

# A COMPARISON OF THE BEGINNINGS OF EXONYM STANDARDIZATION IN CROATIAN AND SLOVENIAN

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The exonym *Jakin* 'Ancona', formerly established in both Croatian and Slovenian, in Cigale's *Atlant* (Atlas), the first world atlas in Slovenian.

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## **A comparison of the beginnings of exonym standardization in Croatian and Slovenian**

**ABSTRACT:** This paper compares the beginnings of exonym standardization and some characteristics of the oldest exonyms in two similar Slavic languages, Croatian and Slovenian. It uses the comparative and exemplar methods. It is found that these processes were influenced by the sociopolitical environment of the time, especially language policies. It is shown that the nineteenth century was favorably inclined toward exonyms. They were often written inconsistently and unsystematically because there were no spelling norms for their writing and use. For some, the influences of foreign languages (German, Italian, etc.) are obvious. Numerous transitional forms also appeared, which did not become established.

**KEY WORDS:** exonyms, exonym standardization, geographical names, geography, linguistics, Croatian, Slovenian

## **Primerjava začetkov standardizacije eksonimov v hrvaškem in slovenskem jeziku**

**POVZETEK:** Članek obravnava začetke standardizacije eksonimov in identifikacijo najstarejših eksonimov v dveh podobnih slovanskih jezikih, hrvaškem in slovenskem, s primerjalno in vzorčno metodo. Ugotavlja, da je bila standardizacija eksonimov plod družbeno-političnih okoliščin, še posebej jezikovnih politik, in da je bilo 19. stoletje naklonjeno eksonimom. Pogosto so jih zapisovali neenotno in nesistematično, saj pravopisna pravila za njihovo rabo še niso bila izoblikovana. Pri nekaterih so očitni vplivi tujih jezikov (nemškega, italijanskega in drugih). Pojavljale so se tudi številne prehodne oblike eksonimov, ki pa se niso uveljavile.

**KLJUČNE BESEDE:** eksonimi, standardizacija eksonimov, zemljepisna imena, geografija, jezikoslovje, hrvaščina, slovenščina

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# 1 Introduction

Exonym standardization is the process of adapting (i.e., nativizing) original geographical names from a donor language (i.e., endonyms) to a changed (or adapted or nativized) form in a recipient language. Because it takes place within a particular language, exonym standardization reflects the characteristics and development trends of that language in a certain period (Kladnik 2007a; 2009; Kladnik et al. 2017). This is also the case in Croatian and Slovenian, two similar Slavic languages that were influenced by external sociopolitical factors and different language policies during the Austro-Hungarian period (Kladnik et al. 2017). In both languages, certain exonyms were used long before the first half of the nineteenth century – perhaps as soon as certain places became relevant for people speaking Croatian and Slovenian – but until then were not standardized in any way. The first half of the nineteenth century was a period marked by national awakening, state formation, the building of national identities, and intense advocacy for the establishment of distinct languages and standard orthographies. Exonyms were used more and more frequently in different publications, and therefore the first attempts of exonym standardization appeared. This paper compares exonym standardization and some characteristics of the oldest exonyms in both languages during the nineteenth century. It is established how the broader sociopolitical context, especially normative policy, influenced exonym standardization in both languages, what the similarities and differences were in these processes, and why they exist.

Croatian and Slovenian researchers have discussed exonyms, mostly addressing modern usage (e.g., Kladnik 2007c; Kladnik and Bole 2012; Perko and Kladnik 2017; Crljenko 2018; 2019; 2020; Kladnik, Geršič and Perko 2020), general issues (e.g., Kladnik 2006; Kladnik 2007d; Kladnik et al. 2013; Perko, Jordan and Komac 2017; Kladnik, Geršič and Perko 2020), relationships between endonyms and exonyms (e.g., Kladnik 2009), and sometimes also their use in literature (e.g., Geršič 2019).

Research on the oldest exonyms is mainly found in (top)onomastics, and less often in cartography and historical geography. Toponymic papers focus on specific language problems supported by a small number of examples, not systematically. Dinu Moscal (2018) deals with the complete or partial translation of foreign toponyms into Romanian at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In an analysis of translated toponyms in three historical texts from the Romanian premodern period (1780–1830), Ana-Maria Gînsac and Mădălina Ungureanu note that translation was influenced by different language systems, differences in pronunciation and writing between Romanian and the donor language of the names, differences among the donor languages (French, German, Italian, etc.), the variety of proper names, translators' knowledge, and so on. The same authors (2020) also dealt with the adaptation of foreign toponyms to Romanian through an intermediate language (Greek or Latin) during that period. The oldest sources of Hungarian exonyms were studied by Béla Pokoly (2006), who cites some examples. In an analysis of the first Dutch school atlases to explore how Greece was depicted in them, Ferjan Ormeling (2015) also refers to the writing of exonyms in the nineteenth century.

The most extensive collections of exonyms are found in world atlases and geographical textbooks, as well as in orthographic manuals. They also appear in encyclopedic publications, monographs on geography, newspapers, and journals; the first Croatian exonyms appear in translations of the medieval book *Lucidarius*, and the first Slovenian ones in the works of Protestant writers in the sixteenth century (Kapetanović 2005; Kladnik, Geršič and Perko 2020). Systematic research on geographical names in various publications from this period is relatively modest. The first world atlas in Slovenian was published between 1869 and 1877. It was called *Atlant* (Atlas), and the Slovenian text for it was edited by Matej Cigale (Fridl et al. 2005; Kladnik et al. 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006). The names in it were carefully analyzed by Drago Kladnik, and the findings were published in several places (e.g., Kladnik 2005; Kladnik 2007b; Kladnik and Geršič 2016). The names in the oldest world atlases by Blasius Kozenn from the end of the nineteenth century (starting in 1887) that were prepared for Croatian users have not been analyzed so far. Although Marčel Kušar briefly refers to the basic principles of exonym standardization in his *Nauka o pravopisu jezika hrvackoga ili srpskoga (fonetičkom i etimologijskom)* (Science of the Orthography of the Croatian or Serbian Language (phonetic and etymologic), 1889), the third edition of Ivan Broz's 1904 *Hrvatski pravopis* (Croatian Orthography, edited by Dragutin Boranić) can be considered the first Croatian orthographic manual with rules on adapting names from other languages. Ankica Čilaš Šimpraga and Ivana Crljenko (2017) reviewed the rules of exonym standardization in it, as well as in other Croatian orthographic manuals. The first Slovenian orthographic manual in Slovenian, which also contains a section on the Slovenianization of geographical names,

