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*Working Papers in Language Management*

No. 10

**“A female name cannot be registered for a physical person of male sex, and vice versa”: Language management and language ideologies in the self-help discourse of the transgender community in the Czech Republic**

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2024

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*Working Papers in Language Management* are published online by Language Management Research Group, associated with Charles University, Prague, and Sophia Linguistic Institute for International Communication, Sophia University, Tokyo. The opinions used or expressed therein are not necessarily shared by the publishers.

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# **“A female name cannot be registered for a physical person of male sex, and vice versa”: Language management and language ideologies in the self-help discourse of the transgender community in the Czech Republic**

## **Abstract**

Traditionally, standard language is associated with enhancing social unity through linguistic uniformity. Recent research suggests that while both social diversity and linguistic variation are becoming celebrated rather than concealed in many communities, standard language is still reproduced in the communities' *belief in a best language*. However, little is known about these beliefs among members of the communities not catered to by traditional standard languages. This paper explores the current dynamics of standard language in the Czech linguistic community, focusing on *beliefs in a best language* among its transgender members. The paper is informed by Language Management Theory and the semiotic understanding of language ideologies. It presents an analysis of mainly computer-mediated self-help discourse, documents, and ethnographic interviews. The analysis identified several potential innovations in the *belief in a best language*, particularly beliefs that make first names available for self-identification as men or women. The paper argues that these beliefs do not represent an innovation in the context of dominant beliefs about first names. Rather, they are innovations of the belief that displaying one's identity is possible only based on officially ascribed sex, a belief that the Czech Republic's language policy and codification transform into legal requirement.

**Key words:** Czech Republic; standard language; language management; language ideologies; transgender community; self-help discourse; first names

## **Introduction**

Standard language is historically associated with enhancing social unity through linguistic uniformity (cf. Haugen 1966). However, as Neustupný pointed out, in different stages of modernity, standard language adapts to different “general premises” (Neustupný 2006: 2211). One such premise is the linguistic community's attitude towards social diversity. Neustupný argued that in the postmodern period, “variation, along the regional, class, ethnic, sex or other dimensions, gains prominence. *It is displayed and celebrated rather than concealed*” (Neustupný 2006: 2218; emphasis by HÖJ).

The adaptation of standard language is not solely a result of language management processes that either *celebrate*, or *conceal* the variation that caters to social groups with diverse ethnic, cultural, socio-economic, or gender identities. It is also due to the language management processes *by* those groups. This paper explores one such example. It examines the management summaries and pre-interaction management developed as a form of self-help *by* and *for* some transgender individuals in the Czech linguistic community. Both management summaries and pre-interaction management concerned first names. Through language policy and codification of the standard variety, the Czech linguistic community ascribes first names the power to

identify individuals as either men or women. However, transgender individuals frequently abandon or consider abandoning their birth names to modify how their identification as men or women is displayed.

Instances of metalinguistic behavior within the Czech linguistic community developed to linguistically accommodate gender identities beyond the heteronormative and binary identities of man and woman are already the subject of linguistic investigation (e. g. Kolek 2022). In this paper, I approach the issue from the perspective of Language Management Theory (Neustupný & Jernudd 1987, cf. Nekvapil 2016) as a theoretical framework for analyzing metalinguistic behavior and as a source of methodological inspiration.

This exploration aims to contribute to the discussion on the dynamics of standard language within the Czech linguistic community. On this basis, the investigation of language management shall also focus on language ideologies that provide normative orientation to the language management investigated (cf. Nekvapil & Sherman 2013). Research suggests that the dynamics of standard language encompass not only the status of specific linguistic units within the standard variety but also the language ideologies that inform it. Pointing out the difference between demotization and destandardization as two commonly observed modalities of the dynamics, Kristiansen argued that “[w]e shall talk of destandardization only if we find that the very belief in the existence of (or need for) a ‘best’ language is being weakened“ (Kristiansen 2021: 671). However, our understanding of what *beliefs in a best language* are reproduced among members of linguistic communities with diverse identities remains limited.

The paper illustrates that *belief in a best language* underpinning standard language includes not only beliefs attached to linguistic means or varieties but also beliefs concerning language management. The analysis traced the two components of the *belief in a best language* and identified instances of language management that, compared to language policy and codification, innovated certain aspects of the management of first names. This included language management, in which first names were available to individuals for their self-identification as men or women rather than for such identification by others.

However, I shall argue that this represents only a minor innovation in the management of first names as far as names’ power to identify individuals as either men or women is concerned. It is rather an innovation to the fixed link between one’s membership in a sex category (West & Zimmerman 1987) and one’s officially ascribed sex, a link that policymakers have incorporated into the management of first names.

## **Management of first names in the Czech linguistic community**

Before proceeding, I wish to explain in more detail how the present analysis provides insight into the dynamics of standard language in the Czech linguistic community and to substantiate the aspects of the analyzed language management that represent a site for investigating language ideologies. To both ends, I will outline some of the main features of the management of first names in the Czech Republic.

### **Female, male, and neutral names**

In most language communities, the management of first names is comprised of various processes, most typically the naming of newborn children, but also the changing of one's name under different circumstances (Vom Bruck & Bodenhorn 2006; cf. Alia 2007, Emmelhainz 2013, Khosravi 2012, Scherr 1986). The processes often include language policies that regulate various aspects of names' choice and usage.

This also applies to the Czech linguistic community. Since the end of the 1940s<sup>1</sup> until nowadays, the policy<sup>2</sup> obliges individuals to have their names officially registered and to use the registered names in official conduct. Likewise, it regulates what first names are fit for official registration. Concrete conditions<sup>3</sup> for names' registration have been in place (with only minor adjustments) since the 1970s. The registration of appellative nouns and the invention of new personal names are prohibited. The only legally recognized way to expand the already existing repertoire of first names is through the adoption of names used in other linguistic communities, which is still often subject to an expert's approval.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1949, the legislators who introduced the language policy placed it in the context of the social and legal transition that began after the communist coup d'état in 1948, specifically of the secularization of family law and public registries (cf. National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic 1949). It was commented on as follows: "It is related to a change in the outlook on the use of name and surname, which is no longer an individual matter. The society cares more intensively about individuals and is, therefore, more interested in their identification." [Souvisí to se změnou nazírání na užívání jména a příjmení, jež přestává být soukromou věcí nositele. Společnost mnohem intenzivněji pečuje o jednotlivce a má proto větší zájem na určení jeho identity.] (Explanatory report on the law no. 268/1949 on public registries. Quoted according to Knapp & Vaňková 1956: 159).

<sup>2</sup> The language policy was largely part of legislation on public registries, currently, it is included in Law no. 301/2000 on public registries, name, surname and on changes of some related laws [zákon č. 301/2000 Sb., o matrikách, jménu a příjmení a o změně některých souvisejících zákonů], which is continuously updated. Historically, the legislation included also Law no. 268/1949 on public registries [zákon č. 268/1949 Sb., o matrikách] and Law no. 55/1950 on the use and change of name and surname [zákon č. 55/1950 Sb., o užívání a změně jména a příjmení]. Each law came with several ministerial decrees that detailed its implementation.

<sup>3</sup> Another set of conditions was related to the registration of surnames. While language management of first names and management of surnames share many common features, the discussion of language management of surnames is too extensive to be included in this paper.

In its most recent version from 2024, the policy still prescribes that “any existing name in its orthographically correct form may be registered in the public registry book. A female name cannot be registered for a physical person of male sex, and vice versa.”<sup>4</sup> As a result, names that would not maintain individuals’ identification as legal men and women, i.e., identify an individual assigned male sex as a female and vice versa, are (or are supposed to be) excluded from official registration and use in contexts in which the use of an officially registered name is required<sup>5</sup>.

Czech is an inflected language with three grammatical genders (labeled traditionally as masculine, feminine, and neuter) demonstrated in nominal inflection, the agreement of adjectives, pronouns, and numerals depending on nouns and in predicates (cf. Nekula & Rusínová 2000). Names (that are nouns) are understood to identify individuals as either men or women due to being split into gender-specific male names, i.e., grammatically masculine names designated for men, and female names, i.e., grammatically feminine names designated for women.

However, in many cases, derivative forms of names with a single nominative (and with two considerably parallel paradigms) serve as a so-called familiar alternative to both male and female names. For example, “Míša” is a familiar alternative to both the male name “Michal” and the female name “Michala”. Until 2024, language policy explicitly banned the registration of such forms. It is rather unclear whether the familiar forms will be qualified for official registration under the updated policy that explicitly requires “correct orthographical form” of names.

The identification of individuals as men or women is maintained even in the case of so-called “neutral names” that were introduced into language policy in 2000. In 2000, individuals who undergo medical treatment labeled as “sex reassignment” were made entitled to a free-of-charge name change to a “neutral name”.<sup>6</sup> This provision institutionalized a practice that made

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<sup>4</sup> “Do matriční knihy lze zapsat jakékoliv existující jméno, a to v správné pravopisné podobě. Nelze zapsat jména zkomolená. Fyzické osobě mužského pohlaví nelze zapsat jméno ženské a naopak” (Law no. 301/2000 on public registries, name, surname and on changes of some related laws [zákon č. 301/2000 Sb., o matrikách, jménu a příjmení a o změně některých souvisejících zákonů])

<sup>5</sup> This includes dealing with public institutions but also education, employment, or many commercial services like those provided by banks or telecommunication companies, i.e., situations where one's identity must be proven with an officially issued ID.

<sup>6</sup> “The public registry office will allow a change of name, or names, and surname based on an application from a natural person and a certificate from a healthcare provider. The change can be made a) to a neutral name and surname if the treatment of sex reassignment has been initiated, or b) to another name, or names, and surname if the treatment has been finished” [Matriční úřad povolí na základě žádosti fyzické osoby a potvrzení poskytovatele zdravotních služeb změnu jména, popřípadě jmen, a příjmení a) na neutrální jméno a příjmení, byla-li zahájena léčba pro změnu pohlaví, nebo b) na jiné jméno, popřípadě jména, a příjmení,

use of the fact that in several cases, such as the name René, a masculine and a feminine name that differ in paradigm share the same nominative form (grammatically, the name is considered double-gendered). Consequently, official documents of all individuals with such a name display the same nominative form.

Since the 1960s, strategically adopting one of such names was encouraged by one of the founders of Czech sexology, Josef Hynie, as a part of “transsexualism” treatment. In a sexology textbook, Hynie maintained that: „In the case of transsexuals with conclusively male or female genitals, we do not recommend changing the birth record or a sex change; the main reason is that, in that case, we would not be able to prevent them from marrying, which is not desirable. We recommend a name change to a name that both men and women might have and that would not make it noticeable that the person is photographed in an opposite attire for an ID or acts accordingly publicly or in the workplace. For example, Vlasta Hořejší, Jinda Macků and so on” (Hynie 1974: 70).

Currently, physicians suggest a temporary name change to a “neutral name” or a “neutral form of a name” as a part of the so-called real-life experience: “If the client has decided for the sex conversion, a phase begins in which the client might test their ability to live in the role harmonizing with their psychological identity. Step by step, they start to live in the role in all areas of their life. [...] It is a difficult period in which certain support is provided by the official change of name and surname to a neutral form which usually takes place in this phase of the treatment” (Fifková 2008: 78).<sup>7</sup>

However, despite being labeled as “neutral” by sexologists and policymakers, the names in question are hardly detached from individuals’ officially registered sex or avoid the identification of an individual as a man or a woman. Rather, the names open up a space for the identification of an individual as a man or a woman, both by themselves and by others, based on how the individual displays their identification in concrete interactions by means other than a name. This might include clothing, appearance, or manners. In practice, though, the highly marked combination of the grammatically double-gendered first name and a surname with

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byla-li léčba pro změnu pohlaví dokončena.) (Law no. 301/2000 on public registries, name, surname and some related changes [zákon č. 301/2000 Sb., o matrikách, jménu a příjmení a o změně některých souvisejících zákonů]).

<sup>7</sup> It might be worth clarifying that a female name might be available to a legal man (and vice versa) only after changing their legally registered sex. As of spring 2024, this requires surgical intervention, including discontinuing the reproductive functions related to one’s originally assigned sex, i.e., undergoing castration (cf. Doležal 2013).

infrequent formants such as -ů (cf. the above-mentioned Macků) was reported to be interpreted as a display of the transgender identity and, for this reason, avoided by some.<sup>8</sup>

### **Integration with the management of standard language**

The linguistic norms represent the primary site for exploring language ideologies informing language management. However, as far as the language management of first names in the Czech linguistic community is concerned, the desired qualities of names are far from being its only subject. The other prominent subject of management and another site for investigating language ideologies is the participation of various actors in the management. This is because the actors of the management of first name achieved, maintained, and developed its integration with the management of standard language through the management of participation.

