contact with state and local authorities, the practice was uneven. It was recommended that, where the community was large, German should be used both in written and oral contact, even should such a practice entail the use of translators or interpreters, but such practices were not common. German broadcasting, to a limited extent, commenced in 1957. The *Kulturní sdružení*, mentioned in Part II, was founded in 1969, with one of its aims being the support of the knowledge and use of German in the community. However, such support only became operative with the help of the German Federal Republic after the Velvet revolution in 1989. It should be mentioned that, on the basis of the Czechoslovak–German treaty of 1992, a number of Czech-German Encounter Centres sprang up. In 2001 there were 14 such Centres, especially in localities with a higher density of German population. German schools are still difficult to establish because of the high degree of dispersion of the German element, and also because of a lack of demand. A viable project proved to be the establishment of a private German primary school and a high school (gymnázium) in Prague; these are open not only to ethnic Germans but to all interested parties. This project was initiated and implemented by the Association of Germans in Prague and Central Bohemia. The languages of instruction are German and Czech. German has been given the role of a means for the creation of a multicultural identity as well as the re-creation of the lost ethnic identity of the German students. The question remains whether such a re-creation is in fact possible. The last census figures do not seem to give much hope, and specialists who compare the situation of the German element in the Czech Republic and in Hungary have assumed a sceptical attitude (cf. Stevenson, 2000).

It is true that the German community can profit from a considerable interest in German as a foreign language. The support of German as a foreign language is unusually high, and not all of that support is due to foreign encouragement (cf. *Deutsch in der Tschechischen Republik*, 2000/2001). Learning German shows

almost the same range of extension as learning English. In 1995, over 700,000 young people studied the German language (see Staněk, 1998: 97). The study of German is supported by the interests of Czechs who work in Germany as well as by those employed in Czech–German joint ventures operating in the territory of the Czech Republic (Zich, 2001). However, so far there are no indications that this instrumental role of German will influence the revitalisation processes within the German community.

Ruthenian, Ukrainian and Russian

Situation, problems

The three languages discussed in this section belong to the eastern group of Slavic languages. (Concerning the linguistic features of Ruthenian see Jabur, 2000; Vaňko, 2000.) While mutual comprehension is relatively easy within the western group (Czech, Slovak, Polish), the case of Czech and the languages of the eastern group requires some previous study, experience and effort. However, the closeness of the languages assists acquisition, to a considerable degree proceeding much faster than in the case of unrelated languages. With regard to Czechs the position of the three languages is very different. Russian was an obligatory school language between 1945 and 1989; consequently, its existence is well known, and it is seen as a language having international status. The existence of Ukrainian is recognised, but it remains vague in the consciousness of most people. On the other hand, very few people know the term *rusínština* (Ruthenian), to say nothing of possessing the information that the status of the language is rising. It has recently been codified, and it is now being taught in some schools in Slovakia (Magocsi, 1996). Hence, in the awareness of the people, all three groups are thought to 'speak Russian'. Incidentally, the view that all languages east of the Czech Republic (including Slovak!) are Russian appears occasionally among poorly educated people (Nábělková, 2000). The identification of Ruthenian and Ukrainian with Russian does not favour speakers of these languages, because, due to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union in the immediate past, many Czechs still maintain a negative attitude to Russian-speaking foreigners and to the Russian language itself.

So far the language of Ruthenians, Ukrainians and Russians who live in the territory of the Czech Republic has not been subjected to study. Those who have lived in the country for a long time, as well as their children, have been linguistically assimilated, except that first generation immigrants usually speak with a 'Russian' accent. Integration seems to be thorough in the case of Ruthenians who do not have a program for the maintenance of their language, an aim that would be difficult in view of the fact that Standard Ruthenian has only recently been introduced in Slovakia, where the number of Ruthenians is much higher (Zimek, 1999/2000), and in view of the fact that many Ruthenians abroad use Ukrainian or Russian as their written language. On the other hand, Ukrainian associations strongly support the introduction of at least basic forms of Ukrainian schooling (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 113) and over a number of years have operated a 'Sunday school', in the framework of which Ukrainian children learn Ukrainian and take other subjects taught in that language. This school is not a part of the normal school system; rather, the practice resembles the 'Saturday School'

pattern widely employed in such places as Australia, Canada, and the USA for the support of minority languages.

The situation of Russian is quite different. Russian is still being taught at a number of primary and high schools (see the section on Foreign Languages that follows). As a result, the Russian community can mount more ambitious plans, such as the reopening of the bilingual Czech–Russian high school (gymnázium), scheduled for 2004 (Vesti, 2002: 2).

Foreign workers from eastern Europe communicate with each other in Ukrainian or Russian, while in relation to the matrix community they often use pidginised Czech or a foreigner-talk variety of their own language.

The Vietnamese Language

Situation, problems

Vietnamese is a language that differs completely from Czech both genetically and typologically. Since working knowledge of the language is limited to only a few individuals in the Czech Republic, the Vietnamese who reside in the country must learn Czech if they wish to communicate with the matrix community. Learning Czech is a difficult task, and not all Vietnamese successfully achieve fluency. In interviews conducted by Jitka Slezáková, one Vietnamese respondent says that learning Czech is the most difficult task for these people:

V: *Jazyk, ten nejhorší pro nás. Já něco umím, ale třeba starší lidi to těžký, oni nebudou učit. Třeba moje mamka tady taky byla už sedm let a taky blbý. To těžký, pro ní strašně těžký. No tak ona nemůže.* 'Language, it worst for us. I know something, but for example older people, that difficult, they will not learn. For example my mum was here already seven years and it also silly. It difficult, for her terribly difficult.' (Slezáková, mimeo)

Slezáková (mimeo) characterises in the following way the language of a Vietnamese retailer who has been in the Czech Republic for one year: 'In view of the shortness of his sojourn in this country he failed to understand questions and was totally unable to answer when they were more complicated.'

The pronunciation of the Vietnamese often renders Czech sentences incomprehensible, their morphology is simplified, and syntactically the language (as spoken by Vietnamese) consists of short sentences piled one on another. As would be expected, Vietnamese children who attend Czech schools often speak Czech better than Vietnamese adults, using Czech not only with Czechs but also with their siblings and cousins, irrespective of the insistence of their parents that they speak Vietnamese. Vietnamese adults often use their children as interpreters.

The typical network existing between Vietnamese and Czechs is a commercial transaction. Apart from this, the two communities also interact in official contacts with Czech authorities. Official interpreters and unofficial interpreters (such as children) are sometimes used, but the Vietnamese community has already acquired knowledge of the typical content of negotiation, and it is not unusual for individuals to be able to manage on their own. Other networks were infrequent during the 1980s (Heroldová & Matějová, 1987), and there is no reason

to think that the situation will have changed in the intervening time. It is no wonder that the mother of the retailer quoted above mastered no Czech during the seven years of her residence. Similar conditions obtain in the case of immigrants in many countries, particularly when older women are involved. Conversation with customers, beyond the commercial transaction itself, is difficult, not only because of the immigrant's limited grammatical competence, but also because of the differences that obtain in the non-linguistic communication system, such as topics that are constrained in Czech (e.g. the marital status of customers, their financial situation, the age of female speakers, etc.). For the factory work environment in Australia, Clyne (1994: 153) has identified a number of such barriers for the Vietnamese. No doubt further research will identify even more communication problems, similar to those common between speakers of other European and Asian languages (cf. Neustupný, 1987).

Although in Czech the use of the familiar second person pronoun *ty* 'you' is subject to a number of constraints (Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming), it often happens that Czech customers use this pronoun, rather than the more 'polite' *vy* to adult Vietnamese speakers. The reason for this behaviour is undoubtedly complicated: e.g., problems in judging the age of the interlocutor, the use of foreigner talk, or a feeling of superiority. Some Vietnamese whose sociolinguistic competence in Czech is sufficiently developed evaluate such usage negatively. Slezáková (mimeo) has recorded the following exchange with a Czech interviewer:

- I: *Měl jste někdy problémy s Čechy? Třeba s policií . . .* 'Have you ever had problems with the Czechs, for example with the police . . .'
- V: *Na to domluvit, to pro mě ne. Já vím, to některý viděj tvář jako Vietnamci, jsou cizí, tak oni mluví jako ty, tykat jako. Některý policie nebo některý člověk, tak oni mluví se mnou jako tykat. Ale oni musí se mnou mluvit jako vykat.* 'To make myself understood, (as) for me no. I know, some fellows see a face like the Vietnamese, they are foreign, so they speak as *ty*, to use *ty*. Someone police, or some man, so they speak with me as to use *ty*. But they must speak with me to use *vy*.'

It is necessary to note that some Vietnamese also use *ty* in first-encounters with Czechs, but in this case the reason seems to be that the Vietnamese are not (yet) familiar with the *vy* forms. In the following example, a Czech policeman asks a Vietnamese vendor for his documents:

- P: *Dejte nám tu občanku.* 'Please give us (a *vy* form) your identity card.'
- V: *Poškej.* 'Wait (a *ty* form).'

Simple management

As already mentioned, problems in discourse between Czechs and Vietnamese are of considerable magnitude, resulting not only from the lack of grammatical competence but also from non-grammatical strategies of communication and from violations of the sociocultural rules of conduct. Frequently, differences in the duration, frequency, and 'form' of smiling are mentioned. Müllerová (1998: 123) recalls the following event:

In 1983, two groups of Vietnamese workers, approximately 60 persons, got jobs at the steelworks in Kladno. These Vietnamese had poor knowledge of the Czech language, but Czech workers did not pay attention to this fact at all: 'The Vietnamese are here, they want to be here, so they have to understand everything.' [note the feeling of superiority of the Czechs, JVN/ JN] Whenever the Vietnamese did not understand Czech, they always nodded and smiled. The Czech workers thought: 'The Vietnamese understand and they do not want us to explain anything to them – that is the reason why they are always smiling.' In fact, the situation was quite different: the Vietnamese did not understand Czech and, in accordance with their national habit they nodded, smiled and repeated 'yes, yes'. This reaction of the Vietnamese meant: 'I am sorry, I do not understand, but I am trying to cooperate as much as possible.' At the steelworks a Czech foreman tried very hard to explain to a Vietnamese worker what he had to do immediately, but the Vietnamese behaved as already mentioned: he nodded and smiled. In a few minutes the Czech foreman got nervous, slapped the Vietnamese in the face and shouted at him: 'I'm trying to tell you over and over again what you have to do and you are smiling, you do not respect me as your boss. What are you so proud of?' In a minute nearly all the Vietnamese and Czech workers had arrived and wanted to solve the problem with a fight. Fortunately the leader of the Vietnamese and the interpreter realised what had happened and started to explain the misunderstanding immediately.

The happy ending of this story, probably genuine, is not typical for everyday interaction between Czechs and Vietnamese. In this case, the presence of an interpreter, an agent of organised management, had a decisive impact on the situation. This incident reminds us of Clyne's observation that, in Australian factories, central and southern European workers doubt the integrity and trustworthiness of their Vietnamese co-workers who 'say yes and then they don't do it' (Clyne, 1994: 151).

The following fragment recorded by Slezáková (mimeo) refers to a textile shop where both Czech and Vietnamese shop assistants work.

- I: (to the Czech) *Jak vy se tady s nimi domluvíte?* 'How do you communicate with them?'
- Č: *Ale jo, tak co potřebujem, se domluvíme. Kvůli práci. Když je něco potřeba, taky. To my se domluvíme. Že se domluvíme dobře?* 'Well yes, what we need, we communicate. Because of our work. When there is a need, also. We communicate. Don't we communicate well?'
- V: *Ano. Něco já ptám zboží a vy . . .* 'Yes, something I ask goods and you . . .'
- Č: *O zboží ví, ale takhle holt něco – buď rukama nebo různě, jak nám to jde. Ale moc ne, no.* 'They know about goods, but otherwise – either with hands, or variously, as we can. But not much, yes.'
- I: *A jinak vycházíte spolu dobře až na tu řeč?* 'And otherwise, apart from language, do you have good relations?'
- Č: *No, tak voni nám rozumí přece jenom. Ale my jim vůbec.* 'Well, they after all understand us, but we (don't understand them) at all.'

The last sentence of this conversation illustrates that communication problems are not easy to examine in standard interviews.

An interesting adjustment strategy, also occurring in intercultural situations in other communities, is illustrated by the fact that the Vietnamese make address easier for their Czech interlocutors by asking to be addressed by Czech names, e.g. *Antonín*.

Individual language management occurs, and the proof is that the Vietnamese sometimes keep a Czech textbook or a Vietnamese–Czech conversation book under the counter.

Organised management

In Communist Czechoslovakia, the Vietnamese were, on arrival, channelled through intensive three-month long courses of Czech (or Slovak), and these courses were concluded by an examination (Heroldová & Matějová, 1987). Actually, some of the Vietnamese had gone through similar courses in Vietnam, before their departure for Czechoslovakia. In such cases, their teachers were Vietnamese; as a consequence, the students acquired reasonable competence in grammar and in the written language, though little competence in comprehension or in speaking (Müllerová, 1998). In the case of some undergraduate and postgraduate students, one-year intensive courses in Czech were organised in the 1980s. Such programmes produced people with a good knowledge not only of Czech grammar, but also of communicative and sociocultural strategies which, to a considerable extent, prevented the occurrence of interaction problems (Müllerová, 1998). It seems that Vietnamese who were active in the Czech territory before 1989 possessed interactive competence much superior to that of their countrymen who came to the Czech Republic later. The new arrivals have no language education at their disposal. They acquire their competence through unorganised ‘natural’ acquisition processes in the marketplace; first generation speakers are hardly able to communicate about anything other than prices and types of merchandise.

At present, organised management only affects some children. In our field work conducted at Vejprty in 2002, there were only two Vietnamese children in the local school, one in the 1st and one in the 4th form. These two are children of parents who arrived in Czechoslovakia before 1989. (The number of Vietnamese in the 2001 census in Vejprty was 60; in this number, which no doubt underestimates the total number, there must have been more than two children of school age.) The field work revealed that formerly five other children had attended, but these had either left for another location with their parents or had completed compulsory education. In 1995, four children had arrived from Germany and had attended a special school because they possessed no Czech at all. Additionally, there are Vietnamese children in a nearby high school (gymnázium) in Chomutov. The experience of teachers with these children has been very positive. They are talented and eager to learn. Some of them are offspring of parents who possess university degrees but work in retail because such employment is more lucrative. The Vietnamese only send their children to school when they have been granted permanent residence. While, under such circumstances, school attendance is free, before securing permanent residence, parents would be obliged to pay for their children’s school attendance. Thus, organised language management benefits the Vietnamese only when they have obtained

permanent residence status, and even then, it only benefits the second generation.

The Vietnamese case shows a number of weaknesses in contemporary Czech language management. Materials on linguistic minorities in the Czech Republic, published by the central or local governments, pay minimal attention to the Vietnamese. One of the reasons for this neglect presumably stems from the fact that, as a rule, they do not possess Czech citizenship. However, dividing residents, whether short or long term, according to their citizenship is an outdated principle. Here is a large community, probably between 20–30,000 people, who actively contribute to the economic life of the Czech Republic. The public, though not openly hostile, is not always friendly to this community, not because it creates socioeconomic problems, but simply because of its foreignness and its inability to communicate. Huge numbers of communication problems are not attended to at all in the system of organised management. The report of the government's Council for Ethnic Minorities (Zpráva, 2002) only mentions this community because the 2001 census questionnaires were also printed in Vietnamese (p. 2), a measure that was the result of pragmatic considerations, and in connection with the Vietnamese programme on radio (pp. 15, 23). A Vietnamese representative was not nominated to be a member of the Consultative Group for ethnic radio programmes but was invited to participate by the Director of Czech Radio.

The Hungarian Language

Situation, problems

Hungarian belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family which is usually supposed to be unrelated to Indo-European languages (such as English, French, the Slavic languages or most Indian languages including Romani); Hungarian also possesses a grammatical structure different from that of the Indo-European languages. This lack of affiliation means that no 'natural' receptive bilingualism between the languages is likely. Additionally, while in the case of other European languages (including Czech), extensive lexical similarities exist, resulting from the shared interference of Latin and Greek and mutual borrowing, no such similarity exists in the case of Hungarian, which has applied strict puristic attitudes. A number of pages of a Hungarian book must be inspected before a single familiar word can be identified. Since the knowledge of Hungarian has always been close to zero in the Czech lands, communication between Czechs and Hungarians required the use of an intermediate language such as German (or more recently English) or quick linguistic adaptation to Czech. Adaptation was facilitated in the case of those who were coming from Slovakia and possessed the knowledge of Slovak which could easily be transformed into competence in Czech. Unfortunately, this aspect of communication cannot be ascertained from the sociological and sociolinguistic surveys of the 1990s carried out in the Czech Republic because Czech researchers did not consider the issue of the knowledge of Slovak in the case of Czech Hungarians as worthy of attention.

The statistically representative sociological survey of the Hungarian community conducted in 1992, in which more than 1000 Hungarians took part, showed that 66.3% of the respondents predominantly spoke Czech at home, 18.3% spoke

Hungarian and Czech, and only 12.9% principally spoke Hungarian (Sadílek & Csémy, 1993: 29). Note that this distribution occurs in spite of the fact that Czech is not a language easily acquired by Hungarians (unless they already know Slovak) and that the family domain is the only one in which there is any chance that Hungarian could be maintained. A more recent survey, conducted in 1997–98 (Eóry & Hašová, 2003) was oriented qualitatively. Its authors summarised the results as follows:

The process of language loss is fast among Hungarians; in general it is completed by the second generation, but invariably by the third. This is proved by the fact that among 32 informants there was not a single third-generation speaker of Hungarian, and they could not even mention such a person in their families. (Eóry & Hašová, 2003: 99)

This process may be difficult to alter, even though some Hungarian intellectuals have produced a program to reverse it. However, it appears that, in families of Hungarians with tertiary education, the language shift in the second generation is most pronounced (Sadílek & Csémy, 1993: 29).

Simple management

Simple management processes are, to a large extent, reflected in the results of surveys that investigate competence in Hungarian. In the Sadílek and Csémy's (1993: 26) survey, 45.5% of members of the Hungarian community evaluated their knowledge of Hungarian as very good, 31.8% as good, 19.2% as poor, while 3.5% declared no knowledge of the language. The strictest self-evaluation appeared, as could be expected, in the case of the youngest group (18–29 years of age) which assessed its knowledge as poor in 25.7%, and as zero in 13.1%. On the other hand, irrespective of their generational membership, the respondents evaluated their Czech as very good in 53.1% of cases; 40.9% of them assessed it as good, and only 6% assessed it as poor or nil. On the basis of these results, the authors concluded that Hungarians in the Czech Republic were more competent in Czech than in Hungarian (Sadílek & Csémy, 1993). This conclusion may be questioned because the evaluation of the non-native language (Czech) may be more positive than that of the native Hungarian. These figures, however, are most obviously valid for the youngest generation which, not surprisingly, seems to be most strongly assimilated. Results of the assimilation process have also been reflected in the 2001 census (see Part II on Hungarians). The survey reported in Sadílek and Csémy bears witness to extensive communication problems experienced by speakers in discourse, in their use of both Hungarian and Czech.

It is remarkable that, in the same survey, 41.7% of respondents reported that they were not interested in teaching their children Hungarian, while 32.3% were undecided. Women were twice as interested as men.

There is still too little data derived directly from discourse. From the data available, it can be assumed that speakers frequently do not notice interference. In the following conversation, the Hungarian speaker of Czech omits the reflexive particle *se*, probably because in Hungarian it often corresponds to a suffix that cannot be separated from the word.

P: . . . *aby mě zabrzdil prostě, tak já jsem už ty věci z lavice naházela. A vrhla jsem*

k tomu oknu . . . ' . . . so he puts on the break for me, so I throw away things from the bench. And I threw (myself) to the window . . . '

The unnoted deviation is in the form *vrhla jsem* that, according to Czech norms, should be *vrhla jsem se* (from Hašová, 2001: 53, simplified).

In the following example, P incorporates the Czech word *podpora* 'subsidy' into his Hungarian utterance. The Czech element is given the Hungarian accusative ending *-t*, and the final vowel is lengthened.