was published in 1899 in Vienna by Fran Levec (Figure 1; right). The exonyms in this manual were analyzed by Matjaž Geršič (2020). Some features of exonyms in the multidisciplinary geographical work *Slike iz obćega zemljopisa* (Images from General Geography, 1888–1900) by Ivan Hoić were addressed by Ivana Crljenko (2014). The large number of exonyms in the geographical textbook *Zemljepisna začetnica za gimnazije in realke* (Basic Geography for High Schools; Jesenko 1865; Figure 2; right) have not yet received scholarly analysis. The writing of selected exonyms (e.g., Great Britain, Ireland, Scotland, and England) in Croatian newspapers from the first half of the nineteenth century was studied by Dora Riffer-Maček (1962). In a similar manner, Irena Orel (2004) compared the use of geographical names in the newspapers *Ljubljanske novice* (Ljubljana News, 1797) and *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Farmers' and Craftsmen's News, 1797 and 1850). Her research is based on bachelor's theses by Breda Bernetič (1990) and Mojca Podobnikar (2004) and on her own research. Interestingly, the author states in a footnote that comparison with contemporary foreign newspapers would be necessary. Marko Jesenšek (2013) studied the writing of geographical names, as well as exonyms, in the first Prekmurje newspaper *Prijatelj* (The Friend), which was published from 1875 to 1879 (and appeared from 1877 onward in the Gaj alphabet).

Based on the literature reviewed, it was determined that there are many discussions about the topicality of the use of exonyms, but researchers rarely focus on the very beginnings of exonym standardization – and, if they do, they focus on sources in their own language. This paper aims to fill the research gap in this area and compare the process of exonym formation in two different but closely related Slavic languages. Comparing exonyms in historical sources helps in determining what their development was and in the application of typology of exonymization.

This study is a direct result of bilateral two-year cooperation between Slovenian and Croatian researchers, the objective of which was, among other things, to compare Croatian and Slovenian exonyms and social, political, and linguistic influences on their formation (Kladnik et al. 2017).

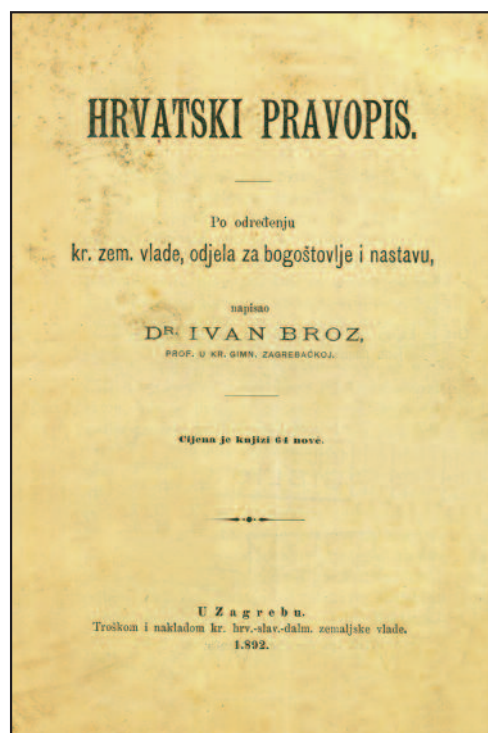


Figure 1: Title pages of the first orthographic manuals in Croatian (1892; left) and Slovenian (1899; right).

## 2 Methodology

A comparative method is used to compare exonyms in Slovenian and Croatian sources, and an exemplar method is used to substantiate claims (examples of exonyms). Exonyms selected from the oldest geographical sources (atlases, textbooks, and monographs), linguistic sources (orthographic manuals), and old newspapers are analyzed.

A set of exonyms for further analysis was compiled in two phases. In the first phase, we identified 422 exonyms from various Croatian sources, which various authors used to name 285 topographic features. Croatian exonyms were identified in several geography textbooks by Bradaška (1867), Mařík (1868; 1870), Klaić (1875; 1881), Hoić (1888–1900), and Rožić (1842), and in Kozenn's atlases (1887; 1900; 1911; 1919), in the newspapers *Il Regio Dalmata* / *Kraglski Dalmatin* (Royal Dalmatian, 1807; 1808) and *Narodne novine* (The People's Newspaper, 1843), in the booklet *Nauka o pravopisu jezika hrvackoga ili srpskoga (fonetičkom i etimologijskom)* (Kušar 1889), and in Broz's orthographic manual (1892; 1904; 1906). In the second phase, Slovenian exonyms were sought in selected Slovenian sources that would correspond to the Croatian ones. The Slovenian set of sources is less numerous, but at least one source was selected for each type of source. The choices were Cigale's atlas *Atlant* (1868–1877), Jesenko's textbook *Zemljepisna začelnica za gimnazije in realke* (1865), the first Slovenian orthographic manual, prepared by Franc Levec (1899), and the newspapers *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, edited by Janez Bleiweis, and *Ljubljanske novice*, edited by Valentin Vodnik.

In the selected Slovenian sources, exonyms were identified for 161 topographic features, which were identified in the first phase in the Croatian sources. The final set for the name corpus, which was the subject of further analysis, included 232 Croatian exonyms and 250 Slovenian exonyms for 161 topographic features. Based on their comparison, the individual characteristics were determined for the beginning of exonym standardization in the two languages.

## 3 The emergence of exonyms

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the most accessible source of exonyms for the Croatian public was Croatian newspapers. Although they were just being established and their reach was limited, their spread certainly contributed to the use of exonyms. The first bilingual Italian–Croatian newspaper, *Il Regio Dalmata* / *Kraglski Dalmatin*, was published from 1806 to 1810 once a week in Zadar. Although this was the first newspaper in Croatia, the geographical names written in the newspaper's Croatian column were clearly strongly influenced by other languages, Italian as well: either Italian names were used verbatim or (semi-) Croatianized forms were written based on Italian (*Pragha* – Italian *Praga* 'Prague', *Parigi* 'Paris', *Nizza* 'Nice', *Napuli* – Italian *Napoli* 'Naples', *Italia* 'Italy'). In 1823, the first geographical textbook in Croatian was published by Antun Rožić, *Kratki zavjeteek zemelyzkoga-izpiszavanya Horvatzke y Vugerzke zemlye* (A Short Manual on Geography of Croatian and Hungarian Lands; Figure 2; left), in which the oldest exonyms in geographical literature can be found; for example, *Europa* 'Europe', *Turzko Czeszarztvo* 'Ottoman Empire', *Franczuzko Kralyetzto* 'Kingdom of France', and *Stajerzka* 'Styria'.

The authors of newspaper and geographical texts adapted exonyms in different ways. The reason for this is the fact that several graphically different, nonstandard orthographies were used, which were not unified in terms of the letters used in the spelling, let alone in determining the writing and use of geographical names for foreign features. In 1830, Ljudevit Gaj's orthographic manual *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisa* (Brief Basics of Croatian-Slavic Orthography) was published, which at least partially overcame the previous particularisms. It standardized Croatian Latin script, but there were still problems with spelling rules, which were often applied intuitively or following customary use (e.g., capitalization; Badurina 2012).

