Literary Language Death and Literary Language Revival:

A Socio-linguistic Study of Literary Czech

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the appearance and the growth of a literary language in the context of nation building and a growing sense of linguistic identity. It was, in fact, because Czechs used a particular literary norm that they considered themselves to be Czechs and not Poles or Slovaks. In this case, the spoken code was not useful as a source of linguistic identity because the dialects spoken in the border areas (in particular between modern-day Poland and Czechoslovakia) were very similar to one another.

This thesis also analyzes the role that a literary language plays in helping a subordinate speech community resist linguistic assimilation (and acculturation) to a dominant social group. Having an active literary tradition gave Czech-speakers a sense of pride in their language, and made them less likely to use German in their every-day speech situations. Inasmuch as Czech was, for the most part, the language of the lower classes, possessing a literary norm caused a social 'revolution', since it allowed Czech-speakers to deal with the German-speaking elite on an equal basis.

The appearance of literary languages in Eastern Europe is very much related to the phenomenon of emergence of the modern state system in that region. These so-called 'nation states' are based on the theory that all of the inhabitants should speak a common language, or at least adhere to a common literary

standard. Many of the national conflicts of the modern world stem from the attempts to enforce this standard on a not always cooperative population.

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DEDICATION

For my mother, my grandfather and Daniel.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The objective of this thesis is to determine the factors operating in the decline and revival of literary languages in general, and of the Czech literary language in particular.

1.1 Language Death and Literary Language Death

The death of a spoken language is a phenomenon separate from, but not altogether unconnected with, the death of a literary language. Literary languages, such as Latin, were in common use long after the spoken languages (vernaculars) had changed structurally and morphologically.[1] These changes were so far-reaching that it was no longer possible to view the emerging spoken languages as dialects of the same language. It is possible, furthermore, for spoken languages to exist without a literary form. But a spoken language will undergo

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[1] In recent years scholars of various persuasions have turned their attention to dying languages within several subdisciplines of linguistics and anthropology. In particular they have examined what decaying languages may reveal about simplification processes, whether phonological (Dressler 1972), morphophonological (Dorian 1977b), morphological (Dorian 1978b; Dressler 1977), or syntactic (Hill 1973; Dorian 1973). Because of the reductive aspects of language death, comparisons with pidginization (Trudgill 1976-77; Dorian 1978b) and with language acquisition (Voegelin and Voegelin 1977) have appeared. Sociolinguists have developed an interest in what Fishman (1964) called "language maintenance and language shift," and language shift is often the cause of language decay. See Nancy Dorian, Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Dialect (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 3-4.

decay most frequently in situations of bilingualism, where it occupies a definite socially subordinate position, and it does not possess an active literary form.[2]

Linguistic subordination of one speech community to another is, therefore, a key factor in most situations of linguistic decay. Such a situation may lead the speakers of the subordinate speech community to evaluate their own language less favourably than the dominant language. As a result, the speakers of the subordinate language restrict its use for reasons that may include their accepting the attitudes of the dominant social group and wishing to assimilate to them linguistically after they have already undergone bilingual primary socialization. The subordinate language is thus reduced to 'folklore'. Central governments usually play an important part in this process, encouraging the speakers of the subordinate language to accept the dominant language and reject the subordinate one. The following is a skeleton flow-chart of necessary causes of language decay (with 'language death' as its terminal stage) found in Dressler's article "Acceleration, Retardation, and Reversal in Language Decay" (1978):

social subordination-->negative sociopsychological

evaluation--> sociolinguistic restriction-->

linguistic decay ↑ ↑[3]

Invariably these responses to the subordination of one language to another result in reducing the number of speech situations where the individual will find himself using the subordinate language, frequently restricting its use to immediate family relations. These types of communications often involve a minimal

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[2] Wolfgang U. Dressler, "Acceleration, Retardation, and Reversal in Language Decay?", Language Spread: Studies in Diffusion and Social Change, ed. Robert L. Cooper (Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1982), p. 324.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 324-25.

vocabulary and a very simple structure. This normally results in the subordinate language losing its former lexical and morphological complexity.

This in turn has a negative feedback on the speakers of the subordinate language, causing them to make negative sociopsychological evaluations of their language. The subordinate language thus even further loses its ability to function as a vehicle of prestige. Many of the speakers of the subordinate language, therefore, also find it increasingly difficult to continue using the language as a source of identity.

1.2 Literary Language

The appearance of a generally used literary form of the subordinate language can, however, reverse the process of language decay. The planners of a literary language can enrich the linguistic structure of the subordinate language by creating stylistic options comparable to those of the dominant language. This gives the subordinate language more of the appearance of a language of educated people, thereby increasing its prestige function. As the subordinate language becomes more prestigious, it becomes increasingly possible for an individual to identify with it.

At this point we have a situation of widening linguistic horizons for the subordinate language. In most cases this results in the creation of a new linguistic elite speaking the subordinate language that comes into conflict with the old linguistic elite speaking the dominant language. Often, there is also conflict with the central government, where the linguistic revival comes into conflict with its centralizing policies.

This regional and class conflict, associated with a subordinate language revival, is in itself often indicative of a parallel rapid economic growth in the region. In Canada, this can be observed in Quebec's 'Quiet Revolution' during the 1960's where rapidly growing prosperity and rising standards of literacy occurred simultaneously. High levels of mass literacy are an important necessity in any modern or rapidly modernizing society. Literacy, however, is most easily achieved in the mother tongue. This factor is, therefore, normally an even more powerful determinant than the desire of any existing social elite or central government.

Progress, however, tends to have a snowball effect, as the population becomes increasingly urbanized, and the dominant linguistic group's assimilation mechanism becomes less effective. The new urban population, most of whom are speakers of the subordinate language, have new cultural needs. The subordinate language becomes increasingly used for mass culture. An urban population can also be more effectively educated, and can reach higher levels of education, resulting in a boom in educational facilities offering instruction in the subordinate language.

The following chapters will apply these principles to demonstrate the decline and the revival of the Czech literary language. Chapter II will discuss how the Czech language lost its dominant status in Bohemia, and its active literary form, progressively during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Chapters III and IV an attempt will then be made to demonstrate how Czech speakers succeeded in reversing this process in the nineteenth century. In addition, an attempt will be made in Chapter II to give the reader some idea of the prior history of literary Czech, its medieval roots and its importance as a vehicle of ideology and liturgy

during the Reformation. This fact had a great deal to do with the eventual revival of the active literary tradition, because the revivers looked to history for justifications of the Czech literary revival. Finally, in this chapter will be described the decay of the spoken Czech language and the death of the Czech literary language in Bohemia.

In Chapter III, an attempt will be made to demonstrate how the Czech literary language was revived and what results this had on the spoken language. This is of interest because although this was a period when national languages were being revived across Europe (at least in Slavic Europe) Czech stood in the forefront of the movement. It is a period, furthermore, that is of interest to twentieth century language planners.

In Chapter IV, the Czech language revival is described, as it was effected by the Industrial Revolution, as well as all the pressures that industrialization had put on Czech-speaking society. Again this is a very contemporary issue and can be witnessed by the pressures that modernization puts on different countries. For example, in Mexico, where the dominant language is Spanish, modernization accelerates the decay of the indigenous languages. In Bohemia, modernization had an opposite result: Czech became the language of the working classes.

Chapter V represents an attempt to describe the situation in Slovakia during this period. This is a Slavic-speaking area that was politically separate from the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia. This is important because until recently most Czechs and many Slovaks considered the Slovak language to be a mere dialect of Czech. The Slovak national revival was thus complicated by the uncertainty among many revivers as to whether the literary language of Slovakia should be

Czech or a literary version of Slovak. This chapter also demonstrates another example of spoken language decay and literary language death, as well as a literary language revival.

The limitation of this thesis is the fact that it deals with a historical period during which there were no synchronic studies conducted in linguistics (synchronic linguistics only gained popularity in the twentieth century). Therefore, there were no studies done on spoken Czech during the late eighteenth century, when the language the underwent greatest decay. Nevertheless, we can make limited synchronic conclusions based on certain observations from persons living at the time. These observations will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter II. In addition, the definition of literary language death is limited to 'lack of literary activity', and will therefore not provide any detailed description of the stages of literary language death.

Chapter II

THE HISTORY OF LITERARY CZECH: OVERVIEW

One of the central themes for a person studying the history of the kingdom of Bohemia has been the conflict between speakers of German and speakers of Czech. This conflict has often been presented as a continuous ethnic or racial discord that began in the ninth century with the first surges of the German *Drang nach Osten* and did not end until the entire German-speaking population was forced to leave Bohemia at the end of World War II. If one were, however, to analyze what social groups were the primary bearers of German culture at different periods, the situation becomes more complicated. I believe that one is, in fact, not looking at a single conflict, but rather at many different conflicts wherein diverse social groups have identified themselves for various reasons with either the German or the Czech language. Thus one finds that at times the bearers of the German language are the nobility, at other times the townsfolk (*měšt'ané* 'burghers'), at still other times the Jews, and more recently the Nazis. In fact, we are not dealing with the clash of two separate nationalities, but with a linguistic problem. In this thesis I intend to examine the role that language has played in Bohemian society.

2.1 Bohemia and the Czechs

Bohemia is a mountain-ringed, land-locked basin in the heart of Europe. Originating in Bohemia and flowing north is the Elbe river, which historically has provided a trade link through Hamburg to the North Sea. To the south is the large and predominantly German-speaking population of the upper Danube, a region known as Upper and Lower Austria. The regions both to the north and to the south of Bohemia, therefore, are predominantly German-speaking and it is understandable that relations between German and Czech speakers should be such an important concern throughout much of history. German was the language of most international trade. German was, furthermore, widely spoken inside Bohemia. In spite of this, there has been a long-standing resistance to the use of the German language among Czechs, and the history of the Czech literary language spans over a thousand years.

The Czechs first migrated into Bohemia from the Vistula river basin northeast of the Carpathian mountains at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire. At that time the region had been evacuated by its prior inhabitants, probably a Germanic people. At any rate, there does not appear to have been a forceful occupation of the territory. The Czechs, having installed themselves in their new homeland, called it *Čechy*, after the name of the *Čechové* lands near the junction of the *Vltava* [Moldau] and the *Labe* [Elbe] rivers. To outsiders, however, the land was still known by one or another variant form of Latin *Boiohemum*, which later appeared in German as *Böhmen*. This in turn referred to the *Boii*, a Celtic tribe that had once inhabited the region.[4] The conflict between German tribes and the Czechs did not begin until the year 800 approximately when the last of the pagan

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[4] A.H. Herman, A History of the Czechs (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1975), p. 7.

Germanic tribes, the Lombards, were converted to Christianity by Charlemagne. As a result of this new religious justification, the course of the barbarian invasions was reversed.[5] What had been a westward push became what modern German historians describe as the *Drang nach Osten*, the drive to the east, the beginning of a prolonged conflict between ethnic Germans and Slavs. The Bavarians, supported by Charlemagne, drove the Slavs out of the Danube valley as far as Vienna, while the Saxons occupied much territory adjacent to the Elbe river, conquering and subjugating many Slavs in the process. But the Czechs, protected by Bohemia's natural border of mountains, held their ground.[6] In fact, this phase of the *Drang nach Osten* ended with the failure of the Germanic tribes to conquer Bohemia. In future centuries, Czechs and Germans would live for long periods at peace, sharing many cultural features, but each retaining its own language.

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5 Some of the 'barbarian' invaders were the following Teutonic tribes: the Burgundians (originally from Bornholm) were defeated by the Gepidae on the lower Vistula in the third century A.D. and migrated to the Main region and Gaul; the Gepidae, who were defeated by the Avars and Lombards, 556-66; the Goths were split into East (Ostro-) and West (Visi-) Goths after their defeat by the Huns in 375; the Suebi or Semnones, who left the Elbe ditrict in 113 B.C. and reappeared in south Germany; they finally settled in northern Portugal and northwestern Spain and merged with the Visigothic kingdom in 585; the Vandals or Silingae, who were settled between the central course of the Vistula and Oder (first century B.C.); they were finally defeated, after having invaded Gaul and Spain in 407 A.D., by the East Roman commander Belisarius, in 533 A.D. When the invaders were unable to go further due to some impenetrable obstacle, such as high mountains, they settled permanently and started to established their first stable institutions. Louis Halphen, Les Barbares: Des grandes invasions aux conquêtes turques du XIe siècle (Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan, 1926), pp. 109-112. See also David Nicholas, The Medieval West, 400-1450: A Preindustrial Civilization (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1973), pp. 45-48.

6 Harriet Wanklyn, Czechoslovakia (London: George Philip & Son Limited, 1954), pp. 146-48.

2.2 Old Church Slavonic and the Czechs

The first literary language of the Czechs was probably Old Church Slavonic, a language brought to the western Slavs by missionaries representing the Greek Emperor.[7] At the time most Slavs spoke very similar languages, although a number of dialect differences had already made their appearance. Some of these dialectal differences are reflected in the contemporary geographic groupings: East, West and South Slavic languages. Old Church Slavonic is apparently a version of the Old Macedonian dialect which was spoken in the vicinity of Thessalonika, from whence came the brothers Cyril and Methodius.[8]

Saints Cyril and Methodius were sent to convert a Slavic kingdom known as Moravia to Christianity. This Moravia, however, is not necessarily coterminous with modern Moravia, which has been an appendage to the Czech state for over a thousand years.[9] The Moravia of the ninth century probably also included a large part of Slovakia, as well as the territory of the Pannonian Slavs, which today is part of Hungary and possibly of Yugoslavia. The Great Moravian Kingdom, as historians presently know it, was apparently also the most powerful member of a

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7 Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák a spol, Výbor z české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1957), p. 5.

8 In 863 Rastislav of Moravia had sent a special mission to the Emperor Michael, appealing in particular for a clergy able to spread Christianity in the language of the country. The Emperor sent two missionaries, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius, who were familiar with other Slavic dialects, especially with the most southerly branch. R.W. Seton-Watson, A History of the Czechs and Slovaks, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1965), pp. 12-13.

9 For dissenting opinion on the history of the Great Moravian Empire see Imre Boba, Moravia's History reconsidered: A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971), and Z.R. Dittrich, "The Beginning of Christianization in Great Moravia," Slavonic and East European Review, 39 (1960-61), 164-173.

confederation of Slavic peoples that stretched from the Baltic to the Adriatic.[10] It was the ruler of this state, King Rastislav, whom Cyril and Methodius were able to convert to Christianity, and it was thus among the western Slavs that the Old Slavonic literary language was first used. Unfortunately, the kingdom of Rastislav only lasted another fifty years, before falling victim to an invasion by a nomadic people from the Asiatic steppes--the Magyars. In the confusion that followed, the Church of Constantinople lost contact with the western Slavs, who began to orient themselves more toward Rome. Acceptance of Roman leadership, however, also entailed the acceptance of Latin as a principal literary language, rather than Old Church Slavonic. As a result, very little is known about the Slavic literary language used at the time of King Rastislav, as no complete texts survive.

Most later Old Church Slavonic texts bear witness to very strong influences from various local Slavic languages where this medium was used. So much is this the case, that the fundamental Old Macedonian character of the language is lost. One particularly Russified version of the language is now the official liturgical language of the Slavic Orthodox Church in Serbia, Macedonia and Bulgaria, and is usually known as Church Slavonic. Before the Russian redaction of Old Church Slavonic became established as a literary standard, there were a number of other variants in which it is possible to see the beginnings of national literary languages. For this reason Czech scholars have searched for signs of the Bohemian redaction which would supposedly be not only the oldest literary form of Old Church Slavonic, but also the oldest literary form of Czech. Unfortunately, the oldest Slavonic texts originate from the period after the Magyar invasion of the Great

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10 František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého: v Čechách a v Moravě (Praha: Nakladetel B. Kočí, 1908), p. 37.

Moravian Kingdom, and the linguistic forms used seem overwhelmingly to point to a south Slavic source. Yet the fact that a number of extremely ancient fragments have turned up in Prague, Vienna and Budapest seems to indicate that there was at least an acquaintance with the language in Bohemia and its vicinity. More telling, however, is a collection of fragments originating from Kiev, a city that maintained close trade ties with the western Slavs. These fragments contain a number of West Slavic elements: <c> represents the Proto-Slavic *tj or *kt as is characteristic of West Slavic languages. In the same way <z> represents Proto-Slavic *dj. In Old Church Slavonic, the continuants of *tj or *kt and *dj are <št> and <žd> respectively. Thus, in the Kiev Fragments we find written *pomocь* 'help', *nasyceni* 'replete', *prosjęnce* 'praying' rather than *pomoštь*, *nasyšteni* and *prosęšte* found in the canonical documents of that period. Similarly we find *dazь* 'giving' and *tuzimъ* 'other people's, strange' instead of *daždь* and *tuždimъ* '.[11]

West Slavic elements in a Kiev text, however, do not in themselves indicate a specifically 'Bohemian' redaction. More indicative are the reports from Bohemia proper. Although the Roman Church established the hegemony of Latin quite early, Old Church Slavonic liturgy continued to be used in much of Bohemia, as evidenced by the existence of religious terminology in Czech that was of Old Church Slavonic origin.[12] We have, furthermore, records from chronicles that

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11 Radoslav Večerka, Slovanské počátky české knižní vzdělanosti, (Praha: Statní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1963), pp. 87-89. See also N.J.C. Gotteri, "Marginalia: A Neglected Regularity in the Kieve Missal," Slavonic and East European Review, 51, No. 124 (July 1973), and George Y. Shevelov, "Trьt-type groups and the Problem of Moravian Components in Old Church Slavonic," *Ibid*, 35, No. 85 (June 1957), 379-398.

12 Old Church Slavonic enriched literary Czech with numerous terms: *naděje* 'hope', *duch* 'spirit', *svatý* 'saint', *modliti se* 'to pray', *zpověd*

"Sclavonicis litteris a sanctissimo Quirillo" [Slavonic writing of Saint Cyril] was practiced in the Sazava monastery in eastern Bohemia, as late as the eleventh century.[13] After the eleventh century, however, Slavonic liturgy was no longer allowed, having been forbidden, in 1080, by order of Pope Gregory VII, who wrote to King Wratislaw of Bohemia to 'make the Holy Scripture obscure in certain places lest, if it were perfectly clear to all, it might be vulgarized and subjected to disrespect or be so misunderstood by people of limited intelligence as to lead them to error.'[14] Surviving from this period, however, is a Slavonic coronation hymn, *Hospodine pomiluj ny*, which is widely considered to be the oldest extant example of Czech literature.[15]

2.3 The Evolution of a Latin-based Czech Alphabet

One of the most difficult problems of paving the way for a literary language is the devising of a phonemic alphabet for the language in question. Such an alphabet was invented by Saints Cyril and Methodius, which is known today as Glagolitic. Another alphabet is used today in Church Slavonic, in modern Russian, Serbian and Bulgarian, which is referred to as Cyrillic, but is in fact an adaptation of the Greek alphabet. Both Glagolitic and Cyrillic are Slavic alphabets capable

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'confession', *nebe* 'heaven', etc. Radoslav Večerka, Slovanské počátky české knižní vzdělanosti, p. 93.

