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FOR WHOM THE TEXTS TOLL: STYLES, DISCOURSES, AND GENRES IN CZECH ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMUNITY

ABSTRACT: Archaeological theories and methods are communicated via language that shapes practices of different archaeological communities. Some of these communities wonder about their failures to spread their ideas beyond the limits of their own intellectual territories. Since written texts are central to knowledge sharing in contemporary archaeology, they represent an ideal target for the investigation of incompatibilities that exist among archaeological communities. It is not just the substantial dimension of texts that scholars consume but also the underlying assumptions and discursive practices that have considerable impact on the acceptance and pervasiveness of scientific ideas. In this paper I present the results of critical discourse analysis of a sample of texts about prehistory from 1854 to 1954 published in the Czech archaeological journal Památky archeologické. This study allows us to trace the long development of language vis-à-vis the social world of archaeologists. Genres, styles, and discourses provide the analytical dimensions for understanding differences in thinking and writing between the community involved in creation and perpetuation of the journal and the large archaeological communities. The results indicate that discursive practices related to language play a critical role not only in dissemination of knowledge but also in formation of ideas about the nature of archaeology as a discipline.

KEY WORDS: Critical discourse analysis – Language – Rhetoric – Scientific writing

"So what can be expected to happen in archaeology in the near future? ... I think that the solution may be offered by the discourse communities formed across *the present mainstream and minor archaeological communities."*

Venclová (2007: 218, emphasis added)

INTRODUCTION

Scholars in all scientific disciplines need a language to communicate their ideas. In doing so, they not only share the substance of their communication but also information about the context in which the communication takes place. Presentations and papers indicate professional identity, paradigmatic positions, values, personality of the authors, research ethics, and many other components of the social world scholars create and perpetuate. Since the art of writing is learned and practiced in specific contexts, each writer is shaped by and acts within his or her academic community. This situation may result in incompatibilities in communication among the members of different academic communities. Although there are multiple factors that affect the spread of knowledge across academic communities in different countries (cf. Neustupný 1998a), this paper examines the role of underlying assumptions and habitual practices that form academic writing. I will argue that several essential features of Czech archaeological writing are deeply rooted in the 19th century and the evaluation of their effects is crucial for understanding the production and exchange of contemporary archaeological knowledge.

There are various strategies and styles to write in different academic communities. One can write a paper with a high degree of redundancy of the main point or a paper without any argument at all. In Introduction one may provide an extensive coverage of international literature or cite only the works within one's own academic pedigree. Some academic communities require very rigid structure of papers while others invite creativity and embrace various structural formats. In some communities, initial ideas go through multiple steps of peer-review process starting from informal "brown bag" presentations and feedbacks on multiple drafts of a manuscript from colleagues and friends to a detailed and rigorous peer-review process that may take a few years. In other communities, papers are produced in isolation without any informal feedback and their peer-review may be short and quick. The reaction of peers is supposed to happen after the publication of a paper as a published response in a journal. All these differences influence the final format of scholarly papers and books.

Writing is embodied practice (*sensu* Mauss 1934) where ideas normally get transformed into signs through the activity of fingers. There are a few ways to manage this transformation. Today, the most common way is typing on a computer keyboard, which enables the author to go back and forth, delete and paste, and check grammar. One can abandon computers and – as Ingold (2012) recommends – take a pen and inscribe the ideas on the paper. This old-school approach may trigger different cognitive processes and, therefore, result in a different text than the one produced by typing. This approach may influence the use of author's memory and literature in the absence of citation management software. Contemporary technologies offer yet another possibility. Speech recognition technologies make it possible to convert audiovisual data into signs (Aran *et al.* 2008). The expansion of speech recognition applications for mobile devices such as Dragon or Siri suggest that future writing might take advantage of new possibilities and expand to a new technological and perceptual niche.

The nature of academic writing is often unconscious and unreflected (Neustupný 1998a: 19, Venclová 2007: 214). It goes without saying that certain questions seem to be natural, some methods are more appropriate than others, and certain elements of style are considered quintessential for being recognized as a professional archaeologist. Indeed, these unreflected ideas and practices behind texts seem to be more rigid and pervasive than explicit theoretical statements about the nature of the archaeological record and past societies. Johnson points at the similar phenomenon in his paper about archaeological theory: "… there is a lack of correspondence between theoretical backgrounds and affiliations that are overtly cited by archaeologists, on the one hand, and, on the other, the deeper underlying assumptions and traditions that structure their work and condition its acceptance." (Johnson 2006: 117) In other words, Johnson emphasizes information hidden between the lines of a text; subtle meanings embedded in everyday archaeological praxis including writing.

This paper presents the results of the analysis of a sample of texts published from 1854 to 1954 in the archaeological journal Památky archeologické printed by Institute of Archaeology, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague. The main goal of this enquiry is to understand the roots of writing practices in contemporary Czech archaeological community and relate them to dominant discourses in Western academia. Potential incompatibilities in writing will uncover reasons, which are partially responsible for the limited flow of ideas among archaeological communities.

ACADEMICS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

There is a long tradition in humanities and social sciences to investigate the social dimension of language.

Although there are various schools of thought that focus on ethnography of speaking (Labov 1973), rhetoric (Strecker, Tyler 2009), genre analysis (Swales 1990) or discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, Wodak, Meyer 2009) they all share the idea that language is not a "thing" external to human beings but something that can be understood best in relationship to humans who produce it and who are in reverse constituted by language. Gender, age, life experience, power, various kinds of collective identity, memory and other factors shape the way humans speak and write. Academics with their specific strategies and social relations represent an ideal target for the research focused on the nature of their communication.