Exonym standardization increased in Croatia starting in the 1830s, which is associated with the beginning of the Croatian national revival – a national, cultural, and political movement that supported national awakening, integration of Croatian territories, affirming Croatian identity, and thus strengthening the role of the Croatian language. The official beginning of the movement is considered 1835, when Ljudevit Gaj received permission to publish a political newspaper, *Novine horvatzke* (Croatian Newspaper) with the literary supplement *Danicza horvatzka, slavonzka y dalmatinzka* (The Croatian, Slavonian, and Dalmatian



Daystar). The idea of »linguistic and orthographic unification of all Croatian regions – along with that of Slavic reciprocity« (Badurina 2012) was one of the fundamental components of this (Illyrian) movement.

After partial unity in language policy was achieved, the Croatian national revival was further strengthened by ideas about the importance of knowing and using Croatian. Therefore, after initial resistance to its use in the 1830s, Croatian finally became the official language in general use in 1847. It began to be used in schools, in the Croatian parliament, and in public services, and books, newspapers, textbooks, and geographical literature began to be published in it. Consequently, exonym standardization became more intense, and reception of exonyms became more favorable at the expense of endonyms. Not only were Croatian names created and used for familiar, nearby geographical features, but the names of more distant, non-European, lesser-known geographical features were also increasingly adapted (e.g., in the newspaper *Narodne novine* of 1843 one finds the exonyms: *Antiliban* 'Anti-Lebanon Mountains', *Zapadna India* 'West Indies', *Tibet*, *Tatarska* 'Tatarstan', *Kairo* 'Cairo', and *Hindustan* 'Hindustan').

In the second half of the nineteenth century, several different orthographic manuals and various grammars were still used. However, they generally do not mention the problem of writing exonyms, and so there are no corresponding rules for their writing and use. If these do appear, they cite exonyms with only a few examples. Thus, in the booklet *Nauka o pravopisu jezika hrvackoga ili srpskoga (fonetičkom i etimologijskom)* from 1889, Marčel Kušar mentions only a few exonyms (*Azija* 'Asia', *Evropa* 'Europe', *Kavkaz* 'the Caucasus'; Kušar 1889; Čilaš Šimpraga and Crljenko 2017). The use of multiple orthographic manuals without clear rules led to the appearance of inconsistent names in various publications (Crljenko 2008; 2014).

When the board of education determined that »one orthographic manual should be used« (Broz 1892) in Croatian schools for the first time in 1862, and then again in 1864, 1877, and 1889, Ivan Broz was given the task of putting it together. Thus, in 1892, the first graphically standard Croatian orthographic manual, *Hrvatski pravopis*, was created, which finally »standardized the Croatian phonological-morphological orthographic norm« for the first time (Badurina 2012, 66; Figure 1; left). With later complement by Dragutin Boranić, it went through six editions and was used until the 1920s. In it, however, even Broz does not state the rules for adapting names from foreign languages, and in the dictionary section only a few exonyms are recommended (e.g., *Mletci*, not *Venecija* 'Venice'; and *Njemadija* or *Njemčadija*, not *Njemačka* 'Germany'; Broz 1892; Čilaš Šimpraga and Crljenko 2017).

Only in the third (1904) and unchanged fourth edition (1906) of Broz's orthographic manual, prepared by Dragutin Boranić, were the rules on adapting names from other languages adopted. It is pointed out that words that entered Croatian long ago are written like domestic Croatian names, and those that entered more recently either completely retain their foreign form or are adapted to Croatian. However, it warned that historical exonyms such as »*Monakov* for *München* 'Munich', *Dražđani* for *Dresden*, and *Kopenhagen* for *Kjöbenhavn* 'Copenhagen' ... should not be used because these names are not pronounced this way by the people they belong to« (Broz 1906, 51; Čilaš Šimpraga and Crljenko 2017), from which it follows that as early as the beginning of the twentieth century it was cautiously recommended to reduce the use of (historical) exonyms in favor of endonyms.

Although there was still no language standard from the 1860s to the 1880s, the historical moment required geographers to create and/or translate school textbooks and atlases into Croatian. Several geographers prepared school textbooks on general (i.e., world) and on regional (the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) geography: Franjo Bradaška (1867), Vjenceslav Zabož Mařík (1868; 1870), Petar Matković (1875), Vjekoslav Klaić (1875; 1881), and Ivan Hoić (1888–1900).

In 1887, the first edition of the first atlas translated into Croatian was published: *Kozenov geografski atlas za srednje škole* (Kozen's Geographical Atlas for Secondary Schools), adapted by Augustin Dobrilović and Petar Matković. Blasius Kozenn was a Slovenian geographer and cartographer that published geographical atlases in German, Czech, Polish, Croatian, Hungarian, and Italian. His atlases in Croatian began to appear in the late 1880s (Bratec Mrvar 2007; Bratec Mrvar et al. 2011). With its thirty-seven maps, it is the richest source of adapted names from that period. Although Dobrilović and Matković, like other authors, had to come up with »correct« ways of writing a large number of exonyms, many characteristics of exonyms of that time, which have been confirmed in other sources, can be detected from this atlas.

Compared to some later periods, the second half of the nineteenth century was very inclined toward Croatian exonyms, which means that exonyms enjoyed good reception and rather frequent use. This is also reflected in the fact that in most sources endonyms do not stand next to exonyms, not even in parentheses.

In Slovenia, exonym standardization can be more systematically observed with the appearance of the first newspapers in Slovenian. The first one was published on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 1797, and was called *Lublanske novize od vseh Krajev zeliga svejta* (Ljubljana News from All Parts of the Whole World). The title itself promises the appearance of foreign geographical names, and indeed many appear in the first issue, including *Dunej* 'Vienna', *Shpania* 'Spain', *Madrit* 'Madrid', *Franzofka deshela* 'France', *Paris*, and *Sdrushene holendorfske deshele* 'United Provinces of the Netherlands'. At that time, the Bohorič alphabet (hence *Lublanske novize*, 1797) was still established as the orthography for writing Slovenian. The next Slovenian newspaper was *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, which was launched in 1843. An increase in the use of exonyms began, similarly to Croatian, with the Slovenian national movement and its spread in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

An important change that took place in the nineteenth century and also affected the writing of geographical names was the change of Slovenian orthography in 1848, when people began using the Gaj alphabet instead of the Bohorič alphabet.

Illyrianism, which was strongly present in Croatia, did not experience such strong sympathies in Slovenia. The key factor in this resistance was the idea or demand to abandon Slovenian as a language and adopt a South Slavic language, which would be based on Štokavian dialect. Even Stanko Vraz, the main proponent of Illyrianism in Slovenia, primarily saw cultural integration in a broader sense in the movement, and somehow he was not ready to give up Slovenian. There were more sympathizers mainly on the northeastern edge of Slovenian ethnic territory, where the pressure of Germanization was strongest and Illyrianism represented a kind of defense against Germanization (Cvirn 2000).