13 Bertold Bretholz, Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag (Berlin: Weidmannsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1955), p. 242.

14 Ian Parker, "The Rise of the Vernaculars in Early Modern Europe: An Essay in the Political Economy of Language", The Sociogenesis of Language and Human Conduct, ed. Bruce Bain (New York: Plenum Press, 1983), p. 337.

15 Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák a spol., Výbor z české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu, p. 108.

of representing Slavic sounds. The hegemony of Latin over the western Slavs resulted in their adopting the Latin alphabet. The modifications of the Latin alphabet necessary for the representation of Slavic sounds happened more slowly.

One of the problems was with the pronunciation of Latin itself, which varied from region to region. Often, therefore, in the attempts by a Latin chronicler to represent the sounds in a Slavic word--usually a personal or a place name--his spelling tends to tell us more about how he pronounced Latin. This is especially the case with the letter *c*, which in Classical Latin represents /k/, but in Church Latin /č/ occurring before front vowels. In the Middle Ages, however, there appear to have been a number of variants to this pronunciation, among which is the /c/, a voiceless affricate, that was common in Bohemia.[16] Other features, however, seem to represent earlier Czech usage, such as the <g> in words such as *Praga* 'Prague'. This appears to be the preliterate form of the modern Czech *Praha*. Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, Upper Sorbian and the southern Russian dialects differ in this way from other Slavic languages, in that *g changed to a voiced aspirate, /ɦ/.[17]

One of the earliest chronicles of the Czech lands is the early twelfth century work by Cosmas of Prague. In this chronicle, he attempts to tell the history of the Czech people from the earliest mythical origins down to his day. In it, he recounts myths in Latin, that are later repeated in Czech during the fourteenth century in the so-called 'Dalimil's Chronicle'. In relating this essentially Slavic myth, however, he is forced to use the Latin alphabet, so as to be understood by

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16 Bretholz, Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag, p. 260, notes 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 27, *et passim*.

17 Stuart E. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar (London: The Athlone Press, University of London, 1957), p. 144.

his readers. This puts limitations on his ability to represent Slavic sounds. To the extent that Cosmas had a system at all, it was what one observer has called the *monographic style*, because he would use single Latin letters to represent, in an inconsistent manner, Slavic sounds (see Table 1 for further explanation). This was especially a problem, since Latin had no system, at that time, of representing palatals and *chuintantes* [palato-alveolar fricatives]. When Cosmas encountered /č/, he would simply write [c] and hope the reader would construe the pronunciation correctly.[18] For a man of the twelfth century, for whom Latin itself was not spelled in an entirely logical fashion, the concept of a phonemic alphabet for Czech was a difficult one to grasp.

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[18] Bretholz, p. 63, note k.

Table 1: The Evolution of Czech Orthography

From Stuart E. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar (London: The Athlone Press, 1957), pp. 152-154.

STYLE	PERIOD	DESCRIPTION
MONOGRAPHIC	to about 1250	Czech words and names in Latin contexts are (approximately represented by twenty-five letters of the Latin alphabet. Vowels written without diacritics, and consonents are unmodified, thus **dete** (dietě).
DIGRAPHIC	1250-1400	Doubling of consonants, **e.g.**, **ss**-**š**, **zz**-**ž**, the phonome **j** represented by **g** before **e** and **i** (**gest=jest,ginj=jiný**), by **y** elsewhere (**yako, teynye=jako, tejně**) vowel length indicated by doubling **aa, uu, ii**).
DIACRITIC or HUSSITIC	1400-1550	Dots as consonant modifiers adopted systematically; two qualities of **l** are indicated; glide palatalization (**ť, ď, ň**) is not consistently represented; some writers use hooks (**ʒ, ƈ** or **ƭ**); digraphs throughout the 15th century; **rz** beside **ř**, **cz** beside **č**.
KRALICE BIBLE	1550-1620	Hooked modifiers replace Hussite dots; vowel length is consistently represented; **ě, ň** (unless before **ě** or **i**).
ETYMOLOGICAL	1780-1840	**i** and **y** are strictly distinguished according to their etymology (Dobrovský) **s** and **z** - followed by **i** not **y**.
ŠAFÁRIK	1840-1850 1844	Proposed the abolition of **g** and **y** as representing **j** and **j** as representing **l** (published in **Všehrd**, 1st vol. of Czech texts);**ou** (for **au**) and **v** (for **w**) adopted by Moravian writers (opposed by Šafárik and Palacký).
MODERN	1850 onward	**ou** and **v** remained; turn of the century opposition to double consonants in loanwords, **e.g.**, **ballada-balada**, **ph** and **th** represented by **f** and **t** respectively.

2.4 The Appearance of a Literary Language

The growth of towns during the Middle Ages resulted in the growth of new social classes, and created a need for a more educated population. The urban environment fostered the growth of a skilled work force which could apply logic to its methods, as in keeping records, or at least be familiar with them. It was under these conditions that double entry bookkeeping became a common tool of merchants. It would not be long, in fact, before the fate of nations would be decided by the notations in a banker's ledger. But the language medium used was very frequently not Latin, but rather literary forms of the vernacular languages--that is, the common spoken languages of a particular region.

The urban revolution in Europe north of the Alps began in an area roughly known as Flanders, which included much of northwestern France. One of the first literary vernaculars was, therefore, the so-called *langue d'oïl*, of which the French language was one of many dialects. As the urban revolution spread eastward, the *theudisce* or German language joined the ranks of the literary vernaculars.[19] By the thirteenth century, the literary German language began to be used also in Bohemia.[20] This was in part due to the fact that the urban revolution had arrived there, as well as the presence of large numbers of German immigrants. German written literature had, furthermore, found many sponsors among the nobility. But by the mid-thirteenth century, a xenophobic reaction had set in among the Czechs.[21] By this time, the urban revolution was well

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19 Phillippe Wolff, Western Languages A D 100-1500, trans. Frances Partridge (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 134.

20 Havránek, Výbor z české literatury od počátků po dobu Husovu, p. 6.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 12.

established in Bohemia, and it had begun drawing on the local population. As a result, the Czechs began developing a literary tradition of their own.

The adaptation of the Latin alphabet to a Slavic language, however, demanded an understanding of its phonology. Cosmas attempted to render Slavic place names with such strange combinations of Latin letters that they often confound even experts. Gradually, however, systems were developed. By the thirteenth century, however, a system was being developed that used groups of two Latin letters to represent phonemes that did not exist in Latin. This system is known as *digraphic*, or composite, *e.g.*, the combination *ss* would represent *š*, *cz*= *č*, *zz*= *ž*, *rz*= *ř* (see Table 1). As Czech was the first Slavic language to attain a written form using the Latin alphabet, orthographic principles that it would later abandon, would nevertheless be preserved in other Slavic languages that it influenced. Most notable are the combinations <cz> and <rz>, which are still used in Polish.[22]

It was also during this period that another theme of Bohemian history would become apparent: the tendency for different social groups to rally around language as a symbol of group identity. In this case, as it would also be later, the languages involved were Czech and German. As can be illustrated in Figure 1, the speakers of Czech and the speakers of German occupied different social strata. In fact, I believe that these two languages are the one constant factor in Bohemian history. I do not, however, believe that the existence of these two languages necessarily entails the existence of two nationalities. Instead, we find that at different points in history, different people chose to identify themselves for diverse reasons as either Czechs or Germans. Thus, what appears to be a

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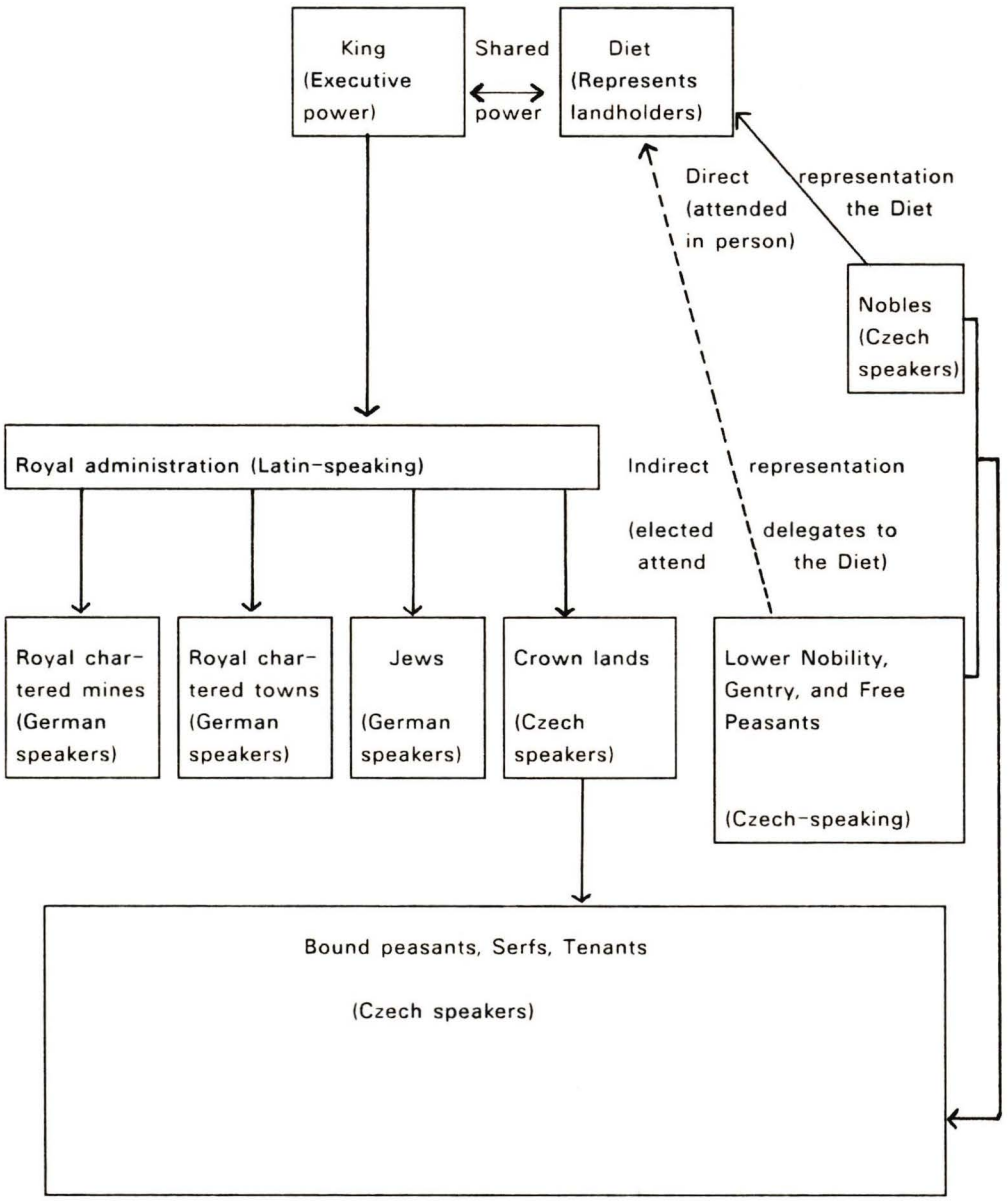
[22] Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 152.

centuries-old conflict is, in fact, a series of dissimilar conflicts, in which both sides state their position in terms of language.

Figure 1: The Socio-Economic Structure of Bohemia until the Battle of White Mountain (1620)



Czech speakers owe the origin of their identities to the reign of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV (1342-1378), who was King of Bohemia. As Prague became a capital city, the population mushroomed. This was the 'Golden Age' of Czech history. The University of Prague (*Karolinum*) was founded in 1348, attracting students from as far away as England. The university was divided into Czech, Polish, Saxon and Bavarian faculties, each one having a controlling vote.[23] This was also the period when the medieval Czech language attained its highest prestige. The *Chronicle of Dalimil*, which was essentially a Czech version of the Cosmas chronicle, recounts the origin of the Czech people.[24] Other outstanding examples of the literature from this period are the *Alexandreis* and the *Legend of St. Catherine*.[25]

At this time, the Czech language also went through the first stage of the vowel change known as the *česká přehláska* 'the Czech vowel mutation', which was to distinguish it from other Slavonic literary languages. Thus *Bóh* 'God', became *Buoh*, and *súd* 'judgement' became *saud*.[26] The language, however, retained certain archaic features such as the Old Slavonic aorist and imperfect, as well as the dual number of nouns.

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23 R.R. Betts, Essays in Czech History (London: The Athlone Press, 1969), pp. 1-28.

24 Bohuslav Havránek a Jiří Daňhelka, Nejstarší česká rýmovaná kronika tak řečeného Dalimila, druhé vydaní, (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé Akademie Věd, 1958).

25 For further details see Jiří Cejnar, Nejstarší české veršované legendy (Praha: Nakladatelství československé akademie věd), 1964.

26 R.G.A. De Bray, Guide to the Slavonic Languages (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1951), p. 436.

2.5 The Hussitic Literary Language

All was not well, however, in Bohemia under the reign of Charles IV. He tended to prefer to have German speakers in all important royal positions. This became more evident during the reigns of Charles' successors. One of the critics of the policy of favouring Germans was Jan Hus, a professor of theology in the Czech section of Prague University, who preached in Czech at the Bethlehem Chapel.[27] When Hus was treacherously burned at the stake, at Constance, after being promised safe conduct, violence replaced theological arguments. The violence, furthermore, quickly took on an anti-German character, as Czech mobs began attacking German towns in Bohemia and murdering German priests.[28]

Jan Hus, however, was more than just a religious reformer; he also tried to turn the vernacular of Prague into a vehicle of the ministry. To this end, he produced the first treatise on Czech orthography, called *De orthographia bohemica*, in which he introduced the modern 'phonetic' or 'diacritic' spelling, which uses one letter per sound (see Table 1). He used dots (as consonant modifiers) written over letters representing sounds not existing in Latin; for example *ṡ* (=*š*), *ż* (=*ž*) *ċ* (=*č*), and *ṙ* (=*ř*). He also introduced the acute accent (*čárka*) to distinguish long and short vowels. In addition, he tried to purge the spoken language of Prague of German loanwords and to eliminate archaic forms. Jan Hus, however, would remain until the nineteenth century only one of several influences on the Czech language. Digraphs continued to be used along with

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27 Josef Held, "Jan Hus", Czechoslovakia: The Heritage of Ages Past: Essays in Memory of Joseph Korbel, eds. Hans Brisch and Ivan Volgyes (New York: East European Quarterly, Boulder, 1979), pp. 57-73.

28 Richard F. Nyrop, ed., Czechoslovakia: A Country Study, 2nd edition, (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1982), p. 12.

diacritics. By the fifteenth century, furthermore, diacritic hooks had virtually replaced the Hussite dots. Often these were used in combination with digraphs--as in <cz>.[29]

The real standardization of the classical literary Czech, however, came with the Reformation, and the translation of the Bible into Czech. This was done at the end of the sixteenth century, by the Protestant sect known as the Moravian Brethren, *Jednota bratrská*. This version of the Bible was to form the basis for a version of literary Czech, known as *bibličtina*. The *Kralice Bible*, as it was called, thus had an effect on the Czech language as had the Lutheran Bible on German. But unlike literary German, classical literary Czech was not destined to survive.[30]

The *Kralice Bible* also reflected a number of changes that had occurred in the spoken Czech language by the sixteenth century. The aorist and the imperfect forms of verbs had disappeared. Their function was taken over by the old perfect tense. At this point aspect became an important feature replacing tense. Thus, the function of the former aorist *vedech* 'I brought' would be expressed instead by *Já jsem vedl*, whereas the function of the former imperfect *vediech* was taken over by *Já jsem vodil*. Furthermore, the dual number disappeared from the Czech language with only a few exceptions (mainly when referring to paired parts of the body): *oči*, instrumental plural *očima* 'eyes'; *uši/ušima* 'ears'; *ruce/rukama* 'hands'; *nohy/nohama* 'legs'; *dvě/dvěma* 'two'; *obě/oběma* 'both'. These words exemplify some surviving dual forms in

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29 Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, pp. 152-153.

30 Dmitrij Čiževskij, trans. Richard Noel Porter and Martîn P. Rice, ed. Serge A. Zenkovsky Comparative History of Slavic Literatures (Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), p. 71.

modern Czech. In addition, the Czech vowel mutation went through its second phase, *i.e.*, *Buoh* became *Bůh* and *saud* changed to *soud*.[31]

In 1620, the armies of the Czech Diet were defeated by the Hapsburg King, Ferdinand of Styria, at the Battle of White Mountain. The defeat spelled not only the eradication of Protestantism in Bohemia, but also destruction of the entire Czech ruling class. In their place came a foreign nobility originating from every European nationality imaginable, but sharing one trait in common: they used German as a lingua franca.[32]

But the Germanization of Bohemia did not begin with the Battle of White Mountain. For a century already, the Czech Diet had been electing kings of the Hapsburg dynasty, who were not only Catholic, but also German. The Hapsburgs had in turn protected the German-speaking towns and the Catholic religion. Thus, by the time of the Battle of White Mountain, the German speakers were well established in Bohemia.

As a result of the Battle of White Mountain, however, Protestantism was defeated, and in the baggage trains of the Hapsburg armies came Jesuit missionaries. Protestantism survived, however, among Czech refugee communities in Moravia and Slovakia. Here the language of the *Kralice Bible* continued to be a major literary vehicle, despite events in the heartland of the Czech language. It is, therefore, no surprise that the people who would later be instrumental in reviving the Czech language were Protestants from these

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31 František Travníček, Historická mluvnice československá (Praha: Melantrich Ltd, 1935), p. 61.

32 Robert Joseph Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century: A Study in Political, Economic, and Social History with Special Reference to the Reign of Leopold II, 1790-1792 (Orono, Maine: Academic International, 1969), pp. 67-69.

communities.

2.6 Decay of Literary and Spoken Czech

The circumstances that brought about the decay of the spoken Czech language fit into Dressler's model for language decay, starting with social subordination and resulting in linguistic decay (see Chapter I). Although the Czech language survived in its many dialectal forms in the rural areas, the former prestige dialect of Prague was undergoing rapid decay by the 1780's. In both the decay and in the revival of the spoken language, the literary language played a key role. From its medieval origins, the literary Czech language was an important element in the linguistic identity of Czech speakers. The decline of the literary language after 1620 was in turn an important factor in the decline of the spoken language, and the subsequent revival of the literary language at the beginning of the nineteenth century preceded the general revival of the spoken language.

