

SLOVENIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Drago Kladnik, Matjaž Geršič, Drago Perko



The name of the highest Slovenian mountain, Triglav, was first written in Slovenian as *Terglou* by Joannes Disma Florianschitsch de Grienfeld (born 1691, died c. 1757) on the map *Ducatus Carnioliae tabula chorographica* (Chorographic Map of the Duchy of Carniola). His map was published in 1744 in Ljubljana. It measures 180 by 188 cm, consists of twelve sheets, and uses a scale of approximately 1:100,000.

Oronim najvišje slovenske gore Triglav je v slovenskem jeziku v obliki *Terglou* prvič zapisal Janez Dizma Florjancič pl. Grienfeld (1691–pred 1757) na zemljevidu *Ducatus Carnioliae tabula chorographica* (Horografski zemljevid Vojvodine Kranjske). Njegov zemljevid je izšel leta 1744 v Ljubljani. Meri 180 krat 188 cm, sestavlja pa ga 12 listov v približnem merilu 1 : 100.000.

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ABSTRACT: This work discusses Slovenian geographical names: endonyms in Slovenia and in border areas inhabited by Slovenians in neighboring countries, and Slovenian exonyms used in Slovenian to describe geographical features outside the Slovenian settlement area. First, it gives a historical overview of dealing with geographical names in Slovenia and especially emphasizes their scholarly and cartographic significance. Then it presents macrotoponyms and microtoponyms, especially geographical names in Slovenian normative guides, names of countries, and foreign exonyms for Slovenian endonyms. All of this is connected with the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) and the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names. The former body handles geographical names globally and the latter nationally.

KEY WORDS: geographical name, toponym, endonym, exonym, macrotoponym, microtoponym, Slovenia

Slovenska zemljepisna imena

POVZETEK: Obravnavamo slovenska zemljepisna imena: endonime v Republiki Sloveniji in s Slovenci poseljenem zamejstvu v sosednjih državah, ter slovenske eksonime, s katerimi v slovenščini poimenujemo geografske pojave zunaj slovenskega poselitvenega območja. Najprej podajamo zgodovinski pregled ukvarjanja z zemljepisnimi imeni v slovenskem prostoru in posebej izpostavljamo njihovo znanstveno in kartografsko vlogo. Nato predstavljamo makrotoponime in mikrotoponime, še posebej zemljepisna imena v slovenskih pravopisih, imena držav in tuje eksonime za slovenske endonime. Vse to povezujemo s Skupino izvedencev Združenih narodov za zemljepisna imena (UNGEGN) in Komisijo za standardizacijo zemljepisnih imen Vlade Republike Slovenije, ki na svetovni oziroma nacionalni ravni skrbita za zemljepisna imena.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: zemljepisno ime, toponim, endonim, eksonim, makrotoponim, mikrotoponim, Slovenija

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1 Introduction

The Anton Melik Geographical Institute at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute) has dealt with geographical names since it was established in 1946, mostly as part of the Department of Regional Geography. This activity has been especially intensive over the last thirty years; with the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the institute started preparing basic geographical volumes about Slovenia, and it adapted and translated several world atlases into Slovenian. In 1995, the Slovenian government authorized the institute to make decisions on the standardization of geographical names in Slovenia and Slovenian exonyms abroad through its Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names, which was established in 1995 and is based at the institute. In addition, the government mandated it to represent Slovenia in international organizations and bodies, especially as part of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN).

This publication therefore coincides with the seventy-fifth anniversary of the institute's operations, the thirtieth anniversary of Slovenian independence, the twenty-fifth year of the commission's work, and the sixtieth volume of the institute's journal, *Acta geographica Slovenica*.

The introductory chapters describe the development of dealing with geographical names as well as international and Slovenian organization in this area. This is followed by a presentation of the normative frameworks for geographical names in Slovenia. The next two chapters are dedicated to the treatment of macrotoponyms and microtoponyms. The longest chapter covers the names of countries and other Slovenian exonyms, foreign exonyms for Slovenian geographical names, and gazetteers and other collections of geographical names because such material has been dealt with most often at the institute.

Certain older findings have been updated and improved, some material is published for the first time, and all of it is contextualized in current global trends and findings involving geographical names. Of great importance is also the list of references at the end of the publication because these offer a perspective on more or less everything that has been published on geographical names in Slovenia and also the most important works at the global level.

1.1 Introductory thoughts

The academy member Marko Snoj (2009) had the following to say about names: »Names are words of a special kind. They are like nobility, we even write them with a capital letter, giving the impression that we value them more than ordinary words. In a formal sense they are nouns or noun phrases, but they differ from their non-name brethren primarily in that they do not have a corresponding common noun meaning. Proper nouns are used to identify something irreproducible: geographical features, living beings, or things. Some names are engendered by parent names, and they are therefore nobility from their very birth. Such, for example, is the toponym *Radovljica* from the personal name *Rado*, the hydronym *Savica* from *Sava*, or the oronym *Šmarna gora* 'Mount Saint Mary' from the saint's name *Mary*. Others arise as ordinary words and become names under favorable circumstances; for example, the toponyms *Soteska* and *Socka* from the common noun *sotéska* 'gorge' or its accentual variant *sóteska*. In rare cases, it also happens that a geographical name becomes an ordinary word; for example, *kras* 'karst' from the choronym *Kras* 'Karst Plateau', or *vintgar* 'canyon' from the choronym (and originally house name) *Vintgar*.«

Linguists divide proper nouns into names of persons, proper nouns referring to things, and geographical names (Gomboc 2009). Personal names, or anthroponyms, are proper nouns referring to people that differentiate or identify individuals. Proper names for things designate objects that are a product of human activity (Šekli 2006). Geographical names, or toponyms, are proper nouns that by definition are connected with a precisely defined geographical feature that they identify and individualize. They arise at a particular point on a time axis and in a particular linguistic environment (Šivic-Dular 1988).

The branch of linguistics that studies the origin, formation, morphology, phonology, and distribution of proper nouns is called onomastics (Jakopin 1990). The Standard Slovenian Dictionary (*Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, SSKJ) defines the Slovenian word *onomastika* 'onomastics' as *veda o (lastnih) imenih* 'the study of proper nouns' and offers the synonym *imeneslovje*, and it defines the word *toponomastika* 'toponymy' as *veda o toponimih* 'the study of toponyms'. Onomastics is a relatively young discipline. Even though some researchers have dealt with it since the nineteenth century, it really only came into its own after the Second World War (Čop 1990).

The use of the Slovenian expression *toponomastika* raises problems because different sources define the object of its study differently. Some claim that it involves the study of all geographical names (Jakopin 1990; Čop 1990; Šimunović 2009), and others that it involves only place names (Tuma 1925; Radovan and Majdič 1995a). SSKJ defines the Slovenian word *toponim* ‘toponym’ as *lastno ime kraja ali kakega drugega dela zemeljskega površja, zemljepisno ime* ‘a proper noun for a place or some other part of the Earth’s surface, a geographical name’. The terminology developed and used by the UNGEGN understands the term *toponym* as a hypernym used for any name applied to a feature on Earth or toponym applied to an extraterrestrial feature. In this terminology, the expression *place name* is used as a synonym for *toponym*, although some use *place name* as a hyponym referring to the name of a populated place (Kadmon 2000; 2002). In the toponymic terminology of the Slavic languages, the term *oikonym* (Slovenian: *ojkonim*) also became established as a synonym for *place name* and, because some Slovenian linguists use it (e.g., Šivic-Dular 2002), it is also used in this publication.

Because of its sensitivity, the issue of geographical names has acquired international significance. Many experts have tackled it through in-depth studies oriented toward standardization (Kadmon 2000). Parallel to this, the role of international professional associations has strengthened, such as UNGEGN, which was established by the United Nations in 1959 and coordinates international activity in the treatment and study of geographical names. To facilitate communication at the global and national levels, the experts at UNGEGN are striving to standardize geographical names across the entire Earth (Kladnik 2006; 2007c).

Standardization is the process of defining names’ official and established forms, which is generally the responsibility of national toponymic authorities. This means that, in the case of several variants of a name for a single feature or structure, a particular name is carefully designated as the official name, whereby an established spelling is defined for it. The final goal is to eliminate any ambiguity in the public use of a par-



Figure 1: In Slovenian the use of capital letters in geographical names is rather complex, which is shown by direction signs only a few meters apart along the road from Stahovica to the Črnivec Pass. The sign for Sovinja peč on the right is written correctly in line with the rules of the current normative guide (Slovenski pravopis 2001), and on the left it is incorrect because all words must be capitalized in multiword names of settlements except for conjunctions, prepositions, and the common-noun components *mesto* ‘town’, *vas* ‘village’, *selo* ‘village’, *trg* ‘market’, and *naselje* ‘settlement’.

ticular geographical name. Standardization is not intended only for administrative purposes, but also for uniform usage in cartography, science, education, and the media, and for any individual that needs such information (Kladnik 2007c).

The main purpose of geographical names – that is, as aids in spatial orientation – in addition to their use in everyday life is also seen in their use in various publications, on maps, in atlases, in the use of digital data in various geographic information systems, and of course on the World Wide Web. The nearly eight billion people on Earth use approximately one billion geographical names (Kadmon 2000). In Slovenia there are about 200,000 geographical names (Pogorelčnik 1999). Slovenian geographical names also include several thousand Slovenianized foreign geographical names.

In Slovenia the basic division distinguishes between geographical names that are settlement names and those that are non-settlement names (Slovenski pravopis 2001). This division is important because of various normative rules regarding the use of capital letters in multiword geographical names (Figure 1).

Settlement names include the names of settled places, hamlets, and parts of settlements, and non-settlement names are all others, which can be combined into groups such as names of continents, names of countries, names of regions (choronyms), names of bodies of water (hydronyms), names of mountains or landforms (oronyms), names of natural structures and features beyond the Earth (extraterrestrial names or cosmonyms), names of traffic and communication routes (odonyms or hodonyms), and field names and house names (microtoponyms) (Jakopin 1990; Radovan and Majdič 1995a; Klinar and Geršič 2014).

Geographical names for regions, bodies of water, landforms, parcels of land, administrative names, and place names from which names for their inhabitants arise are unique intangible, cultural, social, historical, and political indicators. From them it is possible to determine many characteristics of the natural, social, and economic past and/or the present of a particular settled or non-settled area on Earth. One of their essential characteristics is linguistic diversity, which is often not limited to various meanings, but is often written in different scripts. Those that know how to read and understand the language of geographical names can gain deeper insight into an original name, whereby a silent and apparently mute landscape reveals itself significantly more broadly in many aspects.

The Russian scholar Nikolai Ivanovich Nadezhdin, who is considered that country's first ethnographer, wrote the following 180 years ago (Nadezhdin 1837): »The Earth is a book where human history is written down in geographical nomenclature.« Geographical names are like a mirror of nations and peoples, precious witnesses of historical events, conscientious preservers of linguistic archaism, and objective indicators of the reality of the landscape. Since time immemorial they have attracted the attention of not only intellectuals, but also everyone that cares about both local and global developments (Murzaev 1995).

The use of geographical names also shows the attitude of a particular nation toward world events. The struggle to appropriate territory has often taken place through geographical names, whether this involved acquiring it colonially or physically, or intangibly (Cohen and Kliot 1992; Myers 1996; Harley 2001). In places this struggle is still perceptible.

Recently, however, one can observe an important development in place-name research in geography and anthropology, which represents a break with the past. The new approaches emphasize the contemporaneity of place names (while not ignoring their historical roots) and study them in relation to the political situation and contestations of place, landscape, and identity (Perko, Jordan and Komac 2017).

Initial propositions of these new perspectives on place names have been put forth by the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan (1974; 1977; 1991) within geography, and the American cultural and linguistic anthropologist Keith Hamilton Basso (1988; 1996) in cultural anthropology. Both argue that naming is a very fundamental social and existential practice whereby people establish their relationship with the space they occupy and use. Tuan showed that human spatial perception is structured by language, and that place names play an important role in the perception and representation of the environment. Basso specified place naming as a way of writing or making history and relating to the world at a very fundamental, existential level, with place names closely tied to identity.

However, there is yet another dimension to place names: power. People are not, and never have been, in equal positions to name places, neither individually nor collectively. Place names may constitute cultural heritage and may be important for establishing and reproducing social identities, but they are also loaded with emotions, alternative interpretations, and contested histories – and, as such, they are not politically innocent. As Tuan (1974; 1977; 1991) shows, they must be understood in the context of current power

relations, which (strive to) reproduce themselves through various material and non-material practices, one of them being place names. It is precisely this focus on the politics of place naming that »critical toponymy« has developed (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010). Critical toponymy is a lively current in contemporary place-name research that critically examines the relationship between toponymy and power. It analyzes the ways in which political regimes and movements use place names to claim territories, erase linguistic traces of original populations, gain political legitimacy, delegitimize other political forces, naturalize certain versions of history, and silence dissent.

The use of geographical names can therefore also have an emphatic political connotation and is sensitive, and in extreme cases it can lead to disputes between countries. Such, for example, were the unfortunate events connected with setting up road signs with bilingual place names in Austrian Carinthia in the last part of the twentieth century. This is also seen in a disagreement regarding the archipelago east of Argentina, which the British call the Falkland Islands, whereas Argentina would like to see the name Malvinas Islands (Spanish: *Islas Malvinas*) established in international usage. Recently a true onomastic war has flamed up over the »right« or »proper« name for the sea between Japan and the Korean Peninsula, which has been divided into North and South Korea since 1948 (Figure 2). Most recently, under Japanese influence, most of the world has recognized the name *Sea of Japan*, but the Koreans insist that their name, *East Sea*, should also be used equally for it (Kladnik et al. 2013).

All the geographical names in the world and in all languages are divided into **endonyms** and **exonyms** (Kadmon 2007). An endonym is a geographical name identifying a topographic feature in one of the languages spoken in the territory where that feature is located, and an exonym is a geographical name identifying a topographic feature in a language that is not spoken in the territory where that feature is located if it differs from the endonym for that feature. Simply put, an endonym is a native name for a geographical feature, and an exonym is a foreign name for the same feature (Kladnik 2007c; Kladnik and Perko 2013c). The expression *exonym* was first used in the 1950s by the Australian-British geographer Marcel Arousseau (1957). Slovenian endonyms are Slovenian geographical names inside Slovenian ethnic territory, and Slovenian



Figure 2: After the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names permitted the equal use of the alternative name *Vzhodno morje* 'East Sea' to designate the sea between Korea and Japan alongside the traditionally established Slovenian name, this name first appeared on a world map that the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute prepared in 2005 for the Slovenian edition of the magazine *National Geographic Junior* (Kladnik and Perko 2005).

exonyms are Slovenian geographical names in all other territories if they differ from the endonyms in them (Veliki atlas sveta 2005).

Slovenian geographers generally advocate the predominant use of endonyms (Natek 2005; Kladnik et al. 2013), although international recommendations for writing geographical names often contradict linguistic practice and, what is completely unacceptable, they contradict a rich linguistic tradition and linguistic principles in the area of such usage (Dobrovoljc and Jakop 2012). It is also for this reason that the academy member Jože Toporišič (1982) felt justified in musing about the following: »Why would Slovenians give up one or another such name [i.e., exonym] for a place that testifies to our special relation toward it established at a certain time in our history? And, if our contacts with a place like this remain close later, why would we give up writing it in a Slovenian way in the future?«

This publication comprehensively presents the involvement of the authors and their associates with Slovenian geographical names, which has especially intensified during the last decade and a half. Although the emphasis is on geographical aspects and findings, we also wish to shed light on other Slovenian toponymic efforts and achievements, in which linguistic aspects stand out. We understand Slovenian names to include both Slovenian endonyms in Slovenia and in border regions of neighboring countries where there are native populations of ethnic Slovenians as well as Slovenian names for various features and structures across the world, which have the status of Slovenian exonyms. We also briefly present the use of Slovenian names for extraterrestrial features. Special attention is also directed to the treatment of bilingual names. For these, light is shed on aspects of bilingualism both in Slovenia and in areas settled by Slovenians in neighboring countries.

1.2. Types of geographical names

Geographical names or toponyms (from Greek *tópos* 'place' and *ónyma* 'name') can largely be divided in five ways: in terms of location, scope, settlement, originality, and type.

With regard to the **location** of a geographical feature, a distinction is made between terrestrial names or geonyms (from Greek *gē* 'earth, land, country, soil'), which designate geographical features on Earth, and extraterrestrial names or cosmonyms (from Greek *kósmos* 'world, order, universe'), which designate all other features in outer space.

With regard to the **spatial scope** of a geographical feature designated by a geographical name, a distinction is made between macrotoponyms (from Greek *makrós* 'big, long') and microtoponyms (from Greek *mikrós* 'small'). Macrotoponyms are all geographical names that are not microtoponyms, among which the most frequent are field names and house names, as well as geographical names for point features such as springs, watering holes, ponds, sloughs, meanders – in short, geographical features with the smallest scope (more is said about macrotoponyms in Chapter 5 and about microtoponyms in Chapter 6). The boundary between microtoponyms and macrotoponyms is not clearly defined. Macrotoponyms are generally known geographical names, and microtoponyms are used by only a limited number of people; for example, the residents of a small settlement or even only the residents of an individual farm. Typical microtoponyms are the names of farms and cultivated land in the countryside, or buildings and parks in cities.

With regard to the **settlement** of a geographical feature or the presence of man or society, one distinguishes oikonyms or oykonoms (from Greek *oikéō* 'inhabit, dwell' from *oikos* 'house, home'), which refer to settled geographical features, and anoikonyms or anykonoms, which refer to unsettled geographical features. Oikonyms are divided into astionyms for the names of cities or towns and geographical features in towns, and comonyms for the names of villages and geographical features in the countryside.

With regard to the **native character** of names, one distinguishes between endonyms (from Greek *éndon* 'inner; internal') and exonyms (from Greek *éksō* 'out, outside'). An endonym designates geographical features in one of the languages spoken in the territory of that feature, and an exonym designates the same geographical feature in one of the languages not spoken in the territory of that feature if it differs from the endonym for that feature (more is said about exonyms in Chapter 9).

With regard to the **type** of a geographical feature, one can distinguish various *-onyms*, such as oronyms for the names of landforms, hydronyms for the names of waters, or choronyms for the names of spatial units (see Table 1).

With regard to the location, type, and settlement of a geographical feature (Gundacker 2014; Backus Borshi 2015; Urazmetova and Shamsutdinova 2017; Bijak 2019), toponyms can be hierarchically categorized in the following manner:

I cosmonyms

II geonyms

IIA anoikonyms

- IIA1 oronyms
- IIA2 hydronyms
- IIA3 choronyms

IIB oikonyms

- IIB1 astionyms
- IIB2 comonyms

Most of these basic types of names also have subtypes (Table 1). Thus hydronyms, for example, are at least further divided into okeanonyms for the names of oceans, pelagonyms for the names of seas, limnonyms for the names of lakes, potamonyms for the names of rivers, rheithronyms for the names of streams or creeks, and helonymys for the names of wetlands.

1.3 Slovenian geographical terms

Many years of dealing with geographical names has gradually resulted in a multilingual glossary of generic terms in Slovenian geographical names (Kladnik 2001a; Perko 2001; Table 2). The glossary lists common terms in Slovenian alphabetical order that occur in Slovenian geographical names on maps, in gazetteers, and in various directories. The meanings of these Slovenian terms are glossed in four languages to assist foreign readers.

1.4 The origin of Slovenian geographical names

The linguist France Bezlaj wrote the following (1967, cited in Šivic-Dular 2002, 21): »It has been proven that Slovenian proper nouns were also subject to historical development, and that the reconstruction of the initial [i.e., Proto-Slavic] name composition makes it possible to clearly determine the name structure and the connection of each proper noun to equivalents in the Slavic languages, and it also offers insight into the name layers of different origins, insight into the processes of the naming act and how these were conditioned by economic, social, cultural, value, and other features, and the connection between individual types of proper nouns (the formation of geographical names from, e.g., other geographical and personal names, etc., the formation of surnames from given names, toponyms, choronyms, etc.), insight into the areal characteristics of the bases for names and structural types, and insight into contact name zones, and, through this, the settlement history of macro- and micro-areas.«

Because of the complexity of the linguistic and historical circumstances, Slovenian geographical names are often intertwined with pre-Slovenian (Roman, Celtic, Illyrian, and even pre-Indo-European) noun elements, and even more often with more recent influences of German, Friulian, Italian, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian (Jakopin 1990; Snoj 2002a).

Slovenian territory has been inhabited since the Paleolithic. One can talk about a real cultural landscape only at the end of the Bronze Age and during the Iron Age. Members of Celtic tribes, who were the first to leave a perceptible layer of names in this territory, settled in the southeastern Alps around 300 BC. After the Roman military campaigns in the last decades BC, the entire territory of what is now Slovenia was included in the Roman Empire. The Romans introduced a more developed civilization and established the first towns, which became centers of Romanization. Major changes in the settlement composition were caused by the migration of peoples. During this period, the indigenous population took refuge in remote mountainous areas, where they lived in fortified settlements (Ciglenečki et al. 1998).

The Slavic ancestors of the Slovenians that settled in the Eastern Alps, the periphery of the Pannonian and Friulian plains, and the western part of the Dinaric Mountains between the second half of the sixth century and the ninth century inhabited a much larger territory in the past than today. Due to German medieval colonization and the consequent Germanization, and, after the invasion of the Magyars, by Hungarianization,

Table 1: Types of toponyms.

English	Description	Etymology
toponym	geographical name	τόπος <i>tópos</i> 'specific place' ὄνομα <i>ónoma</i> / ὄνυμα <i>ónyma</i> 'name'
microtoponym	name of small geographical phenomenon	μικρός <i>mikrós</i> 'small'
macrotoponym	name of large geographical phenomenon	μακρός <i>makrós</i> 'big, long'
endonym	native geographical name	ἔνδον <i>éndon</i> 'inner; internal'
exonym	foreign geographical name	ἔξω <i>éksō</i> 'out, outside'
cosmonym	extraterrestrial name	κόσμος <i>kósmos</i> 'world, order, universe'
geonym	terrestrial name	γῆ <i>gē</i> 'earth, land, country, soil'
oronym	landform name	ὄρος <i>óros</i> 'mountain, hill'
speleonym	name of cave, abyss, or shaft (subterranean form)	σπήλαιον <i>spélaion</i> 'cave'
nesonym	name of island	νῆσος <i>nēsos</i> 'island'
hydronym	water name	ῥόδωρ <i>hýdōr</i> 'water'
oceanonym	name of ocean	ὠκεανός <i>ókeanós</i> 'ocean'
pelagonym	name of sea	πέλαγος <i>pélagos</i> 'sea'
limnonym	name of lake	λίμνη <i>límne</i> 'lake'
potamonym	name of river	ποταμός <i>potamós</i> 'river, stream'
rheithronym	name of stream or creek	ῥεῖθρον <i>rheithron</i> 'stream, creek'
helonym	name of wetland	ἔλος <i>hélōs</i> 'marsh-meadow, swamp, wetland'
choronym	name of spatial unit or its part with known boundary	χώρα <i>chōra</i> 'place, country land, field', χωρός <i>chóros</i> 'region, location, spot, surroundings'
drymonym	name of forest, shrubs, grove, bush, park	δρυμός <i>drýmós</i> 'forest, shrubs'
agronym	name of agricultural land (field, meadow, pasture, orchard, vineyard)	αγρός <i>agrós</i> 'field, piece of agricultural land'
phytalionym	name of plantation (vineyard, orchard)	φυτᾶλια <i>phytalia</i> 'plantation'
ampelonym	name of vineyard	ἀμπελών <i>ampelón</i> 'vineyard'
orchatonym	name of orchard	ὄρχατος <i>órchatos</i> 'orchard'
leimononym	name of pasture or meadow	λειμών <i>leimón</i> 'meadow'
anoikonym, anoykonym, aneonym, anoeonym	name of uninhabited area	οικέω <i>oikéō</i> 'inhabit, dwell', οἶκος <i>oikos</i> 'house, home'
oikonym, oykonym, econym, oeconym	name of inhabited area	οικέω <i>oikéō</i> 'inhabit, dwell', from οἶκος <i>oikos</i> 'house, home'
astionym	name of city or town	ἄστυ <i>ásty</i> 'town, city'
comonym	name of village	κώμη <i>kómē</i> 'village'
urbanonym	name of part of settlement (district, neighborhood, block, street, square, boulevard, alley, promenade, avenue, monument, theater, museum, cinema, cafe, hotel, shop, house, farm, or other small site within settlement)	<i>urbs</i> 'city'
agoronym	name of square	ἀγορά <i>agorá</i> 'square'
dromonym	name of street or road	δρόμος <i>drómos</i> 'course, path, direction, road'
domonym	name of building (house, castle, palace, mansion, restaurant, office, factory, farm)	δόμος <i>dómos</i> 'house, dwelling, building, mansion'
ekkleisionym	name of religious building: monastery, church	ἐκκλησία <i>ekklēsia</i> 'place of assembly, church'
nekronym	name of churchyard, cemetery, graveyard	νεκρός <i>nekρός</i> 'dead, corpse'
odonym, hodonym	name of route, communication, connection, traffic object (e.g., motorway, pilgrimage route, mountain transversal, historic road, memorial route, air route, bridge, footbridge, path)	ὁδός <i>hodós</i> 'road, path'

Table 2: Some common terms in Slovenian geographical names in English, German, French, and Spanish.

