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The Czech-Speaking Lands, their Peoples and Contact Communities: Titles, Names and Ethnonyms

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Introduction

The study of the names of people and places, or onomastics, has an importance in Czech scholarship which is unparalleled in much of the English-speaking world.¹ As an academic discipline, it has its origins in the nineteenth-century Czech National Revival and is closely associated with František Palacký (1798–1876). Although now increasingly regarded as a branch of linguistics, onomastics has broader historical, political, geographic, ethnographic and anthropological dimensions which ensure a more general appeal outside the confines of university linguistics departments. The Czechs' enduring interest in toponyms and anthroponyms, which is attributable in the post-war era largely to the work of linguists such as Antonín Profous, Ladislav Hošák, Ivan Lutterer, Rudolf Šrámek and especially, perhaps, Vladimír Šmilauer,² reflects an awareness of the role of place names in national and regional self-identity, and is linked to a widespread appreciation of dialectal and morphological variation. Not only is the study of the meaning and origin of proper names felt to be intrinsically worthwhile, but the heavily-inflected nature of Czech contributes to a degree of

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¹ For a useful overview of the subject, see Milan Harvalík, *Synchronní a diachronní aspekty české onymie*, Prague, 2004.

² See, for example, Vladimír Šmilauer, *Úvod do toponomastiky*, Prague, 1966, and Ivan Lutterer, Milan Majtán and Rudolf Šrámek, *Zeměpisná jména Československa*, Prague, 1982.

debate about grammar and usage that is unfamiliar to speakers of more analytical languages, such as English.³ Perhaps inevitably, the focus of much of the discussion has been on localized forms, ranging from the names of minor landmarks to the names of villages, hamlets and streets. Onomastics, however, is not confined to the study of small-scale geophysical or socio-cultural phenomena, but equally relates to the designations of towns, cities or states and their inhabitants, including *Česká Lípa* (German *Böhmisch Leipa*) and *Uher(ka/kyně)* and *Mad'ar(ka)* (Hungarian).⁴ This article is concerned largely with the latter, especially the ethnonyms (exonyms and endonyms) used of and by the Czech-speaking peoples (as well as of and by contact communities), and the terms applied to the lands that they inhabit and the languages they speak.

Well before the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, scholars and statesmen were occupied by the question of the most appropriate descriptors for Czech and Slovak speakers, and for the territories where they lived. Under the Habsburg Monarchy (1526–1867) and Austria-Hungary (1867–1918), the Bohemians and Moravians were, to varying degrees, separated from each other administratively, but they remained united by a common language, whose name was derived from just one of the two ‘ethnic’ groups: *český jazyk* or *čeština* (Czech) < *Češi* (the Bohemians). As Spal has observed, the origin of *Čech* (Bohemian) is far from clear, but amongst the more plausible explanations is that it has the root *čel*, as in *čeled'* (family), and also *člověk* (person).⁵ According to Sláma, the earliest acknowledged reference to Czechs is in the tenth-century first Old Slavonic Legend of St Wenceslas, where it occurs in the phrase *česki muži* (Czech men), although it only gained general currency a few centuries later.⁶

Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829), in his study *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur* (History of the Bohemian Language and Literature, 1818), identified five main ‘dialects’ of the ‘Slavonic language’ — Russian, Polish, Illyrian, Croatian and Czech — the last of which included *moravština* (Moravian), *slezština* (Silesian) and *slovenština*

³ See, for example, Ladislav Hošák and Rudolf Šrámek, *Místní jména na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, vol. 1 (A–L) and vol. 2 (M–Ž), Prague, 1970 and 1980, and Alena Polívková, *Naše místní jména a jak jich užívat*, Prague, 2007.

⁴ In order to save space, feminine forms are largely omitted hereafter.

⁵ Jaromír Spal, ‘Původ jména Čech’, *Naše řeč*, 36, 1953, 9–10, pp. 263–67. See also, Josef Holub, *Stručný slovník etymologický jazyka československého*, Prague, 1937, p. 32; Vladimír Mates, *Jména tajemství zbavená*, Prague, 2002, p. 40, and Jiří Rejzek, *Český etymologický slovník*, Prague, 2001, pp. 112–13.

⁶ See Jiří Sláma, ‘Boiohaemum–Čechy’, in Mikuláš Teich (ed.), *Bohemia in History*, Cambridge, 1998, pp. 23–38 (p. 37).

(Slovak).⁷ In the absence of a suitable generic term for all Czech speakers, the noun *Slované* (Slavs) was sometimes preferred to *Češi* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it tended to denote a particular type of patriotic, ‘nationally’ conscious Bohemian or Moravian (in contradistinction to a German-inclined Czech). *Slované* has been used more frequently and more recently in relation to Slovak speakers, not least because Slovak identity has traditionally been defined in terms of their broader Slavonic linguistic and cultural heritage. The inconsistency and overlap in the use of *Slované* and *Slováci* is discussed in detail by Robert Pynsent, with particular reference to the writings of Jan Kollár (1793–1852).⁸ It is also illustrated by the first version of the all-Slavonic anthem *Hej, Slované* (Hey, Slavs), which originally appeared under the title *Hej, Slováci* in 1834.⁹ Karel Havlíček (1821–56), in a series of articles titled ‘Slovan a Čech’ (Slav and Czech), rejected Kollár’s pan-Slavism, and advocated the development of *austroslavismus* (Austro-Slavism), which broadly supported closer cooperation between Slavs under the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁰ For much of his life, Palacký embraced the notion of Austro-Slavism as a means of furthering the cause of a federalist state, in opposition to the creation of a *Gross-Deutschland* (that is, Germany, the Austrian lands, Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia), and even defined the essence of Czech history in terms of its conflict with Germandom.¹¹ He himself increasingly used the nominal and adjectival forms *Slovan* and *slovanský* in the contemporary sense of ‘Slav(onic)’, although he also employed *Čechoslovan/českoslovanský* (Czechoslav), as against the more modern equivalents *Čechoslovák/československý* (Czechoslovak).¹² The alternative adjectival form, *čechoslovanský*, was likewise quite widely adopted by other nineteenth-century scholars, and is included, for example, in Jungmann’s seminal Czech-German Dictionary, *Slowník českoněmecký*.¹³ The noun *Čechoslované*

⁷ See Derek Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*, Princeton, NJ, 1998, p. 75. Except in book titles, the modern spelling with a ‘v’ (rather than a ‘w’) is used throughout this article in words such as *slovenština*.

⁸ See Robert Pynsent, ‘The Myths of Slavness: Pavel Josef Šafařík and Jan Kollár’, in *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality*, London, 1994, pp. 43–99 (pp. 60–65).

⁹ *Hej, Slováci* was adopted as the Slovak national anthem between 1939 and 1945, and is still regarded by some Slovaks as an unofficial second anthem.

¹⁰ Published in *Pražské noviny*, February–May 1846. See S. E. Mann, ‘Karel Havlíček: A Slav Pragmatist’, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 39, 1961, 93, pp. 413–22.

¹¹ See Hugh Lecaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Stanford, CA, 2004, p. 113.

¹² See, for example, František Palacký, ‘Rozbor etymologický místních jmen českoslovanských’, *Časopis českého muzea*, 8, 1834, 4, pp. 404–19, and Igor Němec, ‘Z historie slov československý a Čechoslováci’, *Naše řeč*, 74, 1991, 1, pp. 16–21.

¹³ Josef Jungmann, *Slowník českoněmecký* (5 vols), vol. 1, 1835–39, p. 269 <<http://www.slownjk.cz/>> [accessed 5 November 2010].

(Czechoslavs) is cited in the authoritative Czech encyclopaedia *Ottův slovník naučný* (1888–1909) (under the lemma *Slované*) as the headword for *Čechové* (Czechs/Bohemians), *Moravané* (Moravians), *Slezáci* (Silesians) and *Slováci* (Slovaks),¹⁴ while *československý* is found in the title of the Czech and Slavonic Ethnographic Exhibition (*Národopisná výstava československá*), held in 1895. Historically, *Slovan* has tended to have neutral or positive associations for Czechs and Slovaks, whereas the German form *Schlawiner*, previously applied to artful hawkers from Slovenia, is still known in the sense of a ‘rogue’.¹⁵

The debate about the name of the territories occupied by Czech speakers has continued since 1918, with Slovak objections to the unhyphenated version *Československo* (Czechoslovakia) prior to 1989, Czech and Slovak disagreement over the official titles of the country in the early 1990s, and divisions amongst Czechs over the codified short form *Česko* (officially translated as *Czechia*) since 1993. The scope for ironic misinterpretation offered by the title of the Czech national anthem, *Kde domov můj?* (Where is My Home?), which refers merely to *země česká* (the ‘Czech’ land), has not gone unnoticed by Czech speakers since the piece was first performed in public in 1834. Nowadays, many linguists accept that the ‘political’ title, *Česká republika* (Czech Republic), is too formal for everyday usage, but the approved single-word ‘geographical’ variant, *Česko*, has yet to gain universal recognition in spoken Czech, despite its prevalence in the media, the education system and innumerable official publications.¹⁶ In the two most comprehensive spoken corpora, *ČNK – ORAL2006* and *ORAL2008*, there are twenty-seven occurrences of *Česká republika*, but just nine of *Česko*, while the much larger balanced reference corpus of written Czech, *ČNK – SYN2010*, cites *Česká republika* nearly 14,500 times and *Česko* almost 17,500 times.¹⁷

The first half of this study offers an historical overview of the geographical and linguistic identity of the Czechs, and of the changing official and unofficial titles of the lands inhabited by autochthonous

¹⁴ *Ottův slovník naučný. Ilustrovaná encyklopedie obecných vědomostí* (28 vols), vol. 23, Schlossar-Starowolski, Prague, 1905, p. 429. *Čechové* has now been largely replaced by *Češi*, but it is still used for stylistic effect. *Slezáci* has given way to *Slezané*, although it is found in dialect.

¹⁵ See Pavel Eisner, *Chrám i torz*, Prague, 1992, p. 191.

¹⁶ Analysis of usage in the daily newspapers *Lidové noviny*, *Mladá fronta Dnes*, *Právo* and *Hospodářské noviny* shows that, by 2003, *Česko* had become more common than both *Česká republika* and *ČR*. See Václav Cvrček, ‘Kdy se z ČR stalo Česko?’, *blog.aktuálně.cz*, 3 March 2010 <<http://blog.aktuálně.centrum.cz/blogy/vaclav-cvrcek.php?itemid=9115>> [accessed 16 November 2010].

¹⁷ See *Český národní korpus*, Prague, 2000–10 <<http://ucnk.ff.cuni.cz>>. The figures include forms in all cases, and versions containing incorrect use of capitals. *ORAL2006* and *ORAL2008* each comprise one million words, whereas *SYN 2010* comprises 100 million words.

Czech and Slovak speakers, with a particular focus on ethnolinguistic considerations. It reflects in detail on the alternative titles employed in the past for the Czech- and Slovak-speaking territories, the semantic nuances and socio-political implications of the forms adopted, the glossonyms applied to Czech and Slovak, and the designation of nationwide organizations since 1993. The related matter of language use and self-perception is likewise touched upon, in the light of two nationwide surveys conducted on my behalf by the Public Opinion Research Centre of the Institute of Sociology (CVVM) of the Czech Academy of Sciences: henceforth, ‘Attitudes’ and ‘The Czechs and Slovak’.¹⁸ The second half of the article addresses in depth questions of national and ethnic identity, and considers numerous colloquial and pejorative epithets applied to and by the Bohemians, Moravians and Silesians, both in the past and today. It also looks at Czech perceptions of major contact communities, and vice versa, and broadly concurs with Havlík’s division of ‘foreign’ into ‘unproblematic’ (especially near neighbours, West Europeans, Americans and other peoples from developed capitalist economies) and ‘problematic’ (including former inhabitants of the ex-USSR, people from the Far East and Roma, who hail mainly from Slovakia).¹⁹ While surveys suggest that xenophobia is less of a problem in the Czech Republic than in most ex-Communist countries, and is currently declining overall,²⁰ the Czech lexicon still testifies to its formerly prescriptive concept of belonging, based on historical territorial claims and shared linguistic, cultural and ‘patriotic’ values. Moreover, it continues to adopt derogatory terms for outsiders, particularly non-Western immigrants, such as *bambus/bambusák* (‘bamboo person’) for south-east Asians. The final section of the article cites a series of expressions relating to the notions of ‘us’ and ‘them’, which further illustrate the well-established dichotomy between Czech and non-Czech.

Reference is made to a wide range of sources, including academic publications, lexicographical works, Czech- and English-language

¹⁸ See Tom Dickins, ‘Postoje k výpůjčkám v soudobé češtině’, *Naše společnost*, 6, 2008, 1, pp. 14–28; *Attitudes to Lexical Borrowing in the Czech Republic*, Liberec, 2009, and ‘Češi a slovenština’, *Naše společnost*, 7, 2009, 1, pp. 12–26.

¹⁹ Radomír Havlík, ‘Postoje k cizincům a menšinám ve světle sociologického výzkumu’, *Paideia: Philosophical E-Journal of Charles University*, 4, 2007, 1–2, pp. 1–8 (pp. 2–3) <<http://userweb.pedf.cuni.cz/paideia/download/havlik.pdf>> [accessed 20 November 2010]. Note that erstwhile ‘problematic’ foreigners, such as Germans and Hungarians, are now squarely in the ‘unproblematic’ camp.

²⁰ See Ivan Gabal, ‘Analýza postavení cizinců dlouhodobě žijících v ČR a návrh optimalizačních kroků’, *Ivan Gabal Analysis & Consulting*, October 2004, pp. 1–25 <http://www.mpsv.cz/files/clanky/511/postaveni_cizincu.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010], and Aleš Burjanek, ‘Xenofobie po česku – jak si stojíme mezi Evropany?’, *Sociální studia*, 6, 2001, pp. 73–89.

corpora, and quantitative empirical data. Although the available scholarship may be extensive and authoritative, it is diffuse, it focuses mainly on standard usage, and it is predominantly written in Czech and German. Moreover, some of it has an overtly polemical character, and overlooks or dismisses too readily important questions relating to naming practices. Particular areas which merit further attention include the nature of the Slovaks' grievances over the terms *Československo* and *československý* (Czechoslovak), the semantic range of *Čech*, *Čechy* (Bohemia) and *český* (Bohemian/Czech), the scope and connotations of colloquial endonyms, such as *Čecháček* (small-minded Czech), and the problems posed by the short forms for *Česká republika* in Czech and other languages.

Changing geographical identities

The history of the Czech-speaking lands prior to 1918 has been thoroughly documented in English, but a summary of the relevant details is required here to contextualize the current discussion.²¹ Suffice it to say, close linguistic and cultural links between Moravia and Bohemia date back to the ninth century (notwithstanding disruptions in their relations between the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century), although the role of Moravia was not seen as integral to Czech historiography until the mid-nineteenth century. The switch from a Bohemian-focused approach to one which fully embraced Moravia was largely attributable to Palacký, and occurred during the writing of his five-volume history of Bohemia, *Geschichte von Böhmen* (1836–67).²² More recently, Czech mythopoeia has prioritized several periods which serve both to justify the existence of the nation state and to legitimize the authority of the Czech-speaking majority. Special significance has been accorded to the Great Moravian Empire (*Velkomoravská říše*) (from 833 to 906); the Golden Age of the Kingdom of Bohemia (*České království*) — central among the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (*země Koruny české*) under Charles IV (1346–78), and crucial to Czech territorial claims after the Dark Ages (*období temna*) (from 1620 to around the 1770s); the Hussite movement in the first half of the fifteenth century; the Battle of the White Mountain (1620); the National Revival in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, and the struggles of the Czechoslovak Legions in the Great War. Hroch has

²¹ The earliest substantial studies to appear in English were Robert H. Vickers, *History of Bohemia*, Chicago, IL, 1894, and Count Francis Lutzow, *Bohemia: An Historical Sketch*, London, 1896.

²² Palacký's change in emphasis is reflected in the title of his Czech translation of his work: *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě* (History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia), Prague, 1848–76 (4 vols).

identified three phases in the National Revival: the period of scholarly activity in the second half of the eighteenth century (Phase A in his schema), the period of patriotic agitation (which was impeded by the policies of the Austrian state) in the first half of the nineteenth century (Phase B), and the rise of a mass national movement in the second half of the nineteenth century (Phase C).²³ At no point before, during or after the National Revival have Czech scholars felt a strong need to distinguish between 'Czech' and 'Bohemian', whether writing in Czech or Latin, as illustrated, inter alia, by the titles of early grammars, including *De Orthographia Bohemica* (Jan Hus, 1410), *Gramatika česká* (Beneš Optát, 1533) and *Lima linguae Bohemicae. To jest: brus jazyka českého* (Jiří Konstanc, 1660). Between 1915 and 1917, Tomáš Masaryk (Czechoslovakia's first president) in exile used the problematic designation *Nezávislé Čechy* (Independent Bohemia) to describe the future state, which in his mind included not only Moravians but also Slovaks.²⁴

In other European languages, the term *Bohemia(n)*, in its broader sense relating to the historic Czech-speaking territories, has now largely been replaced by *Czech*. The change began mainly in the nineteenth century, but usage was not standardized until well into the twentieth century. The situation in German was particularly complex, as documented, for example, by Beer and, more recently, Berger.²⁵ In *Slowník českoněmecký*, the lemma *Čechy* is simply 'defined' as 'země Česká, Böhmen [*Bohemia*], das Land, Böhheim [*Bohemia* (Middle High German)]'.²⁶ The forms *czechisch*, *čechisch*, *cechisch* and *cžechisch* are all recorded in early to mid-nineteenth-century texts, although they did not represent the norm, and were sometimes semantically restricted to supporters of the national movement.²⁷ The popularity of *čechisch* and so forth increased in the German press after the revolution of 1848, but the term was rejected by the Upper Chamber of the Bohemian Diet in 1861, with the approval of Palacký. It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that German began readily to embrace *čechisch*, *čecho-slawisch* and the like, which increasingly gave way to the spelling

²³ Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe*, Cambridge, 1985, p. 61.

²⁴ See Libuše Čižmarová, 'K peripetiím vývoje názvů našeho státu a postojů k nim od roku 1918. Příspěvek k 80. výročí vzniku Československé republiky', *Naše řeč*, 82, 1999, 1, pp. 1–15 (p. 2).

²⁵ See, Antonín Beer, *K dějinám slova böhmisch a čechisch*, Prague, 1917, and Tilman Berger, 'Böhmisch oder Tschechisch? Der Streit über die adäquate Benennung der Landessprache der böhmischen Länder zu Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts', no date <<http://homepages.uni-tuebingen.de/tilman.berger/Publikationen/Regensburg05.pdf>> [accessed 8 October 2009].

²⁶ *Slowník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 269.

