HISTORY OF AND POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARDS NAMES FOR THE CZECH-SPEAKING TERRITORY

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the issue of establishing and officially using the short (geographic) names *Česko* (in Czech) and *Czechia* (in English), which are one-word equivalents of the political names *Česká republika* and the *Czech Republic*. The history of naming the territory inhabited by the Czech speaking population focuses on the period of Czechoslovakia (1918–1992) and the independent Czech state since 1993. The debate about using the short names *Česko* and *Czechia* is analyzed. The article explains (1) reasons for the usefulness and practicality of using short country names in appropriate contexts; (2) correct and incorrect short names for the Czech Republic; (3) inapplicability of the long political name *Česká republika* / (the) *Czech Republic* in historical context; (4) the ongoing and present state of the dispute between the supporters and opponents of the term *Czechia*.

Keywords: Geographic and political country names, Česko, Czechia, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Czechoslovakia

1. Introduction

This article aims to summarize the history of naming the territory inhabited by the Czech speaking population (Figure 1) with the focus on the post-1918 period. Modern states in Europe and other world countries generally have two official names. The first one is a political name, which is used regularly in official political texts. It is a multiple-word name that usually indicates the ruling political system, e.g. Republik Österreich (Republic of Austria), Konungariket Sverige (Kingdom of Sweden), Principauté de Monaco (Principality of Monaco). The political name sometimes includes other attributes through which the given state wants to represent itself, e.g. The People's Republic of China, Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic of Germany). The second name is a geographical name, which is usually a single-word name that always corresponds with the political name and is used in atlases, on postal stamps, or on national jerseys by athletes, but above all in everyday communication. Both names, the political and geographical, are official. However, they differ in stylistic level and each of them is used in different situations and in different contexts.

Most states of the world have used geographical names that identify territories on which particular states are located. Country names that lack this geographical specification and are based solely on political or other attributes have historically been rare. Examples include the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Commonwealth of Independent States, or the Ivory Coast. The so-called short names, which are typically geographic names, are usually one-word names. More than one word in a short name is rarely used. Historically, it has been used mostly by countries that had (or have) a very long political name, such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics – the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland – Great Britain (unusually, this state uses two variants of its short name: the geographical name Great Britain and the shortened political name the United Kingdom). Only few states do not use formal short names, e.g. the United States of America, although the shortened form the United States is also sometimes used in official texts (a form that is semantically somewhat empty, but unequivocal – considering the significance of the denominated subject). In unofficial texts, the one-word names America or the States are typically used if the subject is obvious from context.

Before 1918, during the Habsburg Monarchy (since 1526) and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the area inhabited by the Czech-speaking people had consisted of three historical lands: Bohemia, Moravia and a part of Silesia. These territories had existed in slightly differing borders since the time of the Slavic settlement in Central Europe and had been commonly referred to as země Koruny české (Lands of the Czech Crown) or simply České země (the Czech Lands) before 1918. Since no independent state formation covering the Czechspeaking territory had existed before 1918, there was no need for a common name. The situation changed when Czechoslovakia (originally named Česko-Slovensko / Czecho-Slovakia) was formed in 1918. Since then, the area inhabited by the Czech-speaking population experienced several historical upheavals, its area was successively part of various state formations that exercised various types of political systems, until it reached a complete independence in 1993.



Fig. 1 Historic regions of contemporary Czechia. Source: The map maker: Čtveráková, I., Burda, T., Janoušek, Z.: Databáze historických hranic správních regionů v Česku 1920–2012 (The database of historic borders of administrative regions in Czechia 1920–2012). Charles University, Prague, Faculty of Science 2013.

In the 9th century, Morava (Moravia) gave birth to the first state formation on the Czech-speaking territory, called *Velká Morava* (Great Moravia). Moravia was later dominated by the Bohemian (Czech) rulers and became part of the state formation referred to as země Koruny české (Lands of the Czech Crown) but it continued to function administratively as a separate unit in the Middle Ages called *Moravská* *marka* (the Margraviate of Moravia) that was administered by a margrave. This was in contrast to the region referred to as *České království* (the Kingdom of Bohemia), where Prague was the seat of the Czech king, who was also the king of the Moravians. The area called [*České*] *Slezsko* ([Czech] Silesia) is a small part of a large historical region the main part of which lies in contemporary Poland.



Fig. 2 Czechoslovakia in 1918–1938. Sources: Arc GIS Layer: Europe – basemap. Charles University, Prague, Faculty of Science 2013.

2. Naming the former Czechoslovakia

During the period of the Czechoslovak state (1918-1992) its official names varied but the short geographic name remained unchanged. The original name used by the first Czechoslovak President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk for the future state before its establishment was Nezávislé Čechy (Independent Bohemia). This name can be found in Masaryk's 1915-1917 correspondence. While in exile, Masaryk, Edvard Beneš, who later became the second Czechoslovak President, and Milan Rastislav Štefánik, a Slovak who supported an independent state of Czechs and Slovaks and who later became a minister of war, established Český komitét zahraniční (the Czech Committee Abroad). Since 1916, it functioned under the name Národní rada zemí českých (National Board of the Czech Lands). It is noteworthy that the Slovaks or Slovensko (Slovakia) were mentioned in neither of these names. This was mainly influenced by Štefánik, the principal promoter of the idea of the so called czechoslovakism, who held the Slovaks to be of the Czech nationality. The Slovak league abroad was probably aware of possible future problems; they suggested the name Slavia for the future multinational state, so that supremacy of one nation over another was avoided. Mr. Masaryk, the future President, would probably also have been satisfied with this name, since he never expressed any objection against it in any of his texts. It was not until the Russian Revolution in 1917 that the name Česko-Slovenská republika (the Czecho-Slovak Republic) was used, as well as its corresponding short name Česko-Slovensko (Czecho-Slovakia). Masaryk adopted these names and they became the names of the new country (Figure 2).¹

From the linguistic point of view, it is obvious that the geographic name, which would match the political name *Česko-Slovenská republika* (the Czecho-Slovak Republic), could be nothing but *Česko-Slovensko* (Czecho-Slovakia); in fact it was probably its predecessor.