The primary cause of the decline of the Czech literary language after the Battle of White Mountain was the outright suppression by the conquering army and the Jesuits who accompanied them. This consisted of massive burnings of books for their supposedly heretical doctrines, which in fact meant any book in the Czech language.[33] It also consisted in the Latinization of all the Czech institutions of higher learning, reducing Czech to being used only in the primary schools.[34]

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[33] The Jesuits, led by Antonín Koniáš collected and burned many Czech books, including the Czech translation of the Bible. A.H. Hermann, A History of the Czechs, p. 69.

[34] In 1622 the University of Prague was merged with the Jesuit Academy, and the entire educational system of the Bohemian Kingdom was placed under Jesuit control. In 1624 all non-Catholic priests were expelled by royal decree.

More fundamental to the future of the Czech literary language, however, was the loss of a native Czech-speaking educated elite, consisting of the classes that "might have been the active bearers of a cultivated linguistic tradition."[35] Some of the members of these classes had fled into exile after the loss of their political autonomy. It has been generally accepted by scholars that the population in Bohemia diminished from about 1,750,000 to about 950,000.[36] Twenty-five percent of the nobility, twenty-five percent of the bourgeoisie, and most of the Czech intelligentsia (among them *Jednota bratrská* [Moravian Brethren])--approximately 36,000 families--were exiled or emigrated voluntarily.[37] Most of the members of the upper class, however, chose to remain in Bohemia, but also to assimilate themselves to the conquerors, which meant, among other things, to favour the German language in all conversation.

Ibid.. Up until 1780 Czech was still used sporadically in schools, however, beginning with 1780 the language was no longer tolerated in the gymnasia and after 1788, in order to gain entrance to these schools, the pupils had to know German. Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, pp. 351-52.

35 J. Bělič, Naše řeč, 36(1953), Prague, p. 193.

36 Alois Míka, "K narodnostním poměrům v Čechách po třicetileté válce" [On the National Conditions in Bohemia after the Thirty Years' War], Československý časopis historický, 24 (1976), 535-63. See also Mikuláš Teich, "Bohemia: From Darkness into Light," The Enlightenment in National Context, eds. Roy Porter and Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 145.

37 Nine of the oldest Czech noble families stayed in Bohemia after the Battle of White Mountain. They were the Černíns (Czernins), Kinskýs (originally Vehynskýs), the Kolovrats (Kolowrats), the Kaunitzes (Kounics), the Lobkovices (Lobkowitzes), the Šliks (Schlicks), the Sternbergs and the Waldsteins. The new nobility can be recognized by its names. From Ireland came the O'Kelleys, the Taaffes, and the MacNevens (Macnevens or Maknevens), from England originate the Wallises, and from France the Buquoys (Buquoys) and the Desfours (from Lorraine). Robert Joseph Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, p. 68.

The implications that this had for the spoken Czech language were profound. Czech became a language spoken mainly by peasants and servants, with the consequent lower sociolinguistic evaluation of spoken Czech. This in turn resulted in the sociolinguistic restriction of the use of spoken Czech, meaning it became an unacceptable language to be used in polite company.[38] Consequently, Czech was spoken in fewer types of speech situations, resulting in impoverishment of structure and vocabulary. Speakers of Czech began to show increasing lack of stylistic options, and started to make extensive use of German lexical borrowings. In the middle of the 19th century there was a Czech-German jargon in use by the lower classes. This jargon was probably also spoken a century earlier.[39]

These factors, in turn, caused Czech to become a language that was inadequate for performing the higher social functions. Czech speakers would find themselves thus forced to switch into German when discussing anything but the most elementary subjects. Educated persons were, furthermore, unable to express themselves in any language but German. Even the early Czech nationalists tended to write and speak more German than they did Czech.[40]

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38 "...Kdokoli nosil slušný kabát neodvážil se tak snadno na veřejných místech promluvit česky." [Whoever wore a decent coat did not venture so readily to speak Czech in public place]. "Autobiographie (1865)" Dílo, I, 40. See also Zacek, Palacký: The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist (The Hague: Mouton & Co. N.V., 1970), p. 17.

39 Alois Jirásek satirized this speech in Filosofská historie (1877). The following exchange may be cited as a typical example of this jargon: ...'Že by prý pan Vavřena byl hezký a hodný, že, kdyby nebyl tak stolz, so könnte man ihn austehen.' 'O, to je závist a Eifsucht.' A. Jirásek, Filosofská historie (London: 1942), p. 17. See also Robert Auty, "Language and Society in the Czech National Revival", The Slavonic and East European Review, 35, No. 84 (December 1956), p. 244.

40 Later generations commented: 'Němčina se vybíjela němčinou' [German was used to drive out German]. De Bray, Guide to the West Slavonic Languages, p. 36.

One can say, therefore, that the spoken Czech language was most threatened by decline in those places and during those times when Czech speakers were in the most direct contact with German speakers. More specifically, spoken Czech was most threatened during the late eighteenth century, during the period of greatest centralization and government-sanctioned Germanization, and immediately prior to the revival of the literary Czech language. It was most threatened, furthermore, in urban areas, especially Prague, which was the cradle of the literary Czech standard and the 'prestige dialect'.

Table 2: MODERN CZECH CONSONANT PHONEMES

From Leopoldina Hrubant, Aspect in Czech: A Morphological Analysis (University of Victoria: 1971), p. 5. Larry M. Hyman, Phonology: Theory and Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1975), p. 241.

		Labial		Alveo-dental		Palatal		Velo-glottal	
		bilabial	labio-dental	apico dental	apico-alveo-lar	apico-alveo-palatal	lamino-palatal	dorso-velar	glottal
Stops	voiceless	p		t			t'	k	
	voiced	b		d			d'	g	
Fricatives	voiceless		f		s	š		x	
	voiced		v		z	ž			h
Affricates					c	č			
Nasals		m		n			ň		
Lateral					l				
Trills					r	ř			
Semivowel						j			

Table 3: MODERN CZECH VOWEL PHONEMES

L. Hrubant, p. 6. L.M. Hyman, p. 241.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:		u u:
Mid	e e:		o (o:)
Low		a a:	

(o:) appears only in borrowed words.

Table 4: The Evolution of the Czech Literary Language

From Stuart E. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, pp. 142-151.

DATE	EXAMPLES OF LITERATURE	POINTS OF INTEREST
circa 950 circa 1000	**Kiev Fragments,** **Prague Fragment**	Moravianisms (the first hint of a separate Western Slavonic Language).
10th C.	**Legend of St. Methodius** **Legend of St. Ludmila,** Prologues to **Legend of St. Wenceslas**	Proper names are evidence of a separate Czech language.
1045-1125	**Cosmas' Chronicle**	Czech colloquial glosses in a Latin text (approx. 400 place names and personal names).
circa 1227	Monastic obituary lists, **e.g., Register of Podlažice**	Proper names that coincide with Old Czech common nouns, they constitute an early vocabulary, but in the process of latinization the shapes of morphemes have been obscured.
early 13th C.	**Records of Litoměřice**	The first complete sentence of contemporary Czech: **Pavel dal gest Ploscouicih zemu. Wlah dal gest Dolas zemu Bogu i suiatemu Scepanu se duema dusnicoma Bogucea a Sedlatu** (Paul has given the land of the Plošek family. Vlach, with two clerics [?] Bohučěj and Sedlata, has given...land to the Lord and to St. Stephen).
circa 1200-	**Hospodine, pomiluj ny,**	Hymns-examples of the first independent Czech compositions.
13th C.	Vernacular oral and written poetry	Troubadors, minstrels, trouveres. and minnesanger, wandering poet-musicians or residents at a particular feudal court, play a crucial role as entertainers, as bearers of news of distant events, and as articulators of the mythology of chivalry to their courtly audiences (see Ian Parker, p. 339).

DATE	EXAMPLES OF LITERATURE	POINTS OF INTEREST
1260	**Herbarium**	Czech plant names.
1253–1306	**Breviaries of Strahov** and **Petrohrad**	Collections of psalms, canticles, and prayers with Czech translation aids.
" "	**Psalters**	Czech glosses.
circa 1300	**Alexandreis**	Sharp break with church tradition. The first secular composition in Czech.
circa 1350	Mystery plays, **e.g., Mastičkář**	Examples of dramatic activity of the period.
circa 1338–1405	Tomáš of Štítný	Theological and philosophical writings.
1538(and 1544)	Sigmund Gelinius (or Jelen)	**Lexicon Symphonum**, a comparative study of similar words in Latin, Slavonic, Greek and German.
1579–93	**Kralice Bible**	Translation of the New Testament into Czech. The Czech language is standardised for the first time. Nineteenth century revivers used this text as one of the tools to 'plan' modern literary Czech.
1598	Veleslavín	**Silva quadrilinguis**, tetragloss vocabulary.
1592–1670	Jan Amos Komenský	Theoretical works on education.
1672	Bohuslav Balbín	**Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua slavonica, slavonica, praecipue bohemica [Defense of the Czech Nation]**.

Chapter III

THE LITERARY LANGUAGE REVIVAL

The Czech National Revival is inextricably intertwined with the revival of the Czech literary language. Although nationalism is a nineteenth-century phenomenon, the roots of modern Czech nationalism can be traced to the late Middle Ages (probably not later than the early fifteenth century). During its long development the expression of nationalism reflected the character of the different historical periods. In the Middle Ages religion was the primary reason for establishing a literary standard for Czech, whereas modern nationalism, especially since the mid-nineteenth century, was of a more secular nature, as political autonomy and the 'romantic' nationalism were of major importance to the promoters of the Czech literary language. The Middle Ages and the nineteenth century had several points in common:

a) the growing resentment of the Czech speakers toward the German speakers (and vice versa);

b) the concern with language, the choice of a common dialect (Central Bohemian), the setting of norms, resolving the problem of orthography and the opposition to German loanwords.

However, the two periods had different societies, the Middle Ages were feudal, whereas the nineteenth century was characterized by industralization.

Czech differed from certain other Slavic languages in that it had a previously established literary language. This was, however, extensively modified during the

revival resulting in significant differences in orthography. These reforms bear the marks of the various reformers, in much the same way as was the case of other Slavic languages that had no prior literary forms. The names Dobrovský, Palacký and Šafárik mark the different stages in the evolution of Czech orthography (see Table 1 for further details).[41] They are as important to literary Czech, in fact, as Vuk Karadžić is to literary Serbian, Ljudovit Gaj to Croatian, L'udovit Štúr to Slovak, and Franz Miklosich to Slovene.

The revival of literary Czech was, however, much more dramatic and rapid than it was with other Slavic languages during the same period. In the course of the nineteenth century, Czech-language literacy rose from zero to well over ninety percent. This can be attributed to the parallel economic developments brought about by the Industrial Revolution in the Prague. The city grew rapidly as Czech-speaking peasants migrated to take urban jobs. Peasants and their children were exposed to primary, secondary and even higher education in the Czech language. They read Czech-language newspapers and attended Czech-language theatre. The people they looked to as their leaders, futhermore, were people who prided themselves in being Czech speakers.

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41 During this time various attempts were made by contemporary philologists to adopt a single alphabet by all Slavs, which would symbolize the unity of the Slavonic 'people' and 'language', to use the terminology of the time, as against the multifarious variety of existing Slavonic 'stocks' and 'dialects'. However, the enthusiasm for Slavonic unity which marked the national revivals of the early nineteenth century was not powerful enough to impose a single orthography (let alone a single language) on all Slavs. Nevertheless, after 1850 the orthographical systems of all the Catholic Slavs, with the exception of the Poles, were, if not identical, at least very close. See Robert Auty, "Orthographical Innovations and Controversies among the Western and Southern Slavs during the Slavonic National Revival" The Slavonic and East European Review, 46 (1968), 324-332.

3.1 Bohemia under Hapsburg Control

The Hapsburg control over Bohemia was uncontested after the Battle of White Mountain and remained so until the late eighteenth century. The old Czech nobility had been largely wiped out, and those who remained had been thoroughly domesticated. In their place came a colonizing population of people from different parts of Europe. To the extent that they spoke any language, other than their own mother tongue, they spoke German.[42] But the feudal system that had spawned the Czech nobility, and which drove them along the nationalistic course, remained essentially intact. Fiefs were redistributed; they were not, however, dissolved. The majority of Czechs remained subjects of one of the hundreds of miniature states that crowded the Bohemian countryside.[43] They were subject to the lord's judgment, could not leave the manor without his permission, and had to maintain heavy payments to support him; he in turn had to support the king.

By the eighteenth century, the same nationalism that had been one of the hallmarks of the old Bohemian nobility came also to characterize this new nobility. They became marked by their inclination to be disloyal to the crown, and by their tendency to admire what they called the 'Bohemian Constitution' which they considered rightfully theirs. The only difference between the new Bohemian nobility and the old one is that they spoke primarily German, not Czech.

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42 Robert Joseph Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, p. 69.

43 Bohemia had between nine hundred and fifty and a thousand manors. The manor in the Eighteenth Century was 'a small constitutional, institutional, administrative, and agrarian state, a little self-sufficient economic world.' *Ibid.*, p. 274.

3.2 The Bohemian Nobility and Czech Nationalism

The new Bohemian nobility were, thus, by the eighteenth century definitely not hostile to the Czech language. Certain influential families, in fact, were of old Czech origin. Most significant of these were the Kolovrats, who had in the period since the Battle of White Mountain managed to preserve an enormous library of old Czech manuscripts, including some original writings of Jan Žižka, a disciple of Jan Hus.[44]

The crucial events that triggered the revival, however, were the reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II during the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1742, Austria suffered a serious military defeat at the hands of Prussia. Bohemia was briefly occupied. The Bohemian nobility, furthermore, showed a remarkable lack of loyalty to the Hapsburg crown. To a man, they swore an oath of fealty to Frederick II of Prussia. But the Prussians did not stay. They withdrew from Bohemia, keeping only most of Silesia and Lusatia. The new empress, Maria Theresa, was crowned in Prague. But she never forgave the disloyalty of her nobility, and during the rest of her reign she undertook reforms that not only strengthened the Austrian state, but attacked the privileges of the nobility.[45] These reforms were pursued even further by her son Joseph II. But after Maria

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44 Stuart E. Mann, "The Journal of the Czech Museum," cit.The Slavonic and East European Review, 36, No. 86 (December 1957), 81.

45 R.J. Kerner describes all reforms, which Maria Theresa undertook against the Bohemian nobility, in his book Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century. Although Bohemia was one-quarter the size of Hungary, with only one-third of the latter's population, this province carried between 32 and 49% of the revenue of the Monarchy and contributed four times as much as all the Hungarian lands. In 1752, Maria Theresa declared that it was 'a capital offense for one to declare himself a Protestant, and this crime--for Protestantism had been adeclared a crime by Charles IV--was named alongside of treason and rebellion.' Kerner, pp. 35-38.

Theresa's death, an aristocratic reaction set in, which stimulated the national revival.

The primary direction of the reforms was to increase the role of the bureacracy in governing the country and, thus, decrease the role of the nobility. In order to facilitate this, the two emperors introduced German as a language of administration. They also organized schools all over the empire to teach German and train future administrators. These schools were open to persons of all social origins. Also, to facilitate the learning of German and administration, the government encouraged the study of national languages.[46]

More than any other group, the Czechs took advantage of the opportunities available to them. Czechs enrolled in government schools in large numbers. So successful were these schools that a number of private schools were also founded to compete with them. By the end of the eighteenth century, in fact, it became common to find Czech tutors living in the homes of many wealthy and aristocratic families.[47] This was the Czech intelligentsia that would later exert an influence far beyond its numbers. It was especially the tutors who served in the households of old Czech origin, who would come to play an important role in the Czech literary revival.

This tremendous receptivity that Czech had to government popular education programs was a reflection of the wide-spread growth in the levels of education and skill of the Czech population in general, which was in itself one of the early indications of the beginnings of the Czech industrial revolution. Linguistically,

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46 Joseph Kočí, České národní obrození (Praha: Nakladatelství Svoboda, 1978), p. 146.

47 C.A. Macartney, The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918 (London: Wedenfeld and Nicolson, 1969), pp. 213-15.

however, it threatened more than ever the survival of the literary and spoken Czech language. For the first time, upward mobility was possible, yet in order to achieve it, one had to become Germanized. As Czechs rose on the social ladder, they would find themselves increasingly in situations where they were required to speak German. Most educated Czechs, in fact, communicated better in German than in Czech (as has been mentioned in Chapter II). Yet interest in the literary Czech language was growing.

3.3 The Revival of Spoken and Literary Czech

The Czech literary revival can be observed in three stages: the Rationalism, Romantic Nationalism and 'Chauvinistic' Nationalism. The first two stages occurred almost simultaneously, but the Rationalists represented an older generation of thinkers, with ideas rooted in the Age of Reason (see Table 5 for more details).

The revival of the literary and the spoken Czech language occurred paradoxically in those areas and during that period when it was the most threatened by the encroachment of German. The reasons for the revival can be attributed to the rise of nationalism throughout Europe following the French Revolution.[48] But this does not explain the particular circumstances surrounding

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48 As Joseph Zacek stated in his article on nationalism in Czechoslovakia: 'The Czech "rebirth" appears to have been both a part of the general continantal emancipation that stemmed from the Enlightenment and the French Revolution as well as a specifically Bohemian and Czech reaction to the rationalistic and romantic stimuli from abroad.' French nationalism proclaiming *'Les droits de l'homme'* [the rights of man], and the pan-Slav nationalism were the major factors that stimulated this movement. Joseph F. Zacek, "Nationalism in Czechoslovakia", Nationalism in Eastern Europe, eds. Peter F. Sugar and Ivo J. Lederer (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), p. 175.

Table 5: Revival of the Czech Literary Language from its 'Roots' to 1820

DATE	NAME	CHARACTERISTICS	PROPONENTS	DESCRIPTION
1780-1820	RATIONALISTS (This group had its **roots** in the 18th century, but they operated at about the same time as the Romantic Nationalists).	'BOHEMIANS' Men of peasant stock; German in education; sponsored by wealthy individuals (esp. nobles); tutors and chaplains; though bilingual in Czech and German, they expressed themselves better in German; most of them could not write any Czech; their interest in Czech was often of an **antiquarian** nature; cosmopolitan outlook.	Josef Dobrovský Josef Jungmann	**AGE OF REASON**

Czech nationalism that generally arose parallel to German nationalism outside of Bohemia. The Czech nationalists had been able to take a language that many assumed was on the point of dying and turn it into the principal language of modern-day Czechoslovakia.

3.3.1 The Planning of Modern Literary Czech

Decisions about the promotion of a given language are mainly made for economic and political reasons and represent the ideas of those in political power.[49]

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[49] Shirley Brice Heath, Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico-Colony to Nation (New York: Teachers College Press, 1972).