P: *Én is nyugdíjas én is podporát kapok mondom magamnak semmi baj.* 'I am also retired, I am getting a subsidy, I tell myself it doesn't matter' (Hašová, 1996: 90)

Adjustment drawing material from the other language is common in contact discourse for items with culturally specific meaning. Neither in this nor in the preceding discourse samples is there any evidence of noting of the deviation by participants in the encounter.

Organised management

In the case of Hungarian, no organised management at the governmental level could be discovered. However, financial support for Hungarian press and organisations (Zpráva, 2002) should be mentioned here.

At the level of education, Charles University has been teaching Hungarian philology for more than a century. The programme is significant, but its motivation is not primarily language management for the Hungarian community. One of the aims of the *Svaz Mad'arů žijících v českých zemích* (Association of Hungarians in the Czech Lands) is 'to develop the cultivation of the mother tongue and support its natural link with Hungarian culture' (Praha a národnosti, 1998: 43). The *Svaz*, in cooperation with the *Mad'arské kulturní středisko* (Hungarian Cultural Centre in Prague, founded in 1977), offers courses in Hungarian for children from Hungarian families. The problem is that these courses are limited to Prague. Also, it seems to be difficult for the Centre to obtain information from schools that would indicate interest in courses in Hungarian. This may be a problem common to a number of minority languages: as long as such basic information is missing, mounting a course is difficult.

The picture of language management by the Hungarian community in the Czech Republic is at a considerable distance from the situation evident in some other countries. There is little sense of patriotism. Evaluation of inadequate language maintenance is not necessarily negative, and adjustment that would lead to maintenance is weak. A similar situation obtains with regard to Hungarian in such other countries as Australia, where Hungarian belongs to the group of low-maintenance languages (Clyne, 1991). Although the overall power of the Czech community is paramount, its impact does not take the form of forced assimilation. On the other hand, there is no evidence that, in deciding not to maintain their language, Hungarians in the Czech Republic act without expecting that such maintenance might be negatively evaluated by Czech speakers. There is a need for work at the discourse level of management which should show where the sources of evaluative attitudes within the community can be identified.

Greek and Macedonian

Greek

Greek immigrants arrived mostly from economically underdeveloped mountainous regions. They typically spoke only Greek, and only a few possessed any knowledge of another language (Sloboda, 2000/2001). Many refugees originally restricted their contact with the matrix community to the bare minimum, because they hoped for a speedy return to their homeland. Czech was not in focus; this attitude also occurred among children who were initially provided with schooling in which Greek was taught on the basis of materials imported by international support groups from Rumania and later from Poland. However, starting in 1951, the children were enrolled in Czech schools, and it was then that the lack of knowledge of the Czech language emerged as a problem. Intensive courses were provided and extended through the summer vacations. The curricula were adapted, with some subjects being dropped to make space for extra Greek tuition. Greek was a compulsory subject until 1956, and some other subjects (such as social studies and history) were taught in the language. Thus, the children were acquiring both languages, and in view of the fact that they attended classes with Macedonian children, or lived with them in the same children's dormitories, they also acquired some knowledge of Macedonian. So-called *Greek Schools* began to disappear as a consequence of the return of a large number of families with children, as well as teachers, to Greece. However, the teaching of Greek as a subject was still being practised in 2001/2002 in seven cities of Northern Moravia, in Brno and in Prague, involving a total of 190 students. Tuition is normally provided in two competence grades (beginners and advanced), and classes are held after class hours. There are also classes for pre-school children (Zpráva, 2002). The oldest generation of Greeks, separated from the homeland to which they were not allowed to return, gradually lost fluency in their language and had no choice but to assume a positive attitude to Czech. However, their competence was not always sufficient, and they needed interpreters when in contact with the authorities (Zpráva, 2002). For those who were born in the 1960s and 1970s, Czech became the first language, even though Greek was maintained because of the need to preserve ties with the older generation and with relatives in Greece.

Macedonian

Macedonian refugees who arrived from Greece were mostly bilingual in a Macedonian dialect and a northern dialect of Greek. However, some of them were only competent in the former (Sloboda, 2000/2001). At the end of the 1940s, the process of the formation of Standard Macedonian had not yet been completed. The first Macedonian school was established in Greece in 1947 (Dorovský, 1998: 210), and this fact alone indicated that the knowledge of written Macedonian was close to zero both for the emigrants and for their children (Sloboda, 2000/2001). Competence in Standard Greek, with its diglottic pattern, was unlikely to be much better. The structure of school education for Greek and Macedonian children when they arrived was probably almost identical, the main difference being that Macedonian children were given a few hours of tuition through the medium of Macedonian. Such children thus

received bilingual education, and when Czech was added later as the principal medium of instruction, trilingual education. It can be assumed that, owing to the features shared by Macedonian and Czech, their competence in Czech developed faster than in the case of children with a pure Greek background. Hence, it is not surprising that the community 'dissolved' within the Czech matrix society – unless individuals identified with the Greeks and accepted their identity. After the 1960s, the teaching of Macedonian gradually disappeared (Sloboda, 2000/2001).

Foreign Languages in the Czech Republic

Competence in foreign languages

The phrase foreign languages designates languages when they are not used by a community living in the territory of the Czech Republic. A language can be both a community language and a foreign language. For example, German is a community language in the Czech Republic, but it is also a foreign language.

There is no simple way to assess competence in foreign languages, and subjective perceptions are historically conditioned. In a 1999 survey (*Lidové noviny* 27/1/99: p. 3), 57% of Czechs claimed they could communicate in Russian, 51% in German, and 21% in English. However, when asked whether they could read newspapers in that language, only 26% of respondents reported reading competence in Russian, 13% in German, and 8% in English. All these figures seem to be unrealistically high. It is questionable whether such a high percentage of speakers would have had an opportunity to test their ability to communicate with Russians, Germans or foreigners who spoke English. Neither did they have the chance to read newspapers in these languages. In particular, in the case of Russian, contacts at personal level were always limited during the period of Communist Party rule, and did not increase later. However, the survey gives some indication of the upper limit: it is probably true that all the effort of the communist government over 40 years and the relative closeness of the languages notwithstanding, not more than half of all Czechs felt they could communicate even at a limited level in Russian. Similarly not more than half of all Czechs believed that they could do the same in German; the expectation of success in communication through the medium of English remained unshared by more than four-fifths of the population.

Nevertheless, an overall assessment of the competence of Czechs cannot be very negative. One must take into consideration that for over 40 years very few were allowed to leave the country – at best only occasional trips to other countries of the former Soviet bloc were permitted – and it was often dangerous to speak to the few so-called Western foreigners who visited Czechoslovakia. However, even if active competence to communicate in Russian was achieved only by a fraction of the population, many acquired information about the Russian communicative style along with a few basic expressions, which enabled them to use these elements in word play and to orient themselves in the Russian-spoken parts of the Oscar-winning Czech film *Kolya*. The study of other languages has been intensive during the 1990s, and the competence gained is sometime impressive. However, it should be borne in mind that much of this

competence has been achieved in classrooms and is mostly limited to grammar, lexicon and the written language – leaving aside non-grammatical and sociocultural components that are normally acquired through sojourn in the target society.

Simple management in the use of foreign languages

When faced with the need to communicate with a foreigner, Czechs, even if addressed in Czech, show a tendency to answer in a foreign language. This strategy is also known from research in other languages. The language selected is the ‘foreign language’ of the speaker; even if addressed in English, a shop attendant may answer in German. In the case of speakers with a low level of competence, pidginisation occurs at many levels. It may manifest itself in a real or apparent refusal to interact; a less drastic form affects the facial expression (a ‘stern’ face) and non-verbal behaviour (vehement gesticulation); and pidginisation often shows at the sentence level where simplification occurs. Transfer from Czech through direct translation of Czech communication means is common. For example, the question *yes?* can be heard as a tag question for English *isn't it* or *OK?* In the case of speakers with a higher level of knowledge of foreign languages, the lack of routinisation and attempts to generate each utterance anew are symptomatic. This is the consequence of a limited exposure to foreign languages through study abroad or extended periods of stay.

The number of problems Czech speakers experience in contact with foreigners leads many to a decision to initiate a management process directed at the entire system of a foreign language – in other words to enrol in a course. In such a case, the speaker may turn to a state school, but private schools, which mushroomed in the 1990s, are likely to be more flexible in providing adjustment in the direction actually needed. For example, a wide range of courses in some languages, such as Spanish, are not offered within the state system.

Organised management: The teaching of foreign languages at primary schools

As a means of management of language problems in contact with foreigners, languages are taught at various levels of the public education process. Within the process we can distinguish the following stages:

- (1) Kindergarten (*mateřská škola*, age 3–6).
- (2) Primary School (*základní škola*, age 6–15).
- (3) Secondary level: high school (*gymnázium*, age 15–19; however, there are also 8 year and 6 year high schools which start at age 11 or 13 respectively), Secondary Technical Schools and Secondary Vocational Schools (15–19, 15–18 respectively).
- (4) Tertiary level (*vysoká škola*, courses of varying extension are available at universities and other institutions).

The system was highly centralised until 1989. Since then, it has passed through a period of decentralisation (until 1995) after which a new era of weak centralisation commenced. At present, a foreign language is introduced as a compulsory subject at Year 4 (or in some schools at Year 3) of primary school and is allocated

Table 2 Pupils learning foreign languages at primary schools between 1991/92 and 1998/99 (Vývojová ročenka, 1999)

	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
English	263,180	261,400	254,211	251,144	267,270	341,586	370,744	390,518
German	356,738	349,982	334,181	315,632	307,378	374,502	366,050	344,247
French	8,607	9,993	9,066	8,281	8,187	8,113	7,539	8,744
Russian	30,599	11,457	3,891	1,484	1,267	816	753	993
Spanish	–	611	385	384	325	283	363	486
Italian	–	11	21	22	38	25	–	–
Other European languages	–	12	251	114	170	13	20	–
Other languages	392	152	23	72	–	539	4	14
Total						700,864	726,526	723,992

400 teaching hours over Years 4–9. In the last four years of high school, the First Foreign Language is also allocated 400 hours. A high school graduate has thus received 800 hours of tuition in the First Foreign Language. The Second Foreign Language is added in the first year of high school and is allocated three hours per week. The Ministry of Education's Course of Studies speaks about the need to deepen 'linguistic, sociolinguistic, sociocultural and study-technique competence' of high school students. Unfortunately, the objectives of language teachers are frequently limited to linguistic competence alone. At the secondary technical and vocational schools, only one foreign language is required, and it is allocated three and two hours per week respectively. The Ministry of Education expects that, in future, English will be compulsory, starting at Year 3 of the primary school, and that a Second Foreign Language will be added at Year 6.

Table 2 shows that the range of languages taught at the primary school level has been extremely limited. In 1998/99, English was the top language with 390,000 students, closely followed by German, which was studied by 344,000 students. French managed to attract 8744 students, while Russian stood at a mere 993 and Spanish at 486. The category 'other languages' accommodated 14 students (for details see Nekvapil, 2003c).

Among language teachers, the limited range of languages available in the primary schools, in particular the 'marginalisation' of French, Russian and Spanish, are watched with concern. In 1989, compulsory enrolment in Russian was abolished, and students were given the freedom to select the language they wanted to study. Now it has been noted that the freedom of choice does not necessarily lead to a plurality of choice (Fenclová, 1998/1999b). Warnings that English may soon monopolise language teaching have appeared (Keliš, 1998/1999). Teachers point to the forthcoming entry into the EU and require from the state a clear policy as well as an increased investment in foreign language teaching (Musil, 2000/2001).

The question of pluralism is difficult. One basic stumbling block is the idea

that such pluralism can be achieved with a single foreign language in the curriculum. One could argue that, with English having in fact achieved the status of the international language as such, students who do not study English do in fact relegate themselves to the status of less than world citizenship. English is and will continue to be needed. Plurality can only be a problem of the Second or Third Foreign Language. Another stumbling block is that many teachers envisage plurality as a matter of adding French, Spanish or Russian to English and German. However, one has to proceed far beyond the 'old school languages'. In Europe, languages of the immediate neighbourhood and the EU nations, as well as other European, languages need consideration. From the point of view of a nation such as the Czech Republic that was barred by its history from participation in European affairs for half a century, Europe may seem to be everything. However, the world looms large and African and Asian languages should not be omitted from consideration even at this level.

One of the basic issues in language teaching after 1989 was the shortage of teachers, in particular qualified teachers for the lower levels of the primary schools. The issue still remains unresolved. Although Czech universities started producing considerable numbers of graduates in English and German, the low level of school teacher salaries means that only 10 to 15% of such graduates enter language teaching (Nekvapil, 2003c). After 1989, in-service training for language teachers was assisted by British, German or French specialists, often in cooperation with the British Council and the Goethe-Institut. One of the by-products of these courses was the strengthening of the direct method or communicative language teaching. In-service training is still not mandatory, but the Education Ministry is working on a scheme for further enhancement of the qualification of teachers. Since 1997, the Czech Republic has also participated in the project SOCRATES, and large numbers of teachers have taken part in its Activity B (teacher training). As far as textbooks are concerned, the initial enthusiasm for foreign-produced textbooks has waned. It is now accepted that texts appropriate to the Czech linguistic and sociocultural situation are needed (Fenclová, 1998/1999a). Some such textbooks have been produced, and many are in production.

Organised management: The teaching of foreign languages at the secondary level

Statistics concerning the teaching of languages at the secondary level (Tables 3 and 4) show that English and German are in the same position as at the primary schools. However, there is a difference between high schools (*gymnázium*) and the more vocationally oriented schools. At the former, English leads German by a large margin, while at the vocationally oriented schools the relationship is reversed. In the *gymnázium*, French, Spanish and Russian get a larger piece of the cake. It seems that the downward trend in Russian has been arrested. Between 1993 and 1995, enrolments in 'other languages' were relatively high, but it is not easy to explain why they have diminished again. The difference between Tables 3 and 4 seems to be a function of the job market. More vocationally oriented students expect that they may in the future obtain employment in German-speaking countries or in the tourist industry in areas adjoining Germany or Austria.

Table 3 Students learning foreign languages at high schools ('gymnázia') between 1991/92 and 1998/99 (Vývojová ročenka, 1999)

	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
English	91,324	101,339	107,664	107,726	118,966	112,301	111,474	112,008
German	68,958	76,364	82,176	84,232	92,698	85,220	84,871	84,536
French	11,477	12,408	13,809	14,610	16,325	15,722	15,476	16,451
Russian	36,150	17,924	8,324	2,911	1,792	1,418	1,500	2,937
Spanish	–	6,145	2,610	2,956	3,314	3,029	2,851	3,160
Italian	–	108	286	627	746	790	700	707
Latin	–	–	–	–	12,197	15,519	12,439	11,945
Classic Greek	–	–	–	–	84	53	123	124
Other European languages	4,418	2,320	9,778	8,648	36	29	5	4
Other languages	–	251	249	63	120	24	31	33
Total						125,534	125,885	125,023

Table 4 Students learning foreign languages at secondary vocational and technical schools between 1992/93 and 1998/99 (Vývojová ročenka, 1999)

	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97	1997/98	1998/99
English	158,117	195,153	230,895	242,872	193,136	181,641	172,818
German	258,002	295,325	326,450	330,635	251,434	229,207	209,631
French	10,451	15,360	15,942	14,781	12,723	11,312	9,779
Russian	42,041	14,566	7,685	4,969	3,918	3,958	3,590
Spanish	217	2,199	2,942	3,127	2,382	2,371	2,108
Italian	81	557	911	1,132	871	751	902
Latin	–	–	–	3,392	2,194	3,957	3,881
Classic Greek	–	–	–	43	42	59	–
Other European languages	1,781	1,328	2,928	–	50	39	73
Other languages	389	203	180	231	329	115	71
Total					377,378	343,774	312,297

Prognosis

Should English become compulsory and another compulsory foreign language be added at the primary school level, the situation of Russian is likely to improve. Russian will be selected as the Second Foreign Language for at least three reasons:

- (1) As a Slavic language it will be easy for students to learn.
- (2) There are still large numbers of teachers who can teach the classes.
- (3) Ideological opposition to Russian is slowly disappearing while economic relations with Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union are increasing.

Russian will also reinforce the possibility of *semicommunication* with speakers of other Slavic languages. It can be assumed that the position of Russian will move closer to that of French. Owing to close economic cooperation with Germany and Austria, and also in view of the geographic proximity of the two countries, the position of German will remain strong. Two groups of languages are at present strongly under-represented. First, there are the languages of near neighbours or almost neighbours: Poland, Slovakia and Hungary, and other members or potential members of the EU. Second, there are the languages of Asia and Africa.

This is not to suggest that certain languages should be made compulsory. However, a clear language policy from the Education Ministry taking into account the present deficiencies will be needed. Such a policy should take account of education systems in which a plurality of languages offered at this level is a reality.

Languages at the tertiary level

All tertiary institutions require passing examinations in one or two foreign languages and offer programmes to this effect. Courses are usually of two semesters duration but, if a language for special purposes is included, students may take as many as four semesters. Students usually take languages they have already studied at the high school level. (Further information is available in Nekvapil, 2003c.)

Specialised degree courses in foreign languages and philology are offered at most universities. The range of languages available is sometimes impressive. Charles University (Universita Karlova) claims to be the only university in Europe that offers almost all the Romance languages including such languages as Friulian.

Languages and Czech Entry to the European Union

European Union languages for the Czech Republic

The entry of the Czech Republic and other east and central European nations to the European Union (EU) is expected to occur in 2004 and will no doubt lead to a number of language management processes.

Prior to the expected expansion, the Union employed 11 languages of the 15 members as official and working languages (because some countries use the same language and Ireland does not require that Irish become one of the official languages). About 1300 full-time translators and 800 interpreters (McCluskey, 2001) have already been employed by the Union, and the translation/interpreting operation has placed considerable burden on the organisation, with 685

million being spent in 1999. The annual cost to each citizen has only been about 2 and this figure is not expected to change much after the expansion, since there will be a commensurate increase in population (Cunningham, 2001). However, the operation will grow substantially. There will be at least 19, and probably more, languages after the expansion. The EU has estimated that adding a new official language will require a minimum of 200 translators for the headquarters alone (McCluskey, 2001). It is unthinkable that the Czech Republic (or any of the other newly accepted members) would give up its right to translation or interpreting because this would result in considerable impediment to the democratic process: the majority of the population would be *de facto* excluded from participation in the EU matters (Van Els, 2001).

Prior to joining the EU, the Czech Republic was required to translate into Czech all EU legislation in force. Obrová and Pelka (2001) report on some issues connected with this task. Although versions in all 11 official languages are considered authentic, the Czech team found it necessary to employ three versions (English, French and German) for its work and, on this basis, created a unified system of Czech terminology. The translation of this legislation, called *acquis communautaire*, represents a major language management act. However, in the day-to-day operation of the Union, further translation and interpreting is required. As Johnston (2000) notes, there is a legal position and a *de facto* situation with regard to translations. Although legally all languages are and will continue to be 'official and working' languages, in fact individual organs of the Union decide which languages to use in internal communication (procedural languages). It would therefore be naive to assume that the proceedings of all meetings and all documents produced by the EU would be translated into Czech (or the languages of the other new members); yet, as many will, there will be a need for a continuous supply of interpreters and translators, many of whom will be native speakers of Czech.

As a result of the policy of procedural languages, it cannot be expected that Czech participation would be equal to that of participants who are native speakers of the procedural languages. The Czech government, as well as the governments of other countries whose languages are unlikely ever to become procedural languages, must carefully watch the situation. The Czech government already possesses some negative experience in negotiating with the EU (Chvátalová, 2002).

In view of the enlargement, the EU is considering a number of measures to cope with the increased volume of translation and interpreting work. One of these involves abandoning the principle that a translator can only translate into his/her native language. Translators have been encouraged to learn new languages, and Czech, in fact, has already been studied by a number of incumbent EU translators. Some other strategies include appeals to the document drafters to produce texts that are short and simple. It is also considered necessary to limit the categories of documents that are translated (Cunningham, 2001). It will be essential to adapt existing computer and internet software to handle Czech (and the other new EU languages, all of which use the Latin alphabet with added diacritics). This condition is not met at present (see Part V, Electronic media).