The original form of the hyphenated adjective česko-slovenský (Czecho-Slovak) is indicated e.g. by postal stamps published on 18 December 1918, with the inscription Pošta česko-slovenská (Czecho-Slovak Post). Under the influence of czechoslovakism, the hyphen was removed: the stamps published on 27 October 1919 - on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Czecho-Slovak Republic - already bore the lettering Pošta československá (Czechoslovak Post). The 1920 Constitution used the name the Československá republika (Czechoslovak Republic). The hyphen was removed more or less on the initiative of the Slovaks who felt inferior in the complex name with a hyphen (thus the situation was contrary to that after 1989). The short name, originally Česko-Slovensko (Czecho-Slovakia) and later Československo (Czechoslovakia) was used in the official communication from the very beginning of the existence of Czechoslovakia despite not being included in any Czechoslovak constitution during the 1918–1992 period. On postal stamps, Československo (Czechoslovakia) appeared for the first time in July 1926 (Bernášek et al. 1978). Thus, the short

¹ For this information I owe to Dr. Antoník Klimek, CSc., and Dr. Karel Pichlik, CSc., from the Military Historical Institute in Prague.

geographic name was used on a regular basis along with the political name, which was similar to other countries where short geographic names are used in appropriate contexts, such as common speech, atlases, postal stamps, or on the national jerseys of athletes.

Nevertheless, some Czech intellectuals strongly objected to the name *Československo* because of its length and its odd shape. For example, Karel Čapek, a well-known Czech writer, published an essay titled *O tom jméně* (On That Name, Čapek 1922) in which he described the term Československo as follows: "It is not melodious, for a foreigner it even sounds a little joking and in French cafes they are using it as something quite humorous which by itself must put everybody in high spirits." Čapek called for the restoration of the historical name *Velká Morava* (Great Moravia) for the entire country but later on he came to terms with the name *Československo*.

We do not know very much about how the Czechoslovak public perceived the short country name in the early 1920s since no public opinion research was conducted at that time.

3. Naming the Czech-speaking territory during the WWII Nazi occupation

Hyphenated country names Česko-Slovenská republika (the Czecho-Slovak Republic) and Česko-Slovensko (Czecho-Slovakia) were restored during the so-called Second [Czechoslovak] Republic after the occupation of the Sudetenland by Germany in 1938 and after Slovakia gained autonomy on 6 October 1938. It was also during this period when the discussion about the name Česko started. Its greatest advocate was František Trávníček, a Czech bohemist and professor of the Czech language at the Masaryk University in Brno. In December 1938, he published a newspaper article in which he defended the correctness and necessity of the name *Cesko* to describe the Czech-speaking territory (Trávníček 1938): "In Czech, the name Česko has not been used yet, but the Slovaks sometimes used it to speak about Cesko... It is necessary to divide the composite Česko-Slovensko in two separate words because Česko-Slovensko is Česko and Slovensko." (The text goes on: "... The strange noun Česko could be avoided by using the common geographical names Čechy and Morava." ... "But next to the short name Slovensko, the collocation Cechy and Morava would be quite inconvenient, therefore it would be advisable to use the short and concise name Česko. It is indeed a language novelty, but the language must adjust to new arrangements, to the new political situation. On the other hand, *Česko* as a new word has the great asset that it can get a new, explicit meaning. It is obvious that we really need a concise, integral, and common name for Bohemia and Moravia as one of the two parts of our state as a counterpart to the name Slovensko. The old names Čechy and Morava would remain as the names of the lands, purely geographical names, wherever they would not refer to the political relation to Slovakia. We then would have *Česko-Slovensko*, consisting of *Česko* and *Slovensko*, *Česko* would then consist of *Čechy* and *Morava*...")

In January 1939, Trávníček replied to the objection that *Česko* was a pejorative name (Trávníček 1939) with following words:

[It is] quite a lame objection. The name Česko was formed from the adjective český (Czech) like the name Rusko (Russia) from ruský (Russian), Polsko (Poland) from polský (Polish), Bulharsko (Bulgaria) from bulharský (Bulgarian), Německo (Germany) from německý (German) ... and these names surely are not pejorative. Even the most sacred name is not protected against a pejorative tinge, but it depends on those who use it, who put this pejorative tinge into it. What is denoted by the word Česko, is too precious for us as to put a pejorative tinge into it without reason. (English translations in brackets were added by the author.)

In March 1939, Czechoslovakia was divided into two separate territories: the eastern part named Slovenská republika (Slovak Republic) and the western Czech-inhabited territory, which was occupied by Germany and was called protektorát Čechy a Morava (Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia), see Figure 3. The Czechs shortened this name to protektorát (the Protectorate) and the Germans shortened it to Protektorat or they used the name Tschechei. From the point of view of the word-formative system of the German, Tschechei is a correctly formed name, which meets the requirements of communication better - as opposed to protektorát/Protektorat, which only expresses the fact of the territory being subordinated: it denotes the geographical location of the denominated political unit after its majority inhabitants. Its identifying function is fulfilled much better in this way. Moreover, this name formally corresponds with the German name for Slovakia, i. e. Slowakei. Its pejorative coloring has not arisen from the name itself, which is only a succession of the vowels and consonants, but it resulted from the then disparaging relation of the Germans to the Czech nation. A similar tinge would affect any name the Germans would have decided to use for their vassal territory.

It is interesting to note that the American press, namely The New York Times (1939), used the name *Czechia* for the Czech-speaking territory after its annexation by Germany² (see also http://www.freerepublic.com /focus/f-chat/2207461/posts).

² "FRENCH FATALISTIC ON GERMAN STROKE ... While speaking M. Bonnet used the name 'Czechia' and no longer 'Czecho-Slovakia'. He made no excuse for his failure to take any action ..."; "Hitler Drives On; HITLER'S PUSH TO THE EAST ... The nation with its three regions of Czechia, Slovakia and Ruthenia, it was freely predicted, would become a German vassal ...".



4. Disputes over the name Česko after World War II

The political name *Československá republika* (the Czechoslovak Republic) and the geographical name *Československo* (Czechoslovakia) were restored after the restoration of Czechoslovakia in 1945 (on a smaller area; the Carpathian Ruthenia was annexed by the Soviet Union, Figure 4). The political name *Československá republika* (the Czechoslovak Republic) was included in the 1948 constitution.