The Modern Czech language planning counts as a classical model of the 'Cultivation approach', as described by Christina B. Paulston in her paper Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning.[50] Paulston views the question of language planning in terms of two different approaches: 1) the 'Language policy' approach, 2) the 'Language cultivation' approach. Paulston defines the 'Language policy' approach, as the 'policies conducted by governments concerning language', or 'the policies establishing an official language'. This type of approach may be generally accepted by the population at whom it is directed. Often, however, this approach is not accepted by the population at large. In any case, it affects the linguistic behaviour of the population concerned, not necessarily the government itself. Language policy may even result in a situation of conflict with an existing elite. 'Language cultivation', by contrast, is described as the approach whereby elites themselves engage in language planning. They collectively decide on a linguistic standard, which had been established by language specialists. The elite then adheres to the standard themselves. By force of example, therefore, the population at large comes to view that standard as 'correct' and imbued with all the positive qualities that they generally attribute to the elite itself. The government, however, if existing in a conflicting relationship with the elite, may view such efforts of language cultivation as a threat to their power, besides the fact that it may be opposed to existing language policy efforts (see Table 6 for further explanation). What is, however, remarkable in Bohemia is that a large segment of the ruling class collectively decided to change the language habits beginning in the 1820's. Most of these members of the Prague

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50 Christina Bratt Paulston, Implications of Language Planning. Papers in Applied Linguistics, Bilingual Education Series: 1 (Arlington, Virginia: Centre for Applied Linguistics, 1974), p. 4.

elite were people who were German in education, and had supposedly, therefore, the greatest stake in maintaining German as the hegemonic language. Not all of them, furthermore, were particularly talented in languages, and the strain of bringing their knowledge of Czech up to par with their knowledge of German should have been more than they could handle. One must thus view romantic nationalism as both the motive and the cause of the revival of the literary Czech language.

In the late eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, Bohemian scholars, with the support of several old Bohemian aristocratic families, were the 'planners' of Modern Literary Czech. One of the first tasks of these thinkers was to create a linguistic identity. Creating a linguistic identity involved primarily establishing a literary standard. Consequently, they also were the individuals to determine 'correct' speech, 'substandard' speech and 'dialect'. These thinkers had to solve several problems before implementing their language policy:

> a) whether or not the dialect used by Jan Hus for standardizing would be understood in other parts of Bohemia and Moravia;
>
> b) updating the grammar (aorist and the imperfect were no longer used in spoken Czech) and simplifying the orthography;
>
> c) creating a modern vocabulary and eliminating archaisms.

51

In studying dialects, furthermore, the language 'planners' had to draw a boundary separating their dialects from the dialects of a neighbouring Slavic language. Usually these language boundaries corresponded to political boundaries. Czech nationalists did not make claims on Prussian Silesia, even though the

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51 This process took a relatively short time, not much more than fifty years, and Literary Czech became a vehicle of the Czech National Revival.

Table 6: LANGUAGE PLANNING

From Christina B. Paulston, Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning. Papers in Applied Linguistics. Bilingual Education Series: 1. (Center for Applied Linguistics: Arlington, Virginia, 1974), p. 4.

INPUTS	CRITERIA	CULTIVATION APPROACH	POLICY APPROACH
?	Determination		
	1. Who makes the decision?	Language specialists, i.e.,linguists, philologists, language teachers, native informants, etc.	Government officials, agencies, ministries, etc.
	2. Does decision concern native or other language?	Decision about official native language of policy makers.	Decision about choice of official language or about second or foreign language of policy makers.
	3. Whom does the decision affect?	Decision affects language behaviour of elites and policy makers as well.	Decision affects only subordinate classes or groups.
	Development		
	4. Factors in evaluating results?	Primarily linguistic or paedolinguistic.	Primarily non-linguistic, such as economic, political, ideological, etc.
	Implementation		
	5. Factors in evaluating results?	Passive acceptance.	Strong attitudes, either negative or positive.

territory had been part of the Czech Kingdom prior to 1740, and the inhabitants spoke a transitional language between Czech and Polish. Likewise the present boundary between the areas speaking Czech and the areas speaking Slovak

correspond to the pre-World War I boundary between the halves of the Dual Monarchy.

3.3.2 Rationalists and Romantic Nationalists

At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were two intellectual currents in Bohemia which were both inspired by the ideas of contemporary German thinkers. In contrast to the impassioned expressions of nationalism by the end of the century the ideas of both of these groups were quite tolerant of any opposing views. The first group was represented by the older generation of thinkers, whose ideas had roots in the Age of Reason.[52] Josef Dobrovský was a typical example of a 'rationalist' scholar. Born in Hungary, the son of a Czech army officer, who was himself a native of Hradec Králové [Koniggrätz], he was the primary instigator of the Czech National Revival.[53] Dobrovský's interest in the Czech language was primarily antiquarian.[54] He himself wrote all his life in either German or Latin. His own belief was that the Czech language was bound for extinction.

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52 A.H. Hermann, A History of the Czechs, pp. 92-93.

53 For further details on the life of Josef Dobrovský see Milan Machovec, Josef Dobrovský (Praha: Svobodné Slovo, 1964).

54 Joseph F. Zacek, Palacký: The Historian as a Scholar and Nationalist, p. 19. See also I.V. Jagič, Istorija slavjanskoj filologii (Leipzig: Zentral-Antiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1967), pp. 100-37.

55 V. Flajšhans, "Jos. Dobrovský a české tvoření slov", Josef Dobrovský 1753-1829: Sborník statí k stému výročí smrti Josefa Dobrovského, ed. Jiří Horák, Matyáš Murko a Miloš Weingart (Praha: Slovanský Seminář University Karlovy v Praze, 1929), p. 85.

In 1809, Dobrovský published the first modern Czech grammar, the *Ausführliches Lehrgebäude der böhmischen Sprache.*[55] In his work Dobrovský held up as models both the writings of Czech literature and the language of folk songs and tales. He departed significantly from the model of the *Kralice Bible*, however, in his orthography. He totally rejected digraphs, which caused difficulty for persons learning literary Czech. On the other hand, he insisted that the marking of the old /i/:/ɨ/ distinction be strictly maintained according to each morpheme's etymology. In modern Czech this distinction is without relevence to pronunciation except when the high front vowel is preceded by one of the dentals /t,d,n/, in which case the consonant will be palatalized before <i>, but will remain hard if followed by <y>. Dobrovský also advocated the use of 'purer' Czech--that is, a version of the Czech language that used fewer German loanwords. He favoured finding Old Czech equivalents wherever possible, or borrowing words from other Slavic languages.[56]

Dobrovský lived in an era when German was the hegemonic language in Bohemia. German was the language of most educated people. It was also the language of commerce. German, therefore, carried the most prestige (see Chapter I for further details). Czech speakers thus bore the stigma of lower class, which further encouraged the propensity for moderately successful persons to prefer German. But the French Revolution had changed many things, among which was the way people viewed lower class culture. A new generation would come increasingly to identify with the 'people' and , as a result, to change the

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56 Josef Jungmann and Antonín Marek, Dobrovský's disciples, introduced such words as *pud* 'instinct', *rozlehlý* 'extensive', borrowed from Russian: *vzduch* (воздух) 'air',*příroda* (природа) 'nature', *nudný* (нудный) 'boring', etc.

hegemonic language from German to Czech before the end of the century.

The leader of the second group, the romantic nationalists, (see Table 7 for further details), was the historian František Palacký, a Moravian of Protestant background. Palacký took an interest in the Czech language while studying in a gymnasium in Bratislava. In March 1818, Palacký and his schoolmate, Josef Šafárik, published an anonymous article, 'Počátkové českého basnictví obvzláště prozodie' ['The Beginnings of Czech Poetry, Especially Prosody'], in which they championed the prosodic style based on *časomíra* [vowel length] in place of the prevailing one based on *přízvuk* [stressed and unstressed syllables]. It was a bold attack on the older generation of Czech scholars like Dobrovský, who were influenced by the German poetic traditions based on stress patterns.[57]

In 1823, Palacký, having finished his studies, came to seek his fortune in Prague, which he looked to as the centre of 'Czechdom', but which he found to be a totally Germanized city. He was accepted into the house of the Sternbergs, for who he worked out a family history.[58]

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57 Zacek, Palacký, p. 17.

58 Somewhat after arriving in Prague, Palacký attended a *soirée* at the townhouse of Count Kaspar von Sternberg, where he met the aged Dobrovský. In the course of this meeting, the two men got into an argument about the future of the Czech language, in which Dobrovský took the position that the language was dying, and could not be saved, while Palacký argued that the language could be saved if the proper measures were taken. There was no doubt in Palacký's mind at this point that these measures were of utmost urgency. He is reported to have accused Dobrovský of being a 'Slavizing German' on the grounds that he had never written in any language other than German and Latin. Kaspar von Sternberg, however, who was listening to this argument, and who was by no means totally convinced by Palacký's arguments, was nevertheless impressed by the enthusiasm of the young Moravian and offered him his support in pursuing his objectives. Zacek, Palacký, p. 20.

Table 7: Revival of the Czech Literary Language from 1820 to 1848

DATE	NAME	CHARACTERISTICS	PROPONENTS	DESCRIPTION
1820–1848	ROMANTIC NATIONALISTS (This group represented the second generation of scholars responsible for the National Revival).	Intellectuals, students, scholarly editors; also sponsored by wealthy individuals; bilingual in Czech and German; at first they were unable to write in Czech; they established the first standards for Literary Czech; two tendencies: **antiquarians, innovators** (intro. of neologisms esp. German); stress on 'Czech' identity, by 1848, opposed to 'Germans'.	František Palacký	**ROMANTIC ERA**

In 1818, another influential Prague family, the Kolovrats, who were closely connected to the Sternbergs, had made public a family treasure of Old Czech books and documents that they had been protecting from the bonfires of generations. This collection formed the basis for the Czech (Bohemian) Museum, which attracted a number of scholars, among whom were many of Dobrovský's pupils. As a result of this, they also founded the *Časopis českého musea* [*Journal of the Czech Museum*] which published the findings of this journal. In 1828, Kaspar von Sternberg had Palacký appointed editor of this journal, and under Palacký's energetic direction the journal became a phenomenal success.

Palacký expanded the journal so as to include much broader subject matter than simply the findings of the Czech Museum. In fact, because relatively few people could write Czech, Palacký had to write many of the articles himself. Furthermore, Palacký found himself to be the arbitrator between two different linguistic tendencies: that of the *antiquarians* and the *innovators* The former were frequently older Protestants who insisted on using all of the illogical forms of past centuries simply on the grounds that they were in the *Kralice Bible*. The latter were people like the lexicographer, Josef Jungmann, who indiscriminately absorbed foreign words (especially German) and coined neologisms. The antiquarians, however, were given short shrift. The influence of Dobrovský was strong at the Czech Museum, and the journal helped popularize his ideas about Czech orthography. Palacký's greatest concern was that masses 'first learn to think in a Czech way, then to speak and write Czech'.[59] Gradually other contributors joined him, including many of the leading literary and scholarly figures in Bohemia. When Palacký turned over the Czech journal to Šafárik in 1838, it was already a well-established organ.[60]

The Sternberg and Kolovrat families were generous benefactors of the Czech Museum and they gladly sponsored many scholars studying there. Most notable of these savants was Josef Jungmann, who during the 1820's and the 1830's was assembling a German-Czech dictionary, which combined word lists made by Dobrovský with other word lists that he had coined, based on Russian and Slavonic equivalents.[61] The purpose of this was to provide a Czech equivalent for every

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59 Zacek, Palacký, p. 20.

60 *Ibid.*

61 To accomplish this task, Jungmann used the materials in Tomsa's Czech

German word, and do away with the feeling of inadequacy Czech intellectuals felt when not using German. Although these wealthy patrons were very generous to Jungmann, their 'pockets were opened less wide' to Šafárik, who had followed Palacký's footsteps to Prague, where he found the study of Slavistics to entail a beggar's existence.

After leaving Bratislava, Šafárik found employment as the director of a Serbian gymnasium (secondary school) at Novi Sad. There he became acquainted with the Serbian elite and was quite impressed by them. He would have stayed in Novi Sad much longer had the Hungarian Diet not passed a law in 1828, forbidding Protestants from being directors of Orthodox schools. Unemployed, he responded to the invitation of his old friend Palacký and came to Prague, where he tried to obtain a subsidy for his scholarly projects. He found, however, little funding in Prague, as the wealthy patrons were more interested in other projects. Palacký, however, did manage to get him the job of police censor, where he could earn a paltry salary, and would be guaranteed not to find anything politically objectionable in his friend's writings. Šafárik remained, however, totally dependent on Palacký until 1838, when Palacký entrusted him with what he thought would be a temporary editorship of the journal, while he went to Italy. When he returned, however, he found that the formerly dependent Šafárik had become his rival.[62]

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dictionary of 1790-99, Pelcl's word-list of the year 1800, and Dobrovský's German-Czech Dictionary with additions from Veleslavín's *Silva quadrilinguis* of 1558, and an incomplete seventeenth century vocabulary by Václav Rosa. The entries are supplied with German meanings and etymological notes. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 5.

62 Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 6.

For ten years Palacký had been the arbiter of style and orthography for the Czech language, and many people disagreed with his points of view, but few would do so publicly if they hoped to get published. As an energetic editor, he had served the Museum well, and had made its members the foremost authorities on correct Czech. During the period of his editorship, Czech was effectively restored to the status of a literary language. By the end of the 1830's, furthermore, Prague was beginning to feel the first stirrings of the industrial revolution. Textile mills were being built, and it would not belong before these would be followed by railway yards. These industries attracted large numbers of workers from the central Bohemian countryside, almost all of whom were Czech-speaking. Many of these workers, furthermore, were well on their way to becoming literate. Czech-language newspapers were blossoming. Street performers were producing plays that would appeal to the masses. Although Palacký could see how this development was turning his dream of the 1820's into the reality of the 1840's, the appearance of rival journals was undermining the tyrranical power that he had exercized for ten years.

When Palacký had returned from Italy, he discovered that his one-time friend, Šafárik, had just carried out some orthographic innovations without asking his permission. The reform in question included the replacing of <g> with <j> to represent /y/. To make matters worse, this reform had already been accepted by the other members of the Museum. Palacký withdrew entirely from the field of Slavic philology, where he was no longer effectual, and began writing a history of the Czech people.[63]

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63 Palacký published the first volume of the History of Bohemia in 1836. Macartney, The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918, p. 215.

3.4 The Industrial Revolution

During the 1840's, there was growing tension in Prague due to the increasing numbers of displaced peasants who were migrating to the city. They formed a social group that was known at the time as the 'proletariat'. The condition of their life was extremely miserable.[64] Many were unemployed, and those who worked did so under the worst possible conditions. Their frequent riots were usually accompanied by mindless destruction of machinery and attacks on visible scapegoats.[65] Yet it is surprising that the most visible scapegoats at this time were Jews, not any group identified as Germans. They had as of yet to be imbued with the mythology of nationalism. In fact, although almost all of these workers were from Czech-speaking areas, language was a minor element in their personal identity.

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64 According to F.W. Carter (1973), factory employees (in Prague) worked long hours (5 a.m.-7 p.m.) with no breaks for meals, etc. With the increase in machine horse-power, fewer workers were needed. In the calico printing industry each machine replaced between 40 and 50 workers. Average worker's wages were between 1,200-1,500 silver zl. per annum [*zlatý* (gulden)--according to the Munich treaty of August 25, 1837, the *zlatý* was a coin in current use. One *zlatý* was equal to 17 1/7 silver Prussian grosze (24 1/2 guldens=14 dollars). (Ottův slovník naučný, 27, Prague: 1908, p. 644). Freguently employees were forced to take lower wages or lose their jobs. See F.W. Carter, "The Industrial Development of Prague 1800-1850," The Slavonic and East European Review, 51, No. 122 (1973), 252.

65 One factory owner in particular, Porges in Smíchov, lowered the wages of his employees by one third on July 17, 1844. This led to a strike in the factory which quickly spread to other cotton fabric firms. Machine breaking ensued as they were thought to have caused this situation, then spread to other industrial branches and the position was little improved in 1848. Of the total 979 cotton printers in Prague and its district during May, less than half were employed in factories, a quarter were unemployed and the rest lived as journeymen. See B. Mendl, "Vývoj řemesel a obchodu v městech Pražských" Archiv pro dějiny průmyslu, obchodu a technické práce (Prague: 1947), p. 62) and F.W. Carter, "The Industrial Development of Prague 1800-1850," pp. 265-66.

The 'proletariat' was not a group with any coherent common outlook. They would, instead, look to the leadership of an elite for direction, and this elite would decide who the scapegoats were going to be. The elite that had the most influence over the 'proletariat' were those with whom they shared a common language: that is, the group of intellectuals and their supporters who were organized around the Museum. As a historian, Palacký was the builder of an ideology, that of Czech nationalism. This ideology would give the 'proletariat' direction, it would channel their frustration toward less destructive channels, and it would decide who the scapegoats would be. To a person like Palacký, the problem was not the Jews, but the German-speaking elite. He favoured the creation of a Czech-speaking elite.

Since his student days in Bratislava, Palacký wanted to see the day when Czech speakers ruled over Czech speakers. He resented the insinuation of inferiority that German speakers would make about Slavs.[66] He wanted to set history straight by writing his own history that would contest the German speakers' claims. As an historian, he thus gave Czechs a pride in their past that made them want to build a better future. As a result, Czechs became increasingly resistant to becoming assimilated as they moved up the social ladder. Although nationalism had been present since the 1820's, its German counterpart was slower to develop in Prague. Few members of the German-speaking elite would be so foolhardy as to anger the lower classes by making claims of racial superiority. They tolerated Czech in addition to German. As Bohemia was still part of the Austrian empire, furthermore, there was little reason to believe that German

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66 The general attitude of most German scholars, until the late 1950's, was that the Slavs owed their social and economic system to German colonization.

would be totally pushed out by Czech. The two languages still occupied separate social spheres. Czech remained the language of the 'proletariat'--the lower classes--as well as of those climbing the social ladder. The 'old' rich and the Jews usually preferred German. German was also still the language of learning. Czech nationalists were often more fluent in German than in Czech (see Table 7 for details).

The centre for the German-speaking elite was the gentlemen's club known as the Casino.[67] It was in the Casino that all important people met and membership in the club was considered to be a great honour. One of the fastest way to be expelled from the club, however, was to speak Czech while in the presence of club. In the 1840's Palacký, realizing the control that the Casino held over polite society, organized a rival club where either Czech or German, but preferably Czech, could be spoken: the *Měšťanská beseda* [burghers' club]. This club had also the advantage of being less exclusive than the Casino, and appealed to those persons who wanted social advancement and recognition and could not get it through regular channels. These included shopkeepers and increasingly wealthy peasants living in and around Prague. The newly rich thus came to prefer being in Czech-speaking surroundings.

3.5 The Spring of Peoples

Germans were not identified as a distinct social group, however, until the so-called 'Spring of Peoples', when a series of revolutions swept Germany and the Austrian Empire in March of 1848. During this period, the Austrian political

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67 Gary B. Cohen, The Politics of Ethnic survival: Germans in Prague, 1861-1914, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 258.

system was plunged into a deep crisis which lasted until August, 1849. At this point in time, the Hapsburg dynasty had to deal with separate revolutionary governments established in Prague, Budapest, Venice, Milan and even in Vienna itself. In Germany, furthermore, the various revolutionary governments had formed a congress in Frankfurt-am-Main in order to form a unified state. They also invited delegates from Austria and Bohemia to join them. To represent Bohemia, they nominated none other than Palacký, and they appeared confident that he would accept their offer.