Language policy introduced not only requirements for official registration of names. It made public registry officers responsible for the legality of both the registration of names and the assessment of their acceptability. Consequently, it introduced them as norm authorities (Ammon 2003), actors who are able or, as in this case, obliged to enforce linguistic norms. Shortly after the policy's introduction, the Ministry of Interior (the main maker of the policy) issued and distributed several guidelines for the officers on how to proceed when assessing the compliance of a name with language policy. The guidelines included several lists of names, de facto codices (Ibid.), that were readily acceptable for official registration (Codex1, Codex2 and Codex3<sup>9</sup>) enabling the registry officers to base their decision on the acceptability of a name on its presence (or nonpresence) on the list.

However, in 1978, another list of arguably readily acceptable names was published by linguist Miloslava Knappová. The list was part of a book (Codex4) that addressed parents looking for a name for their expected baby. Along with addressing the parents, the author explicitly linked the book to the assessment of names' acceptability by public registry officers.

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<sup>8</sup> However, the functioning of the so called neutral names might change in the future due to updates in language policy. Firstly, in 2022, surnames in grammatically masculine form were made available to all individuals, meaning that marked surnames with "neutral" formants such as -ů may be avoided. Secondly, in May 2024, the Ministry of Interior distributed a list of "gender neutral names" with several hundred items readily available for registration. Unfortunately, a more detailed discussion of these developments is beyond the scope of the present paper.

<sup>9</sup> Codices and other documents are referred to by a code assigned to them in the list of analyzed data; in this example, "Codex" stands for the type of data, "1" and "2" for the number of an item among the items of the same type, and additional letter ("a", "b" and so on) may stand for a version of the document. For a full reference on each item, see Attachment.



In concrete terms, she presented it as a substitute for one of the Ministry's earlier de facto codices that the author labeled outdated and unavailable, i.e., as another codex.

Similarly to the de facto codices distributed by the Ministry of Interior, Codex4 operationalized the norm to be enforced by providing a list of names readily available for registration. Until 2017 (Codex4f), the list was continually extended in the more or less regular updates. Each edition of Codex4 involved also an effort to make sense of the norms introduced by language policy and to elaborate on them. Besides the Ministry of Interior guidelines that did not address the general public, the original language policy documents and later updates came with little or no elaboration on the rationale of the particular linguistic norms introduced to regulate the registration of first names or on the status of the norms within the linguistic community. Codex4 summarized language policy for the general public (in a way that makes it sometimes difficult to distinguish between paraphrases of language policy and potential codification independent from it). It provided an explicit rationale for the norms by connecting them to issues such as the necessity of citizens' unambiguous identification for modern administration or the role of first names in the psychological well-being of young children. It also presented the norms introduced by language policy as a common sense shared by the community, i.e., as dominant norms.

This is most evident in the explanation of the gender-specific naming provision included in language policy. Codex4 identifies gender-specific naming as a generally accepted practice and makes sense of possible deviations from this norm in terms of fraud, be well-meant (lines 5-8, Excerpt 1), or lack of knowledge (lines 8-10, Ibid.).

*Excerpt 1 / Codex4: 29*

1 The following aspect of the official rectification of  
2 name choices will most probably not be subject to  
3 doubts. [...] It probably wouldn't occur to any parent  
4 today to choose a girl's name for their son.  
5 Instances in which a girl's name saved young  
6 gentlemen from a long military service documented in fiction  
7 bring an indulgent smile to one's face at the level  
8 of the administration of the time. [...] Girls' and boys' names  
9 have been and still are sometimes confused by parents due to lack of  
10 knowledge, namely when choosing foreign names.

*O oprávněnosti další části oficiálního usměrňování volby jména nebude patrně pochyb. [...] Dnes už by patrně nikoho z rodičů ani nenapadlo, aby svému synu zvolil jméno dívčí. Literárně doložené příběhy o tom, že leckterého mládence dívčí jméno uchránilo před dlouholetou vojnou, u nás vyvolávají jen shovívavý úsměv nad úrovní tehdejší administrativy. [...] K záměně jmen dívčích a chlapeckých docházelo a dochází občas u některých rodičů z neznalosti, a to při volbě jmen cizích.*

In the period covered by the data analyzed in this paper, the list of names in Codex4 continued to serve as a codex for public registry officers. This practice persisted even despite a

ruling by the Supreme Administrative Court, i.e., another act of language management related to participation, from 2015 which decided a case against a public registry office regarding the assessment of the acceptability of a first name. The case was brought up by a family that wished to have the name “Thymian” registered for their son. Among other things, the court concluded that the public registry office should have relied on (and public registry offices, in general, should develop) also different means of assessing names’ acceptability than consulting Codex4.<sup>10</sup>

By presenting Codex4 in 1978, the author claimed participation in the process of names’ assessment as a codifier and also explicitly declared the integration of the management of first names with the management of standard language. The author was and presented herself as affiliated with the Czech Language Institute, a scientific institution that has assumed some functions of a language academy (Dvořáčková, 2011; cf. Edwards, 2012) including codification of Standard Czech. Possibly even more importantly, the author linked the names listed in Codex4 to the processes behind the codification by the Institute: “By the contemporary orthography principles, the orthographic form of the presented names was discussed by the Presidency of the Orthographic Committee of the Scientific Board of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of Czechoslovakia“<sup>11</sup> (Codex4: 51).

In this sense, the current integration of the two types of language management might have followed on from developments predating the introduction of language policy. Before the policy was introduced, several first names were codified in general spelling manuals of Czech (cf., e.g., The Spelling Manual of Czech with Alphabetical List of Words and Forms [Pravidla

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<sup>10</sup> Referring to Codex4 as a codex and its author, the court's argument stated: "It is indisputable that in the current case, the name Thymian is not included in the academic publication of PhDr. Miloslava Knappová, CSc., that has compiled a list of foreign names that public registry offices consider acceptable for registration without further assessment [...]. However, these circumstances alone cannot be considered sufficient to require an expert opinion, [...] particularly when the authorities have not contested the obvious and serious personal reasons that parents have for selecting the name Thymian, and when the authorities have not provided an explanation for their doubts regarding the orthographic form of the name "Thymian" in the first place (what aspect of the suggested form did not appear correct to them)" [V projednávané věci je nesporné, že jméno Thymian není uvedeno v odborné publikaci PhDr. Miloslavy Knappové, CSc., která obsahuje seznam cizojazyčných jmen, která matiční úřady považují za způsobilá zápisu bez [...] Tyto okolnosti ovšem bez dalšího nelze považovat za dostačující k vyžadování znaleckého posudku [...], a to zvláště za situace, kdy správní orgány žádným způsobem nezpochybnily evidentní a vážné osobní důvody, které rodiče vedly k volbě jména Thymian a kdy ani neuvedly jaká pochybnost jim ohledně navrhované pravopisné podoby jména „Thymian“ vůbec vznikla. (V čem se jím nejevila správnou navrhovaná pravopisná podoba tohoto jména).] (Supreme Administrative Court 2015).

<sup>11</sup> “Pravopisná úprava jmen zde uváděných byla v souhlase s platnými pravopisnými zásadami projednána předsednictvem pravopisné komise vědeckého kolegia jazykovědy ČSAV.”

českého pravopisu s abecedním seznamem slov a tvarů] 1921), and this practice of names' codification continued.

Interestingly, the integration of the management of first names with the management of standard language appears to be sought after not only by the codifiers but also by the policymakers. The Ministry of Interior, for instance, initiated institutionalization of direct interactions between public registry officers, parents, and possibly other applicants on one side and the author of Codex4 on the other. These interactions were part of the management of first names both before and after Codex4 was published. The author reveals them by presenting Codex4 as a result of “thousands of different consultations, meetings, information, linguistic testimonials, and opinions” (Codex4a: 5) provided both to registry officers and expectant parents (cf. Knappová 1974: 27). This may have been due to the already mentioned institutional affiliation, which might have selected the author as authorized to assist with the assessments on the acceptability of names even before she published Codex4.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1990s, these interactions were legally recognized as providing so-called expert opinions<sup>13</sup> on names' acceptability and in 2000, expert opinions became a part of language policy. The author of Codex4 was the first expert to get certified to provide the expert opinions (cf. Dvořáková 2021: 238).

However, the institutionalization opened up a path for other actors to claim participation in the management of first names. Several other experts, mostly linguists from various fields, were certified by local courts. Possibly to consolidate the integration with the management of standard language, in 2015 the Ministry issued a later revoked guideline that instructed public registry offices not to accept expert opinions from one of the certified experts. The guideline cited several reasons, including flawed methodology of issuing expert opinions and the lack of expected academic background (Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic 2016). Finally, the Ministry initiated also an update to language policy that appears to further develop the

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<sup>12</sup> This aspect of the participation may represent another point of integration of the management of first names and the management of standard language. This is due to the tradition of linguistic consultations, which is historically associated with the Czech Language Institute and its historical predecessors (cf. Dvořáková 2011: 44). Further research into this issue would be necessary to prove the parallel between linguistic consultations and consultations provided concerning first names.

<sup>13</sup> Expert opinions were introduced into the Czech legal system in the 1960s by Law no. 36/1967 on experts and interpreters [Zákon č. 36/1967 Sb. o znalcích a tlumočnících]. Until 2019, the experts (together with certified translators and interpreters) were appointed by regional courts. The courts also assessed the compliance of applicants' backgrounds with legal requirements, mainly education and experience in the field of expertise. Since 2019, experts have been appointed by the Ministry of Interior upon passing an exam and an assessment concerning their education, experience, and technical resources relevant to the field of expertise.

integration of the management of first names with the management of standard language. The current language policy prescribes that “in case of doubts about the existence of a name or its correct form, the citizen is required to present expert documents issued by a public research institution that conducts research in the field of linguistics or an expert opinion.”<sup>14</sup> At this moment, only the Czech Language Institute qualifies as a public research institution that conducts research in the field of linguistics.

The Ministry’s activity is very probably linked to the fact that the participation of other experts has opened also a pathway to the integration of the management of first names with other social processes. This entails human rights protection and activism related to it, especially the protection of the rights of individuals with transgender identities (another example of the integration that took place in Japan was discussed by Neustupný 1984). This integration was introduced especially by the activities of Jana Valdřová, a linguist specialized in gender linguistics who served as a certified expert between 2015 and 2022 and was targeted by the Ministry of Interior’s guideline mentioned in the previous paragraph. Besides the Ministry’s management, the linguist’s participation stimulated also substantial developments in the management of first names. This includes the above-mentioned issuing of the extended list of neutral names readily available for registration at the beginning of 2024.

Along with serving as the certified expert, Valdřová repeatedly explicitly challenged both the language policy and codification pointing to its consequences to individuals’ human rights, such as the rights to dignity and privacy. For instance, in a critique of Codex4 that despite language policy in one of its versions recommended the use of familiar forms as neutral names, the expert argued: “Familiar forms are definitely situated on a lower stylistic level. Except for several accustomed hypocoristics, these forms might be understood as marked, childish, intimate, or cuddly: During a business meeting, a businessman\*woman, Dráža Sršňových (the forms Dráža and Sršňových are recommended by Knappová 2017a: 92 and 93), might first need to explain that this is in fact their name. Moreover, the communicant would become aware that Dráža is currently undergoing transition or went through it”<sup>15</sup> (Valdřová 2022: 23).

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<sup>14</sup> “Vzniknou-li pochybnosti o existenci jména nebo jeho správné podobě, je občan povinen předložit matričnímu úřadu odborné podklady od veřejné výzkumné instituce, jejímž předmětem činnosti je výzkum v oblasti jazykovědy, nebo znalecký posudek” (Law no. 301/2000 on public registries, name, surname and some related changes [zákon č. 301/2000 Sb., o matrikách, jménu a příjmení a o změně některých souvisejících zákonů]).

<sup>15</sup> “Domácké tvary stojí bezesporu na nižší stylistické úrovni než spisovná podoba jména. S výjimkou několika již vžitých hypokoristik mohou působit nápadně, dětinsky, důvěrně či mazlivě: podnikatel\*ka Dráža Sršňových (verze Dráža a Sršňových doporučuje Knappová 2017a: 92 a 93) možná při obchodním jednání musí nejdříve vysvětlit, že se opravdu tak jmenuje. Komunikující by navíc věděli, že Dráža právě prochází

To sum up, after the introduction of language policy that regulated the qualities of first names available for official registration, the management of first names in the Czech linguistic community brought along not only attempts to operationalize and enforce the codified linguistic norm. The management involved a considerable amount of activity spent on management which concerned the participation of different actors in it. This type of language management, like in other cases, is based on normative expectations and the language ideologies that inform them. Due to the integration of the management of first names with the management of standard language, this type of management represents an opportunity to explore *belief in a best management* as an aspect of *belief in a best language*.