The discussion lead by František Trávníček about the short name for the western part of Czechoslovakia resumed after the war. Trávníček (1949a), this time already aware of the relative antiquity of the name Česko³, wrote: "In the parliamentary board, an opinion was expressed that a suitable counterpart of the name *Slov*ensko would be Česko, which is so far used only in Slovakia as a joint name for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, the so-called historical Czech lands. Past all doubt, this name is necessary nowadays ..." He mentioned several records from the 19th century made by Czech poets, historians and lexicographers, and then wrote: "... It does not matter if elderly users understand this name as only 'Bohemia', or as the whole territory of the Czech nation, i.e. 'Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia'. Nowadays it is necessary to use it in the broader meaning; there is no shortcoming in it ... The objective conditions of our nation have changed and therefore it is necessary to express them by new words."

A polemical contribution appeared soon in the Czech journal Tvorba, where the author J. V. (J. V. 1949) mentioned: "My first objection is kind of psychological. My clasp knife always opened itself in my pocket when

³ The name Česko is first evidenced in 1777, in the handbook *Knihy metodní pro učitele českých škol* [Methodical books for teachers in Czech schools], p. 333, though that time only as the name of Bohemia. The item is stored in the Lexical Archives of the Institute of the Czech Language of the AS CR.

I heard the Germans say *Tschechei* during the occupation. This adverse feeling comes to me every time I see the word *Česko*." Trávníček (Trávníček 1949²) replied:

This remark results from a language conception, which is in principle mistaken. It is not possible to put the equal sign between *Tschechei* and *Česko* and see *Česko* as a pejorative word only because the Germans used the word *Tschechei* in a pejorative sense. In this case we could not even use the word *Čech* ['a person of the Czech nation'] because also the word *Boehme* [in German 'a person of the Czech nation'] was frequently pronounced by Germans with contempt. A pejorative usage of a word by Germans is absolutely not decisive for the respective word of ours. *Česko* is not a modification of *Tschechei*; it is a word formed organically in accordance with our as well as Slovak word-formative laws.

The discussion about the name Česko continued throughout 1949. Dr. A. U. (1949) wrote: "Česko resembles the derisive word Tschechei which had been thrown on us by the generation of Hitler's aggressors", and then mentioned political grounds against its introduction: "From dualism, usually only a step is to separatism ... The word Česko, used in political practice, could lead to consequences for which the history could sometime blame us severely." Trávníček (1949c): "If there is a short, one-word name Slovensko for the region inhabited by those of Slovak nationality, we badly need a similar name for the region of those of Czech nationality, i.e. for Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. The use of the name Česko absolutely does not mean a denial of existence of the geographical units called *Cechy*, *Morava* and *Slezsko*, as Česko is nothing else than a joint of these three lands." O. S. (1949): "... Cesko did not enter our language as an independent word but only as the first half of the composite Československo ... If we use only the first half of this composite, we perceive it, owing to a longtime custom, as an unfinished, incomplete, stump word that is missing something ... It would be more convenient to find a new word

Česko was rarely used, e.g. in the writings by the Czech literary scholar Frank Wollman. Also Jaroslav Pošvář (Pošvář 1958), Professor of law at the Masaryk University in Brno, defended it in his article in the collection *Rodné zemi* (For My Homeland):

The expression *Česko* is not established in our country and comes unusual to us. However, it seems that there is no other possibility how to name the common territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Linguistically, this word is related to other names used in Czech, e.g. *Slovensko*, *Slezsko*, *Polsko* (...) etc. If the inhabitants of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia should completely merge even in the consciousness of the territorial origin, then it would be advisable to gradually introduce the name *Česko*, so far sounding uncommon to our ears, into the press, public addresses etc. Then the borders of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia remain merely historical and the Czechs' consciousness of their origin will be immediately integral.

5. Changes in the 1960s and 1970s

The 1960 Constitution introduced a new political name – Československá socialistická republika (the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic), which emphasized the nature of the state's political regime. This form was similar to the names of other state socialist countries such as *Polská lidová republika* (the People's Republic of Poland) and *Německá demokratická republika* (the German Democratic Republic). The short name Československo (Czechoslovakia) remained unchanged.

In 1968, Czechoslovakia became a federation based on the constitutional law of the Czechoslovak federation from 27 October 1968. The two republics of the federation were named as Česká socialistická republika (the Czech Socialist Republic) and Slovenská socialistická republika (the Slovak Socialist Republic), see Figure 5. The geographical names Československo (Czechoslovakia) for the whole of the federation and Slovensko (Slovakia) for the Slovak Republic did not change. However, as it became the Czech Socialist Republic, the old question of one-word name for the territory of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia resurfaced. Again, some intellectuals objected to the name Česko. The discussion resembled the previous ones in 1938 and 1949. At the end of 1968, Jaromír Bělič, a prominent Czech linguist, attributed the difficulties with the introduction of a one-word name to the problem of the Czech national identity. In his article Čech – Česko? (Bělič 1968) he argued: "This denomination has two meanings: it denotes a member of Czech nation in general and a person of Czech nationality born in Bohemia contrary to a Czech native from Moravia or Silesia... Especially for foreigners it is hardly comprehensible that Moravians and Silesians are and at the same time are not Czechs." He also quotes an important Czech poet, journalist and revivalist K. Havlíček Borovský (1831–1856): "Our word *Čech* means solely an inhabitant of this kingdom while the Moravian ... will not call himself Čech [Czech - nationality] or his language česká [Czech - adjective] but moravská [Moravian - adjective] ..." Further Bělič mentioned: "On the other hand, in the feudal state the attribution *Čech* could relate and often indeed related also to Germans settled in Bohemia. Therefore the prominent historian, writer and politician František Palacký (1798-1876) justified his absence in the all-German parliament in Frankfurt in 1948 saying: 'I am Czech of Slavic decent'. However, Palacký was a Moravian by origin and in these words he reflected the process of overcoming the feudal particularism and reaching the all-national comprehension of the word *Čech*."