The first geography textbook in Slovenian that systematically contains a large number of foreign geographical names is *Zemljepisna začetnica za gimnazije in realke* (Figure 2; left). It was written by Janez Jesenko and was self-published in 1865 (Kladnik 2005; Kladnik and Bratec Mrvar 2008). The work already uses

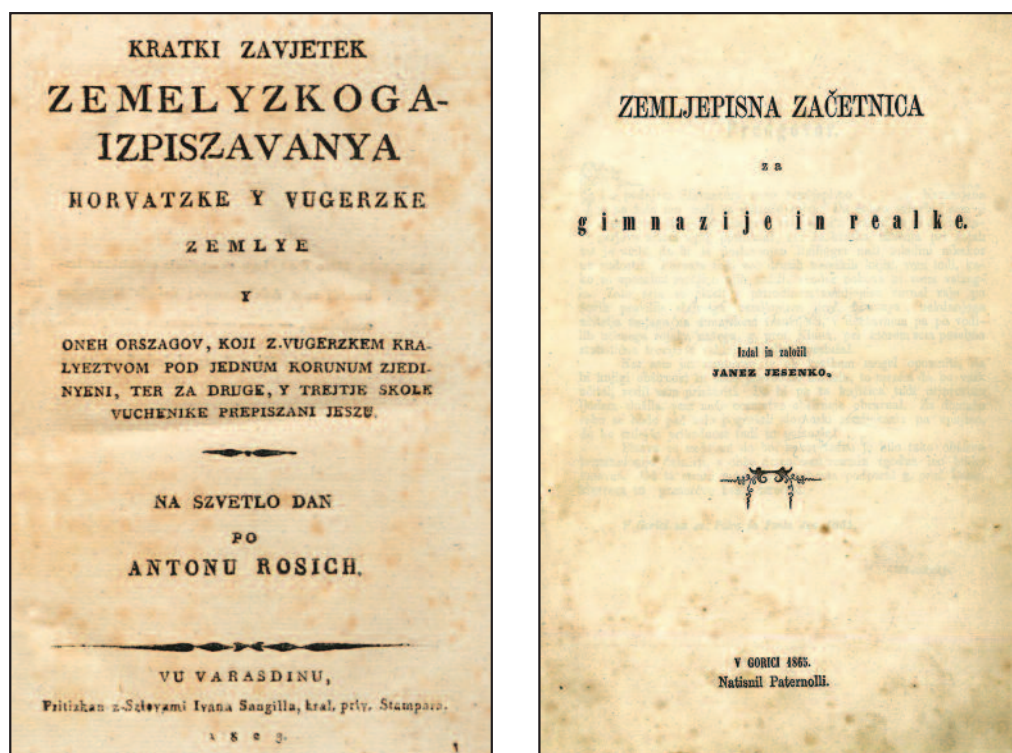


Figure 2: Title pages of the oldest geography textbooks in Croatian (left) and Slovenian (right).

Table 1: Comparison of milestones in exonym standardization in Croatian and Slovenian.

	Croatia	Slovenia
First orthographic manual	1892 ( <i>Hrvatski pravopis</i> )	1899 ( <i>Slovenski pravopis</i> )
First geography textbook	1823 ( <i>Kratki zavjeteek zemelyzkoga-izpišavanya Horvatzke y Vugerzke zemlye</i> )	1865 ( <i>Zemljepisna začetnica za gimnazije in realke</i> )
First world atlas	1887 ( <i>Kozennov geografijski atlas za srednje škole</i> )	1869–1877 ( <i>Atlant</i> )
First newspaper	1806 ( <i>Il Regio Dalmata = Kraglski Dalmatin</i> )	1797 ( <i>Lublanske novize od vñih Krajov zeliga fvejte</i> )
Official language status	1847	1849

many Slovenianized names in its text, and at the end the author added several tables containing names of towns. The first table lists towns »in Austria« (i.e., Austro-Hungarian territory), followed by European towns and finally towns on other continents. The author does not present the issue of Slovenianizing geographical names, but he adds Slovenian names to some names of towns in Austria-Hungary (e.g., *Gjur* = *Raab* ‘Győr’) whereas he writes names elsewhere in Europe and the world with a single name, using either the endonym (e.g., *Birmingham*) or a Slovenianized name (e.g., *Kodanj* ‘Copenhagen’). The only exception is the name *Konstantinopel* ‘Constantinople’, to which he adds the Slovenianized form *Carjigrad*.

## 4 Results

The comparison of the beginnings of exonym standardization is based on the name corpus, which contains a total of 482 names, of which 232 are from Croatian sources and 250 from Slovenian ones (Table 1). The collected names designate 161 different topographic features (Figure 3).

Table 2: List of geographical names used in the analysis. List contains Croatian and Slovenian exonyms, as well as exonyms and endonyms of other languages when used interchangeably with the corresponding Croatian or Slovenian exonyms, rarely without them. If different name forms appear for a certain geographical feature, they are separated by a comma. Toponyms are listed in the same way they appear in the sources – sometimes with a small initial letter. The names are listed in alphabetical order in the left column.

Names identified in Croatian sources	Names identified in Slovenian sources	Current endonyms
Abruži	Abruzzo	Abruzzo
Adiža, Eča, Ečava	Adiža	Adige
Adžmir	Adžmir	Ajmer
aegejsko more, Egejsko more	Egejsko morje	Egeo pélagos/Ege Denizi
Afrika	Afrika	Africa/Afrique*
Akaba	Akaba	Al-‘Aqabah
Amerika	Amerika	America/Amérique*
arabski zalëv, èrveno more, perzijski zalëv, Perzijski zaljev	Arabski zaliv, Persijski zaliv, Perzijski zaliv, Rdeèe Morje	al-Bahr al-Ahmar/Badda Cas/QeyH baHri/Yam Suf/Red Sea
Arapsko more	Arabsko morje	Bahr al-‘Arab
Asia, Azija	Asia, Azija, Azia	Asia/Asie*
Astrakan	Astrahan	Astrahan’/Ästerxan
Atena, Atina	Atene, Atine	Athína
atlantièki ocean, Atlantski ocean	Atlansko morje, Atlantsko morje	Atlantic Ocean/Océan Atlantique
Attersko jezero	Attersko jezero	Kammersee
Australija, Nova Holandija	Avstralija, Nova Holandija	Australia
Austrija	Avstrija, Estrajh	Österreich



