The Bohemian Language in America I. Czechoslovakia
Author(s): J. B. Dudek
Source: American Speech, Vol. 2, No. 7 (Apr., 1927), pp. 299-311
Published by: Duke University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/452892
Accessed: 08-09-2015 19:36 UTC

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AMERICAN SPEECH

THE BOHEMIAN LANGUAGE IN AMERICA
I. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BY ONE of those tricks Fate is always playing on mankind, the hyphen, which acquired rather an unsavory reputation in America during the recent world war, was not only overlooked, but even greeted with a patter of Democratic Convention applause in three words, "Czech-Slovakia," "Czecho-Slovak" and "Czech-Slovakian," which appeared almost simultaneously with the substitution of near-beer and moonshine for commodities of an infinitely superior nature. Of late, perhaps after mature reflection, there is a tendency to omit the hyphen and to run the component parts together as Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak and Czechoslovakian.

Most Americans have at least the faint notion that Czechoslovakia is a country. Beyond that, their information concerning it is rather indefinite; so much so, indeed, that a western newspaper, not long ago, carried an item about one Mr. Pete Gillshoshiney, a Czechoslovakian, whose address was given as Philipappopolis (or something like that), Czechoslovakia. A Bohemian undertook to explain, in a scholarly "personal letter to the Editor," that no Czechoslovak ever had a name like that grew before. Cž is about as well as the ě value can be rendered with ordinary Roman type. In fact, the Polish language, which has not the character ę, has the sound, and expresses it regularly by the two letters cz.

1 The spelling Czecho, etc., is due to the fact that British and American printers are not, ordinarily equipped with Bohemian type. The Cž is intended to represent the Bohemian character Č, which always has the value of ch in child. The written Bohemian language of to-day knows no such combination as č. Čh occurring in a Bohemian word always has the value of the Greek letter χ, (German ęż, as in Bach), which explains why printers, lacking the proper font, do not ordinarily undertake to spell Čch, for example, with Ch instead of the Č. They have done it, however. There is the "Cheskyan Anthology" of John Bowring, published in London in 1832; Mr. Thomas Čapek, in his "Čechs (Bohemians) in America," mentions "Cheskey" as an American nickname for Bohemians. This is a borrowing of the native adjective Český. W. R. Morfill, the author of a Bohemian grammar in English, and others have advocated the spelling "Chekh," which, in my estimation, makes two difficulties blossom where only one...

2 The spelling officially used by the United States Government is Czechoslovakia. Czechoslovak officials in this country have the name of their country printed on their letterheads as the "Czechoslovak Republic."
and no town in Czechoslovakia, ancient or modern, was ever denoted by any such combination of syllables as Philippapopolis. The editor printed the letter, with the comment that editors in general could not be expected to have a comprehensive geographical knowledge of the Far East! The incident tends to show, however, that there is a vague, general idea prevalent among newspaper men that Czechoslovaksians hail from Czechoslovakia, geographical location uncertain, and that anything with an unpronounceable name must be either Czechoslovakian or Far Eastern.

Prior to 1918, the little European (not Far Eastern) republic responsible for the name Czechoslovakia given it by Americans and Britishers was an unknown quantity. It was even worse off than an unknown quantity; for mathematicians, at least, know that such things as unknown quantities exist, while Czechoslovakia didn’t exist, even as x. Some of the grade-school geographies were in the habit of labeling a small pink portion of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy Bohemia, and a smaller portion, tinted green, Moravia; but that was all. Nobody suspected the latent possibilities of those pink and green areas on the map of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Events subsequent to 1914 having called for considerable revision of atlases and geographies, the pink and green portions of Austria were changed in 1918 to a uniform brown and somewhat extended toward the right hand and bottom sides of the map. The result of the alterations in cut and color scheme was christened Czecho-Slovakia, which is the Anglo-Saxon form of the officially adopted Bohemian name of the Československá Republika,3 (Czechoslovak Republic).

Somewhat like Gaul, which Caesar immortalized for the future exasperation of high-school students, the Czechoslovak Republic is divided into three parts. The largest, and to this enquiry the most pertinent, is the ancient Kingdom of Bohemia (native designation Čechy). The second part is Moravia (Morava), lying to the east, and somewhat to the south, of Bohemia. The early history of these lands is largely legendary, but they are supposed to have been occupied, at some time or other, by the Boii,4 whom the high-school graduate will remember from their frequent mention in Caesar’s Gallic War. The Czechs5 and Moravians were

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3 Československá alone is frequently used, just as we commonly speak of the Argentine Republic as Argentina. As a matter of fact, Československo is inconsistent with the Bohemian manner of compounds nouns. Československo (Čechy + Slovensko. The first noun in such instances is made to end in o) would be more logical, and I am informed that it has a limited use among Bohemians inclined to precision. (This does not apply to the adjective Československá, which is correct as a compound of two adjectives.)