The content and form of academic communication are intertwined. It is impossible to isolate the pure content and assume that it is not affected by form and *vice versa*. Such interest in communication has increased with the rise of postmodern thinking that turned its attention to linguistic nature of the production and exchange of scientific knowledge (Čmejrková *et al.* 1999: 21). Early works pointed at the existence of different language (speech) and discourse communities that differ in many aspects of communication (Duszak 1997, Swales 1990). While the concept of language or speech community is quite straightforward and defines the members of the communities on the basis of common language, the concept of discourse community is less explicit, probably because of the flexible view on the concept of discourse *per se*. Discourse community is a group of humans who respect common set of goals, follow specific rules of mutual communication including specific genres and styles, and set standards for recruiting new members (cf. Čmejrková *et al.* 1999: 23, Duszak 1997: 15–17, Swales 1990: 26–27). Venclová (2007: 215) provides a robust distinction between language and discourse communities. She suggests that a discourse community may stretch across several language communities because language itself is not the obstacle for the membership and argues that the development of the international discourse communities unified by common goals, paradigms, methods, and rhetoric may be the productive way to spread new archaeological knowledge (Venclová 2007: 218). This distinction between language and discourse communities will be used in this paper.[1]

There are several studies that analyzed the nature of scholarly communication in archaeology. Neustupný (1998a) focused on the hierarchies among archaeological communities, which are intimately tied to communication patterns. He distinguishes between the mainstream and minority communities in archaeology and critiques the practices and attitudes that lead these communities into mutual isolation.[2] The phenomenon of isolation is supported by data presented by Smoláriková (2004) who shows the stable proportion of texts written in foreign languages in Slovenská archeológia despite the fall of the Iron Curtain and Kristiansen (2008, 2012) who demonstrates that archaeological communities have become surprisingly local and narrow-focused during the last thirty years despite the development of computer technologies and new channels of communication. Also, he argues that monolingual communication, bounded research frameworks, and national policies have discouraged the flow of ideas across the language communities (Kristiansen 2012). After thorough description and analysis of communication phenomena in archaeology Venclová (2007) attempts to show future prospects. She overcomes Neustupný's (1998a: 23) skepticism about the communication success of scholars from minority communities and argues that the development of international discourse communities using dominant language(s) is a viable strategy for future. Nevertheless, there are several authors (e.g., Hänsel 2000, Lang 2000, Mauranen 1996, Venclová 2007) who argue that this trend should not jeopardize the parallel production of knowledge in national languages. They call for the preservation of linguistic and discourse diversity as a crucial environment for creativity and innovation, which might get destroyed in the name of integration into the mainstream language communities.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The material for this research consists of texts published from 1854 to 1954 in the Czech archaeological journal Památky archeologické.[3] It includes volumes I through XLV. All journal issues were studied in the digital form, because the Institute of Archaeology of the Czech Academy of Sciences undertook an extensive digitization project that covered first 150 years of this journal.[4] The sampling strategy consisted of two steps. First, I applied stratified random sampling (Bernard 2006: 153) by dividing the sampling frame into ten decades and selecting randomly three volumes in each decade.[5] Therefore, I created a sample of 30 volumes, which were examined for general patterns and types of genres that appeared there. I focused only on the texts related to prehistory. Second, I used purposive sampling (Bernard 2006: 189–190) and selected eight papers (*Table 1*), which I analyzed in detail. All eight papers were written

TABLE 1. The sample of papers for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) in chronological order.

Author	Year	Title, Volume, Pages
Pudil J.	1878	Hroby u Strupčic, Bíliny a Lyskovic. *Památky archeologické* X: 432–436
Smolík J.	1881	Hroby z Vinařic. *Památky archeologické* XI: 24–28
Felcman J.	1902	Nález obrnický. *Památky archeologické* XIX: 21–28
Píč J. L.	1902	Žárové hroby lužického typu u Lháně. *Památky archeologické* XIX: 250–262
Stocký A.	1915	Sídelní jámy s volutovou keramikou ve Statenicích. *Památky archeologické* XXVII, 4: 193–196
Böhm J.	1928	Poklad bronzových dýk na Kozích Hřbetech. *Památky archeologické* XXXVI: 1–14
Neustupný J.	1933	Únětické pohřby v nádobách. *Památky archeologické* XXXIX: 14–20
Soudský B.	1954	K metodice třídění volutové keramiky. *Památky archeologické* XLV: 75–105

by distinguished Czech scholars, the papers were focused on prehistory, and they came from different time periods within the selected interval from 1854 to 1954.

To analyze the texts, I took advantage of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough 2003). CDA is one of linguistic analyses that views language as inherent part of social life.[6] It was selected because it is multi-layered and systematic at the same time. CDA enables an analyst to view a text from multiple angles, therefore elucidating complex relationships among elements of texts and view them in social context. Fairclough's version of CDA focuses on three main aspects of discursive practices; genres, styles, and discourses.[7] Genre is a way of interacting, style is a way of being, and discourse – *sensu stricto* – is a way of representing. In the research presented, genres can be understood as different kinds of interaction between the authors and readers via reports, theoretical papers, reviews etc. Styles include plethora of forms that use language as a vehicle of identity. Discourses refer to different ways of looking at and understanding the world.

GENRES

Genres identified in our sample of Památky archeologické are diverse in comparison to the genres used in contemporary archaeological journals both in the Czech Republic and abroad. Some genres – e.g., extended reports, news, and book reviews – correspond well to contemporary production. Other genres such as historical overviews and short descriptive reports without any interpretation represent archaic types of genres. Before I explore temporal trends, I will describe each genre.

Short descriptive reports are texts that describe archaeological sites and findings. This genre reflects the antiquarian interests of archaeologists. The main point of this genre is to share ideas about the material representations of past societies. As a way of interaction, this genre informs other colleagues about the research progress and unique findings. Some reports are purely descriptive without any reference to other sites, artifacts, authors, or texts. In this respect, this genre carries the weakest link to the social context of archaeological work.

Extended descriptive reports are texts that describe not only archaeological sites and findings but also include the comparative dimension. The description of archaeological evidence is followed by comparison to other artifacts and sites in Czechoslovakia, Austro-Hungarian Empire, or abroad. Because of the presence of comparative part, other scholars are cited and the texts create links among scholars, organizations, and things.