Names identified in Croatian sources	Names identified in Slovenian sources	Current endonyms
azovsko more	Azovsko morje	Azovskoe more/Azovs'ke more/Azaq deñizi
Balaton, Blatno jezero	Blatno jezero	Balaton
Beč, Beç	Beč, Dunaj, Dunej	Wien
Bečko Novo Mjesto	Dunajsko novo mesto	Wiener Neustadt
Bělak, Beliak, Beljak	Belak	Villach
bělo more, bielo more, Bielo more, Bijelo more	Belo morje, Marmarsko morje	Marmara Denizi/Propontis
Benares	Benares	Vārānasi
Bengalski zalév	Bengalski zaliv	Bay of Bengal
Bitolj	Bitelj, Bitolja, Monastir	Bitola
Bodansko jezero	Bodensko jezero	Bodensee
Bolonja	Bolonja	Bologna
Brašov	Braševo	Braşov
Brazilija	Brazilija	Brasil
Bruselj	Bruselj	Brussel/Bruxelles
Bukarešt, Bukurešt	Bukreš	Bucureşti
Carigrad, Czarrigrad	Carigrad, Konstantinopol, Zargrad	İstanbul
Čelovac, Celovac, Cjelovac	Celovec, Zelovez	Klagenfurt am Wörthersee
Černagora, Černa Gora, Czerna gora, Czerna Gora, Černa Gora	Črna gora	Crna Gora
Černo more, Černo morje, crno more, Crno more	Črno morje	Černo more/Chorne more/Marea Neagră/Černo more/Karadeniz/Shavi zghva
Dnjestár, Dnyeztar	Dnester, Dnestr	Dniester/Nistru
Dražďjani, Draždani	Dražďane	Dresden
Drinopolje	Adrianopol, Drenopolje	Edirne
Dunav	Donava, Dunaj, Dunava	Donau/Dunaj/Duna/Dunav/Dunărea/Dunay
Englezka	Angleško, Angležsko, Anglia, Britania, England	England
Erdelj, Sedmogradska	Erdelj, Erdeljsko	Transilvania/Ardeal/Erdély/Siebenbürgen
Eufkrat	Evfrat, Furat	al-Furāt/Firat
Evropa, Evropa	Evropa, Europa	Europe*
Falačka	Palatinat	Pfalz
Filippini	Filipinski otoci	Pilipinas/Philippines
Fiorencija, Firenca, Florenc, Florencija	Fiorenza, Florenca, Florensa, Florenz	Firenze
Francezka, Francuska, Francuzsko Kraljeztvo	Francija, Francosko, Franzoŋtka deshela, Franzosko	France
Gadames	Ghadames	Ghadāmis/ghdams
Galicija	Galicija, Galicija	Halychyna/Galicja
Gardsko jezero	Gardsko Jezero	Lago di Garda/Benàco
Gerčka	Grško	Elláda/Hellás
Gjur	Gjur	Győr
glavina Dobre nade	Nos dobre nade, Nos Dobre Nade	Kaap die Goeie Hoop/Cape of Good Hope
Gradac	Gradec	Graz
Habeš	Abisinija, Habeš	Ītyōppyā
Irska	Irland, Irlandija, Irrland	Éire/Ireland
Islandija	Izlandija	Ísland
Italia, Italija, Talijanska	Italia, Italija, Laŋhko, Laška, Laško	Italia

Names identified in Croatian sources	Names identified in Slovenian sources	Current endonyms
Iztočno kitjasko more	Vzhodno-kitajsko Morje	Zhōngguó Dōng Hǎi/Higashi-Shina-Kai/Dongjungguk-hae
Jakin	Jakin	Ancona
Jaš	Jaš	İaşi
Jedrene	Jadrene	Edirne
Jenizaj	Jenisej	Enisej
jonsko more	Jonsko morje	Iónio pélagos/Mar Ionio/Đeti Jon
Južna Karolina	Južna Karolina	South Carolina
Južni Sporadi	Južne Sporade	Nóties Sporádes
južno kitajsko more	južno Kitajsko morje	Nán Zhōngguó Hǎi/Nán Hǎi/Dagat Timog Tsina/Biên Đông/Laut Cina Selatan
Kadiz	Kadix	Cádiz
Kairo	Kairo	al-Qāhira
Kalifornija	Kalifornija	California
Kališ	Kališ	Kalisz
Kitajska	China, Kina, Kitaj	Zhōngguó
Kološvar	Kološvar	Kolozsvár
Kolumbija	Kolumbija	Colombia
Kopenhagen	Kodanj	København
Krf	Krf	Kérkyra
Lavov	Levov	L'viv
Linac	Linc	Linz
Lipsko	Lipsko	Leipzig
Majna	Men	Main
Marijanska kupelj	Marijanske toplice	Mariánské Lázně
Mekhong	Majkounj, Mekhong	Láncāng Jiāng/Mae Khaung/Mae Nam Khong/Menam Khong/Tonle Mékongk/Sông Mê Kông
Mexički zaljev, mexikanski zaljev, zaljev Meksički, Zaton Mejički, Zaton Mexički	Mehikanski zaliv, Mexikanski zaliv	Gulf of Mexico/Golfo de México
Mexika, Mexiko	Mehikanska, Mexico, Mexiko	México
Mleci, Mletci, Mijetci, Venecija	Benedke, Benetke	Venezia
Moldavska	Moldavija, Moldavska, Moldavski, Multanija	Moldova
Monakov	Mnihov	München
Moriš	Moriš	Mureş/Maros
Moriški Novi Tërg	Moriški Novi trg	Târgu Mureş
Moza	Maza, Moza	Meuse/Maas
Mozela	Mozela	Moselle/Mosel
Muhač	Muhač	Mohács
Napolj, Napuli, Napulj	Napoli, Neapol, Neapolj, Neapel, Neapoli	Napoli
Nemachka, Nemačka, Němačka, nimačka zemglia, Njemačka, Njemadija, Njemčadija	Nemčija, nemŕhki Rajh, nemŕhko, Nemške države, Nemško	Deutschland
Nil	Nil	an-Nīl/Nile/Phiaro/iteru
Nizza	Nizza	Nice
Norveška, Norvežka	Norvegija	Norge/Noreg