4 The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 30, (new), article “Czechoslovakia,” gives the Bohemian spellings as Československo, Československá Republika. These are obvious misprints.

5 The official Bohemian spellings of the compounds are without hyphen, following the Czech custom of doing without it wherever possible. It is reserved for other uses in the written language, and is often omitted where English would not be without it, e.g., Českotmavý vlumac — a Bohemian-German Interpreter, i.e., a book giving German equivalents of Czech phrases. In the matter of compounding words without hyphens, the Germans, with Galanteriewarengeschäft, Staatsseisenbahntelegrafenanlagen, and hundreds of others even longer, are the worst well-known offenders. In Bohemian more than two words are seldom run together, but two word combinations are frequent: e.g., severomoravský, North American; voholomyslost, free thought; kromsoudni, extra-judicial. Where one or both parts of the compound are imported words, the hyphen is usually retained: deistic-pantheistic, deistic-pantheistic; řimsky-katolicismus, Roman Catholicism.

6 The Celtic race that perpetuated its name in Bohemia.

7 In their language, Česi; mas. sing. Čech; fem. sing. Češka, pl. Čechy. Češi, sometimes used as the plural of Čech, is an adjective, and its use as a noun is a vulgar affectation.
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They (called Viclavski was and west as Republic been and (Slezsko), efforts nearly the of distance, and
the land was, as Austrians, and Bohemia and Moravia, as well as some of the other Bohemian crown lands, played a prominent part in the political and religious affairs of central Europe. After the ill-fated battle of the White Mountain (Bila hora, near Prague) on November 8th, 1620, the Bohemian crown, hitherto elect, became hereditary in the house of Hapsburg, and, until quite recently, Bohemia and Moravia were known as "crown lands of Austria." 7 The Czechs and Moravians, however, for nearly three hundred years, resisted all the efforts of their conquerors to deprive them of their nationality. The third part is the land of the Slovaks, (Slovensko). It comprises two portions of the late Hungary—Slovakia proper, and Podkarpacka Rus (Sub-Carpathian Russia)—both of which were, for a long time, denied even a separate name by map makers, which would indicate that the conquerors of the Slovaks had succeeded better in crushing the national spirit among them than had the Austrians among the Bohemians and Moravians.

As history, neither the ancient nor the modern history—often stormy and tragic, sometimes romantic, but always full of some of the Bohemians, acquired rather a contemptuous significance, has been incorrectly replaced to some extent by Slovan (pl. Slovans), which, seeking to avoid one difficulty, runs into another, Slovan being the generic Bohemian name for a Slav, thus including Russians, Croats, Poles, Ukrainians, Serbs, etc. The pl. of Slovan is Slovani or, obsoleneent, Slovani. The Old Slavonic name for a Slav was Slovina (pl. Slovin). I have heard the Slovaks called, incorrectly, by other names resembling those mentioned, and some of them appear occasionally in print. From all this it appears to me that the official name Ceskoslovenska Republika is rather misleading, the slovenska part seemingly indicating Slovans rather than Slovak to one unfamiliar with Czech adjectives. (Slovensky is the adjective derived from Slovak.) The Slovans are in no sense inculcable. Further confusion arises from Slovaks calling their language by various names more or less similar. Slovenina is the correct Bohemian name for it, and is used by educated Slovaks, but Slovenskina and Slovenistica are used considerably, both by Bohemians and true Slovaks. I find, in obscure Bohemian papers published in America, Ceskoslovensky used as a pl. of the compound name Ceskoslovak, but it is incorrect, as also is Ceslove, which is used by some pretentious editors in the same sense. Ceslove (or, more properly, Ceslovani) was, until 1914, used in reference to the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia as belonging to the Slav family, and means simply that group of Slavs using the Czech language. Granting that the hyphenation is in order at all, the correct pl. of Ceslovak is Ceslove.

6 Particularly Silesia and Lusatia. Silesia (Slezska), until lately divided between the German and Austrian empires, has, by recent peace terms, been divided up among Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. The portion known more definitely as Eastern Silesia was added to the Czechoslovak Republic in 1920.

7 That is, Austria called them her "crown lands," and outsiders followed suit. The Bohemian crown was called koruna svatovukalska after Václav I (928-936) and its lands were known as zemí koruny svatovučalské (lands of the St. Václav crown.).