### **Theoretical considerations**

As suggested above, the reproduction of standard language is located in both linguistic and metalinguistic behavior. Drawing on the insights proposed by Language Management Theory (Neustupný & Jernudd 1987, cf. Nekvapil 2016 for a general overview and discussion of the theory on the background of alternative approaches), I would like to comment on several features of metalinguistic behavior that are relevant to the analysis presented here.

Language Management Theory (LMT) maintains that metalinguistic behavior, i.e., language management, is not an externality or an addition to language use. It is its integral part that displays the orientation that social actors have towards norms of language use. It occurs when an actor makes *normative expectations* about the widely conceived language interactionally relevant (cf. Nekvapil 2006).

Such a broad statement is appropriate because language management can take many different forms. To give examples related to the management of standard varieties, these forms range from the complex phenomenon of language cultivation that involves various actors operating at multiple social scales (cf. Nekvapil 2010) to the more concretely located phenomenon of everyday humorous interactions on Facebook that promote or guard standard language (cf. Sherman & Švelch, 2015; see Dovalil 2022 for a discussion of further possible forms).

The width of the range represented by the two examples has two causes. Language management is developed by various social actors, from interlocutors in single interactions, such as those involved in humorous disputes on Facebook, to national or even supranational institutions, including those that monitor language use for language cultivation. Each actor

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tranzicí nebo ji má za sebou.”

operates within their respective social context using different means and devices that are available (also) for language management. Individual interlocutors may typically initiate repairs within the organizational logic of everyday conversations, while institutions may issue policy documents in a way aligned with the organization of mediated legal discourse.

Secondly, the plethora of forms is a result of language management occurring as a process rather than a single act (cf. discussion on alternative “product-oriented” approaches in the study of metalinguistic behavior in Kimura & Fairbrother 2020: 5-6). The process may involve *noting* a feature of others or one’s own conduct (*other-* and *self-management*) against language-related normative expectations, *evaluation* of the feature, designing an *adjustment*, and its *implementation* (Nekvapil 2016, cf. e.g., Dovalil 2022 for a more recently formulated outline of the process). However, these processes often fail to fully develop for various reasons or have certain portions that are not observable. Some of them even “occur cognitively” as argued by Kimura & Fairbrother (2020: 5).

Despite the wide range, all possible forms of language management display multiple common features that LMT points out. One of them is that language management often relies on language ideology, specifically the *constellations of language ideologies* present in different social settings (Nekvapil & Sherman 2013: 86).

In the study of standard language, language ideologies serve as both a descriptive (cf. Ayres-Bennett & Bellamy 2021) and a critical tool (cf. Milroy, 2001). Aside from these two uses of the notion, a semiotic understanding of language ideologies has developed in linguistic anthropology, largely following Silverstein’s definition of language ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use“ (Silverstein 1979: 193).

This approach understands language ideologies as a semiotic resource used to assign meaning to linguistic practices (Irvine & Gal 2000) and to make the practices relevant to social differentiation of various kinds, including ethnic, class, and gender differentiation. In other words, in this approach, language ideologies are “the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understanding onto people, events, and activities” (Irvine & Gal 2000: 25). As such, language ideologies might be explored based on an investigation of the practices in which framing and mapping are done. Studies departing from this understanding focused mainly on mediated discursive practices, such as print or online media discussions (cf. Milani 2010, Androtopoulos 2010), and metalinguistic commentaries elicited by researchers (Leonard 2020).

In the context of metalinguistic behavior, the semiotic potential of language ideologies mentioned above has been observed to be utilized in providing meaning to language use also in a normative modality. This means that language ideologies provide a *normative orientation* for the actors involved in language management. Nekvapil and Sherman argued in this sense that “language ideologies represent a normative orientation for the speakers, and in serving as the basis for norms or expectations for communicative behavior, the ideologies guide, influence or underlie what can be noticed as a deviation from the norm, what can be evaluated (negatively, positively or otherwise) and so forth” (Nekvapil & Sherman 2013: 86).

As the *language* in *language management* should be understood broadly within the LMT approach, the normative orientation is also considerably broad. Nekvapil argued that “[i]n connection with the Hymesian model of communication, the other aspects subject to management [i.e., other than language in a narrow sense, noted by author] include variety, situation, function, setting, participants, content, form, channel and performance” (Nekvapil 2016: 16). Language ideologies also influence the normative expectations attached to these aspects. This is one of the ways how language ideologies “bridge” linguistic and social reality as argued by linguistic anthropology (cf. Woolard & Schieffelin 1994; for a commentary on the metaphor, see Spitzmüller, Busch & Flubacher 2021).

LMT also guides locating sites of social practice that are potentially relevant for studying language ideologies in language management. The theory points out that in some instances of language management processes, language ideologies are likely to be made explicit. This especially includes so-called *organized* management, which is trans-interactional and involves social networks or institutions rather than individuals. It brings along *communication about management* that draws on language ideologies (Nekvapil 2016).

Presumably, *communication about management* relies on more or less explicit ideological accounts, especially if it entails contextualization through which a feature of a single interaction is established as a trans-interactional matter. Alternatively, a trans-interactional issue might be contextualized as a matter of a single interaction. Such (re)contextualizations represent one of the possible shifts within the *continuum* between *simple* and *organized* management (Sherman 2016, see Kimura & Fairbrother 2020 for a discussion of closely related *micro-macro continuum* in LMT) or an instance of resistance towards it. The shifts occur, for instance, when actors contextualize an aspect of (multiple) unique interactions as an aspect of all the interactions of a certain type and address them in advance, so to speak, *systematically*. This establishes an instance of so-called *pre-interaction management*, i.e., management done

in anticipation of a future unique interaction or multiple interactions of a certain type (Nekvapil & Sherman 2009).

It should be noted, however, that not all language ideologies are equally available to be made explicit. The so-called dominant ideologies are typically accepted as common sense or even the natural state of affairs within a community (Kroskrity 1998, 2004). As a result, such ideologies are heavily relied upon, but they are often accompanied only by practical awareness. On the other hand, so-called discursive awareness is displayed when ideologies are challenged or are yet to be naturalized within a community. This aspect is particularly relevant to the present analysis, as discursive awareness has been identified as an indicator of development within language ideology constellations (Kroskrity 1998).

## **Methodology**

Some methodological approaches associated with LMT can be summarized as focusing on naturally occurring data and securing access to insights on the “internal processing” behind observable instances of language management (Fairbrother, Nekvapil & Sloboda 2018: 21). These recommendations can help answer research questions such as *who manages what, how, in interactions with whom, in which social contexts, with which intentions, and with what consequences* (formulated according to Dovalil 2020).

The data analyzed in this paper were collected as part of a larger research project that examined language management concerning standard language in the Czech linguistic community. Using observations, document analysis, and ethnographic interviews with public officials, public registry officers, language experts, and activists, particularly members of the transgender community, I was able to identify a specific domain of discourse production *by* and *for* transgender individuals that inspired the present analysis.

The discourse is primarily computer-mediated and appears to be designed for sharing information among transgender individuals as a form of self-help (cf. Lavoie, Borkman, & Gidron, 1994). Thematically, self-help concerns multiple issues commonly related to the psychological, social, physical, and legal transition that transgender individuals may undergo. This includes not only the official name change but also other topics related to first names. The self-help discourse thematically focused on first names serves as the primary source of the naturally occurring data analyzed in this study.

The data collection began with three websites that were created to share the self-help discourse over a period from 2003 to 2023. The websites were established on slightly different



grounds. The earliest one, <www.translide.cz>, was established by a group of individuals, some of whom were active in the NGO Transforum, in 2003 and updated until 2010. It has a community website format, it is edited and invites users' participation. Members can comment on all content, post questions in an open forum, and author articles. A later one, <www.transsexualita.cz> (established by Transforum in 2011, the last updates are from 2022), invites some degree of user participation, including the ability to leave comments and ask questions that will be answered by editors. The most recent website, <www.jsmettransparent.cz> (established by the NGO Transparent in 2020), is thoroughly edited, invites minimal participation (questions to be answered by editors) and redirects users to profiles on social networking sites managed by the editors for further engagement. Although there are (and were) other thematically related websites, these appear to have served as hubs or signposts to the self-help discourse in their respective periods.

I searched the websites for thematically related content and intertextual cues that indicate other relevant pieces of discourse, both online and offline. For each relevant item identified, the search for intertextual cues and related additional data was repeated. The items retrieved based on this procedure included various documents, such as books, official documents (especially those related to language policy and codification), petitions for name changes, judicial documents, texts published by media outlets, posts from social networking sites, or YouTube videos. Where possible, data was archived in its original form (and is presented in this form in this paper). Relevant portions of audiovisual data, such as interviews, are presented in simplified transcripts. Each item has been listed in a database along with annotations that cover information such as the author's identification, year/date of publication, genre (biography, guide, news article, invitation, opinion writing, discussion post, or other), and theme (coming out, transition/social aspects, transition/legal aspects, transition/physical aspects, events, news involving transgender individuals, politics related to transgender issues, or other).

This collection of data documents three types of language management, specifically: management summaries, pre-interaction management *by* and *for* transgender individuals, and language management *by* and *on behalf of* transgender individuals toward the rest of the Czech linguistic community, particularly towards policymakers. The present analysis deals with the first two types. With this focus, the analysis will primarily rely on data annotated as belonging to the biography and guide genres.

The following charts illustrate some characteristics of the data. Chart 1 shows the distribution of analyzed guides based on the topic addressed. The data set comprises 100 unique

items (some guides have multiple versions, only one version was annotated for the theme). The themes include coming out, transition/social aspects, transition/physical aspects, and transition/legal aspects; some guides deal with multiple topics. Chart 2 visualizes the distribution of data over time for biographies (a total of 72 items) and guides that specifically concern the issue of first names (in the thematic annotation listed as transition/social aspects and transition/legal aspects; a total of 6 items). The distribution of data over time was not visualized for all guides, as approximately one-third of them did not contain a date of publication.

Details of each item from the dataset referenced in this paper are provided in the Attachment.

Chart 1 / Guides by theme

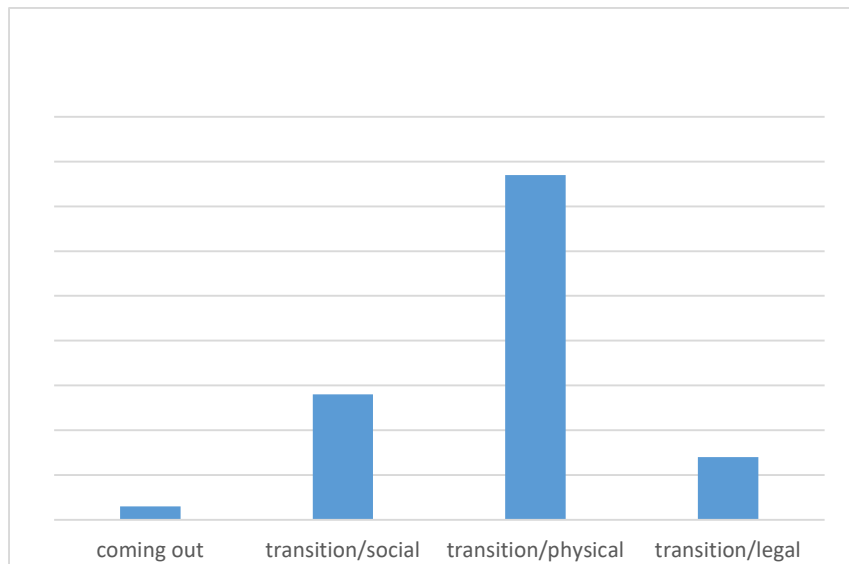
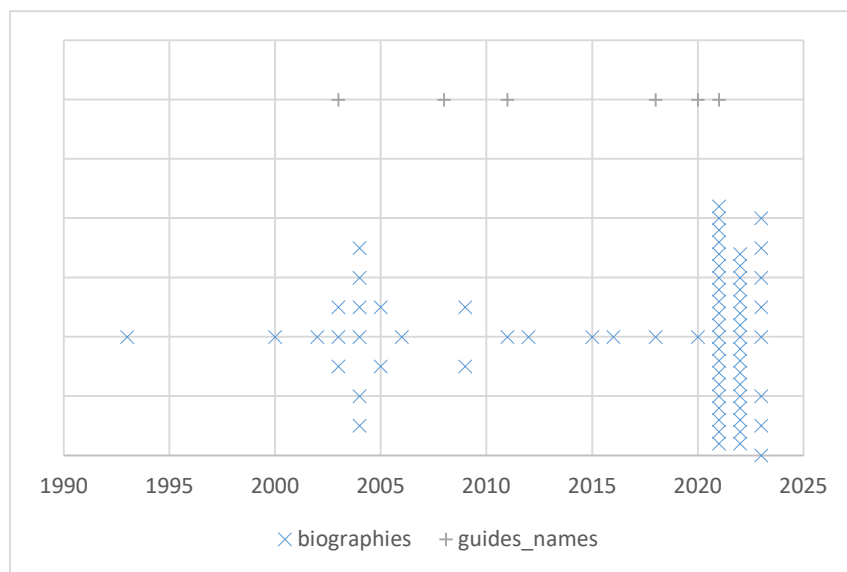


Chart 2 / Biographies and selected guides by year of publication



To gain insight into the internal processing behind the analyzed instances of language management, I systematically traced the practices related to data production as far as the online sources allowed (cf. Androutsopoulos 2008) and searched for potentially relevant information on the matter in the data collected for the wider research project mentioned above. Specifically, I will refer to ethnographic interviews conducted with language experts, public registry officers, and activists between 2019 and 2023. These interviews will be detailed, along with the corresponding references. The combination of the two types of data has also provided insights into some aspects of internal processing.