Historical overviews present descriptions of events and processes. Today, this genre might be considered problematic by Central European archaeologists because it is primarily historical, works with textual data and, therefore, does not fit archaeology as a discipline focused primarily on materiality of the archaeological record. This genre demonstrates that Památky archeologické were not just archaeological in a sense that we understand archaeology today but included studies of various persons whose interests were archaeological, historical, literary, political, or geographic.

Synthetic papers tend to use various published and unpublished sources to build general statements about the variability in the archaeological record. They tend to approach the theoretical level in their quest to formulate general statements. Also, because of the synthetic nature of these papers, the interaction among the authors and readers becomes complex creating networks of relationships among authors, concepts, methods, studies, and various kinds of archaeological evidence.

The remaining genres consist of shorter texts. Book reviews are comparable to contemporary reviews. Their

TABLE 2. Frequency of genre types in the research sample.

Year	Issue	Short reports	Extended reports	Historical overviews	Synthetic papers	Reviews	News	Editorial info	Comments	Total
1856	2	1				2	4			7
1858	3	2		1			2			5
1862	5	1		2						3
1865	6	1			1	2	1			5
1871	9	2					5			7
1872	9	1				1	1			3
1876	10	2			1		3			6
1881	11	2					2			4
1883	12	6	2		2		7			17
1888	14	3	1		1		11			16
1892	15	1	3		3	2	2			11
1893	16	5	9			15	9			38
1899	18	5	2		1	4	2			14
1902	20	2				10	1			13
1903	20	5				22	2		2	31
1905	21	4				10	4			18
1906	22	1				15	5			21
1910	24	3				13	2			18
1918	30		1		2	2	5			10
1920	32	1	1		1	6	1			10
1922	33	8			1	9	3			21
1924	34	3			1	19	7			30
1931	37	13	1		1	28	16	2	1	62
1932	38	16	13		2	25	2	1	1	60
1934	40	18	7		2	14	2	2	1	46
1936	41	5.5[1]	4		0.5	6.5	2.5	0.5	0.5	20
1937	41	5.5	4		0.5	6.5	2.5	0.5	0.5	20
1947	43	0.5	2		2	3			0.5	8
1948	43	0.5	2		2	3			0.5	8
1953	44	1	3		3			1	1	9

[1] Years 1936–1937 and 1947–1948 were published as merged issues. Observed frequency of genres was divided by two to receive data for a specific year.

main purpose is to call attention to publications, which might have significant impact on the community of readers. Nevertheless, book reviews are variable in length ranging from the texts several pages long to brief reviews consisting of a few sentences. Comments include various thoughts related to specific archaeologists or events. They celebrate anniversaries of significant archaeologists or organizations, provide reflections, or introduce special issues of the journal. Although celebrations of birthdays or obituaries appear in News as well, Comments tend to provide more elaborate views on the topics, which are discussed. News are highly variable and include information about new events, exhibitions, committees, birthdays, and obituaries. Editorial information contains errata, indices, and bibliographic information.

Table 2 shows the frequency of genres in the sample, which was studied. *Figure 1* shows the proportion of genres for each decade. Short descriptive reports and news were popular in the first three decades after 1854.
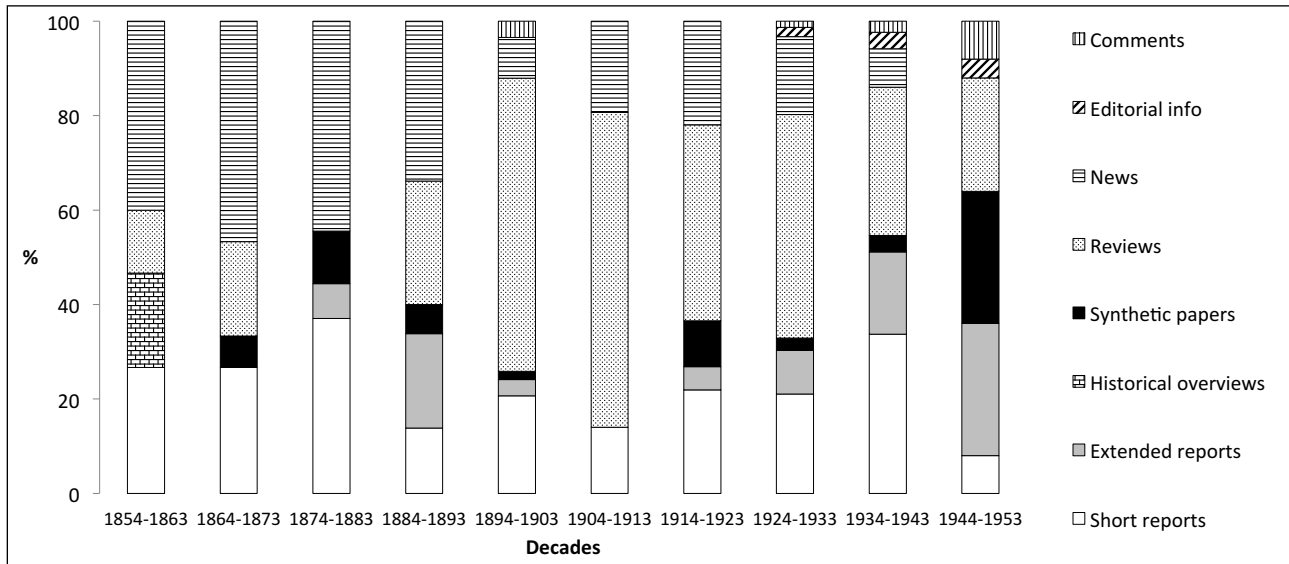
FIGURE 1. Proportion of genre types for specific decades.

They reflect the initial interest in prehistory built upon activities of a few persons who were sharing primarily basic information about prehistoric sites, artifacts, and events associated with the activities of prehistorians. High proportion of short reports during 1930s seems anomalous. This fluctuation was most likely influenced by changes in the editorial team and format of the journal itself. The journal split into two parts – historic and prehistoric – in 1931 and prof. Albín Stocký was appointed as editor of prehistoric part. The split created space for a larger number of contributors but not everybody was competent or had an opportunity to submit long elaborate papers. Also, the editor explained the economic reasons behind the emphasis upon short texts. Long texts were expensive and the editor envisioned the main purpose of the journal in collecting as much archaeological evidence as possible at the expense of long studies that could be published elsewhere (Stocký 1931: 1). Editor's opinion provides an excellent view behind the scene of Czech archaeology of 1930s. The collection of empirical evidence and documentation was understood as a primary purpose of this journal, which was supposed to serve as a base for further research. The emphasis on brevity, however, did not last long as the drop in the frequency of both short reports and news after the end of the Second World War demonstrates.