8 The native name is: mas. sing. Slovak; pl. Slovaci; fem. sing. Slovanka. The Slovaks formerly called themselves Slovenc (pl.), which was abandoned because it caused confusion with other peoples. They are to be distinguished from the Slovences (sing. Slovenec, pl. Slovenci), who occupy Carniola and parts of Carinthia, Styria, and Istria (at present parcelled out to the Austrian Republic, Jugo-Slavia, etc., though portions of Carniola and Carinthia are more or less autonomous); as well as from the Slovini (the name of a small remnant of a Kashub tribe) west of Danzig. The word Slovák, having, among

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human interest—of the Czech and Slovak peoples falls within the province of the present enquiry. All phases of the subject have been treated at length in many excellent books by native and foreign writers. Any standard encyclopedia will furnish sufficient information for those who do not care to go into details. Historical matters, therefore, will not be discussed except in so far as they may have directly affected the language question.

Nor is it necessary to speak of the natural beauty or the resources of the Republic, or to give statistics that can be obtained elsewhere. It will suffice to mention that the Republic at present has an area of about 55,000 square miles; and that its population, according to the 1921 census, is nearly 14,000,000. This number has probably been increased within the past two years, since many Bohemians, Moravians and Slovaks have been returning from other countries to their native land. Non-Slavs are numerous in the Republic, especially Germans. German immigration was encouraged by some of the Bohemian rulers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as also by the intensive Germanizing policy pursued later by Austria. Under Austro-Hungarian rule, the Slovaks, who really never had an independent history, were subjected, more effectively, to a similar system of Magyarization.

It is difficult to obtain accurate information regarding the number of Bohemians in other countries. Before the war many of them were inscribed on immigration records as Austrians, indiscriminately. Since the war, Bohemians, Moravians and Slovaks, as well as persons born of non-Slavic parents within the limits of Czechoslovakia, are all given the combined name Czechoslovaks; hence, the real nationality of many immigrants will remain unknown. Recent statistics give the number of Czechoslovaks in America as 800,000 to 1,000,000. It is quite probable that there are almost 800,000 true Bohemians in the United States, and that, to include the persons originating in other parts of the present Czechoslovak Republic, the estimate should be increased fully fifty per cent.

The 1921 report of the U. S. Commissioner General of Immigration gives a total of 41,061 immigrants, with Czechoslovakia as the country of their last permanent residence, admitted to the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and 12,641 the following year. On the other hand, 15,935 persons, mostly emigrant aliens, departed this country for Czechoslovakia (country of future permanent residence) during 1921, and 8350 in 1922. The net increase of Czechoslovaks to this country by immigration for that period has, then, been about 30,000. It may be of interest to note that in other tables of this report the Bohemians and Moravians are counted together as Czechs, while the Slovaks are taken separately.

In reply to an enquiry, Mr. W. C. Hunt, Chief Statistician for Population, Bureau of the Census, writes, under date of May 23rd, 1923:

"Because of the many changes in the map of Europe which have resulted from the World War, the classification of the white population of foreign birth or foreign parentage according to country of origin was made peculiarly difficult. Many natives of foreign or mixed parentage knew the countries, according to the prewar map, but not the provinces or cities, in which their parents were born. For this reason it was impossible to make a proper classification of the foreign parents of natives with reference to European countries as now constituted, and therefore the statistics for this class have been compiled on a prewar..."
Politics and religion undoubtedly play an important part in the evolution of languages. This has been true of the Slavic languages particularly. Since, however, an examination into the politics and religion of Czechoslovakia alone would fill several large volumes, these subjects will be as far as possible avoided. They can, moreover, hardly be discussed impartially, and the most sincere attempt at fairness would probably not escape the suspicion of propaganda. It is unfortunate that party prejudice has been so considerable in most of the information that has been, and is being, published concerning both the former and the present status of the Slavic peoples, especially the Czechs. Under Hapsburg domination, it was to be expected that all but thoroughly Czech and Slovak nationalists should have been prejudiced—at least for policy’s sake—in favor of the powers that were. Now that Czechoslovakia has taken its place among the independent governments of the world, and some of the old powers have been crushed almost beyond recognition, a great deal of bias is manifested in favor of the powers that be, not only by Czechoslovaks at home, but even more so by those in America and by writers of other nationalities who profess a great interest in the self-determination of the Czechoslovaks. The President of the Republic, Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, to whom, assuredly, much credit is due for his efforts in behalf of Czech and Slovak liberation from the Austro-Hungarian yoke, is himself rather one-sided in extolling the merits and advantages of present conditions, politically and otherwise, in his country over those of the immediate past. Mr. Masaryk is apparently unwilling to concede that anything good ever came out of Austria, and is so fixed in his belief that the introduction of democracy of the Wilsonian kind into the country of which he is virtually a constitutional monarch is an unalloyed blessing that his observations on matters political should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt.14 The Czechoslovakian job-holders goose-step, of course. The Bohemian free-thinking press in America is thoroughly in accord with President Masaryk in everything, and frequently so narrow in expressing its opinions that its utterances must be substantially discounted. Certain religious papers go to the opposite extreme and are apparently convinced that Czechoslovakia is going to the “demition bow-wows.” The average human being, knowing that it is a physical impossibility to see both