Slovenian	English	German	French	Spanish
<i>barje</i>	bog, marsh	<i>Sumpf</i>	<i>marais</i>	<i>pantano</i>
<i>bel</i>	white	<i>weiß</i>	<i>blanc</i>	<i>blanco</i>
<i>bistrica</i>	swift stream	<i>Gebirgsbach</i>	<i>cours d'eau</i>	<i>corriente de agua</i>
<i>boršt</i>	forest	<i>Wald</i>	<i>forêt</i>	<i>selva</i>
<i>brda</i>	hills	<i>Hügelland</i>	<i>collines</i>	<i>colinas</i>
<i>brdo</i>	hill	<i>Hügel</i>	<i>colline</i>	<i>colina</i>
<i>breg</i>	bank, slope	<i>Ufer, Hang</i>	<i>rive, pente</i>	<i>orilla, pendiente</i>
<i>brod</i>	ford	<i>Furt</i>	<i>gué</i>	<i>vado</i>
<i>cerkev</i>	church	<i>Kirche</i>	<i>église</i>	<i>iglesia</i>
<i>cesta</i>	road	<i>Straße</i>	<i>route</i>	<i>calle</i>
<i>čret</i>	wet meadow	<i>feuchte Wiese</i>	<i>pré humide</i>	<i>prado húmedo</i>
<i>črn</i>	black	<i>schwarz</i>	<i>noir</i>	<i>negro</i>
<i>dežela</i>	land	<i>Land</i>	<i>terre</i>	<i>tierra</i>
<i>dobrava</i>	rolling lowland	<i>gewellte Ebene</i>	<i>plaine vallonnée</i>	<i>llanura ondulada</i>
<i>dol</i>	valley	<i>Tal</i>	<i>vallée</i>	<i>valle</i>
<i>dolenji</i>	lower	<i>nieder, unter</i>	<i>inférieur</i>	<i>inferior</i>
<i>dolg</i>	long	<i>lang</i>	<i>long</i>	<i>largo</i>
<i>dolič</i>	small valley	<i>kleines Tal</i>	<i>petit vallée</i>	<i>vallejo</i>
<i>dolina</i>	valley	<i>Tal</i>	<i>vallée</i>	<i>valle</i>
<i>dolnji</i>	lower	<i>nieder, unter</i>	<i>inférieur</i>	<i>inferior</i>
<i>domačija</i>	farm; home	<i>Bauernhof; Heim</i>	<i>ferme; maison</i>	<i>granja; casa</i>
<i>draga</i>	small valley	<i>kleines Tal</i>	<i>petit vallée</i>	<i>vallejo</i>
<i>dvor</i>	hall, court	<i>Palast, Hof</i>	<i>palais, cour</i>	<i>palacio, corte</i>
<i>fara</i>	parish	<i>Pfarre</i>	<i>paroisse</i>	<i>parroquia</i>
<i>fužina</i>	foundry	<i>Eisenwerk</i>	<i>forge</i>	<i>herrería</i>
<i>gaj</i>	grove, horst	<i>Hain</i>	<i>forêt</i>	<i>bosque</i>
<i>globok</i>	deep	<i>tief</i>	<i>profond</i>	<i>profundo</i>
<i>gol</i>	treeless	<i>kahl</i>	<i>dénué</i>	<i>pelado</i>
<i>gora</i>	mountain, hill	<i>Berg, Hügel</i>	<i>montagne, colline</i>	<i>montaña, colina</i>
<i>gorenji</i>	upper	<i>ober, hoch</i>	<i>supérieur</i>	<i>superior</i>
<i>gorica</i>	hill	<i>Hügel</i>	<i>colline</i>	<i>colina</i>
<i>gorice</i>	hills	<i>Hügelland</i>	<i>collines</i>	<i>colinas</i>
<i>gornji</i>	upper	<i>ober, hoch</i>	<i>supérieur</i>	<i>superior</i>
<i>gorovje</i>	mountain range	<i>Gebirge</i>	<i>montagne</i>	<i>montaña</i>
<i>gozd</i>	forest	<i>Wald</i>	<i>forêt</i>	<i>bosque</i>
<i>grad</i>	castle	<i>Burg, Schloss</i>	<i>château</i>	<i>castillo</i>
<i>gradišče</i>	fortified settlement	<i>feste Siedlung</i>	<i>unité d'habitat fortifié</i>	<i>núcleo habitado fuerte</i>
<i>grič</i>	hill	<i>Hügel</i>	<i>colline</i>	<i>colina</i>
<i>gričevje</i>	hills	<i>Hügelland</i>	<i>collines</i>	<i>colinas</i>
<i>grm</i>	bush	<i>Busch</i>	<i>buisson</i>	<i>arbusto</i>
<i>hiša</i>	house	<i>Haus</i>	<i>maison</i>	<i>casa</i>
<i>hom</i>	hill	<i>Hügel</i>	<i>colline</i>	<i>colina</i>
<i>hosta</i>	forest	<i>Wald</i>	<i>forêt</i>	<i>bosque</i>
<i>hrbet</i>	mountain range	<i>Gebirgskette</i>	<i>chaîne de montagnes</i>	<i>cordillera</i>

<i>hrib</i>	hill, mountain	<i>Hügel, Berg</i>	<i>colline, montagne</i>	<i>colina, montaña</i>
<i>hribovje</i>	hills, highlands	<i>Bergland</i>	<i>montagne bas</i>	<i>montaña baja</i>
<i>hudournik</i>	flashy stream	<i>Wildbach</i>	<i>torrent</i>	<i>torrente</i>
<i>izvir</i>	spring	<i>Quelle</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>fuelle</i>
<i>jama</i>	cave, grotto	<i>Höhle, Grotte</i>	<i>caverne, grotte</i>	<i>caverna, gruta</i>
<i>jez</i>	dam	<i>Damm</i>	<i>barrage</i>	<i>presa</i>
<i>jezero</i>	lake	<i>See</i>	<i>lac</i>	<i>lago</i>
<i>jug</i>	south	<i>Süd</i>	<i>sud</i>	<i>sur</i>
<i>južen</i>	southern	<i>südlich</i>	<i>méridional</i>	<i>meridional</i>
<i>kal</i>	pond	<i>Teich</i>	<i>étang</i>	<i>estanque</i>
<i>kamen</i>	stone	<i>Stein</i>	<i>piere</i>	<i>piedra</i>
<i>kanal</i>	canal	<i>Kanal</i>	<i>canal</i>	<i>canal</i>
<i>klanec</i>	slope, incline	<i>Hang, Steigung</i>	<i>pente, inclinaison</i>	<i>ladera, pendiente</i>
<i>korito</i>	riverbed	<i>Flussbett</i>	<i>lit</i>	<i>lecho</i>
<i>kot</i>	closed valley	<i>geschlossenes Tal</i>	<i>vallée fermée</i>	<i>rincón</i>
<i>kotlina</i>	basin	<i>Becken</i>	<i>bassin</i>	<i>cuenca</i>
<i>kraj</i>	settlement	<i>Siedlung</i>	<i>habitat</i>	<i>colonia</i>
<i>krajina</i>	land	<i>Land</i>	<i>pays</i>	<i>tierra, país</i>
<i>kras</i>	karst area	<i>Karstlandschaft</i>	<i>paysage karstique</i>	<i>paisaje kárstico</i>
<i>križ</i>	cross	<i>Kreuz</i>	<i>croix</i>	<i>cruz</i>
<i>krnica</i>	cirque	<i>Kesseltal</i>	<i>cirque</i>	<i>valle cerrado</i>
<i>laz</i>	clearing	<i>Gereut</i>	<i>clarière</i>	<i>clara, calvero</i>
<i>ledenik</i>	glacier	<i>Gletscher</i>	<i>glacier</i>	<i>glaciar</i>
<i>lep</i>	beautiful	<i>schön</i>	<i>beau</i>	<i>hermoso</i>
<i>letališče</i>	airport	<i>Flughafen</i>	<i>aéroport</i>	<i>aeropuerto</i>
<i>log</i>	swampy meadow	<i>Hain</i>	<i>bocage</i>	<i>prado floresta</i>
<i>loka</i>	wet meadow	<i>Aue, feuchte Wiese</i>	<i>pré humide</i>	<i>prado húmedo</i>
<i>lokev</i>	pond	<i>Teich</i>	<i>étang</i>	<i>estanque</i>
<i>luka</i>	port	<i>Hafen</i>	<i>port</i>	<i>puerto</i>
<i>mali, majhen</i>	little	<i>klein</i>	<i>petit</i>	<i>pequeño</i>
<i>meja</i>	border	<i>Grenze</i>	<i>frontière</i>	<i>frontera</i>
<i>mesto</i>	city, town	<i>Stadt</i>	<i>ville</i>	<i>ciudad</i>
<i>mlaka</i>	pool, pond	<i>Pfütze</i>	<i>flaque</i>	<i>lodazal</i>
<i>mlin</i>	mill	<i>Mühle</i>	<i>moulin</i>	<i>molino</i>
<i>močvirje</i>	swamp, marsh	<i>Sumpf</i>	<i>marais</i>	<i>pantano</i>
<i>moder</i>	blue	<i>blau</i>	<i>azur</i>	<i>azul</i>
<i>moker</i>	wet, moist	<i>feucht</i>	<i>mouillé, humide</i>	<i>húmedo</i>
<i>morje</i>	sea	<i>Meer</i>	<i>mer</i>	<i>mar</i>
<i>most</i>	bridge	<i>Brücke</i>	<i>pont</i>	<i>puente</i>
<i>mrzel</i>	cold	<i>kalt</i>	<i>froid</i>	<i>frío</i>
<i>na</i>	on	<i>an</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>del</i>
<i>nad</i>	on, over, above	<i>über, ober</i>	<i>sur</i>	<i>del</i>
<i>nizek</i>	low	<i>nieder</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bajo</i>
<i>nižina, nižavje</i>	lowland	<i>Niederung</i>	<i>basse terre</i>	<i>tierra baja</i>
<i>njiva</i>	field	<i>Acker</i>	<i>champ</i>	<i>campo</i>
<i>nov</i>	new	<i>neu</i>	<i>nouveau</i>	<i>nuevo</i>
<i>ob</i>	at, along	<i>an, bei</i>	<i>le long de, près</i>	<i>cerca</i>

Drago Kladnik, Matjaž Geršič, Drago Perko, Slovenian geographical names

Slovenian	English	German	French	Spanish
<i>obala</i>	coast	<i>Küste</i>	<i>côte</i>	<i>costa</i>
<i>občina</i>	municipality	<i>Gemeinde</i>	<i>commune</i>	<i>municipio</i>
<i>obrh</i>	karst spring	<i>Karstquelle</i>	<i>source karstique</i>	<i>fuelle kárstico</i>
<i>ocean</i>	ocean	<i>Ozean</i>	<i>océan</i>	<i>océano</i>
<i>okraj</i>	district	<i>Bezirk</i>	<i>district</i>	<i>distrito</i>
<i>otočje</i>	islands	<i>Inseln</i>	<i>îles</i>	<i>islas</i>
<i>otok</i>	island	<i>Insel</i>	<i>île</i>	<i>isla</i>
<i>park</i>	park	<i>Park</i>	<i>parc</i>	<i>parque</i>
<i>pas</i>	zone	<i>Zone</i>	<i>zone</i>	<i>zona</i>
<i>peč</i>	rock	<i>Fels</i>	<i>roc</i>	<i>roca</i>
<i>planina</i>	mountain; mountain pasture	<i>Berg; Alm</i>	<i>montagne; alpage</i>	<i>montaña; pastos alpinos</i>
<i>planota</i>	plateau	<i>Hochebene</i>	<i>plateau</i>	<i>meseta</i>
<i>pod</i>	under, below	<i>unter, unterhalb</i>	<i>dessous</i>	<i>debajo</i>
<i>pogorje</i>	mountains	<i>Gebirge</i>	<i>montagnes</i>	<i>montañas</i>
<i>pojezerje</i>	lake area	<i>Seenplatte</i>	<i>zone lacustre</i>	<i>zona lacustre</i>
<i>poljana</i>	clearing, field	<i>Feld</i>	<i>champ</i>	<i>campo</i>
<i>polje</i>	field; karst field, polje; plain	<i>Feld; Karstbecken; Ebene</i>	<i>champ; champ karstique; plaine</i>	<i>campo; campo kárstico; llanura</i>
<i>polotok</i>	peninsula	<i>Halbinsel</i>	<i>péninsule</i>	<i>península</i>
<i>ponikva</i>	swallet; losing/influent stream	<i>Schluckloch; verlierender Fluss</i>	<i>chatoire; rivière à perte</i>	<i>pónor; perdida de agua subterránea</i>
<i>potok</i>	stream	<i>Bach</i>	<i>ruisseau</i>	<i>arroyo</i>
<i>prag</i>	rise	<i>Schwelle</i>	<i>seuil</i>	<i>umbral</i>
<i>predor</i>	tunnel	<i>Tunnel</i>	<i>tunnel</i>	<i>túnel</i>
<i>prekop</i>	canal	<i>Kanal</i>	<i>canal</i>	<i>canal</i>
<i>prelaz</i>	pass	<i>Pass</i>	<i>col</i>	<i>puerto, paso</i>
<i>preliv</i>	strait	<i>Meeresstraße</i>	<i>détroit</i>	<i>estrecho</i>
<i>preval</i>	pass	<i>Pass</i>	<i>col</i>	<i>puerto, paso</i>
<i>pri</i>	by	<i>bei</i>	<i>près</i>	<i>cerca de, a</i>
<i>pristanišče</i>	port	<i>Hafen</i>	<i>port</i>	<i>puerto</i>
<i>pristava</i>	estate farm	<i>Meierhof</i>	<i>métairie</i>	<i>alquería</i>
<i>puščava</i>	desert	<i>Wüste</i>	<i>désert</i>	<i>desierto</i>
<i>ravan</i>	plain	<i>Ebene</i>	<i>plaine</i>	<i>llanura</i>
<i>ravnica</i>	plain	<i>Ebene</i>	<i>plaine</i>	<i>llanura</i>
<i>ravnik</i>	tableland	<i>Tafelland</i>	<i>guyot</i>	<i>bancal</i>
<i>ravnina</i>	plain	<i>Ebene</i>	<i>plaine</i>	<i>llanura</i>
<i>rdeč</i>	red	<i>rot</i>	<i>rouge</i>	<i>rojo</i>
<i>reka</i>	river	<i>Fluss</i>	<i>fleuve</i>	<i>río</i>
<i>retje</i>	karst spring	<i>Karstquelle</i>	<i>source karstique</i>	<i>fuelle kárstico</i>
<i>ribnik</i>	pond	<i>Teich</i>	<i>étang</i>	<i>estanque</i>
<i>rjav</i>	brown	<i>braun</i>	<i>brun</i>	<i>bruno</i>
<i>rt</i>	cape	<i>Kap</i>	<i>cap</i>	<i>cabo</i>
<i>rudnik</i>	mine	<i>Bergwerk</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>mina</i>
<i>rumen</i>	yellow	<i>gelb</i>	<i>jaune</i>	<i>amarillo</i>
<i>samostan</i>	convent, monastery	<i>Kloster</i>	<i>couvent, monastère</i>	<i>convento, monasterio</i>

<i>sedlo</i>	pass	<i>Sattel</i>	<i>col</i>	<i>paso</i>
<i>selo</i>	village	<i>Dorf</i>	<i>village</i>	<i>pueblo, aldea</i>
<i>sever</i>	north	<i>Nord</i>	<i>nord</i>	<i>norte</i>
<i>severen</i>	northern	<i>nördlich</i>	<i>septentrional</i>	<i>septentrional</i>
<i>skala</i>	rock	<i>Fels</i>	<i>roc</i>	<i>roca</i>
<i>slap</i>	waterfall	<i>Wasserfall</i>	<i>chute d'eau</i>	<i>cascada</i>
<i>slatina</i>	mineral water	<i>Mineralwasser</i>	<i>eau minérale</i>	<i>agua mineral</i>
<i>snežnik</i>	snowcapped mountain	<i>schneebedeckter Berg</i>	<i>mont enneigé</i>	<i>pico nevado</i>
<i>soteska</i>	gorge	<i>Schlucht</i>	<i>gorge</i>	<i>garganta</i>
<i>spodnji</i>	lower	<i>nieder</i>	<i>inférieur</i>	<i>inferior</i>
<i>spomenik</i>	memorial, monument	<i>Denkmal</i>	<i>monument</i>	<i>monumento</i>
<i>srednji</i>	central, middle	<i>mittel</i>	<i>central</i>	<i>central</i>
<i>star</i>	old	<i>alt</i>	<i>vieux</i>	<i>viejo</i>
<i>stena</i>	wall	<i>Wand</i>	<i>mur</i>	<i>muro</i>
<i>straža</i>	guard	<i>Wache</i>	<i>garde</i>	<i>guardia</i>
<i>strm</i>	steep	<i>steil</i>	<i>abrupt</i>	<i>pendiente</i>
<i>studenec</i>	spring	<i>Quelle</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>fuelle</i>
<i>suh</i>	dry	<i>trocken</i>	<i>sec</i>	<i>árido</i>
<i>sveti</i>	saint, holy	<i>sankt, heilig</i>	<i>saint</i>	<i>san, santo</i>
<i>špik</i>	peak	<i>Spitze</i>	<i>pic</i>	<i>pico</i>
<i>tabor</i>	stronghold	<i>Feldlager</i>	<i>camp bien fortifié</i>	<i>campo fortificado</i>
<i>topel</i>	warm	<i>warm</i>	<i>chaud</i>	<i>caliente</i>
<i>toplice</i>	thermal springs, spa	<i>Thermalquelle, Thermalbad</i>	<i>source thermale, thermes</i>	<i>fuelle termal, termas</i>
<i>trata</i>	meadow	<i>Wiese</i>	<i>pré</i>	<i>prado</i>
<i>travnik</i>	meadow	<i>Wiese</i>	<i>pré</i>	<i>prado</i>
<i>trg</i>	market	<i>Markt</i>	<i>marché</i>	<i>mercado</i>
<i>tunel</i>	tunnel	<i>Tunnel</i>	<i>tunnel</i>	<i>túnel</i>
<i>ustje</i>	mouth	<i>Mündung</i>	<i>embouchure</i>	<i>desembocadura</i>
<i>v</i>	in, at	<i>in</i>	<i>dans, en</i>	<i>en, de</i>
<i>vas</i>	village	<i>Dorf</i>	<i>village</i>	<i>pueblo, aldea</i>
<i>velik</i>	great, big	<i>groß</i>	<i>grand</i>	<i>gran, grande</i>
<i>vir</i>	spring	<i>Quelle</i>	<i>source</i>	<i>fuelle</i>
<i>visok</i>	high	<i>hoch</i>	<i>haut</i>	<i>alto</i>
<i>višavje</i>	uplands, highlands	<i>Hochland</i>	<i>plateau</i>	<i>meseta</i>
<i>voda</i>	water	<i>Wasser</i>	<i>eau</i>	<i>agua</i>
<i>vrata</i>	pass; strait	<i>Pass; Meeresstraße</i>	<i>col; détroit</i>	<i>paso; estrecho</i>
<i>vrh</i>	peak	<i>Gipfel</i>	<i>cime</i>	<i>cima</i>
<i>vrtača</i>	sinkhole, doline	<i>Karstdoline</i>	<i>doline</i>	<i>dolina</i>
<i>vzhod</i>	east	<i>Ost</i>	<i>est</i>	<i>este</i>
<i>vzhoden</i>	eastern	<i>östlich</i>	<i>oriental</i>	<i>oriental</i>
<i>zahod</i>	west	<i>West</i>	<i>ouest</i>	<i>oeste</i>
<i>zahoden</i>	western	<i>westlich</i>	<i>occidental</i>	<i>occidental</i>
<i>zajezitveno jezero</i>	reservoir	<i>Stausee</i>	<i>réservoir</i>	<i>embalse</i>
<i>zelen</i>	green	<i>grün</i>	<i>vert</i>	<i>verde</i>
<i>zgornji</i>	upper	<i>ober</i>	<i>supérieur</i>	<i>superior</i>
<i>žaga</i>	sawmill	<i>Sägewerk</i>	<i>scierie</i>	<i>aserradero</i>

the greatest contraction in the territory inhabited by Slovenians was to the northwest, north, and north-east of today's ethnic territory. In contrast, the border with Friuli and Italy in the west and southwest, and with the linguistically related Croats to the east, southeast, and south was significantly more stable (Vidic, Brenk and Ivanič 1999).

The Slovenian name-formation process, or the naming of features in Slovenian-inhabited territory, was most intense from the seventh to the thirteenth centuries (Jakopin 1990); that is, from the first wave of colonization immediately after the settlement of the Slavs to internal colonization a few centuries later. At the end of this period, there were almost more settlements in Slovenian territory than in modern times, which is especially true for higher elevations (Mihelič 1998). In contrast to other Slavs, the Alpine Slavs started establishing permanent settlements relatively early because historical sources mention about thirty clearly Slavic place names attested before or at least during the arrival of the missionaries Cyril and Methodius in the second half of the ninth century (Bezljaj 1965).

Even after Slavic colonization, geographical names in present-day Slovenian territory were not immune to the turbulent historical developments (Jakopin 1990). During the High and Late Middle Ages, German-speaking serfs immigrated to some areas of Slovenia as part of the planned colonization of sparsely populated areas at the initiative of feudal lords, especially from Carinthia and Tyrol (Mihelič 1998). They settled the Sora Plain (where they soon assimilated to the Slovenian population), the Bača Valley and the headwaters of the Selca Sora River in the southern part of the Julian Alps (where they persisted until the mid-nineteenth century), and the Kočevje region, where they lived in a linguistic enclave until the Second World War, when they relocated to southern Lower Styria, which was then part of Nazi Germany, under an agreement between Germany and Italy (Ferenc and Šumrada 1991; Urbanc 1998). A similar fate befell the Italian population of the Istrian coastal towns and the adjacent countryside after the Second World War; the majority emigrated to Italy after the London Memorandum was concluded in 1954. Traces of German settlement can still be identified in many geographical names. Italian names in the Slovenian part of Istria are exposed to Slovenianization, despite the official bilingualism there.

Fran Miklošič (Franz Miklosich) was the first to examine Slovenian geographical names from an etymological point of view. Fran Ramovš – and to an even greater extent two researchers in the second half of the twentieth century, France Bezljaj and Dušan Čop – defended the stance that a prerequisite for successful etymological analysis is not only considering morphological characteristics and critical analysis of medieval records, but also analysis of dialect forms. The spellings of names in Slovenia were all too often standardized by linguistically uneducated cartographers, and so many standard or standardized name forms are distorted and therefore etymologically misleading (Snoj 2002a; Geršič 2016b).

2 The history of dealing with geographical names in Slovenia

In nowadays territory of Slovenia, the study of geographical names was initially the domain of priests and polymaths. The field then began to gradually acquire a research and scholarly character, with linguists leading the way. Slovenian research-based onomastics has long been closely connected with the development needs of geography, cartography, history, and some linguistic disciplines. Although the Etymological and Onomastic Section was established at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1958 (Šivic-Dular 2002), such study did not come into its own for a long time.

The first comprehensive historical overviews of dealing with Slovenian geographical names were made only a few decades ago by linguists (Novak 1987; Jakopin 1990; Šivic-Dular 1989c; 2002), and concise overviews of Slovenian geographers' handling of geographical names are more recent. The most extensive overviews to date have been created as part of the only two Slovenian geographical dissertations on geographical names so far (Kladnik 2006; Geršič 2016b). Later, Kladnik produced even more material on this topic (Kladnik 2013; 2016; 2018; 2019a; 2019b; Kladnik and Perko 2017).

The first overview of maps of Slovenia, its regions, and the immediate surrounding area was produced by Fran Orožen (1901) at beginning of the twentieth century, and later by the surveyors Branko Korošec (1978) and Jernej Fridl (1998), and geographers Valter Bohinec (1969), Bibijana Mihevc (1998), Igor Longyka (1999), and Darko Ogrin (2017). The geographer and historian Primož Gašperič received his doctorate in this field (Gašperič 2016) after having published a review paper on the topic (2007), and he coauthored a paper for the seventieth anniversary of the Geographical Museum in Ljubljana (Zorn and Gašperič 2016).

The lavishly illustrated volume *Kartografski zakladi slovenskega ozemlja* (Cartographic Treasures of Slovenian Territory; Gašperič, Šolar and Zorn 2020) was recently published, presenting thirty-seven maps of Slovenian territory issued between 1525 and 1921.

2.1 The pre-scholarly period

The initial period of Slovenian linguistic investigation was, like everywhere, a period of probing. Although national identity was not yet emphatically articulated, neither the role of Slovenians nor the Slovenian language should be underestimated. The first thoughts on Slovenian names, including geographical ones, and their non-scholarly treatment can be traced to Protestant writers such as Primož Trubar (Jakopin 1990), and the first etymological and word-formation explanations of non-biblical proper nouns can be found in the grammar *Arcticae horulae succisivae* (Spare Winter Hours) by Adam Bohorič (Šivic-Dular 2002).

There are also individual toponyms in Trubar's primers, such as *terft* 'Trieste' and *lublana* 'Ljubljana'. Among the registers or indexes, the most extensive is the one to Dalmatian's Bible from 1584, which contains most biblical names and places. Ethnonyms and adjectives even appear in the titles of Protestant works (e.g., *Haruatou inu drugih Slouenzou* 'Croats and other Slovenians', *Krainske beffede* 'Carniolan words', *Crajnŕki* 'Carniolan', *Coroŕhki* 'Carinthian', *Slovenŕki ali Besjázki* 'Slovenian or Kajkavian', *Hervázki* 'Croatian', *Dalmatinŕki* 'Dalmatian', *Iŕtrianŕki* 'Istrian', *Craŕhki* 'Karst').

As new ground was broken in toponymy, any in-depth work in ethnography or natural science was welcome. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the polymath Johann Weikhard von Valvasor applied his knowledge to the Slovenians; his many copperplate engravings, his local histories of Carniola and Carinthia, and especially his monumental *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain* (The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola) created a treasury of inestimable value (Valvasor 1689b; 1689c). His works are the first comprehensive source of Slovenian geographical names (Kladnik 2006; 2019a). *Die Ehre deß Hertzogthums Crain* was an important source for Carniolan toponymy until the modern publication of historical sources, although for some places for which only a Slovenian form was used centuries later only a German name is mentioned (e.g., *Oblaker Palliz* 'Bloška Polica', *Gimpeldorff* 'Kompolje', *Blindendorff* 'Slepšek'), and often only a Slovenian name is provided (e.g., *Podbresie* 'Podbrezje', *Kovor/Khovorie* 'Kovor', *Resderto* 'Razdrto', *Studenu* 'Studenó'; Šivic-Dular 2002).

Proper nouns are also included in older Slovenian dictionaries. Thus, around 150 (mostly foreign) names are contained in the dictionary by Matija Kastelec and Gregor Vorenc, and these were published by Jože Stabej (1997) in a separate alphabetical list. Geographical names appear in the dictionary mainly in explanatory form (e.g., *Liniz – méftu v'Estereihi*, *Austrj* 'Liniz: a town in Austria', *tu kraileŕtvu Granat v'ŕhpanski deŕeli* 'the Kingdom of Granada in Spain'). Among the proper nouns are various geographical names, such as the names of places, rivers, and countries (e.g., *Natolia* 'Asia Minor', *v'Ligurj* 'in Liguria', *na vogarŕskim* 'in Hungary', *v'Lidj inu Macedonj* 'in Lydia and Macedonia').

In the manuscript dictionary by Hippolytus of Novo Mesto (Slovenian: *Hipolit Novomeŕki*, 1711–1712), the names and descriptions of geographical objects are taken from the work *Orbis pictus* by John Amos Comenius, but the list is also supplemented with names that were in use for the territory of Slovenia (e.g., *Aemona* 'Emona', *Laybach, lublána* 'Ljubljana'; *Ungarn, Vógarsku ali Vógarska ŕemya, Hungaria* 'Hungary'; *Radmansdorff, Rádovlizze, Radmansdoffium* 'Radovljica'; *Savus, die Sau, ein Fluf, Jáva, ena Voda* 'the Sava, a river'). Similarly, in the manuscript dictionary by Bernard of Maribor (Slovenian: *Ivan Anton Apostel*; Stabej 1972), the names of countries are mentioned in a special section (e.g., *Niemska deshela/sempla* 'Germany', *Vogerska deshela* 'Hungary', *hrovazska deshela* 'Croatia', *Lashka deshela* 'Italy', *dunava deshela* 'Austria', *Franska/Francoska defela* 'France', *Angelska deshella* 'England'). Over eighty geographical names (places, provinces, and demonyms) are also registered in Marko Pohlin's dictionary (1781). The work also contains some names from Slovenian ethnic territory, to which German and Latin equivalents have been added; for example, *Baróvle – Förlach – Forlacum* 'Ferlach'; *Celovz – Stadt Klagenfurth – Clagenfurtum* 'Klagenfurt'; *Cêlu – Stadt Cily – Cileja* 'Celje'; *Limbarska gorra – Der Lilienberg – Mons liliroum* 'Limbarska Gora' (Figure 3); *Lôka – Stadt, Laag – Locopolis* 'Škofja Loka'; *Lublána – Stadt Laybach – Labacum* 'Ljubljana'; *Lublanza – Die Laybach, Fluß – Labacus* 'Ljubljanka River'; *Terft – Stadt Triest – Tergestum urbs* 'Trieste'; *Vidm – Stadt Weiden – Utinum* 'Udine'; *Ydrija – Stadt Hydria – Hydria* 'Idrija' (Šivic-Dular 2002).