²⁷ Publications using the term 'čechisch' included František Jan Tomsa, *Über die Aussprache der čechischen Buchstaben, Sylben und Wörter: Nebst Leseübungen*, Prague, 1801.

tschechisch. In French, the need for a neutral exonym was accentuated by the fact that by the seventeenth century *bohémien* had become established in the sense of a ‘nomad’ (and more specifically a ‘Gypsy’, based on the belief that the Gypsies came from Bohemia [*la Bohême*]). The form *czech* is recorded in the seventeenth-century French lexicon, but it did not gain wider currency, as *tchèque*, until the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁸ The French expression *bohémien* gave rise to *bohém/bohémský* and so forth in Czech, as well as *bohemian* (with a small ‘b’) in English, and similar forms in other European languages, but these terms bear little semantic relation to their etymon. In English, *Czech* can similarly be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century, although usage and spelling were unsystematic, and as late as the 1930s textbooks continued to employ *Bohemian*, sometimes in conjunction with *Čech* or *Czech*.²⁹ Seton-Watson refers to the problems associated, prior to the declaration of Czechoslovak independence, with the English terms *Czech* and *Bohemian*, and highlights the deliberations involved in the naming of the ‘Anglo-Czech Committee’.³⁰ Short mentions the forms *Tschechi*, *Žechians*, *Tshekh*, *Tsekh* (from the *Oxford English Dictionary On-Line*), and *Čech* and *Chekh* (found in the first English-language grammar of Czech), as well as the American colloquialism *Cheskey*, and the adjectival variants *Czechian*, *Czechic*, *Czechish* and *Cheskian* (used in Bowring’s early literary study). He also cites the derivatives *Czechize* and *Czechization*, which relate to the de-austrianization of Czechoslovakia in the inter-war period.³¹

Czech did adopt some derivatives of the old Czech form *Bohémie*, from Latin *Boiohaemum* (the home of the Celtic Boii) (cf. *Böheim/Beheim*, whence also *Bayern*), such as *bohemista* (Czech scholar) (cf. *češtinář*) and *bohemitika* (Czech studies).³² However, with the notable exception of *bohemismus* (which tends to denote a Bohemianism, in contradistinction to *moravismus* [a Moravianism]), these derivatives usually embrace

²⁸ See, for example, Renata Listikova, ‘L’image de la Bohême et des tchèques dans les lettres françaises, XVe–XIXe siècles’, *Revue des études slaves*, 78, 2007, 4, pp. 475–81, and Paul Bataillard, ‘Sur les derniers travaux relatifs aux Bohémiens dans l’Europe orientale’, *Bulletins de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 7, 1872, pp. 748–55.

²⁹ See, for example, Jaroslav Nigrin, *Bohemian Grammar (Bohemian Made Easy)*, Chicago, IL, 1918, and Bohumil E. Mikula, *Progressive Czech (Bohemian)*, Chicago, IL, 1936.

³⁰ R. W. Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*, Cambridge, 1943, pp. 60–61.

³¹ David Short, ‘The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon’, *Central Europe*, 1, 2003, 1, pp. 19–39 (pp. 33–34). See also W. R. Morfill, *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Čech Language*, Oxford, 1899, ‘Introduction’ (p. v, n. 1), and John Bowring, *Wýbor z básnictví českého – Cheskian Anthology: Being a History of the Poetical Literature of Bohemia, with Translated Specimens*, London, 1832.

³² For further information on the word ‘Bohemia’, see Josef Holub and Stanislav Lyer, *Stručný etymologický slovník jazyka českého se zvláštním zřetelem k slovům kulturním a cizím*, Prague, 1978, pp. 101–02.

Moravian and Silesian realities. This strong sense of linguistic and ethnic affiliation to the whole is in contrast to the German sense of *Böhmerland/Böhmen* (Bohemia), *böhmisch* (pertaining to the territory of Bohemia) and *Böhme* (an inhabitant of Bohemia), which have traditionally referred to geographical location.³³ In the eighteenth century, some scholars observed a distinction between people of Czech origin and German Czechs, whom they referred to as *Stockböhmern* (true-born Czechs) and *Deutschböhmern* (*Čechoněmci/čeští Němci*), respectively, but these phrases became increasingly redundant.³⁴ The term *bohemismus* in Czech was sometimes also employed in the first half of the nineteenth century to connote *Landespatritismus* or, more precisely, the shared loyalty of the Czech and German burghers and nobles to the historic lands of Bohemia. Palacký, in the spirit of earlier Revivalists, such as Josef Jungmann (1773–1847), interpreted *bohemismus* as an expression of commitment to the concept of a revitalized Bohemian kingdom, with a legacy pre-dating 1620. The Awakeners increasingly saw the Czechs as an ethno-cultural entity, broadly compatible with Friedrich Meinecke's later definition of a *Kulturnation*, in which the development of language was central to the process of 'national' renewal.³⁵ In Macura's words, 'Language helped to re-define the notion of the country, the "fatherland" as a community of Czech-speaking people and the land they inhabit, the notion of the "nation" which was then strictly limited to users of the Czech tongue'.³⁶ Bernard Bolzano (1781–1848), on the other hand, conceived the Bohemian territorial nation differently, as a single (Czech/German) spiritual entity, which formed part of an ill-defined, multilingual greater German cultural nation.³⁷ By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Czechs had largely come to monopolize Bohemian identity, with the result that the *Deutschböhmern* increasingly embraced the idea of a *Gross-Deutschland*.³⁸ The very term *česká vlast* (Bohemian homeland) was inextricably linked in the minds of the Czech Revivalists to notions of proprietorial rights and 'national'

³³ Böhm and its derivatives remain fixed in Czech in people's surnames. See *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 28–30, and Dobrava Moldanova, *Naše příjmení*, Prague, 1983.

³⁴ See Mikuláš Teich, 'Introduction', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 1–22 (p. 19, n. 12).

³⁵ See Ladislav Holy, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 49–50.

³⁶ Vladimír Macura, 'Problems and Paradoxes of the National Revival', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 182–97 (p. 188).

³⁷ See, for example, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, p. 110, and *The Coasts of Bohemia*, pp. 57–62.

³⁸ See Elizabeth Bakke, 'Doomed to failure? The Czechoslovak nation project and the Slovak autonomist reaction 1918–38', PhD dissertation, University of Oslo, 18 June 1999, p. 108 <http://folk.uio.no/stvebi/Doomed_to_failure_links.html> [accessed 16 June 2009].

pride, as reflected in the cognates *vlastnictví* (ownership), *vlastenec* (patriot) and *vlastenectví* (patriotism).³⁹

Despite the cultural and linguistic affinities between Bohemia and Moravia, the historic differences between the two lands and the self-identities of their peoples should not be understated. For example, as Macek has pointed out, between 1471 and 1526 executive power in Bohemia lay in the hands of the Bohemian Diet, whereas the estates in Moravia enjoyed a significant degree of political autonomy.⁴⁰ Even when the Margraviate of Moravia was under Habsburg rule (as part of the remaining territories of Austrian Silesia from the middle of the eighteenth century), there was a degree of suspicion amongst Moravians towards Bohemia. Moravians at the Pan-Slav Congress (2–10 June 1848) were explicit that their province should maintain its independence.⁴¹ Following the failure of the 1848 Revolution to establish a common diet for the two peoples, from 1867 both Moravia and Bohemia pursued broadly similar objectives within Austria-Hungary.

The adjective *český* is nowadays largely unproblematic, but as Elizabeth Bakke has pointed out, it originally had at least three meanings: ‘*Geographically* it referred to Bohemia (Čechy) as opposed to Moravia, *politically* to the lands of the Czech [*sic*] crown (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia — sometimes also Lusatia), and *culturally* to the Czech nation.’⁴² In cultural terms, it is much harder to state what is uniquely Bohemian than what is specifically Moravian. With the exception of a handful of traditional dialects (especially in and around Pilsen) and a few foods and drinks, such as *kuba* (mashed barley and mushrooms) and possibly *becherovka* (Becher’s liqueur), there is little which obviously differentiates ‘Bohemian’ from ‘Czech’, whereas Moravian identity is distinguished from ‘Bohemian’ by a range of cultural phenomena, including the existence of numerous dialects, folk customs and song, the scale of the production and consumption of wines and spirits, and (particularly in eastern Moravia) religious observance. It would appear, however, that at a deeper psychological level Bohemians retain a reasonably strong sense of what constitutes their regional identity, as manifest in a series of well-recognized stereotypes. According to perception tests, the Bohemians highlight amongst their positive traits their hard work, dexterity, likeableness and rationalism, while the Moravians focus on their hospitality, kind-heartedness,

³⁹ See *The Coasts of Bohemia*, p. 57; *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 65, and Josef Petráň and Lydia Petráňová, ‘The White Mountain as a Symbol in Modern Czech History’, in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 143–63 (p. 144).

⁴⁰ Josef Macek, ‘The Monarchy of the Estates’, in *ibid.*, pp. 98–116 (p. 103).

⁴¹ See Stanley Z. Pech, *The Czech Revolution of 1848*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1969, p. 137.

⁴² ‘Doomed to failure?’, p. 135.

pleasantness and adherence to traditions. Both peoples see themselves as intelligent, humorous and sociable, and both agree that the Moravians are hospitable and wed to tradition, whereas the Bohemians are more calculating and affluent.⁴³

The geographical and historical connections between *český* and 'Bohemian' are inevitably more readily discernible than the cultural associations. Jungmann's entry for *český* includes reference to 'böhmisch', 'bohemicus', 'Bohemia' and 'Böhmen'.⁴⁴ Perhaps even more worthy of note is the entry in the dictionary *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého* (hereafter, *SSJČ*), which highlights the extent to which *český* retains its associations with 'Bohemian' in a number of common collocations:⁴⁵

český příd. (2. st. češtější) *k Čech, Čechy*: č. národ, jazyk, lid; česká země, vlast, literatura, píseň; nejčeštější básník; č. král; č. lev; č-á kuchyně; č-á husa; č-é sklo; č-á oliva *hlošina* (bot.); č-é země *Čechy a Morava*; č. Němec *pocházející z Čech*; Č-á filharmonie; Č-é vysoké učení technické; hist. země koruny č-é; Království č-é; země Č-á; č-á konfese; čeští bratři; zeměp. Č. les; Č. raj; Č-á Třebová; Č-é Budějovice; Č-é středohoří; miner. č. granát; bot. křivatec č.; ♦ mluvíte po česku *česky*, přen. ob. *srozumitelně*; → přísl. **česky**: mluvit č.; č. smýšlet *v českém duchu*; → podst. **českost**, -i ž. *český raz*: ryzí č.; Nerudova č.; č. Smetanovy hudby

český adj. (comp. češtější) < *Čech, Čechy*: Cz. nation, language, people; Czech land, native country, literature, song; the most Czech poet; Bohemian king / King of Bohemia; Bohemian lion;⁴⁶ Cz. cuisine; Cz. goose; Bohemian glass; *Elaeagnus angustifolia* [literally: Cz. olive] *oleaster* (bot.);⁴⁷ Cz. Lands⁴⁸ *Bohemia and Moravia*; Cz. German *emanating from Bohemia*; Cz. Philharmonic (Orchestra); Cz. Polytechnic (Institute); hist. Lands of the Bohemian Crown; Kingdom of Bohemia; Bohemian Land; Confessio Bohemica;⁴⁹ Cz. Brethren / Bohemian Brethren; geogr. Český les (German: Böhmischer Wald);⁵⁰ Český raj (German: Böhmisches

⁴³ See, for example, Alice Kupčková, Jiří Seidl and Ivana Svobodová, *iDNES.CZ*, 'Průzkum potvrdil, že se Češi a Moravané liší', 26 November 2005 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/pruzkum-potvrdil-ze-se-cesi-a-moravane-lisi-fep-/domaci.asp?c=A051125_212901_domaci_pat> [accessed 27 August 2009].

⁴⁴ *Slovník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 289.

⁴⁵ Bohuslav Havránek et al., *Slovník spisovného jazyka českého*, vol. 1, A–G, Prague, 1989, p. 252 (8 vols) (reprint of first edition, published in 4 volumes, 1960–71). I am enormously indebted to David Short for proposing the inclusion of this dictionary entry, and for making numerous other practical suggestions for this study. Any inaccuracies remain entirely my responsibility.

⁴⁶ Symbol on the Czech(oslovak) Coats of Arms.

⁴⁷ Russian olive.

⁴⁸ More correctly, the Bohemian Crown Lands of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia.

⁴⁹ Protestant doctrinal statement of 1575.

⁵⁰ The highest peaks of the Upper Palatinate Forest (Oberpfälzer Wald) to the north-west of the Bohemian Forest (comprising *Šumava* [Böhmerwald] and *Žadní Bavorský les* [Bayerischer Wald]).

Paradies);⁵¹ Česká Třebová (German: Böhmisches Trübau); České Budějovice (German: [Böhmisches] Budweis); České středohoří (German: Böhmisches Mittelgebirge);⁵² miner. Bohemian garnet; bot. *Gagea bohemica*;⁵³ ♦ speak (plain) Czech [in] Czech, figuratively in common colloquial Czech *comprehensibly*; → adv. **česky**: to speak Cz.; to have a Czech way of thinking *in the Czech spirit*; → noun **českost**, -i fem. *Czech character*: genuine Czechness; Neruda's Czechness;⁵⁴ the Czechness of Smetana's music

Explicit reference is made to Bohemia in a series of place names with Moravian counterparts, including *České/Moravské Budějovice* and *Česká/Moravská Třebová*, as well as in geographical locations, such as *východočeský* (east Bohemian) and *severočeský* (north Bohemian). Sometimes the Bohemian dimension is preserved in well-known German and Latin phrases; for instance, *Böhmerwald* and *Confessio Bohemica*. The allusion is also implicit in a few collocations, including *české sklo* and *české kneny* (Bohemian tribes). Elsewhere, there is little or no obvious connection with Bohemia, as illustrated by the collocations *český národ*, *český jazyk*, *česká země*, *česká literatura*, *Česká republika*, *Česká národní banka* (the Czech National Bank), the town of *Český Těšín* (which is in the Moravian-Silesian region) or the village of *Česká* (near Brno). Nor does any link pertain in other common expressions such as *česká ulička* (literally 'a Czech street' — a tactical move in football), *zlaté české ručičky* (golden Czech hands — an allusion to Czech dexterity and craftsmanship), *česká hlava/lebka* (literally 'a Czech head/skull') and (*tvrdá*) *česká palice* (a [hard] Czech 'loaf'), which all denote an intractable person, or the rhyming phrase *co je české, to je hezké* (what is Czech is nice). According to *ČNK – SYN2010*, amongst the most common collocations of *český* (not relating to the names of places and organizations) are *trh* (market), *literatura*, *reprezentace* (national team, representation), *ekonomika* (economics) and *jazyk*, none of which has specific associations with Bohemia.

Rarely, if ever, does *český* explicitly connote Moravia, although sometimes the two entities combine in a compound phrase, as in *českomoravská nářečí* (Bohemian-Moravian dialects) and *českomoravská vrchovina* (Bohemian-Moravian Uplands). In at least one title, that of the erstwhile engineering giant *ČKD*, the initialism, which was first used in earnest in the 1950s, conceals a long established link between Bohemia

⁵¹ Bohemian Paradise, also rendered in English as Bohemian Paradox.

⁵² Sometimes rendered in English as Czech Central Mountains or, less frequently, Bohemian Central Mountains.

⁵³ Lesser yellow star-of-Bethlehem, also known as Radnor lily.

⁵⁴ Jan Neruda, journalist, poet and writer, 1834–91.

and Moravia.⁵⁵ Nowadays, some organizations deliberately choose titles which emphasize the Moravian connection; for instance, *Českomoravský fotbalový svaz* (ČMFS) (Bohemian and Moravian Football Association [officially translated as ‘The Football Association of the Czech Republic’]), established 1993, and *Komunistická strana Čech a Moravy* (KŠČM) (the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia), founded 1990, but such examples are relatively rare (perhaps as a result of the legacy of the Protectorate).

Politically, the use of *český* has changed significantly over time, but since the mid-nineteenth century nobody has ever seriously challenged the idea that the term largely subsumes Moravia. (There are partial parallels here with the use of ‘English’ and ‘England’ to denote British phenomena.) Questions about the semantic range of *český* in a broader historical and political context relate more to its tendency to embrace the notions of ‘Czechoslovak’ and ‘Slovak’. For example, the title from 1900 for the Czech and Slovak Olympic Committee was *Český olympijský výbor*, until it became *Československý olympijský výbor* in 1919.⁵⁶ Similarly, the title originally adopted by the Czech and Slovak volunteers who fought for the Russian army in 1914 and 1915 was *Česká družina* (Czech Company), before it was renamed in early 1916 *Československý střelecký pluk* (Czechoslovak Rifle Regiment) (sometimes also called *Česko-Slovácký střelecký pluk*), and later that year became *Československá střelecká brigáda* (Czechoslovak Rifle Brigade).⁵⁷ Up to 1918, the forms *českoslovanský/českoslovácký* (Czechoslav) and *Českoslovan*, and occasionally *Slavočech*, were interchangeable with *československý* and *Českoslovák*, respectively, in reference to the Bohemians, Moravians, Silesians and Slovaks. For the purpose of foreign consumption, it was frequently deemed preferable to omit specific reference to Slovakia, in order to gloss over geopolitical complexities and to present a united front in the face of the large German minority; for instance, in the title *Conseil national des pays tchèques* (National Council of the ‘Czech’ Lands), which replaced Edvard Beneš’s *Zahraněční výbor československý* (Czechoslovak Foreign Committee) in February 1916.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Two companies, *Českomoravská-Kölnen* and *Breitfeld-Daněk*, merged in 1921 to form *Českomoravská Kölnen-Daněk* (but the ‘Czech-Moravian’ part of the title is attributable to *První česko-moravská továrna na stroje v Praze* [First Czech-Moravian Machine-Making Factory in Prague]), founded in 1871. *Českomoravská Kölnen-Daněk* and its constituent companies have operated under various names since 1939, and the initialism exists today in the title *ČKD GROUP*.

⁵⁶ See, for example, Bohumil Kvasil et al., *Malá československá encyklopedie*, vol. 1, A–Č, Prague, 1984, pp. 785 and 840. By contrast, *České aerolinie* (Czech Airlines) has retained the abbreviation of the forerunner of the Czechoslovak national carrier, *ČSA*.

⁵⁷ All three tend to be abbreviated in writing to *Čs.*, although *Čes. družina* is also found.

⁵⁸ See Mary Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, New Haven, CT and London, 2009, pp. 28–29. Note that the official newspaper of the National Council was called *Československá samostatnost* (Czechoslovak Independence).

The lack of a systematic distinction between ‘Czech’ and ‘Czechoslovak’ and ‘Czech’ and ‘Slovak’ was partly attributable to Tomáš Masaryk, whose own background blurred any clearly-defined sense of ethnic identity. Masaryk was brought up in the border region called Moravian Slovakia, went to grammar school in Brno and Vienna, and from 1872 to 1876 studied at Vienna University. His mother was a German speaker of Czech origin, and his father, a freed Hungarian Slovak serf, spoke Slovak at home. Hence, Masaryk was attuned to a variety of linguistic codes, although, according to Short in discussion, his own spoken literary Czech was reputedly shaky. In conversation with the writer Karel Čapek, Masaryk observed: ‘I also tended to speak Slovak — I wasn’t aware of any difference between the Hungarian and Moravian Slovaks, amongst whom I grew up as a child.’⁵⁹ In 1925, he wrote: ‘Since my childhood, I have experienced my Czechness [česství] in concrete terms in my appreciation of the personalities, views and lives of my compatriots there in Slovácko and Slovakia, and over the course of time, in Moravia and Bohemia.’⁶⁰ Marzik has stressed that Masaryk can only technically be called a Moravian Slovak, if the term is interpreted in a purely geographic sense.⁶¹ Bakke has similarly minimized the importance of his Moravian Slovak roots: ‘Masaryk’s identity seems to have been situational, but predominantly Czech.’⁶² Prior to the foundation of the First Republic (1918–38), Masaryk repeatedly described the Hungarian and Moravian Slovaks as part of the Czech nation. Thereafter, he continued to regard the Czechs and Slovaks as a single people divided by the dialects of a common tongue, but he largely avoided defining the nation as either ‘Czech’ or ‘Czechoslovak’. Bakke has noted that ‘References to a Czechoslovak nation were curiously absent; instead Masaryk spoke of “we Czechs and Slovaks”, “our nation”, the “whole nation, the Czechs and Slovaks”, and “our Slovaks” — which nevertheless conveyed the idea of one nation’.⁶³ Masaryk’s interpretation of the nation state thus bore a striking resemblance to the German concept of the *Heimat* (homeland) in its parochial sense.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Karel Čapek, *Hovory s T. G. Masarykem*, Prague, 1932, vol. 2 (*Život a práce*), p. 63.