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14 President Masaryk prepared the article Czechoslovakia for the recent supplement to the Britannica (Volume 30; 11th edition). The Britannica Editor, in a footnote, refers the reader elsewhere for an Austrian view of the nationality question. The same caution might apply to other matters discussed in Professor Masaryk’s article.
the front and the back of a house at the same time, applies the principle in the intellectual order and argues that there is no side except the one he is looking at. Judging the other fellow by his own limitations, neither the man at the front nor the one at the back will budge an inch from his particular point of vision, so they stand there calling each other names and getting madder every moment. Consequently, should it be absolutely necessary to mention politics or religion, let it be understood, once for all, that language is primarily the subject in hand, and that the author, pretending to no infallibility, is at all times perfectly willing to step around and see the other side. En passant, the politico-religious element was not at all absent in the coin ing of the term Czechoslovakia; but the appropriateness of that will be discussed on other grounds.

Nor are these articles intended to be an exhaustive treatise in grammar or ethnology. It has been deemed unnecessary to visit the zoo in an effort to learn something of primitive man and the genetics of language. Nor will the author, emulating the historian who begins with the creation his account of the settlement of Walla Walla, engage in any speculations about the language spoken by Adam. It is quite generally conceded that the Slavs (including those called Czechoslovaks) are Aryans, and, moreover, Nordics. The Indo-European family of languages, including almost everything from Albanian to Zend, will, with this brief notice that it also includes the Slavonic languages, be left to the grammarians who design family trees. There will be no pretense even at a detailed scientific treatment of the Slav tongues in general, though, for comparison with the Czech, some remarks concerning them will be in order. In treating of the Czech language, modern usage will be given preference before obsolete and antiquated forms.

The whole field of literature will also be left for others to explore. Some of the works of Bohemian authors have appeared in English, and particular interest has been manifested in Czech poetry, much of which has been made accessible to English readers, especially in recent years, by reliable translations, which, however, fall short of the beauty of the original. It is to be regretted that the Czech language is considered so difficult to learn, and that Americans, by not undertaking its study, deprive themselves of a rich store of literary treasures that would otherwise be open to them. The establishment of chairs in Slavic in some American universities has aroused more interest than that of former years, but it is still very slight. The Bohemian press in America is, as a whole, not of high literary value. Many Czech periodicals are printed in the United States, the circulation of Bohemian dailies alone averaging 70,000 copies per issue; but

16 The Czechs are not outdone by any nationality in learning other languages. Bohemian prosody being distinguished from that of most European languages by the use of quantity instead of accent, the language is especially well adapted for faithfully rendering the ancient Greek and Latin classics. All the important works of writers in other modern languages have been translated into Czech, and Shakespeare, Scott, Dickens, Stevenson, and many other British writers are perhaps as well known to Bohemians who do not know English as they are to us. Much American fiction of recent years has also been made available to Bohemians.

17 U. S. Department of Commerce Report on Printing and Publishing (1919), 66, 226. Ayer's American Newspaper Annual & Directory (1913) gives the following statistics on Bohemian publica-
II

Without doubt, the most popular contribution that Czechoslovakia has made to the English, and consequently to the American, language, has been its own name, and the two words derived therefrom, *Czechoslovak* and *Czechoslovakian*. As an official, technical designation for the new republic brought into being by a political merger of the Czechs and the Slovaks, the hyphenation *Czech-Slovakia* is about as good as any that could have been coined to suit the particular purpose of its inventors, which was doubtless to give both peoples representation in the name of their united country. The choice, however, has not been a happy one. On artistic considerations, if no other, the classical *Bohemia*, to which we had long been accustomed, might very well have been retained. The rose loses none of its fragrance by a change of name, but in this case it certainly has not gained anything.