This lexicographic tradition was also followed by Oswald Gutsmann (1798), who also provided more frequently used declensional or other desubstantival forms for proper nouns; for example, *Villach – Bilak* ‘Villach’, *Klagenfurt – zelovez* ‘Klagenfurt’; *Frankreich – franzoška deshela* ‘France’ (Šivic-Dular 2002).

In the nineteenth century, supplementing and improving corpora of Slovenian geographical names became a priority. Because German names were considered official for Slovenian settlements (e.g., *Laibach* ‘Ljubljana’, *Ruprechtsdorf* ‘Ruperčvrh’) and because they could reflect various degrees of Germanization of Slovenian dialect names (e.g., *Dolenwerd* ‘Dolenje Brdo’, *Dousku* ‘Dolsko’, *Babnagoritza* ‘Babna Gorica’, *Tuigerm* ‘Tuji Grm’) or were partially or even completely calqued (e.g., *Rothenkal* instead of *Rudezhi Kal* ‘Rdeči Kal’, *Seidendorf* ‘Ždinja vas’), determining the Slovenian noun form was not easy because reliable information for them was required from field research (Šivic-Dular 2002).

The first collection of toponyms for the province of Carniola is attributed to Franc Serafin Metelko. As an official translator, in 1822 he asked the provincial government in Ljubljana for an inventory of place names in Carniola and he also compiled linguistic instructions for writing the forms of names (he recommended writing the nominative and genitive forms). He also compiled an alphabetical list of places from the collected material and used part of it in his grammar (Metelko 1825).

Metelko handled proper nouns from antiquity and folk names separately, and he also addressed their morphology. In the word-formation part of his grammar, he lists suffixes for the formation of individual groups of names, such as the suffix *-sko* for naming provinces and some other areas; for example, *Krajnsko*, *Gorensko*, *Dolensko*, *Štajersko*, *Koroško*, *Slovensko*, *Nemško*, *Hrovaško* ‘Carniola, Upper Carniola, Lower Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, Slovenia, Germany, Croatia’. Metelko also discussed the etymology of the name *Ljubljana* and defended its Slavic origin. Metelko’s collection of names was used by Heinrich Freyer (1846) in creating his map of Carniola (*Special-Karte des Herzogthums Krain* ‘Detailed Map of the Duchy of Carniola’)



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Figure 3: The names in the dictionary by the grammarian Marko Pohlin include *Limbarska gorra* ‘Mount Limbar’, which is still an important pilgrimage destination with Saint Valentine’s Church on its top.

and especially in his list of names for the map with German equivalents added (*Alphabetisches Verzeichniß aller Ortschafts- und Schlösser-Namen des Herzogthums Krain* 'Alphabetical List of All Names of Places and Castles in the Duchy of Carniola'). Freyer was the first to standardize the written, phonetic, and morphemic forms of Carniolan toponyms (Šivic-Dular 1988; 1989b; 2002).

During this period, Slovenians also received the first work in which geographical names are precisely categorized by the types of features they name (streams, mountains, mountain pastures, settlements, regions, and also house names), and within this even more detailed divisions are made (e.g., names of rivers, hot springs, flashy streams, forest streams, streams in ravines, old and new mill streams, border streams, and swamp streams). In the study *Andeutungen über Kärntens Germanisierung* (Review of the Germanization of Carinthia), Urban Jarnik (1826) only discussed his native province and determined that many local names had undergone Germanization, and that their semantic motivation could be determined on the basis of Slovenian common nouns. He also included geographical names in his dictionary (Jarnik 1832) (Šivic-Dular 2002; Geršič 2016b).

Quite a few Slovenians encountered foreign geographical names in an authentic environment because they participated in discovering parts of the world previously unknown to Europeans. The first of these was the Vipava native Sigismund von Herberstein (1486–1566), who explored Russia in the sixteenth century, adding the first detailed maps of the European part of Russia, titled *Moscovia*, to his work *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii* (Notes on Muscovite Affairs) (Korošec 1978; Longyka 1999). In North America, the missionary Frederic Baraga (1797–1868) worked in the Great Lakes region, and his younger colleague Ignatius Knoblecher (1819–1858) helped explore the upper Nile in Africa (Kladnik 2018).

During the pre-March era (before 1848), Slovenian intellectuals also used mainly German. Dealing with names in Slovenian territory was not a nationally charged endeavor, neither Slovenian nor German. The overly limited situation in their homeland, where there was almost no need to apply their achievements, led Slovenian intellectuals mainly to Vienna and Prague, where they were able to realize their potential and satisfy their creative unrest, mostly in the service of the wider homeland Austrian Empire.

2.2 Scholarly studies

The watershed year of 1848 awakened and strengthened the consciousness of European ethnic groups, including the Slovenians, and so they started to publish cartographic products and professional works that had been unthinkable until then. Societies and professional organizations were founded, and they took an organized approach to establishing the role of individual languages. The central role in Slovenia was played by the Slovenian Society (*Slovenska matica*, initially *Matica Slovenska*).

Improvement of the body of Slovenian toponyms was stimulated by several events, especially the 1850 change in Austrian provincial legislation, which prescribed the parallel use of German and Slovenian toponyms in official and other documents, the introduction of education in Slovenian and the associated increased public sensitivity to the written word, as well as the production of maps in large print runs (Šivic-Dular 2002).

Within Indo-European linguistics and other disciplines, onomastics began to develop in a scholarly manner in the second half of the nineteenth century, in which Slavic and Slovenian onomastics was primarily stimulated by influential onomastic works by Franc Miklošič (1860; 1864; 1872–1874). His comparative grammars are important for the study of Slovenian common nouns and proper nouns (Jakopin 1990; Šivic-Dular 2002).

During the first half of the twentieth century, much toponymic material was collected by non-linguists, especially by the historians France Kos and Milko Kos (land terriers and historical topography) and Pavle Blaznik (historical topography). The Croatian etymologist Petar Skok left a very significant impression on Slovenian onomastics (Jakopin 1990). The reasons for the greater interest in geographical names in this period can mainly be found in Miklošič's studies, as well as in the publication of the first Slovenian lists of geographical names (e.g., Kosler's 1864 *Imenik mest, trgov in krajev* 'Gazetteer of Borough Towns, Market Towns, and Places' as a supplement to his *Zemljovid Slovenske dežele in pokrajin* 'Map of the Slovenian Land and Provinces') and the publication of historical sources with attestations of many names older than those recorded in Valvasor's works (Šivic-Dular 2002).

Peter Kosler (a.k.a. *Kozler*), a Gottschee German, was the first to systematically deal with Slovenian geographical names. a few years later, the Slovenians received *Atlant* 'Atlas', the first world atlas in Slovenian,

in which the names were edited by the lawyer Matej Cigale, who systematically Slovenianized many foreign geographical names (Kladnik 2005c; Kladnik et al. 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006; Kladnik and Geršič 2016), which is one of the reasons why Slovenian has stood side by side with otherwise widely established European languages (more on the history of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names is provided in Chapter 9 on Slovenian exonyms).

Luka Pintar (1910; 1912–2015) discussed the names found in Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and the Littoral from various angles. Karel Štrekelj (1904; 1906) wrote a historical-etymological study of originally Slavic toponymy in German- and Slovenian-inhabited Styria. Mention should also be made of Johann (a.k.a. Janez) Scheinigg (1906), who dealt with Carinthian place names (Šivic-Dular 2002).

The second issue of the very first volume of the seminal Slovenian journal *Geografski vestnik* (Geographical Bulletin) included a paper on toponymy by Henrik Tuma (1925), who highlighted fieldwork, cooperation with local informants, and interdisciplinary cooperation as a precondition for the correct spelling and use of geographical names. His contribution to the geographical names in the Julian Alps (Tuma 1920; 1929) is invaluable (Figure 4).

Soon afterward, a brief paper on the appropriate use of (foreign) geographical names was published by the most important Slovenian geographer, Anton Melik, who wrote the following in this connection (1928, 129): »there is considerable disorder in writing geographical names in Slovenia, and there is a clear need for uniform rules that can become the basis for practical use.«

Between the two world wars, the leading Slovenian toponymist was the linguist Fran Ramovš, the author of seminal works on the history and dialectology of Slovenian (Ramovš 1920; 1931; 1936), who, based on his good knowledge of history and dialectology, created a firm foundation for etymological research on geographical names. He authored twenty-four outstanding etymological papers and critical reviews in onomastics. The etymological explanations of hundreds of Slovenian toponyms are also included in his pioneering works. His determination of the possibility of multiple transfer of toponyms from language to language is very important for research on Slovenian geographical names (Šivic-Dular 2002).



Figure 4: When Tuma's paper on the geographical names in the Julian Alps was published, a photograph of the Triglav Glacier was taken, showing large cracks. The image by an unknown photographer is kept by the Slovenian Alpine Museum in Mojstrana.

A contemporary of Ramovš was the amateur geographer Rudolf Badjura, who is considered a pioneer in the development of hiking and mountaineering tourism, and consequently recreational tourism in Slovenia (Geršič et al. 2014). From the point of view of toponymy, his work on geographical terminology and onomastics is especially important. A seminal work in this area is his two-volume study *Ljudska geografija – terensko izrazoslovje* (Folk Geography: Field Terminology; Badjura 1953; 1957). In both parts, Slovenian professional geographical terms, especially for landforms, are skillfully intertwined with geographical names (Figure 5). He studied mountain passes and their names with special precision and enthusiasm (Badjura 1950; 1951).

Josip Wester, who authored about eighty papers describing trails through the Slovenian uplands, can also be credited with inventorying mountain names (Šivic-Dular 2002).

In the early postwar period, the strongest imprint on Slovenian onomastics was left by the linguist France Bezlaj, who wrote about many Slovenian geographical names within a comparative etymological context (Bezlaj 1969a; 1969b; 1969c; 1976; 1982; 1995), especially in the function of studying their Slavic origin and indirectly also Slovenian ethnogenesis. His contribution to studying Slovenian hydronyms is extremely important (Bezlaj 1956; 1961) (Jakopin 1990; Šivic-Dular 2002). The historian Milko Kos studied the borrowing of ancient place names in Slovenian territory (Kos 1950) and place names with the suffix *-ci* (e.g., *Beltinci*, *Juršinci*) in northeastern Slovenia (Kos 1968).

Soon after the journal *Geografski obzorik* (Geographic Horizon) was launched, for several years it included the section *Zemljepisno imenoslovje in izrazje* (Geographical Onomastics and Terminology), which mainly carried shorter papers on terminological issues and problems, and some also dealt with geographical names (Kranjec 1956; Zgonik 1956; Planina 1957).

The role of geographers was inscribed in history forever with the preparation of *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije* (Gazetteer of Slovenia), a work containing many place names and other geographical names, which was published in four volumes from 1968 to 1980 under the editorship of Roman Savnik (*Krajevni leksikon Slovenije* 1968; 1971; 1976; 1980). Even before the Second World War, in 1937, the work's predecessor, *Krajevni*



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Figure 5: The Kamnik Saddle or Jerman Gate.

leksikon Dravske banovine (Gazetteer of the Drava Province; *Krajevni ... 1937*), was published with the important contribution of geographers. All these books are an inexhaustible treasury of Slovenian geographical names, which at that time had not yet been vetted by linguists. When the manual *Slovenska krajevna imena* (Slovenian Place Names; Jakopin et al. 1985) was published in the 1980s, it was possible to eliminate this shortcoming in a much more modest successor to the four-volume work from the mid-1990s (*Krajevni leksikon Slovenije 1995a*). This modern version of the gazetteer was also published in an electronic version (*Krajevni leksikon Slovenije 1995b*) as one of the first geographical works in this new format globally. Both volumes of *Krajevni leksikon Slovencev v Italiji* (Gazetteer of Slovenians in Italy; *Krajevni leksikon Slovencev ... 1991; 1995*) are also indispensable for Slovenian onomastics.

In the first years after Slovenia's independence, Anton Sore and Julij Titl were among the geographers most deeply involved with geographical names at the regional level. They dealt with place names, field names, and hydronyms along the Savinja and Sotla rivers in eastern Slovenia (Sore 1993; 1994) and in Mediterranean Slovenia (Titl 1998; 2000; 2006; Figure 6).

Along with Sore and Titl, occasional publications appeared in periodicals over the decades, addressing the modern or historically attested microtoponymy of individual areas in Slovenia – for example, Upper Carniola (Fran Saleški Finžgar, Ivan Kogovšek), the Littoral (Pavel Vidau), the Tolmin area (Milan Mikuž), White Carniola (Ivan Simonič), Styria (Jože Koropec, Franc Mišič, Fran Vatovec, Jože Vršnik, Vladimir Bračič, Pavle Blaznik), Prekmurje (Ivan Zelko) – and in cross-border areas; for example, the province of Trieste and Venetian Slovenia (Pavle Merku, Vlado Klemše), Resia (Roberto Dapit), the Canale Valley (Matej Šekli) in Italy, Austrian Carinthia (Anton Feinig, Bertrand Kotnik), and the Rabá Valley in Hungary (Marija Kozar-Mukič, Marija Bajzek Lukač). An extensive toponymic collection (for Austrian Carinthia, and especially Upper Carniola) was collected in the field by Dušan Čop (Šivic-Dular 2002). This set includes geographical contributions on geographical names in the Julian Alps (Kunaver 1984; 1988; 1993) and Kamnik–Savinja Alps (Peršolja 1998).

Interest in onomastics grew again after Slovenia's independence in 1991. Etymological studies and dictionaries stand out among the works, and in the last decade there has been considerable research on geographical names as part of cultural heritage. To a large extent, this involves studies by amateur researchers



Figure 6: Cover of Julij Titl's book on geographical names in Slovenian Istria.

that do not have the appropriate education and avoid consultation with linguists, and so according to some (e.g., Čop 2002) they often do more harm than good.

Etymological studies still play an important role among linguists. Bezljaj's etymological dictionary (1976; 1982; 1995) was joined in 1997 by *Slovenski etimološki slovar* (Slovenian Etymological Dictionary; Snoj 1997), whose continuation *Etimološki slovar slovenskih zemljepisnih imen* (Etymological Dictionary of Slovenian Geographical Names; Snoj 2009) with more than four thousand entries is extremely important for the study of geographical names. In addition to Snoj (also Snoj 2010), important etymological works were also contributed by Alenka Šivic-Dular (2012), Dušan Čop (1983; 1987; 2002), Metka Furlan (2013; 2015), Silvo Torkar (2008; 2010a; 2010b; 2012; 2013; 2015), Matej Šekli (2015), Luka Repanšek (2014), Janeta Čeligoj (2012), and some others. The origin of Slovenian place names has been discussed in geographical periodicals by the linguist Viktor Majdič (1994).

The range of other modern in-depth studies of geographical names in Slovenia extends from microtoponyms to the names of countries and the most important dependent territories, with exonyms playing a special role. Microtoponyms usually include house names and field names, but, considering their small size, street names, names of karst caves (Figure 7), names of waterfalls, and the like could also be ranked among microtoponyms.

A modern methodology for studying house names and field names was developed as part of the international project FLU-LED (Klinar et al. 2012). Quite a few papers have been published on both types of microtoponyms (Klinar and Geršič 2014; Geršič and Kladnik 2016a; Škofic 2017). In 2010, Slovenian house names and field names in Austrian Carinthia were included in the national UNESCO inventory of intangible heritage in Austria (Piko-Rustia 2012; 2017; 2018), which is invaluable from the point of view of the Slovenian minority there. a series of booklets on systematic research on house names in Upper Carniola have been published under the series title *Kako se pri vas reče?* (What Do You Call Your Home?) (Klinar 2013; Figure 8). a paper on housže names was also published in a Slovenian geographical journal (Klinar and Geršič 2014), and several linguistic studies have already been conducted (e.g., Škofic 1998; 2005; Zorko 2004; Bon 2018). Such studies have also been conducted in Valbruna (Slovenian: *Ovčja vas*, Friulian: *Valbrune*, German: *Wolfsbach*) in the quadrilingual Canale Valley (Italian: *Val Canale*, Friulian: *Val Cjanâl*, Slovenian: *Kanalska dolina*, German: *Kanaltal*; Sekli 2005).



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Figure 7: Microtoponyms also include the names of karst caves, particularly picturesque among which is Cross Cave (Slovenian: *Križna jama*) in Inner Carniola.

It is primarily linguists (e.g., Šekli 2006; 2007) and landscape architects (Penko Seidl 2008; 2011; 2015; Penko Seidl, Kastelec and Kučan 2015) that have dealt most with field names and their meaning in recent times. Among geographers, attention should be drawn to papers on field names on agricultural terraces (Geršič 2016a) and in the Western Karawanks and the western Kamnik–Savinja Alps (Geršič and Zorn 2016); the latter especially highlights the impact of natural disasters on the landscape.

In connection with house names and field names, as well as with certain place names, attention should be drawn to the relationship between dialect and standard linguistic forms, the suitability of public written dialect use of names, and the adaption of dialect name forms to the standard language (Šivic-Dular 1989b; Majdič 1996; Orel 2009; Škofic 2009; Klinar et al. 2012; Horvat 2015).

Systematic research on the names of regions or choronyms (Geršič 2016b; 2017; 2020b) is also an important new trend at the global level. (Figure 9), which has been built upon by examining the administrative and territorial divisions of the Catholic Church in Slovenia (Geršič and Kladnik 2017) and the connection between Slovenia's regional diversity and the variety of geographical names (Geršič, Ciglič and Perko 2018). The possibility of using Slovenian regional names as brands has also been investigated (Geršič, Kladnik and Vintar Mally 2019).

We thus move to even larger territorial units, among which in Slovenia there is a relatively long tradition of studying the names of countries and the most important dependent territories, and about which the first paper was published in a Slovenian geographical journal in the 1980s (Lovrenčak 1987). Perko (1996a; 1996b) examined the deviation between the Slovenian normative guide and standardized names of countries and dependent territories following the SIST ISO 3166 standard of 1996, and linguists have also drawn attention to the deviations between the names in the 2001 Slovenian normative guide and the list in SIST ISO 3166 (Furlan 2003).

In 2004, the Subcommittee for Country Names (*Podkomisija za imena držav*) was formed as part of the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names (*Komisija za standardizacijo zemljepisnih imen Vlade Republike Slovenije*). It is composed of geographers and linguists, who



Figure 8: A meeting with informants during fieldwork while collecting house names and field names in the village of Leše below Mount Dobrča in Upper Carniola in February 2013.

have prepared a new proposal for the names of countries for the Slovenian normative guide and the SIST ISO 3166 standard. The standardized names of countries and dependent territories were thus thoroughly revised in 2007 (Kladnik and Perko 2007; 2013c; 2015a; 2015b). The apex of such efforts was the volume *Slovenska imena držav* (Slovenian Country Names; Kladnik and Perko 2013b), in which, among other things, the standardized Slovenian short name, the Slovenian official short name, and the Slovenian official full name are provided for individual countries.

One of the main roles of the commission for the Slovenian context, and UNGEGN for the global context, is therefore standardizing geographical names, allowing their uniform use at the national and global levels. In Slovenia, the first paper on these efforts was published in the journal *Geodetski vestnik* (Rotar 1991). An exhaustive expert report was prepared on this topic only a few years later (Orožen Adamič and Pogorelčnik 1998).

In Slovenia, we first reviewed all the names of settlements as a basis for their standardization, for which an extensive report was created (Gabrovec and Perko 1996; 1997). Later, all names in Slovenia on a 1:1,000,000 map were standardized (Perko 2001), and a few years after that also the names on the 1:250,000 national index map (just over four thousand names altogether), which was issued specifically for this purpose by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority (Furlan et al. 2008).

Geographical names are constantly changing during their life cycle (Peršolja 2003; Kladnik 2007b; Kladnik and Bole 2012). Many changes are politically motivated, and Slovenian geographers have also published some papers about this, both regarding changes in place names (Urbanc and Gabrovec 2005) and changes in street names (Geršič and Kladnik 2014). With this, we move to the domain of disputed geographical names, which we have addressed especially carefully and thoroughly because of the recent Croatian renaming of the Bay of Piran (Slovenian: *Piranski zaliv*) to *Savudrijska vala* or *Savudrijski zaljev* 'Bay of Savudrija', which does not conform to the recommendations of the UN resolutions on handling geographical names. We produced several papers about this (Kladnik and Pipan 2008; 2009; 2011; Kladnik, Orožen Adamič and Pipan 2010; Orožen Adamič and Kladnik 2010) as well as an extensive and richly illustrated volume

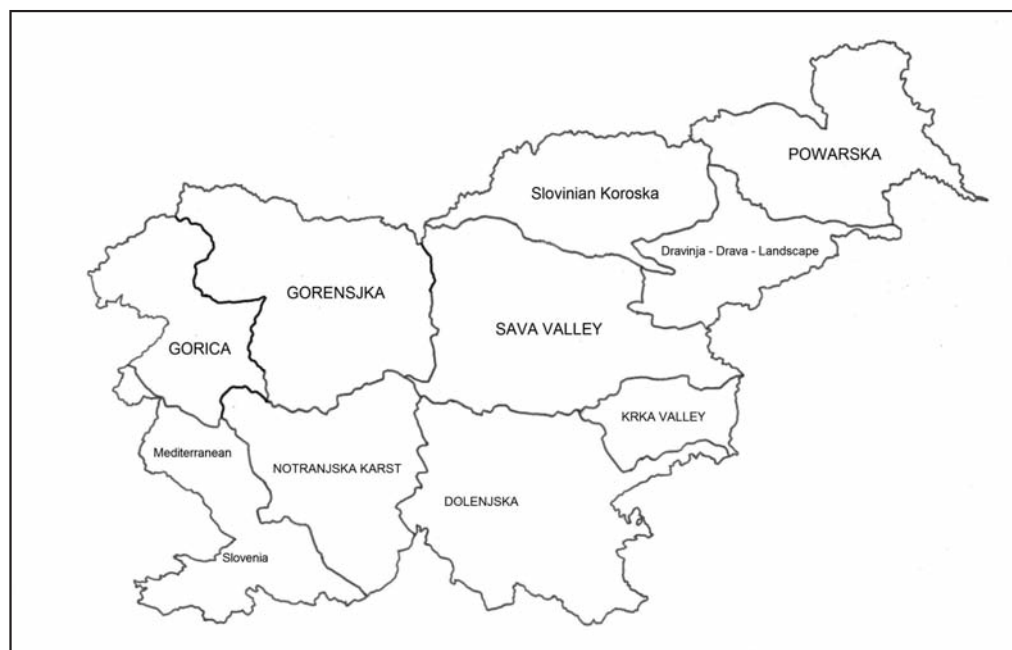


Figure 9: Names of regions are often newly created through various regionalizations. The figure shows a »unique« regionalization of Slovenia with unusual names as well as unusually demarcated regions as conceptualized by experts at the Dutch lead partner as part of an EU project (source: Brink van den 2014/2015).

(Kladnik, Pipan and Gašperič 2014), in which the main onomastic disagreements at the global level are examined in detail, such as the disagreement between Japan and the two Koreas on the international use of the paired names *Sea of Japan* and *East Sea* (Orožen Adamič and Kladnik 2010).

The history of dealing with exonyms or Slovenianized foreign geographical names is covered in Chapter 9 on exonyms. The semantic counterpart to the treatment of exonyms is the presentation of Slovenian geographical names in foreign languages (Berk 2001; Geršič and Kladnik 2015; Zagórski, Geršič and Kladnik 2018).

Because there are still many issues, difficulties, unclear matters, and errors in both the general and expert use of Slovenian and Slovenianized foreign geographical names, in recent years we have produced a number of papers with advice for improving the situation (Kladnik and Perko 2017; 2018; 2019) (Figure 10). Among such efforts is also a paper on incorrectly written geographical names on roadside signs (Petek 2013; see Figure 1).

In their efforts to assert their points of view on normative rules, Slovenian geographers have closed ranks and presented concrete proposals (Gams 1972; 1984b; 1984c) that initially were not approved by linguists, and therefore they were not observed in the current version of the normative guide from 2001. Because many factual errors, inconsistencies, and shortcomings occurred in its preparation (Lenarčič 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Kladnik 2005a), which is also a consequence of unfamiliarity with geographical facts in Slovenia and around the world, and, because cooperation between geographers and linguists has gradually strengthened as part of the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names and their mutual trust has increased, geographers are now active in the Commission on Orthography (*Pravopisna komisija*) work in preparing a new Slovenian normative guide.

Among the current linguistic efforts for normatively correct spellings of geographical names and modernizing the normative rules, the history of normative rules for Slovenian is first worth highlighting (Dobrovoljc 2004). Basic principles have also been presented for writing Slovenian geographical names (Šivic-Dular 1989b). Later on, a manual was produced on the normative suitability of spelling proper noun material

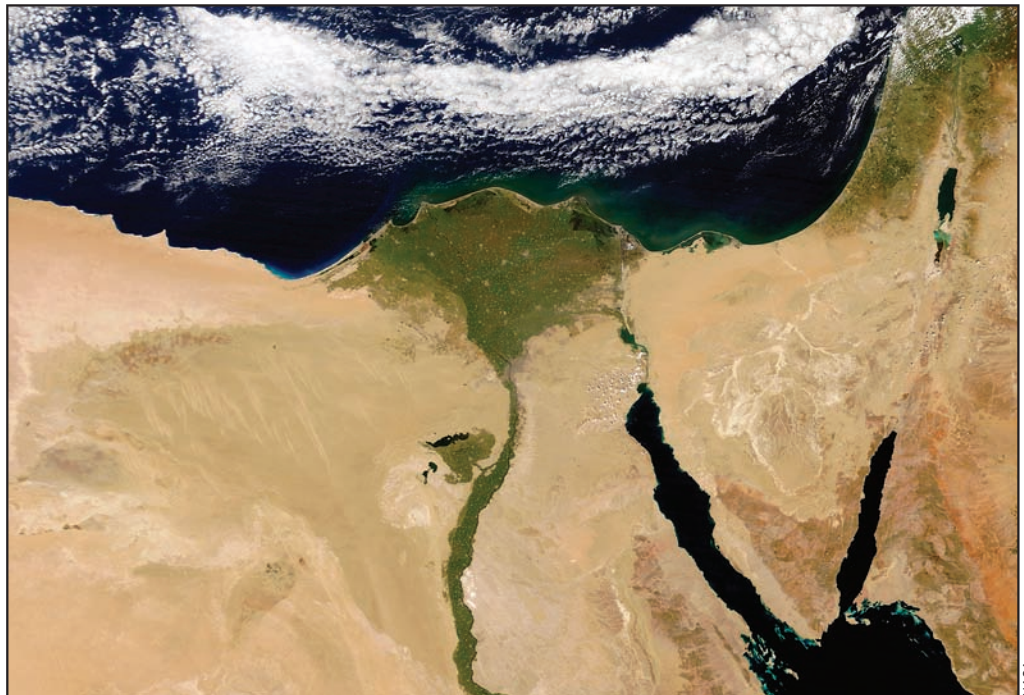


Figure 10: A satellite image of the enormous delta silted in by the Nile River. Slovenian refers to the Nile Delta with the allonyms *Delta Nila* (with an adnominal genitive) and *Nilova delta* (with a denominal possessive adjective); the latter name is gradually replacing the former.

in the Register of Geographical Names (*Register zemljepisnih imen*, REZI) and the Register of Spatial Units (*Register prostorskih enot*) (Furlan, Gložančev and Šivic-Dular 2000).