Although the rise of extended reports was not gradual, it is clear that their significance grew along with the amount of new knowledge produced by archaeologists. Already in 1870s and 1880s some archaeologists were not satisfied with mere descriptions of archaeological evidence. They began citing texts of other authors and strove for interpretations. This trend was reinforced especially after Czechoslovakia was formed in 1918.

The proportion of book reviews in the journal was growing – with a small exception of 1870s – till 1913. This trend most likely reflects the growing number of archaeological publications and internationalization of archaeological practice. It does not seem to be a coincidence that the reviews peak at the beginning of the 20th century when nationalist movements and struggle for emancipation in the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire lead archaeologists from various parts of the Empire to increase their activity and present their own versions of (pre)history. The intensification of interaction among diverse national groups and improvements in communication were probably significant factors, which were responsible for outstanding intellectual and cultural achievements during last few decades of the Empire (Kann 1974: 562–563). The decrease in the proportion of book reviews during the decades after 1913 – especially during 1930s and 1940s – may reflect less cosmopolitan interests in Czechoslovakia and economic pressure when the editors had to decide which types of genres were more important given limited budgets.

The interpretation of the temporal trend concerning synthetic papers is challenging. Agency of archaeologists

was probably one of the key factors. Synthetic papers were written by senior archaeologists, who had to grow up into their position. Also, the preparation of synthetic papers required substantial amount of time and effort of the authors.[8] Therefore, synthetic papers appeared when a scholar had enough information to generalize and his experience and professional status reached the point when he could afford to synthesize.[9]

STYLES

Styles are the most intriguing aspects of the texts, which were studied. They suggest plethora of meanings that are mostly unconsciously carried by archaeological texts. There are multiple features that contribute to the construction of collective identity.

There are specific styles of titles that are characteristic of Czech academic communication in archaeology. Specific examples are the titles such as "Contribution to the study of …", "Aids to …", "Notes to …", "Supplement to …",[10] which indicate culturally accepted model of modesty. Czech "naturel" tends to suppress signs of personal pride, self-confidence, and glorification. The concept of contribution or supplement signals that the authors are aware that they are part of something bigger and more important. They do not uncover the past alone, they just add a small piece to the puzzle. This feature corresponds to the use of plural pronouns (we, us) and passive voice that follow the same logic. This style is a broad phenomenon and can be found in texts of Czech scholars from other disciplines as well (Čmejrková *et al.* 1999: 29). Another feature is the presence of prepositions such as "About …" or "On …" at the beginning of the titles. This style seems to reflect the emphasis on the substantive nature of the object of interest. The titles signal that the papers are "about" artifacts, settlements, collections, or history. This contrasts with writing strategies, for example, in contemporary English language community where the object of study can be overridden by emphasis on the theoretical concepts such as agency, practice, memory, identity, hierarchy, or cycling.

The emphasis on the contribution to the larger process of uncovering the past, however, does not mean that individual actors are entirely voiceless. The role of specific persons and their deeds is emphasized in early works but this phenomenon weakens over time. For example, Felcman (1902) pays special attention to the role of several persons in his description of events that lead towards the discovery of the prehistoric finds in the

Obrnice brickyard. The reader learns about the owner of the brickyard and mayor of Smíchov Mr. J. Elhenický, the accountant Mr. Hruda, and the clerk Mr. Schmidt (Felcman 1902: 21). All these actors play specific roles in the story of discovery and the author of the paper gives them credit for recognizing the significance of the finds and supporting the archaeological research. Similarly Píč (1902: 250–251) describes the role of the farmer Mr. Vojtíšek, local children, and museum technician Mr. Landa who were responsible for the initial stage of archaeological research near Lháň. Later, notes about specific persons still appear in archaeological texts but more emphasis is put on organizations such as the National Museum (Böhm 1928) or Archaeological Institute (Soudský 1954). This trend most likely reflects the professionalization of archaeology.

Abbreviations embody one of the most effective tools for the construction of collective identity and acceptance of novices. Interestingly, some abbreviations were considered as obvious that the writers did not include the explanation of the abbreviations in their texts. Abbreviations of archaeological cultures, titles of journals, and organizations are common and their frequency is growing over time as archaeologists were becoming professionals whose expert status had to be signaled in the texts. Scientists tend to produce messages that are intended to be incomprehensible to outsiders (Amonson 1977: 6) and Czech archaeologists were not exceptional in this respect.

Special terms for shape types and colors produce the similar effect as abbreviations do. They represent part of the vocabulary difficult to understand by non-experts. The example of shape types includes "the krokvice pattern" or "rectilinear decoration",[11] which reflects the specific design of incisions on the surface of Neolithic ceramics. "Yellowish soil"[12] represents the term for loess.

One of the most fascinating stylistic features in our sample is the use of diminutives. This feature is not used to abbreviate or make things simpler. Instead, diminutives seem to reflect emotions of the writers. The terms such as a "tiny button", "tiny mouth", "tiny spindle whorl", "peggy", "tiny pin", "tiny shallow depression", and "tiny bell button"[13] were used widely regardless of the author or period discussed. In natural sciences this way of communication would be probably considered unscientific because of the application of feelings and words of laypersons in scientific jargon. I believe that the use of diminutives indicates shared sentiments of archaeologists who love the objects they study. Examination of these objects represents joy as archaeologists observe, touch, and smell them. One

might even interpret diminutives as a projection of infantile way of communication from times when children play with objects and are emotionally tied to them. This note is not intended to insult archaeologists for being infantile[14] but to demonstrate that underlying modes of thinking and acting may have roots embedded in early phases of human life.[15]

The role of diminutives in archaeological communication is ambivalent. On one hand, diminutives bring archaeologists close to laypersons with their emotions and folk models of reality described in non-scientific language. In this sense, they uncover the humanistic nature of archaeology located in the world of human beings. On the other hand, diminutives related to specific features of artifacts build a barrier between experienced experts who were "consecrated" into certain state of knowledge and others who do not have experience and, therefore, do not understand the jargon.