To account for the mixed character of the data and to prioritize the perspective of the actors that produced it, the analysis employs ethnographic discourse analysis, as outlined by Blommaert (2005). This approach involves analytical tools that enable the observation of how actors involved in a discourse attribute meaning to their own and others' practices, and linking such meanings to the social and historical processes that shape them. Based on the nature of the data, the tools include a pragmatic outlook on advice as a speech activity (cf. Limberg & Locher 2012), membership categorization analysis (cf. Lepper 2000), and the analysis of biographical narratives adapted for the research on language management (Nekvapil 2004, Sloboda 2011).

In addition to LMT's recommendations, the methods for collecting and analyzing data were devised with a further concern: to prevent harm to the privacy and dignity of individuals who participated in the production of the data or who are identified in it in any way. I must note that this universal ethical concern is particularly relevant in research involving transgender individuals. This is due to a history of investigations being conducted *on* the transgender

community rather than *with* them. Such research has been understood to contribute to the ongoing stigmatization of transgender identity (cf. Rogers 1992).

Although some members of the Czech transgender community participated in the wider research project, the analysis presented here was also conducted, admittedly, *on* the community rather than *with* them. I hope that any potential negative outcomes of this research design can be offset by the fact that the study presents the community's perspective on first names and their management and situates it as one of the perspectives that establish the Czech linguistic community.

To respect privacy, only materials that authors made public without any restrictions in the period between 2019 and 2023 when the data was collected or provided to me with a direct link to the research were included in the dataset. However, since the authors themselves made the majority of the analysed data available online, removing the authors' personal identifiers from the data excerpts in the paper seemed unnecessary. To avoid the identification of third persons, no excerpts in which third persons would be identified were included in the paper.

Finally, when referring to the actors involved in producing the analyzed data, I use the pronouns that they themselves used for self-identification, i.e., exclusively she or he. Besides that, I occasionally use the terms transgender woman and transgender man to refer to individuals who identify as having been through any form of male-to-female (i.e., transgender woman) or female-to-male (i.e., transgender man) transition.

## **Findings**

### **Management summaries: Language ideologies and discursive awareness**

As suggested by the data overview in the previous section, biographies of varying lengths and formats (such as books, articles, bio statements, chatroom entries, or biographical video interviews; cf. Attachment) are among the earliest items in the analyzed dataset. The main reason biographies are relevant for the present analysis is the presence of numerous management summaries and the insights that common features of the summaries provide into the constellations of language ideologies available to those involved in producing the analyzed data.

The extensive presence of management summaries is because the consequences of linguistic identification of individuals as men or women by names, but also by other means, are one of the themes that the authors commonly chose to render (substantiate, exemplify, justify) their biographical experience. The common thematic structure of the biographies may be

because some were elicited (and therefore potentially influenced) by book publishers, website editors, and even physicians, who encouraged authors to create biographies as a therapeutic and diagnostic tool. However, there is also a significant number of biographies that occurred rather spontaneously (for example, Biography21, which is an entry in the commentary section of one of the websites where data was gathered) and display the commonality as well.

For instance, the author of Biography13 pointed out the elicited nature of her biography to elaborate on its relevance.

*Excerpt 2 / Biography13*

1 Dear readers, I was approached by one of my friends to contribute  
2 to this website and write a few lines about how my coming out took  
3 (and still takes) place. I am no writer, but I promised to try. And  
4 this is the result of my efforts.

*Vážení čtenáři, byla jsem oslovena jedním kamarádem, zda bych nepřispěla na tento web a nenapsala pár řádek o tom, jak probíhal (a vlastně ještě probíhá) můj coming out. Nejsem žádná spisovatelka, ale přislíbila jsem, že se o to pokusím. A zde je výsledek mého snažení.*

The management summaries report on various strategies for avoiding linguistic identification as a man or a woman, and they suggest that a certain level of awareness might be building up in a link to linguistic means that serve such identification. The strategies for avoiding linguistic identification include, for example, a way of speaking “without gender specification” reported in Biography5 (lines 2-3, Excerpt 3):

*Excerpt 3 / Biography5*

1 I did not have a serious problem with my identity until I was 10  
2 years old. I had acquired a way of speaking that did not include  
3 gender specification and I was enjoying moments when I was  
4 “mistaken” for a boy.

*Zásadní problém jsem ale se svou identitou až do 10 let neměl. Osvojil jsem si způsob řeči, který neobsahoval rodová rozlišení a užíval si chvíle, kdy si mě „pletli“ s klukem.*

Another reported strategy involves navigating conversations that may lead to one’s identification. In excerpt 4, this strategy is situated to the author’s very early childhood, specifically to small talks that involved the author and adults. The account summarizes the strategy (lines 5-10, Excerpt 4) as picking up on cues that indicate when a conversation may lead to the point where the author is asked “questions whether [he is] a boy or a girl” (line 2-3, Ibid.), i.e., made to reveal his identity, and producing answers that do not lead up to any further questioning (lines 7-10, Ibid.).

*Excerpt 4 / Biography1: 20-21*

1 At the beginning, I didn’t attribute much importance to questions  
2 whether I am a boy or a girl that I was provoking by my “opposite”  
3 behavior.[3 lines omitted]  
4 I was not able to grasp why they tell me that [the questions and  
5 conversations that the questions led to, HÖ] but gradually I learnt

6 to recognize situations that led up to these conversations and I  
7 roughly knew how the conversations would proceed, what they would  
8 foolishly ask and also what my answer would be and, at the same time,  
9 I knew that my answer would be sufficient for them to leave me alone  
10 with the silly questions.

*Zpočátku jsem otázkám druhých, zda jsem kluk nebo holka, ke kterým jsem provokoval svým jednoznačně "opačným" chováním, nepřičítal valného významu. [3 lines omitted] Nedovedl jsem si sice vysvětlit, proč mi to [the questions and conversations that the questions led to, HÖ] říkají, ale postupně jsem se naučil rozeznávat situace, které vedly k takovým hovorům, věděl jsem také zhruba, jak se hovor bude vyvíjet, na co se mě zase budou hloupě ptát i co já na to řeknu, a zároveň jsem věděl, že jim má odpověď postačí, aby dali s těmi hloupými otázkami pokoj.*

The following example illustrates that the data manifest also the explicit discursive awareness towards means involved in the linguistic identification of individuals as men or women. The excerpt documents a repair that occurred in one of the biographical interviews after an utterance that featured the verb "to marry". In Czech, there are two verbs with this meaning: "oženit se" to be used by about men, and "vdát se" to be used about women.<sup>16</sup>

On line 1 of Excerpt 5, the interviewer prompted the respondent's narration by introducing a new biographical theme of marriage in the utterance "Ty jsi tím nějak prošla. Vdala ses." [You went through it. You got married]. The respondent, who identifies as a woman and in the interview elaborates on her male-to-female transition, playfully initiated a repair that substituted the form "vdala ses" with "oženila jsem se" ("Já bych skoro možná řekla, že jsem se oženila." [I would probably even say I got married.]; line 2-3, Excerpt 5). By this repair, the respondent made her transgender identity interactionally relevant, or in emic terms, she *outed herself* (hence the interviewer's repentance on lines 5 and 8, Ibid.), apparently to situate the marriage(s) in biographical time before the transition.

The discursive awareness towards linguistic identification of individuals as men or women was brought up by a commentary on "Czech" (lines 6-15, Ibid.) that the interviewer and the respondent cooperatively developed while (re-)enhancing their rapport after the repair. In this commentary, Czech was evaluated as "somewhat uncomfortable in this aspect" (lines 12 and 13, Ibid.) most probably for creating "grey zones" (line 9, Ibid.). This may stand for both the interactions requiring activities such as the repair that the interactants just experienced but also for the linguistic forms such as the predicate "oženila jsem se" which combines a verb identifying its subject as a man and the feminine grammatical ending "-a".<sup>17</sup> In this way, the

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<sup>16</sup> The verb "vdát se" is derived from the verb "dát" [to give] (cf. Rejzek 2015), i.e., roughly as "to give oneself away". The verb "oženit se" is derived from the noun "žena" [woman, wife] (Ibid.), i.e., as "to be given a wife", or "to get a wife".

<sup>17</sup> A similar commentary on linguistic means identifying individuals as either men or women seems to be embedded in the creative title of a biographical interview (Biography20) published in an intellectual

identificatory power of different linguistic means was marked also as an opportunity for creativity or subversive humor which is labeled as “bastardizing” (line 14, Ibid.).

*Excerpt 5 / Biography72*

*PV interviewer, LK interviewee*

1 PV: You went through it. You got married [vdát se, HÖ].  
2 LK: ((clicks tongue)) I would probably even say  
3 I got married [oženit se, HÖ], and I got married even twice.  
4 PV: Yeah, that's  
5 right, yeah, I am sorry ((laughs))  
6 LK: ((laughs))No no, that's okay, these are  
7 kind of, we're are getting into  
8 PV: I am sorry.  
9 LK: into some sort of  
10 grey zones of, you know, language, by this  
11 PV: Czech is a sort of  
12 uncomfortable in this aspect.  
13 LK: Czech is a sort of uncomfortable  
14 but I am enjoying so much bastardizing it in this way, so it  
15 is totally okay.

*PV: Ty jsi tím nějak prošla. Vdala sees.*

*LK: ((clicks tongue))Já bych skoro možná řekla že jsem se oženila a to dokonce dvakrát.*

*PV: Jo vlastně, jo, vlastně promiň... ((laughs))*

*LK: ((laughs))Ne ne, to je v pohodě, to sou takový, se dostáváme jakoby*

*PV: Promiň.*

*LK: Do takovejch šedejch zón, jako, jako jazyka, jo timhletim.*

*PV: Čeština je v tom taková nepohodlná.*

*LK: Čeština je taková nepohodlná, mě strašně baví jakoby, timhle tím způsobem tu češtinu prznit, takže jako v pohodě.*

However, among the evidence on the building of discursive awareness, no suggestion of awareness in connection to names<sup>18</sup> as a means of identification of individuals as men and women was identified in the data. This appears rather surprising given that among the accounts that summarize the consequences of linguistic identification of individuals as either men or women, accounts that summarize name changes are the most common in the analyzed biographies. These accounts appear in the biographies almost universally. In many cases, they are employed rather instrumentally to grasp the transitional nature of the biography or mark its different stages.

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magazine in 2002, “Rozhovor muže s ženem” [An interview of a man with a woman]. The interview was conducted by a journalist who identified as a transgender woman and a university lecturer of the Czech language who identifies as a transgender man. The grammatical endings of the nouns “man” and “woman” in the title have been swapped to be distributed independently from their grammatical paradigms. “Muž” (man) is a noun with masculine declension, while “žena” (woman) is a noun with feminine declension. The intentional swap resulted in forms where the grammatical information contrasts sharply with the lexical meaning and includes a highly distinctive letter combination, “-žy-”. This combination does not occur in Czech orthography, and many learners of Czech may have been instructed that it is wrong under all circumstances.

<sup>18</sup> Discursive awareness towards beliefs related to first names was present only in two recent biographies of individuals who identify as non-binary, i.e., neither men nor women. These biographies are shared with biographies of transgender individuals. However, judging from these two examples, the non-binary identity establishes a type of biography that would need to be analyzed on its own.