During preparations to update the current Slovenian normative guide (*Slovenski pravopis* 2001), four volumes have already been published (Dobrovoljc and Jakop 2011; 2012; Dobrovoljc and Lengar Vrhovnik 2015; Dobrovoljc, Černivec and Geršič 2020). Most contributions were written by linguists (Bizjak 2012; Dobrovoljc 2012a; 2012b; Jakop 2012; Jemec Tomazin 2012; Horvat 2015; Torkar 2015), and some were also written by geographers (Kladnik and Perko 2015a; 2015b). Mention must also be made of material produced by the long-term editor Aleš Pogačnik (2012), who, already a decade before that, also published a paper on the phonetic Slovenianization of proper names written in non-Roman scripts (Pogačnik 2003), important for understanding the Slovenianization of foreign geographical names.

The publication *Živim v Bukovem Vrhu pod Bukovim vrhom: O spremembi pravopisnega pravila za pisanje zemljepisnih imen* (I Live in Bukov Vrh below Bukov vrh: a Change to the Normative Rule for Writing Geographical Names) (Dobrovoljc, Černivec and Geršič 2020) (Figures 11 and 12), is dedicated to resolving incessant issues regarding capitalization when writing multiword geographical names. The two introductory papers (Dobrovoljc 2020; Geršič 2020a) are followed by a concise presentation of the five main options and perspectives on them (Černivec 2020). The breadth of perspectives is wide, from the consistent use of capitalization for every single word (e.g., *Most Na Soči* 'Most na Soči', *Novo Mesto*, *Jadransko Morje* 'Adriatic Sea'; Snoj 2020) to capitalization of all words except conjunctions and prepositions (e.g., *Most na Soči*, *Novo Mesto*, *Jadransko Morje*; Furlan 2020; Geršič, Kladnik and Perko 2020; Weiss 2020) to the consistent use of capitalization (except for conjunctions and prepositions) for all names of settlements (e.g., *Most na Soči*, *Novo Mesto*) but not for non-settlements, for which common-noun elements would not be capitalized (e.g., *Jadransko morje*; the use of different rules for names of settlements and non-settlements makes it possible to distinguish them; Dobrovoljc 2020; Lengar Verovnik 2020), to the suggestion that, instead of dividing names into those referring to settlements and non-settlements, introduces a uniform group of geographical names and within it a double manner of capitalization (capitalization of non-initial

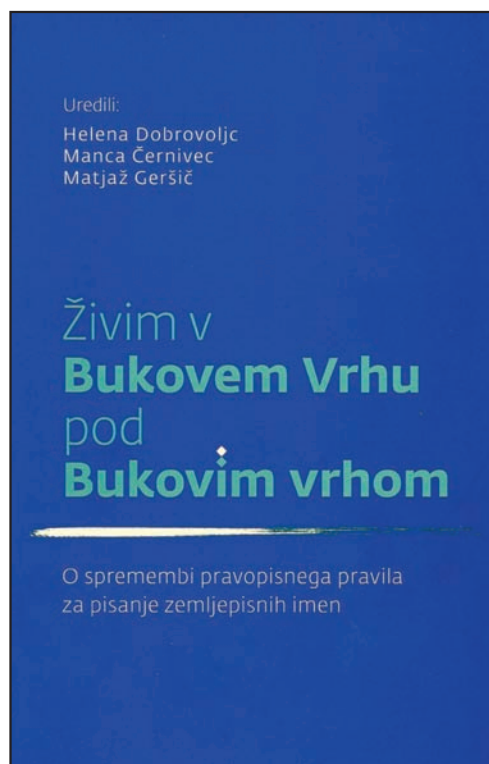


Figure 11: Front page of the latest publication on planned changes to the normative rules for writing geographical names.



MATEVŽ LENARČIČ

Figure 12: To write *Goriška brda*, or *Goriška Brda*, that is the question. Because the current rule is unclear, mistakes often occur when writing the name of the Gorica Hills, a winegrowing area in western Slovenia.

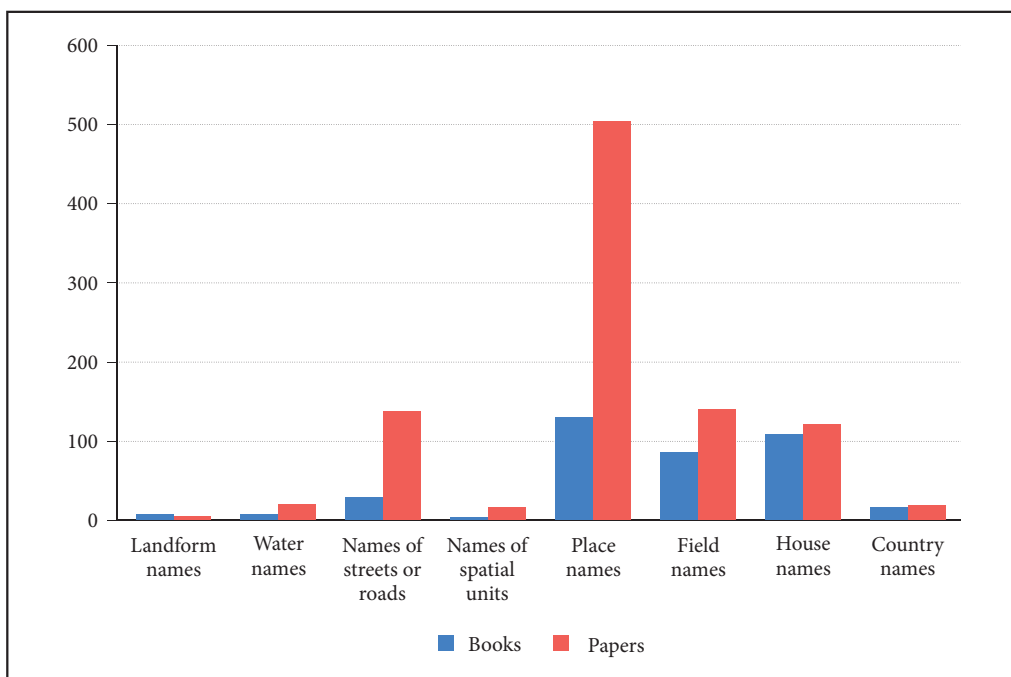


Figure 13: Number of Slovenian research works by type of geographical name in the COBISS database (<https://www.cobiss.si/en/>).

technical expressions for geographical features that have undergone a transfer of meaning and proper nouns, and lower case for non-initial common nouns that are either technical or general expressions; e.g., *Most na Soči*, *Novo mesto*, *Jadransko morje*; Kocjan Barle 2020). Another possibility is for no changes to be introduced and to continue applying the principles from the current normative guide (*Slovenski pravopis 2001*), which, like some of its predecessors, recognizes a division into names of settlements and non-settlements and the (rather complicated) rules connected with them regarding capitalization (Halozan 2020).

To complete this overview of scholarly study, we present the results of an analysis of toponymic works in the Slovenian library information system COBISS (<https://www.cobiss.si/en>) by the semantic type of geographical names studied (Geršič 2016b) (Figure 13). The entire database, which we created by entering suitable keywords (i.e., 'geographical name', 'geographical names', 'toponym', 'toponyms') encompasses 630 books and papers on place names and only five on the names of regions and three on mountain names.

2.3 Geographical names on maps and in atlases of Slovenian territory

Maps are effective graphic tools because they have great communicative value and they help shape people's attitude toward the world, while at the same time revealing the perspective of their creators, publishers, and sometimes also that of a certain nation on the immediate or more distant vicinity – and in many cases also on the entire world. Especially as a tool for presenting the most diverse findings and information, they have long been connected with geographical work. From this stems the traditional perspective on them as an abstraction of reality; namely, they express objective information about the environment we live in (Soini 2001).

When maps themselves are an object of study, the technical and technological aspects of their production are at the forefront. More rarely they are understood as a »text« or as a socially produced form of knowledge. In such cases, they can be treated as the result of a degree of social and cultural development of a particular nation, and they reflect the perspective of their authors or producers on the world on the one hand, and the broader social reality on the other (Dorling and Fairbairn 1997). Namely, older maps reveal the political and cultural character of the periods that they were created in.

Two maps of Carniola and its wider surroundings had already appeared by the late sixteenth century: a 1573 map by Abraham Ortelius and a 1589 map by Gerardus Mercator (Longyka 1999; Gašperič 2007). Like other early maps of Slovenian territory, their cartographic value is not particularly good. This is especially the case for the geographical names on them, which in most cases are non-Slovenian and imprecisely located, making it difficult to compare them with their actual locations today. Among the many toponyms, many of them clearly reveal their Slovenian origins; for example, *Rybnicz* 'Ribnica', *Gabrowicz* 'Gabrovnica', *Dobrauloch* 'Dobrovlje', *Gradina*, *Jama*, and *Krupa*.

The Johann Weikhard von Valvasor's cartographic depiction of the Cerknica Lake area at a scale of approximately 1:25,000 (Figure 14), which is also a supplement to Book Four of *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* (Valvasor 1689c), is one of the first original cartographic works by an author from Slovenia. The majority of geographical names on it are in Slovenian (Kladnik 2018). He also planned to produce a large map of Carniola (Rojc 1990), but he was unable to achieve this before his death. His estate included a more modest 1:500,000 illustration of the map *Carniolia, Karstia, Histria et Windorum Marchia* (Carniola, the Karst, Istria, and the Windic March) (Valvasor 1689a; Longyka 1999). Even though the place names on it are written in German, many of them reveal their Slovenian origin. Valvasor's approximately 1:75,000 map of White Carniola titled *Der Culpstram in Crain* (The Kolpa River in Carniola), which appeared in Book Three of *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, (Valvasor 1689c), is considerably richer in Slovenian geographical names (Longyka 1999). Among the names on it are the settlements of *Tributsch* 'Tribuče', *Gribel* 'Griblje', and *Boiainze* 'Bojanci', and the forest *Velku Bukuie* 'Big Bukovje Woods' (Slovenian: *Veliko Bukovje*).

The first detailed map covering all Slovenian territory with a rather large number of geographical names was *Ducatus Carnioliae Tabula Chorographica* (Chorographic Map of the Duchy of Carniola) at a scale of approximately 1:100,000 (Bohinec 1925; Reisp 1995; Gašperič 2016). It was published in the mid-eighteenth century in twelve sheets by the priest Joannes Disma Florianschitsch de Grienfeld (1744). Because the names on the margins of the individual sheets are written out in full, it is possible to bind it into an atlas. The names are written partially in the Bohoric alphabet and partially in German transcriptions. Many of them are Slovenian, especially the names of smaller settlements, such as *Jernejavas* 'Jerneja vas' and *Primostek*, as well as the field names, such as *Podzhernemoisdo* 'Under the Black Forest' (Slovenian: *Pod*

Črnim Gozdom) in the Jezersko area and *Jeleina draga* (Slovenian: *Jelenja draga*) on the Snežnik Plateau. The names of mountains are also mostly in Slovenian, and among these is the first transcription of the name of Slovenia's highest peak, Mount Triglav (as *Terglou*), and it is the only summit on the map also marked with an elevation (Longyka 1999; Figure 15).

The French natural scientist, ethnologist, and surgeon Balthasar Hacquet (Kranjc 2006) included the approximately 1:360,000 map *Krainška deschela* (Carniola) in his four-volume work *Oryctographia carniolica oder Physikalische Erdbeschreibung des Herzogthums Krain, Istrien, und zum Theil der benachbarten Länder* (Carniolan Mineralogy or a Physical Earth Description of the Duchy of Carniola, Istria, and in Part the Neighboring Lands) (Hacquet and Baraga 1778; Bohinec 1925; Longyka 1999). This was the first thematic geological map of Slovenian territory, and it contained almost exclusively Slovenian geographical names; for example, *Goreinsku* 'Upper Carniola', *Bleid* 'Bled', *Kroppa* 'Kropa', *Vishnagora* 'Višnja Gora', and *Pofstoina* 'Postojna'. Only a few names are bilingual, such as *Celautz oder Klagenfurt* 'Celovec or Klagenfurt', or German, such as *Marburg* 'Maribor'. When someone apparently objected to him about the Slovenian names after the publication of the first volume, Hacquet wrote the following in the introduction to the second volume (cited in Longyka 1999, 471): »Why would I not retain the legitimate Carniolan [i.e., Slovenian] names of the places, instead of inserting garbled German names? After all, if someone described France in German, he would leave the maps in French.«

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, familiarity with the form and characteristics of Slovenian territory was greatly improved thanks to the efforts of individuals motivated by love for their immediate homeland and affiliation to the province they lived in. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the study of onomastics had no ethnic connotations, neither Slovenian nor German. Toponymy was uncharted territory, and so every detailed contribution to local studies and natural science was welcome.

At the end of this period, the state (the Habsburg Monarchy) also launched two major projects: a cadastral survey and a military survey of the entire state. Thus, toward the end of the eighteenth century and

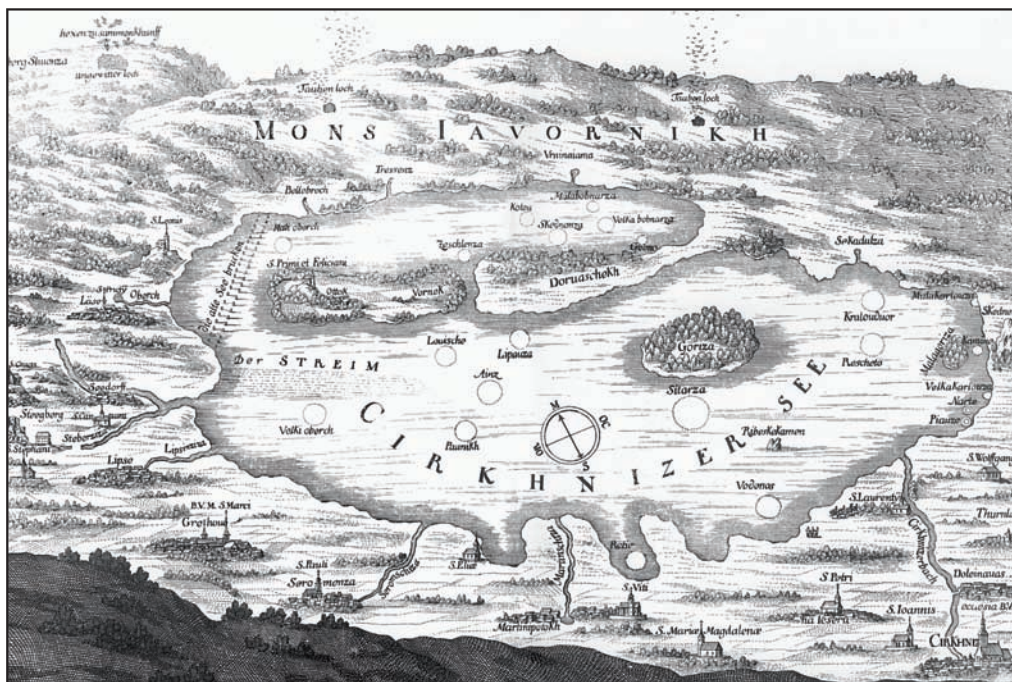


Figure 14: Valvasor's map of Lake Cerknica is oriented to show the area as viewed from Mount Slivnica (1,114 m) north of the lake.

Figure 15: Representation of Mount Triglav (*Terglou*), Slovenia's highest peak, on a detail from Florianschtsch's map from 1744. ►



during the first decades of the nineteenth century, Slovenian ethnic territory was also covered by a precise cadastral maps at a scale of 1:2,880 and detailed military maps at scales of 1:28,800 and 1:75,000 (Longyka 1999). Both the cadastral survey and the military maps – the latter were restricted for a long time and facsimile editions of them with accompanying toponymic descriptions in seven volumes were only published at the end of the twentieth century (Rajšp 1995–2002) – are an inexhaustible source for studying geographical names. By order of Emperor Joseph II, they were labeled in the »language of the land« (Longyka 1999).

Among the more important cartographic products of this era, also because of the latest research on it (Gašperič 2010) and a modern annotated facsimile edition (Gašperič, Orožen Adamič and Šumrada 2012), one cannot overlook the map of the Illyrian Provinces, a political entity under Napoleon Bonaparte with Ljubljana as its capital. At the order of the governor-general of the Illyrian Provinces, Auguste de Marmont, this map was produced in 1812, during the four-year French administration of Slovenian territory, by the military cartographer of Italian origin Gaetano di Palma.

The Idrija native Heinrich Freyer, a versatile natural historian and also the curator of the Ljubljana Provincial Museum (Leban 1954; Topole 2020), published a large 1:113,500 map of the Duchy of Carniola in sixteen sheets in 1846 (Bohinec 1925; Longyka 1999). The map is titled in German as *Special-Karte des Herzogthums Krain* (Detailed Map of the Duchy of Carniola), but the naming of places is mostly in Slovenian, and German names are added only in parentheses; here and there, Slovenian doublets are also given in parentheses. The map also has a bilingual list of Carniolan places and castles, comprising 3,220 alphabetically arranged names of settlements and hamlets (Freyer 1846).

The greatest credit for spatially presenting ethnic Slovenian territory goes to the Gottschee German Peter Kosler, who was educated as a lawyer but went on to study geography and cartography in Italy (Bohinec 1925; Tiran 2016). He was a cofounder of the Vienna Slovenian Assembly (*Slovenski zbor v Beču*), a society dedicated to the goal of uniting all areas where Slovenians lived into an administrative unit called United Slovenia (*Zedinjena Slovenija*), which also created a need for the cartographic presentation of this territory.

Kosler had already collected Slovenian place names by 1848. Based on the anticipated scale of about 1:600,000, it was necessary to collect about five thousand names. Parts of the map were ready the same year; however, the completed map (Kozler 1853) was seized under a court order by Alexander von Bach's interior ministry because (citing Bohinec 1925, 12) »it was greatly alarmed when it saw that the Slovenian nation was so numerous and widespread, and when it saw that Kosler had drawn the desired borders of a united Slovenia so deeply into Carinthia, Istria, and even Hungary.« Permission for a new edition of the map was granted only in 1861. Kosler's only aid was Freyer's map, which had covered only Carniola. Based on information from informants, Slovenian and Slovenianized names were also provided for many places beyond the Slovenian ethnic border, which was marked with a dotted line on the map (Longyka 1999). As a supplement to the map, Kosler wrote his *Kratek slovenski zemljopis* (Concise Slovenian Geography; Kozler 1854), to which he added a gazetteer of Slovenian and German names of settlements.

Slovenian atlas literature has a tradition of nearly a century and a half, now that Matej Cigale's *Atlant* (Atlas, 1869–1877), which had been almost completely forgotten, has been »reborn« in facsimile (Kladnik et al. 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006). This first Slovenian world atlas used many approaches that are in line with modern perspectives on exonymization. The atlas was issued in six fascicles of three sheets each, and so altogether eighteen maps were printed, presenting the world in its entirety (Figure 16) and individual parts of it. The maps were never originally bound into a book, and so they were prone to being lost and they are relatively rare today. Even more rare is a set of all of the maps; only two complete editions are held by the National and University Library in Ljubljana. In the bound version, the maps are ordered thematically, from the perspective of Slovenia outward (Kladnik 2007e; 2009c), rather than chronologically or in the order that they were actually printed, as presented in the facsimile edition (Atlant 2005; Figure 17), for which an index was also produced for all of the geographical names on the maps (Kladnik 2005b).

All the maps in *Atlant* contain 28,075 geographical names and individually labeled generic features, of which 5,907 or 21% are Slovenianized, and among these 4,178 are different (Kladnik 2005b; 2005c). The difficulty of the work in compiling *Atlant* is evidenced by the relatively large number of inconsistent labels for the same feature. This is to be ascribed to the intuitive approach to the work and the time-consuming lithographic printing process, which did not allow Cigale more consistent use of the names and oversight. Thus, for example, Belgium's hilly Ardennes is labeled *Ardene Gorovje*, *Ardenske gore* 'Ardennes Mountains', and *Ardenski gozd* 'Ardennes Forest'; Sri Lanka is labeled *Ceylon* (*Selan ali Sinhala Diva*) and *Ceylon*; Tokyo is labeled *Jeddo* and *Jedo* 'Edo', and Moldavia is labeled *Moldavija*, *Moldova* (*Multanija*), and *Moldavska*.

The name of the Caribbean island of Haiti appears three times in *Atlant*, different every time: *Haiti*, *Hajti*, and *Hajty* (Kladnik 2005c).

Despite its exceptional importance for establishing Slovenian exonyms, later on *Atlant* did not receive the response it deserved. Moreover, in an introductory paper on the development of Slovenian geography in the first issue of the journal *Geografski vestnik*, Valter Bohinec wrote that Cigale saw only philological issues in it. Otherwise, in the geographical sense, »it does not represent any advance; the geophysical aspect is completely neglected, and there is a lack of methodology. Among its eighteen sheets, four of them lack a scale, and the scales of the others differ so much that any kind of comparison is impossible« (Bohinec 1925, 13). *Atlant* was gradually overlooked and almost completely forgotten.

Quite some time passed until the next world atlas was published in Slovenian, which appeared in 1902 and was revised by the historian and geographer Fran Orožen (*Zemljepisni atlas za srednje in ... 1902*; Kladnik 2007e). It contains 1,477 Slovenianized foreign geographical names, of which several dozen are allonyms.

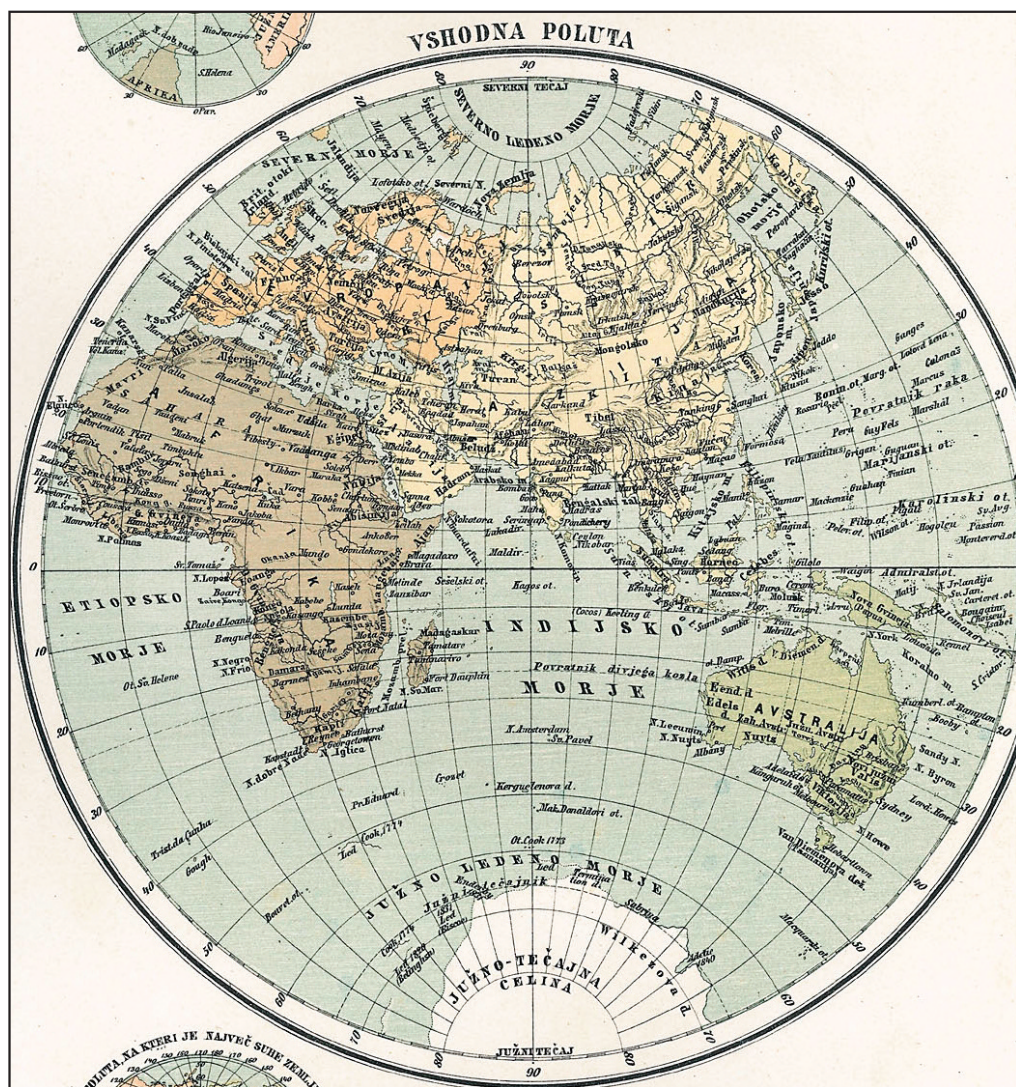


Figure 16: Detail of *Atlant*'s inaugural map, produced in a print run of two thousand in December 1869 (Atlant 2005).

With regard to the semantic type, Slovenianized names of settlements predominate. Both Cigale and Orožen used the common noun *dežela* 'land', which was latter supplanted by *zemlja* as a term of Russian origin via Serbian: *Baffinova dežela* 'Baffin Island', *Ellesmere dežela* 'Ellesmere Island', and *Viktorijina dežela* 'Victoria Island' in the Canadian Arctic Archipelago; *Enderby dežela* 'Enderby Land' and *Viktorijina dežela* 'Victoria Land' in Antarctica; and *Franc Jožefova dežela* 'Franz Josef Land' deep in the heart of the Arctic Ocean. However, for the Argentinian-Chilean island Tierra del Fuego off the southern coast of South America, the Slovenianized name *Ognjena zemlja* (Land of Fire) is found.