Bělič's article initiated a lively discussion in the press in which, among other things, the question of "beauty"



Fig. 5 Czechoslovakia in 1969–1990. Sources: Arc GIS Layer: Europe – basemap. Charles University, Prague, Faculty of Science 2013.

and "euphony" of the name *Česko* was addressed for the first time. Some journalists strongly objected to this name because they did not like it, doubted the need for a one-word name for the Czech-speaking territory or proposed to use *Čechy* (Bohemia) instead of *Česko*. Also the linguist František Daneš (Daneš 1969) doubted the viability of the name *Česko* as follows:

Obviously, the purely rational, instrumental grounds, supported by the grammatical and lexical facts, would favor the new name, whereas the emotional and traditional approach leads to its refusal. And it is just this [emotional and traditional approach] that prevails in the press. Nevertheless, it should not be surprising; as it is always necessary to count on an important social-psychological regularity that immediate emotional relevance of a social function is usually preferred to its instrumental relevance in the behavior of members of a community. And here every linguistic consideration and advice ends. A linguist can say only one thing in this situation: a new denomination like this has a chance to survive only when practical needs of communication appear so vitally urgent that they eventually prevail (which does not seem certain in this case).

The debate had so far been carried on the predominantly professional and intellectual level without exalted emotions with each participant trying to present rational or pseudo-rational arguments. However, in March 1969, Jan Skácel (Skácel 1969), an influential Czech poet, in his article *Proboha raději ne* (Better no, for heaven's sake) introduced an aggressive and offensive tone in the discussion about *Česko*. Since then it has become a typical phenomenon in written as well as spoken utterances of the adversaries of *Česko*. Skácel argued as follows:

This word (i.e. *Česko*) is defective and not even with the best will can I turn a blind eye to it. It is impossible. I am ready to live in Moravia, Silesia, Bohemia, in Slovakia and – grudge – also in Prague. In Česko, I will be unable to live.

I won't even be able to die in a country with such a name. I'd be ill at ease and ashamed. I'd rather move to the Netherlands or to another, even flatter country ... If someone, God forbid, invented a *Moravsko*, I'd commit a criminal act of murder. The arguments for *Česko* may be factual, but the word sounds really apologetic. It isn't my business that it is regularly formed from the respective adjective, that this word is necessary as a counterpart to the name *Slovensko*. I don't need it at all. I don't mind two-word names, I'll be satisfied with česká *země* (Czech land), český *kraj* (Czech region), česká *republika* (Czech republic). One extra word won't hurt my mouth. (English translations in brackets were added by the author.)

Still in 1969, Jaromír Bělič (Bělič 1969) summarized the discussion about *Česko* in his article *Ještě jednou Česko* (Once more *Česko*). Regarding the proposal to establish the name *Čechy* (*Bohemia*) as a short name for then the Czech Socialist Republic he wrote:

I suppose that the two meanings of the name \check{Cechy} could cause more difficulties in communication than the double meaning of the words \check{Cech} [Czech – nationality] and \check{cesky} [Czech – adjective]. For example, the location $V\acute{y}chodni$ \check{Cechy} (Eastern Bohemia) is a fairly exact geographical term but, if the name \check{Cechy} were generalized, $V\acute{y}chodni$ \check{Cechy} would also cover Moravia and Silesia or possibly their parts. Objections on the part of Moravians and Silesians to such usage of the name \check{Cechy} could be the same as to the name \check{Cesko} , if not more vehement.

In 1978, the name Česko finally became official as a one-word Czech synonym for Česká socialistická republika (the Czech Socialist Republic) by its inclusion in *Slovník spisovné češtiny* (the Dictionary of Literary Czech; SSČ 1978). Still, it was not frequently used in common usage. In the 1980s and 1990s, articles on Česko occasionally appeared in the professional journals to assure the Czechs that it was a fully literary and correctly formed name. It is symptomatic that Miloslava Knapová's article in the journal *Naše řeč* (Our Language; Knapová 1983) is a response to the request of the journal *Lidé a země* (People and Earth), which asked *Naše* řeč to explain whether, in their opinion, the name *Česko* is suitable or not.

6. New changes and challenges in the 1990s

A new period of changes in the official name of Czechoslovakia and its two federal republics took place after the end of the state socialist period. In 1990, the Czechoslovak parliament authorized - as a supplement of the Constitution - the following changes in political names: Česká socialistická republika (the Czech Socialist Republic) was changed to Česká republika (the Czech Republic), Slovenská socialistická republika (the Slovak Socialist Republic) was changed to Slovenská republika (the Slovak Republic) and Československá socialistická republika (the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic) was changed to Československá federativní republika (the Czechoslovak Federal Republic). However, the political name Československá federativní republika existed only several days because of Slovak objections. Consequently, it was changed to Česká a Slovenská Federativní Republika (the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic) - written with capitals, which went against the rules of contemporary Czech orthography. The Slovaks also insisted on hyphenating the name *Československo* (Czechoslovakia) into Česko-Slovensko (Czecho-Slovakia), which was resisted by the Czechs. The so-called "dash-war" was resolved by authorizing the use of old unhyphenated form Československo (Czechoslovakia) in Czech and hyphenated Česko-Slovensko (Czecho-Slovakia) in Slovak.

Table 1 shows that while the political name of the former Czechoslovakia changed five times according to the changes in its political system, the short, geographical name *Československo*/Czechoslovakia remained the same all the time, with the exception of two short periods at the very beginning and very end of the existence of Czechoslovakia when it was hyphenated.

After the break up of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the independent Czech Republic on 1 January 1993, the Czech Nomenclature Committee authorized the Czech one-word official geographical name Česko. The Czech Foreign Ministry recommended the use of foreign-language translations of Česko that were included - just in this year - in the UNGEGN World Geographical Names - Names of States and Their Territorial Parts, such as Czechia in English, Tschechien in German, Tchèquie in French, Cechia in Italian, etc. Many linguists, geographers, other scientists and professionals assumed that the independent Czech Republic would naturally use its Czech one-word name Česko in appropriate contexts, as a counterpart to its long political name. However, they were mistaken. Some Czech politicians, including the President Václav Havel, openly opposed using the name Česko and preferred using only the long name Česká republika. Czech media did not use Česko either. However, the Czech language tends to use one-word phrasing and the system itself enforces a one-word name in some contexts. Therefore, especially Prague-based journalists started to refer to the whole territory of the Czech Republic by the name Čechy (Bohemia). However, as it was already heard in previous discussions, the name *Čechy* is inappropriate because it is ambiguous, giving no clear information whether it refers to the historical land of Bohemia, or the entire country composed of Bohemia, Moravia and [Czech] Silesia. Furthermore, it is tactless toward Moravians and Silesians because Bohemia does not include Moravia and Silesia.