⁶⁰ From *Světová revoluce*, cited in Jaroslav Dresler (ed.), *Masarykova abeceda*, Prague, 1990, p. 53 (originally published in Zurich, 1976).

⁶¹ Thomas D. Marzik, ‘Masaryk’s National Background’, in Peter Brock and H. Gordon Skilling (eds), *The Czech Renaissance of the Nineteenth Century*, Toronto, 1970, pp. 239–53 (p. 241).

⁶² ‘Doomed to failure?’, p. 194.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ See Alexander Götz, ‘Domov – otcina / Heimat – Vaterland’, in Walter Koschmal, Marek Nekula and Joachim Rogall (eds), *Češi a Němci: dějiny – kultura – politika*, Prague and Litomyšl, 2001, pp. 223–26.

The Constitution of 29 February 1920 cites the concept of the Czechoslovak nation (*národ Československý*) twice in its preamble, but subsequently eschews reference to it altogether.⁶⁵ In other official publications and pronouncements in the First Republic, *český národ* (Czech nation) and *náš národ* (our nation) were often employed as synonyms for *československý národ*. The distinction between the adjectives *český* and *československý* remained imprecisely defined until the late 1930s, with Czechs tending to choose the former, except where inexpedient to do so, and Slovaks generally opting for the latter, except where context allowed them to stress their own identity. In practice, many Czechs regarded the Slovaks as a kind of appendage, whose contribution to the creation of the nation state was tangential, while the Slovaks increasingly craved greater opportunity for self-determination. The growing power of Germany acted as a disincentive for Czechs to re-evaluate Czech-Slovak relations, while simultaneously offering some Slovak nationalists greater hope for independence.

Occasionally in the First Republic, preference was given to ‘Czechoslovak’ over both ‘Czech’ and ‘Slovak’, as a means of reinforcing the authority of the eponymous majority, as in the use of *Čechoslováci* (Czechoslovaks) in the 1921 and 1930 censuses.⁶⁶ Where data explicitly differentiated between Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak ethnicity, people’s preference for the latter two was unambiguous. For example, in the 1930 population census for Ružomberok (in north Slovakia), 11,965 described themselves as Slovaks, 1,736 as Czechs, and just 139 called themselves Czechoslovaks.⁶⁷ Such was the prevalence of the idea of *národnost* (nationality, defined in terms of ethnicity) that, throughout the existence of the Czechoslovak state, few Czechs or Slovaks ever referred to themselves in private discourse as a *Čechoslovák* or *Čechoslovačka*. Use of this endonym was largely restricted to international contexts, where the speaker’s intention was to demonstrate affiliation to the country as a whole, and to situations where an individual was seeking to indicate integration into another ethnic group.⁶⁸ Nábělková and Sloboda have suggested that the noun ‘Czechoslovak’ has been applied

⁶⁵ The full text of the Constitution, ‘Zákon č. 121/1920 Sb. Národního shromáždění, kterým se uvozuje ústavní listina Československé republiky’, is available at <<http://spec.prf.cuni.cz/lex/121-20.htm>>.

⁶⁶ See, for example, Gabriela Šamanová, ‘Národnost ve sčítání lidu v českých zemích’, *Náš společnost*, 1, 2005, pp. 1–13 (p. 5). Note that in a broader sense the noun *Čechoslovák* denoted any citizen of the Czechoslovak Republic, including German speakers.

⁶⁷ Cited in ‘Doomed to failure?’, p. 304.

⁶⁸ The question of ‘national’ identity is addressed in detail by Jeremy King, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948*, Princeton, NJ, 2002, and Kateřina Čapková, *Češi, Němci, Židé? Národní identita Židů v Čechách, 1918–1938*, Prague, 2005.

most typically to the following people: professional soldiers in the former Czechoslovak army; current Czech-Slovak troops serving abroad; sportsmen and women and coaches in a Czech-Slovak environment; children brought up in mixed Czech-Slovak families; Slovaks who have lived in the Czech Republic, and Czechs who have lived in Slovakia.⁶⁹

Official and semi-official titles up to 1993

The names of the Czechoslovak polity and its constituent territories have changed so many times since the foundation of the First Republic in 1918 that the precise details are sometimes lost even on historians. The basic facts are as follows. The Cleveland Agreement of 23 October 1915 represented the first serious proposal for the establishment of a common state, comprising independent Czech and Slovak territorial nations, and formed the basis for the more explicit Pittsburgh Agreement of 30 May 1918, issued in Slovak by the Czecho-Slovak National Council (*Česko-Slovenská Národná Rada*).⁷⁰ (Note the use of capitals.) While the former made no specific reference to 'Czechoslovakia', the latter referred to the creation of a 'Czecho-Slovak State' (*Česko-slovenský štát*), in which Slovakia (*Slovensko*) would have its own administration.⁷¹ The Pittsburgh Agreement was later repeatedly invoked by Slovaks in favour of greater autonomy, although Masaryk argued that the Slovaks had committed themselves to a unitary Czechoslovak authority on 1 May 1918 in Liptovský Svätý Mikuláš, and subsequently on 30 October in Turčianský Svätý Martin.⁷² The Washington Declaration of 18 October 1918, issued by *československá Národní rada* in the name of the 'Czechoslovak nation', spoke of the 'Czechoslovak land' (*československá země*) as a 'a free and independent nation and state', and union between the Czech lands and Slovakia was declared on 28 October.⁷³ The capitulation by the Austrian authorities on 30 October 1918 did not go unopposed by the German-speaking population, and briefly led to the

⁶⁹ Mira Nábělková and Marián Sloboda, 'Comparing 'Trasjanka' and 'Českoslovenčina' (Czechoslovak) as Discursive Categories: History and Current Usage', courtesy of Marián Sloboda; to appear in G. Hentschel, O. Taranenko, C. Woolhiser and S. Zaprudski (eds), *Studies on Belarusian Trasjanka and Ukrainian Suržyk as Results of Belarusian-Russian and Ukrainian-Russian Language Contacts* (forthcoming), pp. 1–26 (p. 10).

⁷⁰ See, for example, Stanislav J. Kirschbaum, *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*, New York, 1995, pp. 150–51.

⁷¹ According to Kirschbaum, *ibid.*, p. 9, the term *Slovensko* was first used publicly in 1849 to describe the Slovak-speaking lands of Upper Hungary (Czech *Horní Uhry*).

⁷² See 'Doomed to failure?', pp. 481–97. The Martin Declaration used the term *česko-slovenský národ* (the Czecho-Slovak nation), but it also referred to the Slovaks as a branch of *český národ* (the Czech nation).

⁷³ See T. G. Masaryk, Milan R. Štefánik and Edvard Beneš, *18. října – vyhlášena Washingtonská deklarace – 1918*, Paris, 18 October 1918 <<http://svornost.com/?p=1835>> [accessed 3 December 2010].

establishment of a government of *Deutschböhmen*, which, together with representatives of the *Sudetendeutsche* (Sudeten Germans), reported to Vienna.⁷⁴ Nor did Czechoslovak independence go unchallenged by Béla Kun's Soviet Republic of Hungary, which set up a puppet state in eastern and southern Slovakia (from 16 June to 7 July 1919), known as *Slovenská republika rád* (Czech *rad*) (Slovak Republic of Councils), or by the Poles, who were engaged in conflicts over the Slovak districts of Spiš and Orava in 1919, and over Teschen Silesia until 1925. The Washington Declaration provided the framework for the doctrine known as *čechoslovakismus* (Czechoslovakism), which promoted the concept of a single Czechoslovak nation, comprising Czech and Slovak branches, within a unitary structure.⁷⁵ In the Declaration, Czechoslovakia was referred to as *československý stát* (the Czechoslovak state), but elsewhere it was also written as *česko-slovenský štát* (in Slovak), and less formally *Československo* and *Česko-Slovensko*.

The First Czechoslovak Republic, comprising *Čechy*, *Morava*, *Země Slezská* (the Silesian Land) and *Slovensko*, was established on 14 November 1918, and expanded to include *Podkarpatská Rus* (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) on 8 May 1919.⁷⁶ The titles *republika Česko-Slovenská* and *Česko-Slovenská republika* (with inconsistencies in the use of capitals, and the hyphen sometimes omitted), generally abbreviated to *RČS*, were formally adopted, together with the appellation *Česko-Slovensko* (possibly by analogy with *Rakousko-Uhersko* [Austria-Hungary]).⁷⁷ A number of names for the constituent parts of the state were used informally, including *České země* (the Czech lands), *Slovenská krajina* (the Slovak Land), *Slezsko* (Silesia) and several for Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, such as *(Kárpatské) Rusínsko* ([Carpathian] Ruthenia), *Kárpatská Rus* (Carpathian Rus), *Podkarpatsko* (Subcarpathia), *Podkarpatská Ukrajina* (Subcarpathian Ukraine), *Žakarpatsko* (Transcarpathia) and *Žakarpatská*

⁷⁴ See Elizabeth Wiskemann, *Czechs & Germans: A Study of the Struggle in the Historic Provinces of Bohemia and Moravia*, London, Melbourne and Toronto, 1967, pp. 79–86. Teich, *Bohemia in History*, p. 19, has noted that the concept of *Sudetendeutsche* only came into use after Czech independence. The Czechs have consistently preferred the term *pohraničí* (the borderlands) to *Sudety* (the Sudetenland), although *Sudety* is employed by historians, and *Sudetáci* (Sudeten Germans) has been used pejoratively.

⁷⁵ For a detailed analysis of the roots of Czechoslovakism, see David Short, 'The Use and Abuse of the Language Argument in Mid-Nineteenth-Century "Czechoslovakism": An Appraisal of a Propaganda Milestone', in Robert B. Pynsent (ed.), *The Literature of Nationalism*, Basingstoke and London, 1996, pp. 40–65, and Jan Rychlík, 'Čechoslovanství a čechoslovakismus', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 64–71.

⁷⁶ The population of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which was mainly rural and ethnically mixed, numbered fewer than three-quarters of a million in 1921 and 1930. Notwithstanding the presence there of a significant number of Czech advisers and specialists, links with Prague were always fairly tenuous.

⁷⁷ Heimann, *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, p. xv, applies the hyphenated form from 28–30 October 1918 to 29 February 1920.

Ukrajina (Transcarpathian Ukraine). From 1920 to 1938, the officially-endorsed titles for the state changed to *Československá republika* (*ČSR* or *Čsl. republika*) and *republika Československá* (*RČS*), together with *Československo*, without a hyphen. In 1927, Moravia and Silesia combined to form *Moravoslezsko* (Moravian-Silesia), and *Podkarpatská Rus* was officially renamed *Žemě* (Slovak *Krajina*) *podkarpatoruská* (Subcarpathian Ruthenian Land). The Munich Agreement, signed on 30 September 1938, sanctioned the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia and effectively marked the end of Czechoslovakism. The Czech lands, less the Sudetenland (which included most of the Moravian-Silesian Lands), became known in German by the pejorative colloquialism *Rest-Tschechei* (Rump Czechia or, in the English-language media and later histories, ‘the rump Czechoslovakia’).⁷⁸

The Second Czechoslovak Republic (1 October 1938 to 14 March 1939), introduced a new federal structure, comprising the remaining 62 per cent of Bohemia and Moravia, Slovakia and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, under the title *Republika česko-slovenská* (*Č-SR*), or informally *Česko-Slovensko*.⁷⁹ In late 1938, Hungary seized southern Slovakia and substantial territories from Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, Poland took control of most of Těšínsko, as well as Spiš and Orava, and Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia was renamed *Karpatská Ukrajina* (Carpathian Ukraine) (Ukrainian *Kárpats’ka Ukrajina*). On 14 March 1939, in response to German pressure, Slovakia declared independence, and set up a puppet state, called officially *Slovenská republika*, and less formally *Slovenský štát* (Czech *stát*) (the Slovak State). The following day, Moravia and Bohemia became the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, *protektorát Čechy a Morava*, or informally *protektorát*, occasionally also called *protektorát Bohemie a Morava* (German *Reichsprotektorat Böhmen und Mähren*, or simply *Protektorat [Böhmen und Mähren]*),⁸⁰ or unofficially *Tschechei/Rest-Tschechei*. At the same time, Carpathian Ukraine declared itself an independent republic, under the title *Republika Karpatská Ukrajina*, but it was immediately annexed by the Hungarians, and was subsequently generally referred to, until the end of the war, as *Podkarpatsko* (Hungarian *Karpatálja*).

⁷⁸ For further information on *Tschechei*, see Michael Havlin, ‘Die “Tschechei”. Zur historischen Semantik eines (un-)gebräuchlichen Toponyms’, in Steffen Höhne, Roman Mikuláš, Marek Nekula and Milan Tvrđík (eds), *Germanistisches Jahrbuch Tschechien-Slowakei*, 17, Prague, 2009, pp. 243–61.

⁷⁹ See Theodor Prochazka, ‘The Second Republic’, in Victor S. Mamatey and Radomír Luža, *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948*, Princeton, NJ, 1973, pp. 255–70 (pp. 260–61).

⁸⁰ Optimistic wags sometimes used the near homophone *pro tentokrát* (just this once); see Vladimír Mates, *Jména tajemství zbařená aneb Příjmení pod mikroskopem*, 3, Prague, 2004, p. 22 (n. 3).

In April 1945, the socialist-orientated Third Republic (1945–48) readopted the titles *Československá republika* (ČSR) and *Československo* (based largely on the April 1925 borders, but without Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia, which was formally ceded to the Soviet Union on 29 June 1945). Silesia was renamed *Slezská expozitura země Moravskoslezské* (the Silesian Branch of the Moravian-Silesian Land), and four years later it was divided between the Ostrava and Olomouc Regions. Members of the National Front government and others frequently expressed their commitment to the new socialist order by using terms such as *lidovláda* (government by the people), *lidový stát* (people's state), *lidová demokracie* (people's democracy) and *lidově demokratická Československá republika* (Czechoslovak People's Democratic Republic). President Beneš understood the tautology *lidová demokracie* to mean a democracy based on socialist principles, or *demokracie socializující* ('socializing' democracy), whereas the Communists generally interpreted it as proletarian democracy, and it was in the latter sense that it was subsequently adopted throughout the Soviet Bloc and beyond.⁸¹

The Communist authorities, who assumed power in Czechoslovakia in February 1948, retained the existing titles for the state, but drew an even clearer distinction between the new style of governance, *lidově-demokratická republika* or *lidová demokracie*, and the pre-war multi-party democracy, which they sometimes labelled dismissively as *předmnichovská buržoazní republika/demokracie* (Pre-Munich bourgeois Republic/democracy). In April 1960, Silesia was incorporated into the North Moravian Region (*Severomoravský kraj*). Three months later, a new Constitution meaninglessly proclaimed the victory of socialism in Czechoslovakia, which was marked by a change in the status of the country to a socialist democracy (*socialistická demokracie*), and a new official name: *Československá socialistická republika* (ČSSR) (the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic). In January 1969, in response to Slovak demands for greater independence during the Prague Spring, the Communist authorities established a federation, comprising the Czech Socialist Republic (*Česká socialistická republika*) (ČSR) and the Slovak Socialist Republic (*Slovenská socialistická republika*) (SSR).⁸²

The collapse of Communism in 1989 led to a heated debate about the official name of the state, as well as to a new spelling for *Česko-Slovensko* in Slovak, and to the deletion of the word *socialistická* in

⁸¹ For an overview of Beneš's perception of post-war democracy, see Curt F. Beck, 'Can Communism and Democracy Coexist? Beneš's Answer', *American Slavic and East European Review*, 11, 1952, 3, pp. 189–206.

⁸² While Slovakia enjoyed greater autonomy than in the past, the powers of both the Czech and Slovak National Councils, as well as the Federal Assembly, were strictly controlled by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

the titles *Česká republika* (ČR) and *Slovenská republika* (SR). The sensitive question of the role of hyphenation, which became known as the ‘dash war’ (*pomlčková válka*) (simply because most Czechs do not distinguish properly between ‘pomlčka’ [dash] and ‘spojovník’ [hyphen]), was briefly settled in the spring of 1990 by the introduction of the dual forms *Československá federativní republika* (in Czech) and *Česko-slovenská federatívna republika* (in Slovak) (Czechoslovak Federal Republic) (ČSFR in both languages).⁸³ The compromise forms, however, satisfied neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks, and were replaced almost immediately by *Česká a Slovenská Federativní* (Slovak *Federatívna*) *Republika* (Czech and Slovak Federal Republic) (ČSFR), following an intense debate about the capitalization of the ‘S’ in *Slovenská*, as well as the ‘F’ and ‘R’ in *Federativní* and *Republika* (all of which contravene Czech orthographic conventions). The dissolution of Czechoslovakia on 31 December 1992 finally resolved the matter, with the Czechs opting for *Česká republika* (ČR) and, after further discussion, the informal designation *Česko* (see below), and the Slovaks sticking to *Slovenská republika* (SR) and *Slovensko*. In 2000, Silesia split along the lines of the 1949 partition, and in 2001 it was divided between Moravian-Silesia and part of the Olomouc region.

The term *Československo* has had its detractors ever since the idea of a Czechoslovak state was first mooted. Some members of the Slovak League originally proposed *Slavia* as a more neutral alternative, and Karel Čapek argued in the early 1920s that *Československo* was an unmelodious, artificial compound, which sounded amusing to foreigners.⁸⁴ Robert Pynsent appears to endorse Čapek’s view in his fascinating essay on post-war Czech literature, in which he contrasts ‘Bohemia’ with ‘the indigestible dumpling of a name’, ‘Czechoslovakia’.⁸⁵ Opponents of *Československo* could likewise point to inconsistencies in its spelling, not only in Czech, but also in Czech-influenced German (*Čechoslowakei*, *Cechoslowakei*, *Tschechoslowakei* and even *Czechoslowakei*, plus derivatives and hyphenated versions), and to the fact that in certain languages the name lent itself to slangy short forms, which excluded explicit reference to Slovakia (for example, English *Czecho*, and Hungarian *Csezkó* < *Cseh-Szlovákia*). Slovaks could similarly highlight the tendency of speakers of Polish, with its long established single-word expression for Bohemia, *Czechy* (whence the unusual English spelling), to over-extend its meaning to apply to all the Czech lands and even to the whole of Czechoslovakia.

⁸³ Some historians, including Heimann, prefer the term ‘Federative’ in English.

⁸⁴ See ‘K peripetiím vývoje názvů’, pp. 2–3.

⁸⁵ Robert Pynsent, ‘Conclusory Essay: Activists, Jews, the Little Czech Man, and Germans’, *Central Europe*, 5, 2007, 2, pp. 211–333 (p. 211).