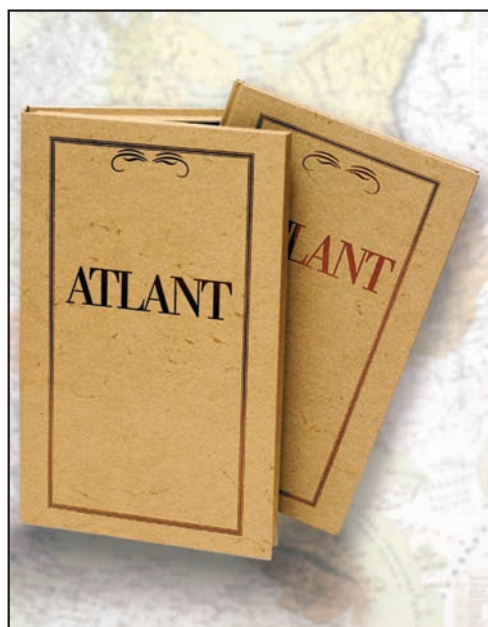
In addition to the wall maps of the Earth's hemispheres, Europe, Austria-Hungary, and Palestine, in 1910 Orožen also adapted a 1:130,000 map of Carniola and the Littoral. He also created the first globe with Slovenian labels, with a scale of 1:50,000,000 (Bohinec 1925).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Slovenian Society wished to supplement the book series *Slovenska zemlja* (Slovenian Territory) with a large map of Slovenian ethnic territory, and so by 1876 it had started the organized collection of Slovenian place names, which continued for several decades. The linguist Maks Pleteršnik played an outstanding role in standardizing the forms of names following the historical-etymological principle (Kranjec 1964; Šivic-Dular 1989a; 2003).

Because of professional disagreements, technical and financial problems, the outbreak of the First World War, the abolition of the Slovenian Society, and other factors (Šivic-Dular 2003), the 1:200,000 map in four sheets was not published until 1921 (Figure 18). a year later, Rikard Svetlič's companion booklet *Kazalo krajev na Zemljevidu slovenskega ozemlja* (Index of Places on the Map of Slovenian Ethnic Territory) was also published (Šivic-Dular 1989a).

In the 1930s, the Geographical Society intensively participated in correcting place names on the topographic maps of the Military Geographical Institute in Belgrade (Kladnik 2018).

After Cigale's *Atlant*, it was not until 1972, when *Veliki atlas sveta* (Great World Atlas) was published by Mladinska Knjiga, that Slovenians had their own world atlas, aside from modest school atlases, which were mostly produced by Croatian presses based on Orožen's school atlases, and during the Second World War the well-known Italian cartographic publisher De Agostini also added its contribution. The De Agostini



MARKO ZAPLATIL

Figure 17: A facsimile of Cigale's *Atlant* was published in a luxury edition in 2005.

Figure 18: Detail of *Zemljevid slovenskega ozemlja* (Map of Slovenian Ethnic Territory), which was published in 1921 after nearly half a century of efforts. ►

atlas (Zemljepisni ... 1941) offers a wealth of Slovenianized foreign geographical names, but what is striking is the nearly consistent ban on the use of Slovenian names in Italian territory. Among cities, only two were permitted to be Slovenianized, written in the form of doublets: *Benetke - Venezia* 'Venice' and *Rim - Roma* 'Rome'; in the second edition, these two also disappeared. There was more Slovenianization for names referring to regions and hills or mountains; for example, *Lombardska nižina* 'Lombard Plains' and *Toskansko-emilijski Apenin* 'Tuscan-Emilian Apennin'.

Veliki atlas sveta (Great World Atlas), published in 1972, was edited by the geographers Jakob Medved and Borut Ingolič. They followed the resolutions of the United Nations conferences regarding reducing the number of exonyms. Strict adherence to this principle in the 1970s and 1980s spurred a disagreement between geographers and linguists, who advocated linguistic autonomy.

The first edition of the best-seller *Atlas Slovenije* (Atlas of Slovenia) was published in 1985. It has a uniform map scale of 1:50,000, it covers all Slovenian ethnic territory, and it is also a treasure trove of geographical names for settlements and non-settlements, spelled based on the Register of Geographical Names (*Register zemljepisnih imen*, REZI). The atlas was revised and reprinted a full ten times, and in 2012 it saw a fundamental expansion of its content as *Veliki atlas Slovenije* 'Great Atlas of Slovenia', whereby it has started to acquire the character of a national atlas. The first Slovenian national atlas was *Geografski atlas Slovenije* (Geographical Atlas of Slovenia; Fridl et al. 1998), published in 1998 (Kladnik 2019b).

More extensive general world atlases were published by various presses in 1991 (*Atlas sveta* 'World Atlas', Cankarjeva Založba), 1992 (*Veliki družinski atlas sveta* 'Great Family World Atlas', DZS), 1997 (*Atlas 2000*, Mladinska knjiga), 2001 (*Družinski atlas sveta* 'Family World Atlas', Slovenska Knjiga), 2003 (*Priročni atlas sveta* 'Reference World Atlas', Mladinska Knjiga), 2004 (*Veliki družinski atlas sveta* 'Great Family World Atlas', Modita), 2005 (*Veliki atlas sveta* 'Great World Atlas', DZS), and 2007 (*Atlantika: Veliki satelitski atlas sveta* 'Atlantica: Great Satellite World Atlas', Mladinska Knjiga). Only the years of publication of the first editions are cited here; the majority of these have also been reprinted. They were also joined by school atlases because under the new market-oriented conditions every self-respecting publisher prided itself on producing its own school atlas (*Geografski atlas za osnovno šolo* 'Geographical Atlas for Primary School', DZS 1998, *Geografski atlas sveta za šole* 'Geographical World Atlas for Schools', Tehniška Založba 2002, *Atlas sveta za osnovne in srednje šole* 'World Atlas for Primary and Secondary Schools', Mladinska Knjiga 2002 and 2010, and *Veliki šolski atlas* 'Great School Atlas', Učila 2003). The great majority of Slovenian atlases rely on originals by major foreign publishers.

Drago Kladnik studied the names in the majority (sixteen) of these atlases in detail and presented them in a dissertation (Kladnik 2006), research papers (Kladnik 2007e, 2009c), and a research volume (Kladnik 2007b). They are also discussed here in the chapter on exonyms (Chapter 9).

From the perspective of geographical names, wall maps and desk maps of Slovenia and Yugoslavia are also important, and especially larger-scale maps. The self-taught cartographer Ivan Selan was involved in nearly all older maps (Žerovnik 2012). Regarding Selan's cartographic charisma, the geographer Igor Longyka wrote that »He is the only one whose maps are known by the draftsman's name; all other cartographic products are known by the names of those that provided the content, not those that produced them« (Longyka 1999, 482).

After the independence of Slovenia in 1991, the Institute of Surveying and Photogrammetry at the Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering, and Surveying produced a desk map of Slovenia (Orožen Adamič and Kladnik 1994). Its special value lay in its consistent use of officially bilingual names in Slovenia and in cross-border areas separated by slashes, and unofficial bilingual names first in their endonym form and then in Slovenianized form in smaller letters.

The last large cartographic project was the production of *Državna topografska karta merila 1 : 25.000* (1:25,000 National Topographic Map, DTK 25). The creation of all 198 sheets covering the territory of Slovenia was concluded in 1999. From 2000 to 2005, an additional fifty sheets were produced and published for *Državna topografska karta merila 1 : 50.000* (1:50,000 National Topographic Map, DTK 50) (Portal Prostor 2018). Associates of the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute were involved in the overview of geographical names on all of these maps.

In principle, the best atlas for users is one in which every name is written in its endonym form, with exonyms provided next to them. Due to limited space on printed maps, complicated linguistic rules, and the various traditions of individual nations, it is impossible to provide such forms in cartographic practice, and so writing names in atlases is usually a compromise between the recommendations of the United

Nations, normative, cartographic, and geographical rules and principles, and the space available on maps (Kladnik 2006). Because of changing perspectives and the search for optimal approaches, it is not surprising that the methods for writing geographical names on maps are constantly changing (Figure 19).

In the overview of important Slovenian creators of atlases and maps, one cannot overlook Blasius Kozenn (Slovenian: *Blaž Kocen*), a leading Austrian cartographer. While he was establishing himself, he was aided by the fact that German cartography had not taken any real interest in the Austrian Empire (Bratec Mrvar 2007; Kunaver 2009; Bratec Mrvar et al. 2011). His school atlas was reprinted a full forty-two times, but never in a Slovenian edition, although there were several Croatian ones (e.g., Kozennov geografski atlas ... 1922). There are also no Slovenian editions among his other maps, but his map of the Alps is important from the perspective of Slovenian toponymy: the Slovenian ethnic border is drawn on it, and in the lower right corner there is a table with German and Slovenian equivalents of eighty-four place names, which is unlike anything found on any other maps in his 1863 atlas (Bohinec 1925; Bratec Mrvar et al. 2011; Figure 20).



Figure 19: The spelling of Slovenian exonyms differs considerably from map to map, which is clear from a comparison of Greece's Chalkidiki Peninsula in *Atlant* (Atlant, 1869–1877), *Veliki družinski atlas sveta* (Great Family World Atlas, 1992), *Družinski atlas sveta* (Family World Atlas, 2001), and *Veliki atlas sveta* (Great World Atlas, 2005).

Figure 20: Detail of Slovenian territory and its surroundings from Kozenn's map of the Alpine countries. The linguistic border on it is marked in light blue. Part of the table with German and Slovenian names of settlements is visible in the lower right corner. ► p. 42–43



3 International and national organization of work on geographical names

Work on geographical names is organized at the global, linguistic-regional, and national levels. Due to its international importance and sensitivity, the umbrella organization is under the direct aegis of the United Nations, through which a wide network of toponym specialists has been established. If needed, these specialists also form interest-based connections. At the regional level, toponym specialists are brought together in linguistic/geographical divisions, where they coordinate national efforts and define potential needs for shared operations. The interests of individual countries in the international community are represented by national toponym bodies, which are also in charge of standardizing geographical names in their national territories.

3.1 The United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names

All these efforts are carefully monitored and directed by an expert association called the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (Slovenian: *Skupina izvedencev Združenih narodov za zemljepisna imena*, UNGEGN), whose several decades of operation have contributed greatly to the standardized use of geographical names across the globe (Internet 1).

At the first International Geographical Congress, held in Antwerp in 1871, it was already decided that all European countries that use the Roman alphabet should respect all the different written forms of geographical names used in individual countries. In addition, placed at the forefront was the need for their standardization at the national level, which would form the basis for international use (Kadmon 2000).

To improve the effectiveness of communication, the UN began systematically solving these issues soon after the Second World War. Initially, these efforts were organized under the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). The first-ever UN document on geographical names was titled *Nomenclature of Geographical Areas for Statistical Purposes* (1948). A year later, this topic was also discussed at a conference on geographical nomenclature for the needs of international standardization held in Lake Success, New York (Kadmon 2000).

The standardization of geographical names and transliteration methods were first discussed in 1955 at the First Regional Cartographic Conference for Asia and the Pacific, where an initiative was presented to establish a working body under the aegis of the UN to produce a universal phonetic alphabet and transliteration method for all the world's alphabets.

In April 1959, the ECOSOC adopted Resolution 715A, requesting that the UN secretary-general encourage those nations that have no national organization for the standardization of geographical names to establish such a body, to produce and disseminate materials on geographical names, especially national gazetteers, to set up a small group of consultants to help with national standardizations, and to convene an international conference on geographical names. Thus, a group of six members was created, which met for the first time in June 1960 in New York under the chairmanship of the American geographer and cartographer Meredith Burrill (Kadmon 2000).

In August 1964, the ECOSOC convened the first Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, which was held in September 1967 at the United Nations headquarters in Geneva. It was attended by 111 representatives and observers from fifty-four countries (Kadmon 2000). The most important resolution of this conference (i.e., Resolution no. I/4) recommended that the ECOSOC convert the ad-hoc Group of Experts on Geographical Names into a permanent body. The resolution's subtitles (i.e., National Names Authorities, Collection of Geographical Names, Principles of Office Treatment of Geographical Names, Multilingual Areas, and National Gazetteers) provide an idea of the fundamental conceptual frameworks that were to ensure successful operation of the national commissions and their closer regional connectivity (Raper 1996; Kadmon 2000; Kladnik 2007b).

Until 2019, the Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names were the highest level of international organization in dealing with geographical names. At the second conference, held in London in 1972, Resolution no. II/3 was adopted. In it, the official name of the UNGEGN was proposed. The name was approved two years later. This was followed by conferences in Athens in 1977, Geneva in 1982, Montreal

in 1987, New York in 1992 and 1998 (the latter was initially planned to take place in Tehran), Berlin in 2002, and New York in 2007, 2012, and 2017 (Kladnik 2007b).

The conferences and their lower organizational structures operate according to the following principles (Horňanský 1992):

- Agreements on non-procedural issues should be reached through consensus and not by vote;
- Conference resolutions and decisions adopted by lower organizational structures have the status of firm recommendations;
- Issues that would interfere with national sovereignty are not discussed;
- The subjects of standardization must take into account the UN resolutions and the following premises:
- Geographical names should be standardized based on research findings about linguistic principles and on available technical means for setting up toponym databases;
- International standardization should use national standardizations as their basis.

When Slovenia joined the UN in 1992, it agreed to respect all the resolutions on geographical names adopted until then. Initially, approximately thirty resolutions were adopted per conference on average, but then their average number halved. So far, the eleven United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names have adopted 211 resolutions (Resolutions adopted ... 2018).

The UN conferences provide the formal framework for standardizing geographical names, but the actual work is performed by individual expert groups, which jointly comprise the UNGEGN as the second international organizational level. From 1960 to 2017, thirty Sessions of the UNGEGN were held: most of them at the UN headquarters in New York (Figure 21) and Geneva, two in Vienna, and individual ones in London, Athens, Montreal, Berlin, Nairobi, and Bangkok (Internet 1).

The aim of standardization is to achieve maximum possible uniformity in the written form of every geographical name in the world by means of national standardization and/or international agreement, including the achievement of equivalences between different writing systems. In principle, using the Romanization system should be as simple and user friendly as possible – that is, the Romanized name forms should be



JOHN GILLESPIE, FLICKR

Figure 21: Most United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names and Sessions of the UNGEGN have been held at the United Nations headquarters in New York.

as easy as possible to write, read, and memorize, as well as to store electronically. These efforts are based on two key principles: 1) a single Romanization system should be prepared for each non-Roman alphabet, and 2) every country has the right to develop and suggest the Romanization system that suits it best (also known as the »donor principle«; Kadmon 2000). So far, at the proposal of the UNGEGN Working Group on Romanization Systems, the UN conferences have confirmed thirty Romanization systems (Internet 4), but some of them are still not being applied.

Every country is expected to compile a standardized list of geographical names written in the form to be used in international communication and other scripts, and other countries are expected to adopt these names in this (original) form and only modify them orthographically, without changing them via transcription (»a method of names conversion between different languages, in which the phonological elements (i.e. the sounds) are recorded in terms of a specific target language and its particular script, normally without recourse to additional diacritics«), transliteration (»a method of names conversion between different alphabetic and syllabic scripts, in which each character of the source script is represented in principle by one character or di- or trigraph, or diacritic, or a combination of these, in the target script«), or (semantic) translation (Kadmon 2000; Natek 2005; Kladnik 2007b).

Also important is the standardization of geographical names beyond a single sovereignty (i.e., names of Antarctic, undersea, and extraterrestrial features).

The 2019 session in New York (Figure 22) heralded the first session of the new body with the old name *Session of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names*, which brought together the tasks, work, and authority of the UN Conferences and UNGEGN Sessions under a single names authority. This means that the conferences previously scheduled every five years will no longer be held, and the newly established body is planned to meet every two years (Internet 3).

UNGEGN's most important tasks include the following (Horňanský 1992; Kadmon 2000):

- Providing support for international cooperation in standardizing geographical names;
- Coordinating international cooperation;
- Performing concrete tasks related to the UN Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names;



STEFANIA MONICA DUMITRAȘCU

Figure 22: A scene from the first Session of the UNGEGN, held in New York in 2019.

- Ensuring continuous work between individual conferences;
- Coordination with the United Nations;
- Providing expert assistance in enforcing the resolutions adopted;
- Establishing regional linguistic/geographical divisions, also in order to facilitate standardization efforts at the national level;
- Coordinating the operations of regional linguistic/geographical divisions;
- Promoting professional cooperation with other international organizations (also) specializing in geographical names;
- Collecting information on the standardization of geographical names;
- Publishing, peer-reviewing, and collecting gazetteers and other publications on toponyms;
- Providing advice to individual members;
- Defining international standardization principles;
- Providing scholarly and technical assistance to developing countries to establish national names authorities;
- Disseminating information, findings, and achievements in all media available.

From the very start, one of UNGEGN's priorities was to produce a uniform toponymic terminology to facilitate mutual communication. Due to insufficient uniformity of some definitions and accuracy of explanations, the absence of certain terms, a lack of concrete examples, and the fact that the definitions were completely adapted to western languages, a decision was made at the Sixth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in 1992 to produce an improved multilingual Glossary of Toponymic Terminology, which the members of the working group on toponymic terminology were to update and review periodically. The last glossary, containing 375 terms ordered alphabetically in six languages, was published in 2002 (Kadmon 2000; 2002); it was later reprinted in an additional twenty languages. Due to the mutually agreed-upon uniformity of terminology, the glossary is a good example of a standardized document in and of itself. The Slovenian version of the glossary was published in December 1995 (Radovan and Majdič 1995a).

Resolution no. IV/4, adopted at the Fourth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in Geneva in 1982, highlighted the need for an international exchange of information on the main facts and achievements of national standardizations. National names or standardization authorities were recommended »to publish and keep up-to-date toponymic guidelines for map and other editors that may enable cartographers of other countries to treat correctly all problems of cartographic toponymy of the countries that produced such guidelines.«

With the 1991 establishment of the Working Group on Toponymic Terminology, it was left to the discretion of the individual countries and their standardization authorities to define the detailed content of the guidelines in accordance with their specific needs on the one hand and the situation on the other. In principle, the toponymic guidelines should include the following information (Kadmon 2000):

- In multilingual countries – the legal status of the different languages used (national, minority, or indigenous languages);
- The legal status of toponyms, including the possible hierarchy of official, standardized, national and minority toponyms;
- Alphabets – or, in countries using non-phonetic writing systems, syllabaries and logographic lexicons – employed with the languages in use in the country, including conversion tables or keys for transliteration from one language to the other or others;
- Conversion tables or keys for the romanization of local script, if this is not the Roman alphabet;
- Rules for the spelling of geographical names including the use of capitalization, abbreviation and the use of diacritics;
- Rules for the hyphenation and alphabetization of geographical names;
- Pronunciation guides which define the articulation of the various characters and diacritics used, thus facilitating correct (or, at least, approximate) utterance of the names in their oral form, especially by persons not conversant with the local language;
- Relationships between languages and dialects and the peculiarities of the different dialects;
- Areal distribution of the different languages and/or dialects;
- Geographical names authorities (national and regional) and their legal status and jurisdiction;
- Source material used in the standardization of geographical names, including information on the relative reliability of different sources;

- Glossaries of generic terms used in toponyms;
- Lists of abbreviations used both in toponyms and in conjunction with them, i.e. with descriptive terms in maps;
- Lists of exceptions from accepted rules;
- Lists of exonyms recommended for application by other countries instead of, or in addition to, domestic names;
- Particulars of typefaces and fonts to be used for particular types of toponyms in maps of different scales;
- Directives for the generalization of toponyms in maps, e.g. by selection according to types of names and to decreasing map scale.

Any other information of relevance, in particular items which result from specific local conditions, whether geographical or linguistic, should be incorporated in the guidelines.

Many countries produced their toponymic guidelines very quickly. Some produced them as separate national publications, and others submitted them as material for the UN conferences. Among Slovenia's neighboring countries, Italy prepared a special publication (Toniolo and Pampaloni 1998) and Austria produced a typescript (Breu et al. 1996). Both also presented the main features of writing geographical names in Slovenian.

Slovenia already published a Slovenian and English version of its toponymic guidelines in 1995 (Radovan 1995; Radovan and Majdič 1995b). This publication is presented in greater detail in Section 4.3.

In recent years, the online accessibility of information on the operations of the names authorities has improved significantly. In addition to general information, the official UNGEGN website (Internet 1) also provides diverse information on working groups, regional linguistic/geographical divisions, national geographical names commissions, and links to various documents and other international organizations that also deal with geographical names – for example, the International Geographical Union (IGU), International Cartographic Association (ICA), International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS), International Society of Photogrammetry and Remote Sensing (ISPRS), International Federation of Surveyors (*Fédération Internationale de Géomètres*, FIG), International Union for Surveys and Mapping (IUSM), International Organization for Standardization (IOS), International Hydrographic Organization (IHO), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), International Astronomical Union (IAU), Universal Postal Union (UPU), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), and others, which either designate geographical names on their own or use the UNGEGN databases. Some organizations send their observers to the UN Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names and other UNGEGN sessions (Kadmon 2000).

The first three international associations mentioned above also hold their own regular conferences on geographical names, which are also actively attended by Slovenian toponymy specialists (Figures 23 and 24). One of the many commissions of the International Geographical Union is the Commission on Toponymy, which is also the name of an International Cartographic Association commission. Their cooperation in recent years has resulted in a very active alliance called the Joint ICA/IGU Working Group / Commission on Toponymy.

3.2 Working groups

Under the umbrella of UNGEGN, various working groups are established through resolutions adopted at a United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names to address the needs for detailed examination of specific thematic areas of geographical names (Internet 4). When a specific working group completes its work, it is disbanded, or it merges with another. However, when new aspects arise requiring detailed expert treatment, the group can be reestablished. Thus, for instance, among the groups already disbanded were the Working Group on Maritime and Undersea Features (its activities were transferred to the International Hydrographic Organization) and the Working Group on Extraterrestrial Topographic Names. Newly created were the Working Group on Pronunciation, and the Working Group on the Promotion of Indigenous and Minority Group Place Names, which later merged into the Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage, and the Working Group on Exonyms.

Nine working groups are currently active (all the descriptions below are described following Internet 4):

The *Working Group on Country Names* was established in 1992, it primarily engages in »monitoring changes in country names; monitoring modifications in romanization systems as they pertain to local



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Figure 23: At the conference on place names changes held by the Joint ICA/IGU Working Group /Commission on Toponymy at the Lincean National Academy in 2014 in Rome, Slovenia presented a paper on street name changes in Ljubljana.



PHOTO BY ORGANIZERS

Figure 24: Participants at the conference Critical Toponymy: Place Names in Political, Historical, and Commercial Landscapes, held by the Joint ICA/IGU Working Group / Commission on Toponymy, the Unit for Language Facilitation and Empowerment at the University of the Free State, and the Department of Language and Literature Studies at the University of Namibia in 2017 in the Namibian capital Windhoek.

official country names; continuing updating and completing local official forms; and comparing existing lists of country names to identify differences and, where possible, to eliminate them.«

The *Working Group on Toponymic Data Files and Gazetteers* was established in its present form in 1998. Its main task is to »promote and provide consultancy and technical advice to national standardization programs ... [and to toponymic training courses including] the development of multipurpose toponymic database solutions in the context of spatial data infrastructures; promote and support the geographical names database of the UNGEGN; maintain liaison with international standardization bodies like the Unicode Consortium regarding digital text encoding in the context of geographical names, the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) and the Open Geospatial Consortium (OGC) with reference to the development of exchange standards for toponymic information and to web (gazetteer) services for the provision of toponymic information through the Internet; provide consultancy and technical advice to the UN-GGIM [United Nations Initiative on Global Geospatial Information Management] activities related to the fundamental data theme 'Geographical Names' as well as to the support of geographical names data to the Agenda 2030, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) monitoring; ... [and] promote, complement and support the 'UNECA Africa GeoNyms database/gazetteer initiative'.«

The *Working Group on Toponymic Terminology* was established in 1991, and its main task is to review and update the glossary of terms used in standardization of geographical names. a revised glossary of toponymic terminology in six languages was published in 2002 and updates were approved in 2007. Since then, the focus of the working group has turned to the development of a terminology database.

The *Working Group on Publicity and Funding* was set up in 1992, and its main tasks are to make the activities of UNGEGN more visible and secure additional funds to support the »publication and dissemination of material relevant to the advancement of geographical names standardization; provision of training for the development and management of geographical names administration; establishment of names authorities; [and] participation of delegates from the Third World in UNGEGN events and activities.« The working group also ensures the maintenance and further development of the UNGEGN website and the Information Bulletin.

The *Working Group on Romanization Systems* has as its main task »to consider and reach agreement on a single romanization system for each non-Roman writing system; the systems are for application to geographical names and should be proposed by a (donor) country. The process requires time for full consultations on technical matters between the Working Group, the proposers and potential users. Romanization systems should be based on sound scientific principles and be implemented by the proposing country. New systems are referred to the UNGEGN for endorsement and are then passed to ECOSOC for resolution and vote before becoming a United Nations standard.« Romanization systems for forty-five non-Roman scripts (currently thirty approved and recommended by the UN) can be downloaded as a pdf file from the group's website (Internet 5).

The *Working Group on Training Courses in Toponymy* »coordinates information on toponymy training courses, and where required assists in the planning and delivery of international courses organized by a host country or UNGEGN Division.«

The *Working Group on Evaluation and Implementation* was established in 1987, then temporarily disbanded in 1992, and reestablished in 2000 to allow for continuity. Its »work plan includes an evaluation of the functioning and efficacy of UNGEGN and the implementation of resolutions and recommendations; finding ways to involve Member States not currently participating in UNGEGN; looking at the needs of countries to achieve national standardization of their geographical names; and proposing actions to increase the effectiveness of UNGEGN, its divisions and working groups. The Working Group maintains the database of resolutions adopted at the former UN Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names.«

The *Working Group on Exonyms* (Figure 25) was established in 2002 (Internet 4). »Various UNGEGN resolutions now exist on the treatment, use and reduction of exonyms in the context of geographical names standardization and effective UN communication. The Working Group encourages progress in addressing these UNGEGN resolutions. As current concrete projects it aims to elaborate a paper noting the current trends in exonym use as well as an inventory of lists of exonyms.«

The *Working Group on Geographical Names as Cultural Heritage* was established in 2012 as a successor to the *Working Group on the Promotion of Indigenous and Minority Group Names*, and also joined by the *Working Group on Pronunciation*. Its tasks are »to set up focus groups in order to be able to allocate tasks to the different experts within the WG; ... to publish documents prepared by the working group,

and to put forward examples of good naming practices; ... [to] make guidelines available, e.g., regarding commemorative naming; to update the maps made during the initial years of the working group, as long as data are provided. ... It would be important to get names used in endangered languages noted on the maps.« For example, recently the working group has done a great deal with regard to reaffirming indigenous names in Australia.

In addition, UNGEGN has a Task Team for Africa and coordinates the work of countries in developing their Toponymic Guidelines for Map and Other Editors for International Use (Internet 9).

With Slovenia's independence, its opportunities for active international cooperation in the standardization of geographical names improved significantly. Slovenian experts began independently and enthusiastically participating in UNGEGN's plenary sessions and its East Central and South-East Europe Division, and especially in the Working Group on Exonyms (Figure 25). This group's first convenor was our late colleague, geographer Milan Orožen Adamič, who also served as a mediator in resolving internationally problematic geographical names (Orožen Adamič 2004). In 2005, the fourth meeting of the Working Group on Exonyms was held in Ljubljana (Pipan 2005), where its twenty-third meeting was also planned to take place in March 2020. This was cancelled at the last minute due to the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic.