Early texts of Czech archaeologists tend to be poetic. The descriptions of landscapes, artifacts, and designs inform the reader about the qualities of these entities such as beauty or fragility. The following example demonstrates the sentiments related to preservation:

"We must beseech each and every one, who either himself works or provides work in clay pits, so as not to ruin those antique remains of former inhabitants of this country and everything, which love and piety had then built around them, through such inconsiderate treatment; yet, in contrast, rather be charily aware of preserving them complete and unbroken … Only through such careful treatment, and may it be called the antiquity of objects themselves and in respect to the bygone times of our country, only through respectful treatment of primeval remains, may we get results, gratifying to everyone, who shows a fondness for relics from the days of old." (Smolík 1881: 24–25)[16]

Another example demonstrates the ability of an archaeologist to stimulate vivid imagination through the immersion of a reader into a dreamlike landscape:

"Behind the town of Jičín in a north-easterly direction, on the foot of the small mountain range there stretches, … which in light of deep soil and sufficient moisture means God's blessing for a peasant. Naturally, in this delightful nook there also appeared a man, whose oldest track was found on the eastern slope near the village of Soběraz in the form of settlement pits with older, dot-pricked pottery." (Píč 1902: 17)[17]

In the old days of archaeology, it was not unusual to be excited or upset and use emotions in artistic sense to create texts, which were not supposed to be neutral.

Artistic representations might even include rhymes inserted in texts.[18] Over the years, the poetics was slowly giving way to more neutral style of writing from the position of an author who keeps distance from the object of one's study.

Another critical feature of Czech style is skepticism. Early archaeologists did not believe much in formulation of bold theories and explanations of the nature of social life in the past. Expressions such as "it is hard to decide", "it is not easy to say", "it is impossible to estimate", "it remains unclear", and "perhaps" are common. Interestingly, they appear frequently at the end of texts and cast doubt on the ability of an archaeologist to create a persuasive interpretation.[19] Such skepticism is balanced by hopes that future research might find explanations for archaeological questions. This strategy – typical not only for Czech but also German authors – is in sharp contrast with contemporary style of English language community that puts emphasis on self-confidence and the ability to persuade the reader about presented arguments.

Acknowledgements represent highly variable features. Some authors do not use any formal acknowledgement, others acknowledge persons directly in the body of the text, and other authors insert footnotes. The form may even vary in a single text. For example, Soudský (1954) inserts a footnote in the first page acknowledging organizations that probably provided the financial support, then he thanks the head of the Institute of Prehistory, National Museum in Prague for the permission to publish curated materials in the footnote number 17, and the acknowledgment to a colleague about his unpublished experimental research appears in the footnote number 24. Similarly Neustupný (1933) inserts acknowledgements in multiple footnotes to thank for the contribution of various persons. This careful approach to acknowledgement that appears immediately whenever the author feels the necessity to give credit to others contrasts with the texts where explicit acknowledgements do not appear at all (e.g., Böhm 1928, Stocký 1915). The general pattern indicates that there is no formal rule about acknowledgements. Its presence and form depends on individual authors.

Another striking feature of archaeological texts in our sample is the proportion of text sections. Reports usually start with the description of geography, the story about the discovery of the site, and history of research. Then, the site is described and archaeological context is introduced. This leads into the description of archaeological features and findings. In longer reports a comparison with other sites and artifacts is provided. After that conclusions appear. Since 1920s conclusions

are occasionally followed by a summary in a foreign language. This practice, however, is not consistent and depends on the significance of archaeological findings and ambitions of individual authors. Since 1924 résumé in a foreign language becomes standard part of synthetic papers and extended descriptive reports.

DISCOURSES

Early Czech archaeologists of the 19th century were curious people who devoted their free time to illuminate the mysteries of the past. Their quest to search, collect, and document the material representations of the past was fueled by curiosity and sentiments to preserve the cultural heritage. National sentiments and dreams about Czech autonomy provided strong motives for conducting research and publishing. Later in the first half of the 20th century, deontological ethics based on the responsibility to the discipline and professional scientific standards appears. Despite changes in archaeological views on the subject of their study, which were affected by socio-political and economic turbulences such as the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and World Wars, there are a few archaeological discourses that exhibit stability: description, uniqueness, space, and time.

The discourse of description approaches the archaeological record as an entity whose value will become evident through careful description. The act of description is viewed as a primary tool for shedding light on the past. Description is not understood as a step towards analysis, synthesis, and interpretation. It seems to be the value by itself; the essential result and goal of archaeological praxis. Böhm's (1928) paper about Early Bronze Age bronze daggers from Kozí Hřbety demonstrates the amount of emphasis devoted to detailed description of archaeological evidence. In 14 pages long paper Böhm devotes almost six pages to precise description of seven daggers and a sheath. Without using any visual support Böhm describes shapes, colors, textures, designs, surface, dimensions, and wear patterns with incredible sense for detail. This sensibility for detailed description is reminiscent of Geertz's (1973) "thick description" championed by ethnographers. Despite potential shifts of paradigms in the future, such a description will remain valuable because of the density of information provided.

The role of description becomes even more evident in contrast to interpretation. While Smolík (1881), Felcman (1902), and Píč (1902) interpret only the temporal aspect of their findings in a brief section of the text, Stocký (1915) provides just doubts about the possibility to interpret available evidence, Böhm (1928) inserts just the final paragraph with three sentences to interpret extensive archaeological evidence, Pudil (1878) and Neustupný (1933) include several short interpretations in multiple parts of the text, and Soudský (1954) provides an interpretation at the end of section II, and uses sections IV and V just for extensive interpretations. While description tends to be standardized and systematic, there are no normative assumptions about the style and extent of an appropriate interpretation.