Slovak sensitivities over the Czechs' misuse of *Československo* were clearly not motivated by puristic concerns about language per se, but reflected a deeply-held conviction that it embodied the notion of 'Czech-cum-Slovak', rather than 'Czech and Slovak', to use Pynsent's terms of reference.⁸⁶ Notwithstanding the Second World War years, after 1918 the Czechs never seriously questioned the legitimacy of their historical rights to the Lands of the Bohemian Crown or their de facto role as the elder brother in the Czech-Slovak relationship. The Slovaks, on the other hand, had a much less well-developed sense of 'national' identity prior to the nineteenth century, and had to go back to the Great Moravian Empire — renamed by some Slovak patriots as *Veľkoslovenská ríša* (the Great Slovak Empire)⁸⁷ — for a source of romantic inspiration which could legitimize their claims to a land for centuries under Magyar domination. Such was the Slovak yearning for recognition within Czechoslovakia that, from their perspective, it eclipsed virtually all other nationality questions.⁸⁸

The Czechs' dominance over the Slovaks has arguably been mirrored, albeit on a more symbolic level and in a less emotionally-charged way, by the Bohemians' assumption of the leading role in the Czech-speaking lands, as evidenced by the not infrequent use of *Čechy* to denote both Bohemia and Moravia. (A major difference is that much of Moravia is conspicuously more affluent than Slovakia, and Moravia has long felt itself to be an integral part of the ruling ethnies.) The semantic relationship between *Čechy* and *Morava* is not altogether straightforward: *Morava* always excludes Bohemians, whereas *Čechy* implicitly excludes non-Bohemians, whilst only explicitly excluding them in phrases such as *Čechy a Morava* (Bohemia and Moravia) and *Čechy, Morava a Slezsko* (Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia). Just as the term 'man' may be either a hypernym or a co-hyponym of 'woman', *Čechy* may be either a superordinate of *Morava* or may constitute a geographically-delimited part of a greater whole. (There are some rare exceptions, such as the Moravian village of *Čechy pod Kosiřem*, which bears the name of Bohemia.) Fans of the Czech national football team have been known to chant '*Čechy do toho*' (Come on, *Čechy*), in preference to the more neutral-sounding '*Češi do toho*' (Come on, Czechs), but it seems unlikely that this implies any metalinguistic reflection on the contribution of Moravian players. Some Moravian and Bohemian patriots, on the other hand, may use *Čechy* to differentiate between their respective lands, while the cultural organization, the

⁸⁶ See *Questions of Identity*, p. 163.

⁸⁷ See, for example, Tomáš J. Veteška, *Veľkoslovenská ríša*, Hamilton, Ontario, 1987.

⁸⁸ See especially Eric Stein, *Czecho/Slovakia: Ethnic Conflict, Constitutional Fissure, Negotiated Breakup*, Michigan, 2000.

Moravian National Congress, has called for this distinction to be formalized in a new title for the country: *Republika Čechy a Morava* (Republic of Bohemia and Moravia).⁸⁹ Moravians, especially speakers of Brno dialect (*hantec*), occasionally also employ the colloquial exonym *Švédsko* (literally ‘Sweden’) for ‘Bohemia’. The provenance of *Švédsko* is unclear — it is possibly attributable to the capture of Prague by the Swedes in 1631, although it may likewise be reinforced by the near homophone *švestka* (plum). Another pejorative Moravian colloquialism recorded for ‘Bohemia’ is *Cajsko* (derived from *cajzl*; see later), but its use would appear to be confined to an even smaller number of speakers.

The asymmetrical relationship between *Morava* and (České) *Slezsko* ([Czech] Silesia) superficially parallels that between *Čechy* and *Morava*, since (Czech) Silesia has effectively been subsumed in most people’s consciousness into Moravia. However, the complex history of this area and the nature of its relationship with Prussia and Austria-Hungary, as well as with Moravia and the Czech lands as a whole, and with Poland and Germany, render the analogy largely redundant. It is sufficient to note here that Czech Silesia is broadly coterminous with the area occupied before 1918 by Upper Silesia (*Horní Slezsko*) (German *Oberschlesien*; Polish *Górný Śląsk*) in the Duchy of Upper and Lower Silesia, also known as Austrian Silesia (*Rakouské Slezsko*) (German *Österreichisch-Schlesien*). Czech Silesia’s frequent changes of guises have come both in indirect and direct response to German pressure, and as a result of the desire of the authorities in the First Republic and under Communism to lessen the possibility of the emergence of a strong Silesian identity.

There are few colloquial terms in Czech for either Moravia or Silesia, but the affectionate forms *Moravěnka* and *Moravička*, and the dialectal variant *Slezská*, are all recorded in the dictionary *Průruční slovník jazyka českého* (hereafter, *PSJČ*).⁹⁰ Moreover, *Šlonzácko* is still widely used for the historically-disputed area of Teschen Silesia, variously referred to in Czech as (České) *Těšínsko/Českotěšínsko*, *Těšínské Slezsko* and *Žaolší/Žaolží* (cf. Polish *Śląsk Cieszyński* and *Żaolzie*; see also *Šlonzáci*, cited later). The German forms *Mährenland* and *Mähren* and *Schlesien* were, of course, likewise well known in the past.

⁸⁹ ČTK, ‘Kongres Moravanů odmítl říkat Česko’, 9 October 2004 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/domaci.asp?r=domaci&c=Ao41009_180859_domaci_jan> [accessed 22 November 2010].

⁹⁰ *Průruční slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1937–38 (8 vols), vol. 2, K–M, p. 941, and vol. 5, S–Š, p. 364.

Titles for the Czech-speaking lands

The conspicuous absence of a universally-accepted, informal one-word title in Czech for the Czech lands has been the subject of a continuous and sometimes heated discussion. Most scholars accept the need for a short form for *Česká republika*, but all the alternatives proposed have met with resistance. Trávníček wrote a series of articles in December 1938 and January 1939 in *Lidové noviny*, in which he championed the cause of *Česko*, but his arguments had an uncharacteristically defensive tone, which suggested that his views were far from unanimously shared.⁹¹ Not even the inclusion of *Česko* in three editions of the dictionary *Slovník jazyka českého* (1941, 1946 and 1952) (hereafter, *SJČ*) significantly consolidated its status.⁹² In 1949, Trávníček reignited the debate in another article in *Lidové noviny*, in which he stressed that, despite its infrequent usage, *Česko* had a long tradition. (Its earliest recorded usage dates back to a methodology manual for teachers in 1777.)⁹³ However, the response to Trávníček's comments was again largely critical. One semi-anonymous contributor advocated *Češsko*, which reflected the older Czech spelling '-šs-', but, as Trávníček pointed out in a follow-up article, it was based on a false analogy with *Lašsko* (< *Lach*) and *Valašsko* (< *Valach*).⁹⁴ In the next two decades, there was relatively little discussion of the matter, and *Česko* was summarily dismissed with the symbol of a cross as 'outdated' in *SSJČ* (1960).⁹⁵ It was only in 1968, as a result of Slovak demands for federalism, that the subject became topical once more. In a short, but incisive contribution, Bělič reiterated Trávníček's viewpoints, and asserted that: 'There cannot be arguments against *Česko* on the grounds of linguistic correctness: it is a noun created absolutely according to the rules from the adjective *český*, just like *Slovensko* [Slovakia] from *slovenský* [Slovak], and *Rusko* [Russia] from *ruský* [Russian] etc.'⁹⁶ Despite some predictable opposition to Bělič, linguists increasingly accepted that there was at least a theoretically strong case for *Česko*. A symbolically important turning-point came in 1978, when the authoritative Czech Language Institute dictionary *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost* recognized the term, although even then it remained somewhat peripheral (and probably continued to be more widely used in Slovak than in Czech).⁹⁷

⁹¹ For further details, see 'K peripetii vývoje názvů', pp. 4–5.

⁹² Pavel Váša and František Trávníček, *Slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1937 (2 vols), 1941 and 1946, and František Trávníček, *Slovník jazyka českého*, Prague, 1952.

⁹³ See *Knihy metodní pro učitele českých škol*, p. 333, kept in the Czech Language Institute Lexical Archive.

⁹⁴ See 'K peripetii vývoje názvů', pp. 5–6.

⁹⁵ See *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 251.

⁹⁶ Jaromír Bělič, 'Čech – Česko?', *Naše řeč*, 51, 1968, 5, pp. 299–301 (p. 300).

⁹⁷ Josef Filipec and František Daneš et al., *Slovník spisovné češtiny pro školu a veřejnost*, Prague, 1978, p. 762.

After the break-up of Czechoslovakia, advocates of a short 'geographical' form grew more vociferous, and in 1993, the Czech Terminological Committee quickly approved *Česko*. However, despite enjoying the blessing of government institutions, eminent linguists such as Alexandr Stich (1934–2003), and much of the media, *Česko* remains a controversial term.⁹⁸ Czech academics and policy makers have been so keen to assert the historical and linguistic legitimacy of *Česko* that they have underplayed the unpalatable truth, spelt out by Marvan, and again recently by Velíšek, that *Česko* has not been popular amongst Czechs.⁹⁹ As Stich himself conceded, *Česko* suffers from the fact that it is not 'neutral, and stylistically and emotionally unmarked'.¹⁰⁰ Several leading figures, including Václav Havel and the writer Ludvík Vaculík, have railed against *Česko*, and even President Klaus has expressed misgivings.¹⁰¹ *Česko* may be gaining ground amongst younger speakers, but it has not yet fully established itself even in situations where it might be deemed stylistically suited, such as the discourse and paraphernalia accompanying international sports events.

Surprisingly, there have been relatively few nationwide perception tests of different names for the country, although the limited evidence available indicates that attitudes to *Česko* and *Česká republika* have begun to shift. A poll conducted in 1997 found that just 15 per cent had any objections to the official title, whereas 55 per cent were opposed to *Česko*, while by 2004, 46.3 per cent of Czechs favoured the use of *Česko*, with 24 per cent preferring to stick to *Česká republika*, and 18.4 per cent opting, more problematically, for *Čechy*.¹⁰² In reality, many speakers appear to avoid both expressions in everyday communication, either on (somewhat ill-defined) aesthetic grounds or because they are simply not accustomed to using them. It is striking how often the phrases *v České republice* and *v Česku* (in the Czech Republic) are substituted by alternatives, such as *v Čechách* (in Bohemia), *v Republice* (in the Republic), *v naší zemi* (in our country), *v této zemi* (in this country), *na našem území*

⁹⁸ See Alexandr Stich, 'Země beze jména?', in *Alexandr Stich: Jazykověda věc veřejná*, Prague, 2004, pp. 228–32 (originally published in *Lidové noviny*, 30 October 1996).

⁹⁹ See Jiří Marvan, *Brána jazykem otvíraná aneb o češtině světové*, Prague, 2004, pp. 172–177 and 382, and Zdeněk Velíšek, 'What's in a Name? Identity Politics in "Czechia"', *The New Presence*, 3, 2009, pp. 8–9 (p. 8).

¹⁰⁰ See Alexandr Stich, 'Čech, český, Čechy, Česko ...', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 11–17 (p. 12).

¹⁰¹ See 'K peripetii vývoje názvů', p. 11.

¹⁰² Polls conducted for the organization 'Česká společnost pro propagaci' and for Jitka Sýkorová by the agency Factum; see Simona Holecová, 'Odmítané Česko proniká do škol', *iDNES.CZ* 26 November 1999 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/odmitane-cesko-pronika-do-skol-de7-/domaci.asp?c=991126_090903_domaci_itu>, and 'Česko je správný název, shodlo se slyšení', *iDNES.CZ* 11 May 2004 <http://zpravy.idnes.cz/domaci.asp?r=domaci&c=A040511_135608_domaci_mad&t=A040511_135608_domaci_mad&r2=domaci%3C/p%3E%3Cp> [accessed 22 November 2010].

(on our territory), *u nás (doma)* (in our country; at home; cf. German ‘bei uns’, French ‘chez nous’) or (especially amongst older émigrés) *v Československu* (in Czechoslovakia).¹⁰³ In written Czech, the abbreviation ČR (or in English CZ) sometimes functions as a compromise between the informality of *Česko* and the formality of *Česká republika*.¹⁰⁴ Some people have proposed other single-word titles, including *Čechie* or *Českomoravsko*, but the former, despite its strong pedigree, is too poetic-sounding, and reminiscent of the despised Nazi term *Tschechei*, and the latter is long-winded (and implicitly excludes Silesians). Other neologisms that have been suggested (sometimes jokingly), such as *Čechrava* (also an herbaceous plant of the *Astilbe Arendsii* group) and *Čechavy* (< *Čechy* and *Morava*), *Českozemsko* (cf. *Nizozemsko* [the Netherlands]) and *Čechoslávie*, neither have historical precedents nor offer the brevity of *Česko*.

The degree of acceptance of short forms for the Czech Republic in foreign languages varies significantly. Some languages have largely embraced a new descriptor; for instance, French *Tchéquie*, German *Tschechien* and Spanish *Chequia*. Others have proven more resistant. Neither *Czechia* in English nor *Cechia* in Italian (which is perhaps too close to *cieca* [blind woman]) have become so well established, despite their endorsement in 1993 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic, and their appearance in official geographical lists.¹⁰⁵ There can be few precedents of a small state attempting to impose usage of this type on the speakers of major foreign languages, so it is difficult to predict the likely degree of acceptance of the promoted forms. For what it is worth, a poll conducted in 2006 found that ordinary Czechs overwhelmingly prefer the adjectival form *Czech* (used as an odd-sounding substantive in English) to *Czechia*, *Czechlands* and *Czecho*.¹⁰⁶ Amongst native English speakers, *Czecho*, the misnomer *Czechoslovakia* (cf. continued references to ‘Yugoslavia’), the *Czech-speaking lands* and the *Czechland(s)*, all appear to be more common than *Czechia*, for which there is only one citation in the Bank of English corpus.¹⁰⁷ It is striking that even English-speaking Bohemists are

¹⁰³ Corpora do not provide conclusive information on usage because of the difficulty of disambiguating intender speaker meaning in the phrases *v Čechách*, *u nás* and *v Československu*.

¹⁰⁴ The former initialisms *ČSR* and *ČSSR* were perhaps influenced by the existence of USA and USSR.

¹⁰⁵ Pavel Boháč, *Geografické názvoslovné seznamy OSN – ČR: Jména států a jejich územních částí*, Prague, 1993.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Které anglické označení České republiky se vám líbí nejvíce?’, iDNES.CZ, 2 March 2006 <<http://zpravy.idnes.cz/ankety.asp?id=BKTERANG>> [accessed 22 November 2010]. The preferences expressed were *Čzech* – 13,340, *Czechia* – 4,412, *Czechlands* – 1,113, and *Czecho* – 366.

¹⁰⁷ *The Bank of English* comprised 450 million words in 2007. See <<http://www.titania.bham.ac.uk/>>.

reluctant to adopt *Czechia*, and in some cases oppose it on the not altogether rational grounds of euphony. To some extent, the Czechs recognize the anomaly of the situation, as exemplified in the variety of terms which they use to promote themselves abroad, including *Czech/CZ made* (which invites the unfortunate pun *šmejď* [junk]), *Made in Czechia*, *Made in (the) Czech Republic*, *Made in Czech R./Rep./CR/CZ*, *Czech (Team)* or *Czech Republic* (on sports kit), *Czech beer* or *Brewed in Bohemia/the Czech Republic/in Plzeň*, *Czech* (on the Prazdroj bottle) and *Moravian wine*.

Linguistic identity

The history of the Czech and Slovak languages, and the asymmetrical relationship between them, has been extensively documented by Berger, Nábělková and others, but a brief summary is needed here to contextualize linguistic practice in the First Republic.¹⁰⁸ The development of Slovak was strongly influenced by literary Czech from the late fourteenth to the nineteenth century, as a result of religious and educational contact, and in the absence of a standardized form of written Slovak.¹⁰⁹ Slovak was codified in the 1840s, but by the mid-1870s it had been banned from schools in Upper Hungary, with inevitable consequences for the literacy and the economic progress of Slovak speakers. In order to overcome Slovak backwardness, after 1918 the Czechs embarked on a programme of educational and administrative reorganization in Slovakia, which depended heavily on the use of Czech and Czech personnel.

For all the achievements of the First Republic, its language policy was, at best, flawed. The inability of Masaryk's government to satisfy the grievances of the German-speaking community (who numbered over three million in the 1921 and 1930 censuses), and the speakers of other minority languages (around a million and a half in both censuses) is perhaps understandable, in view of the barely-reconcilable nature of their differences, but its lack of appreciation of Slovak linguistic sentiment constituted a serious failing.¹¹⁰ The attitude of the Czech authorities to Slovak can be summed up in a remark by the respected linguist, Weingart, in 1918: 'Slovak, even though it has achieved the status of a literary language, is not, to put it bluntly, a separate

¹⁰⁸ Tilman Berger, 'Slovaks in Czechia – Czechs in Slovakia', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 162, 2003, pp. 19–39, and Mira Nábělková, 'Closely-Related Languages in Contact: Czech, Slovak, "Czechoslovak"', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 183, 2007, pp. 53–73.

¹⁰⁹ Written Slovak can be traced back to the fourteenth century, but usage was not systematic, and throughout the following five centuries educated Slovaks tended to opt for a Slovakized form of Czech (when not using Latin).

¹¹⁰ For census details, see See Václav L. Beneš, 'Czechoslovak Democracy and its Problems 1918–1920', in Mamatey and Luža (eds), *A History of the Czechoslovak Republic 1918–1948*, pp. 39–98 (p. 40).

Slavonic language, but just another, regional form of the joint Czechoslovak language [*jazyk československý*].¹¹¹ In 1920, the Language Law defined ‘the Czechoslovak language’ as ‘the official state language of the Republic’, as spoken by the ‘Czechoslovak nation’, which comprised two branches, Czech and Slovak.¹¹² To classify Czech and Slovak as variants of the same tongue might have represented a practical sociolinguistic solution to the potential problem of Slovak marginalization, had the specified language been at a mid-point on the Czech–Slovak dialect continuum. However, the basis of *českoslovenština* (the unified Czechoslovak language) was *spisovná čeština* (literary Czech), rather than either an intermediate central-eastern Moravian dialect or a west Slovak dialect. Attempts to introduce *českoslovenština* into the curriculum foundered, not least because in practice Slovak schoolchildren were expected to achieve far greater proficiency in Czech than Czech children were in Slovak.¹¹³ While the two varieties of *českoslovenština* may have enjoyed de jure parity in the First Republic, Czech was de facto the language of central administration and state affairs, and was the principal source of specialized terminology, especially in science and technology.¹¹⁴ The asymmetrical relationship was symbolically reinforced by the fact that in official contexts Slovaks were expected to employ the term *jazyk československý*, whereas Czechs were allowed to use *jazyk český*.

Nowadays, most Czechs appear to be unaware of attempts to create a unified Czechoslovak language. When asked to define the term *českoslovenština*, 549 (49%) of the informants in ‘The Czechs and Slovak’ replied that it meant nothing to them, and 167 (15%) said that they did not know. Just 131 (12%) interpreted it as the idea of a single Czechoslovak language, while 253 (22%) selected the more modern definition of code-mixing. Nábělková and Sloboda cite ex-President Gustáv Husák, who was of Slovak origin, as an example of a Party apparatchik who regularly used a hybrid ‘Czechoslovak’ language (not without unfortunate blunders).¹¹⁵ While the influence of Czechisms

¹¹¹ Miloš Weingart, ‘Jazyk nejdražší statek’, in *Slovanské stati*, Prague, 1932, pp. 46–66 (pp. 48–49).

¹¹² ‘Jazykový zákon č. 122/1920 Sb.’, relating to paragraph 129 of the Constitution, appeared in *Sbírka zákonů*, č. 26, 1920, p. 268. (It took effect on 6 March 1920, and was officially repealed on 9 June 1948.)

¹¹³ See Martina Šmejkalová, ‘Jazyk československý na českých a slovenských školách mezi učebními osnovami z let 1919 a 1927’, *Slovo a slovesnost*, 66, 2005, 1, pp. 32–47, and *Čeština a škola – úryvky skrytých dějin*, Prague, 2010, pp. 32–48.