3.3 Linguistic/geographical divisions

At the First United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, held in Geneva in 1967, a recommendation was adopted for the permanent committee on geographical names to also include representatives of every linguistic/geographical division. Fourteen regional divisions were defined at that time, but later new ones were established, or changes were made to the composition of the existing ones. An important procedural principle developed along the way; namely, that at the division's meetings and the UNGEGN plenary sessions every participant is regarded as a representative of an individual country rather than an expert. This led to the rule that decisions within the regional divisions are to be made either through consensus or a majority vote by the representatives of individual divisions rather than the majority



GATIS DIEZINS

Figure 25: Participants at the 2018 meeting of the Working Group on Exonyms in Riga, Latvia.

of attending experts. Specifically, every member state can appoint one or several experts to attend the UNGEGN plenary sessions, but this body operates based on the affiliation with the linguistic/geographical divisions, where each division has one vote (Kadmon 2000).

In line with the UNGEGN statute and rules of procedure, every country can decide for itself which division it wishes to belong to; it can be a member of several divisions at the same time. Each division, if composed of more than one sovereign state, selects a chair (i.e., an expert) to represent the division. This chair promotes activities in the standardization of geographical names within the division by all appropriate means envisaged by UNGEGN. To discuss technical and procedural matters, a division may hold regional meetings. A chair can be invited to attend meetings of other divisions in the capacity of an observer or consultant. Only one division is composed of one sovereign state: China. Israel held the same status as the only representative of the East Mediterranean Division until 1998, when it was joined by Cyprus, and the Soviet Union also had such a status until its collapse in 1990.

With the establishment of nine new regional linguistic/geographical divisions and the disbandment of the Soviet Union Division, from 1967 to 1998 their number increased to twenty-two. With later partial reorganizations and the establishment of the Pacific South-West Division and the Portuguese-Speaking Division, their number has grown to the current twenty-four. They are listed below together with their member states, following an established order. The year of establishment of their official names authority is added to the names of some countries (Kadmon 2000; Kladnik 2007c; Internet 2):

1. **Africa Central Division** (Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (the), Democratic Republic of the Congo (the), Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rwanda, and Sao Tome and Principe);
2. **Africa East Division** (Botswana 1967, Burundi, Djibouti, Eswatini, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar 1973, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Seychelles, Sudan (the) 1996, Uganda 1995, United Republic of Tanzania (the), Zambia, and Zimbabwe);
3. **Africa South Division** (Botswana 1967, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa 1998, Zambia, and Zimbabwe);
4. **Africa West Division** (Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia (the), Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger (the), Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo);
5. **Arabic Division** (Algeria 1998, Bahrain, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan 1984, Kuwait, Lebanon 1962, Libya 2000, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman 1983, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, State of Palestine, Sudan (the) 1996, Syrian Arab Republic (the) 1996, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates (the), and Yemen);
6. **Asia East Division** (other than China) (Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the), Japan, and Republic of Korea (the) 1958);
7. **Asia South-East Division** (Bhutan, Brunei Darussalam 1976, Cambodia, Indonesia 2001, Lao People's Democratic Republic (the), Malaysia 2002, Myanmar, Philippines (the), Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand 1992, and Viet Nam 2002);
8. **Asia South-West Division** (other than Arabic) (Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Cyprus 1977, Iran (Islamic Republic of) 2000, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkey, and Turkmenistan);
9. **Baltic Division** (Estonia 1994, Latvia, Lithuania 1990, Poland 1934, and Russian Federation (the) 1994);
10. **Celtic Division** (France and Ireland 1946);
11. **China Division** (China 1977);
12. **Dutch- and German-Speaking Division** (Austria 1968, Belgium, Germany 1959, Netherlands (the), South Africa 1998, Suriname, and Switzerland);
13. **East Central and South-East Europe Division** (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria 1951, Croatia 2020, Cyprus 1977, Czechia 2001, Georgia, Greece, Hungary 1989, Montenegro, Poland 1934, Romania, Serbia 2009, Slovakia 1971, Slovenia 1986, North Macedonia 1984, Turkey 2004, and Ukraine 1994);
14. **Eastern Europe, Northern and Central Asia Division** (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bulgaria 1951, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation (the) 1994, Tajikistan, Ukraine 1994, and Uzbekistan);
15. **East Mediterranean Division** (other than Arabic) (Cyprus 1977 and Israel 1951);
16. **French-Speaking Division** (Algeria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Canada 1897, Chad, Congo (the), Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of the Congo (the), Djibouti, France, Guinea, Lebanon 1962, Madagascar 1973, Mali, Morocco, Niger (the), Romania, Senegal, Spain, Switzerland, Togo, and Tunisia);
17. **India Division** (Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Nepal, and Pakistan);

18. **Latin America Division** (Argentina 1983, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic (the), Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Spain, Suriname, Uruguay, and Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of) 1989);
19. **Norden Division** (Denmark (including Greenland and Faroe Islands) 1910, Finland 1975, Iceland 1935, Norway 1979, and Sweden 1974);
20. **Pacific South-West Division** (Australia 1985, Fiji, Nauru, New Zealand 1946, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Timor-Leste, Tonga, and Vanuatu);
21. **Portuguese-Speaking Division** (Angola, Brazil, Cabo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe, and Timor-Leste);
22. **Romano-Hellenic Division** (Andorra, Belgium, Canada 1897, Cyprus 1977, France, Greece, Holy See (the), Italy, Luxembourg, Monaco, Portugal, Republic of Moldova (the), Romania, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey);
23. **United Kingdom Division** (Guyana, Jamaica, New Zealand 1946, South Africa 1998, and United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (the));
24. **USA/Canada Division** (Canada 1897 and United States of America (the) 1890).

The first national geographical names authority was established in the United States of America in 1890, followed by the Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names in 1897. In Europe, the first geographical names authority was established by Denmark in 1910 (Kadmon 2000). For now, many countries still do not have their own names authorities.

The legal status of national commissions varies greatly across the globe. Some countries have independent toponymic authorities established especially for this purpose, and elsewhere such tasks are performed by surveying and cartographic institutions, geographical institutes, or – like in Greece, Italy, and the United Arab Emirates – military geographical institutions. Even if a commission has an official status in a specific country, this does not necessarily mean that geographical names hold a legal status, which would result in changing their status from standardized into official. An official status means that geographical names holding such status are protected by law and cannot be changed or interfered with in any other way without judicial approval.



Figure 26: A session of the East Central and South-East Europe Division (ECSEED) in Ljubljana in 2015.

Slovenia belongs to the East Central and South-East Europe Division (ECSEED). More active members of this division also include the Czechia, Hungary, Greece, Poland, and Slovakia, whereas others, such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, do not even have their own national names authorities yet (neighboring Croatia only obtained one in 2020). In setting up their commissions for the standardization of geographical names, both Croatia and Serbia consulted the Slovenian commission, inquiring about its experience. In 1999, 2001, and 2015, the ECSEED sessions were held in Ljubljana (Figure 26), also because Slovenia has already chaired this division several times.

3.4 The Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names

National standardization is the basic precondition for the international standardization of geographical names. To this end, every country should establish a names or standardization authority responsible for the professional treatment of geographical names. This authority must be authorized for standardization and prepare guidelines for its implementation. It should include experts in linguistics, geography, history, geodesy, cartography, and other disciplines, if needed.

As part of Yugoslavia, Slovenia long remained without its own names authority. As a federation of six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia) and two autonomous regions within the Republic of Serbia (Vojvodina and Kosovo), for a long time Yugoslavia was among the few influential countries in the world that did not have their own geographical names commission. However, it nonetheless attended the plenary United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names, and so its participants occasionally informed the interested professional community about the main tendencies in the international standardization of geographical names (Peterca 1984; Zašov 1984). The federal government only issued a decree establishing a (Yugoslav) commission for the standardization of geographical names in 1986. However, this commission was never constituted and it never began operation. The content of this decree was problematic because it did not envisage that representatives of the names authorities from individual republics would also participate in the commission as full members (Rotar 1991).

The Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia was the first to establish such an authority in 1984. The Slovenian commission was set up in November 1986. Its first chair was Peter Svetik. Thus, Yugoslavia did not have an official names authority, but two of its republics did; however, they could not directly participate in the international activities for the standardization of geographical names because they did not have the authorization required for it (Kladnik 2007b).

This resulted in an interesting paradox, in which international communication on geographical names took place at the federal level, but the concrete treatment of geographical names was in the hands of the relevant institutions in individual republics (Gams 1984c). In principle, these institutions were also more interested in UNGEGN's achievements, but the problem was that the information they received was sparse and deficient. This was reported by Jakob Medved (1969, 16): »The introduction of new principles in writing foreign geographical names in our country [Yugoslavia] has only just begun, whereas many other countries have already fully established these principles. This lagging behind the international development primarily results from the fact that our country is only formally cooperating with the UN international commission for geographical names; we were represented by Dr. [Vladimir] Velebit. As far as I know, our geographers are not involved in this commission and we do not receive any literature on individual countries' general decisions and views on writing their geographical names. Even though the [UN] commission has been active for nearly two decades, its work is practically unknown in our country. We can only identify it from the results in modern geographical atlases published by various publishers in Western Europe and partly also Eastern Europe.«

In Slovenia, the greatest efforts for standardizing geographical names were made by geographers. Already in the early 1970s, a special commission for geographical names was set up as part of the Slovenian Geographical Society. In 1984, the Association of Slovenian Geographical Societies proposed to the Republic Committee for International Cooperation that a commission for the standardization of geographical names should be established in Slovenia. a similar proposal was also submitted to the Republic Committee for

Culture by the Republic Mapping and Surveying Authority a year later. There was no reply from either of the committees.

It was only at the proposal of the Republic Mapping and Surveying Authority sent to the Executive Council of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in June 1986 that the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names was established in November that same year (Rotar 1991). During its first term of office, in addition to dealing with procedural issues, the commission standardized the names of countries and some dependent territories and produced recommendations on the proposed amendments to the names of settlements and streets.

In 1990, the commission and its members were reappointed. After Slovenia's transition from communism, this was common practice for all commissions established by the government. Due to staff changes and the reorganization of bodies within the commission, it ceased to operate between 1992 and 1995 (Pogorelčnik 1999).

Because Slovenia became independent and joined the United Nations in the meantime, the republic commission had to be converted into a national authority for the standardization of geographical names. To this end, a group of experts produced a suitable initiative that Ema Pogorelčnik at the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority then reworked into a proposal. This initiated the procedure for setting up a national names commission (Perko 1995).

On September 14th, 1995, the Slovenian government adopted the decision to establish the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names (hereinafter: the commission) and it appointed its members. Since then, the commission's headquarters have been at the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute. At its first meeting on September 26th, 1995, Milan Orožen Adamič was elected as chair. In addition to geographers and linguists, its members also included geodesists, cartographers, historians, statisticians, and lawyers.



MARKO ZAPLATALI

Figure 27: Members (some absent) of the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names in 2020. Sitting (from left): Dalibor Radovan, Irena Grahek, Simona Bergoč, Metka Furlan, and Marija Brnot. Standing (from left): Drago Perko, Helena Dobrovoljč, Matjaž Geršič, and Drago Kladnik.

It was first constituted as the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names in February 2001. It was defined as a permanent working body of the Slovenian government, which at that time comprised sixteen members from eight institutions.

In March 2005, the Slovenian government adopted a decision to disband approximately forty government commissions to increase efficiency, including the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names. However, because by that time the commission had already been firmly embedded in UNGEGN's international structures and the organization of an already previously planned session of the Working Group on Exonyms in Ljubljana had already been well underway, its chair intervened with the government, resulting in the government proposing that the commission be reestablished immediately.

All the institutions involved in the commission until then were called upon to each propose a representative for the new commission. In addition to the ZRC SAZU institutes, representatives were proposed by the Surveying and Mapping Institute of Slovenia, the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority, the Slovenian Institute for Standardization, the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts, and the Slovenian Statistical Office. The Office for the Organization and Development of Administration at the Ministry of the Interior and the Foreign Ministry did not send proposals. A representative of the Slovenian Language Division at the Ministry of Culture was newly invited to join the commission. The new commission was established in September 2005.

Milan Orožen Adamič continued to serve as its chair. When he was appointed Slovenian ambassador in Zagreb in 2005, his position was temporarily filled by Drago Perko, who at that time headed the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute. Milan Orožen Adamič continued to serve as its formal chair until December 2017, when he was replaced by Matjaž Geršič (Figure 27).

To reexamine the names of countries and dependent territories systematically and in detail, in 2003 the commission set up a Sub-Commission for Country Names composed of (up to six) linguists and geographers. Its convener is Drago Perko. After two years of regular meetings, the sub-commission proposed a list of Slovenian short, official short, and official full names of countries and those dependent territories that do not yet possess full political independence or sovereignty but remain politically outside the controlling's state integral area. The commission has standardized these names, but, with the new Slovenian normative guide being prepared, there is a need to harmonize them with the names in the normative guide because quite a few differences have been established (Kladnik and Perko 2007; 2013c; 2015a).

In June 2006, the commission adopted its revised rules of procedure, which, among other things, provide the following:

- The commission is a permanent body of the Government of the Republic of Slovenia in charge of standardizing all geographical names in Slovenia and geographical names in Slovenian outside Slovenia;
- Professional and operational tasks for the commission are performed by the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute, which must provide for suitable staff to carry out the professional tasks required; If needed, it can seek assistance from external experts;
- The commission's program of work is defined in the annual program that it submits to the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority for its annual work program.

The purpose of the commission is to establish order in the use of geographical names, to ensure that they are maintained and written correctly in terms of linguistics, etymology, history, and geography, to prevent the duplication of names, particularly settlement names, and to provide advice in creating street names. Other important tasks of the commission include finding solutions to current issues at the proposal of individual petitioners, monitoring developments in the standardization of geographical names, and actively cooperating in international geographical names bodies and associations.

However, the commission's fundamental task is the standardization of geographical names in Slovenia (endonyms) and Slovenianized foreign geographical names or exonyms. The purpose of standardization is to define the written form of geographical names and to achieve uniform usage of endonyms and exonyms. In this regard, the commission:

- Adopts expert standardization documents, thus guiding and coordinating the standardization of geographical names in Slovenia;
- Examines and proposes accurate written forms of geographical names in line with the standardization documents;
- Informs the public of developments in standardization and the use of standardized geographical names;

- Conveys data on standardized and other geographical names to the Slovenian Mapping and Surveying Authority, which keeps a database on geographical names with similar attributes (geographical name, location, semantic type, and so on);
- Takes part in verifying the geographical names in the Register of Geographical Names (REZI);
- Processes geographical names linguistically (providing a suitable written form, listing any allonyms);
- Examines geographical names in Slovenia's bilingual areas (Figure 28);
- Operates in line with the resolutions (recommendations) adopted by the United Nations Conferences on the Standardization of Geographical Names;
- Presents initiatives to the national standardization institute for producing and adopting a new national standard on the appropriate use of geographical names;
- Produces annual reports on its work and submits them the Slovenian Mapping and Surveying Authority at the Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, which provides funding for its expert tasks, at the beginning of each year.

With regard to the expert treatment of geographical names and their standardization, the commission:

- Adopts the criteria for writing and using geographical names in Slovenian and minority languages in Slovenia;
- Adopts the criteria for writing and using geographical names in Slovenian in territories outside Slovenia where members of the Slovenian minority live;
- Adopts the criteria for writing and using foreign geographical names in Slovenian;
- Cooperates with the national standardization institute and its technical committee responsible for the standardization of geographical names by presenting initiatives for adopting new standards;
- Approves geographical names, which thereby acquire the status of standardized names;
- Issues standardization documents on geographical names.

With regard to scholarly treatment of geographical names, the commission:

- Takes into account and stimulates technological and methodological innovations and research in its field;



Figure 28: A consultation between representatives of the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names and representatives of the Hungarian ethnic community regarding the standardization of Hungarian geographical names in the ethnically mixed area in Prekmurje.

- Follows up on initiatives for writing geographical names correctly and proposes suitable solutions;
- Keeps abreast of and takes into account specialized terminology and coordinates it with the toponymic recommendations, glossaries, and standards already adopted;
- Produces expert opinions and reviews on geographical names for institutions in Slovenia and abroad;
- Produces comprehensive lists of geographical names collected from a wide range of sources that form the basis for standardization (for individual types of names and for specific areas);
- Cooperates with other disciplines, institutions, or individuals, applying both an interdisciplinary and scholarly approach to resolving toponym-related challenges.

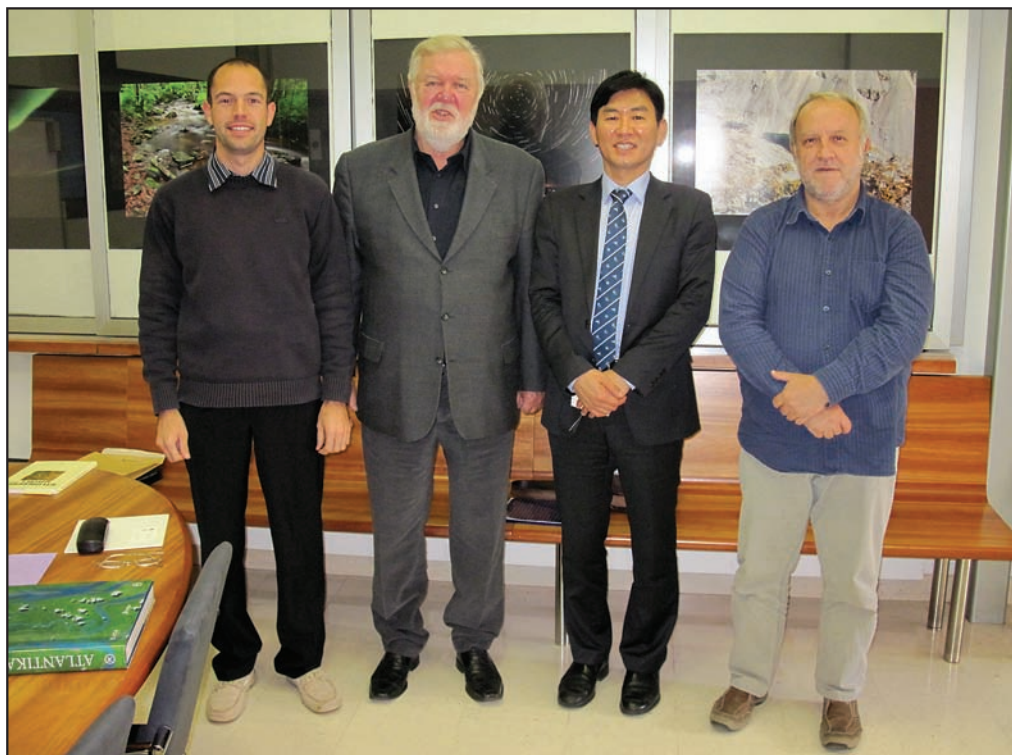
Internationally, the commission:

- Cooperates with other countries in resolving common issues related to geographical names (Figure 29);
- Takes an active part in UNGEGN, its working groups, and its East Central and South-East Europe Division;
- Produces views on geographical names on behalf of Slovenia and conveys them to suitable international institutions;
- Reports on its work at UNGEGN meetings and the meetings of the East Central and South-East Europe Division.

To promote the discipline, the commission:

- Promotes the correct use of standardized and other geographical names on maps and in other documents, as well as in all other situations in which such names appear;
- Reports on its work and explains its importance in research and popular publications and the media.

The Commission issues publications in printed and digital formats. The publications follow the recommendations from the resolutions of the relevant UN conferences on publishing materials and the latest findings of the UNGEGN working bodies, while informing the Slovenian and international professional



PRIMOŽ PIPAN

Figure 29: A meeting of representatives of the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names and representatives of the South Korean embassy in Vienna, which is also accredited to Slovenia. The topic discussed: the Japanese–Korean dispute over the name *Sea of Japan versus East Sea*.

community of the main developments important for the correct use of geographical names and their international standardization.

Soon after the commission's re-establishment in 1995, the following two works were published: *Slovar toponimske terminologije* (Dictionary of Toponymic Terminology; Radovan and Majdič 1995a) and *Toponimska navodila za Slovenijo* (Toponymic Guidelines for Slovenia; Radovan 1995). The latter was also published in English (Radovan and Majdič 1995b). One of the first successful projects after the commission's re-establishment was a new standardization of country names (Perko 1996b). Not long after, *Imenik uradnih imen naselij v Sloveniji* (Gazetteer of Official Settlement Names in Slovenia; Gabrovec and Perko 1997) was produced as part of standardizing the names of settlements. In 1997, efforts also began toward achieving uniform usage of Slovenian exonyms (Orožen Adamič 1998; Kladnik 1999a; 2001b). In 1998, the expert report *Standardizacija zemljepisnih imen v Sloveniji* (Standardization of Geographical Names in Slovenia; Orožen Adamič 1998) was published, followed by a Slovenian adaptation of the UN resolutions on geographical names in 1999 (Radovan and Orožen Adamič 1999). The publication *Pravopisno ustrezen zapis zemljepisnih in stvarnih lastnih imen v registru zemljepisnih imen in registru prostorskih enot* (Orthographically Correct Representation of Proper Nouns in the Register of Geographical Names and the Register of Spatial Units; Furlan, Gložančev and Šivic-Dular 2000; 2001) is especially relevant in terms of the standardization of Slovenian endonyms. The Slovenian-English *Zgoščeni imenik zemljepisnih imen Slovenije* (Concise Gazetteer of Slovenia; Perko 2001), which contains a list of geographical names from the 1:1,000,000 map of Slovenia, is important in terms of the correct use of Slovenian geographical names abroad. In it, all geographical names in Slovenian territory have been standardized. The year 2008 saw the publication of the *National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia at the Scale 1:250,000: Standardized Slovene Geographical Names* (Furlan et al. 2008), whose reverse side contains a list of all the names used on the map. All the 4,272 geographical names in Slovenian territory have been standardized, along with a few exonyms in Slovenia's immediate vicinity.

The commission has its own website (<https://www.gov.si/zbirke/delovna-telesa/komisija-za-standardizacijo-zemljepisnih-imen>), where various lists, toponymic guidelines, recommendations, and other documents that the commission has produced over the past thirty-five years are accessible in electronic form.

4 Treatment of Slovenian geographical names in normative works

The first work in which geographical names are precisely broken down by the types of features they name was written in the early nineteenth century. It is an 1826 study by Urban Jarnik: *Andeutungen über Kärntens Germanisierung* (Notes on the Germanization of Carinthia). The author determines the Germanization of many names in which the semantic motivation is Slovenian common nouns (Šivic-Dular 2002).

Within Indo-European linguistics and other disciplines, scholarly development of onomastics began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Slavic and Slovenian onomastics developed primarily through studies in this field by Franz Miklosich: *Die Bildung der slavischen Personennamen* (The Formation of Slavic Personal Names, 1860), *Die Bildung der Ortsnamen aus Personennamen im Slavischen* (Formation of Place Names from Personal Names in Slavic Languages, 1864), and *Die slavischen Ortsnamen aus Appellativen I, II* (Slavic Place Names from Common Nouns Parts 1 and 2, 1872 and 1874, respectively). His comparative grammar (Jakopin 1990; Šivic-Dular 2002) is also important for the study of Slovenian common and proper nouns.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a significant amount of onomastic material was also collected by non-linguists, primarily the historians France Kos (rent rolls, historical topography), Pavle Blasnik, and Ivan Zelk (historical topography); later in the century they were joined by Milko Kos. The Croatian etymologist Petar Skok (Jakopin 1990) was active at the same time, and he left a very important mark on Slovenian onomastics (Jakopin 1990). The reasons for the increased interest in the subject at the time probably lie mainly in Miklošič's studies, but also in the publication of the first Slovenian gazetteers, such as Peter Kosler's 1864 *Imenik mest, trgov in krajev zapopadenih v zemljevidu slovenske dežele* (Gazetteer of Towns, Markets, and Places on the Map of Slovenian Territory), and the publication of historical sources with records of names older than those in Valvasor's seventeenth-century works (Šivic-Dular 2002). Thus, Kosler is considered the first »geographer« to deal with Slovenian geographical names. a few years later saw the publication of *Atlant*, the world's first atlas in Slovenian, which is important mainly in terms of its treatment of exonyms, or Slovenianized foreign geographical names (Atlant 2005; Kladnik et al. 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006; Perko et al. 2013; Kladnik and Geršič 2016).

4.1 Slovenian normative guides

Until Slovenian came into wider use, the rules for writing geographical names leaned heavily on German normative rules. There were not many geographical names in early texts, and names from the Bible predominated. Geographical names do appear, however, in the first books printed in Slovenian, such as Primož Trubar's *Catechismus* of 1575. His recorded names can be used to determine some normative rules connected with geographical names. In two-word settlement names, for example, Trubar capitalized both elements (Weiss 2020).

The first Slovenian normative guide was produced by Fran Levec in 1899 (Figure 30). It was published in Vienna, the capital of Austria-Hungary, to which the majority of Slovenian territory, as part of Cisleithania, belonged. Levec looked to the Croatian normative guide by Ivan Broz as a model, but he also took into account Maks Pleteršnik's Slovenian–German dictionary and some suggestions from Stanislav Škrabec (Dobrovoljc 2018a).

In his work, Levec devoted significant attention to geographical names in various sections. He also gave them their own subsection in the part about declining proper nouns. Among other things, he noted that in addition to the written declension rules it was important to listen to local dialects because sometimes the correct declension may differ from the established model. In the section on derivation, place names are mentioned under adjectives. In some, especially two-word names, adjectives are also reflected in place names. In the same section, Levec also discusses the borrowing of foreign names. First, he explains the general rules, the reasons for bringing foreign words into Slovenian, and the principles of how to spell them. Thereafter, he deals with names from individual languages separately, distinguishing between Greek, Latin, German, Hungarian, Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, and Slavic names.

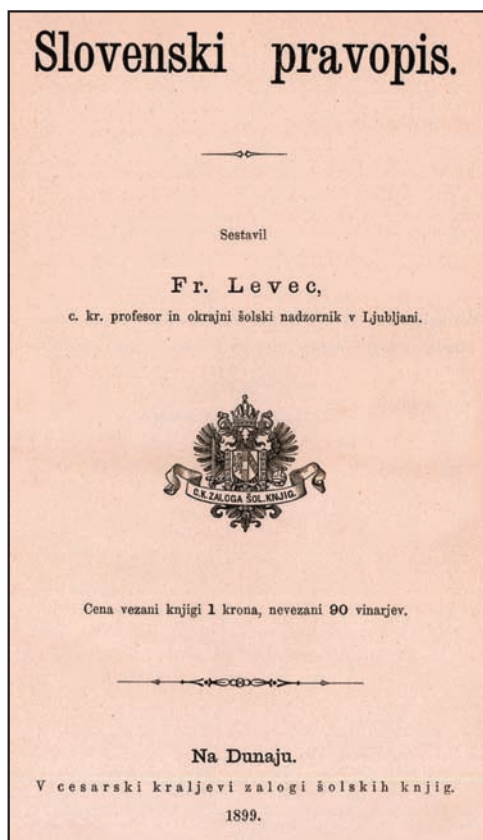


Figure 30: The title page of the first Slovenian normative guide.