The following excerpt illustrates this type of account. On line 3, the author describes a “crucial step”, which is exemplified by him asking friends to address him by a chosen male name (different from the birth female name provided at the beginning of the biography; line 2, Excerpt 6). The account of abandoning a birth name for a chosen name is made a part of the biography to indicate that the “crucial step” was the launch of the author’s social transition.

*Excerpt 6 / Biography8*

1 On this day I saw the light of day and because I was born first,  
2 my mother named me Barbora. [4 paragraphs omitted]  
3 I decided to take a crucial step. My friends knew about it first -  
4 I ask them to call me Michal. And because they know me for a long  
5 time, they are willing to support me in anything - thus also in  
6 this and I am grateful to them for this.

*V tento den jsem spatřil světlo světa a protože jsem byl prvorozený, pojmenovala mě maminka na Barboru. [4 paragraphs omitted]  
Rozhodl jsem se proto podniknout zásadní krok. Mí přátelé o něm věděli nejdříve - vyžaduji od nich, aby mi říkali Michale. A protože mě znají již dlouho, jsou ochotni mě podpořit v čemkoliv - tudíž i v tomto a já jsem jim za to vděčný.*

The accounts of name change illustrate most clearly the insights that biographies provide into the constellations of language ideologies available to the actors who produced the analyzed data. The meaning of the summaries relies on the understanding that first names identify individuals as either men or women, and that the repertoire of names is split into gender-specific male names, i.e., grammatically masculine names designated for men, and female names, i.e., grammatically feminine names designated for women.

In this respect, the summaries appear to reproduce the semiotic processes that connect the social identification of individuals to linguistic features of names, which are made explicit by language policy and presented as dominant in the Czech linguistic community by codification. This includes iconization, in which “cause and immediate necessity” is attributed to a “connection (between linguistic and social groups) that may only be historical, contingent, or conventional” (Irvine & Gal 2000: 37). This process is behind the understanding that men are identified as men by grammatically masculine names and women as women by grammatical feminines. In concrete terms, the necessity was attributed to the connection between the members of the two legally recognized sexes and the grammatical gender of names. In language policy, this iconization was made explicit in the above-quoted provision that “[a] female name cannot be registered for a physical person of male sex, and vice versa“.

In the analyzed biographies, this link between the grammatical gender of first names and the identity of individuals projected onto the entire repertoire of names and on all individuals is in fact what warrants the presence of the accounts of name change in biographies in the first place. The accounts of abandoning a birth name are only accountable within the



biographies if the birth name, such as “Barbora” (gram. feminine, Excerpt 6 above) or “Tomáš” (gram. masculine, Excerpt 8 below), is understood as a display of identity that is not aligned with the author’s self-identification.

Even more importantly, the accounts of adopting a chosen name are meaningful based on the chosen name being understood as a display of the author’s identification as either a man or a woman. The grammatical contrast between the abandoned and chosen names is often the only or main means that indicates the authors’ identity. For instance, in the account “On this day I saw the light of day and because I was born first, my mother named me Barbora.” ([V tento den jsem spatřil světlo světa a protože jsem byl prvorozený, pojmenovala mě maminka na Barboru.]; lines 1-2, Excerpt 6) can be read as indicating that the author is biographically rendering a female-to-male transition based on the contrast of the grammatically feminine name “Barbora” and the grammatically masculine endings of the predicates “spatřil jsem” [I saw], “byl jsem” [I was].

In language policy and codification, the iconical connection is also maintained by semiotic erasure, i.e., especially by the exclusion of different types of names from official registration. The strategies of avoiding linguistic identification as a man or a woman presented in the analyzed biographies appear to parallel this semiotic process. In concrete terms, the applicability of the strategies is usually marked as limited to specific circumstances. This is illustrated by the following account, in which the availability of alternatives to names that identify individuals as men or women (lines 4-7, Excerpt 7) is one of the exemplifications that the author provided to expand on the account “At home, they treated me ‘almost’ as a boy” (line 1, *Ibid.*). While this confirms that naming that does not identify individuals as men or women, in fact, exists in the Czech linguistic community, the account is further elaborated on by contrasting “home” with the “second level of primary school” (lines 8 and 9, *Ibid.*), identifying the naming as one of the aspects that could not have been maintained besides “home”.

Interestingly, the contrast between “home” and “second-level primary school” does not seem to primarily render that the alternatives to gender-specific names were made available by the younger age, but rather by the fact that in that age, gender-related social norms operate differently. This is suggested by the exemplification “girls and boys started to separate and that was bothersome for me” (lines 9-10, *Ibid.*).

*Excerpt 7 / Biography11*

- 1 At home, they treated me “almost” as a boy. [2 paragraphs omitted]
- 2 However, it never came to my mind to adopt a male name and somehow
- 3 request that from others. In hindsight, I realized that, most
- 4 probably, it was not necessary. At home I was called “little guy”,

5 friends called me Mikeš, Makeš, devil, chief and other names (or  
6 rather nicknames) that sounded boyish and mischievous and I was  
7 happy with that. [2 paragraphs omitted]  
8 At the second level of primary school it got worse. Girls and boys  
9 started to separate and that was bothersome for me.

*Doma mě brali „skoro“ jako kluka. [2 paragraphs omitted] Nikdy mě nenapadlo dávat si ale mužské jméno a nějak to vyžadovat po druhých. Zpětně si uvědomuji, že to možná nebylo ani třeba. Doma mi říkali „prcku“, kamarádi Mikeš, Makeš, čert, náčelník a jiná jména (spíš přezdívky), která zněla klukovsky a rošťácky a s tím jsem byl spokojený. [2 paragraphs omitted] Na druhém stupni základní školy už to bylo horší. Holky a kluci se začali separovat a to mi bylo nepříjemné.*

Another possible parallel to the erasure of names that do not identify individuals as men or women concerns so-called neutral names. In the analyzed biographies, summaries of adopting a chosen neutral name are interestingly uncommon, relatively unelaborated, and instrumental. Neutral names or their adoption are often brought up when the different stages of the transition process, specifically stages of the institutionally-assisted transition, are marked in a biography.

In the account in Excerpt 8, the neutral name appears to indicate the author's progress in the ongoing process of transition. The account is taken from a biography which includes a letter that the biography's author sent to her colleagues after her coming out. It features three names that were placed in the spot reserved for a signature, including the name "Toni" that can be registered to both legal men and women.

*Excerpt 8 / Biography13*

1 I hope this letter helped you to understand my situation. (...)  
2 Tomáš  
3 now - Toni  
4 in the future - Tamara

*Doufám, že vám tento dopis pomohl pochopit moji situaci. (...)  
Tomáš  
nyňi - Toni  
do budoucna - Tamara*

It might be appropriate to add that also the alignment with language policy is often marked as instrumental in the analyzed biographies. In the following excerpt from a biographical book, this marking is done in the assertion, "But probably it is not going to be possible..." ([Ale si to nepůjde, nevím...] line 11, Excerpt 9). The assertion is made in an account in which the author recounts adopting a chosen name in the domain of "fantasies" (line 8, Excerpt 9). The account recounts a consultation in which a sexologist brought up the abandonment of the author's birth name, the author reveals that he had already adopted a chosen name decades ago (lines 8-9, Ibid.) and elaborates on it.

Excerpt 9 / Biography3: 158

1 "Well, you know, I actually already have one name and I don't know  
2 if I can get used to any other," I made a guilty face.  
3 [4 lines omitted]  
4 "But it is a kind of... well, it is very unconventional. It is simply  
5 a foreign name," I was excusing myself again, again my insecurity  
6 and the sense of guilt. But I am not going to give up on Mike. The  
7 doctor looked at me all puzzled.  
8 "You know, doctor, I've lived with it in my fantasies for a good  
9 30 years. And I got used to it so much that I cannot picture myself  
10 as some Franta or Pepa. But probably it is not going to be  
11 possible..."

*„No, víte, já už vlastně jedno jméno mám a nevím, jestli si zvyknu na jiný,” zatvářil jsem se trochu provinile. [4 paragraphs omitted]  
„Jenže ono je takové... no, jakože dost netradiční. Je to prostě cizí jméno,” zase jsem se omlouval, opět ta moje nejistota a pocit provinění. Ale Mika nedám. Doktorka se na mě nechápavě podívala.  
„Víte, paní doktoro, já s ním ve svých fantaziích žiju už dobrých 30 let. A tak jsem si na něj zvykl, že si sama sebe neumím představit pod nějakým Frantou nebo Pepou. Ale si to nepůjde, nevím...”*

The impossibility mentioned in the assertion concerns the official registration of the chosen name. This is made clear by the aspects of the chosen name that are brought up, including its origins (lines 4-5, Ibid.). More precisely, it is made clear by the fact that the relevance of these particular aspects is based on the conditions of names' official registration. This way, the official registration of a name is marked as an instrument for maintaining the chosen identification (not as a goal in itself).

This marking might even have an evaluative potential. In this account, this is suggested by the contrast drawn between the author's chosen name and the names that, unlike the chosen name, might be easily available based on the conditions of official registration according to the author ("And I got used to it so much that I cannot picture myself as some Franta or Pepa." ([A tak jsem si na něj zvykl, že si sama sebe neumím představit pod nějakým Frantou nebo Pepou.] line 9-10, Ibid.). Franta and Pepa, chosen to exemplify the contrast, represent familiar forms of some of the most common, maybe even stereotypical, Czech male names.

However, the data's reliance on the semiotic processes dominant in the management of first names in the Czech linguistic community appears to have one highly consequential limit. It concerns one of the common components of the discussed summaries of name change, i.e., the availability of names for individuals' self-identification, including their self-identification as men or women.

This component lent sense to most accounts discussed until now; in the following excerpt, it is revealed in more detail. The excerpt comes from Biography20, a biographical video interview that was shared online. The excerpt includes a summary of processes of language management interpreted by the author as brought up by her using her chosen name in

the capacity of an “officially” registered name in the workplace. These processes included, on one hand, “resistance” (lines 1-2, Excerpt 10) that the author’s colleagues displayed to insist on the author signing work-related documents with her abandoned but officially registered name. On the other hand, they included the language management developed by the author to maintain the usage of the chosen name, i.e., arguing with (lines 2-4, Ibid.), correcting (lines 10-12, Ibid.), but also teasing the colleagues (line 12, Ibid.). Her management should have brought attention to the pointlessness or irrationality of the “resistance” (line 16, Ibid.) based on the argument that the only difference between the abandoned and chosen name is the addition of a single letter (lines 16-18, Ibid.).<sup>19</sup>

*Excerpt 10 / Biography20*

*LK interviewer, DŠ interviewee*

1 DŠ I have noticed only that there was a big resistance in  
 2 the signing. You know? Like there was this, eh, it is not  
 3 in the ID. You know? So it is not possible and I just said  
 4 I don't care at all, I am just...  
 5 LK You mean signing contracts?  
 6 DŠ Just everything, you know?  
 7 LK Mhm.  
 8 DŠ And also so that they  
 9 would accept me, so that they would write, on just some  
 10 daily time sheets... And somewhere it is done, somewhere it  
 11 is not and I always like cross it and write Daniela  
 12 something. I am even little bit teasing in this way, you  
 13 know? I obviously do understand them, because it is not  
 14 official, I am Daniel Špinar in my ID but  
 15 it was my way to try the degree to which the people eh  
 16 'cause, in the end, they might just wave it off and, that  
 17 one letter there, it just does not matter, you know? But  
 18 there was really a big unwillingness.

*DŠ: Já jsem si jenom všimla že tam byla rezistence veliká v tom  
 podpisování, jo, prostě že tam jako to bylo, ehm, není to v občance, jo,  
 takže to nejde. A já jsem prostě řekla, mě to nezajímá já jsem prostě...*

*LK: Jako podpisování smluv?*

*DŠ: Všeho prostě, jo, jako...*

*LK: Mhm.*

*DŠ: A, jako vůbec, i jako aby mě jako akceptovali, aby třeba jako psali  
 na nějaké prostě denní výkazy, na nějaké prostě. A jako někde se to děje,  
 někde se to neděje a já to vždycky prostě jakoby přeškrtnu a napíšu  
 Daniela, něco. Já takle trošičku malinko i jako tak týžuju, jo? A, já to  
 chápu samozřejmě protože to oficiální opravdu není, jako správně já jsem  
 Daniel Špinar v občance ale jakoby, já jsem tímhle tím právě chtěla  
 zkusit jako nakolik ty lidi... Eh, protože vono ve výsledku nad tím prostě  
 můžou mávnout rukou a prostě je to úplně jedno, tam to jedno písmenko  
 navíc, jo? Ale jako mě tam, jako, teda byla veliká nevole...*

---

<sup>19</sup> This account points to a highly interesting avenue for future research on the possibility of individuals’ linguistic self-identification in the Czech linguistic community, which includes but is not limited to the self-identification of individuals as men and women. In this argument, the author brought up the minimal formal difference between her given and chosen name to argue about the low consequentiality of her using her chosen name. Based on my experience, various adjustments, such as abbreviations or modifications to officially registered first names, are not uncommon or generally unaccepted in different contexts, including the workplace. However, using a name for one’s self-identification as a man or woman might represent a specific type of such modification. The research would, therefore, not only provide insight into the Czech community’s attitudes towards personal names but also its attitude to flexibility of gender identities.