In order to ensure the supply of translators and interpreters, the EU has supported a number of language programmes at Czech universities. One of the

issues is that not only will competence in English, French or German be required, but competence will also be required in such languages as Danish, Finnish, Greek or Portuguese. It is unlikely that translation of large numbers of official documents into and from these languages will be needed at the national level. However, the Czech Republic will share the 'backyard' with a number of other nations and much more communication will be needed at that level than has been required so far. The provision of adequate tools of language management, including various language services, is likely to lag behind the commencement of political and economic membership. It is true that the languages of all EU members or prospective members can be studied in the Czech Republic at university level, but it is doubtful that the existing programmes will suffice to cover the increased and diversified needs after the onset of EU membership. Incidentally, it can be expected that the procedural language used in internal organs of the Union by Czech representatives will be English rather than French or German, and this will no doubt further reinforce the position of that language in those organisations.

Czech for other EU countries

The issue, not yet fully realised by the Czechs, is that competence in the Czech language will become one of the language problems of other countries of the Union (Nekvapil, 2003c). The issue does not only involve translation and interpreting at the governmental level. With increased contacts and personal mobility the problem of competence will transgress into other areas, particularly in the economic and cultural domains.

A problem of this kind cannot be served by simple management. A need for organised management at many levels can be expected. At present, Czech is being taught in a number of countries, and the Czech government has actively supported a number of programmes through the provision of lecturers. Out of the contemporary 40 teaching fellowships ('lectorships') for teaching Czech abroad, some countries host more than one (with the largest numbers in France and Poland), but Czech courses taught with the help of Czech lecturers are not available in a number of EU countries (Denmark, Greece, Holland, Ireland, Luxemburg and Portugal), at least partly because of the unwillingness of the Czech government to provide the necessary funding. Recently a Centre of Czech Studies has been established in Brussels under the full sponsorship of the Czech Republic. Among the more recent phenomena is also the teaching of Czech in those parts of Germany that adjoin the Czech Republic where the teaching of Czech sometimes commences at the level of compulsory education. As noted by Cink (1999: 37), in Saxony the offering of Czech goes hand in hand with the active support the public gives to the Czech entry into the EU. At Pirna in Saxony, a bilingual German-Czech high school has been established, and Czech is used in selected subjects as the medium of instruction. Saxony may thus become a model for other parts of the EU.

In the case of Slovakia, the communication problem may be solved through avenues other than the teaching of Czech. As noted earlier, the two ethnic groups have practised what Haugen (1966) called *semicomcommunication* – the mutual use of each speaker's language. To a lesser extent, this is also true for Polish and for Sorbian. There will be a need to continue providing Slovaks with a sufficient

amount of Czech linguistic input as well as to make sure that radically more Slovak input is received in the Czech Republic. The joint entry into the EU provides applied linguists with an opportunity to test the power of *semi-communication* as a language management device in more than one group of languages, such as the Romance languages, the Scandinavian languages or some of the Slavic languages.

Languages of Instruction

The language of instruction at all 'normal' schools in the country is, of course, Czech. However, in the school year 1999/2000 there were 18 bilingual high schools (*gymnázium*) in the Czech Republic – with a focus on German (5), French (5), English (4), Spanish (2) and Italian (2). (See *Statistická ročenka školství 2000*.) As mentioned earlier, in the mid-1990s an attempt was made to establish a Slovak high school in Prague, but the project failed because of the small number of applicants. There is a Polish high school in Český Těšín and other high school level classes in the same region; other ethnic high schools (e.g. Bulgarian) have been mentioned in passing.

The small representation of English among the bilingual high schools should not be interpreted as a sign of attributing English a low level of importance. There were eight monolingual English high schools, five of them in Prague (Nekovářová, 1999). Since some of these schools are not officially registered with the Ministry of Education, their graduates must have their degrees 'notarised' if they want to use them in the same way as local qualifications. (Such 'notarisation' is also required in the case of qualifications gained abroad.) These schools use British or American curricula. The Ministry of Education only has the right to oversee the teaching of Czech, which is taught as the second language or not taught at all. Some of these schools offer the International Baccalaureate.

In the winter semester 1999, there were 30 Czech tertiary institutions and in these the language of instruction was basically Czech. If other languages were used as a medium of instruction, they were used for the teaching of individual subjects by foreign lecturers or in programmes designated for foreign students. Out of 198,961 tertiary students there were 5468 foreign students, some of them studying in Czech but others taking courses in other languages. Among the 30 institutions, 25 offered programmes in English, 16 in German and three in French. There were no programmes offered in Russian. Courses offered in foreign languages varied according to the field of study. For example, all seven faculties of medicine in the Czech Republic offered at least some of their courses programmes in Czech and English (but not in German), while natural science faculties tended to teach courses in Czech, English, and German. Such courses were relatively rare at the Bachelor level, but the number increased in Masters and particularly in doctoral programmes. (For details see Ammon & McConnell, 2002; Nekvapil, 2003c.)

A number of foreign tertiary institutions were active in the country (Nekovářová, 1999). They offered programmes in the language of the country of their origin, but sometimes also in Czech. These programmes were frequently summer schools or specialised programmes. Twelve of these institutions were British or American, two German, one French and one Spanish.

Language Varieties: A Summary

Languages other than Czech

The survey conducted in Part III has demonstrated that the Czech Republic is not only a multicultural but also a multilingual country. Although figures available from the 2001 census (Table 5) reflect only the declared 'mother tongue', not the languages actually used in daily communication, there can be no doubt concerning this claim. Table 5 indicates that, in the 2001 census, 522,663 people reported a 'mother tongue' other than Czech. This represents 5.1% of the target population. However, if we accept that some respondents failed to report their real 'mother tongue', it is probable that more than 6% of the inhabitants possess a close relationship with a language other than Czech.

Types of languages

The largest non-Czech 'mother tongue' declared in the census was Slovak. Romani probably comes second, followed by Polish and German which were declared as 'mother tongue' by 51,000 and 41,000 people respectively. Other languages are represented by smaller populations.

With regard to their provenance, two languages have been at home in the Czech lands for centuries: German and Polish. Romani is a special case in that the Roma have lived in the territory since the 15th century, but the bulk of the Roma who live in the Republic now are migrants from the East. The other languages also arrived recently. Hungarian, Ruthenian, Russian, Slovak and Ukrainian came from the East; Croatian (in the 16th century), Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Macedonian and Serbian came from the South. From still further East, the territory experienced the Kalmyck impact after World War I (Nekvapil & Neustupný, 1998), and in the second half of the century the arrival of the Vietnamese and Chinese languages (the latter unaccounted for in this study). A language that came from the West is English. This range of languages includes many Slavic languages which provide the challenge of the possible use of Haugen's *semicomcommunication* as a means of language management. This point has been emphasised in this paper. The rich linguistic variety in the territory is further enriched by languages such as Hungarian, Greek or Vietnamese – languages that are linguistically very distant from Czech and pose a question about the ways in which they can be developed as a resource by their hosts: will they be lost or will they be retained, both for their value as human experience and for their future economic potential (Clyne, 1991)? It is recommended that the latter path be selected, to prevent the need to build up the competence *de novo* at considerable cost.

Almost all of the languages represented in the territory of the Czech Republic have their centre of gravity abroad. However, there are at least two that do not serve as national languages in other countries. One of them is Romani, which is not a national language anywhere. No one seems to care about Romani. The other language is Ruthenian, which has only just started to appear as a codified minority language in Slovakia.

Maintenance and shift

Throughout this paper, it has been shown that language shift towards Czech is on the move. While communities may still retain their sense of ethnic identity

Table 5 Ethnic background and mother tongue in the 2001 census (Český statistický úřad, January 2003)

<i>Mother tongue</i>	<i>Population according to mother tongue</i>	<i>Ethnic background</i>									<i>Not declared</i>
		<i>Czech, Moravian Silesian</i>	<i>Slovak</i>	<i>Hungarian</i>	<i>Roma</i>	<i>Polish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Ruthenian</i>	<i>Ukrainian</i>	<i>Other</i>	
Czech	9,707,397	9,525,265	32,529	2,196	4,527	4,064	10,836	560	2,385	16,605	108,430
Slovak	208,723	48,877	153,284	448	402	54	81	30	163	1,571	3,813
Romani	23,209	12,289	2,992	66	6,672	6	10	1	8	317	848
Polish	50,740	5,029	144	18	6	44,825	43	0	44	186	445
German	41,328	11,138	245	30	5	104	27,682	2	27	1,339	756
Other	121,795	17,526	3,276	11,844	65	2,815	308	507	19,336	61,681	4,437
Not declared	76,868	21,005	720	70	69	100	146	6	149	505	54,098
Total	10,230,060	9,641,129	193,190	14,672	11,746	51,968	39,106	1,106	22,112	82,204	172,827

(although there is a shift there as well), linguistically they assimilate at a high rate. This is a shame – both because the cultural and linguistic variety is impoverished, and because functional resources are lost. It is the Czech society that should stand up and try to stop the deprivation of its own linguistic environment.

However, communities and individuals who wish to assimilate should be given the right to pursue their intent. Language is not only a symbol of ethnic identity; it is also a symbol of social stability, cultured living and relative economic prosperity. While for many immigrants from the East and South their language represents their ethnic identity, Czech is a symbol of stability, culture and prosperity for them. Language managers should be prepared to provide advice to the communities and individuals about the deep motives for their language management decisions. When a community or an individual decides not to maintain its language, do they simply support the interests of the Czech matrix community, or do they act in their own interest? And how can they empower themselves to carry through what they decide to do?

Language management in the European Community

It is likely that the Czech Republic will enter the EU shortly and this will have an impact on what has been said in this paper. The configuration of interest and power in that larger society will be different. It is possible that the ethnic composition of the Czech Republic and its individual communities will undergo substantial changes. It is too early to predict what may occur.

Language Policy of the Czech State

The Czech state exerts influence on the language situation in the Czech Republic in several ways. One is through its education policy; the other is through the cultivation of language.

Education policy

Language-in-education policy is directed towards Czech as well, but this aspect has not been subjected to analysis. Other languages are attended to in several respects:

- (1) Education in community languages is proclaimed as state policy, but in fact it only occurs in the case of Polish. Some modest approaches have begun to appear in the case of Romani. The Ministry of Education guarantees to support courses of an ethnic group language if there is a group of at least three to four children interested; yet it is often impossible to find a competent teacher at the school or in the local community.
- (2) Language-in-education policy is also directed towards the acquisition of foreign languages. At the level of the state, the obligatory choice of Russian has been abolished, and free selection permitted. This 'liberalism' has, in fact, only reinforced the selection of English and German.

Language cultivation

There is no evidence of language cultivation activities for any language other than Czech. This is not detrimental to the languages if they have a centre abroad which supports such cultivation. In fact, most community languages in the

Czech Republic are branches of languages that are national languages in other states. However, since these languages are 'isolated' (Vašek, 1976) branches in the Czech Republic, there is a need to give thought to the special features that arise under the conditions of such isolation. At present, this problem is no one's responsibility. Moreover, in many instances, the community languages and their uses have not been given attention even at the level of description (noting).

A language that is in urgent need of elaboration, not through committees but in actual use, is Romani. But apart from supporting the modest literary production of the community, the state has done nothing to activate networks in which such elaboration (as well as maintenance) could take place.

As far as Czech is concerned, the Modern system of language cultivation, often based on the pre-war Prague School approach, is practised. This means that there has been little change for a Standard language that is basically oriented towards the middle class. The recent memory of transition from a 'socialist' to a 'capitalist' socioeconomic system renders inapplicable any policy that would defend the interests of the weak. Problems of variation, some of which have been outlined, still await some change in the socioeconomic paradigm to be noted, evaluated and adjusted.

The usual forms of support, in the form of publication subsidies (Zpráva, 2002) are available for a variety of community languages.

PART IV: MANAGEMENT OF SITUATIONS

The Framework

Part III has examined the ways in which interaction is managed with regard to the selection and use of language varieties. In this section, the management of interaction in individual 'situations' will be discussed. Situations are relatively stable sets (configurations) of interaction strategies. They are stable because they re-occur and because such re-occurrence leads to automation. Since re-occurrence differs in different communities, the range of situations is subject to variation. For example, in Japan, where taxis are widely used, there are relatively fixed 'ways of speaking' within the taxi (greetings, levels of honorific speech, directions to the driver, asking for a receipt, etc.). Using the taxi is a specific situation. In the Czech Republic, taxis are not used extensively, and the way of speaking is not fixed to the same extent. If there is routinisation, it derives from other situations. One often speaks of 'defining' a situation, meaning that speakers assign a particular set of strategies to particular recurring and recognisable sequences of behaviour. Situations of daily life are usually strongly defined (Neustupný, 1993b); in other words, there are multiple strategies that generate their specific recurring features. This phenomenon is emphasised by Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 108) when they analyse, for example, shopping situations or interaction between doctors and their patients.

The existence of situations has considerable relevance for language management. The selection of a particular situation in the process of communication can become an object of management. The acquisition of strategies for situational sets and the ability to 'correctly' participate in them is not automatic. Kraus (1997b: 291) refers to this fact when he speaks of '... the need to master some specialized

communicative activities (debates, public appearances, the stylization of specialized and academic discourses, drafting of legal texts and use manuals) . . . ' In the Czech Republic, the automation of interaction within some situations of use has remained underdeveloped. While much of this ability is gained through simple management in discourse, there can be organised management (for example in schools, companies or offices) to create and use automated situational sets of interactional means. In this and the following sections, examples are taken from transcripts provided by (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992), that cover a considerable range of spoken language situations.

Situations cluster in domains. The importance of domains for sociolinguistics has been emphasised by Fishman (1972). In the following survey, Fishman's concept that domains are *emic* sets varying across different societies is applied. For example, while under other circumstances religion may figure as a major domain, its importance in Czech society is diminished and can better be understood as a subdivision within the culture domain. Understandably, domains overlap. A list of domains used in this paper includes:

- daily life domain;
- family domain;
- friendship domain;
- education domain;
- work domain;
- public domain; and
- culture domain.

Situational sets include the distribution of power. In each situation, participants are specified and represent differing interests (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987) and differing distribution of power (Fairclough, 1989). The issue of power is important for the assessment of problems that occur in situations.

Attention given in linguistics to the distribution of language problems in domains and situations is still limited, and occasionally discussion is restricted to providing questions based on personal experience. Problems listed in this paper are not exhaustive.

Management in the Daily Life Domain

The daily life domain contains such situations as in individuals' daily physical maintenance, in eating and in daily behaviour at home, in transportation, in shopping, in receiving services (at post office, banks, medical services), in eating out, etc.

Among these situations, the language of services has been the object of relatively severe management throughout the 1990s, after the return of the Czech Republic to a market economy. The problem was that language usage was automated at a level that did not agree with the new relationship between the customer and the attendant. The management processes, which introduced more polite attitude on the side of the attendant, were largely successful, but they have not yet been completed. At the beginning of the last decade of the millennium, shop attendants still occupied the position of superior participants (see Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming; Slavíčková, 1993), and they generated

expressions of indifference, ennui, and rejection, occasionally even of aggressiveness; a similar set sometimes characterised the communication of the customers (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992). These sets were never accepted as natural; they became objects of negative evaluation and of further management. Frequently curt replies such as *ne* 'no', *není* 'not available' or *nemáme* 'we haven't got any' occurred without any apology. For example:

- Cust.** *Teplý jenom, ty normální nemáte.*
'Warm ones only? Haven't you got the normal ones?'
- Att.** *Ne.*
'No.' (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 71, transcription simplified)

However, as Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 84) note, there were attendants who maintained the norm. They apologised for not being able to provide the goods (*opravdu nemáme* 'really (unfortunately) we haven't got them'); they apologised for the time they would take (*hned to bude* 'I'll be there soon'), and they used polite intonation and a lively tone of speech.

At the present time, the situational set for most situations of the daily life domain has reallocated the position of power to the customer, as usual in the 'Western' countries. Even in the case of medical services, the previously unquestioned superiority of the doctor has eased. All these adjustments have been reflected in communication in patterns that do not result in the overt assignment of power or, on the contrary, overt solidarity (such as camaraderie) – the contemporary solution is more subtle.

Another management process that stands out in Müllerová *et al.*'s (1992) data is negotiation about the object of purchase. In view of the lack of advertising, customers did not possess sufficient vocabulary to describe merchandise, and it was the role of the attendant, after a process of negotiation, to provide adjustment on the basis of their own experience:

- Att.** *Ňákej, vy chcete Ňákej malinkej stan.*
'Some, you want some small tent?'
- Cust.** *Nó, takovej, no nemusí bejt úplně malej, no ale -*
'Well, such a, well not necessarily very small, well but'
- Att.** *Takovejdle Ňákej,*
'Something like this.'
- Cust.** *Spíš hlavně co nejlehčí, no*
'Rather mainly as light as possible, well'
- Att.** *Ten vůbec není.*
'That one is not available at all.'
- Cust.** *Vůbec není, a dostáváte někdy -*
'Not available at all, but do you sometimes get (it)'
- Att.** *Málokdy, vy myslíte ten silonovej stan.*
'Rarely, you are thinking of the nylon tent.'
- Cust.** *No, no, no.*
'Yes, yes, yes.' (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 70, transcription simplified)

In this extract, the customer attempts to describe the type of tent she wants to purchase. After negotiation, it becomes clear that the object of her inquiry was a

tent made of nylon. The pattern of negotiation appears in almost all examples quoted in Müllerová *et al.* (1992). This management strategy is applied because of a particular language problem: the inability of the customer to specify exactly the type of goods wanted.

Management in the Family Domain

The Czech family of the 1990s was moving towards the postmodern pattern. On one hand, sexual behaviour was relatively free while conception and birth were limited. Also, home catering used the possibilities provided by pre-processed or fully processed foods. On the other hand, formal marriages, although greatly decreased, were still the often unquestioned norm (Možný, 2002).

Within this pattern there is room for more conversation, which requires the development of conversational routines beyond what Bernstein (1964) once called 'restricted speech'. Family conversation is widely developed, irrespective of the family's social standing (Hoffmannová *et al.*, 1999). Within the modernisation and postmodernisation process, terms of address in the family domain are continuously reallocated, and new terms are born. This management process often remains largely unconscious, except for noting in individual situations, and its results are strongly automated. In Czech, the reciprocal *ty* 'you' address within families has long been the norm. However, in direct address to parents (and grandparents), the usual terms used are kinship terms (*tati!* 'dad', *babičko!* 'grandma', etc.), not pronouns ('*ty!*') or first names ('*Jirko!*'). Address/reference by first name is rare, though its occurrence is increasing, but it is managed (noted, and evaluated). This seems to be an incoming usage. Also managed (noted and evaluated) is address to members of the family from the point of view of a child (*maminko!* 'mother' in address to one's wife, even when children are not present). These forms are in the process of being abandoned, at least in the urban sector – they represent an outgoing usage.

Problems of intergenerational usage

There is a problem of intergenerational understanding, but it does not reach major proportions. The slang of the younger generation is often derived from English, and it is difficult for the older generation to understand. The younger generation is interested in computers both in word processing and in other functions. The time the youngsters use at the computer is deducted from the time that, in the situational norms of the parents, should be used for communication with other members of the family. While this is one problem, another problem is the 'excessive use' (i.e. use that does not agree with the parents' situational norms) of computer terminology.

Yet another language problem noticeable in family situations is the vulgarisation of language of the children. This is connected with de-tabooisation of the language of the media, which is more typically used by the younger rather than by the older generation as a source of new linguistic expression. However, this phenomenon can also be considered as a consequence of the final breakdown of the traditional family situation in which parents were superior participants and children were obliged to eschew 'impolite' language in front of them. For

parents, the older norms apply, while the children's norms belong to a more recent norm set.