Between 1993 and 1997, the name *Čechy* had become so commonly used for the entire country that

Period	Long, political name	Short, geographical name		
Before 1918	Čechy (Bohemia), Morava (Moravia), Slezsko (Czech Silesia) – parts of the Austro	ustro-Hungarian Empire		
1918	Česko-Slovenská republika Czecho-Slovak Republic	Česko-Slovensko Czecho-Slovakia		
1920–1938	Československá republika Czechoslovac Rebublic	Československo Czechoslovakia		
1938	Česko-Slovenská republika Czecho-Slovak Republic	Česko-Slovensko Czecho-Slovakia		
1939–1945	protektorát Čechy a Morava Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia			
1945–1960	Československá republika Czechoslovak Republic	Československo Czechoslovakia		
1960–1990	Československá socialistická republika Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	Československo Czechoslovakia		
1990–1992	Československá federativní republika / Česká a Slovenská Federativní Republika Czechoslovak Federal Republic / Czech and Slovak Federal Republic	Československo Czechoslovakia		

Tab. 1 Political and geographical names of the former Czechoslovakia.

its opponents became organized in an effort to stop this trend. In October 1997, a civic association named Česko/ Czechia was established in Brno (the capital of Moravia) and the Czech Geographical Society published a postcard to support the use of the name *Cesko* (Figure 6). In January 1998 an expert conference was organized by the Czech Geographical Society at the Faculty of Science of Charles University in Prague. It concluded that the country name Česko (and its foreign-language equivalents Czechia, Tschechien, Tchèquie, Cechia, etc.) was correct, legitimate and necessary. The conference declaration in support of the short name Cesko/Czechia was distributed among Czech politicians and the media.⁴ In January 1998, the MF DNES daily (MF DNES 1998) devoted one whole page to the question of the one-word name for the Czech Republic, listing opinions of both of its proponents and opponents in articles and notes: Neříkejte republice Čechy, zlobí se na Moravě (Don't call the republic Čechy, remind Moravians) (li), Ani po pěti letech nevíme, jak své zemi vlastně říkat (After five years we still don't knowt what to call our country) (J. Kabele, J. Leopold), Měli bychom si zvyknout na Česko, říká brněnský radní (We should get used to Česko, says a concillor of Brno) (L. Navara), etc. Václav Havel (President at that time): "Slugs creep on my skin when I read or hear the word; I'll be the last one to use it." Václav Klaus (President after Václav Havel) "was sad that we hadn't succeeded in finding a one-word name for our republic ... I still hope that an appropriate name will drop from the sky one day." The writer and journalist Ludvík Vaculík: "Elderly people take it (*Česko*) as an insulting expression and if the younger adopt it, then it does not show their approval but indifference and apathy." The theologian Tomáš Halík: "This malformation can only be used by a barbarian lacking any language culture ..." The explorer and writer Miroslav Zikmund: "Good heavens, no! My jackknife opens in my pocket whenever I hear *Česko*! Hitler had started it: I was in the sixth grade when he yelled 'die Tschechei' in Nuremberg!"

The discussion continued for several years. The media presented various results of public opinion polls, in which the participants were usually asked inappropriate questions, such as "Which country name do you prefer: *Česká republika* or *Česko*?" Most people did not hesitate to answer "Česká republika" since they typically failed to realize that these two names were not exclusive and both of them were equally correct and official but applicable in different situations and contexts. The media mostly rejected and refused to use *Česko*, but they gradually reduced the use of *Čechy* for the entire country and replaced it by the use of the political name *Česká republika* or substitutive expressions, such as *tento stát* (this state), *naše země* (our country), *české země* (Czech lands) or the abbreviation *ČR*.



Fig. 6 The postcard published by the Czech Geographical Society in 1997.

Foreigners could hardly understand why it was so difficult for the politicians, the media and the public in general to adopt the one-word name since its form had been settled a long time ago. In fact, this had not been a linguistic question any longer but it became a complicated psychological, sociological, and political issue. In a civic society (and the Czech state wanted to be one) the voice of the public and especially of the media is extremely important. Considering that the public had been supplied with antagonistic views from all quarters, it was no wonder that the name Česko, emotionally unacceptable to many people, was infinitely more difficult to establish than the name Československo in the 1920s. This was despite the fact that the name *Československo* is much longer and more difficult to pronounce than *Česko*.

In the first decade of the independent Czech Republic (1993–2002), the antagonism against the name Česko was perhaps partly also the consequence of the profound identification of some people with former Czechoslovakia. They felt to be citizens of Czechoslovakia so strongly that they subconsciously refused to accept the break-up of their former homeland. The vast majority of Czechs did not support the break-up of Czechoslovakia, and when it happened, they did not easily identify with the new country, including its name. A schizophrenic atmosphere developed: for several years, the name Česko seemed unacceptable in a "polite company" and people preferred to say Česká republika or naše země or something similar, for fear that a person they were speaking to would be an opponent of *Česko*. By not using it people attempted to avoid ridicule or even insult. Fortunately, these erroneous sentiments relented after a few years. The situation that František Daneš considered so improbable in 1969 developed: The needs of practical communication prevailed and the new short country name Česko not only survived, it began to be increasingly accepted by the Czech society. The term *Čechy* for the entire country has continued to be used by the media occasionally but its use has been declining.

⁴ *The opinion of the geographers, linguists, historians and other scientists to the question of the official one-word geographical name of the Czech Republic.*

7. The contemporary situation of the name *Česko*

As a short name for the Czech speaking territory, the name *Cesko* has been fighting for its right to existence already three quarters of a century. Slowly and reluctantly at the beginning but more and more often in the course of time, the media have used it, various business companies have put it into their names and logos or used it in their texts (for examples see the References), publications with the name *Cesko* in titles (or using it in texts) have been published (for examples see the References), various actions and campaigns with *Česko* in their names have been organized⁵. Now, in the middle of the second decade of the 21st century, it is commonly used by the media (e.g. Hospodářské noviny, MF Dnes, Lidové noviny, of the TV stations mainly the Czech TV; for examples see the References), and by general public – even if the usage of Česká republika, also in the contexts with short geographic names of other countries, is still very often. Most frequently, the young generation uses the name Česko as entirely natural (even if this tendency has been sometimes hindered by "conservative" teachers). Most important is the fact that it occurs - as the Czech short name of the country - in official manuals as is the ISO Norm, Collection of County Codes and UNGEGN World Geographical Names. However, Czech politicians mostly continue to use the long political name Česká republika in their everyday speeches and in the media because they perhaps wrongly assume that Česko is a colloquial rather than formal term or they do not consider it to be politically correct.