¹¹⁴ See ‘Slovaks in Czechia – Czechs in Slovakia’, p. 24, and Gizella Szabó Mihály Gramma, ‘Language Policy and Language Rights in Slovakia’, *Mercator – Working papers*, 23, 2006, 7 <<http://www.ciemen.org/mercator/pdf/wp23eng.pdf>> [accessed 20 February 2009].

¹¹⁵ ‘Comparing ‘Trasjanka’ and ‘Českoslovenčina’’, p. 11.

(*čechismy*) on Slovak has been considerably greater than vice versa, the process has by no means been one way — amongst the better known Slovakisms (*slovakismy*) in Czech are *namyšlený* (conceited), *završit* (to round off) and, since the 1990s, *kávička* (coffee), largely attributable to Slovak waiters in Czech restaurants. The role of television and radio in promoting perceptive bilingualism may have declined, but Slovak is still heard in a variety of contexts in the spoken media, and co-production television shows, including *Česko Slovenská SuperStar* (Czecho Slovak Superstar) and *Česko Slovensko má talent* (Czecho Slovakia's Got Talent), attract large audiences.

The definitions of *českoslovenština* offered by dictionaries from the First Republic and the Communist era testify to the word's chequered past, and are not especially illuminating. In *PSJČ*, it is defined as both 'an older name for the joint literary language of the Czechs, Moravians, Silesians and Hungarian Slovaks; Czech in a broader sense', and 'now the joint name of the Czechoslovak language, which has a literary Czech form and a literary Slovak form'.¹¹⁶ By contrast, in *SSJČ* (1960), it is defined as '(formerly in the bourgeois nationalist conception) the single, in reality non-existent, language of the Czechs and Slovaks in its dual literary, Czech and Slovak, form'.¹¹⁷ What neither definition alludes to is the strong feeling of linguistic and cultural subordination that the imposition of *českoslovenština* aroused in some Slovaks.

It would be remiss not to mention briefly here that certain scholars have argued for greater formal recognition of Moravian Czech (*moravština*) and Silesian Czech (*slezština*). Varying degrees of linguistic separatism were espoused in the early 1800s, at the turn of the twentieth century and in the early 1990s, in particular, although there was little consensus on the nature of the changes to be introduced. Amongst the more moderate scholars seeking the inclusion of elements of Moravian usage in *spisovná čeština* in the 1830s were two Bohemians, František Dobromysl Trnka and Vincenc Pavel Ziac (Žák), but even their comparatively conservative proposals encountered stiff opposition from Palacký, amongst others.¹¹⁸ More recent calls for the codification of Moravian Czech have tended to come in the context of the debate over regional self-determination, and have received relatively little

¹¹⁶ *PSJČ*, Prague, 1935–37, vol. 1, A–J, p. 315. The Slovak variant *českoslovenčina* is described as 'less correct'.

¹¹⁷ *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 252.

¹¹⁸ For a discussion of Moravian Czech in its historical context, see Ondřej Bláha, 'Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext', *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Facultas Philosophica. Studia Moravica*, 3, 2005, pp. 293–99.

support from fellow Moravians or the linguistic establishment.¹¹⁹ In reality, the degree of variation in Moravian (and Silesian) dialects would render it highly problematic to identify a norm acceptable to most speakers.

In terms of the development of the Czech language as a whole, Moravian dialects today are important less for what they contribute directly to the morphology and lexis of *spisovná čeština* than to the influence they exert on the status of the everyday speech of most other Czechs. As Bláha has pointed out, ‘Moravianisms — providing they are applied in due moderation — may act as a constraint on the expansion of common colloquial Czech [*obecná čeština*] into the role of a [national spoken] standard’.¹²⁰ Following the break-up of Czechoslovakia, Moravian dialects may also have helped to promote cross-cultural discourse by acting as an intermediary between Czech, in its various (non-Moravian) manifestations and Slovak, in both its literary and non-literary forms. The relative proximity of eastern Moravian dialects to Slovak ensures that the gap between Czech (as spoken in Bohemia and western Moravia) and Slovak has not increased to the extent that language has become a major barrier to communication. When asked in ‘The Czechs and Slovak’ to place eastern Moravian dialects on a dialect continuum, 47.9 per cent of the informants who expressed an opinion, including over half of the Bohemian interviewees, felt the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak. Only slightly more informants, 49.1 per cent, including over half of the Moravians, considered the differences between eastern Moravian dialects and Slovak to be greater than those between eastern Moravian dialects and standard Czech.¹²¹

National and ethnic identity

The noun *Čech/Češka* (a Czech), like the adjective *český*, is generally felt to subsume *Moravan/Moravanka* (Moravian) to a much greater extent than *Čechy* does *Morava*, but even here the absence of a stylistically-neutral term to differentiate between ‘Czech’ and ‘Bohemian’ can cause problems. The distinction between Bohemians and Moravians is still commonly observed in the phrase *Češi a Moravané* (Czechs and

¹¹⁹ See, for example, Zbyšek Šustek, ‘Otázka kodifikace spisovného moravského jazyka’, *Slavica Tartuensia*, 4, Tartu, 1998 [in Britské listy] <<http://www.blisty.cz/files/isarc/9809/19980914d.html>> [accessed 18 November 2010], and in response, Alexandr Stích, ‘Tři jazyky v jedné zemi’, seminar for *Obce spisovatelů pro zahraniční bohemisty*, 9 September 1998 [in Britské listy] <<http://www.blisty.cz/files/isarc/9809/19980914c.html>> [accessed 18 November 2010].

¹²⁰ ‘Moravský jazykový separatismus: zdroje, cíle, slovanský kontext’, p. 297.

¹²¹ See ‘Češi a slovenština’, p. 16.

Moravians), although the precise meaning of *Češi* in this collocation is derived almost entirely from its juxtaposition with *Moravané*. Where *Moravané* is omitted, or an alternative comparison (for example Bohemians and Austrians) is required, it is necessary to use a paraphrase such as *Češi v Čechách* (the ‘Czechs’ in Bohemia) or *Češi žijící na Moravě* (Bohemians living in Moravia) to identify the Bohemians as a separate ethnic group.¹²² The ambiguity arising from the accusative plural of *Čech*, as in *mám rád Čechy* (both ‘I like the Czechs/Bohemians’ and ‘I like Bohemia’), theoretically compounds the difficulties, but where there may be confusion, native speakers tend to qualify such remarks; compare, for instance, *mám rád Čechy, zvláště jejich humor* (I like the Czechs, especially their humour) and *mám rád Čechy, zvláště jejich malebnou přírodu* (I like Bohemia, especially its picturesque countryside). While in practice context may generally disambiguate meaning, it does not altogether dispel the impression that the terms *Čech* and *Moravan* are of an unequal status.

The use of the accusative plural of the name of an ethnic group to denote a territorial land (for example, *Sasy* [Saxony] and *Šváby* [Swabia], today *Sasko* and *Švábsko*), was the norm in Czech until around the end of the fifteenth century, and persisted as standard usage in some cases into the seventeenth century (for instance, *Španěly* [Spain] and *Švýčary* [Switzerland]).¹²³ Morfill gives the examples of *Španělý* (Spain [with a long ‘ý’]), *Němci* (Germany), *Rakousy* (Austria) and *Francouzzy* (France), also *ve Francouzích* (in France [without ‘s’]), which he regarded as commonplace.¹²⁴ Even nowadays it is not unusual to encounter colloquial forms such as *jak se v Němcích říká* (as they say in Germany), *jeli jsme do Italů* (we went to Italy), *delegace ze Švýcar* (a delegation from Switzerland) or, to cite *Lidové noviny* (from ČNK – SYN2006PUB), 1993, *už nejezdíme do Rakous, Španěl nebo Bavor* (we no longer go to Austria, Spain or Bavaria).¹²⁵ However, *Čechy* is exceptional in that it has survived to this day without an alternative, stylistically neutral singular form.

In the absence of a standard one-word expression for all Czechs, formal Czech sometimes employs the republican-sounding descriptor *občané České republiky* (citizens of the Czech Republic). By contrast, colloquial usage has recently adopted the playful acronyms *Čéeráci/Čéeráci/Čéerané* and *ČRáci/ČRané* (< ČR), presumably by analogy with

¹²² In the past, expressions such as *pan Čech z království* (a Czech gentleman from the Kingdom [of Bohemia]) and *Čech z markrabství* (a Czech from the Margraviate [of Moravia]) were used.

¹²³ See *Synchronní a diachronní aspekty české onymie*, p. 117.

¹²⁴ *A Grammar of the Bohemian or Czech Language*, pp. 108, 130, 134, 155 and 149.

¹²⁵ SYN2006PUB comprises 300 million words.

forms such as *Deděráci* and *Dederóni* ('Ossis', or citizens of the former 'DDR').¹²⁶ Most of the derivatives of *Čech* have pejorative overtones, including *Češátko* and *Čechák*, and its more common diminutive, *Čecháček*, which suggests narrow-mindedness and possibly a tendency to put self-interest first. *SSJČ* defines *Čecháček* as 'an unbalanced, unreliable, or even a bad member of the Czech nation'.¹²⁷ The basic semantic distinction between *Čech* and *Čecháček* can be illustrated by a phrase such as *je typický Čecháček, ale není (pravý) Čech* (he's a typical 'petty Czech', but not a 'real Czech'), but the pragmatic implicatures of this pejorative diminutive are less well defined. As Leech has argued, the connotative meaning of words is inevitably peripheral and relatively unstable, as well as indeterminate and open-ended, since it is a reflection of real-world experience.¹²⁸ The nuances and impact of the expression *čecháčkovství* ('petty Czechness') in a lecture on national self-images are altogether different from its intended criticism of Bohemians in a speech by a Moravian nationalist (*moravista*). When a Slovak employs terms such as *Čecháčkovia*, *Čechurkovia* and *Čechuri*, the implied disapproval, which is clearly aimed at all Czechs, is accentuated by the two peoples' relationship since 1918. On the other hand, as Šíp has pointed out, when President Havel used *Čecháčkové* (as opposed to *Češi*), his choice of endonym was motivated purely by the desire to draw attention to specific types of Czech whose attitude to the rest of Europe is characterized by parochialism, complacency and xenophobia.¹²⁹ The noun *Čecháček* can thus also be a near synonym for the national stereotype of the insular, somewhat small-minded *malý český člověk* (little Czech man), which is so widely recognized that it has spawned its own initialism: *MČČ*. Ladislav Holy has argued that, according to national mythology, 'The Czech nation survived three hundred years of oppression not because of its heroes but because of the little Czechs who were the nation'.¹³⁰

The Czechs have a tradition of using terms derived from or suggestive of *Čech* which denote 'national types' whose behaviour is less than laudable. For example, Božena Němcová (1820–62) employed the noun

¹²⁶ See, for example, Martin Markovič, 'Poznámky k překladům slova Česko', no date <<http://martin.markovic.sweb.cz/cesko-pozn.htm>> [accessed 10 June 2009].

¹²⁷ *SSJČ*, vol. 1, A–G, p. 241. For a more detailed discussion of *Čecháček*, see Lucie Hašová (= Lucie Jílková), *Bemerkungen zum "Ethnonym" Čecháček*, in Markus Bayer, Michael Betsch and Joanna Blaszczak (eds), *Beiträge der Europäischen Slavistischen Linguistik (POLYSLAV)*, 7, Munich, 2004, pp. 80–87.

¹²⁸ Geoffrey Leech, *Semantics*, Harmondsworth, 1974, pp. 14–16.

¹²⁹ Emil Šíp, 'Čecháčkové', *Národní osvobození*, 5 August 1999 [in *Britské listy*] <<http://www.blisty.cz/art/10864.html>> [accessed 4 June 2009].

¹³⁰ *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 62.

Nedočech (also found in its adjectival form *nedočeský* in the writings of Palacký and others), to depict a ‘bad’ (German inclined) Czech, although it largely fell out of use in the nineteenth century. The suffix ‘nedo-’ suggests incompleteness and/or unworthiness, and is recorded in other obsolete expressions, such as *nedobabka* (a woman who is not yet old) and *nedobásník* (a poor poet). Another old-fashioned designation which highlights a lack of patriotic steadfastness is *Čehona* (from the first three syllables of the third verse of the Austro-Hungarian hymn **Čehonabyl občan pilný** ... [What the diligent citizen acquired ...]). *Čehona*, coined by Viktor Dyk (1877–1931), denoted an over-obliging citizen, whose behaviour was that of a creep snuggling up to Vienna; whence *čehonovský/čehonský charakter* (*Čehona character*). While it may now be regarded as an entertaining historical anachronism, it may also have influenced the adoption by Moravians of the mildly derogatory Slovak words *Čehún/Čehuň/Čehun*, frequently spelt both in Slovak and Czech as *Čechún/Čechuň/Čechun*. The terms *Čehún/Čehuň* and so forth were sometimes used by Slovaks in the First Republic to suggest the notion of a *čechisátor/čechista* (a ‘Czechist’, or Czech committed to policies seeking to subsume Slovak identity), but nowadays they are applied more generally in Slovak to any Czech. Shortly after the break-up of Czechoslovakia, *čechista* acquired the meaning amongst Moravian separatists of a Bohemian opposed to Moravian independence. Similarly, since 1993, *čechizovat* and *počešťovat/počeštit* (to Czechize), and *čechizace* and *počešťování/počeštění* (Czechization), have been used by some Moravians to denote the ‘Bohemianization’ (*bohemizace/bohemizování*) of Moravia, and *počeštěnec* (a person who has adopted Czech ways) has been applied to a ‘Bohemian turncoat’ (that is, an ‘unpatriotic’ Moravian whose allegiance has switched to Bohemia) (cf. *Bohemisiren* [to bohemianize; under the lemma *bohemizugi, -ovatí*] in Jungmann’s dictionary).¹³¹

There are a number of colloquialisms for all the indigenous ethnic groups of the Czech Republic, but the most common are words for Bohemians. One of the less derogatory is the Moravian dialect term *Švéd* (a ‘Swede’) (cf. *Švédsko*, above), which primarily denotes an inhabitant of Prague, but has undergone semantic extension to embrace all Bohemians. Košková includes *Švéd* in the category of ‘de-ethnonymized forms of ethnic nicknames’, and notes that it is also used as a more general term for a Czech in Slovak.¹³² Another noun employed in

¹³¹ *Slovník českoněmecký*, vol. 1, p. 155.

¹³² Mária Košková, ‘Etnické koncepty v jazyku (na bulharskom a slovenskom materiáli)’, *Slavica Slovaca*, 41, 2006, 1, pp. 17–31 (p. 24). See also Braňo Hochel, *Slovník slovenského slangu*, Bratislava, 1993, p. 87.

modern Moravian jargon is *Českoň* (< *Česko*), although its nuances seem to be variable. A more common pejorative definiens is *cajzl/cajzlák*, from German *Zeisig* (siskin), suggestive through rhyme of *hajzl* (rotten sod), which conveys a conceited, overbearing person, especially from Prague, and gives rise to phrases such as *cajzláci z Práglu* ('Bumhemians' from 'Prag') and *cajzlovské bazmek* ('Bumhemian' junk). According to Hugo, the diminutive of *cajzl* is *čížek*, which is itself also a mildly abusive term for a Bohemian. *Čížek* may be used in conjunction with *cajzl*, as in *byl to takovej typickej cajzl, čížek jakési* (he was a typical *cajzl*, a real *čížek*). It is sometimes, perhaps jokingly, taken as a diminutive of *Čech*, but any etymological connection seems improbable.¹³³ Mates concedes that in some cases the surname *Čížek* may be attributable to the Moravian nickname for Bohemians, although he also identifies other explanations, such as the possibility that it relates to a person with a cheerful demeanour or to someone who is fickle and flighty. His most plausible suggestion is that the name reflects the birdsong of a siskin, not least because this conforms to the national stereotype of the Czech as a lover of singing and music (as in the phrases *co Čech, to muzikant* [every Czech is a musician] and *v hudbě je život Čechů* [the Czechs live for music]).¹³⁴

Three dated exonyms for a Bohemian/Czech, cited by Ouředník, are *chaloupka* (a small cottage), *chrapoun* (country yokel, boorish person), and *tvarohová držka* (cottage cheese gob), of which the latter two were especially offensive.¹³⁵ As in many other cases, it is difficult to establish when and why these particular lexical items were first subject to semantic broadening, but the choice of all three is unsurprising in culturo-linguistic terms. The phrase *tvarohová držka* conforms to a common pattern, in which the name of a national dish is taken as a defining feature of a person's ethnicity. The noun *chrapoun*, which Podzimek included in the category of *světské výrazy* (secular expressions) in his 1937 study, belongs to another significant group of words which highlight the lack of sophistication of the peasantry.¹³⁶ Urban Czechs have an ambiguous and ambivalent attitude to village life. On the one hand, they are inclined to sneer at their country cousins, as reflected in numerous terms denoting yokels, such as *balík*, *buran*, *křupan* and *vidlák* (literally 'someone who works with a pitchfork'), while on the other,

¹³³ See Jan Hugo et al., *Slovník nespisovné češtiny*, Prague, 2006, pp. 77 and 89 (hereafter, *SNČ*). Mates, *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 45–46, lists both Čech and Čížek amongst the most popular 250 Czech surnames.

¹³⁴ *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 39 and 46.

¹³⁵ Patrik Ouředník, *Šmírbuch jazyka českého. Slovník nekonvenční češtiny*, Prague and Litomyšl, 2005, p. 44.

¹³⁶ See Jonathon Green, *Words Apart: The Language of Prejudice*, London, 1996, pp. 277–81, and Jaroslav Podzimek, *Slovníček "Světská hantýrka"*, Prague, 1937, cited in *SNČ*, p. 163.

they crave the simple pleasures which the countryside offers. The use of *chaloupka* may at least have partly reflected what Eisner characterized as their rustic affinities and yearning to return to the roots of their forebears.¹³⁷

The most widely-used word for a 'Bohemian' throughout the Czech Republic is the jocular term *pepík* — a familial hypocoristic from the popular name *Josef*; possibly derived from Saint Joseph, Jesus's putative father (in Spanish *padre putativo* or *PP*; whence Spanish *Pepe* and Czech *Pepe/Pepě*). *Pepík* has had numerous cognates, such as *pepiček*, *pepan*, *pepánek*, *pepas*, *pepásek*, *pepé* and *pepec*, as well as *pepický* (pertaining to a *pepík*), *pepíckost/pepíctví* (the characteristics of a *pepík*) and *pepičtina* (the style of speech of a *pepík*), whose precise use and interpretation has varied significantly.¹³⁸ In early twentieth-century Czech suburban folklore, *pepíci* denoted day labourers in the Žižkov district of Prague, but the term was subsequently applied more generally to beer-swilling, Švejk-like characters, who engaged in inconsequential banter in Prague hostleries. Nowadays, *pepík* may be understood to mean either a Prague non-sophisticate (often referred to as *pražskéj pepík*) — perhaps roughly the equivalent in a British context to a Cockney — or, especially in Moravia, any Bohemian who relies more on native wit than formal education.¹³⁹ In Slovak, the semantic extension is taken further to apply humorously, but more satirically, to all Czechs. Poles similarly use *pepik/pepiczek* as a light-hearted, but slightly condescending descriptor of a 'typical' Czech, while the Viennese are said to have favoured the form *pepi* in the past.