'Indeterminacy of expression'

Müllerová *et al.* (1992) include a transcript of a situation in which a grandmother (age 57) and her granddaughter (age 20) participate. The granddaughter occasionally asks a question or comments, but on the whole this is a monologue in which the grandmother talks about her youth. There is one feature that invites attention because it seems to be a problem characteristic for the family domain that reoccurs in other transcripts in the same collection, including the otherwise cultivated exchanges within a radio discussion (1992: 223). It is the high degree of what Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 29) call 'indeterminacy of expression' (see also Hoffmannová, 1994). This includes incomplete sentences, shortcuts, a high frequency of demonstratives (*ten, takovej, takle*, etc.), connectors (*a, no, tak, nebo*, etc.), semantically blurred words (*něk, někej*, etc.) and fillers (*prostě, jako, dyš*, etc.). In the same group, a large number of corrections and rephrasings may be included. A keyword quotation from the transcript is:

*Ted' sou všude silnice, no tak to už nikdo nemůže . . . tak něk kam by se šel čvachtat do bláta. 'Now there are paved roads everywhere, well so, that, nobody can any more . . . so you know where one could go to walk in the mud' [meaning: 'now there are paved roads everywhere, nobody can/has to walk any more in the mud'] (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 15, transcription simplified)*

In this sentence, the underlined words are 'superfluous', they mark hesitation and problems with sentence planning. There is a change of syntactic planning after *nemůže*. All this testifies to the expression problems faced by the speaker. Is this indeterminacy of expression a feature of Czech conversational situations, and if it is, can one attribute it to the account of the grammatical type of Czech? Or is it the relative absence of cultivated models of speech (salons, formal parties, sermons, traditional narratives, etc.) that is responsible for its pervasiveness in spoken Czech? At least in the family or friendship domains, this phenomenon is probably rarely noted or evaluated; of course, it does receive negative evaluation in more formal speech contexts.

Management in the Friendship Domain

Parties

In the 1990s, individualism was apparent in surveys. Only 24% of Czechs responded negatively to the suggestion that 'one can never be sufficiently careful in dealing with others'; the European average was 31% (Možný, 2002). Large-scale 'parties', which to some extent took over from the highbrow salons, were not the general pattern for socialisation with others. (This phenomenon was at least partly the consequence of the occupation during WWII and the following 'socialist' period when meetings in private houses were considered politically suspicious.) With regard to language, this fact implies that management of language (i.e. topics, variety used, etc.) lacks networks in which it could develop.

Whenever such language management is needed, it is left to isolated individuals to develop. Automation of communication does not take place easily.

In the two-couple party recorded in Müllerová *et al.* (1992), (but not reproduced here because of its length), the lack of management of topics and networks is apparent. E1 is unrestricted in dominating the floor in the first part of the recording. Other participants only gloss on her topics. The theme of the second part of the recording (food) is introduced by E1's husband S. The part commences with a little bit of a dialogue, but subsequently the floor is taken by H who presents a story. Both E1's and H's topics go unchallenged for long periods of time. There are few questions and little exchange of information or opinion. Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 44) explain the lack of interruption and response as an attempt to maintain harmony within the group; hence, a management device. There is enough humour in the conversation, which can be considered a part of the Czech conversation set, again a management strategy – positive politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987) – to maintain the smooth relationship of the participants. As in the grandmother's narrative referred to earlier, there is a large amount of indeterminacy of expression, proof that expression problems are present at the discourse level.

Without further empirical work, it is difficult to generalise about the power relationships in the friendship domain. However, it seems that on the whole participants are equal. The domination of the floor by E1 and H in the conversation just cited is unlikely to have been affected by their social status. The friendship situational set seems to require in Czech that solidarity with equal status is applied, a condition that leads to the use of the *ty* address.

The 'ty' ritual

An interesting instance of management in friendship discourse is the ritual through which speakers shift their *vy* ('you', corresponding to French *vous*) usage to *ty* ('you', corresponding to French *tu*) (see Skwarska, 2001, mainly for Polish, but also mentioning Czech). A ritual is needed because the change affects an important strategy within a situational set. The ritual is usually initiated by a senior or superior, and probably male in relation to female. Power is needed to achieve this important task. Our field notes contain the following example:

J (male, approx. 45), L (female, approx. 30, co-worker)

J: *Netykáme my si už?* 'Don't we use *ty* yet?'

L: *Ne.* (smiles, looks embarrassed) 'No.'

J: *Tak já jsem Jirka.* (offers his handshake) 'Well, I am Jirka.'

L: *Lenka.* (accepts the handshake) 'Lenka.'

J: *Tak ahoj.* 'So, hi.'

L: *Ahoj.* 'Hi.'

(The conversation proceeds, *ty* is used hereafter.)

The ritual consists of giving one's first name, a handshake and an informal greeting *ahoj*, which is incompatible with *vy* but compatible with *ty*. What appears to be a matter of momentary decision is often a result of careful consideration, which may include all pre-implementation stages of the management process.

Management in the Education Domain

Communication in school situations has been at the centre of attention of Czech social psychologists, and in connection with the advent of communicatively oriented linguistics (Helbig, 1991) it began to be studied also by Czech linguists and educationalists. Svobodová (2000) writes about a number of problems she noted in the interaction of teachers and pupils in primary schools (particularly in Years 1–4). Her list of ‘retarding and blocking factors’ of school communication is comprehensive (pp. 90–92). It is particularly remarkable that the participant responsible for most problems seems to be the teacher, who holds a considerable amount of power. Teachers introduce the following problems:

- (1) Often they act in an excessively dynamic way, changing the stimuli addressed to the pupils too quickly, while sometimes remaining too slow and dull to raise the pupils’ interest.
- (2) They talk too much and consequently move the pupil into the role of a passive observer. The pupil’s speech is interrupted, with the teacher’s talk sometimes overlapping with the pupil’s.
- (3) The communicative attitude of the teacher is too emotional.
- (4) The teacher uses constructions unfamiliar to the pupil, constructions such as *dám si to do tašky* ‘I’ll put it to the bag’ instead of ‘put it in your bag’, infinitive constructions such as *psát a nemluvit* ‘to write, and not to talk’ instead of the daily-life ‘write and don’t talk’ or the elliptical *sešity na kraj* ‘note books to the side (of your desks)’.
- (5) There is much formal and unnatural language, and of hypercorrection in the speech of the teachers. The use of the Standard in the classroom is a question much debated among educationalists (cf. Brabcová, 1996; Čechová, 1996).
- (6) One of the most important problems cited by Svobodová is the ‘highlighting of the status of the teacher and her controlling role (prohibitions and commands)’. A typical feature is the high frequency of the word *já* ‘I’.

The rules that govern the teacher’s behaviour are rules of the normal classroom situational set. Svobodová claims that they present problems for the pupils and this may well be so. In any case, as the pupils advance through their educational career, they become acquainted with this set. In Years 1–4, they are still unaccustomed to them.

Changes in educational situation sets

In postmodern societies, interaction in classrooms is being managed to remove from the situational sets the emphasis on the power of the teacher and of the teaching institution. The teacher’s desk grows smaller. Student’s desks and chairs can move freely within the classroom, and there is no fixed seating order. Teachers (usually at upper levels) can emphasise their closeness to the students by initiating reciprocal address (in English by using first names). The beginnings of this process are only being experienced in the Czech Republic in a few private ‘experimental’ schools. The arrangement of the classroom space is traditional. The distance between teachers and pupils is considerable; at primary schools pupils are addressed with the *ty* forms, while they are expected to respond with

the polite *vy*. However, at the secondary school level, some teachers combine the first name of the student with the *vy* forms (*Viktore, pojd'te k tabuli*. 'Victor, come (a *vy* form) to the blackboard'). Unlike Patočka (2000: 81), who considers this pattern as recent, the authors have registered it as early as the beginning of the 1970s.

The situational set of communication at Czech universities is also distant from the postmodern pattern. The students may be seated around a single table if the class is small; however, the teacher may occupy any place according to his or her liking, and address is reciprocal at the *vy* level. Cases have been recorded when young tutors exchanged *ty* forms with their students, but this behaviour has been overtly noted and adjustment required by the head of department. This process demonstrates that change in the situational sets is imminent. However, at present it is expected that students communicate the higher status of the teacher through topical, non-verbal, and other means, even if, in this practice, they are normally allowed a considerable degree of latitude. Teachers teaching within the same department exchange *vy* forms unless they have already established the *ty* usage in other situations. University students have used reciprocal *ty* to each other since the 1950s. The teacher/student power relationship clearly favours the teachers, and the linguistic reciprocity (the use of *vy* forms) is not sufficient to disguise this fact.

Children of refugees

The normal communicative routines at schools have recently been disrupted by the arrival of people from the Afganistan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, India, Moldova, Romania, Ukraine, or Vietnam who were applying for refugee status or work visas. While only 1500 applied for residence in 1995, in 2001 the number exceeded 15,000. This increase also implies an influx of foreign children into Czech schools, which are communicatively unprepared for it. Neither are the Czech children who are expected to accept these children into their friendship networks. The Ministry of Education did not start thinking about the problems involved until the end of the 1990s. However, the government is mainly concerned with the socioeconomic aspects of this type of migration and pays minimal attention to its communicative impact. A positive development is that linguists have started to be interested in intercultural communication problems within the education domain. (For details see Zimová, 2001.)

Management in the Work Domain

In the 1990s, the concept of 'economic management' replaced other leading concepts in Czech companies (Bozděchová, 1997), and this change entailed changes in modes of communication. The communication situational set changed. Managers at various levels now had to defend their views. They had to speak to people and had to be able to 'sell' what they have brought with them to meetings. Communication problems within companies have become one of the most important issues at the present time.

Example of a meeting

A meeting within a company has been presented in Müllerová *et al.* (1992). The

company was a large enterprise that engaged in engineering and consultation assistance to other companies, and the subject of the meeting was a nuclear electricity plant. There were seven men, aged between 40 and 60, with a 57-year-old chairman. The set included informal speech, all participants exchanging *ty* and first names, and using a great quantity of specialised terminology. The chairman exercised clear leadership, due to his expertise in the subject matter. His authoritativeness sometimes verged on criticism, as when he rebuffed one of his colleagues by saying:

A: *Hele Pavle. Tady se, ty se musíš na to, ty se musíš zase trochu jaksi voprostit . . .*
 'Look, Pavel, here, you must in that regard, you must again somehow liberate yourself from . . .' (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 158, transcription simplified)

As noted by Müllerová *et al.* (1992), these and other problems probably went unnoticed. Due to the complicated syntax and terminology, as well as the routinised semantics, little of the conversation can be understood by outsiders without translation. However, the authors correctly conclude that such apparent problems should not necessarily lead to language management from the outside. Currently, there is much talk of placing language consultants in large companies: such a staff addition may be beneficial in considering the style of forms and correspondence, of manuals, of public relations and of many other aspects of communication. However, language management need not meddle with those areas of communication which function in a satisfactory way without the intrusion of the linguist (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 171); in other words, when no problems are decoded by participants in the situations.

Communication in joint ventures

The period after 1989 was marked by the appearance of a number of joint ventures – mostly German–Czech, but sometimes also American–Czech or French–Czech – in the economy of the Czech Republic. Some of these ventures have been controlled by foreign companies. Even though the economic contributions of these enterprises have been substantial, their day-to-day operation is not without problems and some of these problems concern communication. Normally, these enterprises are managed by foreign managers, but the majority of employees at all levels are Czechs. Problems that appear in these companies are often interpreted as originating in different cultural standards, but many of them are connected with the use of language in intra-company communication (Nekula, 2002a). The socioeconomic dominance of foreign managers is reinforced by their communicative dominance. Managers normally communicate with their subordinates in their own first language and expect acknowledgement of this pattern from their subordinates. Subordinate managers and others do accept the situational pattern imposed on them by the foreign managers, but they are not always able to comply satisfactorily with the imposed set in interaction. The resulting avoidance and interactional errors are sometimes interpreted by foreign managers as passivity, lack of talent, submissiveness or other similar behaviour. Even though large companies such as Škoda-Volkswagen (15,000 employees) arrange courses in Czech for their 'visiting' managers, such courses are not welcome. Language has not merely a practical but also a symbolic value.

German (or English) symbolise management, in other words power, while Czech is symbolic of the actual manufacturing work. Since foreign managers cannot speak Czech, and their Czech subordinates possess only little or no knowledge of the foreign language involved, interpreters are used. Apart from being expensive, this mode of communication further confirms the differential status of the languages used (Nekula, 2002a).

Needless to say, no one is interested in the production of problems or in the construction of a long-term boundary between foreign and Czech employees. In the Škoda-Volkswagen plant, it is apparent that foreign as well as local employees systematically avoid the use of ethnic categories such as 'German' or 'Czech' in conversation, while emphasising their professional identity and association with a 'supranational' enterprise (Nekvapil, 1997b).

Management in Public Domain

Language of politics

As Hlavsová (1997) points out, within the political system of the pre-Velvet Revolution period, most speeches were recitations of scripted texts. On-the-spot public speaking was virtually unknown; after 1989, this practice resulted in the lack of preparation to engage in public speaking among politicians. In a survey cited by Hlavsová (1997), close to 50% of respondents claimed that they would refuse a public position in view of their inability to appear in the public and formulate their thoughts on the spot. The ability to structure a situation cannot easily be transferred from other situations. Hlavsová quotes an actress turned member of Parliament who could hardly control nervousness when she spoke on the floor of the Parliament. Of course, many politicians, such as the later Prime Minister Miloš Zeman, were 'born' speakers from the outset. One of the components of the situational set that was difficult to master was the use of Standard (as opposed to Common) Czech.

The situational set has been noted and negatively evaluated by some sensitive speakers. President Havel claimed that he was astonished to find how television forced him to embody thought into short sentences, into *bons mots*, slogans and exclamations, and 'how easily my television image differs from my real self' (Hlavsová, 1997).

Obviously, not all features of linguistic behaviour in the political domain are evaluated negatively. Some vocabulary of Havel's discourse, such as *smysluplný* 'meaningful' or *sebestřednost* 'self-centredness' have become fashionable words.

Language of law and administration

Language in situations that belong to this area shares the problem of many other languages: the problem that has been referred to when 'plain language movements' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 74) are discussed. This is at least partly a new issue. Before the 1990s, in Czechoslovakia law was an area of little importance and government required less elaboration. Kraus (1997b) refers to the recent fear of bureaucracy and the disrespect for legal regulations; there is a fear of problems originating in the new complicated language of law and administration. The quality of legal language, he claims, is low; texts are difficult to understand and ambiguous (p. 292). The problem is not one deriving from the reader.

In 1996 the ambiguity of legal texts was defended by Judge Varvařovský of the Constitutional Court, who emphasised the overall sense and purpose of each act against the meaning of individual words or sentences. As Kraus (1997a) observes, this principle, while being unable to disambiguate particular documents, can lead to complete disregard for the quality of administrative and legal texts.

Kraus (1997a) has also noted that, among those who discussed the problem, too much attention was being paid to problems of orthography. He emphasised that in agreement with discussions in other countries, the problem of legal language should be conceived widely, including semantic issues and issues of the structuring of content in general, rather than simple attention to problems of language in the narrow sense of the word.

Management in the Cultural Domain

Science and humanities

This subdivision of the cultural domain contains both written language (papers, reports, etc.) and spoken language (lectures, conferences, discussions, teaching, etc.) situations. According to Daneš (1997b), two features have characterised the structuring of such situations so far:

- (1) a high level of modal expressions, and
- (2) the laxness of composition patterns (an essay type prevails).

In other words, Czech science communication has so far belonged to the 'Teutonic intellectual style' as defined by Galtung (1981). This state of affairs is currently changing with the operation of adjustment strategies that are converting the system to approximate the Anglo-American style, and this leads to the emergence of communication problems.

There have been suggestions by individual scientists that, within the situational set for Czech academic life, English entirely replace Czech. As Daneš argues (1997b), this is not a realistic proposition. Czech, at present, serves as a tool within academic situations perfectly well. While there are contact situations in which English or other languages have traditionally been used, there are others, such as local conferences or publications for wider readership, as well as tertiary education situations, where the use of Czech is natural. No doubt, the mastering of Anglo-American situational sets (including, e.g. the spoken language, immediate and idiomatic reaction to others in discussion, formulae for chairing academic meetings, etc.), in which Czechs lag behind academics from systems where the English situational set is used, remains on the program of the day. However, such patterns should not necessarily *replace* the Czech ones.

It is interesting to note that during the 40 years when Czechoslovakia belonged to the Soviet camp, the language of Czech science has held the fort against a possible invasion of Russian. As in the language at large, no major influence has taken place in this register.

Literature

Literature represents an important set of language acts. Existing situational sets – ways of approaching the creation and consumption of literary works – are

changing constantly, and these changes belong to the most important management processes. Literature is the laboratory of language. Čmejrková (1997a) has accounted for one of the recent changes, the change towards postmodern literature. She outlines the strategies of heterogeneity, fragmentation, interruption, conflict of elements, orientation toward detail, variation, paraphrase and many others. These are initially management strategies that create new literature. As they become the standard fare in Czech literature, their status as management strategies weakens, eventually to disappear completely.

Media

Behaviour in media situations is subject to a number of clusters of strategies. With a radical change in the political system after 1989, the system was altered and it was often felt that anarchy prevailed – that journalists were unable to work with the sources of information and in the process of formatting them for transmission to the public (Bartošek, 1997). The newly established tabloid press and private television channels seemed to give unlimited freedom to journalists. This situation, to a large extent, still survives. In language matters, the norm has been relaxed, both with regard to the type of variety (Common Czech elements are frequently used) and spelling.

However, not all changes that followed 1989 should be evaluated negatively. The media have become interconnected and assumed the form of dialogical networks (Leudar & Nekvapil, 2004). Television discusses what has been reported in the press and vice versa. The media began to be used for ‘discussions’ between politicians who had never met. In this way, a politician can express his views without actually having acknowledged his opponents as valid communicative partners. It is also necessary to concede what has already been accepted as obvious – the new post-communist political discourse. This discourse had to be introduced, and in the process the media had the lion’s share. One can easily observe how this change from the old to the new discourse proceeded through a complex and extended series of acts of language management (Nekvapil, 1997c). Not only did journalists stop using expressions embedded in communist ideology, but they also began to use the language of new ideologies. In the following example, the journalist works on a change in attitude to the word *kapitalismus* which, prior to 1989, had an utterly negative connotation shared by communists and most other intellectuals. It was difficult to use the word in reference to a positively evaluated social formation immediately after the Velvet Revolution.

Z toho marasmu, kam nás komunisté zatahli, nás může dostat jen systém, který je sice nedokonalý, ale nejlepší, který známe. Systém, který za léta dokázal svoji životaschopnost, který zaručuje občanům svobody, dodržování jejich práv i prosperitu. Má takové ošklivé jméno – kapitalismus.

There is only one system which can extricate us from the mess the communists got us into, a system that may be imperfect, but is the best one we know. A system which throughout the years of its existence has proved its vitality, and which guarantees freedom to the citizens, the observance of their rights, and prosperity. It has an ugly name – capitalism. (Lidové noviny, 28 November 1990)

Book/periodicals reading situations

According to the OECD Adult Literacy Survey (Literacy, 2000), more than 70% of Czech adults claimed that they read one or more books monthly. In this respect, the Czech Republic was second after New Zealand, in the same over 70% group as Ireland, Germany and Australia. In the 1990s, the number of titles published in Czech increased from 3767 to 12,551; and book loans in libraries also increased (Možný, 2002). The growth was paralleled in the publication of periodicals. This trend means that written language was well represented, and the situations of its use in reading provided management models for both writing and for the use of the Standard in speaking (see Standard and Common language in Part III). Since the Standard has remained unsupported by religious situations (see the following section) or by formal communication at parties (see previous section), this modelling probably played an important role in management towards the use of the Standard in general. The high viewing rate of television (the Czech Republic ranked 4th out of 18 OECD countries, Literacy, 2000), which on the whole uses the Standard, further reinforced the same trend. An analogous support of the Standard can be seen in the recovery of the Czech theatre after 1993 (Možný, 2002).

Religion

Sociological surveys conducted during the 1990s confirmed that Czech society was the most secular in contemporary Europe. Only 39% of respondents in surveys claimed belief in God; no other European country showed figures below 50%, with the European average being 77%. Similarly, only 6.6% of Czechs belonged to a religious association as against 71.5% of Swedes (Možný, 2002). This pattern leads to the low functional load of religious situations with the result that religious discourse was a very marginal phenomenon. On this ground, the remaining role of the language of the religious canon (the Bible) as a model for individual or social language management was lost. Religious language has not served as a management model, either in its individual lexical features or in the stylistic values it carries.