Names identified in Croatian sources	Names identified in Slovenian sources	Current endonyms
Nova Foundlandija	Nova Fundlandija	Newfoundland
Nova Kaledonija	Nova Kaledonija	Nouvelle-Calédonie
Nova Seelandija	Nova Zelandija	New Zealand/Aotearoa
Novi Hebridi	Nove Hebride	New Hebrides/Nouvelles-Hebrides*
Novi Jork	Novi Jork, Novi York	New York
Odra	Odra	Odra/Oder
Olomuc	Olomouc	Olomouc
Oporto	Oporto	Porto
Orijaško gorje	Krkonoši	Krkonoše/Karkonosze
Pad	Pad	Po
Parigi, Pariz	Paris, Pariz	Paris
Pasov	Pasov	Passau
Pečuh, Pečuj	Pečuh	Pécs
Persia, Perzia	Iran, Persia, Persija, Perzija	Īrān
Petrograd	Petrograd, Petrovburg	Sankt-Peterburg
Pirej	Pirej	Peiraiás
Piza	Pisa	Pisa
Plzanj	Pelzenj	Plzeň
Poljsko Kraljevstvo, Polyzko Kraljeztvo	Poljsko	Polska
Požun	Požunj	Požun
Prag, Pragma	Prag, Praga	Praha
Pruska	Praji'oviko, Prusko	Preußen
Rajna	Rajna	Rhein/Rhin/Rijn
retičke Alpe, Rhaetske Alpe	Retiske Alpe, Retiske Planine, Retiške Planine	Alpi Retiche/Rätische Alpen
Rim	Rim	Roma
Robsko jezero	Sužniško Jezero, Veliko Sužniško Jezero	Great Slave Lake
Rodos	Otok Rod, Otok Rodos, Rod, Rodos	Ródos/Rhódos
Ruska	Rusija, Rusko, Rusko cesarstvo, Ru'sia	Rossija
Sala	Salla	Saale
Saska	Sasko	Sachsen/Sakska
Siget	Siget	Szigetvár
Sileska, Szlezia	Sleško	Śląsk/Slezsko/Schlesien
Smirna	Smirna	İzmir
Solnograd	Solnimgrad	Salzburg
Španyolzko Kraljeztvo, Španjolsko Kraljevstvo	Španija, Španija	España
sredozemno more, Sredozemno more	Srednje morje, Sredozemsko morje	Mediterranean Sea/Mer Méditerranée/ Mar Mediterráneo/Mar Mediterrània/ Mar Mediterraneo/Sredozemno more/ Deti Mesdhe/Mesogeios Thalassa/Akdeniz/ ha-Yam ha-Tikhon/al-Baḥr al-Abyaḍ al- Mutawassiṭ/İllec Agrakal
Štajerzka, Štajerska	Štajersko	Steiermark
Stokholm, Stockholm, Štokholm	Stockholm	Stockholm
Stolni Biograd	Stolni Belgrad	Székesfehérvár

Names identified in Croatian sources	Names identified in Slovenian sources	Current endonyms
Syrija	Sirija, Sirsko	Sūriyya/Sūryā
Šopronj	Šopronj	Sopron
Štrasburg	Strassburg	Strasbourg
Švedska	Švedija	Sverige
Tamiš	Tamiš	Timiș/Tamiš
Temišvar	Temišvar	Timișoara
Terst, Trst	Terst, Terŕt, Trst	Trieste
Thirrensko more, Tirensko more, Tirrensko more, Tirrhensko more	Tirensko morje, Toskansko Morje	Mar Tirreno/Mer Tyrrhénienne
Tiber	Tibera	Tevere
Tibet	Tibet	Xizàng zizhiqū/Xizàng/ Bod-rang-skyong-ljongs/Bod
Tiflis	Tiflis	T'bilisi
Tirolska	Tirolska, Tirolsko	Tirol
Turska, Turzko Czesarztwo	Turčija, Turčija, Turške dežele, Turzhija	Türkiye
Varsciovía, Varšava	Varšava	Warszawa
Velika Britanija, velika Britanija, Velika Britannia	Velika Britanija	Great Britain/Breatainn Mhòr/Prydain Fawr
Velika Kaniža	Velika Kaniža	Nagykanizsa
Veliki Varadin	Veliki Varad, Veliki Varadin, Veliki Vardin	Oradea
Veliko medvedje jezero	Medvedje Jezero	Great Bear Lake
Vezera	Vezera, Vezra, Wezra	Weser
visoke Ture	Visoke Ture	Hohe Tauern
Volinj	Volinj	Volyn'
Vorarlberžka	Predarelsko	Vorarlberg
Zalév sv. Lovrinca	Svetega Lovrencija zaliv	Gulf of Saint Lawrence/Golfe du Saint Laurent
zelena glavina	Zeleni Nos	Cap Vert
Žuto more	Rumeno morje	Huáng Hǎi/Hwang-Hae

\*English and French name

## 4.1 Comparison

In comparing the oldest exonyms in Croatian and Slovenian, the use of an identical exonym in both languages was found for forty-five topographic features. These are cases in which only one exonym form was identified for a single language (the exception is 'Europe', for which two identical ones were identified in both languages). Such examples are *Jakin* 'Ancona', *Krf* 'Corfu', and *Nizza* 'Nice'. A match was also found in at least one exonym form in twenty-two named topographic features, where the use is not uniform in either Croatian or Slovenian. Such examples are *Beč* 'Vienna', *Habeš* 'Abyssinia, Ethiopia', *Persija* 'Persia, Iran', and *Varšava* 'Warsaw'. Six cases involved differences only in the generic part of the name. These are mostly the names of bays and seas, such as Cro. *Azovsko more* and Sln. *Azovsko morje* 'Sea of Azov', Cro. *Bengalski zalév* and Sln. *Bengalski zaliv* 'Bay of Bengal', and Cro. *Jonsko more* and Sln. *Jonsko morje* 'Ionian Sea'. However, only three examples of names have a single Croatian or Slovenian exonym form and these forms are obviously different from each other. These are Cro. *Kopenhagen* and Sln. *Kodanj* 'Copenhagen', Cro. *Mleci*, *Mletci* and Sln. *Benetke*, *Benedke* 'Venice', and Cro. *Bečko Novo Mjesto* and Sln. *Dunajsko Novo mesto* 'Wiener Neustadt'.

When comparing exonyms in the two languages, some characteristic differences were also found. In some cases, there is a difference between exonyms in the languages examined regarding the letters *e* and

a (e.g., Cro. *Bodansko jezero* and Sln. *Bodensko jezero* 'Lake Constance') and when using the diphthongs *au* and *av* (e.g., Cro. *Austria* and Sln. *Avstrija* 'Austria'). There is also a characteristic difference in the suffixes of some modern or historical countries and administrative units, with the Croatian suffix *-ska* and the Slovenian suffix *-sko* (e.g., Cro. *Pruska* and Sln. *Prusko* 'Prussia'). Two more examples of the use of the Slovenian exonyms instead of German endonyms in Croatian for modern Austria are noteworthy: for Villach (Sln. *Beljak*) the Croatian exonym variants *Bělak*, *Beliak*, and *Beljak* were used, and for Klagenfurt (Sln. *Celovec*) the Croatian exonym variants *Celovac*, *Cělovac*, and *Cjelovac*.

Some principles of exonym standardization were also seen in individual semantic types of geographical names. The exonyms for seas and lakes in both languages are usually formed with the adjective endings *-sko* and *-sko* plus a common noun; for example, Cro. *Arapsko more* and Sln. *Arabsko morje* 'Arabian Sea', Cro. *Bodansko jezero* and Sln. *Bodensko jezero* 'Lake Constance', and Sln. *Atlansko morje* 'Atlantic Ocean'.

For adapting the names of European rivers from the German-speaking area, adding the suffix *-a* prevailed; that is, converting the name into a feminine noun (which agrees with the gender of Cro. *rijeka* 'river' or Sln. *reka* 'river'; for example, Cro./Sln. *Rajna* 'Rhine'. The use of the name form *Ren* later dominated in Slovenian.