Both types of management were summarized to elaborate on the account of noting of a deviation explicitly labeled as such in “I have noticed only that there was a big resistance” ([Já jsem si jenom všimla že tam byla rezistence veliká]; line 1) and on the evaluation of the noticed deviation. The account of the author’s arguing with the colleagues (especially lines 2-3 Ibid.: “Like there was this, eh, it is not in the ID. You know? So it is not possible” [že tam jako to bylo, ehm, není to v občance, jo, takže to nejde]) reveals that the noting was warranted by a normative expectation that names are available to one’s self-identification and that the colleagues’ insistence on use of name in the ID (line 2, Ibid.) breached this expectation. The central position of the normative expectation for the account is further supported by the categorization of author’s management as “teasing” (line 12, Ibid.), i.e., an activity that is focused on exploring or challenging limits and norms of certain conduct.

The consequences of this component for the present analysis cannot be understated. Both language policy and codification illustrate semiotic processes related to first names that do not make self-identification available. This becomes clear when the interdependence of so-called *sex*, *sex category*, and *gender* in both language policy and codification is considered.

As argued by West and Zimmerman (1987) *sex*, *sex category*, and *gender* are three interrelated but discrete and potentially independent categories that organize social practice commonly referred to when the notion gender or social sex is used. Sex refers to an individual’s determination based on “socially agreed biological criteria” (Ibid.: 127). Membership in a sex category is determined through everyday conduct based on “socially required identificatory displays” of that membership (Ibid.). Gender, on the other hand, refers to the activity of “managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category” (Ibid.).

The limit of integration between the constellations of language ideologies displayed in the analyzed biographies and language ideologies informing the instances of management of first names such as language policy concerns the link between sex and the sex category. As outlined above, in the Czech Republic, first names are made available for registration solely based on individuals’ officially registered sex which is *socially agreed* to be based typically on a physician’s assessment of an individual’s genitalia, performed usually immediately after birth. Thusly, the language policy on first names makes them a mandatory display not only of sex category but also sex as the two are legally merged.

The language management summaries, on the other hand, reported instances of name change in which the link between the phenomena was not fixed but rather flexible and

independent. This was the case of the accounts in which a birth name that identified an individual as a man or a woman was abandoned for another name that identifies individuals in this way. These summaries hint at the existence of a belief that names as displays of sex categories are available for individuals' self-identification. A belief that is not part of the dominant *belief in best first names* or *belief in their management*.

### **Pre-interaction management: who manages what?**

Both biographies and guides were shared within the self-help discourse as a form of advice, i.e., authors' suggestion for recipients' future actions, and, thusly, as a form of pre-interaction management.

In biographies, this character of the texts is indicated rather broadly. For instance, in a testimonial that came with Biography1, a biography book which is the earliest item in the biography data subset, the author indicated that the main purpose for writing the book was a personal wish (lines 5-6, Excerpt 11) to explore "everything that might happen with the male principle when it is embodied in a female body" (lines 2-3, Ibid.). Besides that, the author listed also other reasons, including "cheer[ing] up everyone who might be needing it" (line 4, Ibid.), i.e., most probably the recipients of the biography who experience some of the psychological hardships that the author reports on in it.

Excerpt 11 / Biography1

1 I wanted to write about everything that might happen with the male  
2 principle when it is embodied in a female body. If I manage to  
3 shed a little light on this unclear topic, I will be glad. I  
4 will be even more glad if I cheer up everyone who might be needing it.  
5 However, the main reason for my writing is still my wish to  
6 understand, the main reason is me.

*Chtěl jsem psát o tom, co všechno se může stát s mužským principem, je-li vtělen do ženského těla. Pokud se mi tak podaří vnést do nevyjasněné problematiky trochu světla, budu rád. Povzbudím-li ty, kteří povzbuzení potřebují, budu ještě raději. Ale hlavním důvodem mého psaní zůstává přání porozumět, hlavním důvodem jsem já sám.*

The guides indicate the advice component of the texts more explicitly and concretely, typically through the methods the authors devised to integrate them into the discourse. These practices commonly reveal the authors' assumption that the recipients will use the guides as a suggestion for future actions. For instance, this assumption appears embedded in the genre-defined content category of "Tips" under which the guides are listed on the website <www.translide.cz> (as "Tips for FtM" [*Tipy pro FtM*] and "Tips for MtF" [*Tipy pro MtF*]). However, the texts are not overtly directive, and the suggestions for future actions are delivered mostly by asserting information about the actions or suggesting concrete actions indirectly (e.g.

“[i]n disputed cases, there is usually nothing left but to turn to a certified expert” [ve sporných případech obvykle nezbyvá, než se obrátit na soudní znalkyni”]; Guideonnames1).

Even more importantly, data show that at least some of their recipients treat guides, and also biographies, as sources of advice. In a reaction to Biography10, which was published on one of the excerpted websites and extensively discussed surgical transformations, a user of the website left a comment asking for “pictures” (line 1, Excerpt 12). This request was eliciting further elaboration on the account of the outcome of the surgeries that the author provided in the biography (lines 1-2, Ibid.). The request indicated that the elaboration is sought as a suggestion for the reader’s deliberation about “where to go” (line 3, Ibid.), i.e., which of the available clinics to approach for the surgeries.

*Excerpt 12 / Biography10*

```
1 Hi Mark do you think you could maybe send me pictures of how it
2 turned out with you? Because I am not done with it myself so I am
3 considering where to go. And I would obviously like for it to turn
4 out as well as possible.
```

```
Ahoj Marku, myslis, ze bys mi mohl treba poslat fotky jak to u Tebe
dopadlo? Protoze ja to cele za sebou jeste nemam, tak zvazuji, kam jit a
tak. No a samozrejme bych byl moc rad, aby to dopadlo co nejlip.
```

It is probably rather obvious that the data’s pre-interaction management capacity arises when the advice concerns language-related issues. However, one potentially less obvious general feature of pre-interaction management has yet to be pointed out. A specific type of categorization work which both guides and biographies have built on suggests that the pre-interaction management found in the data should be considered an example of *pre-interaction self-management*. In this case, “self” does not refer to an individual, but rather to a community of practice.

By sharing the guides and some of the biographies as advice, the authors categorize the recipients as someone in need of advice, and themselves as someone able to provide it. The categorization of recipients is further elaborated in the data, particularly in the guides that occasion the provided advice by a lack of help from those who should have provided it in the first place. For instance, in the guides dealing with the process of name change, the advice is linked to the attitude of the public registry officers, which the authors of the guides label as “unhelpfulness” (Guideonnames1) or “making excuses of nonexistent rules” (Guideonnames5).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Interestingly enough, the analyzed biographies did not report any instances of such attitudes. On the contrary, the helpfulness of public registry officers was often emphasized. However, in most cases, the experience of helpfulness was rendered as marked and not freely generalizable, i.e., in a way suggesting that the narrator anticipated that the recipients might expect a different account.

The details of categorization work related to recipients are informative about the self-categorization of the authors. However, the category is most extensively elaborated upon by the design of the provided advice. In all cases, the advice comes from highly interested authors who have personally experienced the transition process or gained first-hand insight through other means. Unlike others, these authors volunteer to help the recipients. The aforementioned community of practice emerges, and its involvement in language management is brought along, by sharing knowledge about the transition process, which compensates for the lack of help from others.

The self-categorization practices are not fully homogeneous. In particular, the advice provided by the members of the community who run the newest website, <[www.jsmetransparent.cz](http://www.jsmetransparent.cz)>, appears differentiated by warranting not only the predicate of volunteering to share advice to compensate for the lack of help from others but also the predicate of facilitating that the help is provided by others. This advice takes specific forms, including organizing training sessions for medical professionals, social workers, or teachers, as well as engaging in political activism. The intended recipients of this advice are not members of the community, but rather those who are responsible for providing the lacking help.

However, the fact that the analyzed management is developed *by* members of the community of practice should be kept in mind when exploring the final feature of the pre-interaction management to be discussed, i.e., the question of what is managed. The language management summaries included in the biographies dealt with several different types of language management. Pre-interaction management appears more integrated in its focus. Most of the instances of pre-interaction management in the data were designed in anticipation of a single type of interaction, i.e., the interaction between members of the community and public registry officers that led up to the assessment of the acceptability of names for official registration as a neutral name.

This applies without exception to pre-interaction management in the analyzed guides. In the case of biographies, the authors' indications that biographies are shared as a form of advice (and thus as a potential instance of pre-interaction management) are usually formulated very broadly. It is therefore difficult to identify specific aspects of the biographies that could have been shared as suggestions for future actions, i.e., an adjustment implementable by the recipients. Likewise, it is impossible to point to interactions that might be anticipated as a subject of pre-interaction management.

However, the additional data gathered within the wider research project suggest that biographies might be utilized as advice of their own in the very interactions that were



anticipated by the authors of the guides. This evidence comes from ethnographic interviews with public registry officers<sup>21</sup>. Two of them reported encountering applicants for name change who, during consultations about the name change or in their name change applications, argued about their chosen transitional names' acceptability based on the fact that some transgender individuals had already registered those names officially.<sup>22</sup>

The attention to the fact that pre-interaction language management was developed by and for the members of the community is important because it is the participation role available to the members of the community what the authors noted about the anticipated interactions. This is at least suggested by the design of the adjustment that the guides suggest for recipients' implementation.

A total of six guides in which pre-interaction management regarding first names takes place was identified. To exemplify details of the adjustment, I will refer mainly to the two most comprehensive guides from the data subset: Guideonnames1, which was made public in 2003 on the website <[www.translide.cz](http://www.translide.cz)>, and Guideonnames5, published in 2020 at <[www.jsmetransparent.cz](http://www.jsmetransparent.cz)>.

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<sup>21</sup> Between 2019 and 2022, a total of 10 public registry offices located in municipalities with a population of over 150,000, both in Prague and other regions of the Czech Republic, were approached with a request to participate in the research. Five interviews were conducted, including one with a public registry officer from a municipality outside of Prague. Based on an agreement with the interviewees, all interviews were documented in field notes taken during and immediately after the interviews.


<sup>22</sup> Although it is not directly related to the present discussion, it may be worth mentioning that the public registry officers reported refusing both the acceptability of the particular name and the argument itself, which they interpreted as lacking a legal basis. This represents the officers' practical implementation of the legal requirement that only existent names are acceptable for registration that was the subject of the aforementioned ruling by the Supreme Administrative Court. Effectively, this interpretation is a part of the semiotic erasure of names without the gender-identificatory power.