Management in Contact Situations

A distinction that cuts across all domains is that of native and contact situations. Contact situations are situations in which contact between different cultures takes place. This contact can be between different varieties within the same culture (as in the case of the culture associated with different genders, regional groups or social strata), but normally the term is reserved for ethnically different culture. Problems in contact situation do not affect problems of grammatical competence (traditional 'language') alone; they extend to non-grammatical communicative competence (such as selection of content or non-verbal communication) and sociocultural competence (what people think or actually do). Although interaction problems also occur in native situations, contact situations are characterised by their special density (Neustupný, 1985).

In the Czech Republic there are internal ethnic groups in the case of which we do not expect other problems than problems of grammatical competence (e.g.

the German community). In communication with members of the Slovak community, non-verbal communication problems may occasionally appear, although they may be covert for most participants. Non-grammatical communication problems among the Vietnamese in contact with the matrix community have been extensively discussed in Part III. However, the most difficult problems are encountered in communication with the Roma; owing to visibility of these problems, the matter is serious. This fact notwithstanding, no research has been conducted on such issues to date. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the Roma follow different sociocultural behaviour, communicate differently, and demonstrate considerable differences in their use of grammatical competence as well.

Although there is variation with some Roma operating at a very small distance from the matrix community, many do engage in sociocultural behaviour that greatly diverges from the matrix norms. This sociocultural behaviour is connected by Czech participants with their non-grammatical communicative behaviour: the Roma form networks differently, they raise different topics and engage in different non-verbal behaviour. Many Czechs believe that the Roma do not smile or laugh, and possess no sense of humour. However, anyone who knows the Roma culture through their narratives or proverbs will disagree. Of course, laughter is a component of non-verbal communication that is most easily affected in contact situations. These differences in sociocultural and non-grammatical communicative behaviour create serious barriers between the Roma and the matrix community.

Czechs and foreigners in external contact situations

Not all Czechs possess the competence to communicate in foreign languages (see Part III). Among those who do, many command the knowledge of more than one. Some foreigners are surprised that, apart from English, Czechs are also relatively competent in German. Since the memory of WWII has not been completely erased, many Czechs of the older generation react more favourably to being addressed in English than German, which was the symbol of political domination and is currently a function of the German economic expansion in the Czech Republic. However, German tourists are of great importance for the country, and it is probably the current tourist situation, rather than the past contact with the Germans, that contributes to Czech competence in the language.

At the present time, quite a few foreigners, mainly North Americans and Germans who are resident in the country, try to communicate in Czech. However, Czechs are still unused to others speaking Czech and tend to respond in their English or German that may be at a level lower than the Czech of the foreigner (see Crown, 1996). This is one of the reasons why foreigners mark Czechs as communicatively arrogant.

In contact situations that employ English, the use of first names in English conversation according to the strategies common in English is monitored, if not avoided. This fact has also been confirmed by Sherman (2001). In Czech-German enterprises directed by German managers, Czech speakers have reported that it is difficult to switch to *du*-forms (German equivalents of the Czech *ty* forms). Furthermore, if the switch to *du*-forms is executed, it has fewer communicative

and sociocultural concomitants than the use of *ty* forms in native Czech situations (Nekula, 2002a).

Problems of Situations: A Summary

The use of language in individual communicative situations involves language problems. Such language problems certainly occur in the Czech Republic. What is problematic in the case of situations is not only the selection of a particular variety of language. There are many other rules that occur in clusters – each cluster being symptomatic of a situation.

While we reviewed individual situations, it has been repeatedly confirmed that the world of Czech communication changed radically in the 1990s, when the domination of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union came to an end. Many problems have been solved, and many have persisted. Of course, new problems appeared that are unconnected to the past.

Within the daily life domain, in particular in the context of services, there has been a change from the power of the distributors of services and goods to the power of the consumer. This change required an additional change in the whole structure of politeness, of topics, of non-verbal communication and of other strategies inherent in the situational set. Not all problems have been managed to the satisfaction of all participants; one of the tasks for future research will be to determine in what direction and how the power-oriented changes should proceed further.

In the family domain, new problems stand out. It will be necessary to watch in what way the situational set will stabilise in communication between members of various generations.

In education, it is obvious that some teachers and other participants are unhappy about the teacher-authority-guided situational set; in other words, participants in the educational process note, evaluate and suggest adjustment. This is not unlike the process that can be observed in other societies. A number of communication strategies are likely to change, and the educational situation will never be the same again. Among the other problems within this domain, the need to adjust education in the case of children of refugees and other foreigners has been noted. To what extent will the expansion of the EU affect this issue? After many years of seclusion, the Czech Republic has opened itself to the world, and situations of contact are not only characteristic for the service sector but also for all other domains of communication.

The work domain is not without problems. The problem of the shift of power between superiors and subordinates is prominent here as well. Situations involving joint ventures, where a number of issues are awaiting solution, have been explored. What matters there is not only the language used as the vehicle of communication but the full set of communicative strategies used in individual situations of contact.

The language of politics satisfies few people. One additional problem not mentioned in the previous discussion is the problem of how to speak about the preceding political system, 'communism' – a task in which few people can manage to the satisfaction of many others. The same applies to the political events of November 1989 – was it 'revolution', 'coup' or something else? Problems are also legion in legal and administrative situations. Nevertheless, this is

not to suggest that the situation in the Czech Republic is particularly grave. Similar issues exist everywhere. And in many countries of the former Soviet bloc, including Russia, the situation is not much different.

One intriguing question is what has previously been called the indeterminacy of expression. If the existence of this phenomenon is confirmed in further studies that employ a comparative background, this phenomenon should become an area of active management. However, as in other cases, there should be no intervention of organised management except when it supports simple management that grows from a grass roots setting.

PART V: MANAGEMENT OF FUNCTIONS, SETTING, PARTICIPANTS, CONTENT, FORM AND CHANNELS

Problems in Functions

How are problems concerning functions of interaction managed in the Czech Republic? Traditionally speech was supposed to possess only a single function: communicative. Roman Jakobson, on the basis of his Prague School experience, went far beyond this simple view of language (Jakobson, 1960). However, there are more functions, of which Peter Robinson listed an impressive range (Robinson, 1972). Obviously, any classification of functions can be further detailed and reformulated, but language management theory is interested in functions, or whole groups of functions, that have not previously been considered. Only a few of these functions can be mentioned in this monograph.

The communicative function

The communicative function of speech is one that has received much attention. In a way this is only natural. Language is a tool of communication and, if it does not fulfil its function to transfer messages, management takes place. It must be emphasised that the communicative function of language is the basic one. In the 19th century, the Czech Revival movement (see Part III) instituted a language management process that, among other aims, served the purpose of facilitating communication. Adjustment was sought in two basic directions: one represented status management (the effort to elevate Czech to the status of a 'national' language) while the other lay in the sphere of corpus management, the development and elaboration of the Czech language. The first adjustment was necessary because there were too many Czechs for whom German, the language of the Viennese state, was not a satisfactory tool to convey messages: they lacked sufficient competence in the language. The second adjustment arose from the fact that Czech was not a multifunctional language at that time, lacking the means for communicating a number of contexts. Of course, other functions played an important role in the Revival; e.g. the function of symbolising the quality of Czech culture or the function of creating networks for developing Czech industrial production. Any language management fulfils a plurality of functions rather than a single function at a time.

When the communicative function of speech is not fulfilled, miscommunication occurs. In Czech (as well as in other languages), claims of miscommunication resulting from speech variation – e.g. dialectal variation –

occur but are frequently exaggerated. In reality, native speakers do not note most of the potential problems because they use guessing strategies, or because they supplement meaning from the situation; they do not necessarily expect perfect comprehension. Miscommunication does take place in the case of communication between Czechs and members of other communities. As noted in Part III, in listening to Slovak, lack of effective communication can take place, but how often such lack of communication actually occurs is not known. Discourse examples of Vietnamese speakers with poor linguistic competence in the matrix language were cited. In the case of Vietnamese vendors, adjustment takes place in the form of negotiation of meaning, but such negotiation only happens when it is indispensable to the transaction. Otherwise, the communicative function is not perceived as threatened. In the description of the German community, examples were cited of individuals who clearly perceived the problem of the communicative function and implemented adjustment.

In the Czech situation, the communicative function is frequently discussed as the object of management in the case of foreign languages. The study of foreign languages, which is an important form of language management, has primarily been based on communicative needs. A relatively small community such as the Czech Republic cannot survive without a knowledge of foreign languages.

In Part IV, in the section concerning contact situations with foreigners, it was pointed out that frequently the bare message was at stake (communicative function); however, together with the content that was endangered there were also covert messages about the speaker (presentation of self) as well as messages about his/her intentions and attitudes which were negatively evaluated. This information is important not only for communication with short-term visitors but also for communication with members of other communities within the Czech Republic. This is particularly true of members of communities classified, at the beginning of Part II, as the 'Outer group' (i.e. Roma, Vietnamese, Chinese, etc.). In the case of Romani speakers, the problems of understanding are affected by switch-on of communication, by topics, by communicated intent, and by other non-grammatical rules of communicative competence.

The symbolic function

Not all functions of speech can be discussed here; however, among the remaining functions at least the 'symbolic' and the 'bridging' functions require a comment. Czech acquired the symbolic function early in its history, as the Czech community struggled for leadership against the newly arriving German element. Czech was a particularly important symbol of Czech ethnicity throughout the 19th century (and again during WWII). Emotional attachment to fixed language creations, such as works of literature or folk songs, provides proof of ongoing management.

The symbolic function frequently appears as an object of management in connection with purism. In Czech, management based on purism was strong during the 19th century, and it survived into the 20th century until it was overturned by the work of the Prague Linguistic Circle (see Part VI). This purism was of course perceived broadly as strengthening the 'Czechness' of the language, rather than as being simply a quest to eliminate German and other loans (Neustupný, 1989a). A weak form of purism existed under Communist Party

rule, not only with respect to the possible influence of English, but in relation to any other foreign elements. This puristic view was also supported by the social function of language: language should be comprehensible to all social strata, but loans from other languages favoured the intellectual class. Any kind of this remaining weak purism disappeared as early as the 1980s and certainly after 1989. It is necessary to point out this fact, since some proximate languages – in particular Hungarian – retain strong puristic management strategies up to the present time (see Medgyes & Miklósy, 2000).

Standard Czech, as opposed to Common Czech, has not only become a vehicle of communication (communicative function) but has also become a symbol of social status. It was a language best acquired by the upper and middle classes, and it symbolised class membership at least until 1948, when the takeover of the state by the Communist Party destroyed the existing class structure. In this sense, a revival of the pre-1948 situation took place after 1989. In Part III, the example was cited of politicians, such as Václav Havel, who switched from a style leaning toward Common Czech to one leaning toward the Standard language. This switch was not undertaken because the morphological elements of Common Czech in his speech were unsuitable to carry the meaning he wanted to convey, but because of the higher status of the Standard.

Regional varieties of language can fulfil a symbolic function in that they provide speakers with a symbol of belonging to a particular community; however, in Czech, the function is not very strong. As noted in Part III, in the section on Dialects, regional accent is expected in internal networks, for example in the family (where it becomes the symbol of unity), and perhaps in the friendship domain. It does not appear to be widely used as a symbol in external networks. On the contrary, management works towards purging regional accent from one's speech.

Although the need to communicate has provided a very strong motivation for the study of foreign languages, there have also been other motivations. After the Velvet Revolution, English was perceived as a symbol of the 'free world'. This function supported the teaching and use of English. On the other hand, in the case of Russian there was a negative motivation: Russian was the language of the former oppressors, and studying it served as a symbol of a wish to return to the Soviet dominated society. A similar fate had, of course, afflicted German in the years immediately following WWII.

The bridging function

Language is a 'bridge' that connects the nodes of various networks. Language management in the Czech Republic does perform this social function. For non-Czech communities, Czech serves as the link to the matrix society, its culture and ideology. Czech, even if not the native language, thus becomes the vehicle of sociocultural assimilation. The ongoing process of assimilation in the Czech Republic is due exactly to this function. It cannot be neutralised unless bridges are established through community languages to other centres. Except for a narrow bridge to Poland and recently to Germany, at the present moment no such connections have been in operation.

Among foreign languages, English serves as a highway along which not only neutral messages but also thought, ideology, and social attitudes are transferred.

English thus serves as a vehicle of what Phillipson (1992) called linguistic imperialism. Admittedly, there is a possibility that English will, for the Czech Republic, become just an uncommitted international language, but at present its presence does favour the creation of networks with the USA, Britain and the world of globalisation that is controlled by those societies. French might become a counterweight, but it does not receive much attention in the Czech Republic. Perhaps the fact that German is presently highly valued should be positively evaluated; however, those who remember the past domination by Germany hesitate to reinforce the language precisely because they feel that connections with German networks should not constitute a preferred option. Admittedly, German also builds bridges to countries such as Switzerland, and this aspect is evaluated positively in the Czech Republic. Communication highways do not only favour the transport of culture and ideology; they also serve as a very active means for the transport of economic relations. This fact provides another reason why the 'bridging function' of language needs proper attention in language management.

Problems in Settings

Settings implicate time and space to the extent that these factors are governed by culture-specific strategies. For example, people may refrain from telephoning others after 10 pm, which is certainly the case in the Czech Republic, or from talking to others when meeting them casually in the street. Times and places are strictly set (this is sometimes referred to as 'appointments') and interaction is usually unsuccessful unless the setting strategies are adhered to.

The data collected by Müllerová *et al.* (1992) show problems with regard to settings in the case of people who call the fire-brigade concerning things in which the fire-brigade is not the appropriate agency; e.g. the hot water supply being interrupted, the lift breaking down, a person locking him/herself out of his/her apartment, etc. A similar problem of settings occurs in the case of shopping. A shopper is rudely turned down when he requires merchandise that is sold in a different department (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 70). In fact, there is a management routine to establish whether a place is appropriate for a particular inquiry or action. Such a routine is one type of pre-sequences through which speakers test whether basic conditions for a verbal act are satisfied. For example, at a reception desk at institutions which normally require permission to enter or an appointment, speakers typically check whether a person or an institution is located in the area.

C: *Prosím vás, sídlí tady ještě finance?* 'Excuse me, is the financial department still located here?'

S: *Ano, zapište se mně, jo? Do knihy návštěv.* 'Yes, write your name down in the guest book, OK?' (from Nekvapil, 2000e)

Unless a pre-sequence is employed, further management can take place. In the Czech Republic, checks at entrances to buildings are common. On the other hand, appointments in offices are not strictly required; for example, the immigration department is known for queues that may or may not lead to success.

Participants

In communication, many participants take part. They perform various func-

tions and their position is often unequal. Part II presented a categorisation of communication participants in the territory of the Czech Republic from the ethnic point of view. At this point, a few more observations on some other categories of participants are provided.

Gender in language

In some languages, particularly in English, gender has become an important target of language management. Speakers note, evaluate and adjust language used differently by/to male or female speakers, or about male or female speakers.

Czech is full of gender – that is, full of grammatical gender, which may or may not refer to ‘natural gender’. *Muž* ‘man’ is male, while *žena* ‘woman’ is female. In this case a natural gender distinction parallels the grammatical one. As Čmejková (2002) has recently pointed out, there is a whole series of nouns in which the relationship between the natural and grammatical gender is more complicated. On the other hand, there are cases in which the natural gender plays no role at all. If *počítač* ‘computer’ is male while *lampa* ‘desk lamp’ is female, gender fulfils only a grammatical role and is only perceived when the nouns are personified (if that ever happens). This type of gender classification (*počítač* vs. *lampa*) is characteristic for the vast majority of nouns, unless they are neuter – the third major gender category. All adjectives also possess masculine, feminine or neuter forms, and these are used according to the grammatical gender of the noun to which they refer. Among the verbal forms it is the past participle, in particular, which distinguishes gender. While the present tense form *jdu* ‘I go’ is genderless, the past tense, which uses the participle, is either masculine (*šel jsem* ‘I went’ (m.)) or feminine (*šla jsem* ‘I went’ (f.)). Thus, although the pronoun *já* ‘I’ and *ty* ‘you’ are genderless, and only the 3rd person distinguishes gender, in all past tense forms, whether the pronoun is used or not, the gender distinction is clearly communicated.

Within this situation there are multiple ways in which gender can be considered as a discrimination factor. Čmejková (1997b) highlights three cases. First, as in English and other European languages, there is the ‘he’ and ‘she’ problem, especially when a mixture of male and female participants is in question. As in English, the masculine form dominates. The second case involves the derivation of feminine forms from masculine nouns (Čmejková, 1995, 1997b). In English, too, some nouns which refer to male subjects are the base from which feminine nouns are derived (poet poetess), but in Czech the number is much greater; for example, *čtenář* (m.) and *čtenářka* (f.) ‘reader’, or *ministr* (m.) and *ministryně* (f.) ‘minister (of state)’. Third, there is the case of a predicate that refers to multiple subjects. If there is more than one subject and these subjects do not agree in gender, it is the masculine gender that prevails. If one refers to a mixture of *čtenář* ‘reader (m.)’ and *čtenářka* ‘reader (f.)’, the masculine form becomes the representative. It is necessary to realise that each of these nouns can generate a number of masculine or feminine forms in the same sentence because of the obligatory character of grammatical agreement. Hence, the consequences are far-reaching. Čmejková quotes an example constructed by the translator Pavel Eisner:

Její veličenstvo královna anglická a císařovna indická a řidič Pepa Žambourek

vypadli z vozu. 'Her Highness the Queen of England and Empress of India and her driver, Pepa Žambourek, fell out of the car.'

The difference in status between the Queen and her driver notwithstanding, the past tense *vypadli* 'fell out' has the masculine, not the feminine form. The fact is that, in contemporary Czech, the use of the masculine form to subsume feminine referents is virtually never noted or negatively evaluated. In other words, it hardly ever becomes a language problem.

As for possible adjustment, Čmejková (1995) quotes the sentence 'The reader is invited to find out for himself/herself about contrastive pragmatics on the basis of papers included in this volume' which, should the same strategy – using a slash – be applied, would read: *Čtenář/čtenářka je vyzýván/vyzývána, aby sám/sama odhalil/odhalila na základě příspěvků v tomto sborníku, co je kontrastivní pragmatika.* Čmejková concludes that the issue of gender discrimination may be different in languages such as English and Czech, and that the problem of discrimination may never arise in Czech in the same way as it did in English.

The current situation is certainly peaceful, but the question is whether or not this peacefulness will endure. The basic fact to be considered is that, at the end of the 1990s, the problem of gender discrimination was only weakly noted, or not noted, in areas other than language as well. When feminism (not necessarily a militant feminism) arrives, will it be possible to guarantee that it does not also transfer to language? For the time being, language management appears neither in cases where it can be assumed that language adjustment would be difficult (as in Čmejková's example), nor in cases where the solution would be easier (e.g. removing *slečna* 'Miss'). However, Čmejková herself recently writes *lingvisté a lingvistky* 'linguists (m.) and linguists (f.)' (2002: 263), and there are cases of language change where feminine derivatives from masculine nouns have recently been abandoned, and forms that are felt as masculine (e.g. *advokát* 'lawyer') are used in reference to both genders. Is this the same process as replacing 'poetess' by 'poet' or rather, hypothetically, Mrs by Mr (a change that may not have been considered yet)? It is interesting to note that the derivation of feminine forms from masculine nouns has recently also been weakened in the case of proper names through the permission that, under certain conditions (see section on Form, below), Czech wives of foreigners are not obliged to change their surname to the feminine form (they can legally be *Jiřina McRae*, rather than *McRaeová*).

Features of language do not become the object of language management, simple or organised, because of some intrinsic inadequacy, but rather because an inadequacy is projected into communication from the socioeconomic sphere. Gendered language existed in English for centuries but remained unnoted and unevaluated until the 1970s. In the case of gender in Czech, the stimulus may come from the natural growth of feminism on the home soil, from the influence of language management in other languages, or from a combination of both. Or, as Čmejková would have it, it may not come at all. In the meantime it is of interest that more and more attention is being accorded to gender distinctions in other Slavic languages as well (see van Leeuwen-Turnovcová *et al.*, 2002).