The new term has given rise to considerable misunderstanding. The various explanations offered for the hyphenation are all excuses rather than explanations, and are utterly devoid of logic. One is to the effect that the Czechs and the Slovaks belong ethnologically to the same family, and that their language differs only dialectically. But, if Bohemians are Slovaks, *Slovakia* would have a fair mouthful, and if Slovaks are Bohemians, there seems to be no valid reason for discarding *Bohemia*, which was everywhere understood as English for *Čechy*. The very fact that the compound was thought necessary proves conclusively that its authors were aware of the non-identity of the two peoples. A law recently passed in the Republic makes *Czech* the official language of Bohemia and Moravia and *Slovak* that of Slovakia. This clearly indicates that there is no *Czecho-Slovak* language, else it would certainly have been made official.

With regard to nationality, there is no such thing as a *Czecho-Slovakian* in the sense conveyed by expressions like "Russian," "Spaniard," or "American." The Constitutional Charter of the Republic expressly prohibits any attempt to force a citizen to abandon his nationality; so, unless prohibition is understood in the American sense, it hardly seems possible that the Czechoslovak Government itself should endeavor to denationalize the Czechs into *Slovakian*-Czechs, or the Slovaks into *Boheman*-Slovaks. The hyphenations *Czech-Slovak* and *Czecho-Slovakian* suggest an adjectival meaning in the prefix, best illustrated by comparison with the compound term *German-American*, meaning thereby an American citizen or resident with German modifications. The only logical meaning that *Czecho-Slovak* can have is a *Slovak with Bohemian sympathies or inclinations*. It practically makes Slovaks out of the Czechs, leaving them only their peculiar Czech sympathies or leanings. That there are *Czecho-Slovaks,
and also Slovako-Czechs, in some such sense cannot be denied; but the combination is flagrantly inappropriate when applied to Bohemians who have not, as the majority have not, Slovakian inclinations, or to Slovaks who have no more intention of being Bohemianized than they had of being Magyarized. It is perfectly true that both the Czechs and the Slovaks belong to the same branch of the Slavonic family;\(^\text{18}\) grammatically, their respective languages are akin, and even very similar; but neither ethnology nor grammar can be appealed to as a satisfactory reason for a hyphenation that makes of both peoples something that neither is.

That the Czechs and the Slovaks once spoke a common tongue I do not venture to deny. For that matter, all men are said to belong to the human race, and science has not yet disproved the orthodox theory that they once spoke a common language. Nevertheless, American states pass Jim Crow laws, and much as we hear about the "brotherhood of man," more than one country has excluded this, that or the other race because of the color of its skin. The Russians also are a branch of the Slavonic family;\(^\text{19}\) but if Soviet Russia suddenly took a notion to annex the Czechs on the score that the Russians are their blood brothers, there would be more protest than there ever was against Austrian domination. Dialectal variation in general being simply the consequence of movements of population, and of various contributory circumstances, all languages may be said to have evolved dialectically. The Slavonic languages, more than others, have followed the general rule. Hence, it is thoroughly possible that, under changed political conditions, a Czechoslovakian language may, in course of time, develop; but there is no such language now. The two peoples, centuries ago, may have used a common, language, but, having been subjected to diverse influences in the meantime, it is impossible that either the Czechs or the Slovaks should have escaped the inevitable. As to the common tongue they spoke, it certainly was not Czechoslovakian; whatever it was, its revival is as hopeless as an attempt to make Americans speak the English of Chaucer's time.

Taking the word "dialect" in the ordinary and more limited meaning of peculiarity of accent or pronunciation, anyone who has ever heard a modern Slovak and a modern Bohemian carry on a conversation together would have some doubt as to their speech differing only dialectically.\(^\text{20}\) Without entering into

\(^{18}\) That of the Northwestern Slavs. According to the usual division, the Poles, Kashubes, and the extinct Polabs (Vagri, Brodrci, Lutici, Sprevans and Glemani) are likewise included in this group. In spite of their relationship, the Czechs cordially dislike the Poles, and the Poles are swift to return the compliment.