The original revolutionary manifesto was posted on March 6 in German and in Czech. The public responded to it *en masse*, and the language issue was not brought up. But the Frankfurt-am-Main question triggered a new explosion within days. Palacký responded to the offer to represent Bohemia with a public letter beginning with the words "I am a Czech of Slavic descent".[68] He stated, furthermore, that Austria had an historic mission of protecting the small nations of Europe. He thus came out as a powerful supporter of the government. The Vienna delegates did, however, send delegates to Frankfurt-am-Main, and many of the Prague delegates wanted to do likewise. Czech language newspapers responded to this, however, with a train of abuse on Germans in general, and especially on their attempts to swallow up Bohemia. This had the double effect of isolating the supporters of the Frankfurt congress from the Czech-speaking public, as well as identifying a scapegoat that was resented equally by the lower classes and the new rich.

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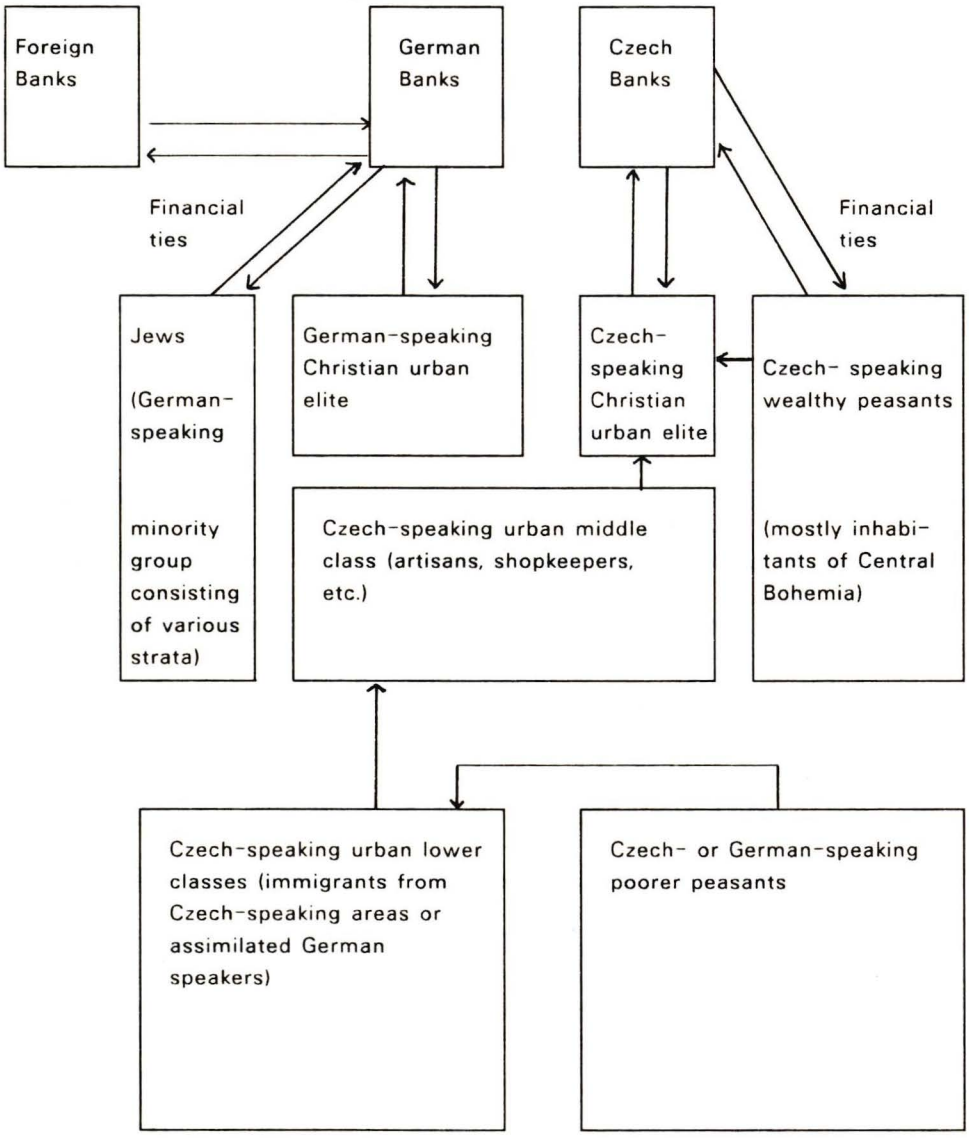
68 Stanley Z. Pech, The Czech Revolution of 1848 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 81. See also Otto Urban, Česká společnost 1848-1918 (Prague: Svoboda, 1982), p. 34.

This political tact is also significant in that it was the first time during the nineteenth century that German speakers are identified as a distinct nationality within the Czech Kingdom. The 'Germans', furthermore, seemed to gradually accept this national classification, and began increasingly, for the rest of the century, to develop and maintain their distinctness. One asks the question, however, why did they come to believe they had a stake in this pariah status?

Table 8: Revival of the Czech Literary Language from 1848 to 1948

DATE	NAME	CHARACTERISTICS	PROPONENTS	DESCRIPTION
1848-1948	'CHAUVINISTIC' NATIONALISTS (This group continued the Revival with a greater stress on the 'Czech' identity and view themselves as a separate nation).	Editors, propagandists, wealthy peasants, scholars; Czech was established in its 'final'form as a standard literary language; literacy was more widespread increasing Czech-German conflict; by 1900 Czech was the major language of Prague (spoken by 'upper class' persons who before only spoke German); rapid upward mobility for Czechs, assimilation of German speakers to Czech, 1919 Czech was the only language of Bohemia.	Karel Havlíček Borovský	'MODERN ERA'

Figure 2: Late Nineteenth Century Prague Socio-Economic Structure



Germans and Magyars of the empire equalled all of the Slavs combined.[77]

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), pp. 1-5.

77 Vyšný, Neo-Slavism, p. 2.

The problem with such a political system, however, was that it depended on maintaining a particular demographic balance. This was especially serious in Bohemia, where Germans were apparently being assimilated into the Czech population. In fact, if the majority of the Bohemian Germans would ever have been assimilated to the Czechs, the demographic balance for the whole empire would have been shifted in favour of the Czechs. It was important to mobilize the German speakers to defend their language. The maintenance of the German language was thus of paramount concern to those who were interested in the promotion of dualism.

The growing prestige of the Czech language, which was causing so many one-time German speakers to prefer it to the language of the empire, was associated primarily with the most industrialized section of Bohemia. In this area, the assimilation process was largely complete by the second half of the nineteenth century. Luckily for the proponents of dualism, however, the areas around the borders of Bohemia were less directly touched by the industrial revolution, had been predominantly German-speaking since the Battle of White Mountain, and as of yet were little effected by the Czech National Revival. It was in this area where it was possible to begin a counter-revival.

By the 1880's one finds the first attempts to combat the forces of assimilation that were in progress in Central Bohemia. German school societies were formed to guarantee that German-speaking children would be receiving their education in German. German gymnastic societies became active promoters of a brand of German nationalism. They promoted the belief that Germans were a superior race, the descendants of conquerors who had subjugated the Slavs. This gave them

an illusion of greatness that was very comforting in an area that was otherwise economically less developed.

In response to the grass-roots German nationalism, there arose a similar movement to protect the Czech language from counter-assimilation. Czechs also formed their school societies. The Czech 'Sokol' organization is a direct Slavic counterpart to the German gymnastic societies.[78] It was under these circumstances that the linguistic frontier between speakers of German and Czech hardened, a linguistic frontier that meandered irregularly through densely populated areas, separating villages that were only a few kilometres apart, just as Christian and Muslim villages are separated today in Lebanon.

What the creation of a linguistic frontier could not do was to reestablish German as the language of the Bohemian core--Prague. The Prague German minority was a group that remained numerically about the same size, though the population of the city was sometimes doubling every decade. Proportionately they were a group of diminishing significance, and by the beginning of the twentieth century they were also shrinking in absolute terms. Rather than trying to reverse this trend, however, the German nationalists devised various plans by which the German-speaking areas could be separated from the Czech-speaking areas. Yet the resulting German Bohemia was a political monstrosity. It consisted solely of the Bohemian borderland, none of which could form an economically viable unit without including Bohemia's Czech-speaking core. Only one fact made this proposal even worth considering: it might get support from the German Reich. In this case, however, the proposal to separate the German-speaking portion of Bohemia was simply a thinly disguised proposal to invite in German troops to take

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78 Cohen, Politics of Ethnic Survival, p. 64.

over not only the borderlands but also the core of Bohemia.

This new German nationalism was, however, disturbing to more people than to just Czechs. To a German racial nationalist, second only to Slavs on the list of inferior races were Jews. Traditionally, the Jews of central Europe considered themselves members of the German nation. This was based on the earlier definition of the German nationality which was primarily a linguistic one. A German was any person who spoke German or a German dialect. In Prague most Jews spoke a German dialect, as well as in Budapest. In Russian Poland, furthermore, the Yiddish language often was closer to standard German than many dialects spoken by Bavarian of Westphalian peasants. It was not hard, therefore, for them to imagine a German state, in which Jews would play an integral part, that would stretch eastward all the way to Odessa on the Black Sea.

But with the formation of the German Reich in 1871, German nationalism went through a radical change. No longer did German nationalists view their future in terms of liberal nationalism, no longer did they find their inspiration in the words of the French Revolution--*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*; rather they were inspired by Bismark's words, *'Durch Blut und Eisen'* 'With blood and iron'. Prussia was a militaristic state that subordinated all ideals to the one objective of achieving military conquests. It was a state suspicious of party politics, and of democratic institutions. It was a state that promoted bigotry whenever possible.

Soon this new breed of German nationalism was expressing the most virulent forms of anti-Semitism.[79] It is not, however, as if Jews had not experienced this before. Throughout of most central Europe, anti-Semitism ran very deep. In

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[79] Macartney, The Habsburg Empire 1790-1918, pp. 632, 653.

Poland and in Russia, the ghetto was still a present-day reality. One need not even leave Prague to remind oneself how in 1844 the leaderless and rioting proletariat attacked the first visible enemy they could find: the Jews. Although anti-Semitism was never given political expression by Czech nationalists such as Palacký, it was not difficult to see that in the minds of many people, opposition to Germans was simply anti-Semitism by a different name. But modern racial anti-Semitism was a new phenomenon, which more than any other factor caused Jews to have second thoughts about assuming a German national identity.

As the language conflict intensified in Bohemia, Jews found that their Germanness was giving them a dangerously high profile in the eyes of Czechs. They were not rewarded for their loyalty to the German nation, furthermore, by other Germans. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jew-baiting had become very popular among the new German nationalists. Increasingly, Jews found that they shared more political objectives in common with the Czechs than they did with the Germans, and they began to prefer the use of the Czech language. As the Jews became linguistically assimilated to Czech, furthermore, it resulted in the disappearance of about 90% of the Prague 'Germans' thus completing Czech domination of the Bohemian capital.

One compromise option in the language crisis that would have preserved Bohemian political automy was to recognize official bilingualism in the Bohemian Crown lands. In 1893, emperor Franz Joseph appointed a Pole, Count Casimir Badeni, to form an imperial cabinet. Badeni, who was sympathetic to the Slavic cause, passed a law requiring government officials operating in the Bohemian Crown lands of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, to be fluent in both German and

Czech. This caused German students to riot in Prague. There were also demonstrations in the borderlands, and among students outside of Bohemia.[80] The main point of the protest was that Czech should never be given an equal status with German, a point which, needless to say, was not widely appreciated by Czechs.

The massive protest among Germans finally forced the Badeni government to resign, and the language laws were abolished. This was followed by another massive protest on the part of the Czechs. The new government appeared prepared, however, to weather the protest of Czechs with whom they were not engaged in a popularity contest. By the turn of the century, Czechs became aware more than ever that they would never be able to influence the course of events surrounding them. They were political outcasts. One other group who found themselves in the same situation was the Jews.

The internal political situation at the turn of the century was more fortunate in Bohemia. In all areas except imperial administration, Czech had become the predominant language of Prague. In fact the crisis of the 1890's had more than anything else worked to destroy the internal cohesion of the Prague German-speaking elite. At that time, furthermore, Czechs were developing a lively multi-party system, consisting of the Young Czech Party representing the business class, the Social Democrats representing the disadvantaged lower classes, the Agrarian Party representing farming elements, and the small ultra-nationalistic National Socialists. Increasingly Czech society was being modelled on that of liberal parliamentary regimes.

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80 Vyšný, Neo-Slavism and the Czechs 1898-1914, p. 15.

As the Czech economy became more advanced, Czechs became increasingly involved in international trade, trading especially with other Slavic countries, particularly with Russia and Serbia. Here, however, they came again into conflict with the increasingly pro-German and anti-Slav policies of the imperial government. Czechs were hurt particularly badly in the so-called 'Pig War', in which the imperial government imposed impossibly high tariffs on Serbia's principal export. In view of the deteriorating situation, many Czechs viewed the declaration of war against Serbia to be also declaration of war against the Czechs.

Austria-Hungary, as well as Germany, Bulgaria and Turkey, lost the first world war partly because of the disaffection of groups like the Czechs. The war was seen as a fratricidal conflict, the result of which could only be a continuation of a political system from which they were totally alienated, and it could even have resulted in an actual annexation of Bohemia to Germany. Losing the war, therefore, was viewed as more a cause for rejoicing than sorrow. Out of the defeat of Versailles came the independent Czechoslovakia.

For the German-speaking veterans returning from the front, however, there was little cause for rejoicing. They saw the disintegration before their eyes of everything that they had represented, and for which many friends had died. There was, furthermore, very little they could do to stop it. At first they tried to separate and form their own autonomous states. In fact, they did not simply form one state, they formed two: German Bohemia and Sudetenland. The Bohemian Forest and southern Moravia, furthermore, tried to join Upper and Lower Austria. This rebellion was, however, brief, and was suppressed within a few weeks without any bloodshed by three Czechoslovak regiments. Bohemian Germans were powerless without outside support.

The independence of Czechoslovakia established definitely the hegemony of the Czech language over German, but the policy of the Czechoslovak government was one of tolerance toward national minorities. One of the main principles in such a policy was to allow such minorities to maintain their own schools. This they did and in no way did the Czechoslovak government attempt to denationalize, or otherwise assimilate, the German speakers.[81] None of the charges made to this effect have been substantiated.

The German minority was, however, hit much harder by the various economic crises. With the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic, German banks began taking capital out of the country and putting it into Germany. This happened at a time when the capital position of the Czech banks could never have been more secure: they were backed by the entire Russian gold reserves which had been captured and taken out of Siberia by train with the Czech and the Slovak legions during the Russian Civil War. By contrast, the whole German banking system collapsed, bankrupting everyone who had placed faith in it. The Great Depression, furthermore, destroyed practically all international trade, which effected primarily the industries in which Germans dominated: textiles, porcelain and cut crystal. By the late thirties, in anticipation of World War II, the rearmament promoted heavy industry. This brought considerable relief to Czech-speaking

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81 The Constitution of 1920 established local government on a basis of extreme centralization. The Czech lands, Slovakia, and Ruthenia were divided into countries, each with its own government but closely controlled by the central government. The constitution identified the 'Czechoslovak nation' as the creator and principal constituent of the Czechoslovak state established Czech and Slovak as official languages. National minorities, however, were assured special protection in districts where they constituted 20% of the population they were granted full freedom to use their language in everyday life, in schools, and in dealing with authorities. Nyrop, Czechoslovakia: A Country Study, p. 28.

areas but not to the borderlands, an area which retained a German-speaking majority in most of its towns until 1945, when a large percentage of Bohemia's German speakers were expelled from the country. Excluded from the transfer were persons possessing irreplaceable skills, Jews, known anti-Nazis, persons married to Czechs, etc.

Table 12

Ethnic Groups in Czechoslovakia, Selected Years, 1930-78

(percentage of total population)

From Richard F. Nyrop, Czechoslovakia: A Country Study (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1982), p. 243.

	1930	1950	1961	1966	1975	1978
Czech	66.2	68.0	66.0	64.9	64.8	63.9
Slovak		26.3	27.9	29.1	30.0	30.4
Hungarian	4.9	3.0	3.9	3.9	4.0	4.0
German	22.5	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.5	0.5
Polish	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Ukrainian/Russian	3.9	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Other.....	1.8	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3

Of the Slavic nations that exist today, the Czechs of Bohemia-Moravia are unique in that they were subject to more than average attempts at Germanization, yet their language survived with very little trace of German influence. Germanisms, nevertheless, exist: in swear-words (*hergott*), certain foods (*knedlík* [German-- *Knödl*]) and in certain expressions (*Já mám rád*

German--*Ich habe gern*]). These Germanisms, however, do not stand out out, offend the ear, or otherwise call attention to the fact that the country had long been under German domination. Other Slavic languages that were less directly affected by German culture have, in fact, been more liberal in borrowing German words. In Russian, for example, the borrowing of German words, at times, actually received the official sanction of the tsarist government.

In the end, we find that Czech language did not decline as a spoken language, largely because its literary form was revived. Although it is true that in some simple societies spoken languages exist without a literary form, such is not possible in modern societies. We are all creations of our educations, and the further up the social ladder we are, the more this is true. Most of us could not hold a conversation for long without making references to vocabulary and using grammatical constructions derived from the literary language. To a lesser extent this is true of people involved in manual trades, or even unskilled labour. It is rare, in fact for a person not to be touched in some way by the literary language. Nowhere is this more evident than where the spoken language and the literary language are as dissimilar as English and Gaelic, or French and Breton. In the case of Czech, the literary revival was the one factor that saved it from decay and ultimate death.

Chapter V

SLOVAKS UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF THE CZECHS

The linguistic boundaries of the Czech-speaking area were in many ways defined by the political boundaries of the 19th century. In the east, however, these political boundaries were not very well delineated. This was especially true in the Slavic-speaking portions of the Kingdom of Hungary, a region that enjoyed a special status, even though it was a territory of the Austrian Empire.

Among Slavic-speaking peoples, it is the literary language which has become the primary source of linguistic identity, not the spoken language. It is only, in fact, in the modern era, that the dialects of bordering areas have begun to diverge from each other and converge instead with some literary standard. The distinction was particularly slow to develop between Czech and Slovak. It was not until 1945 that Slovak gained official recognition as a separate language as opposed to being considered a dialect of Czech. Until 1848, furthermore, the old style literary Czech had, in fact, been the literary language in Slovakia, at a time when it had fallen into disuse in Bohemia. It is, furthermore, one of the ironies of history, that at the very time when a reformed literary Czech was being codified in Bohemia, that Slovaks were re-orienting themselves to a separate linguistic identity.