Participants' networks

Another issue related to participants is briefly mentioned: their networks. Networks are the arrangement of participants in communication. One can distinguish encounter networks, formed within a particular discourse situation, and group networks, consisting of participants who *usually* intercommunicate (Neustupný, 1978: 177).

Encounter networks can be hierarchically organised, with a pivot and marginal members of various kinds. For example, in the case of a traditional society, and in some formal situations in any society, the presence of a high status individual is strongly felt; this means that the status of participants is noted, and the way in which they 'conduct the network' may be evaluated. The authors believe that encounter networks are, at the present time, more formal than before the Velvet Revolution, or perhaps that there is a larger number of more formal networks, and that management within these networks takes place. The reevaluation of the attendant/customer status can be assumed to have initially taken place in individual encounter networks.

Group networks originate in encounter networks and are basically formed through their successive overlapping. In Part III it was argued that the Roma and the Vietnamese do not frequently form group networks with members of the matrix community. Management is needed. In the popular stereotype, it is always the other community that does not enter 'our' networks by choice. In fact, the problem is often whether or not an applicant is accepted into a network – networks often have no vacancies, especially no vacancies suitable for applicants who are deviant in some respect.

Content

Content strategies form a wide category reaching from themes of communication to the meaning of individual morphemes. All these categories simply cannot be covered in this brief discussion; only a selection will be used to show the varying ways in which content becomes a problem and is managed in the case of Czech.

Politeness: *ty* and *vy* and other address terms

Politeness (the communication of social distance, see Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming) is one of the important categories of content. A number of problems concerning the communication of politeness have already been discussed. The system of selection between *ty* 'you (French *tu*)' and *vy* 'you (French *vous*)' retains old features that are gradually being removed by simple management. However, in comparison with German, as spoken in Germany, more conservatism can be discerned (Ehlers & Knéřová, 1997). Jurman's survey (2001) indicates that rebuilding of the system through simple management is taking place. Consider, for example, the following discourse in which one of two female students addresses an unknown young man (about 20 years old).

... *mohli bysme se prosím tě zeptat, jak se dostanem na nádraží?* '... could we ask you [a *ty* form], please, how to get to the station?'

The address uses *tě* (a *ty* form), while in the traditional system, *vy* would be used.

In this case, the new address has probably been automatised, but it will be noted and possibly negatively evaluated by older speakers of Czech.

In simple management, other address modes have been managed. The address *soudruhu* 'comrade', frequently avoided (managed) even before 1989 (cf. Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming), all but disappeared. The New Year's speeches of all four of the communist presidents in the second half of the 20th century contained the word *drazí* 'dear' (emotional) which is unusual in these situations and probably resulted through interference from the Russian (*dorogie . . .*). President Havel started with *milí* 'dear' (close relationship) and subsequently switched to *vážení* 'dear' (respected) (Hlavsová, 1997).

Politeness in service encounters

Communication of politeness in service encounters has changed radically in the 1990s. Müllerová *et al.* (1992), who collected their data at the very beginning of the decade, cite examples such as the following:

- Cust.:** *Skládací pláštěnky igelitový, ty průhledný . . .*
'folding raincoats, polythene, those see-through . . .'
- Attnd.:** *Co chcete?*
'What do you want?'
Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 70, transcription simplified)

Here the attendant reacts to a request by a customer by *co chcete* which is exactly English 'what do you want', a form managed (negatively evaluated) in similar situations throughout the Soviet-dominated period, and close to extinction now.

Management has lifted the level of politeness in other public situations as well. In train conductors' language, the optional element *prosím* 'please' appears as in the following example:

- Cond.:** *Dobrá večer, změna průvodčích, kontrola jízdenek, prosím.* 'Good evening, change of conductors, control of tickets, please.'

The politeness level can be further raised if the conductor finds an opportunity to use a *vy* form at the same time, as in:

- C:** *Dobrá večer přeji, vaši jízdenku, prosím.* 'I wish you a good evening, your (*vy*-form) ticket, please.'

This way of communication with passengers has only become manifest after the Velvet Revolution of 1989 and reflects the linguistic management of the new relationship between service personnel and customers (for details see Nekvapil & Neustupný, forthcoming).

Public criticism of others

The expression of indignation and criticism by first-encounter participants in public situations still occurs but is managed (negatively evaluated) by many participants. For example:

- Moc si na mě, děvenko, nevyskakuj, nebo zavolám vedoucího.* 'Lass, don't talk back, or I'll call the manager' (an older man speaking in a shop to a young

cashier, the impolite mode of speech is reinforced by his use of *ty* rather than *vy*-forms) (Patočka, 2000: 29).

A similar case is criticism on the telephone recorded by Müllerová *et al.* (1992: 136). A fire-brigade telephone operator speaks with a customer:

Operator: *No jedině ty vodárny musíte zkoušet.* 'Well, just the waterworks, you must try again.'

Customer: *No ale když tam je to vyvěšený.* 'Well, but over there, their phone is disconnected.'

Operator: *Já za to nemůžu ale pane.* 'This is not my fault, sir'

The answer 'This is not my fault, sir' sounds critical in Czech and contradicts norms of polite conversation – as it probably does in any system of speech. This same telephonist uses an angry tone of voice and wording to other customers as well (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 130).

Linguistic conservatism

After 40 years of unsuccessful rule by the Communist Party, many speakers felt that the left-wing type of liberalism was undesirable. This extended to language management. In Part III, it has been stated that conservative attitudes appeared in the case of spelling. Furthermore, in the area of politeness, address using *ty* forms often gave way to address using the more formal *vy*, and titles reappeared.

Content analysis of the media

Only recently has Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) been applied to the analysis of content within the Czech media (Homoláč, 2002). Attention has been paid to the image of ethnic minorities in central Europe, in particular to the media image of the Roma. One of the aims of the project 'Presentations of Romanies in the Central European Media', which was discussed in Part II, was to furnish an alternative portrait of the Roma (Homoláč *et al.*, 2003). Although CDA frequently refers to covert problems that are not necessarily perceived by readers and listeners, it is an important tool for discovering social problems connected with the content of the media. Such problems can further be adjusted through organised management, for example in discussion evenings with journalists or experts. It should be noted, however, that, in the contemporary situation in the Czech Republic, an old-left position, sometimes occupied by CDA analysts, is reminiscent of the immediate past and is not necessarily welcome.

Form

The category 'form' (otherwise 'message form', 'frame', etc.) refers to the various ways of ordering content in the process of communication. This includes ordering in frames of varying extension – from the life-cycle, through discourse, to the order of elements within the sentence and below (Neustupný, 1995). In an extension to this definition, the category 'form' also includes the kind and ordering of phonemes within a naming unit (such as a morph or a proper name). At each of these levels, management occurs.

Sequential organisation of talk

Turn taking presents problems. Hlavsová (1997: 29, 38) points to turn taking as a major problem in political discussions. Perhaps the political situations within the public domain are more sensitive to the problem than other situations, but the problem occurs frequently in other domains as well. In recordings analysed by Müllerová *et al.* (1992), the problem of overlaps in speech and of attempts to take turns appear everywhere. In a conversation between a woman interested in restitution of her property (H) and a cooperative official (R), the official attempts to take a turn, but H continues with her plan, and only the third attempt by R is successful (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 125).

Similar to turn taking is the problem of when to answer the telephone; this matter is treated in another extract published in the same collection. The issue is after how many rings to pick up the telephone: one, two . . . or 20 (Müllerová *et al.*, 1992: 192).

Another problem occurs when engaging in a request (or another speech act); should one formulate the request straight away, or should one check whether suitable conditions for the request exist; in other words whether or not to use a pre-sequence. Research has shown that such considerations are well developed in Czech (Nekvapil, 1997a).

One-word name for the Czech Republic

This issue appeared as early as 1968, when the former Czechoslovak Republic officially became a federation of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic. While for the latter a one-word denomination (Slovakia) was traditionally available, there was no similar term for the former. The linguist J. Bělič proposed *Česko*, not as a new coinage but as a word that had already been used in 1777. This adjustment proposal resulted in an ardent discussion in the daily press. In principle, linguists were for it, while others in the community (journalists, writers, etc.) were against. However, in the following years, the federative system of Czechoslovakia remained on paper, so that the lack of a term for one of the components was not felt to be a serious problem (Hasil, 1999).

With the break-up of the former Czechoslovakia in 1993, the problem was resurrected – but now it was more urgent than before – it was not the name of a part of a state but the name of the country. The basis of the problem is that *Czech* is an adjective in Czech, as in other languages, and it cannot become a noun naming a country. The present day Czech Republic, corresponding to the historical territory of the Bohemian kings, was divided into *Čechy* 'Bohemia', 'Morava' 'Moravia' and *Slezsko* 'Silesia' (actually only a part of Silesia); although all three used what might be called 'dialects of spoken Czech' while using the same form of written Czech, they were in fact different fiefdoms, and there was no need for a name covering all of them beyond the title *země koruny české* 'countries of the Bohemian crown', or *české země* 'the Czech lands'. This attitude, though not supported by administrative boundaries, is still alive. Note that in English, in reference to ethnicity *Czech* is used, while in territorial reference *Bohemia* is used to refer to what in Czech is *Čechy* (i.e. the western part of the Czech Republic).

Following the break-up of Czechoslovakia, discussions flared up again, and Bělič's *Česko* reappeared. Linguists pointed out again that the word had a long

tradition, that its formation agreed with the rules of Czech, that it fit into a long chain of names of countries (*Rusko, Polsko, Srbsko . . .*). On the other side, the public claimed that the name was unusual, cacophonous, and lacked dignity. The difference from 1968 was that now everyone was convinced that a name should be found, because the existing situation was threatening the identity of the state. These views were strong in the camp of geographers and historians (Hasil, 1999). Nevertheless, the word *Česko* was rejected as the official name of the country. All this notwithstanding, the name *Česko* has penetrated the spoken language, but much less the written Czech, even if it can occasionally be seen in the press.

This problem also exists in other languages. In 1993, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs engaged in an act of language management by recommending to Czech embassies abroad to use *Czechia* in English, *Tschechien* in German, *Tchéquie* in French, *Chequia* in Spanish, *Cechia* in Italian, and *Čechija* in Russian. The Ministry also appended a list of names that are unsuitable. The list of unacceptable terms was most extensive for German: *Böhmen und Mähren, Böhmerland, Tschechenland* and, of course, *Tschechei* which was used pejoratively in WWII by the Nazis. The list of unacceptable terms further included: Eng. *Bohemia*, Fr. *Bohême*, It. *Boemia*, *Cecchia* and Sp. *Bohemia* or *Bohemoravia* (Hasil, 1999: 19). One of the authors of this monograph had the opportunity in 1993 to watch how language management was being conducted in the German media. Step by step, German media were abandoning *Tschechei* and adopting *Tschechien*. The usage was also difficult for Czechs, who were not certain how to describe their place of origin in German. A discourse management strategy common for many other discourse problems, namely avoidance, was frequently used in the form *ich bin aus Prag* 'I am from Prague'.

Management of place names

One important task of organised management was to change names of places (streets, squares and, exceptionally, even cities) which in 1989 were using names and other words based on communist ideology. This was one of the few areas of Czech in which the impact of the rule of the Communist Party and the Soviet occupation was profound. There were hundreds of Lenin or Marx Streets or Squares. On the basis of a survey conducted in the city Hradec Králové it is possible to estimate that approximately one-tenth of all place names had to be changed. These acts of management altered the naming of public space in a radical way, because the undesirable names mostly involved space that was central to the settlements. The adjustment strategies employed in many instances converted the old ideology into a new one. Hence there are hundreds of Masaryk Streets and Squares. The iconic strategy (calling a long street the Long Street, etc.) was only utilised to a limited extent (Nekvapil, 1996). On the other hand, one cannot claim that all proper names introduced by the old regime were changed. For instance, names of Russian scientists, musicians or painters were retained, even if they were attached to places in order to please the Soviet Union. There is a *Náměstí I.P. Pavlova* 'I.P. Pavlov Square' (Pavlov was a Russian scientist) in a central position in Prague. Hradec Králové retained place names using the personal names of communists who were victims of WWII and who had been born in the city.

The management of proper names

A new development in the legal and administrative domain is the regulation of the form of surnames. Contemporary Czech has established a strict practice to attach feminine endings to all female surnames that appear in Czech texts; e.g. Simone Beauvoire became *Beauvoirová*, Madelene Albright became *Albrightová*, Steffi Graff became *Graffová*. This created a problem in the case of Czech women married to foreigners, since the husband and wife had different surnames. According to a new law (No. 301 / 2001) surnames are still entered into the official register in the Czech form, but women who possess Czech citizenship and opt for a non-Czech ethnicity, can apply to have the foreign form of their surname (without *-ová*) also entered into the register. The woman must then declare which form she will use, and she is not permitted to use the other form. The conditions are very explicit:

- (1) Only Czech nationals can apply. A foreign woman who marries a Czech man and does not accept Czech citizenship cannot use her name in Czech contexts without *-ová*. (Note that the Czech marriage law allows women to keep their maiden surname on marriage.)
- (2) If the woman insists that she is ethnically Czech, she must accept the Czech form of her name with *-ová* attached. Certainly, ethnicity is a matter of declaration, so she can easily declare that she is for example Danish, but some people do not want to lie.
- (3) There is a relatively large fee required to change a name after the Czech name has already been registered (Zpráva, 2002: 15–16).

The legal regulations speak of the *-ová* ending as being in ‘agreement with the rules of Czech grammar,’ but this is a questionable claim. Such strict rules did not exist in the 19th century, and at least some native speakers of Czech feel that the *-ová* rule has a status different from the obligatory grammatical rules of Czech declension or conjugation. Certainly there are women who possess foreign nationality but who use Czech surnames without the *-ová* or other similar ending. Such a practice is not necessarily felt to be an abomination.

Channels

Channels refer to the various ways in which messages are transmitted. The basic media are the spoken, the written and the non-verbal. However, each of these can be further modified by the use of other devices; e.g. the printed language, telephones, tape recordings, video recordings, word processing and many other variants. Problems concerning channels originate in the use of these varying media and in transfer from one channel to another.

Electronic media

In the course of the 1990s, Czech society witnessed a radical diffusion of personal computers, used not only at work but also at home. The use of computers has been given considerable attention in schools, but towards the end of the 1990s, in comparison with west European countries, the situation was still alarming. The ratio in the schools was one computer for 40 students, a figure that was double that of the western European average (Možný, 2002: 78). In view of this

situation, at the beginning of 2002 the Ministry of Education initiated a project called 'Internet to Schools' which is intended to ensure that at least 3620 schools will be connected to the internet through the provision of 25,240 computers and more than 2100 servers. Each school will receive a laser printer as part of the package. It is expected that this active policy will have a strong impact on schooling in the Czech Republic. Needless to say, Czech will remain the language of the instructional programmes and of communication with the computers.

In this respect, effective foundations were laid at the very outset of computerisation of the country. Czech was being used in operating systems right from the beginning; there is, of course, a Czech version of Windows. Likewise, international text editors and other office software such as *Word*, *Word Perfect* or *Excel* are used in Czech versions. A considerable number of manuals have been published to assist users. In view of the specificity of Czech script which uses diacritics to supplement letters of the Latin alphabet, a Czech word processing editor (T602) was developed at the beginning of the 1990s (by the Czech company Software 602), when other programmes failed to provide a reliable vehicle for writing Czech and Slovak. Later versions of T602 compete with programmes such as *Microsoft Word*, not only in the Czech Republic but also in Slovakia.

While word processing has been taken care of, a more complicated problem emerged with the spread of the use of e-mail and the internet. Some users apply software that enables the production and reception of texts with Czech diacritics, while others do not. Since it is not always known which addressees possess the decoding facility, frequently even those who can encode the diacritics hesitate to do so. When decoding features are included in the software, their operation is not simple and often results in gibberish that may leave at least some words unintelligible even if considerable time is spent on the task. Often diacritics can only be safely used with some fonts, but to determine which ones depends on experimentation by the user. On the other hand, Czech written without the diacritics is relatively easy to decode, even though occasional misunderstanding may occur. This claim is valid for native users of Czech; however, for non-native readers of Czech, the omission of the diacritics may create barriers to understanding. Until the emergence of e-mail, Czech had never been written without diacritics, except in the case of typewriting by expatriates who lost contact with the language. However, at present, native speakers of Czech have become accustomed to the omission of diacritics when exchanging e-mail messages. This situation is likely to last until *Microsoft* abandons its discriminative policy and decides to develop satisfactory word processing software that really works without restrictions for languages other than English.

The experience of Czech readers with the omission of diacritics is reflected in their increased tolerance to the graphic form of texts in general. In view of the number of deviations from orthographic norms in e-mail and in internet messages, misprints or spelling mistakes are not as easily noted as in other texts. Computer texts without diacritics also cause changes in language management of written texts because unusual combinations of graphemes blunt the users' norms. Müllerová (2001: 211) provides a discourse example that illustrates this process of management. Her subject X (a student at a university of technology) wrote, in an e-mail message, *Eva rykala* 'Eva said'. His younger brother, Y, commented, also without diacritics, *aspon kdyz je r s hackem, tak tam pis mekky i* 'at

least when there is an r with a hook, write i after it'. X should have written *Eva rikala*, but it is possible that his spelling *rykala* was influenced by the fact that, in normal Czech, there is no syllable *ri*, only *ry*.

Another structural consequence of the absence of diacritics is the emergence of new homonyms, which are clearly distinguished in speaking and in normal orthography; for example, *horky* is used for both *horký* 'hot' and *hořký* 'bitter', or *radit* is used for both *radit* 'to advice' and *řádit* 'to rage' (Čmejrková, 1999: 118).

Even if the use of diacritics is not unusual in e-mail communication, it is virtually absent in texts sent over mobile telephones. According to the British magazine *Global Mobile*, in 2001 the Czech Republic was second in Europe in the number of mobile telephones per capita, with 80 telephones per 100 inhabitants, and the sending of written messages over this medium normally omits diacritics.

Since writing without diacritics on the computer is not automated, writers must pre-manage their process of writing, and it is not unusual for them to fail in this task and to use keys that produce letters with diacritics. Such letters in transmission may then result in gibberish. In order to prevent this from happening, many users switch from the Czech to the English keyboard that has no letters with diacritics.

Frequently, problems are noted as the text is generated; in other words 'in-management' takes place. For example, in the following sentence,

To zvíře je podle mych skrovných znalosti vacice (hacek nad prvním c). 'The animal, according to my limited knowledge, is a possum (a hook on the first c)' (Müllerová, 2001: 211),

the writer noted and negatively evaluated the absence of a diacritic on the rarely used word *vačice* 'possum', and implemented corrective adjustment by adding in brackets how to read the word: i.e. 'with a "hook" on the first c'. Some writers apply, as an adjustment strategy, 'cluster spelling' which was discontinued in Czech centuries ago (except for *ch*), but it has been retained in Polish. Čmejrková (1999: 17), gives an example in which a writer asks *Bohous nebo Bohousz?* 'Bohous or Bohoush?' The cluster *sz* at the end of the third word is used to replace the Czech grapheme *š*. Incidentally, a similar strategy is used in German e-mail where *Tübingen* becomes *Tuebingen*. However, in German this procedure has been to some extent alive (see the spelling *Goethe*) while in Czech the clusters function as auxiliary *ad hoc* procedures.

Since e-mail is characterised by considerable stylistic flexibility, non-standard varieties, in particular Common Czech, might occur. However, as already noted by Čmejrková (1999), informality is not the only strategy used in e-mail – another strategy is linguistic economy; for example, speakers easily apply the Common Czech form *takovýho* 'of such one' instead of the Standard *takového*, because both have the same number of letters. However, rather than using the Common Czech form *takovej* 'such one', they are not afraid to use the Standard form *takový*, which is shorter. In this way, an 'e-mail' variety of Czech is perhaps in the making. Its formation is no doubt aided by the fact that, in spoken communication, mixing Common and Standard Czech is at present a normal procedure (Hoffmannová & Müllerová, 2000; see also Part III).