The non-Czech reader will probably consider the preceding text to be too extensive, but the aim was to fully illustrate the long-time and very complicated development concerning the regularity of the name *Česko*, development that should have become the basis for the new troubles with the English equivalent *Czechia*.

8. The contemporary situation of the name *Czechia*

A new problem emerged since the independent Czech Republic was formed on January 1, 1993: the English equivalent of *Česko*, i.e. *Czechia*.

Czech politicians almost never use *Czechia* when they speak English and almost exclusively use the Czech Republic despite the fact that *Czechia* has been standardized in the 1993 manual *UNGEGN World Geographical Names – Names of States and Their Territorial Parts* and the manifesto *The opinion* (note 4) in the same year. After the 1993 break up of Czechoslovakia and the establishment of the Czech Republic, most foreign countries accepted foreign language translations of its short name *Česko* proposed in these two documents (Figure 6). Only Poland adopted the name *Czechy*, originally equivalent of the Czech name *Čechy* (Bohemia), and Germany respected the reservations of some Czechs about the name *Tchechei* and introduced *Tschechien*. However, the English equivalent *Czechia*, which is an old name used originally in Latin texts and which corresponds with other English short country names ending on *-ia*, such as *Austria*, *Australia*, *India*, *Indonesia*, *Macedonia*, *Malaysia*, *Russia*, *Slovakia*, *Slovenia*, ..., has encountered difficulties similar to those of *Česko*.

At the very beginning there was confusion on the part of Czech politicians about the English short name of their new country. When asked by foreign journalists what the short name of the Czech Republic would be on January 3, 1993, the Czech foreign minister Jozef Zielenec replied: "Our traditional name is Czechland and in the future we will use this name [but] of course it could also be Czechia." (Herald Tribune, 1993) It is not surprising that amid this confusion and without a clear signal from the Czech government, politicians, diplomats, institutions and various sport associations have not used Czechia and used the Czech Republic instead, even in situations in which only short names of other countries are being used. For example, short names of countries, such as Germany, France or Poland, identify almost all national teams and their members at various international sporting events with only very few exceptions, including the Czech Republic.

When asked to use the one-word name Czechia, Czech politicians, journalists and intellectuals repeated various pseudo arguments against its usage that had been used against the name Cesko for several decades. The most ludicrous of these was the allegation that Czechia was easily confused with Chechnya as it allegedly happened at the World Exhibition in Hamburg in 2000. Reportedly, this mistake had a simple cause: the upper part of the letter hfell off the inscription Czechia, which resulted in the form Czecnia. Nevertheless, this argument tenaciously persists even today. However, after the Boston terrorist attack on April 15th 2013 some people confused Chechnya with the Czech Republic, not with Czechia. It means they confused the adjective Chechen with Czech. It is a testament to the level of education of some Americans, not to the correctness of the name Czechia.

Nevertheless, even if there were – irrespective of spelling – a coincidental similarity of these two names, it would be trivial in comparison with similarity of country names such as *Slovakia* and *Slovenia*, *Latvia* and *Lithuania*, *Niger* and *Nigeria*, *Austria* and *Australia*, *Brittany* and *Britain* or with the double meaning of the name *Georgia*.

It has also been claimed that since the English-speaking world does not know the name *Czechia*, it does not make sense to use it. This is a typical confusion of cause and effect. Understandably, the English-speaking people

⁵ E.g.: *Celé Česko čte dětem*, campaign 2014 (typically, the English translation, according to the http://www.celeceskoctedetem.cz /gb/menu/30/o-nas/o-kampani/, reads: *Every Czech Reds to Kids*). 2014/10/3

Alpha-2 code	cz	
Short name	CZECH REPUBLIC	This code is part of collection(
Short name lower case	Czech Republic (the)	Online collection : Country code
ull name	the Czech Republic	
Ipha-3 code	CZE	
umeric code	203	
emarks		
ndependent	Yes	
erritory name		
tatus	Officially assigned	
emark part 1		
temark part 3	Czechoslovakia (CS, CSK, 200) was divided into Czech Republic (CZ, CZE, 203), and Slovakia (SK, SVK, 703). See also code element CSHH.	

Fig. 7 Segment from the ISO Norm 3166-1 with names of the Czech state, 2015.

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or Domů	Vložení	Rozložení s	tránky Vzorce Data Revize Zobrazení Doplňky				
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G45	+ (*)	f _x (Zech Republic (the)				
A	В	С	D	E	F	G	
KÓD ZEMĚ ČESKÝ NÁ		ČESKÝ NÁ	EV ZEMĚ ANG		CKÝ NÁZEV ZEMĚ		
N - 3	A-2	A - 3	PLNÝ	ZKRÁCENÝ	PLNÝ	ZKRÁCENÝ	
854	BF	BFA	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	Burkina Faso	
108	BI	BDI	Republika Burundi	Burundi	the Republic of Burundi	Burundi	
184	CK	COK	Cookovy ostrovy	Cookovy ostrovy	Cook Islands (the)	Cook Islands (the)	
531	CW	CUW	Curaçao	Curaçao	Curaçao	Curaçao	
148	TD	TCD	Čadská republika	Čad	the Republic of Chad	Chad	
499	ME	MNE	Černá Hora	Černá Hora	Montenegro	Montenegro	
203	CZ	CZE	Česká republika	Česká republika	the Czech Republic	Czech Republic (the)	
156	CN	CHN	Čínská lidová republika	Čína	the People's Republic of China	China	_
208	DK	DNK	Dánské království	Dánsko	the Kingdom of Denmark	Denmark	
212	DM	DMA	Dominické společenství	Dominika	the Commonwealth of Dominica	Dominica	
214	DO	DOM	Dominikánská republika	Dominikánská republika	the Dominican Republic	Dominican Republic (the)	
262	DJ	DJI	Džibutská republika	Džibutsko	the Republic of Djibouti	Djibouti	
818	EG	EGY	Egyptská arabská republika	Egypt	the Arab Republic of Egypt	Equat	

Fig. 8 Segment from the Collection of Country Codes with names of the Czech state, 2015.

will start to use the name *Czechia* as soon as they become acquainted with it. A similar argument, maybe often deliberately false, is that it is necessary to wait what English short name will be accepted by the English-speaking world so that the Czechs can subsequently accept it. In reality, the Czechs themselves have to do what other new countries did: let the world know unequivocally the political and short names of their country in English. So far, the Czechs have been unable to take this step as the only nation of Central and Eastern Europe and one of very few nations in the entire world.