The normal colloquial term for a 'Moravian' throughout the Czech Republic is *Moravák/Moravačka*, which is sometimes contrasted with *Čecháček/Čecháčkyňě* (see above). The forms *Moravec/Moravka* and the diminutive *Moraváček* are also found in dialect, although they may have the more specific meaning of an inhabitant of Hlučínsko and the surrounding Czech-Polish borderlands, who speaks the Lachian dialect of Czech.¹⁴⁰ Hannan notes that by the nineteenth century *Moravec* 'was attested as an ethnicon only in far northeastern Moravia and in neighbouring parts of Silesia'.¹⁴¹ *Moravec* has tended to have pejorative

¹³⁷ *Chrám i tvrz*, p. 339.

¹³⁸ The name *Pepa Novák* denotes the hypothetical average Czech man — the Czech equivalent of Joe Bloggs.

¹³⁹ The nearest Moravian equivalent is probably *brněnské štatlař* (a Brno 'loafer'), but it is not applied to the wider Moravian population.

¹⁴⁰ *Jména tajemství zbavená*, pp. 172–73, lists *Moravec* as the fifty-third most common Czech surname, and notes that, as an ethnonym, it can also be used as a diminutive for *Moravan*.

¹⁴¹ See Kevin Hannan, *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*, New York, 1996, p. 77.

overtones if used more generally. As Dudek, writing in 1927, colourfully observed, ‘To apply to a Czech, even to a native of Moravia, the somewhat contemptuous term *Moravec* [. . .] produces an effect similar to alluding to the canine ancestry of a Texas cow-puncher’.¹⁴² Also recorded by Ouředník as more general terms for a Moravian are *brostrov*, derived from *brněnský ostrov* (the [former German-speaking] ‘island’ of Brno), *bryncel* (an inhabitant of Brno — probably from *Brünzel*, a diminutive of *Brünn* [Brno]), and *valášek* (a Wallachian — a diminutive of *Valach*).¹⁴³ Rather more racist in tone is the extant exonym *Asiat* (Asiatic), which is redolent of the Asiatic hordes.¹⁴⁴ As Eisner pointed out in 1946, ‘*Asijec*, *asijský* (Asian) are neutral designations to us, whereas *Asiat*, *asiatský* are designations which are viewed negatively by us’.¹⁴⁵ In the past, some Bohemians jokingly referred to their Moravian neighbours as *pauzáci* (‘Pausers’), based on the notion that the Moravian section of the Czechoslovak National Anthem was the pause between the Czech and Slovak verses.¹⁴⁶ The term *Moravoslezané*/*MoravoSlezané* is sometimes used of people from the Moravian-Silesian region, as are colloquialisms such as *Moravoslováci* (Moravian Slovaks or Moravians from Slovácko) and *Pšonkomoraváci* (Polish Moravians).

There are also several more expressions for different types of Czech Silesian. *Šlonzáci* and *Šlonzoci* (cf. Polish *Ślązaci*/*Ślązoci*) denote the inhabitants of the western part of Těšínsko, whose speech, *šlonzáčtina*, combines elements of Czech and Polish. Such was the reluctance of the Czechoslovak authorities in the First Republic to risk drawing attention to a specifically Silesian identity that the 1921 census included the appellations *Šlonzák-Čechoslovák*, *Šlonzák-Polák* (-Pole) and *Šlonzák-Němec* (-German), in preference to *Slezan*, for the citizens of Těšínsko.¹⁴⁷ The colloquialisms *Prajz*/*Prajzák*/*Prajzak*/*Prajzula* — derivatives of the German *Preussen* (Prussia) — are used of a Silesian living in Opavsko and Hlučínsko, whose language contains a mixture of Czech, Polish and German. In the 1920s, the Polish media referred to the Czechs as *Prusaki Wschodu* (the Prussians of the east), which drew on a southern

¹⁴² J. B. Dudek, ‘The Bohemian Language in America’, *American Speech*, 2, 1927, 7, pp. 299–311 (p. 307).

¹⁴³ *Smírňuch jazyka českého*, p. 148. See also *SNČ*, p. 72.

¹⁴⁴ Pynsent, *Questions of Identity*, pp. 93–94, notes that Šafařík likened the Magyars to the devilish Asiatic hordes.

¹⁴⁵ *Chrást i tvor*, p. 124.

¹⁴⁶ In a similar vein to *pauzáci* was *Kakánie* (Cackland), based on the abbreviation *kk* for *kaiserlich und königlich* (imperial and royal), which Germans used for the Habsburg monarchy, as well as *Švejkoslovensko* (Švejkoslovakia) to denote Czechoslovakia after the post-1968 ‘normalization’.

¹⁴⁷ For a discussion of the *Šlonzáci*, see *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*. See also Franz Chocholatý Gröger, ‘Šlonzáci a Volkliste’, *Go East*, November 2008, pp. 1–9 <http://www.go-east-mission.de/dateien/cz/126_031108.pdf> [accessed 2 July 2009].

German tradition of Prussian negative stereotypes, encapsulated in the slang term *Saupreusse* (Prussian swine).¹⁴⁸ The Czech derivative of *Prus* (a Prussian) — *Prušák* — has also been widely used as a term of abuse for Germans in general, and was previously associated with German expansionism, as highlighted in the definition of *prušáctví* (Prussianness) in *SSJČ*: ‘the sum of the characteristics ascribed to the former Prussians, especially German imperialism and militarism.’¹⁴⁹ The expression *Vasrpoláci* (from German *Wasserpölen*) (‘Water Poles’), written variously as *Was(s)erpoláci/Wasserpöläci/Wasserpölané*, which has more pejorative overtones, refers to the *Homoslezané* (Upper Silesians), who live in and around Český Těšín and Třinec, and similarly speak a Silesian/Moravian-Polish dialect (*vasrpolština/wasserpölstina*), with strong German influence.¹⁵⁰ More neutral in tone is the noun *Gorali*, from Polish, which is also used of mountain dwellers from the Silesian and Polish Beskydy (as well as the Polish side of the Tatra mountains), to denote a distinction between the highlanders and people from the Polish plains or fields (*pole*).

‘Unproblematic’ foreigners

Despite the asymmetrical nature of Czech-Slovak relations, there has been little overt conflict between the two peoples. The Czechs and Slovaks recognize their shared heritage, as well as an enduring debt of gratitude to one another for their liberation from German and Hungarian hegemony, respectively. They have traditionally felt strong kinship ties, as reflected in the Czech phrases *bratři Slováci* (Slovak brothers) / *bratrské Slovensko* (brotherly Slovakia), and the Slovak expression *bratia Česi* (Czech brothers). Ruzicka and Stullerova argue that the lack of animosities between the Czech lands and Slovakia in terms of their foundational myths is reflected to this day in the absence of mutually derogatory terms for each other.¹⁵¹ This is partly correct. Most of the colloquial metonyms that the Slovaks use to describe the Czechs are at worst gently ironic; for example, *Franta* (a diminutive of František) and (*český*) *Honza* ([Czech] Honza; from the common name Jan; cf. German *Hans*), popularized by the hero of Czech fairy-tales, *Hloupý Honza* (Stupid Honza; ‘Silly Billy’) or *Český Honza* (Czech

¹⁴⁸ See Michał Łuczyński, ‘Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu’, *Respectus Philologicus*, 15, 2009, 20, pp. 134–42 (p. 137), and *Chrást i turz*, p. 351.

¹⁴⁹ *SSJČ*, vol. 4, P–Q, p. 510.

¹⁵⁰ See *SNČ*, pp. 410 and 434.

¹⁵¹ See Jan Ruzicka and Kamila Stullerova, ‘From the Second Best Option to Dissolution: Instrumentality and Identity in Czechoslovak Federalism’, in Emilian Kavalski and Magdalena Żółkoś (eds), *Defunct Federalisms: Critical Perspectives on Federal Failure*, Farnham, 2008, pp. 129–43 (p. 137).

Honza).¹⁵² Another term which Smatana, a Czech journalist of Slovak origin, says that *roduvěrní Slováci* (Slovak patriots) have applied to him affectionately, is *paštikář* (pâté maker). He speculates that *paštikáři*, whose name derives from the Czechs' money-saving habit of taking tins of pâté (*paštika*) with them when they travel, may have become established in Slovakia well before the Czechs took to visiting Croatia in large numbers after 1989.¹⁵³

Czech descriptors of the Slovaks and their country similarly tend not to be overtly hostile or disdainful. Amongst the more common derivatives of *Slovák* are the expressive form *Slováček* and the old-fashioned noun *Slovačka* (Slovak woman; also used of a Moravia-Slovak woman), as well as the bookish and poetic-sounding synonyms for Slovakia, *Slovač* and *Slovačina*. Some of the other terms for a Slovak based on 'cultural' allusions are subject to personal interpretation. The choice of the name of the Slovak national dish *haluška* (similar to gnocchi) might equate stylistically to, say, the French use of *les rosbifs* for the British. The ethnonym *Jánošík* (from the Slovak Robin Hood-like folk hero, Juro Jánošík, 1688–1713) may be either affectionate or sarcastic, depending on context, and the user's intended meaning. Smatana employs *Jánošíci* in the title of, and throughout, his sympathetic study of his Slovak forebears, whom he also calls *podtatranský lid* (the people from beneath the Tatra mountains). He likewise points out that *Jánošík* remains popular in film and fiction, and that there are twenty-five streets named after him in Slovakia.¹⁵⁴ The contemporary neologisms *čobol/čobolák* (Slovak) and *Čobolsko* (Slovakia), from the Czech writer Miroslav Švandrlík's novel and screenplay *Černí baroni* (1992), which contains the line **Čo bolo, to bolo, terazky som majorom!** ('What has been has been; now I'm a major!') are unambiguously flippant, but not especially offensive. *Čobol/čobolák* is probably the nearest stylistic equivalent of *pepík*, although it obviously does not have the same cultural connotations. There do not appear to be any Czech colloquialisms applied uniformly to Bratislavans, although Smatana has noted that, in tourist resorts such as Donovaly (central Slovakia), people from the Slovak capital are commonly referred to as *paštikáři* (see above).¹⁵⁵ It might be added that *Blava*, which sounds like a compound of *bláto*

¹⁵² For a discussion of the character of *Hloupý Honza*, see Josef Jedlička, 'O hrdinství anebo Hloupý Honza', in *České typy a jiné eseje*, Brno, 2009, pp. 9–14 (p. 11).

¹⁵³ Lubomír Smatana, *Jánošíci s těžkou hlavou. Mýty a realita Slovenska očima českého reportéra*, Prague, 2010, pp. 77–78.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 26–29, 272 and 290.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

(mud) and *kráva* (cow), is widely used in both Czech and Slovak as a humorous term for the Slovak capital city.¹⁵⁶

The Czechs' affection for the Slovaks is confirmed by opinion polls, in which Slovakia is consistently identified as their favourite 'foreign' country, and the Slovaks themselves are specified as their preferred 'foreign' nation.¹⁵⁷ In 'Attitudes', 36 per cent of the informants cited Slovak as the language to which they relate most positively, and a further 11 per cent identified it as their second choice.¹⁵⁸ Nevertheless, although the Czechs may be well disposed to the Slovaks and their language, it is not altogether correct to say that Czech is devoid of negative phrases for their erstwhile partners. The expressive term *Slovačisko* is defined in *SJČ* (1937) as 'a lumpish [*neohrabany*], real Slovak',¹⁵⁹ and the dialectal form *Slovena* for *Slovenka* (a Slovak woman) also has a slightly contemptuous tone. Similarly disrespectful are the obscure lexical innovation *človák* — a blend of *Slovák* (Slovak) and *člověk* (person) — which is suggestive of 'half-man, half-Slovak', and the much better established term *Hejslovák*, from the title of the unofficial anthem (see above), which denotes an extreme nationalist. A potentially sensitive chord may likewise be struck by the descriptor *kečkemét* (Kecskemét — the name of a city in central Hungary), which evokes a long tradition of Hungarian suppression. Lack of opportunity under Hungarian rule ensured that much of the Slovak population lived and worked in the countryside, as exemplified by the unpleasant marginal ethnophaulism *kozomrd* (goat shagger). In Wallachia and other Czech-Slovak borderland areas, the Slovaks (as well as Moravians and Silesians) who colonized the forests and mountains were sometimes referred as *kopaničáři* (diggers) and *pasekáři* (gladers). Of the Slovaks who did not work on the land, a significant number were employed in low prestige trades and manual jobs, as demonstrated by the exonyms *dráteník/dráteníček* ([travelling] tinker), the old-fashioned term *pastičkář* (seller of mousetraps), and the equally-dated forms *šalen/šaliňák*

¹⁵⁶ According to Ivan Lutterer, Milan Majtán and Rudolf Šrámek, *Žeměpisná jména Československa*, Prague, 1982, pp. 60–61, the term Bratislava was first used in 1844, but it was officially adopted only in 1920. The city has borne numerous names in its history, of which the oldest are *Wratisslaburgum* (805), *Braslevespurch*, *Brezalauspurc* (907), *Preslawaspurch* (1052), *Bresburg*, *Presburch* (1108), whence *Prešpurok*, *Prešporek* and *Prešporok*, and *Prešpurk* (in Czech). *Žeměpisná jména Československa* also explains the origins of its Hungarian name *Pozsony*, but does not allude to the fact that in 1918 it was briefly called *Wilsonovo (mesto)*.

¹⁵⁷ See, for example, Jan Červenka, 'Vztah Čechů k vybraným národnostem – prosinec 2009', *Centrum pro výzkum veřejného mínění*, 18 January 2010, pp. 1–3 (p. 2) (hereafter, *CVVM*) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/100995s_ov100118.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

¹⁵⁸ *Attitudes to Lexical Borrowing in the Czech Republic*, p. 29.

¹⁵⁹ *SJČ*, vol. 2, L–Ž, p. 1384.

(Moravian dialect terms for ‘tramwayman’), which referred specifically to a Slovak from the east of the country.¹⁶⁰ The implied connection with the much-derided Roma, originally largely from Slovakia, is unambiguous, especially in the case of *dráteník*.

The Czechs’ attitude to the Poles, and vice versa, has inevitably been influenced by the various twentieth-century territorial disputes over Těšínsko, and by Polish involvement in the Warsaw Pact military intervention of 1968. However, surveys conducted in both countries show that, in general, relations are now reasonable, with the Poles remaining ahead of the Americans, Hungarians and Germans in the Czechs’ affections, and the Czechs viewed as acceptable by Poles, especially outside areas of historical conflict.¹⁶¹ Linguistically, the two peoples are quite close, but there is a widespread realization in both countries of the differences in their traits and values. Hannan argues that the Czechs have traditionally seen the Poles as inefficient and lacking in perseverance, whereas the Poles have characterized the Czechs as a submissive and irreligious people, whose national character is personified by Švejk.¹⁶² Sodomková has pointed out that to this day Poland boasts numerous statues of Švejk, as well as cycle tracks and pubs named after him.¹⁶³ Kroh has similarly highlighted the importance of the Švejk image in a collection of essays on Polish-Czech relations and national characteristics.¹⁶⁴ Amongst the traditional stereotypes identified by Łuczyński are some which are overtly negative, such as the Czechs’ tendency to show complacency, lack tenacity and make over-zealous civil servants, and several which are more positive, including their musicality, pragmatism, hard work and sense of humour.¹⁶⁵ The ethnic and linguistic similarities between the Poles and Czechs are illustrated in the phrases (*nasi*) *bracia Czesi* ([our] Czech brothers) (cf. Slovak *bratia Česi*, above) and *czeski błąd* (a Czech error), which has been used to denote a minor spelling mistake, of the type that resembles Czech. Yet, despite the closeness of their languages, the Czechs and Poles do not always fully understand each other, as suggested by the common Polish metaphor *czeski film* (Czech film), which can refer to virtually anything that is impenetrable.

¹⁶⁰ As is well known, *šalina* continues to be commonly used in Brno for a ‘tram’.

¹⁶¹ See ‘Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu’, pp. 138–39, ‘Vztah Čechů k vybraným národnostem – prosinec 2009’, p. 2, and Paulína Tabery, ‘Vztah Čechů k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR’, *CVTM*, 4, June 2010, pp. 2–3 (p. 2) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101041s_ov100604b.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

¹⁶² *Borders of Language and Identity in Teschen Silesia*, p. 184.

¹⁶³ Magdalena Sodomková, ‘Poláci vítají “arcidilo” – Švejka’, *Mladá fronta Dnes*, 19 August 2009, p. A7.

¹⁶⁴ Antoni Kroh, *O Szejku i o nas*, Warsaw, 2002.

¹⁶⁵ See ‘Czech oczami Polaka – próba rekonstrukcji stereotypu’, pp. 135–39.

Amongst the colloquial expressions which Poles have used of the Czechs are *bohmak* ('Bohemian'), the ironic near homophone *bohater* (hero) (cf. Czech *bohаты́r* < Russian *bogatyř*), *Honzik* (a cognate of *Honza*, as in Slovak) and the culinary accompaniment to Czech meat dishes, *knedle/knedliczki* (knedliks/dumplings). Of these, *knedle/knedliczki* — another example of what Green has called 'gastro-nationalism'¹⁶⁶ — is perhaps best known in contemporary Polish. Somewhat more pejorative terms, used in the past, have included *Wendiczek/Wendiczki*, *Wencliczek/Wencliczki* (*Václav* [patron saint of the Czechs]) and *Precliczek/Precliczki*, derived from the name of the fictional character Wenzl Pretschlitschek.¹⁶⁷ The Czechs, especially the north Moravians and Silesians, have similarly had a variety of colloquialisms for the Poles, such as *antek* (the Polish equivalent of *pepik*, but with closer connections to the criminal underworld), and *pšon(e)k* (possibly a derivative of *pes* [a dog], but reminiscent of the way Poles speak), which gave rise to *Pšonsko* (Poland) and *pšonština* (the Polish language). Other old-fashioned terms include *Perun* (the God of thunder and lightning in Slavonic mythology) and *Polok* (a cognate of *Polák*).

The lexicons of Czech and German continue to bear witness to negative stereotypes of the speakers of the other language, but relations between Czechs and Germans/Austrians have improved to the point that there is no longer much overt enmity or suspicion.¹⁶⁸ Amongst the better established German terms relating to the Czechs is *Wenzel* (cf. Polish *Wencliczek*, above), which is still applied to the Bohemian territories in the Crownlands: *Länder der Wenzels-Krone* (*Koruny svatováclavské*). In Austria-Hungary, *der Böhmische Wenzel* (*český Václav* or 'the Czech Wenceslas') became a synonym for Czechs' insistence on putting their own narrow ethnic interests above those of the empire. *Wenzel* is also found in the unrelated title *Böhmische-Wenzel-Weg* (The Bohemian Wenzel Path), around the town of Schirgiswalde, which is said to be named after the captain of a band of (Czech) thieves. A connection between the Czechs and larceny is similarly identified in the old-fashioned phrases *böhmisch einkaufen* (to buy Bohemian), meaning 'to shoplift', and *der böhmische Żurkel* (the Bohemian circle), which in

¹⁶⁶ *Words Apart*, p. 145.

¹⁶⁷ From Jan Lam's novel *Panna Emilia czyli Wielki Świat Capowic*, set in Galicia in 1866, first published in Warsaw, 1869.

¹⁶⁸ Czechs make little distinction between Germans and Austrians. According to a poll by the agency Miliard Brown, 64.7 per cent of Czechs feel unthreatened by Germans. See Dan Hrubý, 'Průzkum pro LN: Česká mládež se Německa nebojí, lidé nad 60 mu nevěří', *Lidové noviny*, 8 October 2010 <http://www.lidovky.cz/pruzkum-pro-ln-ceska-mladez-se-nemecka-neboji-lide-nad-60-mu-neveri-px7-/ln_domov.asp?c=A101007-174118_ln_domov_tsh> [accessed 21 December 2010].