In all groups of names, Levec gives rules for Slovenianizing them and also mentions many Slovenian exonyms, pointing out that only established exonyms are allowed. He believed that some Slovenianized forms should be allowed only in books intended for ordinary readers and that young people that do not know how to read foreign letters (Levec 1899).

Levec's normative guide mentions a few other interesting details regarding geographical names. He mentions that some people needlessly change geographical names; for example, using *Štefanova vas* (literally 'Štefan's village') instead of *Štepanja vas* ('Štepan's village') or substituting the word *sveti* 'saint' for the word *šent* (also 'saint'). He also touches upon the use of hyphens in multiword geographical names (Levec 1899).

Anton Breznik's normative guide came out in 1920. By this time, Slovenian had become more established, which affected general linguistic and cultural awareness. Breznik's guide is restricted to the treatment of orthographic rules in the narrower sense, but it has been very influential. Some of its principles remained unchanged for more than forty years (Dobrovoljc 2018a; 2018b).

Geographical names are found already in the first section of Breznik's normative guide, which describes capitalization rules. In the general guidelines, the author writes that proper nouns, among which some examples of geographical names are given, are capitalized. When geographical names are composed of an adjective and a type of noun that is already a proper noun in and of itself, both words are capitalized. If the geographical name is composed of an adjective and a common noun, the noun is not capitalized. This group also includes names of streets, suburbs, lakes, plateaus, valleys, and a few other features. Breznik also looked to common usage for this differentiation between proper and common nouns. That is, if the locals also use the noun by itself without the adjective, it is treated as a proper noun. He also warns against writing two-word names without a space. However, if a name is composed of three or more words, the proper nouns are capitalized and the common nouns are not.

Breznik also gave special consideration to foreign proper nouns, which were to be written in accordance with the rules in their languages. He paid special attention to geographical names with the adjective *šent* or *sveti* 'saint'. If the adjective *šent* has been completely joined to a proper noun, such that they create a single word, it can be written in two ways: an abbreviated version (e.g., *Št. Vid*, literally 'Saint Vitus'), or in its traditional form (e.g., *Šentvid*, not *Šent Vid*). The adjective *sveti* can also be written two ways, either abbreviated (e.g., *Sv. Lovrenc*, literally 'Saint Lawrence') or the usual way (e.g., *Sveti Lovrenc*). In some cases, the adjective *šent* has become an inseparable fused element of the name and it cannot be separated from the name (e.g., *Števerjan*, *Šenčur*, referring to Saint Florian and Saint George, respectively). In deciding upon the usage of the adjectives *sveti* or *šent*, the local usage should be taken into account.

The normative guide that appeared in 1935, which was produced by Anton Breznik and Fran Ramovš, looked to its predecessor of fifteen years prior for guidelines. In it, the term *krajevno ime* 'place name' was finally established for what is now the well-established term *zemljepisno ime* 'geographical name'. The revised 1937 edition eliminated some of the substantive inconsistencies that led to extensive criticism of the original version (Dobrovoljc 2015a).

The first section on capitalization in the 1935 normative guide was largely a copy of its predecessor from 1920, including the same examples. In spelling and declining foreign proper nouns, Breznik and Ramovš's guide looked to the 1899 normative guide, stating that foreign proper nouns could be written in Slovenian either in their foreign or Slovenianized forms. It goes on to discuss exonyms, stating that Slavic names or forms should be used when they are available for foreign place names, but at the same time it advises against forced Slovenianization. Some Slovenian exonyms were recognized as archaic even then (e.g., *Inomost* 'Innsbruck', *Frankobrod* 'Frankfurt'). Then it gives rules for spelling and examples for declining Slavic proper nouns, and examples for classical Greek and Latin, and for other languages.

In 1950 a new normative guide came out, which was a revised edition of the 1935 Breznik–Ramovš normative guide. Its new features are mainly related to the Yugoslav communist system after the Second World War (Dobrovoljc 2015b). This time, too, the discussion of geographical names takes place first in the section on capitalization, and thereafter a special section is devoted to them. The discussion of a few different types of place names is followed by the rules for spelling compound names, in which the guide distinguishes between names containing a modifier and names containing an adjective. In the case of a modifier (e.g., *Ljudska republika Slovenija* 'People's Republic of Slovenia'), the first word is capitalized and the others are not, but only if they are not proper nouns in and of themselves. However, when a place name consists of a definite adjective and a common-noun toponym, the adjective is capitalized and the noun is

not (e.g., *Kranjska gora*, containing *gora* ‘mountain’). This rule also applies to geographical names outside the borders of Slovenia when they are Slovenianized. Otherwise, the guide dictates that, as a rule, foreign geographical names are not Slovenianized, but written in their endonymic, foreign forms (e.g., *Rio Grande* and not *Velika reka* ‘Big River’). In the case of names consisting of three or more words, proper nouns are capitalized and common nouns are not.

However, when a toponym consists of a definite adjective and a noun that either is or feels like a proper noun, both the adjective and the noun are capitalized (e.g., *Tržiška Bistrica* ‘Tržič Bistrica River’). The names of foreign places that have Slovenian forms are also written this way (e.g., *Visoke Tatre* ‘High Tatras’). In this section, the normative guide also provides the rules for writing adjective forms derived from place names. These are not capitalized. The guide also devotes a special subsection to local proper nouns that do not have a standard form and follow the local dialect in pronunciation, spelling, and usage. The guide also notes that the spelling of many place names is not yet established and fixed, especially when it comes to declension. Certain circumstances also require special attention from the user, such as whether the name is plural (e.g., *Begunje*) or singular (e.g., *Zagorje*).

In the section on foreign proper nouns, the guide states that they can be written in two ways, in a foreign or Slovenian form, but in all cases they should be inflected according to Slovenian rules. In texts for general use, names are adapted more to Slovenian spelling, whereas in more scholarly texts names are kept closer to their endonymic forms. Certainly, among geographical names, Slovenian forms are used for the names of countries and regions, some common nouns within proper nouns (e.g., *morje* ‘sea’, *jezero* ‘lake’, *otok* ‘island’, *prekop* ‘canal’, *ožina* ‘strait’, etc.) and thus also adjectives that make up such names (e.g., *Sredozemsko* ‘Mediterranean’, *Blatno* ‘mud’, *Komsko* ‘Como’, etc.), and some proper nouns for rivers, mountains, and places. The guide explicitly states that foreign names should not be forcefully Slovenianized in general use, citing a few examples such as *Frankobrod* for Frankfurt, whereby the use of the foreign form is more appropriate. This is followed by rules for proper nouns in individual language groups (Slavic, Classical, Romance, and Germanic), rules for transliteration from Cyrillic, and rules for declension and formation of adjectives. Separate subsections are dedicated to composite names (which are inflected only in their final component parts), the names of rivers, and names from non-European languages that are not written in Latin script; the latter should be written by individual languages according to their own rules, which also applies to Slovenian.

The normative guide of 1962 was created because the desired standard language and actual language use were becoming more and more distant from one another, and this guide was intended to bridge this discrepancy. Once again, geographical names appear in the section on capitalization. The guide first explains what all the geographical names denote, and then it focuses first on multi-word names. These are divided into names containing a common noun and names containing a proper noun. In the first case, the adjective is capitalized and the noun usually is not.

However, if a geographical name consists of a defining adjective and a noun that are not a common geographical name, both the adjective and noun are capitalized. If a geographical name consists of more than two words, proper nouns are capitalized and common nouns are not. When names beginning with a prepositional phrase are used in the nominative, the preposition is capitalized and the common noun is not. In the section on the use of geographical names, these are discussed separately, by type: the names of settlements, regions, mountains and mountain ranges, and bodies of water. Adjective derivatives are also discussed separately. With regard to foreign proper nouns, the guide states that the endonymic orthography should be taken into account in scholarly texts, and transliteration should be used in the transcription. For popular use, transcription is allowed, but foreign spelling rules must be observed. Then there are detailed instructions for individual writing systems and inflection rules. Next is a subsection on Slovenianized names. The more the name is in general use, the more Slovenianized it should be, both in spelling and pronunciation. Among geographical names, the names of countries, regions, and islands are written in the Slovenianized forms, as are generic terms in compound geographical names (e.g., *morje* ‘sea’, *puščava* ‘desert’, *ožina* ‘strait’). The names of major rivers, most mountains, and the names of some better-known places are handled in a similar way. The guide draws attention to the inappropriate forced Slovenianization of names for certain places (e.g., *Frankobrod* for Frankfurt). The names of geographical features that are fully and almost always translated (e.g., *Tihi ocean* ‘the Pacific Ocean’) and the names of streets when translated (e.g., *Tretja avenija* ‘Third Avenue’) are written in Slovenianized forms.

The first – and so far only – normative guide in independent Slovenia was published by ZRC SAZU in 2001. It was published on the basis of the *Načrt pravil za novi slovenski pravopis* (Plan of Rules for the New Slovenian Normative Guide, 1981), which received numerous constructive comments from many linguists and other experts. One of the changes that was taken into account in the final revision and that differs from the rules proposed in 1981 is the capitalization of prepositional proper names. The guide consists of two parts, the first containing rules and the second a dictionary. Geographical names appear in both parts. Several sections in the first part contain geographical names. First, a special subsection is devoted to them in the section on capitalization. At this point, geographical names are first broken down in detail, and examples are added to all groups of geographical names. Furthermore, the guide distinguishes between settlement and non-settlement geographical names. The names of borough towns, villages, market towns, and hamlets are included in the former category, and all other geographical names belong in the latter. The distinction between settlement and non-settlement names is important for proper capitalization. All components of settlement names are capitalized, except for prepositions and the nouns *mesto* ‘borough town’, *trg* ‘market town’, *vas* (*vesca*) ‘village’, *selo* (*selce*, *sela*) ‘village’, and *naselje* ‘settlement’, when they do not appear in first position. The guide adds that, due to technical limitations, the nominative form is sometimes given in parentheses instead of the prepositionally inflected form, offering, for example *Črni Vrh nad Idrijo* (literally, ‘black peak above Idrija’) → *Črni Vrh (Idrija)*. When a settlement name also incorporates a non-settlement name, that part of the name retains its written form as a non-settlement.

If foreign geographical names contain the equivalents of ‘village’, ‘borough town’, ‘market town’, or ‘settlement’, they are Slovenianized or translated according to Slovenian normative rules; that is, not capitalized. However, if they are not Slovenianized, they retain the foreign spelling conventions, even with respect to capitalization.

The first elements of non-settlement names are capitalized and the remaining elements are not, unless they are proper nouns in and of themselves.

The next set of rules on geographical names is in the section on borrowed words and phrases. Single-word geographical names from Latin scripts mostly retain their endonymic forms. The names of countries, continents, oceans, mountains, and better-known places and buildings are written in Slovenianized forms. These names are joined by those that are pronounced as they are spelled in Slovenian.

There are some Slovenian names that replace foreign ones; these are exonyms. The criteria for the use of endonyms and exonyms are precisely specified in the normative guide.

In principle, foreign single-word names are not translated, with the exception of some types of compounds. Multi-word names are mostly fully translated if they consist of common noun components; otherwise only those parts that are common nouns are translated.

Geographical names also appear in the section on declensions.

Geographical names have a special role in the guide’s treatment of foreign writing systems and cases of Slovenianization. About fifty scripts are collected. In the case of Latin scripts, typographic substitutions are presented first, followed by phonetic and potential written Slovenianization. For non-Latin scripts, transliteration rules are first presented (Table 3).

Geographical names and rules related to their spelling and pronunciation are contained in all the normative guides discussed; that is, from the first Slovenian normative guide of 1899 to contemporary normative guides.

Table 3: Scripts with transliteration rules in the 2001 normative guide.

Main group	Subgroup 1	Subgroup 2	Languages
Latin	Slavic Latin	–	Serbian or Croatian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Upper Sorbian, Lower Sorbian
	Non-Slavic European Latin	Albanian, Finno-Ugric Romance	Albanian, Hungarian, Finnish Estonian Romanian, Italian, Friulian, French, Catalan, Spanish, American Spanish, Portuguese, Brazilian Portuguese
Greek-Cyrillic	Greek	–	Ancient Greek, Modern Greek
	Cyrillic	–	Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Bulgarian, Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian
Baltic	–	–	Latvian, Lithuanian
Asian, African, Other	–	–	Turkish, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Indonesian, Malaysian, Vietnamese, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili, Hausa

Table 4: Differences in normative rules regarding the capitalization of multi-word names.

Category	1899	1920	1935	1950	1962	2001
Settlement	<i>Kranjska gora</i>	<i>Kranjska gora</i>	<i>Kranjska gora</i>	<i>Kranjska gora</i>	<i>Kranjska gora</i>	<i>Kranjska Gora</i>
Settlement	<i>Novo mesto</i>	<i>Novo mesto</i>	<i>Novo mesto</i>	<i>Novo mesto</i>	<i>Novo mesto</i>	<i>Novo mesto</i>
Hill	<i>Šmarna gora</i>	<i>Šmarna gora</i>	<i>Šmarna gora</i>	<i>Šmarna gora</i>	<i>Šmarna gora</i>	<i>Šmarna gora</i>

Normative topics pertinent to geographical names mainly include the use of capitalization, declension, and the spelling and use of foreign geographical names. The rules in these areas have changed slightly over time. With regard to capitalization, Table 4 shows that the only change in multiword names in the entire period under consideration is the non-capitalization of the common noun component in the names of villages, settlements, market towns, and borough towns from 1990 onward; everything else remains the same. There are also some changes in declension and the recommended use of foreign geographical names, primarily caution regarding the use of exonyms, and above all the recommendation against creating new ones.

The complexity of capitalization rules in the normative guides, especially the most recent one, causes considerable difficulties especially for schoolchildren but also for adult users. Linguists have thus decided to simplify the rules in this area. Simplifications are planned in the new normative guide, and a discussion on capitalization rules was held in June 2019. Linguists and geographers have prepared extensive material (Dobrovoljc, Črnivec and Geršič 2020), which will be the basis for public discussion, which will in turn inform the changes to these rules.

4.2 Etymological dictionaries

»Due to the geographical location and history of Slovenian ethnic territory, one of the basic issues in the etymology of Slovenian names is the question of origin; that is, whether the name is of Slavic, Germanic, Romance, or Hungarian origin. The answer to this question is sometimes apparent at first glance, but often it is so obscure that only an etymological analysis is able to ultimately reveal it« (Snoj 2002a, 37).

Franc Miklošič (1860; 1864) was the first to discuss the etymology of Slovenian geographical names systematically and with a scientifically based methodology. Twentieth-century researchers built upon the work of their predecessors, developing methods and data (Snoj 2002a). Later, they supported the realization that not only morphological characteristics and critical analysis of medieval records, but also analysis of dialect forms were necessary to determine correct etymologies.

In Slovenia, the standardization of names was all too often handled by linguistically uneducated cartographers, and so quite a few standard or standardized name forms are misrepresented (Snoj 2002a), although nineteenth-century principles for creating the standard language based on both history and etymology downplayed dialect forms of names, just like the dialect forms of common nouns (Šivic-Dular 2016). However, no theoretical approach was worked out for standardizing proper nouns, where a decisive identifying role is played precisely by the close link between regional dialect forms of geographical names and their standardized forms, which continues to present challenges.

From an etymological perspective, Slovenian geographical names can roughly be divided into those of Slovenian origin and those with foreign roots; the latter are further divided into adstrates, substrates, and superstrates (Snoj 2009; Figure 31). Due to the complexity of Slovenian history and language development, Slovenian onomastics often encounters name elements that predate Slavic ones (Illyrian, Celtic, Latin, and even Proto-Indo-European), but even more often the more recent influences of German, Friulian, Italian, Hungarian, and Serbo-Croatian (Jakopin 1990).

The Slovenian onomastic process, or the creation of names for features in territory settled by Slovenians, was most intensive between the sixth and thirteenth centuries; that is, from the first wave of colonization immediately after Slavs moved into the territory up to the internal colonization several centuries later. At the end of this period there were almost more settlements than there are now, especially at higher elevations.

Only a few percent of Slovenian geographic names have **pre-Slavic substrates**; these were borrowed from the prior indigenous populations. These are mostly the names of large rivers and also some regions,

places, and mountains. In some side valleys even small creeks and insignificant places have pre-Slavic names. The number of such names increases from east to west, which says quite a bit about the most ancient relations between Slavs and the indigenous peoples. Substrate names can be based on Romance (e.g., *Čedad*), Celtic (e.g., *Logatec*), Venetic (e.g., *Trst*), or even older pre-Romance and pre-Celtic names, which are, however, already Indo-European. These were inconsistently labeled as »Illyrian« in the past. Some river names are in this category (e.g., *Sava*, Furlan 2002; Snoj 2002b; 2009).

Most Slovenian geographical names have resulted from the Slovenian onomastic process (Bezljaj 1965). Such names are called **native** or **indigenous** names. They are formed from Slovenian or Slovenianized roots with Slovenian word-formation and name-formation devices; that is, suffixes, prefixes, combinations, compounds, and others. An example of such a name is the place name *Lipa*, which originally denoted an area where linden trees grew, and later the settlement that arose at this location. The hydronym *Lipnica*, surname *Lipnikar*, and place name *Lipnik* (Snoj 2009) all originate from this root.

Slovenian contains somewhat more geographical names with **adstrates** than those with substrates. The influence of neighboring languages on Slovenian from early Christianization (from the ninth century) onward accounts for these adstrates. These influences are divided into Romance, Germanic, Hungarian, and South Slavic. Romance influences include names adopted into »Alpine Slavic,« which can be seen through some phonetic changes typical of Alpine Slavic on the one hand, whereas on the other hand certain linguistic signs indicate that some names were borrowed only some centuries after Slavs settled these areas. a characteristic example is the oronym *Matajur*. More recent adstrate influences on western Slovenian are Friulian and Venetian, but Istrian Romance also had significant influence. The Bavarian adstrate is strongest in the north, primarily in Carinthia, Styria, and the northern part of Prekmurje. In addition, between the tenth and fifteenth centuries there were more than twenty large German enclaves in ethnic Slovenian territory; of these, only one (the Gottschee enclave around Kočevje) survived into the twentieth century. The others assimilated into Slovenian society, but their dialects left deep traces in the appellative and onomastic lexicon. At the turn of the tenth century, the Finno-Ugric Magyars, predecessors of today's Hungarians, settled in the territory between what are now Slovenia and Slovakia. They left their adstrate mark on the

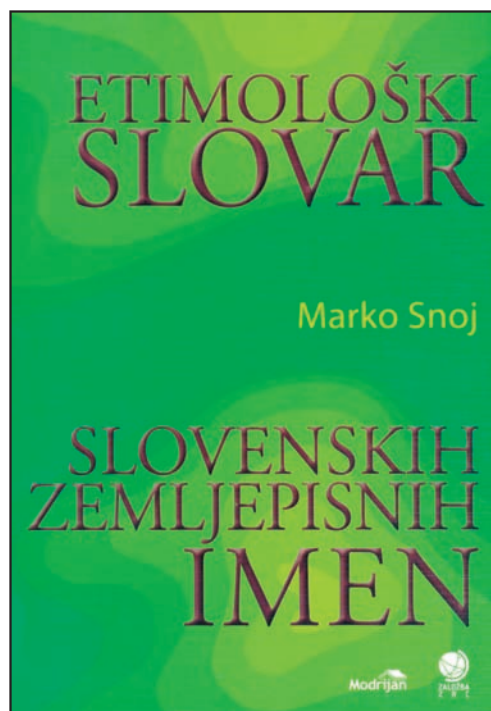


Figure 31: Snoj's Etymological dictionary of Slovenian geographical names of 2009.

northeastern part of Slovenian territory. The southern part of Slovenian territory experienced adstrate influences through Croatian and somewhat also Serbian, which was spoken by the Uskoks (Snoj 2002b; 2009).

The **superstrate** influences include the languages of colonists that settled within contiguous Slovenian territory, or who developed settlements in the border areas of Slovenian territory, thus reducing it. There are very few Romance superstrate elements in Slovenian geographical names because the Romance populations, unlike the Germanic ones, hardly colonized Slovenian ethnic territory at all – and the Friulians, except for in the Canale Valley, not at all. One of the few cases of Italian colonization is the settlement of people from near Bergamo in Lombardy to Laško in Styria after 1544. The Ecclesiastical Latin superstrate appears in toponyms derived from saints' names (hagionyms). These show features typical of (Ecclesiastical) Latin, or they lack more recent Romance, Germanic, or Slavic changes. Names with a Tyrolian superstrate include the toponyms *Vinharje* (Snoj 2002b) and *Grant* and *Kacempoh* in the Bača Gorge.

South Slavic influences can only be defined as a superstrate because there has never been a sharp linguistic division between Slovenian and Croatian dialects. This superstrate largely includes Uskok refugees from the Balkans. Colonization by Croatian settlers can only be seen in a few toponyms in Slovenian Istria, Lower Carniola, and Carinthia. Superstrate influences of western Slavs are traceable only in the surnames of people that moved to Slovenian territory when it was part of Austria-Hungary (Snoj 2002b).

4.3 Toponymic guidelines

As a full member of the United Nations since May 22nd, 1992, Slovenia must respect this organization's recommendations as laid out in various resolutions. Some of these are connected with geographical names, including Resolution no. IV/4, which requires member states to draw up toponymic guidelines for both domestic and foreign editors of maps and related products whose content relates to geographical names.

The publication *Toponimska navodila za Slovenijo* (Toponymic Guidelines for Slovenia; Radovan 1995) was published by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority at the end of 1995. It consists of ten sections. The first sections present the population of Slovenia, official languages, the alphabet, dialects of Slovenian, and normative rules for writing geographical names. This is followed by a short section on naming and standardization bodies, followed by sections presenting the main toponymic sources, a dictionary of common nouns and descriptive labels on maps, abbreviations on maps in Slovenian and English, and the administrative division of Slovenia into municipalities. They also contain some of the main features of spelling Italian and Hungarian geographical names.

Among Slovenian maps, basic topographic maps at the scales of 1:5,000 and 1:10,000 are mentioned first. A total of 2,530 sheets at a scale of 1:5,000 cover most of the country, and uninhabited areas are covered by 258 sheets at a scale of 1:10,000. These basic topographic maps contain about 80% of all geographical names in Slovenia.

This is followed by descriptions of the national topographic maps. The 1:25,000 national topographic map consists of 201 sheets and is estimated to contain around sixty thousand geographical names. The national topographic map at a scale of 1:50,000 consists of thirty-five sheets. *Atlas Slovenije* (Atlas of Slovenia, 1992) is also based on this map, presenting Slovenia on 223 sheets in A4 format at the same scale.

Next, index maps at the scales of 1:250,000, 1:400,000, 1:750,000, and 1:1,000,000 are given. Each of them is made on a single sheet. The geographical names on these maps have been expertly reviewed. The map at a scale of 1:250,000 contains around eight thousand, of which more than half are in the territory of Slovenia; these were also fully standardized in 2008 (Furlan et al. 2008).

Toponymic guidelines also mention land cadastral plans, which number about thirty thousand and cover the entire country at various scales. These are important mainly because they contain many geographical names, but they are a less reliable source due to their age.

There are several registers of geographical names in Slovenia, among which the digital Register of Geographical Names (*Register zemljepisnih imen*, REZI) and the Register of Spatial Units (*Register prostorskih enot*) have a central place. Among published sources, the toponymic guidelines also mention *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije* (Gazetteer of Slovenia; 1968; 1971; 1976; 1980; Orožen Adamič, Perko and Kladnik 1995), the book *Slovenska krajevna imena* (Slovenian Place Names; Jakopin et al. 1985), *Atlas Slovenije* (Atlas of Slovenia, 1992) and *Odzadnji slovar zemljepisnih imen po Atlasu Slovenije* (Reverse Dictionary of Geographical Names from the Atlas of Slovenia, Furlan 1993).

In parallel with the Slovenian version of the toponymic guidelines, the Surveying and Mapping Authority issued an English version called *Toponymic Guidelines for Slovenia* (Radovan and Majdič 1995b).

In addition to both of these guides, *Slovar toponimske terminologije* (Dictionary of Toponymic Terminology, Radovan and Majdič 1995a) was published, which was produced in accordance with UN Resolution no. VI/11 and refers to the English Glossary of Toponymic Terminology prepared by the UNGEGN Working Group on Toponymic Terminology (Kadmon 2000). It consists of five columns: the first column contains the serial number, the second the Slovenian term, the third possible synonyms, and the fourth English equivalents to the Slovenian terms. The fifth column contains Slovenian definitions of the 529 main terms.

The dictionary and toponymic guidelines also form the basis for the work of the Slovenian Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names, as well as for cartographers, surveyors, and geographers that encounter geographical names in their work.

5 Macrotoponyms

Macrotoponyms are proper nouns referring to large-scale geographical features on Earth (geonyms) and beyond (cosmonyms). They generally include the names of oceans, seas, gulfs, lakes, rivers, glaciers, continents, peninsulas, islands, mountains, regions, countries, administrative units, historical regions, towns, and villages on Earth, and the names of extraterrestrial features, such as planets, stars, and galaxies.

5.1 Cosmonyms

Geographical names also include the names of celestial bodies or astronomical objects and features on them. From the smallest to the largest bodies, these mainly include meteoroids, asteroids, comets, planets with their satellites or moons, stars, constellations, galaxies (e.g., the Milky Way), and nebulae.



Figure 32: Olympus Mons on Mars is the tallest known volcano in the Solar System.

Some extraterrestrial names, such as the *Sun* and the *Moon*, have been known to humanity since time immemorial; with the rapid development of astronomy in the second half of the twentieth century, the number of these names has increased dramatically, and they have therefore also been investigated in greater depth by experts.

As early as 1971, UNGEGN established the Working Group on Extraterrestrial Features, which worked closely with the Working Group for Planetary System Nomenclature of the International Astronomical Union. The working group was dissolved in 1982 after ten years of successful work (Kladnik et al. 2013).

The International Astronomical Union has studied extraterrestrial names since its first meeting in 1919 in Brussels. Initially, it was mainly interested in names on the Moon. Back in 1932, it published a list of 672 names on the near side of the Moon, and in 1967 it established the Working Group for Lunar Nomenclature, which published a list of names of as many as 513 craters on the far side of the Moon. In 1970, it set up the Working Group for Martian Nomenclature, and in 1973 it merged the working groups for names into the aforementioned Working Group for Planetary System Nomenclature, with subgroups for the Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, and the Outer Solar System, joined in 1984 by a subgroup for asteroids and comets (Kladnik et al. 2013).