The names of continents, many countries, and important or large towns gained exonyms in Croatian and Slovenian early on. Names of continents were adapted to facilitate pronunciation. An interesting example is Cro. *Europa* 'Europe', which is cited in the oldest sources in this form (only Klaić uses the form *Evropa*, but he also sometimes replaces it with the form *Europa*). A similar situation is found in Slovenian, in which the use is inconsistent in the oldest newspaper sources (both *Europa* and *Evropa* 'Europe'), but the form *Evropa* later became established. Names of countries were most often nativized by the addition of the suffixes *-s(z)ka* in Croatian and *-s(z)ko* in Slovenian, and *-ija* in both languages; for example, Cro. *Australija* and Sln. *Avstralia*

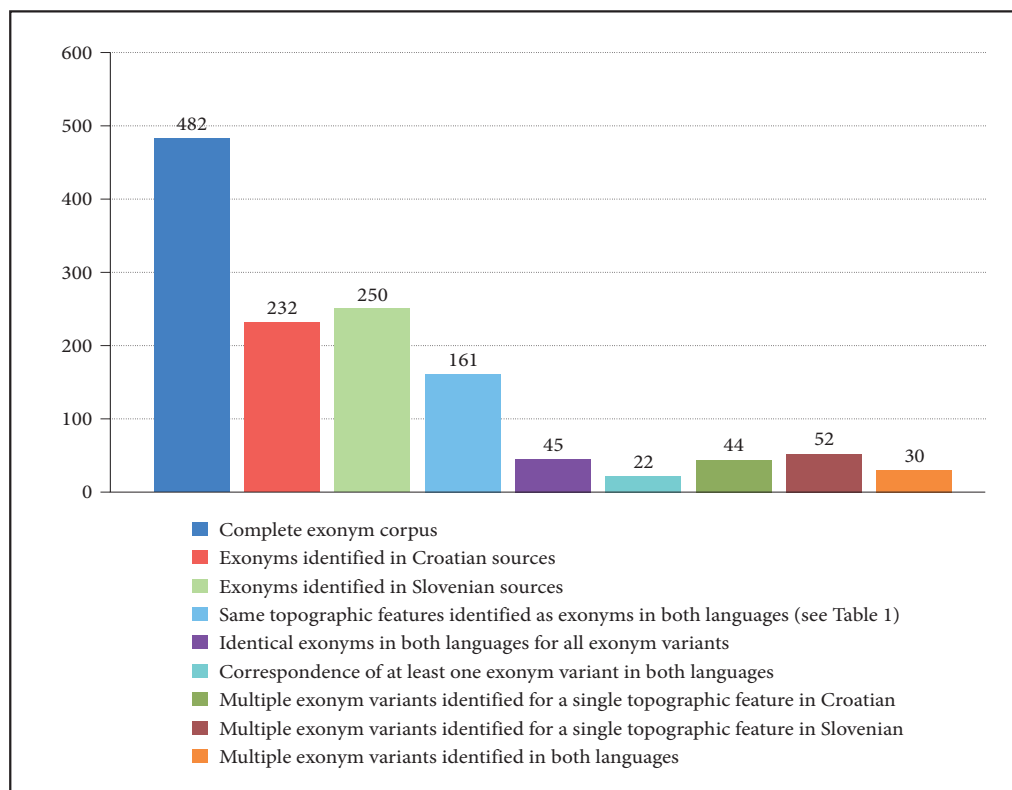


Figure 3: Number of exonyms analyzed by individual sources and types.



'Australia', Cro. *Francezka* (later *Francuska*) and Sln. *Francija* 'France', and Cro./Sln. *Pers(z)ija* 'Persia, Iran'. For the Croats and Slovenians, prominent towns often already had traditional Croatian or Slovenian names.

A comparison of the number of different exonyms for individual topographic features showed that there are fifteen such cases only in Croatian, nineteen only in Slovenian, and twenty-two in both languages. This indicates rather inconsistent use of exonyms in the oldest sources.

Unsystematic use can also be found within an individual issue of a newspaper, when different exonym forms appear for the same geographical feature. A good example is found in the Croatian literary supplement *Danicza horvatzka, slavonszka y dalmatinzka* from 1835, where the following forms are found for 'Montenegro': *Černa Gora*, *Czerna Gora*, and *Czerna gora* (issue 19), *Černa Gora* (issue 32), and *Cernagora* (issue 50). Comparing the exonyms identified in both languages, there are forty-four that appear in different forms in Croatian, and fifty-two in Slovenian.

## 4.2 Typology

When comparing Croatian and Slovenian exonyms in the oldest sources, it was found that roughly four most frequent patterns of adapting a toponym (i.e., type of exonymization) appear:

The first pattern is the translation of all or part of the endonym. For example, Cro. *Bělo/Bijelo more* and Sln. *Belo morje* 'White Sea', Cro. *Cerno/Crno more* and Sln. *Črno morje* 'Black Sea', Cro./Sln. *Nova Holandija* 'New Holland', and Cro. *Bečko Novo Mjesto* and Sln. *Dunajsko Novo mesto* 'Wiener Neustadt'.

The second pattern is the addition of Slavic suffixes: Cro./Sln. *-ija*, Cro. *-ska*, *-ška*, *-čka* (in oldest sources *-zka*), and Sln. *-sko*, *-ško*, *-žko*; for example, Cro. *Australija* and Sln. *Avstralija* 'Australia', Cro. *Austrija* and Sln. *Avstrija* 'Austria', Cro. *Moldavska* 'Moldova', Cro. *Norveška* 'Norway', Cro. *Gerčka* and Sln. *Grško* 'Greece', Cro. *Francezka* and Sln. *Francosko* 'France', and Cro. *Englezka* and Sln. *Angležko* 'England'.

The third pattern is the simplification of pronunciation and the omission of special characters and letters that do not exist in either Croatian or Slovenian; for example, Cro. *Atina/Atena* and Sln. *Atene/Atine* 'Athens', Cro. *Bukarešt/Bukurešt* and Sln. *Bukreš* 'Bucharest', Cro. *Euftrat* and Sln. *Evfrat/Furat* 'Euphrates', Cro./Sln. *Gjur* 'Győr', Cro./Sln. *Olomuc* 'Olomouc', Cro./Sln. *Pasov* 'Passau', and Cro./Sln. *Varšava* 'Warsaw'.