1 A brief guide to public registry offices for TS [transsexual,  
 2 HÖ] individuals  
 3 In the Czech Republic, transsexual individuals have the option  
 4 to apply for a name change to a neutral form at a public  
 5 registry office in their place of permanent residence. The  
 6 change is free of charge upon presentation of a medical  
 7 certificate from the attending physician.  
 8 If the original surname is a noun, the neutral form is created  
 9 by adding the ending "ů" (Novák, Vlčků, Jahodů, etc.). If it is  
 10 an adjective, the "ých" ending is added (Pokorných, Černých  
 11 etc.). However, the original surname is not binding, the  
 12 applicant is free to choose any other surname.  
 13 Another option is to choose a surname from a foreign language  
 14 that does not distinguish between male and female genders in  
 15 the surnames, e.g., from English. For example, it is therefore  
 16 not possible to use Slavic languages that do distinguish  
 17 genders.  
 18 The situation is a little more complicated with first names. In  
 19 addition to both-gender names (Nikola, René, Saša), both-gender  
 20 familiar forms of names (Jára, Miša, Pěťa) are also admissible.  
 21 It is also possible to use foreign first names, these names do  
 22 not have to be both-gender within one language (e.g. the name  
 23 Janis is a female name in English and a male name in Greek).  
 24 Unfortunately, different public registry offices sometimes vary  
 25 in their level of helpfulness. What one allows, another might  
 26 refuse. In disputed cases, there is usually nothing left but to  
 27 turn to a certified expert in the field of names (PhDr.  
 28 Miloslava Knappová, phone number 271 733 481) who is able to  
 29 provide an expert opinion within a few days (the price is  
 30 approximately 600 CZK).  
 31 This is a list of neutral names that have been already used by  
 32 TS [transsexual, HÖ] individuals in the past. The most popular  
 33 are Saša and Nikola.  
 34 Áda, Alex, Aliz, Andrea, Andy, Bronia, Dan, Deny, Ilja, Issa,  
 35 Ivo, Janis, Jannis, Jarka, Jára, Jean, Jindra, Jirča, Jirka,  
 36 Kája, Kim, Lenny, Mára, Maria, Marti, Martine, Michele, Míla,  
 37 Míra, Miša, Miřa, Nicol, Niki, Nikola, Pěťa, René, Riki,  
 38 Robbie, Robin, Romy, Saša, Stáňa, Sváťa, Štěpa, Viky, Vivian,  
 39 Vlasta, Zbyňa, Zdena  
 40 This is a list of other names that may be most probably usable  
 41 but have not yet been tested and therefore their suitability  
 42 cannot be guaranteed. In the less clear examples, the original  
 43 male/female variant of the name is given in parentheses.  
 44 Alice, Bernie (Bernard/dette), Běda, Bláza (Blažej/ena), Bóza  
 45 (Božetěch/Božena), Cecil, Dráza (Drahoslav/a), Eda, Fany, Gába,  
 46 Gusta, Honza, Květa, Láda, Líba (Libor/Libuše), Nikita, Olda,  
 47 Páťa (Patrik/cie), Ráďa, Rosťa, Sláva, Valda, Vendā  
 48 (Vendelín/Vendula), Věra, Víťa, Vlāďa, Vojta

Figure 1 / Printscreen of Guideonnames1

přeměna u FTM
přeměna u MtF
<b>SPOLEČNÉ</b>
skupiny
kontakty
Slovensko

### Malý průvodce matrikou pro TS osoby



V ČR mají transsexuální lidé možnost požádat na matrice v místě trvalého bydliště o změnu jména na neutrální tvar. Po předložení potvrzení od ošetřující lékařky je tato změna bezplatná.

Jestliže původní příjmení tvoří podstatné jméno, vytvoří se z něj neutrální tvar přidáním koncovky "ů" (Nováků, Vlčků, Jahodů, atd.). Pokud šlo o přídavné kméno, připojí se koncovka "ých" (Pokorných, Černých, apod.). Původní příjmení ovšem není nijak závazné, žadatel si může svobodně zvolit kterékoliv jiné.

Další možností je zvolit si příjmení z cizího jazyka, který nerozlišuje v příjmeních mužský a ženský rod, např. z angličtiny. Nelze tedy využít např. jazyky slovanské, které rody rozlišují.

O něco složitější je situace u křestních jmen. Kromě obourodých oficiálních jmen (Nikola, René, Saša) se pro TS osoby připouští též použití obourodých domácích podob jmen (Jára, Miša, Pěťa).

Je rovněž možné použít cizí křestní jména, ta už ale nemusí být obourodá v rámci jednoho jazyka (např. jméno Janis je v angličtině ženské a v řečtině mužské).

Naneštěstí, jednotlivé matriky se někdy liší v míře své vstřícnosti. Co jedna povolí, může jiná zamítnout. Ve sporných případech pak obvykle nezbyvá, než obrátit se na soudní znalkyni v oboru jmen (PhDr. Miloslava Knappová, tel. 271 733 481), která je schopna během několika málo dní vypracovat odborný posudek (cena zhruba 600 Kč).

Toto je seznam neutrálních jmen, která již byla TS lidmi v minulosti použita. Nejoblíbenější jsou Saša a Nikola.

Áda, Alex, Aliz, Andrea, Andy, Bronia, Dan, Deny, Ilja, Issa, Ivo, Janis, Jannis, Jarka, Jára, Jean, Jindra, Jirča, Jirka, Kája, Kim, Lenny, Mára, Maria, Marti, Martine, Michele, Míla, Míra, Miša, Miřa, Nicol, Niki, Nikola, Pěťa, René, Riki, Robbie, Robin, Romy, Saša, Stáňa, Sváťa, Štěpa, Viky, Vivian, Vlasta, Zbyňa, Zdena

Toto je seznam dalších jmen, která by pravděpodobně mohla být rovněž použitelná, ale nebyla dosud vyzkoušena a jejich vhodnost proto nelze zaručit. V závorce je v méně zřejmých případech uvedena původní mužská/ženská varianta jména.

Alice, Bernie (Bernard/dette), Běda, Bláza (Blažej/ena), Bóza (Božetěch/Božena), Cecil, Dráza (Drahoslav/a), Eda, Fany, Gába, Gusta, Honza, Květa, Láda, Líba (Libor/Libuše), Nikita, Olda, Páťa (Patrik/cie), Ráďa, Rosťa, Sláva, Valda, Vendā (Vendelín/Vendula), Věra, Víťa, Vlāďa, Vojta

Hodně štěstí v přechodném období přeje [nahoru](http://nahoru)

Johanka | 16. 6. 2003



There are many similarities between the two guides and even an overt intertextual reference from the latter to the earlier one: both guides contain an identical attachment with a specimen of name change application. This link might have been mediated by the fact that Guideonnames1 was included in a sexology textbook on gender identity disorders (Fifková et al. 2008). The similarities concern also some features of the adjustments presented in both guides.

Most obviously both adjustments define, contextualize, and exemplify neutral names, or as both guides label them, the “neutral forms” of names (line 4, Guideonnames1). The definitions identify neutral names as a linguistic phenomenon based on the understanding that the repertoire of first names is split between male and female names, with an intersection of names suitable for both men and women. Guideonnames1 employed the linguistic term “both-gender” ([obourodý]; line 19) as a defining synonym of neutral names. In this sense, the notion of both-gender is a homonymous designation of both the grammatical features of a name and individual identity. Guideonnames5 asserts that “A neutral form is a form of a name that both women and men can use.” (Neutrální tvar je takovou formou jména, kterou můžou používat jak ženy, tak i muži.); line 11-12).

The contextualizations position the neutral names as not only legal but also therapeutic phenomena. The legal context is referenced in Guideonnames1 which asserts that “neutral forms” are an option for “transsexual individuals”, likely referring to legal norms that allow for the adoption of neutral names and, uses vocabulary common in legal texts, such as “it is admissible” ([připouští se]; line 20 Guideonnames1). The guide states, “In the Czech Republic, transsexual individuals have the option to apply for a name change to a neutral form at a public registry office in their place of permanent residence.” ([V ČR mají transsexuální lidé možnost požádat na matrice v místě trvalého bydliště na neutrální tvar.]; lines 3-5, Guideonnames1).

The therapeutic context is referenced in Guideonnames5 which deals with “neutral forms” as with one of the therapeutic (most probably sexological) recommendations available within the process of the institutionally-assisted transition: “One of the recommended steps when starting with the official transition is the change of a name to the neutral form. It will help you adapt better to your new role.” ([Změna vašeho jména na neutrální tvar je jeden z doporučených kroků při zahájení úřední tranzice. Pomůže vám lépe se adaptovat na novou roli.], lines 9-11, Guideonnames5).

The exemplification links the linguistic, legal, and therapeutic notion of “neutral forms” to a tangible reality of concrete names by providing or referencing lists of neutral

names. Guideonnames1 provides two lists: one of the names already registered by transgender individuals (lines 34-39, Guideonnames1) and other of names that may be acceptable for registration (lines 44-48, Ibid.). Guideonnames5 contains (or refers to) several items of this type. It includes a list of “Examples of neutral first names” ([Příklady neutrálních křestních jmen]; line 27 and from 39 onwards, Guideonnames5) that contains especially foreign names in varying degrees of orthographical adaptation. Additionally, there is a reference to a list used by public registry offices (line 28 and 35-37, Ibid.), the list of neutral names in Codex4 (line 29, Ibid.), and “a comprehensive list of neutral names on the website of J. Valdřová” ([obsáhly seznam neutrálních jmen na webu J. Valdřové]; lines 32-34, Guideonnames5).

However, the argumentation that accompanied the exemplification of “neutral forms” indicates that the information on neutral names is not a sufficient adjustment available for implementation by the recipients of the guides. In Guideonnames1, this indication is launched by an explicit evaluation “The situation is a little more complicated with the first names.” ([O něco složitější je situace u křestních jmen.]; line 18, Guideonnames1). As the evaluation develops, it becomes clear that it concerns the implementability of the adjustment. The “more complicated situation” is first exemplified by an assertion that: “Unfortunately, different public registry offices may vary in their level of helpfulness. What one allows, another may refuse.” ([Naneštěstí, jednotlivé matriky se někdy liší v míře své vstřícnosti. Co jedna povolí, může jiná zamítnout.]; lines 24-26, Guideonnames1).

The exemplification is further developed with a commentary on the validity of the advice provided by lists of neutral names. When presenting one of them, the authors assert that “This is a list of neutral names that have already been used by TS individuals in the past.” ([Toto je seznam neutrálních jmen, která již byla TS lidmi v minulosti použita]; lines 31-32, Guideonnames1). In contrast, the list of possible names is commented on asserting that the listed names “may be most probably usable but have not yet been tested and therefore their suitability cannot be guaranteed” ([mohla být rovněž použitelná, ale nebyla dosud vyzkoušena a jejich vhodnost proto nelze zaručit]; line 40-42, Guideonnames 5).

In Guideonnames5, the indication is located in the labels that come with the different lists of names that the guide presents. Codex4 is labeled as containing the “primary list of acceptable neutral names” ([základní seznam možných neutrálních křestních jmen]; line 28, Guideonnames5), but also as not including “all possible names” ([neobsahuje veškerá možná jména]) and “outdated” ([není taky aktuální]; line 30-31, Guideonnames5). In contrast, another list is labeled as recommended due to its exhaustiveness. The guide states, “For this reason, we recommend a comprehensive list of neutral names on the website of Jana

Valdrová” ([Proto Vám doporučujeme obsáhlý seznam neutrálních jmen na webu Jany Valdrové]; line 32-34, Guideonnames5). However, this recommendation comes with caution concerning the implementation. As the guide states “It is possible that you will need an expert opinion for those names.” ([Je možné, že k těmto jménům, budete ale potřebovat zažádat o posudek.]; line 34-35, Guideonnames5).

The less obvious common component of the adjustments is the information provided about the participation framework available for the anticipated interactions. The authors of Guideonnames1 inform recipients about the possibility of seeking assistance of a language expert by stating: “In disputed cases, there is nothing left but to turn to a certified expert in the field of names.” ([Ve sporných případech pak obvykle nezbývá, než obrátit se na soudní znalkyni v oboru jmen.]; lines 22-24, Guideonnames1).

In Guideonnames5, this aspect of adjustment is even more developed and concerns not only language experts but also Codex4 and alternatives to it (lines 14-19 and 22-29, Guideonnames5). It is so despite the fact that the guide’s authors did not list all the possibilities of how the participation framework may form in the anticipated interactions. The choice behind the information on available lists is linked to selecting participants that bring exhaustive, updated, and dedicated information on neutral names, as revealed by the above-quoted elaboration on the various lists made available in the guide. Other aspects of the choice behind the design of the adjustment were not made equally apparent to the recipients. When Guideonnames5 was made public, several experts were certified to provide expert opinions on first names, including the expert identified in Guideonnames1. In Guideonnames5, only one certified expert is mentioned (lines 15-16 and 18-19, Guideonnames5), and the expert identified in Guideonnames1 is introduced only as the author of Codex4 (lines 22-23, Guideonnames5).

Despite being selective, the commentary on the available lists of neutral names in Guideonnames5 is consequential for the final task that needs to be addressed in this discussion, which is isolating the *beliefs about a best management of first names* that informed the analyzed pre-interaction management. The commentary hints on a possibility that the adjustment might represent an innovation to the management of first names specific to the community of practice which produced the guide. In concrete terms, when a list of neutral names available on an expert’s website was recommended as a substitute for the list in Codex4, it was effectively assigned the capacity to serve as another codex, even though its capacity was marked as limited by acknowledging that it lacks the official authorization.

However, it is a potential innovation that introduces a new participant to an already existing role in the participation framework, rather than an invention of a new role or an overall abandonment of the framework. If implemented as an adjustment, the information on both neutral names and the participation framework would encourage the recipients to engage in their pre-interaction management by consulting Codex4, a list of neutral names, or seeking the assistance of certified experts. In this way, their participant role in the anticipated interactions would be adjusted by limiting the otherwise unchecked control over the interactions claimed by the public registry officers. It would not, though, bypass the official registration of names or the public registry officers.