Uniqueness represents another discourse of early archaeologists. Because of their frequent antiquarian interests, early archaeologists were attracted by unusual finds. Uniqueness was valuable by itself because uncommon artifacts and archaeological contexts provided attractive items for the cabinets of curiosities, museum exhibitions, and readers of texts were eager to learn about new antiquities. Felcman's (1902: 27) emphasis upon the significance of the first example of a bronze sword found in association with a human skeleton demonstrates the value of uniqueness. In such a discourse uniqueness is not viewed as a problem that disturbs the extent of already known variability of material culture and human action in the past. It is rather a prerequisite for the formation of the discipline and competition among the actors who create the scholarly community. This contrasts sharply with strong tendencies in social and natural sciences to uncover general trends and provide reliable results where unique findings represent "outliers" that may be even ignored or omitted in search for general trends.[20]

Time and space are two intertwined components of another pervasive discourse. The ability to recognize specific types of artifacts and assign them into a specific spot in the temporal sequence – "to date them" – falls among the primary goals of early archaeologists. Dating provided the primary tool for the creation of order; classification of archaeological evidence. It established relationships to other time periods, sites, and artifacts. Our sample provides information about the development of this trend. Pudil (1878) is careful about formulating any explicit statement about dating, most likely because of the lack of established chronology. Smolík (1881), Píč (1902), and Felcman (1902) just assign their artifacts and sites into specific periods but do not expand beyond the act of mere assignment. In contrast, later studies by Neustupný (1933) and especially Soudský (1954) use considerable amount of text to discuss different phases within time periods, their relationship, and spatial variability. They examine the temporal dynamics through

the interest in "origins" and "development". In addition, Soudský (1954) employs stratigraphic data and explores the ambiguity of style as a proxy for time-specific behavior and functional requirements that the artifacts had to fulfill. These later studies view temporality as a theoretical problem by itself, not just the tool for the organization of archaeological evidence. Moreover, thinking about the origins of archaeological cultures and their development was closely associated with their spread throughout space.

The interest in spatial variability develops as well. Early studies trace the appearance of similar archaeological evidence in different places to evaluate its variability in the region of interest (Felcman 1902, Pudil 1878). Later, archaeological finds from different places served as evidence of interaction within and among the regions. The words such as adoption, connection, cradle, influence, interaction, origin, and spread indicate the interest in processes that result in the occurrence of similar material manifestations in distant places.[21] Neustupný (1933) and Soudský (1954) theorize not only about the relationships among the regions but also about mechanisms and effects of the spread of material culture. Neustupný (1933) discusses the tensions between the local and the foreign as well as the adoption of new practices. Soudský (1954) goes even farther to distinguish conceptually among diffusion, colonization, and migration and model the nature of interaction between the centre and the periphery including the process of stereotyping and metamorphosis of material culture. In all cases, space provides an essential thread for thinking about prehistoric societies. It structures the goals of the authors, shapes their rhetoric, and provides the substrate for the creation of hierarchies between the centers and peripheries as well as sources and derivatives.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The roots of contemporary writing in Czech archaeology can be traced in all three analytical levels used in CDA analysis of the sample of papers from the journal Památky archeologické. The results of this research focused on archaic literature till the mid 20th century do not inform us only about the history of the discipline and early works of archaeologists. I insist that several features of discursive practices identified in archaic literature survived till today. The conventional belief that processual and post-processual paradigms in the second half of the 20th century brought radical changes in archaeological praxis is an overstatement.

They certainly introduced many epistemological, theoretical, and methodological advances. Writing as a form of social practice, however, is resistant and tends to reproduce itself well.

Although emphasis on different genres was changing over time, extended reports, synthetic papers, and book reviews survived till today. Contemporary Památky archeologické represents a conservative journal that builds upon its long-term tradition and focuses especially on the publication of extensive papers founded on substantial archaeological evidence.[22] The genres, which survived, proved to be critical for the development of Czech archaeology as a discipline. These genres facilitate the spread of shared values of detailed description, completeness, knowledge of regional variability, and the necessity to provide solid evidence for any interpretation.

There are several elements of style that stem from the early days of Czech archaeology. From the range of archaic stylistic attributes Czech archaeologists still use the titles that evoke the sense of modest contribution and focus on the substance of the archaeological record. Unexplained abbreviations and special terms for shapes and colors encode messages that are understandable only for professionals and, therefore, represent the barrier for laypersons, foreigners, and students of other disciplines who do not master appropriate vocabulary. Czech archaeologists have a strong sense of collective identity and use these tools to keep the border between "us" and "them". Diminutives survive too and grant archaeology a humanistic dimension through the link to infantility. Skepticism and general caution to formulate bold interpretations still dwell in contemporary Czech archaeological writing. Acknowledgements have never become standard part of articles in Czech archaeological journals. Many of these stylistic features are incompatible with the style of writing in large archaeological communities. The editors and members of editorial boards of international journals and press houses may consider these formal features incongruous with the discourse they guard and perpetuate. The limited number of the papers of Czech archaeologists published in leading international journals[23] suggests that Czech archaeologists either do not reflect on this incompatibility or do not have the ambition to expand into these media.[24]

The discourses of description and uniqueness, which have their roots in the 19th century, survive as well. There are still Czech publications whose primary goal is the description of archaeological evidence while interpretation is reduced or framed by spatial and temporal variability. Skepticism about the possibility to shed light on social phenomena and limited interest in

related disciplines such as sociology, social anthropology, or cognitive sciences results in the deepening the gap between complex theoretical discussions in the large archaeological communities and the Czech archaeological community. Recent tendency to rescue Czech archaeology via close association with natural sciences and advanced technologies will likely produce a lot of new data but little theoretical advancement. I do not believe that new technologies and data will miraculously result in better communication of Czech archaeologists with other archaeological communities.