\(^{19}\) The Great Russians, whom we mean when we ordinarily speak, without qualification, of the Russians, form the largest part of the Eastern Branch of the Slavonic family, the other members being the Little Russians (Ruthenians and Ukrainians), and the White Russians. Considerable change in the political status of the Russians has taken place of late, and more threatens.
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comparisons as to the relative merits of the Slavic tongues, I have found it easier to understand conversational Russian or Polish than the speech of a Slovak, or even of some Moravians. The Moravian, which is also a dialect of the Czech language, is certainly nearer Bohemian than present day Slovak; yet a genuine Bohemian considers himself grossly insulted if anyone insinuate that his pronunciation is Moravian. The Moravians, who insist that their dialect is the true Bohemian language (just as some Irishmen are fond of saying that the Irish speak better English than the English themselves) prefer being called Češi (Bohemians) rather than Moravancí (Moravians), just as some Swedes in this country, for a reason quite unintelligible to me, seem to prefer being known as Scandinavians, or even as Norwegians. To apply to a Czech, even to a native of Moravia, the somewhat contemptuous term Moravancí produces an effect similar to that of alluding to the canine ancestry of a Texas cow-puncher. What either a Bohemian or a Moravian might do if spoken of as a Slovák is hard to conjecture. Vice versa, a Slovak would doubtless raise the roof false. While the American language does not differ from English to the extent that Slovak differs from Bohemian, it would be absurd to argue that there is no American vulgate because our literary men ordinarily use the King's English. It is far more absurd to maintain that, since most Slovak authors write in Czech (which is true), there is no Slovak language.

The Moravian dialect forms a bridge, as it were, between the Czech and the Slovak languages. It has no literature, and, as far as I know, no grammar or dictionary of the dialect has been published excepting František Bartoš’s Dialektologie Moravská (Brno, 1886), which I have not seen. It is otherwise with the Slovak language, of which grammars and dictionaries exist, as well as collections of popular songs and ballads, religious works, and even a history of Slovak literature (J. Vlček: Dejiny litarné slovenské). Some minor works in Slovak have been published in America. The Protestant Slovaks, who are few in number, use a Czech version of the Scriptures; the Catholics have a Slovak version, of which the New Testament and the Pentateuch have appeared so far, the rest of the Old Testament being in preparation by the Spolok Sv. Vojtech, Trnava, Slovakia. According to latest report, it will be at least two years before the whole Scripture is published. Newspapers are published in Slovak both abroad and in America. The statement so often made that Slovak is not a real language because it has no literature is absolutely
off the house if anyone intimated that he (the Slovak) was a Bohemian. And what would happen to anyone who ventured to classify a Czech or a Slovak as a Slezák (Silesian), I am unable to imagine, for the very good reason that no one, to my knowledge, has ever tried it.

The preceding paragraph was written with no intention of aspersing any of the peoples mentioned. Anyone who has lived in a community where Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks and other Slavic peoples are found knows that each of them harbors more or less prejudice against the others, singly and collectively. Each has its class pride, its petty dislikes and jealousies. This is true of all Slavs in America, and much more so in Europe. Between Czechs and Poles, or Russians, the feeling is, of course, more intense; but even between the Czechs and the Morvians—the two nearest related—it exists. Czechs in general want it distinctly understood that they are different from the Slovaks, and the desire is reciprocated by the Slovaks. The mutual affection that should, on ethnological grounds, prevail among these different peoples, according to idealists of all kinds, is beside the question; I speak of conditions as I have found them, by observation of the various peoples themselves. I do not mean to say that they cannot get together when a common object is to be attained; the simple fact is that their objects are not always common, and in regard to those that are not common they do not get together. The language of the Slovaks to-day is different to that of the Bohemians of to-day; and it is idle to assign, as a basis for Czechoslovak unity, the similarity that exists between the two languages.

Another reason often stressed is to the effect that there has always been an intellectual connection between the two peoples, and that "some of the foremost names in Czech literature are those of writers who were Slovaks by birth."23 What of that? An American is not a British-American because an intellectual connection exists between Great Britain and America; no one dreams of calling Joseph Conrad an Anglo-Pole because he wrote in English. No lustre is added to the ancient glory of the Slovak name by tacking Czecho on the front of it, and the absurdity of a historian writing about "John Hus, the celebrated Czecho-Slovak reformer," is at once apparent. A concert by 'Jan Kubelik, the famous Czecho-Slovakian violinist!" Fancy that, Hedda! The surprising thing is that there has been so little objection from the Czechs and Slovaks themselves against being put ontologically, linguistically and intellectually, into the Czecho-Slovak bag. Both had so long resented being "mixed in the same bag with the Germans and Hungarians,"24 it is hardly conceivable that they should have overlooked the fact that, in this indiscriminate interchange of national names, they are again being "mixed." A Bohemian is not a Slovak, and a Slovak is not a Bohemian, hyphen or no hyphen, any more than either is a Hungarian or a German. That Bohemia and Slovakia are politically united in one republic has no more made Czecho-Slovaks of all its inhabitants than the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to the American union as one state automatically made all the citizens of the new commonwealth Oklahoma-Indians.