Viennese slang denoted a gesture where the thumb is pointed downwards, with the fingers around it, to indicate ‘stealing’.¹⁶⁹ The money theme is likewise reflected in the once frequent use of *Böhm* for *Groß* (groschen) in German (cf. *czech* in Polish, and its equivalents in other Slavonic languages). Amongst the other well known expressions relating to Czechs are *das ist mir ein böhmisches Dorf / das sind böhmische Dörfer für mich* (it was a Bohemian village to me / they are Bohemian villages for me), equivalent to ‘that’s all Greek to me’, which alludes to the difficulty experienced by Germans in pronouncing Czech place names.¹⁷⁰ The differences between Czech and German are further revealed in the phrase *das kommt mir böhmisch vor* (that seems a bit Bohemian to me), equivalent to ‘that sounds a bit Irish to me’, and in the old-fashioned verb *böhmakeln* (to speak in a Bohemian way) — ‘to speak with an awful accent’. Even more negative in terms of its connotations was the nickname for Adolf Hitler, *der böhmische Gefreite* (the Bohemian Lance-Corporal), which has been attributed to an error by Hindenburg, who allegedly mistook *Braunau am Inn* for *Braunau* (Czech *Broumov*) in north-east Bohemia.

The forms *Böhmen* and *böhmisch* were often preferred in German to *Czechen*, *czechisch* and so forth, even by Revivalist scholars, as a way of emphasizing the Czechs’ historic links with the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. The term *Tschech* and its cognates have contributed little to the idiomatic development of German, although *Tschechisation* (Czechization) has been applied by Czech scholars in German to the expulsion of German speakers from the former Sudetenland in 1945 and 1946. Viennese German contains several colloquialisms relating to drinking, such as *tschechern* (to booze), *Tschecherant* (habitual heavy drinker) and *Tschecherl* (*Tschocherl*/*Tschoch*) (a small, local café), which are phonologically so similar to *Tschech* that they are sometimes incorrectly taken to have a common etymology. The presence of a large number of Czech workers in Vienna around the end of the nineteenth century, including the so-called brick-Bohemians or *Ziegelböhmern* (in Viennese dialect *Ziaglböhm*), can only have reinforced the misapprehension that *Tschechern* was derived from *Tschech*.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ Jan Hugo, ‘Latina ...’, *Lidovky.cz*, 13 March 2009 <http://www.lidovky.cz/latina-c4w-/ln_noviny.asp?c=A090313_000129_ln_noviny_sko&klic=230532&mes=090313_o> [accessed 11 June 2009].

¹⁷⁰ See Christoph Gutknecht, *Lauter böhmische Dörfer. Wie die Wörter zu ihrer Bedeutung kamen*, Munich, 1996, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ *Tschechern* is almost certainly derived from German *zechen* (to booze). O. I. Bykova, ‘Etnokul’turnyi repertuar nemetskikh pragmatononimov’, *Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Seria “Lingvistika i mezhkul’turnaia kommunikatsiia”* 2005, 2, p. 13, suggests that *Tschecherl* was originally criminal slang, from Hebrew *schächar* (to inebriate), and that *Tschoch* is a back formation. The terms *čechr*/*šojchr* (beer) and *čoch* (pub) are also well established in Czech slang.

As is well known, the Czech words for an Austrian, *Rakušan/Rakušanka*, and Austria, *Rakousko*, are derived from the Czech name of the Austrian castle Rakuš (< Ratgoz), now called Raabs in German.¹⁷² Of greater interest in the context of this article is the colloquial cognate, *Rakušák/Rakušačka* (an Austrian), which gave rise to the once commonly-used pejoratives *rakušácký* (pro-Habsburg) and *rakušáctví* (Austrophilism), as well as to the verbal phrase *smýšlet rakušácky* (to have pro-Habsburg views). Geographically specific terms applied to all Austrians, such as *štajerák* (an inhabitant of Styria) and *tyrolák* (a Tyrolean) tend to be inoffensive, although *mošťák* (which probably originally related to a citizen of Mostviertel) has for reasons unclear to me acquired derogatory overtones. Other colloquial terms for an Austrian vary from the obviously playful, such as *Australan* (literally ‘an Australian’), to the slightly more disrespectful, including *Austriják* and *Osterajch* (German *Österreich*). More difficult to explain is the use of *kaštan* (literally ‘chestnut’), although it may relate to the chestnut flower (in the shape of a shaving brush) which adorns the traditional Austrian hat.

Slang words and colloquialisms applied to the Germans and their country often fit into one of four broad categories: (1) generic descriptors derived from the national names *Němec*, *German* [ge:rman] and *Deutsch*, (2) terms based on the names of the inhabitants of a specific part of Germany, (3) German first names used as ethnonyms, and (4) names relating to German imperial ambition. Cognates of *Němec* include lexical items used in the National Revival, such as *Němčisko* (a German) and *Nedoněmec* (a ‘bad’ German) (cf. *Nedočech*, above), as well as *Němčour* (an obstinate German) and its derivatives *Němčourek*, *němčourský* (adjective) and *němčourství* (Germanness), together with the distasteful slang compound *Němčurák* (*čurák* = a stupid prick). In a similarly pejorative vein are *Germán*, and its related exonym *Germánie* (Germany). By comparison, the colloquialisms *Dojč*, *Dojčák* and *Dojčlandák* (Deutsch[lander]) may be more benign, and there is a distinctly light-hearted quality to the once common terms for East Germans — *Deděráci/Dederóni* (see above) and *Enděráci* (citizens of the former GDR, previously called *Německá demokratická republika*). Amongst the more general words for a German based on the names of geographical entities are *Prajzák* (in the broader sense of ‘Prussian’) and *Průšák* (see above), *Sasík/Saksík* (literally ‘a Saxon’), *Šváb* (literally ‘a Swabian’, but also a ‘cockroach’, when spelt with a small ‘š’) and *skopčák/skopoun* (perhaps a person from the hills — [člověk] s kopců, but

¹⁷² See, for example, Lucie Jílková, ‘Exonyma’, in Jan Králík et al., *Každý den s češtinou. Zájímavosti a zvláštnost*, Prague, 2009, pp. 192–93 (p. 192).

suggestive of *skopec* — a castrated ram). Fleming, cited by Jaworska, provides similar examples from Polish anti-German graffiti: “‘Szwaby do domu’ (‘Krauts go home’) and “‘Nie głosuj na Szkopa’ (‘Don’t vote for the Hun).”¹⁷³ Common German first names, applied through semantic extension to the wider population, have included *Fric/Fricek* (Fritz) and *Helmut* (for a man), and *Brunhilda* and *Gertruda* (for a woman). The legacy of Germany’s imperial past is recorded in a handful of terms relating to German citizens, such as *boš* (Boche) (from French slang, later used in the First World War), *nácek* (Nazi), *hakoš* ([wearer of the] swastika or *Hakenkreuz*) and *hitlerjugend* (young, unruly German tourists), as well as *rajch* (Reich) to denote the German state. Other miscellaneous colloquialisms for a German have included *butržeft* (from German *Buttersaft* — ‘butter juice’ — another culinary expression), *jódlér* (yodeller), *švihlík* (dude) and *kružítkář* (formerly an ‘Ossi’, based on the symbol of the dividers [*kružítko*] in the East German state flag). There is a widespread recognition amongst Czechs of their shared cultural heritage with German speakers, as exemplified by the phrase *co Čech, to Němec* (if you are a Czech, you are a German), but also a realization that historically their identity has been defined in terms of their opposition to the German-speaking world. Such was Czech hostility to things German during and shortly after the war that many Czechs used lower-case spellings for terms relating to Germany, such as *němec* (german), *německo* (germany) and *hitler*.

Although the Czech Republic does not border Hungary, there were close historical and geographical connections between Czechoslovakia and Hungary, and Hungarian speakers continue to comprise about a tenth of the Slovak population. The associations between the Czechs and Hungarians are even reflected in American English, in the derogatory compound for an immigrant from central Europe, *bohunk* (derived from *Bohemian* and *Hunk* [Hungarian]), whence the expression *honky*.¹⁷⁴ Czech-Hungarian relations have not always been harmonious and, as Englund has observed, have involved a strong degree of rivalry.¹⁷⁵ Kvaček, amongst others, has suggested that Hungary ‘long regarded Czechoslovakia as its principal adversary’, and that the top

¹⁷³ Sylvia Jaworska, ‘The German Language in Poland: the Eternal Foe and the Wars on Words’, in Jenny Carl and Patrick Stevenson (eds), *Language Discourse and Identity in Europe: The German Language in a Multilingual Space*, Basingstoke, 2009, pp. 51–72 (p. 66). See also Michael Fleming, ‘The Limits of the German Minority Project in Post-Communist Poland: Scale, Space and Democratic Deliberation’, *Nationalities Papers*, 31, 2003, 4, pp. 391–411 (p. 395).

¹⁷⁴ See Philip H. Herbst, *The Color of Words: An Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Ethnic Bias in the United States*, Yarmouth, ME, 1997, p. 35. For further discussion of the term *bohunk*, see Short, ‘The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon’, p. 33 (n. 39).

¹⁷⁵ Terje B. Englund, *The Czechs in a Nutshell*, Prague, 2004, pp. 148–52.

foreign policy goal of Admiral Miklós Horthy, Hungary's regent and head of state, was the nullification of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), which defined the country's post-1918 borders.¹⁷⁶ The legacy of hostility, however, declined rapidly after the advent of Communism and, in the 1970s and 1980s, many Czechs began to respect the Hungarians for their more liberal interpretation of the Kremlin's diktats. Geographic boundaries and linguistic and cultural differences, coupled with enduring Slovak-Hungarian tensions, have acted as a restraint on further rapprochement, but it would be fair to say that there is currently little animosity between the two peoples.

Amongst the less flattering epithets for Hungary and its citizens in Czech are several derivatives of *Maďar*, including *Maďarie* (Hungary), *Maďarón/maďarónský* (Hungarian, Magyarone) and *maďarónství* (Hungarianness). *Maďarón* sometimes previously denoted a Hungarian-inclined Slovak, while *Maďar* still suggests a gulf in understanding between Czechs and Hungarians, as in the phrase *copak jsi Maďar, že mi nerozumíš?* (is it because you're a 'dumb Hungarian' that you don't understand me?).¹⁷⁷ The historical designation *Uher* (Hungarian) has not proven as productive in terms of its derivatives, although the colloquialism *uherák*, whose principal meaning is now 'Hungarian salami', has been used (with a capital 'U') of a Hungarian. Two other exonyms also relate to food — *feferón* (hot pepper) and *paprikáč* (poultry seasoned with paprika), and two have military connections — *Avar* (from the name of the nomadic people who sometimes fought alongside Hungarians, Slovaks and others in Hitler's Muslim units) and *honvéd* (the equivalent of a private in the Hungarian army, *Magyar Honvédség*). Rather more difficult to explain is the adoption of the modern slang expression *sekeš* (possibly from the name of the historic city of *Székesfehérvár* — 'the [royal] seat of the white castle'; Slovak *Stoličný Belehrad*). Two further Hungarian terms familiar to Czechs are *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary; modern-day Slovakia)¹⁷⁸ and *Tót/Tóth* — a common Slovak surname (also written *Toth*) — which originally denoted Slavs and other foreigners (cf. Teut/Teuton, deutsch), but is nowadays associated specifically with the Slovaks; whence the colloquial synonym *Tótország* for *Szlovenszko* (Slovakia), and several xenophobic phrases such as *Tót nem ember* (a Slovak is not a person), in Hungarian.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Robert Kvaček, 'The Rise and Fall of a Democracy', in *Bohemia in History*, pp. 244–66 (p. 258).

¹⁷⁷ Cited in *SS7Č*, vol. 3, M–O, p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ An amendment to the Slovak language law in 2009 forbade the teaching of *Felvidék* (Upper Hungary) to Hungarian-speaking children in Slovakia. See Magdalena Sodomková, 'Odted už žádný Felvidék', *Mladá fronta Dnes*, 1 September 2009, p. A6.

¹⁷⁹ See Viktor Krupa, 'Is Linguistic Legislation Acceptable?', *Human Affairs*, 8, 1998, 2, pp. 161–69 (p. 165).

Western tourists, business people and long-term residents are now accepted, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, in the Czech Republic. Most of the colloquialisms in Czech for the British, who constitute the second largest number of Western visitors after the Germans, are well established and inoffensive. The meaning of all the examples listed by Ouředník — *Anglán*, *Tomik* and *Brityš* — can be easily guessed.¹⁸⁰ Czech observes little systematic distinction between ‘English’ and ‘British’, although *Angličan* is statistically more common than *Brit*. According to Hugo, the phrase *Angličan z Vysočan* (Englishman from Vysočany) was previously used to denote a ‘show off’, but after the Second World War it was increasingly replaced by *Američan z Vysočan* (American from Vysočany), perhaps as a result of the declining importance of the British.¹⁸¹ The terms cited by Ouředník for the Americans — *Amerikán*, *Amík*, *Jankej* (Yankee) and *Jenký Dudlouš* (Yankee Doodle), are similarly recognizable and are more or less neutral, as are the old-fashioned American slang terms for the Czechs — *Boho*, *Bohee*, *Bohick* and *Cheskey* (see above), but not so the opaque and disrespectful-sounding *bootchkey* (from *bůček* [belly-pork]).¹⁸² Many of the colloquialisms which have been applied in Czech to the French, such as *Frantl*, *Francek* and *Francouzák*, are likewise transparent and unobjectionable. The polysemous noun *francouzák* (with a small ‘f’) is also a univerbalized form of *francouzský klíč* (monkey wrench) and *francouzský polibek* (French kiss). Other ethnonyms, such as *Cyráno*, *Syráno*, *Frantik* and *žabožrout* (frog glutton/scoffer), may have more negative connotations.¹⁸³ *Cyráno* and *Syráno* are associated primarily with Cyrano de Bergerac’s large nose, *frantik* is also an old-fashioned slang term for the male member, and *žabožrout* (frog glutton/scoffer) sounds more pejorative than the English word ‘Frog’, on which it is probably calqued. By contrast, *Frankrajch* (German *Frankreich*), which is used colloquially of France, projects an unambiguously positive image in the phrase *mít se jako pánbůh ve Frankrajchu* (literally ‘to live like God in France’; to live in clover) — a loan translation of the German *wie Gott in Frankreich leben*. There are at least two readily identifiable exonyms for an Italian relating to food, both cited by Ouředník — *Makarón* (macaroni) and *Špageták* (spaghetti person),¹⁸⁴ as well as several colloquial cognates of *Ital* (Italian), including *Íčko*, *Talián* and *Taloš*, and *Itoška* (Italy). *Talián*, which dates

¹⁸⁰ *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, p. 37.

¹⁸¹ *SNČ*, pp. 44 and 45. The region of Vysočany was presumably chosen on the grounds of prosody, rather than because it was the industrial heart of Prague.

¹⁸² See Short, ‘The Broader Czech (and Slovak) Contribution to the English Lexicon’, pp. 28 and 33. Short cites *bohee* and *bohick* without capitals, based on the spelling in H. L. Mencken, *The American Language*, New York, 1936 (4th edn).

¹⁸³ See *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, pp. 37 and 38.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

back to the nineteenth century, is sometimes associated with incomprehensibility, as in the phrase *mluví hůř než Talián* (he speaks worse than an Italian). In its secondary sense, *talián* refers to a type of coarse seasoned sausage. Amongst the expressions relating to Spain is yet another alluding to language barriers: *španělská vesnice* ('Spanish village'; double Dutch). Several terms connected with the former Yugoslavia — the Czechs' favourite holiday destination, by dint of the proximity of the Croatian coastline — live on as historicisms or misnomers, including *Jugoš* (Yugo[slav]), *Jogurt* (Yugo[slav]; literally 'yoghurt') and *Jugoška* (Yugoslavia).

'Problematic' foreigners

Attitudes to the largest foreign community in the Czech Republic — the Ukrainians — are guarded, despite Czechoslovakia's historical ties with Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia. Most of the Ukrainian speakers who moved to Czechoslovakia after the war have assimilated, but their numbers have been swelled since 1989 by over a hundred thousand new migrants.¹⁸⁵ There is a reluctant recognition that Ukrainians frequently do the work which Czechs are not keen to do, for low pay, but there is also a perception that they are taking 'Czech' jobs.¹⁸⁶ The Czech legionaries in the Great War sometimes referred to the Ukrainians by the jocular derogatory Russian nickname *Chachlák/Chochlák* or *Chachol/Chochol* (based on the characteristic Cossack haircut) — an expression which is not unheard of in Czech today. A much more common and up-to-date colloquialism for a Ukrainian, especially a migrant worker, is *Úkáčko*, but it is unambiguously pejorative; as is the phrase *je to tady samá Ukrajina* (literally 'it's nothing but Ukraine here'; it's full of Ukrainians here).

Russian tourists and migrants tend to be more affluent and better educated than their Ukrainian counterparts, but their role in post-war Czechoslovak history has ensured that they are subject to enduring opprobrium. Amongst the pejorative nouns for a Russian pre-dating the Soviet system are *Rusák/Rusáček* and *Moskal* (Muscovite), which is also widely used in the languages of the former USSR, especially Ukrainian, to denigrate an inhabitant of the Russian capital or, more

¹⁸⁵ Official figures for 2008 put the number of Ukrainians living in the Czech Republic at 131,921 (compared with 76,034 Slovaks, 60,255 Vietnamese, 27,084 Russians, 21,710 Poles and 17,496 Germans). See *Český statistický úřad*, 'Obyvatelstvo. 4-21. Cizinci v ČR podle pohlaví, věku a občanství (stav k 31. 12.)', Prague, 25 November 2009 <<http://www.czso.cz/csu/2009edicniplan.nsf/kapitola/0001-09-2009-0400>> [accessed 20 November 2010].

¹⁸⁶ For an analysis of attitudes to foreign workers, see Jan Červenka, 'Postoje české veřejnosti k zaměstnávání cizinců – březen 2010', *CVVM*, 7 April 2010, pp. 1–2. <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101027s_ov100407.pdf> [accessed 18 December 2010].

generally, any Russian citizen.¹⁸⁷ Other more marginal disrespectful slang terms derived from *Rus* (a Russian) include *Rusál/Ruskov/Rusov* and *Rusanda* (a Russian woman). The semantic range of the personal names *Ivan* and *Gagarin* (the cosmonaut) has occasionally been extended to denote any Russian man, while *Nataša* has been used as a general term for a Russian woman. Several of the exonyms employed in the Soviet period, such as *kolchozník* (collective farm worker), *velký (širý) bratr* (big [vast] brother) and *Sajúz* (from Russian *Soyuz*) for ‘the [Soviet] Union’, have now entered the category of lexical exoticisms. However, the creative slur *švábobíjec* (cockroach beater), which reflected living conditions at a time when Czechs went to Russian-speaking countries in greater numbers than today, may live on amongst some Czech visitors to the ex-USSR. At least two descriptors, which certainly persist, accentuate linguistic and cultural differences between the Czechs and Russians — *azbuk* (a person who uses the Cyrillic alphabet or *azbuka*) and *Mongol* (based on the perception that many Russians have east Asian features). Josef Škvorecký was roundly condemned by the Communist authorities in the late 1950s for his novel *Žbabělci* (*The Cowards*), which depicted the Soviet soldiers in the town of Kostelec (= Náchod) as *Mongolčiči* (little Mongolians).¹⁸⁸ Although overt hostility to the Russians may have declined since the end of Communism, many of the older generation, in particular, continue to regard their liberators-turned-oppressors as an unprincipled, and even backward-looking people, with ‘Asiatic’ proclivities.