The introduction to the *Collection of Country Codes* (in Czech: *Číselník zemí*), published by the Czech Statistical Office in 2014, explains that it contains: "… the full Czech name – the administrative translation of the full English name of the country; the shortened⁶ (sic) Czech name – the administrative translation of the shortened English name of the country; the full English name – the full administrative English name of the country in the form which was communicated by the respective country to the general secretary of the UN. It is taken over from the *ISO Norm 3166-1*; the shortened English name – the shortened administrative English name of the country in the form which was communicated by the respective country to the general secretary of the UN. It is taken over from the *ISO Norm 3166-1*. If the shortened name is not communicated, the full administrative name is used." The name *Czechia* has obviously not been "communicated" and, therefore, *Czech Republic* (the) is included as a short name for the *Czech Republic* in the *ISO Norm 3166-1* and the *Collection of Country Codes*, see Figure 7 and Figure 8.

The Czech Nomenclative Committee approved *Czechia* as the English translation of *Česko*, along with its translations in other foreign languages, in early 1993 and the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Josef Zielenec recommended its usage. In the same year, *Czechia* appeared in the *UNGEGN World Geographical Names*. However, it was not included in their 2009 edition. Therefore, although the name *Czechia* was originally included in this manual, it was never communicated to the *ISO Norm*

⁶ This shows how confused the authors of the text are: Why "shortened"? The short name is in no case an abbreviation or condensation of some longer name. Most often it is an old name of the area inhabited by people of certain nationality or nationalities, the area with political status of an independent state/country. The long, multi-word political names come usually from these geographic names, not the other way around.

and, consequently, it was not included in the *Collection of Country Codes*. Neither Czechs nor foreigners could get acquainted with it and if they do not know it, they cannot use it. Therefore, the argument that the name *Czechia* is not favored, liked or accepted is false.

Thus, *Czechia* as a short name for the Czech Republic was removed from the *UNGEGN World Geographical Names* and replaced with the *Czech Republic* as a short name, which is exactly the same as the political name (the *Czech Republic*). It is unknown and it is not possible to find out who failed to communicate the short name Czechia into the *ISO Norm* or who gave instructions to remove it from the *UNGEGN World Geographical Names*. This implies that the name *Czechia* needs to be first communicated back into the *UNGEGN World Geographical Names* in order to be included in the *ISO Norm* and from there it can be transferred into the *Collection of Country Codes* and other manuals.

This communication needs to be arranged by the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In February 2014, the Civic Initiative Česko/Czechia asked the Ministry along with other Czech ministries, the Parliament and top sports organizations to use the name *Czechia* in appropriate English contexts. Some institutions answered in the sense that they "had nothing against the name Czechia". Nevertheless, they have not used it and have consistently used the political name *Czech Republic* in improper contexts.⁷

Failure to use and promote the English short name Czechia by state institutions and by Czech politicians has contributed to the spread of the improper and semantically incorrect name *Czech* as a short name for the Czech Republic. The word Czech is an adjective, an indication of a person of that nationality, a name of a language, but not a country name. Nevertheless, Czech as a country name has been used both abroad and in Czechia, which clearly demonstrates that there is an urgent need for a proper short name in addition to the long political name the Czech Republic. However, it needs to be correct, in all the above mentioned respects. Czech as a country name can be seen on Czech souvenirs (T-shirts, caps) sold in Prague and other Czech cities, in the names and trademarks of some companies (e.g. Brewed in Plzeň Czech, A-Company Czech – Hyundai Manufacturing Czech, Partners Czech etc.), and on the jerseys of Czech athletes. And Czech as a country name has slowly been making its way into official events. For example, during the August 2014 meeting of Czech and Chinese professionals and businessmen in Prague, the Czech Secretary of Foreign Affairs Mr. Zaorálek gave a speech in front of a poster reading CZECH CHINA (which can be translated as "Czech porcelain"), with a minor inscription underneath: CHAMBER OF COLLABORATION.

9. Activities to promote the adoption of *Czechia* as a short country name

The Civic Initiative Česko/Czechia has attempted to counterbalance the danger of spreading Czech as a short country name in English by promoting the correct short country name Czechia in a similar way they have promoted the proper short name Cesko in Czech. For example, they have contacted various companies and organizations that use Czech or Czech Republic in their names or presentations and explained the advantages of using Czechia instead; they have spoken on radio and television, they have written articles for various newspapers and journals. In all these different contexts they have continued to explain the importance and advantages of using the names *Česko* and *Czechia* in proper contexts. As a result, the usage of the name Czechia has started to increase. Some companies use it in their names, logos or on their webpages (for examples see the References), some events put the name Czechia in their title (for examples see the References), and jerseys, sweatshirts, caps and stickers with the inscription *Czechia* have become available.

Czechia can be increasingly found in scientific papers (for examples see the References) and geographic publications, e.g. collection of articles *Geography in Czechia and Slovakia*, published in Brno in 2008. Several geography textbooks published in the United States have used *Czechia*. Alexander Murphy (Murphy 2008) explains in the *Preface* to his *The European culture area: a systematic geography*:

As for the names of independent countries, we have opted for commonly used anglicized short forms rather than formal country names (*Germany* instead of *Federal Republic* of *Germany* or *Bundesrepublik Deutschland*). The one case that might be less familiar to readers concerns the Czech Republic. Increasingly one hears the short form *Czechia*. Even though that name is not as widely known as other truncations (e.g., *Slovakia* for the Slovak Republic), we have decided to use *Czechia* for consistency and to reflect its growing use in the country itself.