5.1 The Boundaries of the Czech Language

The Czech language in its narrowest sense is the language of Bohemia or *Čechy*, which is a well-defined region centred primarily on Prague. The Czech language has, however, been adopted by the inhabitants of other regions who speak or used to speak slightly different dialects. Sometimes, however, the language spoken is aberrant enough from the norm, which is the language of Bohemia, that it justifies the promotion of a separate literary language. This new literary language is not, however, immediately accepted, as the Czech language has in its favour the weight of tradition. But a literary language that is close to the spoken language has the advantage in that it facilitates the acquisition of literacy, and having a literate population is a prerequisite for any kind of economic development.

To the east of Bohemia is the historic margrave of Moravia that was a territory of the Bohemian crown for over a thousand years. Unlike Bohemia, however, Moravia does not present the same unified linguistic picture. In Moravia, dialect variation is the rule, and it presents a rather complicated picture. The principal dialect group, however, is known as *Hanák*, which is spoken in Brno and to the south. In addition, there is the Silesian dialect which bears a number of similarities to Polish, *i.e.*, it has lost the distinction between long and short vowels, and there is the tendency for the palatalized dental stops to assibilate (*i.e.*, to become strident sounds), as in Polish. Thus *děti* will become */dźećі/* (for further exlanation see the Table of Moravian dialects). Silesian differs, however, from literary Polish in that it does not possess the nasal vowels, which is only true in colloquial Polish at the end of a word. In the valley of the

Danube, furthermore, along the historic boundary between the lands of the Bohemian crown and the lands of the Hungarian crown, another dialect is spoken, known as Moravian Slovak, which linguistically bears more resemblance to Slovak than to Czech.

Today Slovak is recognized in Czechoslovakia as a separate language, equal to Czech. But this realization was slow to become accepted, not just for Czechs, but also for Slovaks. Throughout much history, Slovaks were a people with a weak sense of national identity. Politically they were dominated by Hungary, linguistically they were close to the Czechs. They were a people without a name. If forced to identify them as a group, a person would have to resort to the term 'the Slavs in Hungary'. Unlike the Croats, who had an historic political status within the Hungarian Kingdom, the Slovaks did not. The Slovaks were a people ruled by the *natio Hungarica*, a term which, like the *natio Croatica*, referred to a community consisting solely of the nobility. In Hungary, only the nobility could claim to be citizens of a particular *natio*. A linguistic group, with no indigenous nobility, therefore, did not so much as merit mention.

Slovakia, however, was also a region that was most affected by the Hussite movement. As a result of this, Slovaks first came into contact with literary Czech at an early date. At that time, literary Czech was reasonably similar to spoken Slovak. As a result of the Reformation, furthermore, a number of Slovaks became Protestant, and after the Battle of White Mountain, the Czech influence among Slovak Protestants was strengthened by the influx of refugees from Bohemia.

By the seventeenth century, however, Protestantism was on the retreat throughout most of Slavic Europe. Yet this was less due to military defeat, as it had been in Bohemia, than it had been due to an effective propaganda campaign conducted by the Jesuits, known as the Counter-Reformation. The Jesuit campaign concentrated primarily on the nobility, who though still Catholic, sympathized with the Protestants. One of the principal appeals that the Protestants had was their high standard of education, much of it in Czech. As a result, many a future leader of the Catholic community had been educated by a Protestant tutor, and had a cultural orientation toward Bohemia. The Jesuits countered this by providing one of the finest school systems in Europe. These schools were naturally only for the children of the nobility, and consequently the recatholicization of Northern Hungary was done from the top down. The Jesuits thus produced a generation of leaders, whose education had been entirely in Latin, and whose cultural orientation was toward Rome. Yet the Protestants survived as a small and isolated group, who continued to use Czech as a literary language.[82]

Although the Jesuits were primarily the promoters of Latin culture, they were not opposed to using other languages, especially if it made their propaganda more widely understood. They, too, adopted literary Czech as a practical expedient for communicating with large numbers of people who were not versed in Latin letters. Unlike the Protestants, however, who tended to regard literary Czech as a kind of sacred language that should depart from the norm of the *Kralice Bible* as little as possible, the Jesuits could justify a number of liberties on the grounds that it made them more easily understood. The language that thus gradually took

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82 Peter Brock, The Slovak National Awakening: an essay in the intellectual history of east central Europe (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 4.

shape, was not so much Czech, as it was a new literary language, which people called Jesuitical Slavic, which is known today as 'cultured West Slovak'.[83] This creation was gradually becoming normative usage among an educated class of Catholics in western Slovakia, especially around Bratislava.

Cultured West Slovak, however, did not achieve any official recognition until the Josephinian period. Joseph II, despite his imposition of German as a language of administration, wanted his officials also to be fluent in the language of the people over whom they had charge. In Northern Hungary, this meant being fluent in Slovak. One of his reforms, furthermore, was his attempt to pull the Catholic Church away from Rome, and to make the people an effective arm of imperial administration. To this end he founded the General Seminary in Bratislava in 1784, which was abolished in 1790, as a result of the post-Josephian reaction. During the short period of its existence, however, the seminary became the centre of a linguistic movement surrounding Father Bernolák, one of the professors at the seminary.

Bernolák's contribution was to elevate the language of convenience that the Jesuits used to the level of a recognized Slavic language, which he called at first the *lingua slavonica in Hungaria*, and later the *lingua pannonio-slava*.[84] Like Dobrovský, Bernolák tried to make the cultured West Slovak into a literary language that would be easy to learn; unlike Dobrovský, however, after the post-Josephinian reaction, there was nobody, other than a few priests, to continue his work. Ultimately, it would be Protestants, not Catholics, who would strive for the promotion of a separate Slovak language.

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83 Brock, The Slovak National Awakening, pp. 5-6.

84 *Ibid*, p. 10.

One of the achievements of the Josephinian period was the legalization of Protestantism. This allowed Protestants to come out of hiding and to openly pursue their cultural programmes. In a number of towns, they formed Protestant secondary schools (gymnasia), the most significant of which was at Bratislava. The graduates of these gymnasia often went on to study at one of the Protestant universities in North Germany, and hence much of the instruction was given in German. One of the goals of these schools was also, however, to teach Czech, which Protestants still saw as the language of the Bible.

Literary Czech, however, was a language that was going through a remarkable revival in its linguistic homeland during the first half of the nineteenth century (see Chapter III). After over a century of dormancy, Czech was again becoming the predominant language of Bohemia. But after the spelling reforms of Dobrovský, it was not the familiar Czech of the *Kralice Bible*. In a region such as Bohemia, where Czech had not been a literary language for over a hundred years, few people were concerned with that particular detail, in fact few people had even seen the *Kralice Bible*. Such was not the case in Northern Hungary. In the eyes of many, the developments were upsetting the God-ordained law of the universe which established that the literary Czech language as used in the Bible should be the only one.

There was, however, a new generation of Protestants who had been educated according to the new system, and who had also been influenced by nineteenth-century romantic nationalism. Šafárik belonged to this generation of Slovak Protestants, and so did the poet Jan Kollár. These two men, furthermore, provided the inspiration for a whole new generation of nationalists among the

students in the Protestant gymnasia, with whom they maintained close contact. Notable among these was a young student, born in 1815, named L'udovít Štúr.

During the 1830's, gymnasium students with nationalistic orientations were often active in student societies which engaged in various hiking expeditions, poetry readings and the organizing of various festivals in the ruins of old castles where the participants would assume various Old Slavic names. Their activities were, in fact, not unlike those of modern children pretending to be Indians. Yet at that time it was more than just a game; these 'children' were building a national consciousness that was taken perfectly seriously. Intellectually, they were very much involved with the developments in Prague and they maintained a correspondence with the different active participants in the Czech National Revival. As a result, they also each held their own opinions as to what form the future literary Czech language should take.

Most of these students were strong believers in the maintenance of traditional Czech vocabulary, and were very critical of Josef Jungmann and the many different neologisms he was bringing into the language. Likewise, they believed that more 'Czechoslav', *i.e.*, Slovak, words should be used, which Jungmann was not doing. Most of them, therefore, followed Šafárik's advice and wrote as their conscience demanded, which meant using a good many Slovak words which they hoped would become acceptable Czech usage.[85]

Štúr went on to study at Halle, but when he returned to teach at the gymnasium at Bratislava in 1843, he found the Lutheran Church of Hungary torn by internal dissension. Count Karoli Zay, the general superintendant, was

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85 Brock, The Slovak National Awakening, p. 32. See also Jaroslav Vlček, Dejiny literatúry slovenskej, 4th ed. (Bratislava: 1953), pp. 110-13.

determined to impose Magyar as the sole language of the Lutheran Church of Hungary, despite the fact that the majority of Lutherans were Slovaks. He also intended to unite the Lutheran and the smaller Calvinist Church which would have brought the Magyar element into a majority. One group of Slovak Protestants had even brought their protests to the emperor in Vienna, the only result being that they outraged Budapest newspapers, which demanded that they be charged with treason for having taken their complaint outside of Hungary.[86]

The situation was desperate; Czech was on the point of being eliminated from all curricula. Prague, furthermore, had not listened to the demands for Slovak content in the new Czech literary language, and as a result Czech was still a language that most Slovaks could not understand.[87] The imperial government was, in addition, increasingly hostile to Slavic nationalist trends that upset traditional boundaries, such as the Illyrian movement which united the Croats of the Hungarian *banovina* of Croatia and Slavonia with the Serbs of the Ottoman empire, and the Slovenes of the Austrian provinces of Styria, Carinthia and Carniolia. The 'Czechoslav' movement was seen in a like manner, and was on the point of being suppressed by the imperial government, if not by the Magyar nobility.

The decision to begin using Slovak in speech and on an informal basis was made in a closed meeting on February 14, 1843, between Štúr and five other students and faculty members. This was the first cautious step for members of the nationalist organization to separate their movement from that of the Czechs.

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86 Brock, p. 42. See also Daniel Rapant, Slovenský prestolny prosbopis z roku 1842, vol. 1, pp. 125ff, 136-43; vol. 2, pp. 397-401, 580-6.

87 Brock, p. 45.

They were, however, careful not to make too distinct a break, since most people were still loyal to the Czech language. At first Slovak was used in various non-public ways, as in writing the minutes of meetings. Gradually, as the spring semester progressed, Štúr found himself trying to dissuade students from demanding more Slovak content in the lecture material. Such action would convey the totally wrong impression to the parents, since many of them had sent their children to school so that they would master Czech and not some sort of dialect.[88]

During the summer, Štúr met again with some friends in the parsonage of one of them, and decided to push the promotion of a Slovak literary language one step further, by establishing a journal in the language. The journal, however, took two years to clear Hungarian censors, and was not published until 1845. The application to publish a journal was, however, the first indication that much of the world perceived that a new literary language was in the process of being promoted.

Until that time, Šafárik had been fully supportive of the endeavours of Štúr and his friends in getting more Slovak content into the Czech literary language, and had urged them to write according to their conscience. But he had not envisaged a total break with the literary Czech language. He contacted Jan Kollár, who was living in Budapest, and the two of them decided to edit a collection of essays by Slovak writers against the promotion of a separate language. Kollár, who was living in Hungary at the time, undertook to gather the materials for the project. The results, however, were hardly encouraging. Most

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88 Brock, p. 31. See also Eugen Jóna, 'Účast' L'udovíta Štúra pri útváraní spisovnej slovenčiny.' Slovenská reč (Bratislava), 31, No. 3/4 (1956), 133. Jozef Miloslav Hurban, L'udovít Štúr, (Bratislava: 1959), pp. 62, 82.

of the contributors they could find were elderly persons who not only were opposed to a literary Slovak language, but also to the new literary Czech that was being so forcefully promoted by people like Šafárik and Kollár.

Štúr was immediately dismissed from his job, allegedly for being anti-Hungarian. When that happened, twenty students left the Bratislava gymnasium in protest. The literary language that Štúr promoted, the *štúrovčina*, based on Central Slovak dialects, was immediately accepted by Protestant intellectuals.[89] The Catholics, however, resisted. They already had a literary form of Slovak, the *bernoláčina*. It was not until 1851 that Catholics and Protestants finally settled on a modified version of the *štúrovčina*, which became accepted by both sides as normative.

Originally the primary obstacle to the development of a literary Slovak language had been the extreme backwardness and feudal character of the society. Increasingly, however, as the nineteenth century wore on, a new factor entered the picture that further hindered the development of a literary Slovak language: official suppression by the Hungarian government. This process was somewhat slowed down at first during the Revolution of 1848, when Hungary tried to break away from the Hapsburg empire. Although Hapsburg troops finally did re-establish government authority, with Russian help, after a bitter war, the emperor was inclined to be lenient with Hungarians, and ultimately conceded to them most of their demands, while subjecting millions of loyal Slovaks to forced Magyarization.[90] This process, furthermore, affected mostly the middle classes, who were by 1918 largely Magyar-speaking.

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89 Brock, The Slovak National Awakening, p. 47.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

In 1918, one can still say that national awareness was poorly developed, as the dissolution of the Kingdom of Hungary came as a surprise, and the middle classes may have even been quite hostile. But those were violent times, and living in an independent Slovakia seemed especially preferable to forming part of a Hungary that was at the time racked by a bloody civil war. In 1919, Slovakia was invaded by the Hungarian Red Army, which was fighting for the shortlived Hungarian Soviet Republic. In August of that year, the Hungarian Red Army organized the Slovak Soviet Republic, which lasted until the Hungarian leader, Béla Kun, was finally overthrown by Rumanian troops.

That brief crisis, however, had two results. It turned the largely Magyarized Slovak bourgeoisie into thumping Slovak nationalists, and it created the conditions where Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia could be united into one country. The union was not one between equal partners, however. Slovakia needed hundreds of thousands of literate people that Bohemia could provide. In the eyes of the Czechs, acquiring Slovakia was much like acquiring a colony in Africa. It was a good source of cheap labour and raw materials that well complemented a heavily industrialized society like Bohemia. Yet it would be wrong to put the situation in such negative terms. The Czech occupation resulted in the first real land reform in Slovakia, which strengthened the small peasants and weakened the Magyar nobility.[91] The Czechs were also responsible for starting the first public school system, and they thus began to make real progress in the war against illiteracy. This, in turn, promoted the Slovak language, since it was used as a literary language that is most easily learned by Slovak children.

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91 Richard F. Nyrop, ed., Czechoslovakia: A Country Study, p. 30.

There was, however, also linguistic friction. Many linguists at that time still did not recognize Slovak as a literary language separate from Czech. Officially, all administration was in the Czechoslovak language, which in practice meant Czech. Czechs were, on the average, better educated; furthermore, they occupied most of the administrative positions. Employers, in addition, tended to assume that Czechs were more intelligent even if such were not the case. Czechs were generally favoured for jobs, even as hotel doormen.[92] Slovaks usually showed less ambition than Czechs. The ratio of Slovak university students remained low despite their being granted automatic admission by the government upon simply completing gymnasium, and their being awarded lucrative scholarships upon achieving reasonable marks. Slovak graduates from gymnasia were generally content to apply for the positions in the lower levels of the civil service, rather than to continue studying.

Although the union of the Czechs and the Slovaks was generally seen as mutually beneficial, there were numerous points of friction. Slovakia is a largely Catholic country where priests exert a tremendous influence on the people, whereas Czechs, though mostly nominal Catholics, tend to be somewhat Protestant, Hussitic, agnostic or atheistic in their religious views. Among the many government officials, there were always a few who would make fun of a village priest.[93] It was this problem, more than that of language, that provided the impetus behind the Slovak autonomist movement in the 1930's. However, the Slovak State created by Hitler was not popular, and the Slovaks rebelled against it in 1944. What most autonomists wanted was autonomy under a federalized

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92 A.H. Hermann, A History of the Czechs, p. 204.

93 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Czechoslovakia, not the pseudo-independence provided by Hitler.

When Czechoslovakia was reconstituted in 1945, it was the same unitary state that had existed in the 1930's, yet the Slovak autonomists had reason to hope that they would be granted federal status in the postwar situation. This was, however, not the policy of the Communists when they came to power, and throughout the Stalinist area of the 1950's the unitary state as it had existed in the 1930's continued unchanged. This reform finally came in October 1968, as one of the reforms introduced by the Soviet Army to help justify their intervention in the country. As is illustrated in Figure 3 the national administration is divided in two separate republics.

In the 1970's the historical disparity in educational resources between Bohemia and Moravia and Slovakia was almost completely redressed. The progress achieved in the field of education in Czechoslovakia during the school years 1955/56 to 1978/79 is illustrated in Table 13 ; the most significant improvements were made in Slovakia and Moravia.

Slovakia made major gains in industrial production in the 1960's and 1970's. In the early 1950's industrial production was half that of the Czech lands; by the 1970's it was near parity.[94]

One of the assumptions of persons seeking linguistic autonomy in Eastern Europe is that they hope thereby to achieve political autonomy. In this context, the question of language, as opposed to dialect, is very much a political issue. While it is, on the one hand, true that these new literary norms are normally based on some indigenous spoken norm, it is equally true that within the same territory there may be other spoken norms which are divergent from the new literary norm.