The principles of informality and economy can also be identified in the trend of some writers to refrain from using upper case letters. In Czech, this practice

mainly affects the beginnings of the sentences and proper names. By contrast, in German the consequences are graver. Lack of upper case letters is of course characteristic, as an optional strategy, for some e-mail styles in many languages, including English.

The dynamic and spontaneous character of electronic communication leads to the observation that most management is simple. Problems in e-mailing are solved as they appear in individual discourse by individual participants. Organised management at the level of the government concerns the accessibility of the electronic media, but not their form or content. The form of messages on the internet is, of course, carefully managed by individual organisations which use it to provide information or for advertising.

PART VI: THEORIES OF LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT

The Prague School Theory

The background

After phonology, the theory of language cultivation can be designated as one of the fundamental contributions of the Prague Linguistic Circle, an important centre of pre-war structural linguistics founded in 1926. The term 'language cultivation' refers to the Czech descriptor '*jazyková kultura*', coterminous with German *Sprachkultur*, Russian *kul'tura reči* (Daneš, 1988) or Swedish *Språkvård* (Jernudd, 1977). The Prague School version differed from these in being closely connected with the structural theories of the time (see Leška *et al.*, 1993); it provides a conceptual framework that retains considerable interest today. In the Czech Republic, other theoretical frameworks exist for language management at present (see following section) but, as far as language cultivation is concerned, the Prague School theory has not been forgotten. Although it has not survived in its original form, its individual strategies are vibrant (Daneš, 1988).

Why did this theory appear in Prague and not in Germany, Russia or Sweden? First, the social system of Czech academic life, after the country gained independence from Austrian rule in 1918, was very young and, therefore, susceptible to the growth of new paradigms. Structuralism grew up naturally on this breeding ground, not from a single source, but from many. And Prague School structuralism affected the theory of language cultivation by providing its basic concepts, primarily the concept of 'function'. Further, unlike phonology, the major and best known theory of the Prague School, language cultivation theory was almost purely Czech. It was in the Czech section of the Circle that the Early Modern nationalistic mood which fostered purism had been strongly rejected. A new approach was needed for Czech. Although the literary language was healthy and, in the work of Karel Čapek and other young authors, served as a tool of great precision, there were areas, such as the language of administration, where older patterns survived. These called for attention.

The original theory

The inquiry system

The inquiry system – in other words the identification of the objectives – of the

original Prague School theory can be described with reference to three concepts: norms, noting, and evaluation (see Part I: What is Language Management).

Norms

The concept of the norm in its structuralist version was developed in Prague. The norm was not what it used to be: a normative prescription produced by grammarians. According to Havránek (1932a), all forms of language, including dialects and popular language, possess a norm which is independent of the will of the speakers. Also, it does not matter whether or not the norm is codified (Havránek, 1938).

In contrast to older conceptions of language cultivation, the Circle defined the norm as the usage of the good authors of the past 50 years. This was not intended as a universal thesis valid for all languages but rather as a rule for the Czech of the post-World-War I period. In the Czech situation, the language of literature was the first to liberate itself from the historicising norms of the first half of the 19th century and closely mirrored the contemporary spoken language morphologically as well as syntactically (see Part III). This development of the literary language intensified in the second half of the 19th century, and was virtually completed in the 1920s when the Circle formulated its theories. The new language eschewed the antiquated forms defended by the purists whose position, at the time the Prague School theory appeared, was still very powerful. In the language of non-fiction and of school textbooks, on which the purists concentrated, the process had been delayed. The definition developed by the Circle was therefore a highly political one in that it tried to exclude antiquated linguistic norms defended by the purists.

The Circle also said that the norm can be confirmed on the basis of linguistic awareness of the intellectual class and its linguistic practice (see the unsigned *General principles for the cultivation of language* in *Čeština a jazyková kultura* written by Havránek; see Havránek, 1963: 118). In this sense, too, the position of the Circle was unashamedly Modern, emphasising middle-class norms as '*language tout court*'. Language cultivation commenced programmatically with identifying the norm and noting deviations from it.

Noting

Although the concept of noting was not used, the Prague School theory was based on noting of deviations from norms that existed at the time and during the immediately preceding few decades. Due to hypercorrection practised by others, the Prague School scholars also noted those components of linguistic structure in which no adjustment was needed. There were areas in which problems obviously existed – e.g. some areas of special terminology that were the domain of German before 1918 and some areas of style.

Evaluation

Evaluation of the existing problems was in accord with the structuralist atmosphere of the time. In principle, language is good as it is. 'Leave your language alone' was a slogan formulated later in a different branch of structural linguistics (Hall, 1950), but it had already been extensively applied within the Prague School. The struggle of the Prague School against purism in 1932 and later was based on the perception that, overall, the norm of the Czech language has

satisfactorily been established. It might, from time to time, need to be adjusted, but basically it must be defended against attempts of the purists to change it arbitrarily. There was no need to evaluate the norm negatively, except where problems obviously existed. Some problems, the Circle agreed, did. In the perception that a certain amount of codification and change were needed, the Prague School approach differed from the approaches of other branches of linguistic structuralism. However, a number of language problems, such as those connected with Common Czech, although noted by Havránek descriptively, did not become an object of evaluation or the focus of subsequent stages of language management in this theory. Neither did the problems of ethnic languages.

The design system

The Prague School theory of language cultivation can be seen as a system of strategies proposed for the adjustment of problems that had been noted and evaluated (in the sense of the management theory). This section will summarise the way in which the perception of language problems resulted in a prescription for change ('adjustment' strategies within the management theory).

Varieties of the theory

Understandably, the theory did not constitute a single block of strategies. The development began in the *Thèses* of the Circle, published in 1929, where the range of the theory was already impressive (*Thèses*, 1929: 15–17, 27–29); it passed through the important volume *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (*Standard Czech and the Cultivation of Language*, 1932), which embodied the struggle of the Circle against purism, and it continued in 1935 into the editorial in the opening issue of *Slovo a slovesnost*, the Czech language journal of the Circle (Neustupný, 1999). In each of these publications there were new and differing emphases. In the 1950s and 1960s, the theory underwent a gradual review, a development that will be dealt with separately under a subsequent section.

Situations for which the theory has been created

The theory is basically devoted to situations in which the Standard Language is used. Although *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (1932) included a chapter on spoken language, this chapter was not, strictly speaking, written from the point of view of the theory. However, spoken language situations are mentioned in all representative statements and, especially since World War II, these spoken situations attracted more and more attention.

Special attention was given by the Circle to situations of poetic language. In *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* Mukařovský, the leading aesthetician of the Prague School, argued that poetic language performed a function different from the function of the Standard, and that the norms of the Standard could not be applied as such to the language of poetry. Distortion of the norms of the Standard Language is indispensable in poetry (Mukařovský, 1932: 22). This special condition meant that it was impossible to simply apply the management strategies applicable to the Standard to the poetic language. A different approach was needed.

Functions of management

The overall function of the Prague School theory is to manage a modern language. The following details apply:

Firstly, the role of cultivation is to make sure that the Standard Language remains adequate to fulfil its function. This task is most obvious in the area of the lexicon, where abstract words, specialised terminology and words expressing minute differences must continuously be added. In the course of enriching the lexicon, there is no need to avoid loan words. Additionally, simply elevating conversational words to the status of special terms does not necessarily work (Havránek, 1929).

Secondly, the function of language cultivation is not only to make the Standard rich, but also to make it sophisticatedly rich. In the *Thèses*, this is called *intellectualisation* of language; i.e. to make language meanings determinate and precise, and also abstract and capable of fully expressing sophisticated processes of thought (Havránek, 1932a). Intellectualisation does not affect only the lexicon. It also strongly affects the syntax, where the function of the Standard makes it imperative to be able to express minute shades of meaning. However, it would be incorrect to require a high degree of intellectualisation from all varieties of language: the degree required necessarily depends on the function of the variety.

Thirdly, cultivation grants the Standard *flexible stability* (in Czech *pružná stabilita*), a term used by Mathesius (1932) to replace the term 'la fixité' introduced in the *Thèses* (p. 27). It was considered important to emphasise that the stability required of language is not an absolute value. However, the theory claims that language, as an instrument of communication, could not work unless it was stabilised. Elements that have already been a part of the norm (such as orthography or terminology) should not be arbitrarily replaced on the basis of historical or other arguments. However, it was also emphasised, that the role of cultivation was not to achieve complete uniformity (Mathesius, 1932) and strip the language of functional differentiation (Havránek, 1932a) necessary for further development. Language changes; so does its norm, and cultivation must follow suit. *Flexible stability* differed from the 'antiquation' of language. This was not a modern strategy, and it was strongly rebuffed. The theory had Czech authors on its side – or perhaps it was on the side of the authors.

The last function of language cultivation was called '*l'originalité*' in the *Thèses*. This concept referred to the need to create language means that fit the structure of the language. It can perhaps better be called '*systemicity*'. Stich (1979b) had already pointed out that this function was dropped from the scheme. However, the criterion has more recently been defended by Jelínek (1996) who points to the fact that *systemicity* is important, though only as a criterion secondary to usage.

The application of these functional criteria has been worked out in detail and with considerable sophistication. See in particular the above-mentioned volume *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*.

Settings for language cultivation

The settings (place and time) for the application of the theory were determined as use in intellectual work situations (such as academic work, creative

writing) and in formal education. Office settings were also considered, but reference to industry was rare.

Participants

The agents within the theory include those who create the norm: intellectuals and writers. Codification is the work of linguists. Since, in accordance with the perception of the Modern period, all class distinctions have been removed, the theory does not in fact categorise users of language cultivation. They are the undivided 'nation'. In practice, the users were mostly conceived as the middle class. Only occasionally (see The social system) have other strata of the society been included.

Content

As Daneš emphasises (1996), the theory highlighted rational rather than emotional aspects of language management. In this sense, its 'modern' breeding ground clearly asserted itself. This was not a 19th century romantic castle with ramparts and historical flags. Perhaps the Prague School went too far in this respect. Ethical and emotional functions of language do exist and cannot be written off (Daneš, 1996). Moreover, a glance through Havránek's 1932 position papers confirms that symbolic and other social functions of language did not receive attention in the theory either.

The principal object of cultivation in the Prague School approach, as already mentioned, was the Standard and as such, in practice, the written language. In the original version of the theory, the need for the cultivation of the spoken word was postulated, and the 1932 volume had a chapter on this. However, the written language remained the focus of the theory.

Probably the widest and most enlightened description of the content of language cultivation appears in the Introduction to the Czech language journal of the Circle, *Slovo a slovesnost*. This Introduction was published in 1935 in the inaugural issue and was signed by Havránek, Jakobson, Mathesius, Mukařovský and Trnka. Language cultivation (*kultura jazyka*) is defined as an attitude toward language which considers language not as a tool but as 'the object of our attention, consideration and our emotions'. What immediately comes to mind is Fishman's (1971) formulation 'behaviour towards language' that has been adopted as the characterisation of language management in language management theory (Jernudd & Neustupný, 1987). Language cultivation, conceived in this way, was divided into three streams:

- (1) Language law in theory and practice (elsewhere in the Introduction this is referred to as 'language policy').
- (2) Language education (native and foreign).
- (3) Language development (*výstavba*) which consisted of:
 - elaboration and codification of norms;
 - establishment of ideological and aesthetic requirements on language; and
 - application of these requirements and norms in particular discourses (language critique).

In all these streams, 'planning' takes place. The word *planning* is actually being used. What a magnificent programme for 1935! Yet, looking at the practice of the Circle, point 1 (language policy) remained undeveloped. Language policy was too big a mouthful for structural linguists, who in principle believed in the autonomy of language. Point 2 (language education) remained practically untouched. It was only Point 3, the microscopic consideration of 'corpus' problems, which was fully elaborated. Since it is very difficult to place a theory of language problems within an orthodox structuralist framework (see Neustupný, 1993a, 1999), this alone was an important achievement. The arrangement of the strategies of the theory lacks uniformity. Each edition (see Variation above) shows a different order of presentation.

Management of the theory

The theory was not rigid to the extent that it would become unmanageable. In reaction to the volume *Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura* (1932), massive support was expressed in the community, although there were also critical voices. Daneš is undoubtedly right in saying that this criticism did not suffice to alter the theory (Daneš, 1996). During the Soviet dominated era, references to the Circle were unwelcome, and the word *structuralism* was virtually banned. Still, Havránek succeeded, in 1963, in reprinting all of his contributions to the theory in his personal volume *Studie o spisovném jazyce* (*Studies on Standard Language*). In footnotes, he mentioned, from time to time, that his current position was different.

Implementation

Nothing in the theory stipulated any particular method of implementation. One method of implementation involved contemporary authors who, thanks to the Circle, felt secure in continuing to use the language they had used. The 1941 revision of the *Pravidla českého pravopisu* (Rules of Czech spelling) (see Part III) in principle accepted Havránek's proposals (Havránek, 1963: 124). Even before World War II Havránek (with others) published a textbook of Czech for high schools that incorporated principles proposed by the Circle, and after the war, in cooperation with Alois Jedlička, he launched his *Stručná mluvnice česká* (*Short Grammar of Czech*) that became the basic codification manual for generations of Czechs. After WWII, the Institute of the Czech Language of the Academy of Sciences began, under the leadership of Havránek, to implement the principles of the theory, at least in the first decade after 1945. The four volumes of the *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (*Dictionary of Standard Czech*, 1960–1971) more or less followed the theory. Although Havránek was described in the Great Soviet Encyclopedia of the 1950s as a 'bourgeois linguist', he was a Party member, and he had excellent relations with the Central Committee. His influence on matters relating to the Czech language was profound; his ideas were the basic element in the lasting influence of the Prague Linguistic Circle's theories in Soviet-dominated Czechoslovakia (Novák, 1990). Anyway, since the 1960s the Prague School came to be accepted in the Soviet Union as well: in 1964, a Russian translation of Vachek's *Dictionnaire de Linguistique de l'École de Prague* appeared, and in 1967 an anthology of the work of members of the Prague Linguistic Circle was launched.

Social system

The social system underlying the theory was provided by the Prague School Circle that was, itself, located in some departments of the best universities in the country. The membership was youthful. At the time of the formation of the Circle in 1926, only Mathesius was over 40, Trubetzkoy and Mukařovský were in their mid-30s while Havránek was 33. All others who joined later, were younger.

Theories do not exist in a vacuum. They are situated within a social space, and within this space members of the Circle (apart from Troubetzkoy, who strictly speaking was not a member, and some others whose ideologies were different) were situated on the left of the political spectrum. The *Thèses* speak of the tendency of the Standard 'to become the monopoly and a characteristic feature of the dominant class' (p. 17). However, this observation has never been developed further. On the contrary, subjective feelings of the members notwithstanding, one could claim that the system of language cultivation of the Prague School was created on behalf of the middle class, to which members of the Circle belonged. What else could be expected of a system that placed so much emphasis on the principle of *flexible stability*? After WWII, Havránek (1947) once more raised the issue of the 'democratisation of language'. In that paper, he claimed that Czech was accessible to all members of the Czech ethnic group. There were few problems – such as the spelling of foreign words – but these could and would be fixed. The fact that the masses had restricted access to the active use of the Standard (see Part III) remained unnoted.

The authors of the Prague School theory were strongly opposed to nationalism and to the existing puristic networks, in comparison with which their modernity and liberalism stood out. The arch enemy was Dr Jiří Haller, the editor of the journal *Naše řeč*, who used the journal as a vehicle for attacking writers and other authors whose language did not agree with his criteria of historical purity and the notion of 'popular language'. In comparison with Haller and his like, the Circle was a bastion of progress, universalism and liberalism.

Idiom

For the idiom of the cultivation theory some terminology is of primary importance. This includes, first of all, *norm*, *function*, *intellectualisation*, and *flexible stability*. Embedding within the structuralist matrix is obvious.

Language cultivation theory after World War II

In 1969, a volume called *Kultura českého jazyka* (*Cultivation of the Czech Language*) was published, and this was followed ten years later by *Aktuální otázky jazykové kultury v socialistické společnosti* (*Topical Issues of Language Cultivation in a Socialist Society*). Daneš (1996: 311) comments that these volumes did not offer a basically different orientation, and that is certainly true. The interest of the 1979 volume (conference proceedings) lies in the fact that it documented the state of the art in most European countries of the Soviet bloc. The opening paper by Alois Jedlička showed a lack of interest in further developing the Prague School theory, but the Prague School position was clearly reflected in Kuchař's contribution (Kuchař, 1979). Some new very useful emphases emerged (e.g. Daneš' paper on attitudes and evaluation). Stich (1979b) raised an issue that had never been

emphasised in classical theories of the Prague School: the social, rather than the technical (functional) aspect of language cultivation. Evaluation of language was a social, not a purely technical matter. He emphasised the need for language cultivation to acknowledge fully the right of the community to participate. Stich also provided an historical framework for language cultivation in the Czech lands: he pointed out that the term *cultivation* (*kultura*) was used by Dobrovský in 1779, but was replaced by other terms (*grinding, purification*) until *cultivation* came back in the work of the Prague Linguistic Circle in the 1930s. This, Stich claims, possibly occurred under the influence of literature such as Vinokur's *Kul'tura jazyka* (*Language Cultivation*) (1925), which circulated among members of the Circle.

A conference bearing the same name as the 1932 volume of the Circle (*Spisovná čeština a jazyková kultura*) was held in August 1993 in Olomouc, the proceedings having been published under the same name. Although the content of the proceedings is of importance, connections with Prague School theory are weak. However, an alternative theory has not yet emerged.

An interesting attempt to update Prague School theory was presented in 1996 by František Daneš, who had already published papers that transcended the traditional Prague School Approach (Daneš, 1987). Daneš noted that cultivation (and codification) occurs each time a language manual of any type appears. He tried to guess what a contemporary (post-modern) cultivation would involve. (Similarly Kraus (1996) identified a connection between post-modern heterogeneity and recent attitudes in the Czech Republic to language cultivation.) With regard to the future of language cultivation, Daneš presented in his paper the following points:

- (a) Contemporary functionalism concerns not only the system of language but also the system of discourse in communicative situations. Within discourse, it pays attention to the dynamic character of language and its central and peripheral phenomena. Such a consideration of language is traditional in Prague School thought. It is essential in the present environment to design a system of cultivation that takes full account of the dynamic character of language. In this connection Daneš quotes Dokulil's 1951 words: 'not what is correct or incorrect . . . [rather] this form is productive, while another is not . . . this expression is expanding, while another expression is receding.'
- (b) Cultivation must be based on a more open conception of language, including not only its Standard but also non-Standard phenomena.
- (c) Cultivation cannot presently exist without extensive contacts with sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics.
- (d) There is a need to include the structure of discourse (text linguistics) within the sphere of language cultivation.
- (e) Cultivation must accept the current trend against fixed norms in language.

Daneš stressed the point that cultivation and codification are legitimate and necessary. The question is not 'whether or not to codify', but 'what to codify'. He also notes that cultivation is not a one way process. Language cultivation at present must aim at a more active and informed attitude of the public. This enlightened perspective should be welcome by all 'language managers' who are concerned with language cultivation.

Closing remarks

The language cultivation theory of the Prague School represents the only serious attempt at a theory of language problems within the period between the two world wars. It was an extensive and rigorous attempt that was implemented and is still influential within the Czech Republic and possibly elsewhere: especially in Slavic speaking countries, in the former GDR and also in contemporary Germany in general (see Scharnhorst & Ising, 1976, 1982).

The theory was the product of a Modern society. Its functionalism that considered language as a technical tool, rather than as a component of social life, was one of its outstanding features. Another feature was its Modern self-imposed limitation on cultivation; i.e. a microscopic level of language treatment (Neustupný, 1968), or what Kloss (1969) called 'corpus planning'. The situation of Modern thought renders it very difficult to acknowledge the existence of macroscopic problems, affecting whole varieties and their 'status'. Thus, the complicated issues of linguistic life within a country characterised by the existence of extensive ethnic minorities was virtually ignored.

For this reason, the Prague School theory cannot serve as a general theory of language problems. On the other hand, within the area of language cultivation, the theory presents a positive approach, unmarred by the structuralist tendency to claim that language should be left alone (see Kuchař, 1987). Prague School theory contains a number of conceptual tools that should not be neglected: norm, function, intellectualisation and flexible stability are the most obvious ones. There is no evidence of the existence of a theory of language cultivation that could compete with the pre-war Prague School framework.