Terry G. Jordan-Bychkov (Jordan-Bychkov 2001), the original author of *The European Culture Area*, used *Czechia* in the successive editions of his textbook since the early 1990s. Similarly, several atlases have used *Czechia* (e.g. Figure 9: Allen, Sutton 2012).

It is important to mention that not all Czech politicians have been against using *Czechia*. For example, Mr. Vladimír Železný, a former member of the European Parliament and a former director of the NOVA TV station, has consistently promoted the usage of *Česko* and *Czechia*. On 11 May 2004, the 7th Public Hearing

⁷ Only the Czech Nomenclative Committee announced that when asked by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about their opinion of the short country name *Czechia* they expressed their unchanged persuasion of its regularity.



Fig. 9 The Middle-European Region as depicted in the newest edition of the Student Atlas of World Politics.

of the Senate of the Czech Republic was held on senator Jaroslav Šula's initiative to promote the names Česko and Czechia. During the hearing, the speakers, mostly members of the Civic Initiative Česko/Czechia, explained the importance of using the short name Czechia in proper situations in addition to the Czech Republic. The Czech President Mr. Zeman used Czechia in several speeches delivered in English. In October 2013, Mr. Zeman publicly supported the name Czechia during his visit to Israel in the reaction to its use by his host Mr. Peres. A backlash in the Czech media suggested that Czech journalists have failed to comprehend the core of the problem by arguing that the president wanted to change the country name from the Czech Republic to Czechia. For example, the title on the Czech web search platform Seznam read: "Let's say Czechia, not Czech Republic, suggested Zeman in Israel". Or the title in Blesk.cz read: "Zeman outraged and surprised: Czechia should be better than the Czech Republic". Something similar appeared in iDNES.cz: "Let's shorten the name of our country to Czechia, appealed Zeman in Israel". Seznam, a Czech media server, asked its readers "How should the Czech Republic be called in English?" Readers were given two choices: the Czech Republic or Czechia. Not surprisingly, the vast majority of readers chose the Czech Republic (82%), which they are much more familiar with. Generally, most journalists fail to understand that the question is not about changing the country name or choosing between the Czech Republic or Czechia but that the Czech Republic and Czechia would coexist and be used in different situations as political and short country names coexist in the vast majority of other countries (for the on-line sources of the above mentioned information see the References). The Language Advisory Center in Prague provided a more sober opinion: "According to experts, Czechia is a suitable one-word name for our country".

Despite these expert opinions, *Czechia* continues to be rejected regardless of the obvious need for a short country name. For example, there was a serious discussion and concrete efforts to reestablish the old trademark *Made in Czechoslovakia* for Czech export products because *Made in Czech Republic* is not recognized around the world. Rather than building a new brand *Made in Czechia*, some Czech businessmen would be willing to use the name of a country that ceased to exist more than twenty years ago.

Members of the Civic Initiative Česko/Czechia have written many articles for the traditional as well as the on-line press, established a web page and Facebook profile, where they provide the information and explanation about the term *Czechia*. They have been less successful in spreading *Czechia* through Wikipedia since administrators immediately delete each reference to *Czechia*. Anyone who wants to find any information about *Czechia* on Wikipedia is redirected to the *Czech Republic* where a reader gets the following information:

Following the dissolution of Czechoslovakia at the end of 1992, the Czech part of the former nation found itself without a common single-word name in English. In 1993, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested the name Czechia [$t/\varepsilon kia$] (Česko Czech pronunciation: [$t/\varepsilon sko$] in Czech) as an official alternative in all situations other than formal official documents and the full names of government institutions; however, this has not become widespread in English.

There is a footnote referring to the article Czech out the proposed name, which only contains subjective one-sided anti-Czechia arguments. Therefore, the only information English speakers find about Czechia on Wikipedia is that it is not being used. However, in the Czech Wikipedia, *Česko* is being used because the Czech Wikipedia community voted in its favor. This suggests the acceptance of *Česko* by young Czechs. The fact that *Czechia* has not been standardized in important international manuals allows the Czech administrators to block any information on Czechia in English Wikipedia. This situation is likely to change only when *Czechia* will be included in the UNGEGN World Geographical Names – Names of States and Their Territorial Parts, in the ISO Norm and Collection of Country Codes as a short geographical name of the Czech Republic.

10. Conclusion

There is no rational argument against the usage of the name *Czechia*, as there had not been one against *Česko*.

Both *Česko* and *Czechia* are old and in all respects correct short country names in Czech and English for the Czech Republic. Both languages prefer economy in phrasing and tend to maximize brevity and, therefore, in the long run it is unsustainable to use long political names *Česká republika / Czech Republic* in common contexts and everyday speech. It is incorrect to use the name *Czech Republic* for the Czech-speaking territory for the period before 1993 when it did not exist (however it happens; for examples see the References).

Although the Czech population has gradually accepted the name Česko, the English name Czechia has not been accepted either in Czechia or abroad. A desperate effort to find an English short name for the Czech-speaking territory can be seen in the attempt to renew the trademark *Made in Czechoslovakia* or in the tendency to use the adjective Czech as a country name. Resistance to Česko and Czechia has mainly been based on emotions. Nevertheless, emotional arguments should be left to poets and playwrights, whereas politicians, scientists, journalists and managers should use common sense.

Acknowledgements

This paper has been compiled on the basis of a grant by the Czech Science Foundation No. P406/11/1786 Slovník nářečí českého jazyka (Dictionary of Czech Dialects).

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RESUMÉ

K vývoji názvů českého teritoria a postojů k nim

Článek pojednává o vývoji názvů pro území obývané příslušníky českého národa od r. 1918 (s krátkým exkursem do vzdálenější historie) a zaměřuje se především na krátké, zeměpisné jméno a postoje k němu, jak se odrážejí v tisku, politice, ekonomice, vědě, na sociálních sítích a v dalších oblastech veřejného života. Z tohoto hlediska je pojednáno období Československa (1918–1992) a samostatného českého státu (1993–). Je analyzována diskuse o jméně Česko a jeho anglickém ekvivalentu *Czechia*. V článku jsou objasněny důvody pro užívání krátkých jmen Česko a *Czechia* v kontextech, které ho vyžadují, a poukazuje se na neudržitelnost dvouslovných politických jmen v těchto kontextech a na příčiny a důsledky neznalosti, a tudíž neužívání anglického jména *Czechia*.

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