The formation of discourse communities that spread across several language communities is the most productive route for the future. Incorporation of actors from different language communities would enable the flow of inspiration among archaeologists embedded in different traditions and communities of different size. The effect of size is critical here. Therefore, I prefer to distinguish between large and small archaeological communities instead of reproducing the self-perpetuating hierarchy between mainstream and minority communities. I am convinced that there are strengths on both banks. Large communities may absorb novel ideas that may stimulate research in new directions despite the feeling that small communities have very little to offer in addition to attractive archaeological sites and materials. Our analysis of the sample of early papers from Památky archeologické suggests that even old texts in a small community have the potential to inspire. In the world of laser scanners and 3D modeling the art of detailed description was almost forgotten. Early archaeologists show us the value of detailed description, which challenges the view that a high-resolution raster image is the best documentation of archaeological artifacts. Similarly, the poetic style of early archaeologists may inspire us to consider the relationship between the dry scientific and poetic approaches to the past.

It is not unusual that large archaeological communities search for inspiration outside its borders. For example, Brits and Americans invest considerable amount of energy to study and translate the works of influential French philosophers and social scientists such as Lévi-Strauss,[25] Foucault, Merleau-Ponty, and Bourdieu. French academics are overwhelmed substantially by hegemonic Anglophone production in terms of quantity but they represent a strong source of creativity and inspiration. There is a potential to spread stimulating ideas and methodological advances from smaller communities as well (cf. Chapman 2003). The key problem is the mechanism for this spread. I am afraid

that the success depends on the ability of actors from small communities to understand discursive practices of large communities and push "indigenous" ideas forward using the environment of large communities. Scholars from small communities should reconsider the dominant feeling about their misfortune of being born into the wrong environment and should start thinking about strategies to overcome potential disadvantages and participate in the development of international scientific networks and communities. This effort should not be jeopardized by the fact that large communities do not always pay enough attention to studies of scholars from small communities (cf. Buchowski 2004, Neustupný 1998a).[26]

Small communities may absorb novel ideas as well. In addition to theoretical and methodological advances, I would like to emphasize another element; academic culture. I am convinced that interesting ideas developed in small communities often do not succeed abroad not only because of discursive practices associated with language and writing but because of underdeveloped nature of arguments resulting from the insufficient critical discussion. Even today, it is not common to critique big figures and their ideas because it may be considered almost sacrilegious. There is a belief that distinguished figures should not face critical feedback during peer-review in journals, they should get the grants despite the fact that their research goals and methodology are outdated, and when they decide to speak 40 minutes instead of planned 15 minutes during a conference, it is considered impolite to stop them. This is unlike the situation in the United Kingdon, United States, or Scandinavia where even distinguished scholars get refused their papers in journals or do not get the grants because their proposals are not good enough.

One of the main factors responsible for the weak success of ideas from small communities is the lack of critical feedback. It happens frequently that there is a handful of specialists on a single topic. The result is that there are not many scholars who can and are willing to give a critical feedback and academic culture does not encourage this kind of activity. Therefore, presentations and publications may be seen – from the perspective of large communities – as drafts that did not reach the quality of final products on both formal and substantial level. Systematic stimulation of critical discussion during education and emphasis on thorough peer-review process may provide a tool for future weakening of the hierarchy between large and small communities.

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ENDNOTES

[1] The concept of discourse community, however, is flexible and covers various situations. There might be several discourse communities within a language community, a discourse community may spread across several language communities, and there is is also a possibility that a language community and a discourse community are identical. In a small academic community, language and discourse dimensions may entirely overlap to create one group unified by national language and associated discursive practices.

[2] Since Neustupný is aware of discursive practices behind academic texts, he demonstrates his point – the isolation of authors via citing strategies – by adding no citations to his paper. For the international readers of Neustupný's texts it can be shocking to see how little he cites other authors. There are probably a few different reasons that lead Neustupný to write this way. One of these reasons, nevertheless, is an overt resistance against the communication practices that form inequalities between the authors from the minority and mainstream communities. Unfortunately, Neustupný reproduces the hierarchy just through the performative act of labeling the categories as "mainstream" and "minority".

[3] There are several reasons for selecting the time range 1854–1954. First, the aim of the paper is to explore the early years of Czech archaeology before1960s when new processual ideas appeared not only in the West but also in Czechoslovakia. This

was a significant shift in the discipline. Second, In 1953 Archaeological Institute became part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and, therefore, received a new form of scientific recognition. Third, a century is a round and logic unit.

[4] It was the project lead by the current editor of the journal Michal Ernée. More information about the project can be found on the web of the Archaeological Institute in Prague (http://en.arup.cas.cz/en/publikace_en/pamatky_dvd_en.html, visited on March 15, 2013).

[5] Unfortunately, I had to adjust this formal strategy in the case of the Second World War. The decade 1934–1943 includes vol. 42 that covers the period from 1939 to 1946. This issue was so anomalous that I decided to sample randomly only the period from 1934 to 1938.

[6] Although Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is primarily linguistic, Fairclough (2003: 3) insists that CDA goes beyond linguistic analysis of texts. Its nature stems from the ability to link linguistic phenomena to social structures and practices. Contemporary research that takes advantage of CDA is not focused on texts only but includes analyses of human action intimately tied to language (e.g., Kobes 2013, Rogers 2002).

[7] Fairclough (2003) uses the term discourse in two ways. The first meaning refers to general characteristics of language as an element of social life. The second, more specific, meaning refers to discourse as a form of representation.

[8] For example, Tihelka's (1953) synthesis of Moravian Únětice cemeteries was 100 pages long; Böhm's (1953) study of periodisation of prehistory covered 33 pages.

[9] I deliberately use the pronoun "he" because the Czech archaeological world till 1954 was predominantly masculine.

[10] The Czech version is as follows: "Příspěvek ke studiu …", "Pomůcky k …", "Doplňky k …".

[11] The Czech version is as follows: "krokvicovitá výzdoba", "rektilineární ornament".

[12] The Czech version is "žlutka".