Czech perceptions of Asians vary significantly, but are frequently tainted by mistrust and disrespect. Czech-Turkish relations date back to the time of Rudolf II (King of Bohemia from 1575 to 1611), and reflect opposition to the expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The terms *bašibozuk* (literally ‘an uncontrollable soldier in irregular Turkish forces’) and *janičář* (janissary, especially a captive who switched over to the Turkish infantry) are still known in Czech as synonyms for a ‘fanatic’. The verb *poturčit se* (literally ‘to become Turkish’) is more widely used in the derogatory sense of ‘to turn renegade’, and has given rise to *poturčenec* (a turncoat), found commonly in the phrase *poturčenec horší Turka* (a turncoat who is worse than a Turk), roughly equivalent to ‘more Catholic than the Pope’.¹⁸⁹ Also familiar to Czechs is the

¹⁸⁷ See Vladimir Shlyakov and Eve Adler, *Dictionary of Russian Slang and Colloquial Expressions*, New York, 1995, p. 119.

¹⁸⁸ Josef Škvorecký, *Žbabělci*, Prague, 1958. For critical responses to Škvorecký’s novel, see, for example, Josef Rybák, ‘Červivé ovoce’, *Rudé právo*, 14 January 1959, p. 4, and Ladislav Štoll, ‘Úkoly literatury v kulturní revoluci’, *Literární noviny*, 10, 1959, p. 7.

¹⁸⁹ See *Chrám i trz*, p. 191, and Lucie Jílková, ‘Turci v češtině’, in *Každý den s češtinou. Zajímavosti a zvláštnosti*, pp. 216–17 (p. 217).

expression *turecké hospodářství* (Turkish economy), which denotes a banana republic (cf. German *polnische Wirtschaft* [Polish economy]). Not all the associations with things Turkish are so negative. *Turek* (a Turk) is the normal term for *turecká káva* (Turkish coffee), which was the type of coffee traditionally favoured by Czechs, *být zdravý jako Turek* (to be as healthy as a Turk) equates to the phrase ‘to be as fit as a fiddle’, and *sedět jako Turek* (to sit like a Turk) means ‘to sit cross-legged’.

Asians from the south-east of the continent have been well established in Czech society since the Communist era, when Vietnamese, Korean and other students and workers were invited over. Since late 1989, the Vietnamese have become by some margin the largest non-white minority in the Czech Republic. They are also highly visible by dint of their ubiquitous market stalls and convenience shops. While Czechs generally acknowledge the entrepreneurial skills and hard work of the Vietnamese, their use of the informal pronoun *ty* (you) (albeit sometimes in response to inappropriate modes of address by the Vietnamese themselves) may appear patronizing. Amongst the many ethnophaulisms for south-east Asians are *čang/čong* (chink), *rákos/rákoska/rákosník* (‘reed person’), *velocipedista* (cyclist) and *žluták* (‘yellow man’).

Of all the minority communities in the Czech Republic, the Roma feel the most mistreated, misunderstood and misrepresented. The Czechs’ tendency to regard the Roma as ‘foreigners’ rather than as an ethnic minority, bears testimony to the extent of the alienation. The Roma are less popular than any other national or ethnic grouping, with three-quarters of the Czechs viewing them as unlikeable (*nesympatičtí*).¹⁹⁰ Research for this study has identified innumerable names for the Roma, of which there have been relatively few, such as *Olach* (Wallachian Roma), *Rumungr* (Hungarian Roma) and *Sinták* (Sinti), that have enjoyed any acceptability amongst the Roma themselves. Suffice it to say, many of the more derogatory terms relate to the colour of their skin; for example, *bakelit* (bakelite) and *tmavočeši* (dark Czechs), and occasional exonyms such as *Brazilec* (Brazilian) and *Indián* (Indian). Even more xenophobic definitia for Roma are listed elsewhere, and do not merit repeating here.¹⁹¹ The attitude to the Roma minority is perhaps typified by the insensitive response of a reader to an article by Holomek predicting a deterioration in their economic situation: ‘A Gypsy [Cigán] will remain a Gypsy even if he is called by a 100 different names!’¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ See ‘Vztah Čechů k národnostním skupinám žijícím v ČR’, p. 2.

¹⁹¹ For further examples, see *SNČ*, and *Šmírbuch jazyka českého*, p. 37.

¹⁹² Karel Holomek, ‘Nejspíš se čeká, až se situace Romů ještě zhorší’, *Lidové noviny*, 28 April 2009 <http://www.lidovky.cz/nejspis-se-cka-az-se-situace-romu-jeste-zhorsil7-/ln_noviny.asp?c=A090428_000003_ln_noviny_sko&klic=231282&mes=090428_o> [accessed 4 June 2009].

The significance of this comment resides not only in its implied condemnation of the Roma way of life, but also in the deliberate choice of the ethnicon *cigán/cikán*, with its negative connotations and crude cognates, such as *cigoroky/cikoroky*, *cigoši* and *cigánit/cikánit* (to lie, cheat, deceive). The Roma themselves do not generally seek full integration into mainstream Czech society, but they want the *gádžo* (non-Roma) to respect their culture and traditions, in much the same way as the Czech Jewry sought the acceptance of the *goj* (non-Jew).¹⁹³ Unfortunately, the Roma desire to be simultaneously outside Czech society and an integral part of it runs counter to the Czechs' interpretation of what constitutes their national identity. The Czechs' perception that the Roma do not 'belong' is accentuated by linguistic differences, which contribute in no small measure to their educational underachievement, with its concomitant social implications.

The idea of otherness

The notion of other peoples as outsiders, who threaten homogeneity, is firmly fixed in the Czech lexicon, and may still exert some influence on the collective consciousness, although it is not possible to establish causation. The distinction between 'us' and 'them' was central to the National Revival, and has been reinforced in living memory at the hands of the Germans and the Soviets, and by the legacy of monoculturalism after 1946. It is represented not only by the contrast between *my* (we) and *oni* (they), and *náš* (our[s]) and *jejich* (their[s]), but also by that between *svě/svůj* (*vlastní*) (one's own) (cf. *vlast*, above) and *nesvůj/cizí* (someone else's, foreign). Expressions such as *být mezi svými* (to be amongst one's own people) and *svůj k svému* (each to his own), used by tradesmen in the late 1880s to encourage support for Czech-run businesses, have had a particular resonance for the Czechs. The semantic range of *cizí* is broadly similar to that of German *fremd*, but unlike German, it has spawned numerous pejorative expressions, including *cizáci* and *cizáctvo* (undesirable foreigners), *cizáctví* (perfidious foreignness) and *cizácký* (unpleasantly foreign). Near synonyms of *cizáci* are *přivandrovalci/přivandrovaní*, *příběhlíci* and *přílezcí*, which similarly suggest unwanted outsiders or foreigners. Amongst the common collocates of *cizí* is *nadvláda* (hegemony), cited thirty-five times in the corpus of newspapers and magazines *ČNK – SYN2006PUB* and forty-seven times in *SYN2009PUB*.¹⁹⁴ The phrase *cizí nadvláda* not only functions as a reminder of the historic burden of foreign oppression, but it may also reflect a tendency amongst Czechs to make a scapegoat of external

¹⁹³ Racist terms for Jews still exist in Czech, but there is little antisemitism, not least because the Jewish community is now tiny and well assimilated.

¹⁹⁴ *SYN2009PUB* comprises 700 million words.

forces. Heimann is emphatic that ‘Even episodes that could not plausibly be blamed on outsiders’ (such as the treatment of the German and Hungarian minorities after the war, and the antisemitism of the 1950s) have been ‘justified by the supposed collective “guilt” of “national enemies” of the righteous Czech and Slovak nations’.¹⁹⁵

A further distinction between ‘us’ and ‘them’ is observed in the terms for ‘home’ and ‘abroad’. Some Czechs continue to differentiate between *doma* (literally ‘at home [in our country]’) and *venku* (‘outside [our country]’), even though the borders are now open for travel. Alternatives to *doma a v cizině* (at home and abroad) and *Češi a cizinci* (Czechs and foreigners) are *v tuzemsku i v cizině* (literally ‘in this land and abroad’) and *tuzemci i cizozemci* (‘people from this land and from abroad’), respectively. The adjectival form *tuzemský*, which is contrasted with *cizozemský* and *zahraňiční* (foreign), collocates most frequently in *ČNK – SYN2010* with *trh* (market), but it is often associated with rum, known colloquially as *tuzemský* or *tuzemák*. The adjectives *zdejší* (local [pertaining to here]) and *tamější/tamní* (local [pertaining to somewhere else]), which collocate quite commonly with *rodák* (fellow countryman), can also denote a contrast between ‘home’ and ‘abroad’.

The Czechs’ affiliation to the national whole is perhaps best exemplified by the pronoun *náš* and its cognates. Sports fans refer to *náš* and so forth as a short form for *český reprezentant / čeští reprezentanti* (the Czech representative[s]), as in *náš byl druhý* (‘ours’ [the Czech] was second) and *naši remizovali ve Slovinsku* (‘ours’ [we] drew in Slovenia), and cartons of Tesco Value long-life skimmed milk bear the slogan *Náš výrobek* (Our product) alongside a Czech flag. In the past, *náš* sometimes subsumed both the Slovaks, as in *naši dobrovolníci v Rusku* (‘our volunteers’ in Russia [in the Great War]), and German-speaking Czechoslovak citizens, as in Masaryk’s phrase *naši Němci* (our Germans), but even this seemingly inclusive usage may have consolidated a sense of otherness by implying that they were in essence still Germans. Derivatives of *náš*, which may allude to national identity, include *našinec* (one of us), as in *našinci v cizině* (‘ours’ [Czechs] abroad) and *našinecký/našinský* (one of our[s]), as in *našinecké/našinské písně* (one of our [Czech/Moravian] songs).¹⁹⁶ (See also *u nás* and *náš národ*, above.)

This constantly repeated distinction between Czech and non-Czech, predicated on age-long territorial claims, and consolidated by a shared language, culture and history, may have reinforced the notion of nationality as a birthright. Holy has argued that the expression *matka vlast* (‘mother’ land), makes the parental role of the home country

¹⁹⁵ See *Czechoslovakia: The State that Failed*, pp. 148–49.

¹⁹⁶ Compare *po našymu* (in our way), which is used of the form of Czech spoken in Teschen Silesia.

explicit, and has also pointed out that *narodit(i) se* (to be born) is derived from *národ* (nation) (cf. Greek *patris*).¹⁹⁷ The Revivalist phrase *Národ sobě!* (literally ‘The nation to itself!’; By the people, for the people!), used as a rallying cry for the collection of funds to construct the National Theatre (*Národní divadlo*), stressed both the self-dependence and the indivisibility of the Czech people. However, the Czech birthright has not only granted the citizen the privilege of belonging, but it has also entailed patriotic responsibilities. According to Holy, Czechs tend to regard as renegades their compatriots who live abroad, as reflected in the verb *odrodit(i) se* (to renounce one’s birth).¹⁹⁸ Anecdotal evidence suggests that this may have been the case between 1948 and 1989, but it probably no longer applies to the same extent nowadays.

Traditional perceptions of the self and others have been significantly influenced by the new spirit of internationalism, which has emerged in the last two decades. Cross-cultural communication has inevitably improved as a result of globalization, technological progress, membership of the European Union, increased foreign language study and travel abroad, and the growing number of non-Czechs in the Czech Republic, including some who speak the language well. Trans-border cooperation has also benefited from the European Union policy of replacing the Herderian model of language-culture-state with a new regionally based sense of integration. As Černá puts it, ‘the relationship between language and nation in Europe has been recontextualized and reformulated as a relationship between language and citizenship’.¹⁹⁹ Čmejková and Daneš, who address the theme of ‘své’ and ‘cizí’ from a functional perspective, have similarly identified a re-drawing of the dividing lines between peoples: ‘The geographical boundaries are being erased, but the boundaries between the language of social, professional and interest groups are being accentuated.’²⁰⁰ While it may be the case that the distinctions between Czech speakers and ‘unproblematic’ foreigners are becoming increasingly blurred, critical attitudes to ‘problematic’ newcomers are far from uncommon. The progressive public discourses about identity do not always correlate to private discourses, and participation in a larger community does not automatically ensure

¹⁹⁷ *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, p. 68.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ Kateřina Černá, ‘Czech–German Relationships and Identity in a Cross-border Region’, in *Language, Discourse and Identity in Central Europe*, pp. 96–121 (p. 97).

²⁰⁰ Světa Čmejková and František Daneš, ‘Své a cizí z hlediska funkčního’, in Zdeňka Hladká and Petr Karlík, *Čeština – univerzálie a specifika*, 5, Prague, 2004, pp. 321–33 (p. 328).

greater preparedness to embrace all outsiders. Indeed, half the interviewees in a recent opinion survey expressed the view that there are too many foreigners in the Czech Republic.²⁰¹

Conclusion

This article has discussed a wide range of matters relating to naming practices, in the context of the Czech-speaking lands, with specific reference to large-scale regional, ethnic and national groupings. Much of the detail of the study falls outside conventional onomastic research, in that it presents a synthesis of ethnolinguistic and semantic aspects of usage, rather than focusing on, say, etymology or morphological variation. The examples cited cover in depth the period from the National Revival to the present day, and include both standard and colloquial forms in Czech and contact languages. Many of the officially-approved designations suggest the presuppositions of a particular ideology, while the colloquial descriptors are perhaps more indicative of the predilections and prejudices of ordinary people. There have been numerous other works on titles and ethnonyms, including some interesting comparative studies,²⁰² but less attention has been paid elsewhere to their implications for perceptions of the 'self' and 'others'.

The diachronic dimension of this article has sought to show how the development of the nation state is reflected in the adoption and adaptation of names. It is argued that the legitimacy of the First Republic was derived largely from a series of nineteenth-century 'myths', which promoted the interests of the majority over those of minorities. The lexicon bears witness not only to traditional negative perceptions of the German-speaking world, as exemplified by concepts such as *prušáctví* and *rakušáctví*, but also to various stereotypes and caricatures, including that of the Slovak as a tinker (*dráteník*) and the Hungarian as an eater of spicy food (*feferón* and *paprikáč*), as well as to a series of asymmetrical relationships amongst the peoples of Czechoslovakia. The very terms *Čech* and *český* implicitly exclude non-Bohemians, while *Moravan* and *moravský* have served to reduce the visibility of Silesians. More significantly, in the First Republic, the Czechs' not infrequent use of *český* to embrace the notion of 'Czech and Slovak', and their insistence on spelling *Československo* without a hyphen, was felt by some Slovaks to cast them in a secondary role. The policy of Czechoslovakism and the

²⁰¹ See Jan Červenka and Michal Janičko, 'Postoje české veřejnosti k cizincům – březen 2010', *CVVM*, 6 April 2010, pp. 1–5 (p. 1) <http://www.cvvm.cas.cz/upl/zpravy/101026s_0v100406.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

²⁰² See, for example, Robert Zett, 'Slavische und Deutsche Ländernamen im Vergleich', in W. F. H. Nicolaisen, *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences*, Aberdeen, 4–11 August 1996 (3 vols), vol. 2, pp. 394–402

promotion of a unified Czechoslovak language reinforced this Slovak sense of subordination. By contrast, the noun *Čechoslovák*, which implied Czech and Slovak solidarity, but had limited applications in both languages, effectively marginalized other ethnic groups, such as the Germans, Hungarians and Poles.

The synchronic aspect of this article has highlighted, *inter alia*, the extent to which the names applied to different peoples, as well as the territories that they occupy and the languages they speak, have a connotative meaning, which is less stable than their conceptual or cognitive meaning. Leech has pointed out that the associative meanings of words relating to nationalities and political ideas or movements, in particular, can be so strong that their dictionary sense is sometimes almost forgotten.²⁰³ For instance, the terms *Čechy* and *čechista*, or *pepík* and *Pragocentrismus* (Pragocentrism), may be interpreted and employed quite differently by a Moravian nationalist than by a 'typical' Czech. Representations of the self can also contain apparent contradictions. The connotations of the term *Čech* are, for most Czech speakers, quite positive, yet the ethnicons *MČČ* and *Čecháček* highlight a less laudable side of the Czech character. Similarly, although many Czechs see themselves as a cultured and educated people, whose role models include great thinkers, statesmen, writers and composers, their national stereotype, *Švejk*, is an unsophisticated beer-guzzling anti-hero.

Notwithstanding some cultural differences between the Bohemians and Moravians/Silesians, the two peoples continue to enjoy, for the most part, a special relationship, which is based on an unquestioning acceptance of their (exclusive) right to the former territories of the Bohemian Crown. The innumerable terms distinguishing Czechs from non-Czechs, including a great many ethnophaulisms for foreigners, particularly erstwhile adversaries, have at least symbolically underpinned Czech solidarity and undermined the notion of the multiethnic state. Czechs may now be more accepting of certain types of foreigner than they were in the past, and they may no longer attach such importance to place of birth as they used to, but they continue to have a clearly-defined sense of what it means to be 'Czech'. The most important determinants of Czechness identified in a survey of 1,700 informants in 1997 are a person's ability to speak the language and the extent to which he or she feels Czech.²⁰⁴ The link between language and nation, which has been emphasized by Czech scholars from

²⁰³ *Semantics*, p. 51.

²⁰⁴ Alena Nedomová and Tomáš Kostecký, 'The Czech National Identity: Basic Results of the 1995 National Survey', *Czech Sociological Review*, 1, 1997, pp. 79–92 (p. 84) <http://sreview.soc.cas.cz/uploads/443020da8b2425f8ae88aac4fd84d71b874c987d_440_079NEKOS.pdf> [accessed 20 November 2010].

Jungmann to Albert Pražák, remains so strong that even closely-related minorities, such as the Slovaks and Poles, have tended to opt for full assimilation rather than preserving their linguistic heritage.²⁰⁵ The question of 'feeling Czech' is more subjective, but the adoption of a Czech identity entails the acceptance of Czech values and norms, and thereby suggests at least tacit endorsement of the post-war monocultural consensus.

The near unity which characterizes Czech attitudes to the sanctity of their nationhood is not necessarily reflected equally in all other questions relating to the nation state. Public opinion is divided on a number of matters, including some which have implications for naming practices, such as the break-up of Czechoslovakia. Since separating from the Slovaks, the Czechs have been especially exercised by the subject of the most appropriate single-word designation for the Czech Republic. Many Czechs agree that an informal alternative to *Česká republika* is required, but some Bohemians prefer to stick to *Čechy* for aesthetic reasons or on the grounds of familiarity, while a small number of Moravians reject *Česko* because it omits reference to Moravia. Resistance to *Česko* in everyday communication is proving surprisingly stubborn, despite the extensive use of the term in the media and other authoritative sources. In a land whose founding fathers repeatedly stressed the central role of language in nation-building, the choice of the title of the country is of more than purely symbolic importance. Not for nothing is Palacký's major study of names, published in 1848, still recognized as a seminal work by linguists and historians alike.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ See Tilman Berger, 'Jazyk a národ', in *Češi a Němci*, pp. 131–35, Albert Pražák, *Národ se bránil*, Prague, 1945, and Šárka Hernová and Gabriela Sokolová, 'Národně jazykové vědomí obyvatel národnostně smíšených oblastí České republiky', Opava, 2000.

²⁰⁶ František Palacký, *Popis království čili podrobné poznamenání všech dosavadních krajův, panství, statkův, měst, městeček a vesnic, někdejších hradův a tvrzí, též samot a zpustlých osad mnohých v zemi české, s udáním jejich obyvatelstva podle popisu r. 1843 vykonaného v jazyku českém i německém*, Prague, 1848.