This points to the fact that also the adjusted framework is likely informed by beliefs alike to those informing the existing management of first names, such as the belief that one's name should be subject to management by others to ensure that the name's properties are in place. Therefore, the potential innovation introduced in Guideonnames5 appears to have been lent meaning by a same belief that one's first name can and should be managed by others, including those who manage it on behalf of others, provided that the management is dedicated, exhaustive, and up-to-date.

## **Conclusion**

Departing from Language Management Theory and the semiotic understanding of language ideologies, this paper has attempted to explore the language management developed around first names as a form of self-help *by* and *for* some of the transgender individuals who are members of the Czech linguistic community. In this linguistic community, various forms of language management ensure that officially registered and used names are previously existing, orthographically unflawed, and that they identify individuals as either men or women. These language management processes include the official language policy on names and the codification of first names. Transgender individuals, however, often face the need to abandon their birth names to modify the identity that is displayed by their names.

This exploration aimed to contribute to the discussion on the dynamics of the standard language in the Czech linguistic community by focusing on language ideologies that inform the analyzed instances of language management. This was based on the premise that standard language is reproduced also in the language ideologies that underpin it.

At this point, I wish to briefly summarize and comment on the main findings of the analysis outlined in the previous sections of the paper. It explored two types of language

management identified in the analyzed self-help discourse: language management summaries in some of the transgender individuals' biographies and instances of pre-interaction management that were identified mainly in some of the guides shared in their communities.

The pre-interaction management was characterized as self-management in which individuals represented the community of practice that shared information about issues related to gender transition to compensate for the lack of help by others. These instances of language management should have adjusted another instance of language management, i.e., names' assessment of acceptability for official registration, namely the assessment of the so-called neutral names. The adjustment suggested in the guides should have improved the community members' participant role in the anticipated interactions with public registry officers by providing more control over the interactions to the community's members.

The existence of pre-interaction management suggests that the assessment of neutral names for the official registration is one of the issues in which members of the community lack help from others and try to make up for it. As the analysis of the guides suggests, this included not only suggestions on how to navigate the different aspects of the assessments derived from language policy and codification but also establishing alternatives to those aspects that would fit the interests of the community. Specifically, an alternative codex to the one relied on by the public registry officers was introduced in one of the guides.

An important aspect of this finding is that this alternative might be an innovation to the existing language management of first names. However, this innovation is informed by the very *belief in a best management of first names* underlying the existing language management. Specifically, by the belief that the management of one's name can be performed by others, including actors who manage language on behalf of the entire linguistic community, such as linguists acting as codifiers. In other words, this innovation appears to be an attempt to compensate for the lack of help from others, or even facilitate such help, by inserting the community and its interests into the existing management of names rather than a revision of this management.

The management summaries contained accounts of strategies for avoiding the linguistic identification of individuals as men or women, as well as accounts of adopting first names in ways alternative to those outlined by the language policy and codification. Additionally, summaries documented linguistic creativity and subversive humor that display the discursive awareness building up in connection to some linguistic means that identify individuals as men and women.



However, the summaries of avoiding identification or adopting chosen names and even the overt comments on linguistic identification of individuals as men and women do not seem to indicate that alternatives to the dominant *belief in best first names* are available to the actors who produced the analyzed data. The dominant *belief in best first names*, namely that first names identify individuals as either men or women, provided meaning not only to the language management practices summarized in the biographies but also to the discursive practices developed to construct the biographies. Summaries of name change were made meaningful within the biographies by the fact that the adopted permanent names were presented and understood as displays of the authors' self-identification as either men or women. In this perspective, the summarized strategies of avoidance of identification by linguistic means other than first names might have been developed not to avoid one's identification as a man or a woman but to avoid being identified as a man when one self-identifies as a woman and vice versa.

This suggests that both the dominant *belief in best first names* and *the belief in a best management of first names* as components of the language ideology that underpins the management of first names in the Czech linguistic community are also reproduced among the members of the transgender community who produced the analyzed data. However, the semiotic understanding of language ideologies has allowed us to identify one slight but consequential limit that the reliance on dominant beliefs might have.

The limit concerns the link between sex and the sex category that is embedded in the *belief in best first names* and the *belief in a best management of first names*. While in the dominant beliefs, expressed also in the language policy and codification, these categories are understood as fully interchangeable or even as a single phenomenon, in the language management identified in the analyzed data, one's sex and sex category are treated independently. This means that first names are understood as displays of one's membership in a sex category that is independent from one's (officially recognized) sex. As such, first names are also available as a means of one's self-identification as a man or a woman rather than means of one's identification by others.

The consequence of this limit concerns the potential innovation that the management of first names *for* and *by* transgender individuals represents for the management of first names in general and for the management of standard language. Assuming that the management of first names ensures that the desirable features of names, including identifying individuals as men or women, are in place, the potential innovations appear rather insignificant. The innovation is significant rather with regards to the fixed link that policymakers and codifiers

have drawn between sex and the sex category and that is perpetuated through the management of first names.

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## Attachment: Details of data referenced in the paper

All documents available online were last retrieved on April 30, 2023.

genre	type within the genre	number in dataset	version of the item	year of publication	title	author's identification	reference
Biography		1		1993	Monika Němcová, Míla Němců, Robert Němec. Biografie muže, který byl ženou.	Robert Němec	Praha: Cassandra
					Monika Němcová, Míla Němců, Robert Němec. A biography of a man who used to be a woman.		
Biography		3		2011	Klec pro majáky	Mike Perry	Praha: Albatros
					A cage for lighthouses		
Biography		8		2004	Když je tělo naruby...	Majk	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm">http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm</a>
					When the body is inside up...		
Biography		10		2005	A mám to za sebou!	Marek J	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm">http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm</a>
					And it is over!		
Biography		11		2006	Můj "zmatený" životopis	Garfangel	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm">http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-ftm</a>
					My "confused" biography		
Biography		13		2004	Životní příběh	Tamara	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-mtf">http://www.translide.cz/pribehy-mtf</a>
					A life story		
Biography		20		N/A	Rozhovor muže s ženem	Tereza Spencerová, Alex Rörich, Kateřina Jonášová	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/rozhovor-muzy-s-zenem">http://www.translide.cz/rozhovor-muzy-s-zenem</a>
					An interview of a man with a woman		
Biography		21		2016	spontánní biografie 1	Christian	transsexualita.cz
					spontaneous biography 1		
Biography		72		2021	Lenka Králová: 38 let v sebezapření // trans příběhy	X	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBJrqBYr5JU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TBJrqBYr5JU</a>
					Lenka Králová: 38 years in self-denial // trans stories		
Codex		1		1950	Seznam jmen obvyklých v českých zemích. Sestavili Ladislav Janský a dr Karel Sochor, profesoři v Ústavu pro jazyk český	Ladislav Janský, Karel Sochor	Kadlec, L. (1950). <i>Matriky podle zákona ze dne 7. prosince 1949, č. 268 Sb.: příručka pro matrikáře</i> . Praha: Ministerstvo vnitra.
					List of names common in the Czech lands. Compiled by Ladislav Janský and dr. Karel Sochor, professors of the Institute of the Czech language.		
Codex		2		1956	Seznam jmen "obvyklých v českých krajích"	X	Knapp, K. & Vaňková, Z. (1956). A commentary on the law on public registries and on law on use and change of name and surname. [Komentář k zákonu o matrikách a k zákonu o užívání a změně jména a příjmení.] Praha: Orbis.
					List of names common in the Czech regions.		
Codex		3		at latest 1974	Seznam jmen vhodných k zápisu do matriky	Ministry of Interior	internal document

					A list of names acceptable for official registration		
Codex		4	a	1978	Jak se bude jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will its name be?		
Codex		4	b	1985	Jak se bude jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will its name be?		
Codex		4	c	1996	Jak se bude Vaše dítě jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will your baby's name be?		
Codex		4	d	2006	Jak se bude Vaše dítě jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will your baby's name be?		
Codex		4	e	2010	Jak se bude Vaše dítě jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will your baby's name be?		
Codex		4	f	2017	Jak se bude Vaše dítě jmenovat?	Miloslava Knappová	Praha: Academia
					What will your baby's name be?		
Codex		5	a	2015	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 1, Informace 12/2015	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 1, Information 12/2015		
Codex		5	b	2015	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 2, Informace 13/2015	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 2, Information 13/2015		
Codex		5	c	2015	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 3	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 3		
Codex		5	d	2016	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 4, Informace 10/2016	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 4, Information 10/2016		
Codex		5	e	2016	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 5, Informace 22/2016	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 5, Information 22/2016		
Codex		5	f	2017	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 6, Informace 18/2017	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 6, Information 18/2017		
Codex		5	g	2018	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 7, Informace 2/2018	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 7, Information 2/2018		
Codex		5	h	2019	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 8, Informace 2/2019	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 8, Information 2/2019		

Codex		5	i	2019	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 9, Informace 18/2019	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 9, Information 18/2019		
Codex		5	j	2021	Znalecké posudky o existenci jména nebo jeho správné pravopisné podobě 10, Informace 6/2021	Ministry of Interior	<a href="https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx">https://www.mvcr.cz/cl/aneek/metodika-na-useku-matrik.aspx</a>
					Expert opinions on the existence of a name or its correct orthographic form 10, Information 6/2021		
Codex		6	a	2022	Odborná stanoviska v oddělení onomastiky ÚJČ AV ČR v roce 2021	Dvořáková, Žaneta	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2022, 63(1), 338-342.
					Expert statements in the Onomastics Department of the Institute of the Czech Language in 2021		
Codex		6	b	2021	Soudní znaleství v oddělení onomastiky ÚJČ AV ČR v roce 2020	Dvořáková, Žaneta	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2021, 62(2), 512-516
					Forensic expertise in the Onomastics Department of the Institute of the Czech Language in 2020		
Codex		6	c	2020	Soudní znaleství v oddělení onomastiky Ústavu pro jazyk český AV ČR v roce 2019	Dvořáková, Žaneta	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2020, 61(2), 506-510.
					Forensic expertise in the Onomastics Department of the Institute of the Czech Language in 2019		
Codex		6	d	2020	Soudní znaleství v roce 2019.	Knappová, Miloslava.	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2020, 61(2), 510-513.
					Forensic expertise in 2019.		
Codex		6	e	2019	Soudní znaleství v oddělení onomastiky Ústavu pro jazyk český AV ČR v roce 2018	Dvořáková, Žaneta	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2019, 60(2), 337-338.
					Forensic expertise in the Onomastics Department of the Institute of the Czech Language in 2018		
Codex		6	f	2019	Soudní znaleství v roce 2018.	Knappová, Miloslava.	Acta onomastica. Praha: Ústav pro jazyk český AV ČR, 2019, 60(2), 338-340.
					Forensic expertise in 2018.		
Codex		7		at latest 2020	Seznam neutrálních jmen	Valdrová, Jana	<a href="http://www.valdrova.cz">www.valdrova.cz</a>
					List of neutral names		
Guide	Onnames	1		2003	Malý průvodce matrikou pro TS osoby	Johanka	<a href="http://www.translide.cz/matrika">http://www.translide.cz/matrika</a>
					A brief guide to public registry office for TS individuals		
Guide	Onnames	2		2008	Průvodce matrikou pro transsexuální osoby	N/A	in Fifková, H. et al. (2008). Transsexualita a jiné poruchy pohlavní identity. Praha: Grada.
					Guide to public registry office for transsexual individuals		
Guide	Onnames	3		N/A	Změna jména na neutrální	N/A	part of Guide65; <a href="http://www.transsexualita.cz/?page_id=382">http://www.transsexualita.cz/?page_id=382</a>
					Changing name to a neutral one		
Guide	Onnames	4		2018	Uznali mi jméno? - MATRIKA	Samuel Kotýnka	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74p92Txp5UQ">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=74p92Txp5UQ</a>
					Did they accept my name? - PUBLIC REGISTRY OFFICE		



Guide	Onnames	5	2020	Jak na změnu jména?	N/A	<a href="https://jsmetransparent.cz/zmena-jmena/">https://jsmetransparent.cz/zmena-jmena/</a>
				How to go about name change?		
Guide	Onnames	6	2021	Medicínské a úřední změny	N/A	<a href="https://jsmetransparent.cz/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Pruvodce_tranzici_pro_trans_lidi.pdf">https://jsmetransparent.cz/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Pruvodce_tranzici_pro_trans_lidi.pdf</a>
				Medical and official changes		

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- Kimura, G. C. (2024). Striking differences beneath superficial similarity – easy language in Germany (Leichte Sprache) and Japan (yasashii nihongo). *Working Papers in Language Management*, 9.
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