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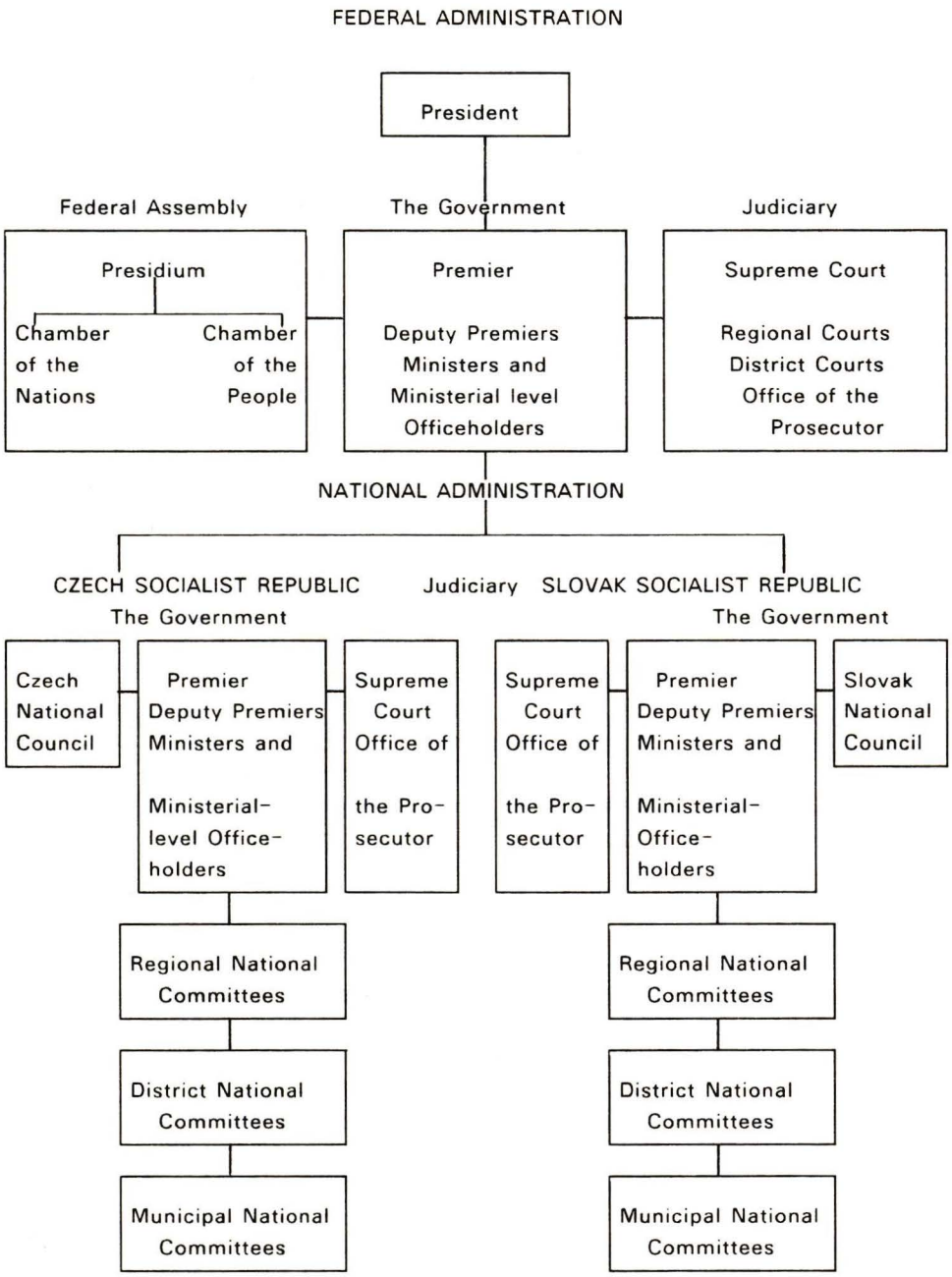
94 A.H. Hermann, A History of the Czechs, p. 102.

Figure 3: Modern Czechoslovak Government. From Nyrop, Czechoslovakia: A Country Study, p. 182.



The purpose of these new literary languages is, in fact, not so much to provide the

Table 14

Educational Institutions and Enrollment, in Czechoslovakia, Selected School Years, 1955/56-1978/79

From Richard F. Nyrop, ed. Czechoslovakia: A Country Study, p. 245. This table is based on information from the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Federal Office of Statistics, Statistical Survey of Czechoslovakia, 1977, Prague, 1977, p. 101; and The Europa Year Book, 1980, I, London, 1980, p. 533.

SCHOOLS	1955/56	1960/61	1965/66	1970/71	1975/76	1978/79
Nursery Schools						
Number.....	6,310	6,633	7,569	8,227	9,226	10,443
Pupils.....	236,254	285,863	330,084	377,593	475,004	629,203
Primary Schools						
Number.....	12,374	12,581	11,330	10,831	9,285	7,398
Pupils.....	1,846,598	2,152,834	2,221,160	1,966,448	1,881,414	1,878,000
Apprentices...	133,913	241,252	337,032	348,670	334,697	n.a.
Secondary Schools						
Number.....	342	440	374	343	340	339
Pupils.....	77,493	73,778	112,928	110,038	128,545	163,918
Vocational Schools						
Number.....	623	725	604	706	599	586
Pupils.....	180,815	238,201	297,654	286,407	293,718	324,464
Universities						
Number.....	40	50	38	37	36	36
Pupils.....	72,426	94,040	144,990	131,099	154,645	183,632

common man with a literary norm similar to the language he speaks, but rather to impose linguistic uniformity on a given territorial entity. In other words, by looking at the developing literary languages of Eastern Europe, we are really looking at the linguistic and social integration of Eastern European people into various state systems.

Chapter VI

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, we have analyzed the various implications of literary language death and literary language revival. Although the language in question is Czech, the factors in play affect other languages too. One must not, however, overlook the fundamental uniqueness of any given literary language. Literary languages are the products of historical circumstances, which never repeat themselves in the same way. Yet by the same token, these circumstances can be understood in non-linguistic terms as well.

In Chapter I, we got an idea of what the consequences are for a spoken language if its literary form is suppressed by some conquering group. The key to our explanation is the assumption that a literary language is the linguistic model used by the elite of a given society, and which is emulated by the subordinate groups. When this elite is, furthermore, eliminated as a result of conquest and they are displaced by another elite which uses a different literary code, the spoken language of the subordinate population tends to suffer a growing divergence due to dialectization unhampered by a common literary norm.

In Chapter II, therefore, we looked at the first literary Czech language: its origins in the thirteenth century and its growing role as the literary vehicle of the nobility during the sixteenth century. During this period, the literary language served not only as a linguistic model for many speakers of Slavic dialects, but it

also served as a medium by which the independently-minded nobility expressed their ideology. We also saw, furthermore, that as the province is conquered, this nobility is largely replaced by an alien German-speaking nobility, which is much more closely tied with the central government. This group uses language for a different purpose, that of distinguishing between the conquerors and the conquered.

In Chapter III, we examined the problems of a revival language as opposed to a new language. The codifiers of modern spoken languages often feel the urge to make the new literary language they are creating conform as closely as possible to some literary language that had previously been in use. They hope that in so doing they can gain some measure of historical validity. This tendency, however, usually runs counter to their other desire, which is to make the literary code as close to the spoken norm as possible, and to thereby speed the acquisition of literacy of the population at large. If a given literary language emulates a previously existing literary code, then it fits the description of a revival language. Into this category falls not only modern Czech, but also modern Greek and modern Icelandic. One recurring feature of revival languages is that the language reformers try to make the speakers of the language conform to the new literary norm, not vice-versa. In the Prague area, the literary norm and the central Bohemian dialect approached each other but have remained separate to this day. By contrast, Slovak literary reformers abandoned the use of Czech altogether, and modelled a new literary language on the basis of the spoken dialects of Slovakia.

The revival Czech, like the literary Czech of the sixteenth century, was a language of conflict. In Chapter IV, we re-examined the question of language and

conflict, this time in the context of the nineteenth century. At this point the peasants are still predominantly Czech-speaking. Most of the nobility is, however, Germanized. The towns are, at least initially German-speaking. Yet during the course of the nineteenth century a new group appears on the social landscape: the urban working class--a group of peasant origin but living in the city. At first they exist in a subordinate relationship to the traditional urban elite that is reminiscent of the one existing in the countryside. German speakers are invariably upper class. Class conflict takes on definitely linguistic tones. Nevertheless, there is also a simultaneous upward mobility on the part of some members of the working class, an upward mobility that transforms the language of power in the cities from German to Czech.

In Chapter V, we looked at a region which was at least peripherally associated with Bohemia since the sixteenth century. Although this area has been linguistically Slavic for over a thousand years, by the nineteenth century the dialects spoken in Slovakia were not mutually comprehensible with those of Bohemia. Yet as far as the literary language was concerned, Old Czech was used until the nineteenth century. The breach came, however, when the revivers of literary Czech in Prague were bringing their new literary code into line with the spoken dialect of Central Bohemia. This situation caused a group of Slovak intellectuals to create their own literary language based on spoken dialects of Slovakia. This form of linguistic secession did not, however, gain universal acceptance within Slovakia until 1945, when Czechoslovakia was designated an officially bilingual nation. The primary reasons that Slovakia had for clinging to Czech as a literary norm was the fact that Bohemia was a much more advanced

society, and the prestige of the Czech language of the *Kralice Bible* lingered on until the late nineteenth century.

We find thus that although we give a linguistic designation to groups of people based on some literary standard, this does not tell us much about how they interact. Literary languages among Slavic peoples may have originally been simply an arbitrary method of separating people on the basis of an assumed spoken language. The linguistic distinctions in borderline cases have only gained substance during the twentieth century, largely due to the heavy influence of the literary norm. Such has not, however, been the case when German speakers and Slavic speakers encountered one another. Here the linguistic boundary is clear and is one of the most salient features distinguishing the two groups. But if the distinction were nothing more than linguistic, it could be erased in the course of one generation as a result of the assimilation of one group or the other. Factors of social class, therefore, helped maintain the boundary that language created. As long as German and Czech speakers belonged to separate social and economic categories, the language barrier was to remain.

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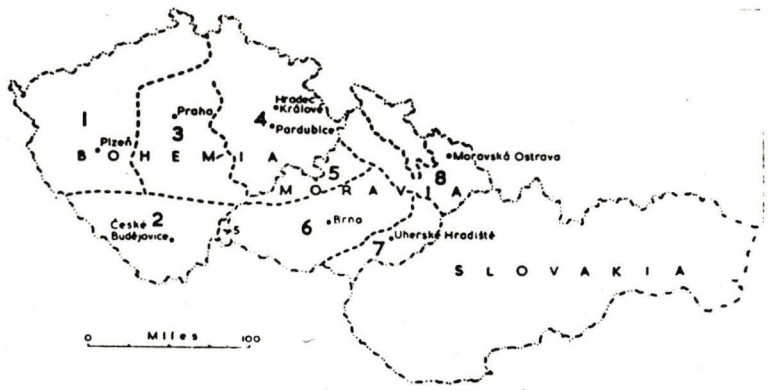

Figure 4: Map of Czechoslovakia, 1957. From Stuart E. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1957), p. 154.

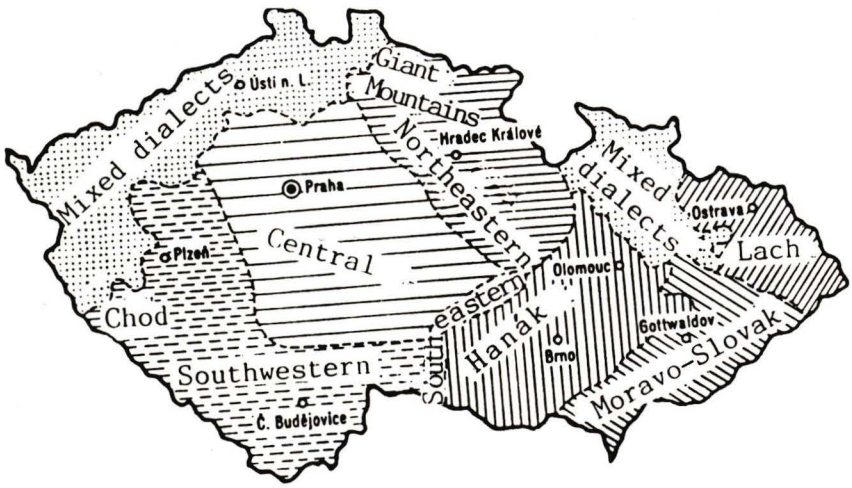

Figure 5: Map of Bohemia-Moravia, 1964. From František Cuřín a spol., Vývoj českého jazyka a dialektologie: učebnice pro pedagogické nakladatelství, 1964), p. 172.

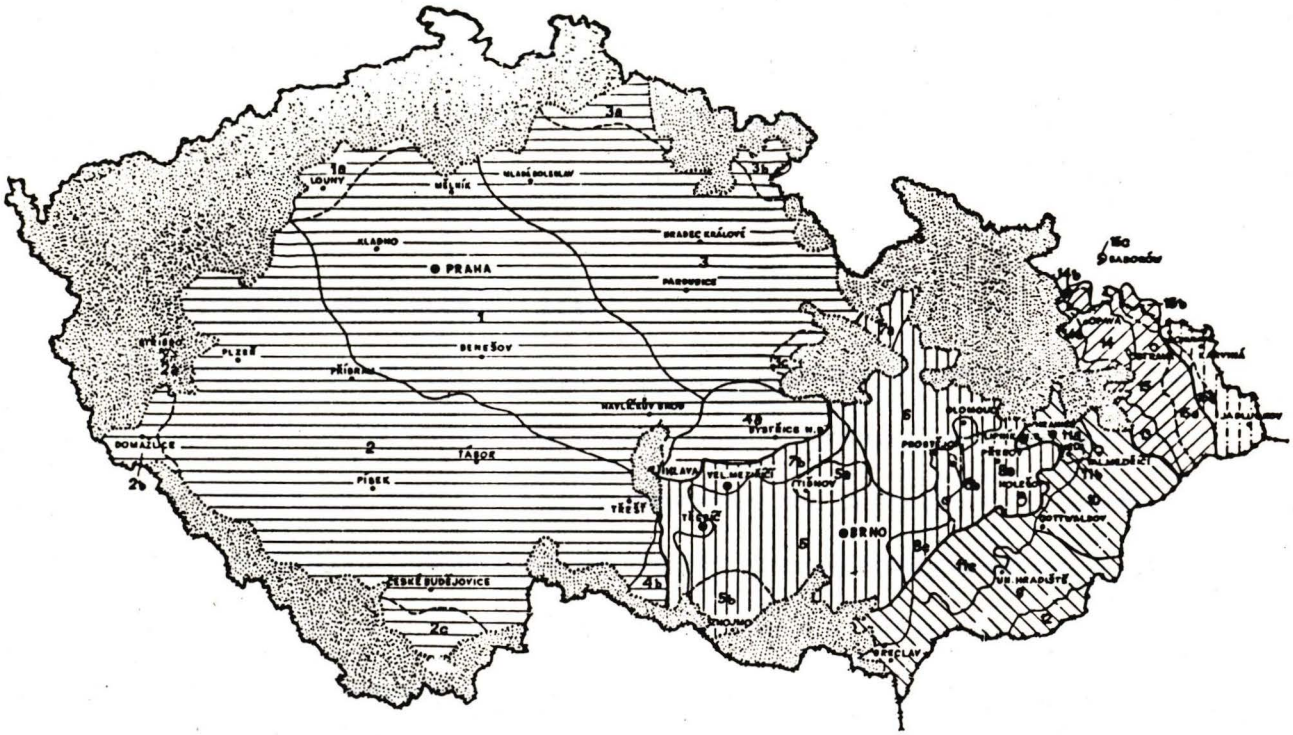

Figure 6: Map of Bohemia-Moravia, 1971. From Jaroslav Jelínek, Vlastimil Styblík, Čtení o českém jazyku (Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1971), p. 29.

Appendix A

MODERN CZECH DIALECTS

A.1 Maps of Modern Czech Dialects

As can be seen from all three maps, dialect geography can be little more than approximate. Dialectal regions are seldom bounded by sharply defined frontiers even when rivers and mountain ranges intervene; the definition is even less marked where geographical barriers are absent. Nor are common dialect features necessarily contiguous; similar features may be found in widely separated areas. the normalizing influence of education has blurred distinctive dialect speech, and some of the criteria given in Stuart Mann's Historical Grammar (published in 1957) have now disappeared (Map 1 represents Mann's dialect geography). Mann also believes that writers in dialect can transcribe non-standard phonemes only in terms of standard spelling; they are less concerned with linguistic fact than with the telling of a story, and their rustic dialogues do not necessarily record the speech of any one person living at any particular time. Therefore such writings must be assessed with caution.

Traditional dialect areas are the following (see Map 1):

1. *Western Czech*--North of the line joining Písek with the juncture Šumava-Český Les. Chief town: Plzeň

2. *Southern Czech*--South of a line Písek-Jihlavské Vrchy. Chief town: České Budějovice.

3. *Central Czech*--East of a line Kladno-Příbram-Písek. North of a line Písek-Jihlavské Vrchy. West of Mladá Boleslav-Poděbrady-Kutná Hora-Jihlava. Chief city: Praha.

4. *N.E. Czech*--East of the line Mladá-Boleslav-Jihlava. West of the Czecho-Moravian frontier. Eastern Czech subdialect: frontier pocket enclosing Litomysl and Polička. Chief towns: Hradec Králové and Pardubice.

5. *Czecho-Moravian*--Frontier heights around Jihlava, especially to the S.W. Chief town: Jihlava. Subdialect around and N.E. of Ždár Heights.

6. *Moravian (Hanák)*--South of the line Jihlava-Olomouc, and west of the Morava River. Subdialect spoken at Brno.

7. *Moravian Slovak*--East of the Chřiby Range, west of the White Carpathians. Includes the lower basin of the Morava River. Chief towns: Uherské Hradiště, Kyjov.

8. *Moravian Silesian*--Area bounded by the rivers Opava, Odra, and Becva and the Slovak frontier. Chief town: Moravská Ostrava.

The chief criteria are the vowels and phonemic clusters (see the Tables of Czech and Moravian dialects for further explanation).[95]

Map 2 is found in a book on dialectology published in 1964.[96] This map differs from Map 1 in that the regions of *Western* and *N.E. Czech* dialects are considered mixed dialectal regions. This assumption is probably closer to the truth, since these areas contain a large percentage of the industry of Moravia-Bohemia and would, therefore, have a population from various areas of the two regions. However, these regions would also have their own regional dialect in addition to all the others.

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95 Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 155.

96 Cuřín, Vývoj českého jazyka a dialectelogie, pp. 172-79.

Finally, Map 3, found in J. Jelínek's and V. Styblík's Čtení of českém jazyku, published in 1971, represents the most recent dialectical study.[97] Czech dialects are represented in the narrow sense and cover most of Bohemia and parts of Moravia. There are, however, divisions between various subdialects. This map shows further assimilation of formerly separate dialects to Standard Czech, which results from media exposure and the normalizing influence of education.

A.2 The Dialects of Bohemia-Moravia

Dialectology is a complicated subject, and drawing the dialectical boundaries is seldom an easy matter. Furthermore, migrations are constantly changing the dialectical boundaries. Certain common features, however, can still be discerned.

Czech, in its most narrow sense, is the language spoken in Bohemia. Since this is today the area that is the most industrialized and most advanced economically it is also the area with the most mobile population. Consequently, the dialect boundaries within Bohemia can only be approximated in the most general terms, as *Southwestern, Central*, and *Northeastern Czech*. Local dialects can be found mostly around the periphery of Bohemia, in special areas such as Domažlice, located on the southwestern border with Austria.[98]

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97 Jaroslav Jelínek, and Vlastimil Styblík, Čtení o českém jazyku, pp. 27-29.

98 Chodsko, centered around Domažlice in southwestern Bohemia, is one the few areas in Bohemia with distinctive folklore. The Chods (a *chod* [in modern Czech *chodec*] is a walker; the Chods were supposed to 'walk' along the frontier on guard duty) are an unknown ethnic group who were given special priviliges by the Přemyslids and the Luxemburgs in return for guarding the western borders. Nobody knows whether they were imported or indigenous. Nevertheless, their folk culture and dialect have survived down to this day, despite Hapsburg persecution. A.H. Hermann, A History of the Czech, p. 75.