The Communist Party Theory: Some Preliminary Observations

The background

It is beyond the scope of this monograph to provide a full analysis of the Czech Communist Party's thought on language management, to say nothing about such thought among Communist Parties in general. The aim of this section is merely to present a few observations that may be helpful in further examining the period of almost 50 years when the Party was in power. Within the world of the Soviet Union and its immediate allies, a theoretical approach was highly valued and a theory was assumed to exist, within the framework of Marxism-Leninism, for any area of human activity. The theory was expected to guide the practice of the Party within that area.

What is dealt with in this section is theory, not the practice of the Party. The practice was mentioned in the previous chapters, although attention was on the present state of affairs rather than on the past; the relation between theory and practice will be discussed again in the conclusion of this section.

The theory pertinent to language matters was the theory of ethnic relations, which is credited in principle to Lenin and Stalin. In 1913, Stalin wrote a paper entitled 'Marxism and the National Question', and the definitions presented in that paper have outlived him. The theory is dependent on folk as well as more rigorous theories that had crystallised in central and eastern Europe by the beginning of the 20th century. Because it is anchored in that space and time, it is a

macroscopic theory. It did not concern language matters at the micro level, and consequently (as mentioned in the previous section) it explains why the Czech Communist Party accepted the *de facto* continuation of Prague School language cultivation. Language cultivation, which is strongly micro-oriented, was simply out of the range of interest of the Party's theory and practice.

The inquiry system

How did the Communist Party's theory perceive the problem? After the October Revolution, the Soviet government had to deal with hundreds of illiterate ethnic groups, all of them under the highly discriminatory system of tsarist Russia (Isayev, 1977). In post-World War II Czechoslovakia, the problems the Party faced were different: these problems were embodied in the multiethnic character of the country that had only partially changed after the deportation of Germans. According to the theory attributed to Lenin, the norms the party ideologues were interested in belonged to two types:

- (1) Norms that would give individual ethnic groups 'equal rights' and would satisfy their interests.
- (2) Norms that enabled the broadening of national and international relations and rapprochement between nations and nationalities within the framework of so-called 'proletarian internationalism'. (See Isayev, 1977: 221; Sokolová *et al.*, 1987: 7)

The theory asserts that there is a dialectical unity between national and international norms. The first norm accepts 'patriotism' as a positive phenomenon, the second rejects, in very strong terms, 'nationalism' as well as its reverse, 'cosmopolitanism' (Zvara, 1977: 530).

The application of the norms and the problems resulting from their violation were carefully monitored. It is interesting to note, for example, that, in 1966, the Czech Communist Party commissioned a representative sociological survey of three ethnic groups (Czechs, Slovaks and Poles) in the Ostrava region from the *Slezský ústav ČSAV* (Silesian Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences) (Sokolová *et al.*, 1978: 12). A follow-up wider survey was finalised in 1981 and published in 1987 (Sokolová *et al.*, 1987). Unless this, too, was directly solicited – and we do not know – it was at least carefully considered before being approved by a top organ of the Communist Party.

Problems were evaluated with regard to the expectations of the Party; i.e. that overall, ethnic differences would gradually weaken. It was, therefore, not perceived as a tragedy if an ethnic culture or a language were not maintained, because such a phenomenon accorded with the course of history. The theoreticians and practitioners of language policy in the Soviet Union believed that, particularly in the case of small ethnic groups, 'bilingualism should be viewed as a transitional stage to monolingualism which will be reached by the small ethnic groups when their assimilation into the corresponding nations is complete' (Isayev, 1977: 200). Such a deconstruction of ethnicity was considered to be a positive development. On the surface of the theory, it was, of course, necessary to reassert that maintenance was important; but the principle of the national and international unity of the socialist nations was given priority.

Design

The design of the theory completely relied on the experience of east European communities in which, unlike western Europe, language carried particular importance (Hroch, 1999a: 77). The theory was not totally integrated, variation being prominent even between the limited number of sources available, but it is not necessary at this point to deal with this variation in detail. The situations which were assumed as targets were mostly political, rarely situations and functions of daily life or of other domains of interaction. In the context of the present territory of the Czech Republic, only a limited number of cases were encountered (mainly those of the Polish community) where the setting for policy was to be the school system.

The participants in the ethnic policy process were seen as the political representation of the community. Within the state community, the participants were strictly classified. The traditional categorisation was into *národy* 'nations' and *národnosti* 'nationalities', traditional in the Czech lands, but which, within the theory, assumed a more theoretical nature. In Soviet theory, *nations* were historically formed communities which, according to Rogachev and Sverdlin (based on Stalin), were 'characterised by a stable commonality of economic life (and the existence of a working class), of territory, of language (particularly a literary language), of a consciousness of ethnic belonging, as well as of certain special traits of psychology, of tradition, of way of life, of culture and of struggling for liberation' (quoted from Isayev, 1977: 191). *Nations* were communities that developed into the stage of capitalism. In contrast, a *nationality* shared some of the defining features of a *nation*, but had not yet reached the stage of capitalism. In this system, there had only been *nationalities* before the industrial revolution; only following the industrial revolution did some of the nationalities develop into *nations*. After the Soviet Union was formed, *socialist nations* emerged. This historicising classification did not work and, following World War II, Marxist social scientists started using the concept of *nation* to represent ethnic communities with a majority status, while minority ethnic communities were called *nationalities*. According to this version of the theory, Czechoslovakia consisted of:

- (1) two *nations* (the Czech and the Slovak), and
- (2) four *nationalities* (Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian/Ruthenian and German, the last group only being added in the 1960s – see the section in Part II).

This structure has been specified in legal documents such as the Constitutional Law 144/1968 (Kořenský, 1998a). Sokolová *et al.* (1987) claim that both categories must be considered equal and report that, in Soviet literature since the 1970s, the term *etnikum* 'ethnic group' has been used to subsume these and other groups. In the case of Czechoslovakia, Sokolová *et al.* mention Bulgarians and Greeks who, as Sokolová *et al.* say, constitute very small groups (p. 11). Note that the Roma are not mentioned, although their numbers were very large in Sokolová's and her team's home region.

Originally, language played the most important role in the consideration of *nation* and *nationality*. As Isayev (1977) argued, the purely linguistic problems within the Soviet Union were paramount. Although a wide range of references was not available, it appears that language as the main pillar of the theory

receded into the background in the 1970s when the danger of anti-Soviet nationalism was real and political aspects had to be emphasised. Perhaps the process of strengthening the position of Russian in the Soviet Union also required that language had better remain unmentioned. However, Sokolová *et al.* (1987: 63), on the basis of her data, added a new aspect to the theory in emphasising that the relation between the feeling of ethnic identity and language use were not fully symmetrical. Identity was more easily maintained than language.

According to the theory, guaranteeing equal rights to all *nationalities* is not automatic even in a socialist society and must be carefully watched. Problems (obviously problems of the rights of Slovaks in Czechoslovakia) are hinted at by Zvara (1977: 525–7), although his conclusion is that basic problems have been solved.

The theory claims that, in socialist societies, and in Czechoslovakia, *nationalities* are granted certain rights which in Sokolová *et al.* (1978) are formulated as follows:

- (1) the right to receive education in one's own language;
- (2) the right to cultural development;
- (3) the right to use language in official contact within areas inhabited by the particular *nationality*; and
- (4) the right to press and media information in one's own language.

Note that the theory does not accord these rights to ethnic groups such as the Roma that are not given the status of *nationalities*. (Also note that there were special provisions for the education of Greeks and Macedonians, but these were not supported by the theory (see the section in Part II).) Leaving the situation in Slovakia aside, the only *nationality* that was in fact given its own schools was the Polish one. The theory did not touch on the relationship between the Czechs and the Slovaks. Both were *nations*, so they had higher (unspecified) rights. However, the Slovaks who lived in the Czech lands were not entitled to Slovak schools, either in theory or in practice.

The theory assumes not only that *nations* develop their own characteristics but also that *nations* and *nationalities* will grow more similar to each other and will influence each other. Lenin had said that 'as long as national and state distinctions exist among peoples and countries . . . the unity of the international tactics of the communist working-class movement in all countries demands not the elimination of variety or the suppression of national distinctions . . .' (Lenin, *Collected Works* 31: 92). This means that, for the time being, diversity may be all right, but over long historical time ethnic distinctions will pass away. It is well known that Marx and Engels were not champions of language rights for small *nations* (Kymlicka, 1995: 69). This theory of the historical necessity of language shift coincided with the feeling of modern social scientists who were not interested in ethnic and linguistic variation. Sokolová and her team assumed that, while ethnic differentiation was a feature of pre-capitalistic societies, in capitalist and socialist societies, ethnic unification was the more characteristic phenomenon. Such unification was implemented through the processes of integration and assimilation. Integration is the result of mutual influence, while assimilation means the identification of one ethnic group with another. There is forced assimilation, which has been refuted in socialist societies. Natural assimilation is the other type, and this assimilation does not endanger ethnicity because it affects

only individuals or small groups (Sokolová *et al.*, 1987: 13). In the Czechoslovak context, this was obviously intended to mean that Czech and Slovak *nations* would come close to each other (through integration), though in practice it was the Slovaks who were expected to change. How many individuals or small groups within the *nationalities* were allowed to disappear before 'the ethnic quality' of the society would suffer? And what to do about the mere 'groups of inhabitants' (term from the Czech *Encyklopedia*), such as the Roma, who are not mentioned once in a book about the *Contemporary Trends in the Development of Nationalities in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*?

The theory design was not available for theoreticians to change and develop. This was a highly political area which was under the direct supervision of the Party. What happened to the Sokolová *et al.* 1987 manuscript, which the authors tell us was completed in 1981 (1987: 6) but was not published until 1987, is an interesting question.

Implementation

Implementation of the theory was, of course, considered the responsibility of the Party and the government. There was little implementation of the theory in the area of education, since only Polish was the vehicle and the object of instruction. While Polish culture was served well, the Slovak *Matice slovenská* or *CSEMADOK* (Cultural Association of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia) disappeared from the Czech lands.

The social system

The social system supporting the theory consisted of the Party and the government. Only occasionally were academics allowed to participate, and then only if they were members of the Party inner circles or if they possessed special skills that Party officials lacked. The close relationship with the social system of the theory guaranteed that the theory remained maximally close to the needs of the Party. So, in the 1970s and 1980s, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the theory emphasised the strategy of proletarian internationalism as a counter dose to the possible wave of nationalism the Party (and the Soviet Union) feared.

The idiom

The idiom of the 1970s was a hard ideological idiom, which is not a pleasure to read (especially Zvara, 1977). On the other hand, the book published by Sokolová *et al.* in 1987 is less dogmatic in form as well as in content, and, as already noted, accepts quite a few innovative features.

Conclusions

The theory is not without interest. Although it also contains much of the ideologies of the old left, and many of its claims are unacceptable to many, there are points which deserve consideration. The division of citizenship from ethnicity (called *nationality*) is systematically carried through, and this division accords with the needs and experiences of academics and others in many parts of the world. Of course, one can claim that the division is not restricted to this theoretical system. Another point is the rapprochement between different cultures and languages. If this claim is taken as an excuse for assimilation it is difficult to accept, but one

knows that descriptively speaking much 'natural' assimilation does take place. Many communities, everywhere in the world, and irrespective of anti-assimilation theories being widely distributed in the societies in question, do in fact undergo assimilation. Before one declares war on the processes of rapprochement, it will be necessary to know more about their historical background.

However, in the territory of the Czech lands, the theory was a complete failure. It failed to define the boundary between rapprochement and assimilation. It was well known as early as the 1970s that Slovaks and Poles in the Ostrava region were losing their culture and language (Sokolová *et al.*, 1978: 11), and there could be no doubt that this was a more prosaic phenomenon than the fairy-tale-like process of 'socialist nationalities growing more similar to each other'. Of course, the most important testimony against the theory is its failure to solve the Roma and the Czech–Slovak problems. As soon as the political power of the Party-controlled state was removed, it became obvious that the Roma problem was still there and that it was of a magnitude previously unimagined. The Czech–Slovak relationship, managed for decades with self-professed success by the Party, resulted in a crisis which was solved by the division of the Czechoslovak Republic, a division that was amicable and did not hurt friendly relationship between Czechs and Slovaks but nevertheless resulted in a number of consequences for their ethnic relations (see Part III). It can hardly be taken as proof of the success of previous policies guided by Marxist-Leninist theories.

Contemporary Theories

The background

The background of the contemporary theories lies, of course, in the period following the Velvet Revolution. It has been marked by liberation from the Marxist-Leninist framework imposed by the Communist Party, but also by much indecision and search for new directions.

This section is being rewritten by history in an energetic fashion, and this has led to the authors' decision to leave it brief and to keep it open to the future.

The inquiry

The way in which language problems are viewed in the contemporary period has been significantly influenced by four factors. One is the pressure of language problems within the country. Such problems cannot any longer be obscured through political control. The second factor is the warning light on any theoretical stances that might be explained as a return to the left-wing ideologies of the immediate past. This sometimes includes ideologies that, in the West, would be classified as liberal. The third is related to the new situations opened for the country by the road to post-modernisation, a long-overdue go signal. The fourth, concerning the perception of language problems, has been influenced by the country's expected entry to the European Union, making it imperative to satisfy certain conditions with regard to language.

It is interesting to note that theories of language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997) have exercised only a limited degree of influence on the perception of language problems. The leading linguistic journal *Slovo a slovesnost* has occasionally published reviews and information on language planning, but not a single

paper has appeared that would place itself within the range that can be described as language planning.

Design

The theory of the Prague School

The design for language management theories can be divided into a number of streams. There is a strong component called 'corpus planning' (Kloss, 1969) or the 'language cultivation approach' (Neustupný, 1978). In this context, the Prague School tradition is alive and well, in particular among linguists who deal with the problems of the Czech language. The development of the theories after World War II has been outlined and it has been pointed out that, when writing about the new 'Rules of Czech Spelling', the revision was basically governed by the principles of the Prague School. When new topics are dealt with qua language problems, as in the case of gender in language (Čmejková, 2002), they can probably best be classified as extensions of the Prague School way of thinking about language problems (functions of language are mentioned, there is a profound grammatical treatment of the phenomena in question, etc.).

Language law theories

All remaining types of Language Management in the contemporary Czech Republic can be classified as instances of 'status planning' (Kloss, 1969) or the 'language policy approach' (Neustupný, 1978). A theory of Language Law was outlined by Stich in a lecture available in an informal version published in the bulletin *Zprávy Kruhu přátel českého jazyka* (Stich, 1979a). In this paper, Stich discussed the relationship among language law, language policy, language planning and (as was common at the time) a number of Soviet approaches. Subsequently, he presented an admirable account of the history of Czech language law from 15th century until 1945. It should be mentioned that 'language law' was already considered a legitimate area of inquiry in 19th century Bohemia (cf. Pacák, 1896) and probably elsewhere in Europe.

The language law theories lay dormant until the 1990s when the topic was reintroduced by Kořenský (1995, 1997, 1998a). Kořenský is interested both in the structure of legal documents and in the application of law in the process of language management mainly in post-World War II Czechoslovakia.

The 'laissez-faire' approach of the 1990s

The thought about language problems of the first post-Velvet Revolution governments probably does not warrant the descriptor *theory*. If one observes the language management acts of these governments, what is striking is a distinct tendency to deviate from the Marxist-Leninist theory of the preceding period. The distinction between *nation* and *nationality* has been retained in the everyday language sense of the words. However, there was no officially accepted list of *nationalities*: as early as the 1991 census respondents were required to report a *nationality* in an open-ended question, according to their choice. However, the meaning of the term *nationality* was further de-emphasised (Nekvapil, 2003c) by the interpretation of the existing laws in the sense that rights were rights of individuals, not collective rights (Frištenská & Sulitka, 1995). Consequently, each Roma could claim schooling in his/her own language, but the Roma as a

community could not. As Glazer (1995) noted in a different context, within the 'rights of individuals framework' any kind of preferencing is impracticable. On the whole, there was very little activity in the governmental networks. This position reflected management ideology that was one step behind the historical situation in the Czech Republic.

Theories of the 21st century

Towards the end of the 1990s, the new Social-Democratic government, under the pressure of European institutions, and in connection with the expected entry of the Czech Republic into the EU, began to implement an active programme of management towards the non-Czech communities. This programme has been described in the final section of Part II. The person who played a very active part in this activity was Petr Uhl, the Government's Commissioner for Human Rights. Although a practitioner rather than a theorist of language management (Neustupný, forthcoming 1), he possessed a postmodern vision of the discipline, and was instrumental in drafting the new Minorities Law as well as in initiating other measures. At the present time, language management as well as its theories in the Czech Republic provide a picture of interest, a picture that reflects both the linguistic variation in the country and the tradition of the Prague School of Linguistics.

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Notes

1. This monograph is a survey of a single country. It does not purport to be a comparative study and although occasionally references are given to literature on other countries, such references are not systematic. The authors are grateful to Bob Kaplan and Dick Baldauf for their exceptionally sensitive and effective editing of the manuscript. Our thanks are also due to friends who read individual sections and offered valuable comments: Evžen Gál (Hungarian), Milena Hübschmannová (Romani), Jitka Slezáková (Vietnamese), Marián Sloboda (Slovak, Greek and Macedonian) and Jiří Zeman (Slovak and spelling). For assistance with the processing of the maps we are grateful to Ondřej Košťál. Michael Clyne, Jiří Kraus, Peter Neustupný, Leoš Šatava and Petr Zima have provided advice on individual points. Needless to say, the authors alone are responsible for the content.
2. In Czech the question was: *uved'te národnost, ke které se hlásíte*. This was an open-ended question. The instructions emphasised that this self-categorisation is independent of the person's 'mother tongue' and the language he or she normally speaks. Although most respondents were expected to understand Czech, the Organising Committee took account of the fact that speakers of other languages might complete the questionnaires and prepared them in ten additional languages (though not in Slovak). The English translation of the question about ethnicity was 'indicate what nationality you consider yourself to be'. Since this question came after a question about the respondent's 'citizenship', those who used the English questionnaire most probably wondered why the same question was asked twice, but some of them may have figured out that 'nationality' meant 'ethnic background'. The French questionnaire suffered from the same translation problem, and the German one, using the word

Nationalität may also have presented problems to respondents who were not used to the idiom of the former regime. The Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Chinese, Vietnamese and Romani questionnaires conveyed the same meaning as the Czech one.

The 'mother tongue' was defined as the language used in childhood by mother or other principal caretaker. Respondents were free to report more than one ethnicity or mother tongue. In the 2001 census foreigners were included if they possessed a permanent or long-term visa, but the 1991 census form covered only permanent residents. In 1991 the Czechoslovak Republic was still in existence but Table 1 only reports data for the territory of the present-day Czech Republic.

3. In total, 100,000 to 150,000 foreigners are estimated to be illegally employed in the Czech Republic (Václavíková, 2000). Many of them are Ukrainians.
4. Only after the completion of this manuscript did Uherek (2003), an important study of a number of foreign communities in the Czech Republic, come to our notice.
5. Note that the term *substandard* is used to refer here to a variety that is located between the Standard and other varieties. It has no negative connotation as in the normal use of the word in English.
6. All translations from Czech in this monograph have been provided by the authors.

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 - Management in Contact Situations (p. 315)
(Czechs and foreigners in external contact situations)
 - Problems of Situations: A Summary (p. 317)
- Part V: *Management of Functions, Setting, Participants, Content, Form and Channels* (p. 318)
Problems concerning functions, settings, participants, content, form and channels of communication receive attention in this Part of the paper. Problems such as those of the electronic media are included.
 - Problems in Functions (p. 318)
(The communicative function, The symbolic function, The bridging function)
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(Gender in language, Participants' networks)
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 - Form (p. 326)
(Sequential organisation of talk; One-word name for the Czech Republic, Management of place names, Management of proper names)
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 - Part VI: *Theories of Language Management* (p. 332)
The final Part analyses theories that are of particular importance for understanding language management in former Czechoslovakia and the present day Czech Republic.
 - The Prague School Theory (p. 332)
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