23 The words of the direct quotation and the substance of the preceding clause are President Masaryk's (Enc. Brit., 1. c.). Similar arguments are put forth by Bohemian, and other, orators and journalists in a palpable attempt to justify and popularize the hyphenation.
24 A Czech saying.
The unmerited popularity of the ugly hybrid term Czecho-Slovakia and its derivatives may be due to the fact that the Latin Bohemia was made over into Böhm, the German name of the Kingdom, and was therefore unpopular with strongly national Czechs. It seems, however, that they could have been satisfied with Čechy as the name of the country, and Češi as their own designation, without adding Slovák, particularly in view of the fact that it is these same ultra-Czech patriots who are most inclined to minimize the Slovaks. As to insisting on English-speaking peoples calling the Bohemians Czechs, there is not much sense in it. Germans do not insist on our calling them Deutscher, and we would not think of referring to the French as Françaises; so, whatever the native name of the Czechs may be, it is, at best, unwieldy to the American tongue, and Bohemian is intelligible enough to the average non-Czech person. The quiet acceptance of Czecho-Slovak, etc., by Bohemians in America, especially those of the upper classes, may be due to the fact that the proper term Bohemian has been confused with other meanings. Through a misunderstanding, some Gypsies who came to France from Bohemia in the Middle Ages were called Bohemians by the French. As Gypsies are characterized by a care-free and adventurous life, the misapplied term was extended to any class of people, such as would-be artists, unhumbled by convention. This meaning is really the very antithesis of the Czech character, which is conservative and sober. I have witnessed explosions of pious wrath when Bohemians learned that Gypsy and Bohemian are, according to the lexicographers, synonyms.\(^{26}\) It is not unlikely that many American Bohemians, similarly affected, considered the substitution of Czecho-Slovak for Bohemian as the lesser of two evils. It is almost needless to say that the Czechs are not Gypsies, or that the word Bohemian as a synonym for Gypsy is unknown in the American vulgate. Most musicians know that the British composer Balfe introduced into the overture to his opera, The Bohemian Girl,\(^{26}\) a Bohemian folk-melody, on the supposition that it was a characteristic Gypsy tune; but I wonder if the American concert-goers who listen to the Bohemian Dances of European composers ever suspect that the music is intended to be Gypsy and not something emanating from the land of the Czechs? The objection that Bohemian has come to mean other things than Czech might as well be made regarding the English words German, Hungarian and French. Puns connecting Germans with germs were in vogue even before the war; during the war, Hun acquired an entirely new meaning not at all flattering to the Hungarians, and as for French, there is a naughty verb spelled the same way, whose meaning I politely decline to set forth here. Nor has Czecho-Slovak itself, even this early in the game, escaped. A well-known cartoonist recently suggested erecting a monument to the poker player who does not follow up “Check!” with “Checko-Slovakio!”

One man, so far, has put himself squarely on record against the “pedantry of perpetually talking about Czecho-

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\(^{26}\) I particularly remember the righteous indignation of one Bohemian, an elder of the Presbyterian church in a Nebraska town, who was greatly puzzled at finding the word bohemian used so frequently in an American magazine article on the Quartet Latin. Looking it up in Webster, he was horrified to discover that it meant vagabond, unconventional, free and easy. He made a solemn resolution never more to speak of himself except as a Czech, and dropped those of his friends who continued to call him a Bohemian.

\(^{26}\) Allegro theme. The Music of Bohemia, Ladislav Urban. (Czechoslovak Arts Club, New York City, 1919.)
Slovakia," and he happens to be an Englishman. Writing of a waiter in a New York hotel, Mr. G. K. Chesterton says:27

I am glad that he called himself a Bohemian . . . I suggested to my American friends that the abandonment of the word Bohemian in its historical sense might well extend to its literary and figurative sense. We might be expected to say, "I'm afraid Henry has got into some very Czecho-Slovakian habits lately," or "Don't bother to dress, it's quite a Czecho-Slovakian affair." Anyhow, my Bohemian would have nothing to do with such nonsense; he called himself a son of Bohemia, and spoke as such.