Historically, however, dialect boundaries were much more distinctive. Under Hapsburg rule, before 1848, serfdom was the condition under which a large part of the Czech population lived. These people were tied to the land, and were forbidden to travel without special permission from their master.[99] Under such circumstances, it is to be presumed that significant dialectical variations existed, but these later disappeared during the Industrial Revolution that characterized Bohemian society during the second half of the nineteenth century.[100]

Moravia, however, still has to this day three major dialectal variations within its boundaries. Primary among these is the *Hanák* dialect, which is Moravian proper, and the language spoken in and around Brno. This dialect, in many ways, bears numerous characteristics of a separate language, and may well have developed as one, as did Slovak. *Hanák*, however, is only spoken in the western part of Moravia, and it was quickly overshadowed by the growth of Czech of Bohemia. Moravia, furthermore, remains to this day very much a peripheral region, with more entrenched feudal traditions, and a less developed economy than that of the neighbouring Bohemia.[101]

The two other dialects contained within the confines of Moravia represent transitional dialects into other Slavic languages. The *Lach* or *Silesian* dialect of the northeast bears many similarities with Polish, including the tendency of the soft consonants to become *chuintantes*[palato-alveolar fricatives, hushing sounds], the presence of the hard Polish *ł* as a separate phoneme. The

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99 Kerner, Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century, p. 274.

100 J.F.N. Bradley, Czechoslovakia: A Short History (Edingburg: University Press, 1971), pp. 120-131.

101 Cuřín, Vývoj českého jazyka a dialectelogie, p. 111.

Moravian-Slovak dialect of the southeastern part of Moravia shares many similarities with Slovak such as: lack of vowel mutation for *a*, *á* and *u*, *ú*; two varieties of *l* (*l*, *ł* or *l'*, *ł/u*); *dz* for Common Slavic *dj*; and the preservation of *ú* (for further explanation see the Table of Moravian dialects).

In discussing the question of dialects, special note should be made with regard to the areas listed as German-speaking in the Munich Agreement.[102] At the end of World War II, the Czechoslovak government expelled the German population and resettled it with people from other regions. Consequently, these areas remain regions of dialectical mixture, reflecting the diverse origins of the settlers. In the border areas of Bohemia, it is most likely that the standard Czech, as spoken in the Bohemian basin, will predominate. However, in Moravia, it would be interesting to know whether or not Czech will make headway at the expense of the various Moravian dialects.

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102 Map 3 most closely resembles the map the Munich Agreement. The areas designated as *mixed dialectical regions* represent Sudentland, which formerly had a large German minority. However, as can be seen from this map, the German-speaking population was scattered in different areas, with only a few towns where they constituted a majority of the population.

Table 15: The Czech Alphabet

From De Bray, Guide to the West Slavonic Languages (Part 2) , pp. 37-38.

Czech	English equivalent
A a (short)	**u** in English 'but'
á (long)	**a** in 'father'
B b	**b**
C c	**ts** voiceless affricate, as in 'cats'
Č č	**ch** voiceless affricate (palatal), 'church'
D d	**d** (dental)
D' d'	**d** palatal in English 'dew'
E e (short)	**e** in English 'set'
(É) é (long)	**e** in 'there'
ě (short)	**ye** in 'yes'
F f	**f** (mostly in borrowed words)
G g	**g** in 'go' (only in words of foreign origin)
H h	**h** voiced
Ch ch	**ch** in 'loch'
I i (short)	**i** in Fr. 'vif'
í (long)	**ee** in 'meet'
J j	**y** in 'toy'
K k	**k**
L l	**l** in 'last'
M m	**m**
N n	**n** (alveolar)
Ň ň	**n** palatal in 'new' (rare

	initially)
O o (short)	**o** in 'for'
(Ó) ó (long)	**oo** in 'door'
P p	**p** (unaspirated)
R r	**r** (trill, rolled)
Ř ř	apico-alveolar trill **r** and **š** or **ž**, (**s** in 'pleasure') pronounced together
S s	**s** in 'sea'
Š š	**sh**
T t	**t** (dental)
T' t'	**t** in 'tune'
U u	**u** in 'put'
Ú ú	**oo** in 'boot' (occurs intially)
ů	**oo** in 'boot' (occurs medially and finally)
V v	**v**
(Y) y (short)	**i** in Fr. 'vif' (after dentals /ɨ/)
ý (long)	**ee** in 'meet'
Z z	**z**
Ž ž	**zh** in 'pleasure' or 'vision'

Q,W and X appear only in foreign words.

(): letters with capital in brackets occur initially only in words of foreign origin.

A.3 Major Dialectical Differences

Dialectical variations are determined by difference in the vowels and phonemic clusters of the different groups. Historical development of the Czech language led to four basic dialectical groups: 1. *Czech* (in the narrow sense, including all of Bohemia), 2. *Hanák* (which includes a large part of Moravia), 3. *Lach* (or *Silesian*) and 4. *Moravian-Slovak* The basis of these divisions are the following variations:

ý (í)	- ej - é
ú	- ou - ó
aj	- ej - é

These basic differences can be best illustrated by the following sentence, in the various dialects, meaning 'Put the flour from the mill on the cart':

Czech:	**Dej mouku ze mlejna na vozejk.**
Hanák:	**Dé móku ze mléna vozék.**
Lach:	**Daj muku ze młyna na vozik.**
Moravian-Slovak:	**Daj múku ze młyna na vozík.**

In the Czech dialects, *y* (*i*) changed historically to *ej* (*mlejn* 'mill', *nosejk* 'little nose'), *aj* to *ej* [*dej* 'put', 'give!', *vejce* 'egg'] and in the *Hanák* dialect, each *ej* changed to *é* (*mléko, nosék, dé, véce*). Old Czech *ú* became in the Czech dialects *ou* (*mouka* 'flour', *nesou* 'they carry') and in Hanák dialects it changed to *ó* (*móka, nesó*).

The *Lach* and *Moravian-Slovak* dialects retained the Old Czech *ú (í), ú, aj,* but the *Lach* dialect lost long vowels in the sixteenth century. Therefore, *Moravian-Slovak* has *młyn* 'mill', *nosík* 'little nose', *daj* 'put, give', *vajce* 'egg', *múka* 'flour', *nesú* 'they carry', whereas in the *Lach* dialect the words are *młyn, nosik, daj, vajce, muka, ňesu.*

A.4 Czech Dialects

As can be observed from the first two dialectical maps, the Czech dialects (*i.e.*, dialects of Bohemia and western Moravia), are further subdivided into *Central*, *Eastern*, *Southwestern*, *Western (Chod)*, and *Northeastern* dialects.

The following table illustrates the common features, as well as the those that differentiate the Czech dialects:

Table 16: Czech Dialects

From Cuřín, Vývoj českého jazyka a dialektologie, pp. 172-187.

Common features of the group	Subdivisions of the Czech dialects	Dialectical differences
y (i) - ej *u - ou*	*Central*	-
aj - ej	*Northeastern*	*v - u* (*kreu* 'blood'), *i - ej* (*pracej* 'work'), *-ovi -oj* (*psoj* (gen.) 'dog'.
	Southwestern	*a* instead of *e*, mostly after palatal or soft consonants *čalo* 'forehead', *žabro* 'rib', *hřablo* 'nail'; *j* before *i*.
	Western	prothetic *h* (*hale* 'but' for *ale*), loss of *j* before *s* *s* (*som* 'I am for *jsem*) *h* instead of *k* before *d* (*hde*).

A.5 Moravian Dialects

The Moravian dialects have three basic subdivisions: 1. *Hanák* or *Central Moravian*, 2. *Moravian-Slovak*, 3. *Silesian* or *Lach*.

The following table illustrates the similarities, as well as the differences that are found in these dialects:

Table 17: Moravian Dialects

From Cuřín, Vývoj českého jazyka a dialektologie, pp.172-79.

DIALECT	Subdivision of each dialect	Common features	Dialectical differences
Hanák	*Central*	*ý, í - é*	*y - ê, u - ô*
	Western	*ú - ó*	*y - e, u - o*
	Southern	*aj - é*	*y - ê, u - o*
Moravian-Slovak	*'Podlužské'*	*ý, í*	*u* for *l* in a *mohéu* 'he could'
	'Dolská'	*ú* (most dial.)	*é - í, e - e*
	'Kelčské'	*aj* (" ")	*aj, ý, í - ej, ú, ó - ou*
	'Valašská'		*i - y*, inf. in /t'/
	'Kopaničářská'		*r* for *ř*, 1p. sg. in *-em*
Silesian or *Lach*	*Moravian*	*ý, i - y, i*	differences in pronunciation of palatal consonants <t'>, <ć>, <č>, <d'>, <dź>, <dž>, <ś>, <š>, <ź>, <ž>. Moravian Eastern and Western Lach respectively).
	Eastern	*ú - u*	
	Western	*aj* (short vowels only; accent on the penultimate syllable).	

Table 18: CHART OF CZECH DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONEMIC CLUSTERS	STANDARD OR LITERARY CZECH	WESTERN DIALECT *(Chod)*	SOUTHERN DIALECT	CENTRAL DIALECT	N.E. CZECH DIALECT *(Náchod)*	EASTERN DIALECT	ENGLISH MEANING
á in	krásná						beautiful (fem.)
á in	smál se	smíl se					he laughed
	přál	příl				přál	he wished
aji	mají		mají		maj(í)	maj	they have
	dají	dají				daj	they give, place
e in	naše						our (fem.)
	duše						soul
e, ě	o něm	vo ňom		vo něm		vo ňom	about him
	o našem	vo našom		vo našem			about our (masc.)
	o všem	vo všom		vo všem			about everything
ě, e	viděl	viďil			vid'al	viděl	he saw
	slyšel	slyšíl			slyšal	slyšel	he heard
é in	nového	nového		nového		nového	new (masc. gen. sg.)
	déle	dýl		dýl		dýlej	longer, further
	mléko		mlíko	mlíko			milk

(From Curín, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Table 18: CHART OF CZECH DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONETIC CLUSTERS	STANDARD OR LITERARY CZECH	WESTERN DIALECT	SOUTHERN DIALECT	CENTRAL DIALECT	N.E. CZECH DIALECT	EASTERN DIALECT	ENGLISH MEANING
ej in	*dej*	*dej*	*dej*		*dej*	*dej*	give, put (imp.)
	nej-	*nej-*			*nej-*	*nej-*	superlative prefix
ějí in	*mlátějí*	*mlátí*		*mlátějí*	*mlátěj(í)*	*mlátěj*	they hit, beat
í in	*míti*	*mět*	*mít*		*mít*	*mět*	to have
	říci	*řect*			*říct*	*říct*	to say
j in	*jsem*	*jsem*	*som*	*sem*	*jsem*	*sem*	I am
	jsi	*jsi*	*siš*	*seš*	*jseš*	*si*	you (sg.) are
j in	*jdu*	*du*		*du*	*jdu*	*du, hdu*	I go
kd in	*kde*	*hde*	*hde*		*de/gde*	*de/gde*	where
	kdo	*hdo*	*hdo*		*do/gdo*	*do/gdo*	who
mě in	*mě*	*mě/mi*		*mně*	*mě*		to me
o in	*on*	*von*	*on/von*	*von*	*von/on*	*von*	he
	od	*vod*					from
	okno	*vokno*					window
ou in	*jsou*	*jsu*			*sou*		they are

(From Cuřín, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Table 18: CHART OF CZECH DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONETIC CLUSTERS	STANDARD OR LITERARY CZECH	WESTERN DIALECT	SOUTHERN DIALECT	CENTRAL DIALECT	N.E. CZECH DIALECT	EASTERN DIALECT	ENGLISH MEANING
ou in	*moukou*	*muku*	*moukou*		*moukou*	*moukou*	flour (instrumental)
pi etc.	*pil*	*pjil*	*pjil*				he drank
	bil	*bjil*	*bjil*				he beat
ří, ští in	*dobří*	*dobří*		*dobrí*	*dobří*		good (masc. pl.)
	čeští	*češčí*			*čeští*		Czech (masc. pl.)
sch in	*schová*			*schová*	*skovat*	*skovat*	he will hide
ště in	*ještě*	*ešče*		*ešte*	*ešte*	*ešte*	again
ti in	*dáti*	*dát*	*dát*	*dát*	*dát*	*dát*	give (infinitive)
ů in	*dům*				*dům*	*dům*	house
	synům	*synom*			*synům*	*synom*	sons (dat.)
uji, ují	*děkuji*	*děkuju*	*děkuju*	*děkuju*	*děkuju*	*děkuju*	Thank you 1 p. sg.
	děkují	*děkujú*	*děkujou*	*děkujou*	*děkujou*	*děkujou*	they thank (give thanks)
vd, vn in	*pravda,*	*pravda,*			*prauda*	*prauda*	truth
	zrovna	*zrovna*			*zrouna*	*zrouna*	right now
ý in	*nový*	*novej*	*novej*	*novej*	*novej*	*novej*	new (masc. sg.)
zh in	*zhoří*			*schoří*			(he, she, it) will burn

(From Cuřín, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Table 19: CHART OF MORAVIAN DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONETIC	STANDARD OR LITERARY	MORAVIAN (HANÁK)	MORAVIAN-SLOVAK	MORAVIAN SILESIAN OR LACH	ENGLISH MEANING
á in	krásná	krásná		krasna	beautiful (fem.)
á in	smál se	smíl se	smejt se	sm'at se, sm'ot	he laughed
	přál	přít se	přejt se	přat, přot	he wished
ají in	mají	majó	mají	maju	they have
	dají	dajó	dají	daju	they give, place
e in	naše	naša	naša	naša	our (fem.)
	duše	duša	duša	duša	soul
e, ě	o něm	vo něm			about him
	o našem	vo našem			about our (masc.)
	o všem	vo všem			about everything
ě, e	viděl	vidět, vid'et		vidżet, vidżit	he saw
	slyšel		slyšal		he heard
é in	nového	novýho	novýho	noveho	new (gen. sg.)
	déle				longer
	mléko	ml'íko	mlíko, mläko	mläko, mliko	milk

(From Cuřín, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Table 19: CHART OF MORAVIAN DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONETIC CLUSTERS	STANDARD OR LITERARY CZECH	MORAVIAN (HANAČK)	MORAVIAN-SLOVAK	MORAVIAN SILESIAN OR LACH	ENGLISH MEANING
ej in	*dej*	*de*	*dy/dej*	*dej/doj*	give, put (Imperative)
	nej-	*ne-*	*ny/nej-*	*nej/noj-*	superlative prefix
ějí in	*mlátějí*	*mťátijó*	*mlatija*	*mťat'a/mťat'o*	they hit, beat
í in	*míti*	*měť*		*měć*	to have
	říci	*říct'*	*říct'*	*říć*	to say
j in	*jsem*	*su*		*su/sym*	I am
	jsi	*si*		*sy*	you (sg.) are
j in	*jdu*	*du*	*idu*	*idu*	I go
kd in	*kde*	*de/hde*	*de*	*kaj*	where
	kdo	*do/hdo*	*do*	*hdo/gdo*	who
mě	*mě*	*mňe*	*mňe/ňe*	*mne/mě* (Dat./acc.)	(to) me
o in	*on*	*von*	*on*	*on*	he
	od	*vod*		*od*	from
	okno	*vokno*	*okno*		window
ou in	*jsou*	*só*		*su*	they are

(From Curýn, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Table 19: CHART OF MORAVIAN DIALECTS

VOWELS AND PHONETIC CLUSTERS	STANDARD OR LITERARY CZECH	MORAVIAN (HANAK)	MORAVIAN-SLOVAK	MORAVIAN SILESIAN OR LACH	ENGLISH MEANING
ou in	*moukou*	*mókó*	*moukou/múkú*	*muku*	flour (Instrumental)
pi etc.	*pil*	*pit*		*p'it*	he drank
	bil	*bit*		*b'it*	he beat
ří, ští	*dobří*	*dobří/dobrí*	*dobří*	*dobri*	good (masc. pl.)
	čeští	*češčí*	*češčí*		Czech (masc. pl.)
sch in	*schová*	*skovat'*			he will hide
ště in	*ještě*	*ešče*	*ešče*	*ešče*	again
ti	*dáti*	*dát'*	*dát'/dat'*	*dać*	to give
ů in	*dům*	*dům*		*dum*	house
	děkuji	*děkujo*			Thank you (1 p. sg.)
	děkují	*děkujó*		*dźekuju*	they thank (give thanks)
vd, vn in	*pravda zrovna*	*pravda*			right now
ý in	*nový*	*novë/nový*	*novej/nový*	*novy*	new (masc. sg.)
zh in	*zhoří*	*z-hoří*			(he, she, it) will burn

(From Cuřín, pp. 172-87 and Mann, pp. 154-58.)

Appendix B

EXTRACTS OF OLD CZECH TEXTS

B.1 The Alexandreis

Budějovický muzejní zlomek, lines 1-52; the treachery of Bessus and Narbaso. This extract contains a large number of dual forms.[103]

W tu dobu ta dwa poradcye,
newyerneho skutka skladcye,
radieśta sye neyednako,
newyeduce yeścze kako
bylo yima sweho kralo
yieti, u mnozye czi u male;
neb ke wśyem tu neupfaśta,
pronyeśto sye welmi baśta,

1 *porádcě* 'traitor'

2 *skutek* 'deed', *skládcě*

3 *nejednako* 'in various ways'

4 *kako* 'how'

5 *bylo jima* 'they were to' (dual)

6 *jieti* 'take, capture'; *u množě či u mále* *'in a big way or a small one'* (*i.e.*, 'by a mass attack or with a small party'). For usage of *u* (= *v*), *cf.* mod.

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103 Stuart E. Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 127

u příležitosti..., *u připojení...*

7 *úpfati* (with *k...*), 'trust'.

8 *proněžto* 'wherefore'; *báti sě* 'be afraid'.

The *Alexandreis* dates from the fourteenth century and contains the orthographic convention of the period (*e.g.*, *w* for *v*, for *ye*, *ś* for *š*, *cz* for *č*, etc.)

B.2 Dalimil Chronicle (Chapter 2)

O poczatcye našeho yažku w Czechach[104]

W srpskem yazẏku yest zemye
yešto Charwatẏ yest ẏmye.
W tey zemi byeše lech,
yemužto ẏmye byeše Czech,
Ten mužoboystwa sye doczini
pronyež swu zemi prowini.
Ten Czech myeyieś moc i czest
a ot nich mnoho Czech czeledi
yuż yedne noci Czech osledi
i wẏbra sye se wśim z zemye

1 *jazyk* (here) 'state'

3 *lech* 'chieftain'

5 *mužobojstvo* 'murder',

dočini se (aor. with gen.) 'committed'.

6 *provino*, aor. tr. 'discredited'.

8 *čeled'*, 'household', pl. 'children'

9 *osledi*, aor. tr. 'assembled'.

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104 J. Daňhelka, Nejstarší česká rýmovaná kronika tak řečeného Dalimila, p. 5. See also Mann, Czech Historical Grammar, p. 130.

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A Sociolinguistic Study of Literary Czech

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