The fourth pattern is the use of old Croatian and Slovenian names, which can be described as »typical« exonyms; for example, Cro. *Beč/Beç* and Sln. *Dunaj/Dunej/Beč* 'Vienna', Cro./Sln. *Bruselj* 'Brussels', Cro. *Carigrad/Czarrigrad* and Sln. *Carjigrad/Konstantinopol/Zargrad* 'Istanbul', Cro. *Draždjani/Dražđani* and Sln. *Dražđane* 'Dresden', Cro. *Erdelj* and Sln. *Erdelj/Erdeljsko* 'Transylvania', Cro./Sln. *Jakin* 'Ancona', Cro. *Jedrene* and Sln. *Jadrene/Adrianopol/Drenopolje* 'Edirne', Cro./Sln. *Krf* 'Corfu', Cro./Sln. *Lipsko* 'Leipzig', Cro. *Mleci/Mletci* and Sln. *Benetke/Benedke* 'Venice', Cro. *Napulj/Napolj* and Sln. *Neapolj/Neapel* 'Naples', Cro./Sln. *Pad* 'Po', Cro. *Pečuh/Pečuj* and Sln. *Pečuh* 'Pécs', Cro. *Prag* and Sln. *Praga* 'Prague', Cro./Sln. *Rim* 'Rome', Cro. *Tiber* and Sln. *Tibera* 'Tiber', and Cro./Sln. *Trst* 'Trieste'.

## 4.3 Discussion

Exonyms have been relatively well studied in central Europe (Hajčiková and Kováčová 1997; Horňanský 2000; Jordan 2000), but there are differences between languages. Some languages (e.g., Finnish and Polish) have a decades-long tradition of gazetteers with exonyms (e.g., Hakulinen and Paikkala 2012; Wolnicz-Pawłowska 2013), whereas others have only individual partial studies. Slovenian does not have such a long tradition, but it has a dictionary or list of exonyms in both digital and book form (Kladnik et al. 2013; Kladnik and Perko 2013). In addition, Slovenian exonyms are also considered from some other points of view. Two separate gazetteers of exonyms have also been published in Croatian in recent years (Crljenko 2016; 2018), but some aspects have not yet been addressed. All these works mostly focus on the current situation, and in neither language has there yet been a fundamental discussion of the beginnings of exonym standardization. This gap has been addressed with the bilateral project A Comparative Analysis of Croatian and Slovenian Exonyms, based on which several studies have been published (e.g., Kladnik et al. 2017).

A comparison of the beginnings of exonym standardization in Croatian and Slovenian confirms some basic assumptions about this process in both languages; however, some differences between the two languages are also apparent. Although some exonyms appear very early, in both languages their number increased considerably in the second half of the nineteenth century. Namely, this was the time of national movements,

which were initially also (or mainly) asserted with a national language. This was also the time of the large-scale press, especially newspapers, which also carried news from areas where foreign languages were spoken. A key characteristic of the use of exonyms in this period is especially their lack of systematicity.

There are several reasons for the unsystematic use of exonyms. The most important of these, which applies to both languages, is the absence of orthographic manuals in the languages, which began to appear in the last decade of the nineteenth century (in 1892 in Croatian and 1899 in Slovenian). The difference between the Slovenian and Croatian orthographic manuals is that the Slovenian one contained rules for writing foreign geographical names as soon as it was published in 1899, and the Croatian one only in its edition published in 1904. An additional circumstance in Croatian is the existence of multiple standards at the same time. Up until the Illyrian movement in the first half of the nineteenth century, the northern Croats wrote using an adapted Hungarian Latin script, and the southern Croats used an adapted Italian script. In addition, some writers often changed their Latin script orthography from one occasion to another. The Croatian linguist Ljudevit Gaj, following the example of the Czech alphabet, created a Roman-alphabet system (known as *gajica* 'the Gaj alphabet'), using a distinct set of letters. The Gaj alphabet also replaced the Bohorič alphabet in Slovenian. However, the Slovenian Gaj alphabet is somewhat modified and, in contrast to the Croatian version, has only twenty-five letters. Another difference between the two languages or their scripts is associated with Ljudevit Gaj – that is, Illyrianism, which did not win as much sympathy among the Slovenians as among the Croats. For the Slovenians, this meant, above all, a departure from the German political framework, but in no way did they accept Štokavian dialect as the standard norm for all South Slavs.

An interesting difference in the use of geographical names in both languages is also reflected in some Slovenian names in territory that lies outside Slovenia. For settlements near today's Slovenian–Austrian border, the Croats used Slovenian-(based) forms (e.g., *Beljak*, *Celovac*) while they were in common countries with the Slovenes – and, as distance to the north increases, this kind of shared use decreases. For example, for the highest Austrian peak, Mount Großglockner, the Croats use the German name (and in older usage also the form *Gros Glockner*), whereas in Slovenian the name *Veliki Klek* has become established.

A shared characteristic is also the fact that some exonyms in both languages were taken from other languages, especially Slavic ones.

The lack of uniformity in both languages was also contributed to by the fact that some basic geographical and cartographic works were published before the first orthographic manuals, for example, textbooks (in 1823 in Croatian and 1865 in Slovenian) and atlases (in 1887 in Croatian and between 1869 and 1877 in Slovenian); among all publications, these certainly contain the most adapted foreign geographical names. Because the spelling norm on writing names was not established before this, the lack of uniformity is really not surprising.

Comparing the findings of this study with some other related studies in European languages (Pokoly 2006; Ginsac and Ungureanu 2018; Moscal 2018) reveals some similarities. The time when exonyms arose is similar in Romanian, around 1800, and in Hungarian the oldest systematic sources are from the beginning of the eighteenth century (the name *Bees* 'Vienna' appears as early as 1356). In classifying these names by their manner of adaptation, three types are roughly shown in related research: complete translation, partial translation, and addition of suffixes. Interestingly, at least in the Romanian case, this does not involve exonyms, but translated names. The use of exonyms was also inconsistent because in the same source an individual name may appear in different forms. The role of individual languages, which acted as mediators in the adaption of some foreign geographical names, is also evident.

This discussion, which is based on a limited amount of material, partially fills the research gap regarding the beginnings of the appearance of exonyms in two related languages, Croatian and Slovenian. An updated corpus of names would clearly contribute to even better results. In the case of Croatian, the appearance of exonyms in the first atlases should be treated more systematically, and in Slovenian especially their use in newspapers. In this way, individual types of material could be compared, not only the material as a whole.

## 5 Conclusion

The first exonyms in Croatian and Slovenian appeared in large numbers at the end of the eighteenth century with the first newspapers. Their number increased in the nineteenth century because the first orthographic manuals, atlases, and geographical textbooks containing foreign geographical names also appeared in the second half of the century.

A comparison of the beginnings of exonym standardization in Croatian and Slovenian shows that the emergence of exonyms in both languages was mainly influenced by historical and political circumstances and the language policy of the time. A similar language, immediate proximity, and a partly common past fostered many similar and identical exonyms in both languages, and some differences are mainly due to spelling differences and some differences in grammatical rules. In the analysis of exonyms, four groups were highlighted: partly or entirely translated names, names with a Slavic suffix added, names with simplified writing based on pronunciation, and old or »typical« exonyms.

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