That waiter deserved a cordial pat on the back. Mr. Chesterton should also be patted on the back by Bohemians who are content to be Bohemians to their American and English friends. Surely the Missouri mule profits nothing by being called a Missouri-American mule, and there is almost as much reason for that hyphenation as for Czecho-Slovakian, one part or other of which is redundant, or else the whole simply doesn't mean what it says. As for Mr. Chesterton's implied fear, the substitution of Czecho-Slovak and Czecho-Slovakian for Bohemian in the American vocabulary is an accomplished fact. A friend, starting out for France, confided to me that she intended to "see some of the Czecho-Slovak life" in Paris. Another, discoursing on Greenwich Village, constantly described something or other he had seen there as "very Czechoslovakian." To cap the climax, a city newspaper, commenting on the unsanitary condition of a bum haled into police court, recently made the startling assertion that "his appearance was exceedingly Czecho-

vakian." What has it profited the finicky Czechoslovokomaniac to substitute a senseless hyphenation for Bohemian when tramps are said to have a Czecho-Slovakian aversion to a bath, or the Moulin Rouge is described as extremely Czechoslovakian?

The sum of the whole matter is, that there is but one excuse at all valid for the change from Čechy to Československo (or, in English, from Bohemia to Czechoslovakia), and that is to be sought in the political expediency that resulted in the creation of the Czechoslovak State. Supposing that both Czechs and Slovaks demanded representation in the new name of their combined country, Československá Republika, as the official designation, is as appropriate as any other that might have been devised,28 and, if English-speaking people want to follow suit and say Czechoslovakia, well and good. The very similar struggles of the Czechs and the Slovaks drew them together; a union was found politically expedient and practicable, and that was all. Let us have no nonsense about it. The same thing might have taken place between the Czechs and the Poles, but it did not. In either case, similarity or dissimilarity of language had nothing to do with it. Czech and Slovak nationality are not the same thing, and if the hyphenation Czecho-Slovak was coined with the intention of conveying an impression that they are, it is, in these days of 100 per cent patriotism, as objectionable as Austro-Bohemian, or German-American. Whatever the common origin or language of the Czechs and Slovaks, they have, because of various influences that separated them, acquired different traits, inclinations, tastes, prejudices, and above all, a different language, so

27 What I Saw in America, Gilbert K. Chesterton. (Dodd, Mead & Co.)

Since the above was written (1923), the Editors of the American Mercury (March 1924 issue, Clinical Notes), have protested, on romantic and aesthetic grounds, against the change of Bohemia to Czecho-Slovakia.

28 It might be observed that the Moravians were entirely overlooked in the composition of the Republic's name. In absolute fairness to all, Čechoslo-moravoslovensko would have been better.
that, at present, they are as little alike as Americans and their British cousins. What drew the Czechs and Slovaks together was that against which both had so long protested—domination by a foreign power; and their struggle against the Hapsburg power was the sole proximate cause of their union. If the Slovaks have any spunk at all, they will decline to be Czecho-ized with the same spirit that prevented their absolute Magyarization, and the Czechs will remain Czechs with the same distinctive pride that one American takes in being a Southerner and another a Northerner, though both get along very nicely as citizens of The United States. We call ourselves Americans, without discrimination, though there is something that makes one man distinctively a Californian, another a New Yorker; the Czech and Slovak union being politically a fait accompli (and there is no reason why it should not be permanent), let them call it Československo if they will, but without depriving either Czech or Slovak of his own nationality or language under cover of a hyphen, any more than we should undertake to make Bostonians out of our Kentucky colonels because our country is the United States of America.

As for the adjective Československý (Czechoslovakian), it may, with propriety and correctness, under the circumstances, modify the government of the Republic, some of its activities, officials or representatives, as for instance, the Czechoslovakian Post Office, President or Ambassador; but since there is no such animal as a Czecho-

Slovak, there is no Czecho-Slovakian race or nationality, language, grammar or literature; musician, poet, artist or reformer. Bohemian glass is not Czecho-Slovak glass; Bohemian garnets are not Czechoslovakian garnets. And even if Czechs and Slovaks together conspire for the compound adjectives in their respective languages, there is no reason why Americans should join them. There is hardly an idea that cannot be expressed equally well by Bohemian or Slovak alone, as the case may be; and, if Czech and Slovak separately be tongue-twisters for an English-speaking person, certainly nothing is gained by combining the two. Fortunately, the average American is unable to pronounce Czechoslovakian with any consciousness of immunity from derision, and this of itself should condemn it to speedy extinction.

People will tire of trying to say Czecho-slovak,29—the way most of them think it should go—and the misnomer will, if I am any judge of human nature, soon take its place with Liberty cabbage, baby bonds, American fried potatoes, and the other nonsensical, not to say diabolical, inventions that cropped up while the world was being made safe for democracy.

J. B. Dudek.

Yukon, Oklahoma.

(Chapter II, on The Slavic Languages in General, will appear in an early issue.)

29Though not ad rem., I am reminded of a book of verses by Robert W. Service—"Ballads of a Cheechako."