[13] The Czech version is as follows: "knoflíček", "hubička", "přeslínek", "kolíček", "jehlička", "dulíček", and "pupík". It is also interesting to note that diminutives often include terms that correspond to body parts such as ear, neck, head, belly. This even reinforces my argument about infantility (see below) as artifacts with their personified parts represent the link between small cute humans (babies) and precious artifacts.

[14] Actually, great scholars tend to be infantile because it enables them to ask challenging questions and consider methods and solutions that seem unrealistic to others. The physicist Richard Feynman would be a good example of such a scholar. Infantility is not a negative characteristic. In contrast, it is rather an advantage.

[15] In this context, it is not a coincidence that the title of Sklenářs' (2000) book "Archaeology and pagan times: stories from the

infantile years of Czech archaeology" points at the relationship between early examples of archaeological praxis and childhood.

16 Translation undertaken by Ivona Mišterová. The Czech version is as follows: "Nemůžeme dosti naléhavě žádati každého, kdo v hliništích buď pracovati dává neb sám pracuje, aby takovým nešetrným zacházením starožitných zbytků někdejších obyvatelů této země a všeho, cokoli láska a pieta druhdy po nich pozůstalých kolem nich nastavěla, nekazil, nýbrž seč může toho bedliv byl, aby se zachovaly celé a neporušené. … Jen takovým opatrným a nechť díme starobylosti předmětů samých jakož i úcty k době v naší vlasti dávno minulé důstojným zacházením se zbytky pravěkými lze se dodělati výsledků, potěšitelných pro každého z nás, kdo lásku má k starším památkám domácím." (Smolík 1881: 24–25).

17 Translation undertaken by Ivona Mišterová. The Czech version is as follows: "Za Jičínem na severovýchod prostírá se na úpatí malého pohoří, … což při hluboké půdě a dostatečné vláze znamená pro rolníka požehnání boží; … Přirozeně, že v rozkošném tomto zátiší záhy vyskytl se i člověk, jehož nejstarší stopu nalezli jsme na východním svahu při dědině Soběrazi v podobě sídelních jam se starší keramikou tečkovaně píchanou." (Píč 1902: 17)

18 Pudil (1878: 436) concludes his paper about cremation burials in North Bohemia with a short verse that evokes the spiritual meaning of mortuary practices. Pudil uses this strategy to emphasize his final interpretation about the sacrificial nature of mortuary practices and relations to supernatural beings. Verse seems to be the efficient tool to make a transition between descriptive part of the paper and interpretation.

19 For example, Stocký's (1915: 196) paper about settlement pits from Statenice ends with two frustrated statements that the function of bone spatulas and stone cobbles is unknown.

20 Naturally, social scientists have not dealt only with general trends and populations for the last several decades. Since seminal works of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979) and the application of agency and biographical approaches to archaeology (e.g., Dobres, Robb 2000, Johnson 1989, Smetánka 2004, van Gijn 2010), the spectrum of approaches to the general vs. specific and communal vs. individual has diversified.

21 The discourse of space lead archaeologists to explore the texts published in several different countries and written in foreign languages. Píč (1902) refers to Bronze Age research published in German and Italian in Switzerland, Austria, and Italy. Böhm (1928) uses literature published in German and French, which describes research in Central Europe, Scandinavia, Southern Europe, Near East, and North Africa. Neustupný (1933) uses literature published in German, French, English, and Spanish to discuss research in multiple parts of Europe, Near East, and even Japan. Soudský (1954) refers to literature published in German, English, Italian, Polish, and Croatian to discuss research in multiple parts of Europe, Near East, and Central Asia.

22 I understand the emphasis on long papers and the extensive presentation of archaeological evidence as a form of resistance against the power structure, especially contemporary evaluation system of Czech science (so called RIV – Registrar of Information about Outputs) advanced by Czech government. From the point of view of this evaluation based on simplified quantitative measures, it is not rational to publish long papers. Therefore, the strategy of the journal seems to emphasize the values of Czech archaeological community rather than the political discourse of efficiency, global competition, and impact.

23 During the last 10 years, 87 papers of Czech scholars dealing with archaeology were registered in Web of Science. The search criteria were as follows: Address=(Czech) AND Year Published=(2002–2012) AND Web of Science Categories=(archaeology) AND Document Types=(Article). It is informative to mention that 30 papers in this sample come from the Czech journal Památky archeologické, which is indexed in WOS since 2007. To have a comparison with a Western nation with the similar population size, we can use Sweden. Swedish scholars participated in publication of 257 papers during the same time period.

24 The favorite strategy of not only Czech archaeologists but social scientists in general to overcome the difficulties of the peer-review process in leading journals is the creation of new journals. Kristiansen's (2008: 19–20) sigh about the avalanche of local archaeological journals with the narrow scope of interest makes me suspect about the existence of similar strategies in other countries.

25 The interaction between French and English scholars is represented by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Rodney Needham, who invested immense amount of energy to disseminate Lévi-Strauss' ideas in English language community. Needham translated Les structure élémentaires de la parenté and Le Totémisme aujourd'hui. Nonetheless, the relationship between these two scholars seems to be tense given Lévi-Strauss' critical comments to Needham in the preface to The elementary structures of kinship (Lévi-Strauss 1969: XX). Therefore, even an attempt to translate someone's study and spread it in a different community may be a troublesome journey.

26 Two recent examples of the lack of interest of large communities in ideas developed in small communities are two publications in English. The first publication is the excellent book about networks in archaeology by Knappett (2011) that provides a superb review of the application of graph theory and networks in archaeology. However, the pioneering work of Neustupný (1973) that represents – to my knowledge – the first application of graph theory in archaeology is missing.

I consider this paper as one of the most intriguing early attempts to demonstrate the potential of mathematics to tackle archaeological problems. The second publication is the stimulating paper about "eventful archaeology" by Beck *et al.* (2007). It is built upon Sewell's (2005) concept of event but it does not mention the development of Neustupný's (1998b) archaeology of events. Both English publications undoubtedly represent stimulating examples of archaeological thinking published by leading scholars and renowned media (Oxford University Press, Current Anthropology) and this note is not aimed at questioning their contribution to the discipline. This note just demonstrates the weak voice of authors from small communities.

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