Cosmonyms are usually Slovenianized; for example, the galaxy *Andromeda*, the constellation *Kasiopeja* 'Cassiopeia', the star *Alfa Kentavri* 'Alpha Centauri', Jupiter's moon *Evropa* 'Europa', the dwarf planet *Cerera* 'Ceres', *Halleyjev komet* 'Halley's Comet', the mountain *Olimp* 'Olympus Mons' on Mars, and the crater *Vega* on the moon (Kladnik 2007c).

Slovenian geographers have dealt with cosmonyms most often when translating world atlases from foreign languages, mostly English, into Slovenian (Figures 32 and 33).

Some of the best-known extraterrestrial names in English and Slovenian are shown in Table 5.



NASA/ESA, HUBBLE SPACE TELESCOPE.

Figure 33: The Pillars of Creation in the Eagle Nebula are made up of gases and dust.

Table 5: Brief overview of extraterrestrial features with examples of names in English and Slovenian.

English term	Slovenian term	English example	Slovenian example
nebula	<i>meglica</i>	Eagle Nebula	<i>Orlova meglica</i>
galaxy	<i>galaksija</i>	Milky Way Large Magellanic Cloud Small Magellanic Cloud Andromeda Galaxy	<i>Rimska cesta / Mlečna cesta</i> <i>Veliki Magellanov oblak</i> <i>Mali Magellanov oblak</i> <i>Andromedina galaksija / Andromeda</i>
constellation	<i>ozvezdje</i>	Centaurus	<i>Kentaver</i>
zodiac constellation	<i>zodiakalno ozvezdje</i>	Aries, the Ram Taurus, the Bull Gemini, the Twins Cancer, the Crab Leo, the Lion Virgo, the Maiden Libra, the Scales Scorpio, the Scorpion Sagittarius, the Archer, the Centaur Capricorn, the Goat Aquarius, the Water-Bearer Pisces, the Fish	<i>Oven</i> <i>Bik</i> <i>Dvojčka</i> <i>Rak</i> <i>Lev</i> <i>Devica</i> <i>Tehtnica</i> <i>Škorpjion</i> <i>Strelec</i> <i>Kozorog</i> <i>Vodnar</i> <i>Ribi</i>
star	<i>zvezda</i>	Sun	<i>Sonce</i>
solar system	<i>sončni sistem</i>	Solar System	<i>Osončje</i>
planet	<i>planet</i>	Mercury Venus Earth Mars Jupiter Saturn Uranus Neptune	<i>Merkur</i> <i>Venera</i> <i>Zemlja</i> <i>Mars</i> <i>Jupiter</i> <i>Saturn</i> <i>Uran</i> <i>Neptun</i>
dwarf planet	<i>pritlikavi planet</i>	Pluto Eris Ceres Makemake Haumea	<i>Pluton</i> <i>Erida</i> <i>Cerera</i> <i>Makemake</i> <i>Haumea</i>

5.2 Geonyms

There are a number of geographical and linguistic works in Slovenia on particular types of geonyms over a relatively small area; however, few systematically address particular types of geonyms in the country as a whole.

One such work is the book *Slovenska vodna imena* (Slovenian Hydronyms) by the linguist France Bezlaj (1910–1993), which was published in two volumes totaling 729 pages. It lists and explains several thousand hydronyms in Slovenian ethnic territory in alphabetical order. Bezlaj found that most are of Slovenian origin, but that the proportion of Slovenian names decreases from east to west. Slovenian names are followed by names originating from German and from Romance languages, and that quite a few hydronyms in Slovenia were contributed by the Romans, Celts, and Illyrians (Bezlaj 1956; 1961).

In 1985, the gazetteer *Slovenska krajevna imena* (Slovenian Toponyms) was published, containing the names of about six thousand Slovenian settlements in alphabetical order on 357 pages. Each name is accompanied by the form in the genitive case, which in Slovenian answers the question *Od kod?* 'From where?' (e.g., *iz Ljubljane* 'from Ljubljana'), and the form in the locative case, which answers the question *Kje?* 'Where?', with the corresponding preposition (e.g., *v Ljubljani* 'in Ljubljana'). This is followed by the adjectival form

and the masculine demonym (and sometimes also the feminine), and in some places other variants of the name. All forms are written with diacritics for accentuation, and in some places also with other pronunciation details given (Jakopin et al. 1985).

More recent is the book *Etimološki slovar slovenskih zemljepisnih imen* (Etymological Dictionary of Slovenian Geographical Names) published in 2009, comprising 603 pages and written by the linguist Marko Snoj. The more extensive first part, with 1,650 entries on 452 pages, provides etymological explanations for 4,021 Slovenian and 2,629 foreign geographical names in the territory inhabited by Slovenians, and the second part, comprising 208 entries, contains geographical names outside Slovenian ethnic territory, primarily the names of continents, oceans, European countries, and their capital cities (Snoj 2009).

Also available to Slovenians is a linguistics paper with a condensed systematic presentation of the development of onomastics in Slovenia (Šivic-Dular 2002).

Researchers at the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute have primarily dealt with geonyms in translating world atlases from foreign languages, as discussed in Chapter 9 on exonyms, in standardizing Slovenian geographical names, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8, and above all in producing basic geographical works on Slovenia after its independence and as part of some post-1991 national projects. Most of our work has involved oikonyms, primarily the names of settlements, and choronyms, primarily the names of countries (for more, see Chapter 7) as well as the names of regions at various levels.

Slovenia also wanted to systematize the official names of settlements on its territory, and so in 1996 researchers checked the official names of the 5,972 settlements known at that time (as of September 1st, 2020, there were 6,035). We found 4,732 names to be unproblematic from a geographical and linguistic standpoint, whereas 1,240 were problematic due to three main reasons: abbreviations in the name (mostly the abbreviated names of saints), the word *del* 'part' in the name (which occurred due to the division of a settlement located in two neighboring municipalities into two settlements), and the existence of several identical names referring to different settlements (Gabrovec, Orožen Adamič and Perko 1996). a renaming proposal was prepared for all problematic names (Gabrovec and Perko 1996) and sent to the municipalities, which are responsible for naming settlements in Slovenia.

Twenty-nine settlements contained an abbreviation in their name. The settlement of Sv. Anton (literally, 'St. Anthony'), for example, was proposed to be renamed *Sveti Anton* (i.e., 'Saint Anthony'). There were two proposals for renaming Št. Jurij: either *Sveti Jurij* or *Šentjurij*, and for the settlement of Razbore (K. o. Ježni Vrh) (literally, 'Razbore in the cadastral district of Ježni Vrh') the proposal was *Razbore pri Ježnem Vrh* (i.e., 'Razbore near Ježni Vrh').

The word *del* 'part' was used in the names of forty-nine settlements. For example, the settlement of Tolsti Vrh (del) (literally, 'part of Tolsti Vrh') in the Municipality of Ravne na Koroškem was proposed to be renamed *Tolsti Vrh pri Ravnah* (i.e., 'Tolsti Vrh near Ravne'), and Tolsti Vrh (del) in the Municipality of Dravograd to be changed to *Tolsti Vrh pri Dravogradu* (i.e., 'Tolsti Vrh near Dravograd').

As many as 1,162 settlements had the same name as at least one other settlement. Proposals for new names for such settlements consisted of the basic, existing name and an epithet that more precisely defines the location of the settlement in relation to a nearby larger settlement, river, hill, and the like. As many as seven settlements had the name *Pristava*. The Slovenian common noun *pristava* 'manor farm' refers to a house with outbuildings and land, usually belonging to a manor. Such places are scattered across Slovenia. Proposals for new names were: *Pristava nad Borovnico* (i.e., 'above Borovnica'), *Pristava pri Ljutomeru* ('near Ljutomer'), *Pristava pri Novi Gorici* ('near Nova Gorica'), *Pristava pri Podgradu* ('near Podgrad'), *Pristava pri Štjaku* ('near Štjak'), *Pristava pri Vojniku* ('near Vojnik'), and *Pristava v Halozah* ('in Halozé'); the first six epithets are the names of nearby settlements, and the last epithet is the name of a region.

We also dealt with the names of settlements in preparing a gazetteer of Slovenian settlements. In 1995, the 638-page edition of *Krajevni leksikon Slovenije* (Gazetteer of Slovenian Toponyms) was published with numerous photos and tables, followed by an abridged edition on 376 pages, *Priručni krajevni leksikon Slovenije* (Pocket Gazetteer of Slovenian Toponyms), in which diacritics were also added to the names (Orožen Adamič, Perko and Kladnik 1995; 1997).

Although region names, or choronyms, can already be found on the oldest maps of what is now Slovenia, they are among the least researched types of geographical names, not only in Slovenia but also internationally.

A comprehensive analysis of choronyms was performed by Geršič (2016b; 2020b). He reviewed all available maps showing Slovenian territory, from which he copied all such names that he came across. Although

Table 6: English and Slovenian names of macroregions and mesoregions in the physical geographical regionalization from 1996.

English	Slovenian
Alps	<i>Alpe</i>
Western Karawanks	<i>Zahodne Karavanke</i>
Eastern Karawanks	<i>Vzhodne Karavanke</i>
Kamnik–Savinja Alps	<i>Kamniško–Savinjske Alpe</i>
Julian Alps	<i>Julijske Alpe</i>
Cerkno, Škofja Loka, Polhov Gradec, and Rovte Hills	<i>Cerkljansko, Škofjeloška, Polhograjsko in Rovtarsko hribovje</i>
Sava Hills	<i>Posavsko hribovje</i>
Velenje and Konjice Hills	<i>Velenjsko in Konjiško hribovje</i>
Pohorje, Strojna, and Kozjak	<i>Pohorje, Strojna in Kozjak</i>
Ložnica and Hudinja Hills	<i>Ložniško in Hudinjsko gričevje</i>
Sava Plain	<i>Savska ravan</i>
Savinja Plain	<i>Savinjska ravan</i>
Pannonian Basin	<i>Panonska kotlina</i>
Goričko	<i>Goričko</i>
Lendava Hills	<i>Lendavske gorice</i>
Slovenian Hills	<i>Slovenske gorice</i>
Dravinja Hills	<i>Dravinjske gorice</i>
Haloze	<i>Haloze</i>
Mount Boč and Mount Macelj	<i>Boč in Macelj</i>
Vogljajna and Upper Sotla Hills	<i>Vogljajnsko in Zgornjesotlško gričevje</i>
Central Sotla Hills	<i>Srednjesotlško gričevje</i>
Krško, Senovo, and Bizeljsko Hills	<i>Krško, Senovsko in Bizeljsko gričevje</i>
Mura Plain	<i>Murska ravan</i>
Drava Plain	<i>Dravska ravan</i>
Krka Plain	<i>Krška ravan</i>
Dinaric Alps	<i>Dinarsko gorovje</i>
Kambreško and Banjšice Plateaus	<i>Kambreško in Banjšice</i>
Trnovo Forest Plateau, Mount Nanos, and Hrušica Plateau	<i>Trnovski gozd, Nanos in Hrušica</i>
Idrija Hills	<i>Idrijsko hribovje</i>
Javornik Hills and Snežnik Plateau	<i>Javorniki in Snežnik</i>
Pivka Lowland and Mount Vremščica	<i>Pivško podolje z Vremščico</i>
Inner Carniola Lowland	<i>Notranjsko podolje</i>
Krim Hills and Menišija Plateau	<i>Krimsko hribovje in Menišija</i>
Bloke Plateau	<i>Bloke</i>
Big Mountain, Mount Stojna, and Mount Gotenica	<i>Velika gora, Stojna in Goteniška gora</i>
Ribnica–Kočevje Lowland	<i>Ribniško–Kočevsko podolje</i>
<i>Little Mountain, Kočevje Rog Plateau, and Mount Poljane</i>	<i>Mala gora, Kočevski rog in Poljanska gora</i>
Velike Lašče	<i>Velikolaščanska pokrajina</i>
Ljubljana Marsh	<i>Ljubljansko barje</i>
Novo Mesto	<i>Novomeška pokrajina</i>
Lower Carniola Lowland	<i>Dolenjsko podolje</i>
Radulja Hills	<i>Raduljsko hribovje</i>
Dry Carniola and Dobropolje	<i>Suha krajina z Dobropoljem</i>
White Carniola	<i>Bela krajina</i>
Gorjanci Hills	<i>Gorjanci</i>
Mediterranean	<i>Sredozemlje</i>
Gorica Hills	<i>Goriška brda</i>
Vipava Valley	<i>Vipavska dolina</i>
Karst Plateau	<i>Kras</i>
Brkini Hills and Reka Valley	<i>Brkini in dolina Reke</i>
Podgorje Karst Plateau, Čičarija Plateau, and Podgrad Lowland	<i>Podgorski kras, Čičarija in Podgrajsko podolje</i>
Koper Hills	<i>Koprska brda</i>

only a few sources were available for the ancient and medieval periods, for the modern period (from 1492 to 1900) he managed to review as many as sixty-five maps, and many more for the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, for which he found and analyzed as many as 750 different cartographic sources. He also included region names from the 1:5,000, 1:25,000, and 1:250,000 maps from the Register of Geographical Names (REZI), noting the considerable inaccuracies in the semantic classification of written geographical names, so that many names are also unjustifiably identified as region names when in fact they are not. He identified more than 130 different region names in archival sources. He was able to connect modern name equivalents with most, but some individual cases remained unidentified (e.g., *Geys Rucken*, *Quadrata*, and *Tevfls Garten*, with the latter even having the Latin allonym *Hortus Diaboli*).

Many region names are the result of the regional diversity and highly fragmented nature of Slovenian territory, which is one of the most diverse not only in Europe but also in the world (Kladnik, Perko and Urbanc 2009; Ciglič and Perko 2013; Perko and Ciglič 2015; Perko, Hrvatinić and Ciglič 2017).

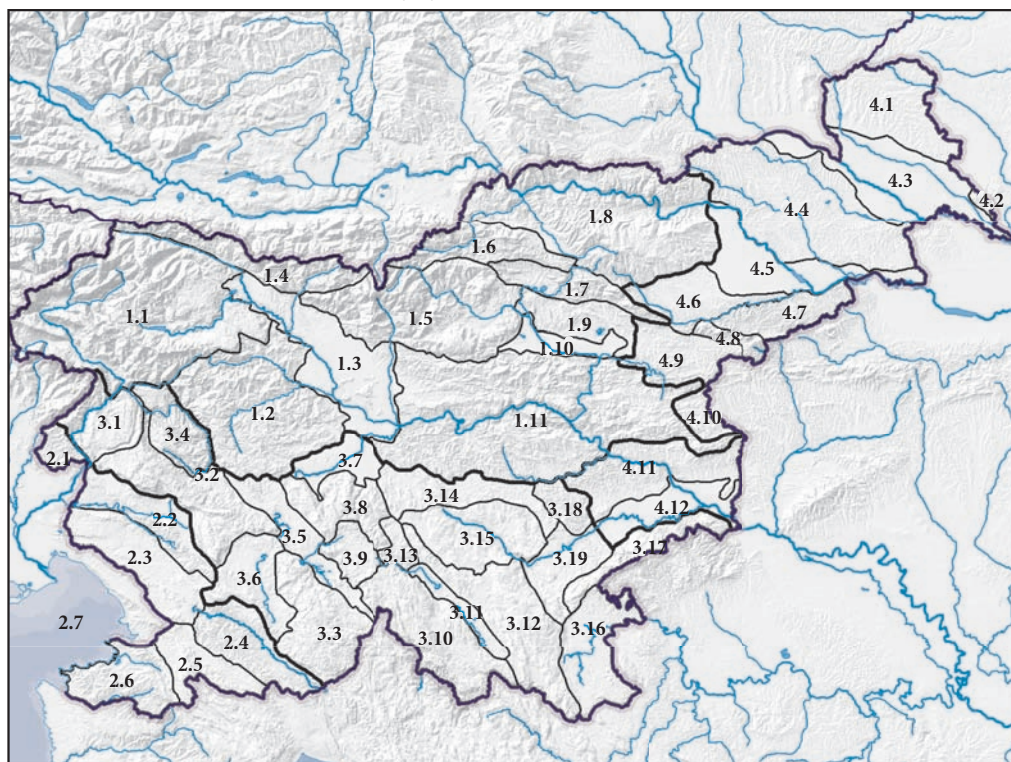
Researchers at the institute have worked on the names of regions mainly in the context of studying the development of regionalizations in Slovenia and the preparation of new regionalizations, in the course of which many new names had to be artificially created. The 1996 natural geographical regionalization, which divides Slovenia into four macro-regions and forty-eight meso-regions, has become the most widely used (Perko 1998; Perko and Ciglič 2020); it strives to follow established names as much as possible in naming regions (Table 6, Figure 34). This regionalization was first published in 1996 in the journal *Geografski vestnik* (Kladnik 1996). It has also been published in all major geographical works on Slovenia issued after Slovenia's independence: the eleventh volume of *Enciklopedija Slovenije* (Encyclopedia of Slovenia, 1997), *Geografski atlas Slovenije* (Geographical Atlas of Slovenia, 1998), the regional volume *Slovenija: Pokrajine in ljudje* (Slovenia: Regions and People, 1998), *Nacionalni atlas Slovenije* (National Atlas of Slovenia, 2001), and the atlas *Slovenija in Focus* (Fridl et al. 2007).

Natural geographical regions correspond only in some places to the official territorial division of Slovenia, which is based on the classification of statistical territorial units or NUTS (Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) in the European Union. At the NUTS1 level, Slovenia appears as one unit, at the NUTS2 level it is divided into two cohesion regions, and at the NUTS3 level into twelve statistical regions (Table 7), which are further divided into 212 municipalities (Perko and Ciglič 2020).

Table 7: English and Slovenian names of cohesion regions (NUTS2) and statistical regions (NUTS3).

English	Slovenian
Eastern Slovenia	<i>Vzhodna Slovenija</i>
Mura Statistical Region	<i>Pomurska statistična regija</i>
Drava Statistical Region	<i>Podravska statistična regija</i>
Carinthia Statistical Region	<i>Koroška statistična regija</i>
Savinja Statistical Region	<i>Savinjska statistična regija</i>
Central Sava Statistical Region	<i>Zasavska statistična regija</i>
Lower Sava Statistical Region	<i>Posavska statistična regija</i>
Southeast Slovenia Statistical Region	<i>Jugovzhodna Slovenija statistična regija</i>
Littoral—Inner Carniola Statistical Region	<i>Primorsko-notranjska statistična regija</i>
Western Slovenia	<i>Zahodna Slovenija</i>
Central Slovenia Statistical Region	<i>Osrednjeslovenska statistična regija</i>
Upper Carniola Statistical Region	<i>Gorenjska statistična regija</i>
Gorica Statistical Region	<i>Goriška statistična regija</i>
Coastal—Karst Statistical Region	<i>Obalno-kraška statistična regija</i>

Figure 34: Physical geographical regionalization of Slovenia from 1996 (Perko and Ciglič 2020a; 2020b). ►



Alps	Dinaric Alps	Pannonian Basin
1.1 Julian Alps	3.1 Kambreško and Banjšice Plateaus	4.1 Goričko
1.2 Cerklno, Škofja Loka, Polhov Gradec, and Rovte Hills	3.2 Trnovo Forest Plateau, Mount Nanos, and Hrušica Plateau	4.2 Lendava Hills
1.3 Sava Plain	3.3 Javornik Hills and Snežnik Plateau	4.3 Mura Plain
1.4 Western Karawanks	3.4 Idrija Hills	4.4 Slovenian Hills
1.5 Kamnik-Savinja Alps	3.5 Inner Carniola Lowland	4.5 Drava Plain
1.6 Eastern Karawanks	3.6 Pivka Lowland and Mount Vremščica	4.6 Dravinja Hills
1.7 Velenje and Konjice Hills	3.7 Ljubljana Marsh	4.7 Haloze
1.8 Pohorje, Strojna and Kozjak	3.8 Krim Hills and Menišija Plateau	4.8 Mount Boč and Macelj
1.9 Ložnica and Hudinja Hills	3.9 Bloke Plateau	4.9 Voglajna and Upper Sotla Hills
1.10 Savinja Plain	3.10 Big Mountain, Mount Stojna, and Mount Gotenica	4.10 Central Sotla Hills
1.11 Sava Hills	3.11 Ribnica-Kočevje Lowland	4.11 Krško, Senovo, and Bizeljsko Hills
	3.12 Little Mountain, Kočevje Rog Plateau, and Mount Poljane	4.12 Krka Plain
	3.13 Velike Lašče	
	3.14 Lower Carniola Lowland	— Macro/mezzoregion border
	3.15 Dry Carniola and Dobropolje	
	3.16 White Carniola	
	3.17 Gorjanci Hills	
	3.18 Radulja Hills	
	3.19 Novo Mesto	



Map by: Manca Volk Bahun
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5.3 Regional identities

Two other studies are closely related to regions. Both are based on cognitive maps, which we sent along with a questionnaire to five thousand randomly selected respondents from across Slovenia age fifteen to seventy-five. The sample was prepared by the Slovenian Statistical Office. We received 635 completed surveys. Respondents received a map of Slovenia at a scale of 1:650,000 with the national border, the largest towns and rivers, and Mount Triglav as the highest mountain marked on it. Respondents were asked to enter the names of the Slovenian regions they are familiar with and draw their borders (Figure 35). The returned maps were digitized and processed using geographic information systems. Respondents drew a total of 3,769 regions on cognitive maps and labeled them with eighty-four different names (Geršič 2016b; 2020b).

In the first study, we looked at how particular region names and their boundaries overlap. We determined diversity in geographical names and identified diversity hotspots – that is, areas where the largest numbers of different geographical names occur. The lowest possible score would be 0 if no respondents named an area, and the highest would be 84 if an area was covered by all the eighty-four names that were entered by respondents. In fact, the lowest score was 6 and the highest 23 (Geršič, Ciglič and Perko 2018).

Because Slovenia is one of the most regionally diverse areas in Europe (Ciglič and Perko 2013), we analyzed the correlation between regional diversity (Perko, Hrvatinić and Ciglič 2015; Perko, Ciglič and Hrvatinić 2017) and geographical name diversity, and whether geographical name hotspots and coldspots coincided spatially with regional hotspots and coldspots. The correlation is statistically significant, but not high (Geršič and Perko 2018).

In the second study (Perko and Geršič 2019), we looked at the regional identity of the Slovenian population, which was determined with the help of the regions drawn on a cognitive map and a questionnaire that included thirteen questions. Particularly important were the five responses: 1) the name of the respondent's region, 2) names of the respondent's neighboring regions, 3) region names best known to the respondent, 4) region names the respondent considered no longer in use, and 5) region names the respondent considered best known abroad.

The main finding was that the majority of Slovenia's residents do not identify with regions from any regionalization or administrative division of Slovenia. For them, the divisions of the former Austria-Hungary from 1918 continue to be the most relevant and deeply ingrained, even though these are merely remnants of the administrative division of a state that ceased to exist a century ago (Gabrovec and Perko 1999). These are the Austrian provinces of Styria (Slovenian: *Štajerska*, German: *Steiermark*), Carinthia (*Koroška*, *Kärnten*), the Littoral (*Primorska*, *Küstenland*), and Carniola (*Kranjska*, *Krain*) with its three parts: Upper Carniola (*Gorenjska*, *Oberkrain*), Inner Carniola (*Notranjska*, *Innerkrain*), and Lower Carniola (*Dolenjska*, *Unterkrain*). Present-day Slovenian cadastral districts still run almost entirely along the borders of these former provinces.

Most Slovenian citizens have three main identities: the highest is Slovenian identity (national identity), then identity based on the former Austrian provinces (regional identity), and finally identity based on their place of residence (local identity). For example, a resident of Kranj, the fourth-largest town in Slovenia, is first of all a *Slovenec* 'Slovenian', then a *Gorenjec* 'Upper Carniolan', and finally a *Kranjčan* 'Kranj resident' (Geršič and Perko 2020; Perko and Ciglič 2020b; Perko, Ciglič and Zorn 2020).

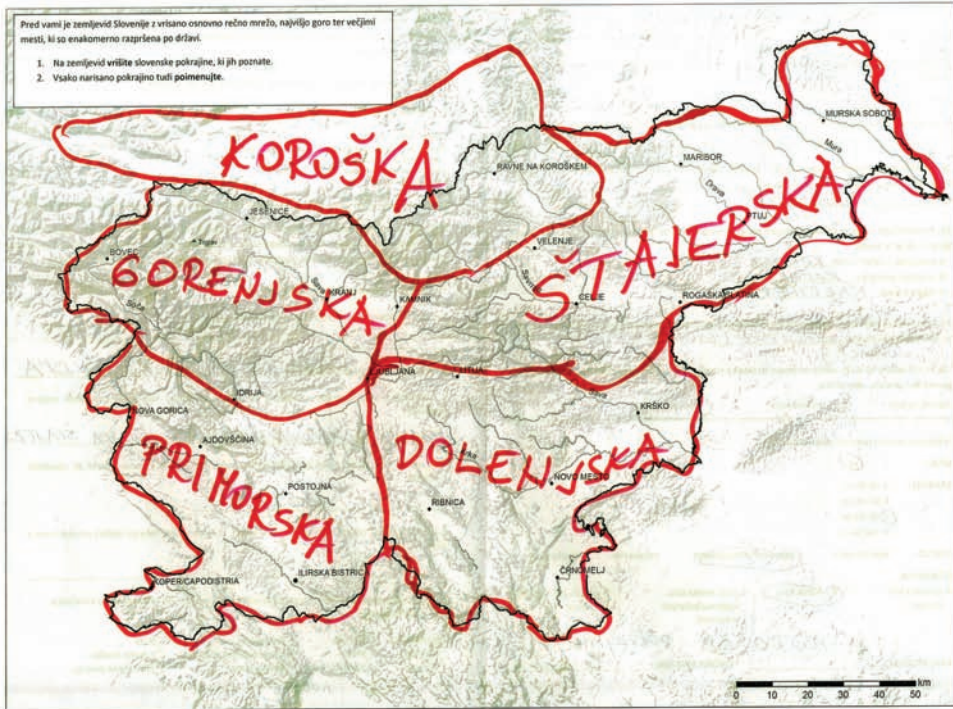
6 Microtoponyms

Microtoponyms are geographical names that denote small topographic features. The Slovenian normative guide (Slovenski pravopis 2001) lists *ledinsko ime* 'field name' as a synonym for *mikrotoponim* 'microtoponym', and the Standard Slovenian Dictionary (*Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*) states that these include the names of fields, meadows, and forests (Slovar . the names of pastures, valleys, gorges, canyons, karst caves, paths and their parts, small watercourses, and independent structures and farms (Škofic 1998; Čop 2002; Kolnik 2008; Klinar et al. 2012). Others also include the names of streets among microtoponyms (Geršič and Kladnik 2016b).

Figure 35: Two examples of completed cognitive maps: the respondent drew and named five regions on the first – Carinthia (*Koroška*), Styria (*Štajerska*), Upper Carniola (*Gorenjska*), Lower Carniola (*Dolenjska*), and Littoral *Primorska* – and seven on the second: Carinthia (*Koroška*), Prekmurje, Styria (*Štajerska*), Upper Carniola (*Gorenjska*), Lower Carniola (*Dolenjska*), Inner Carniola (*Notranjska*), and Littoral (*Primorska*). ►

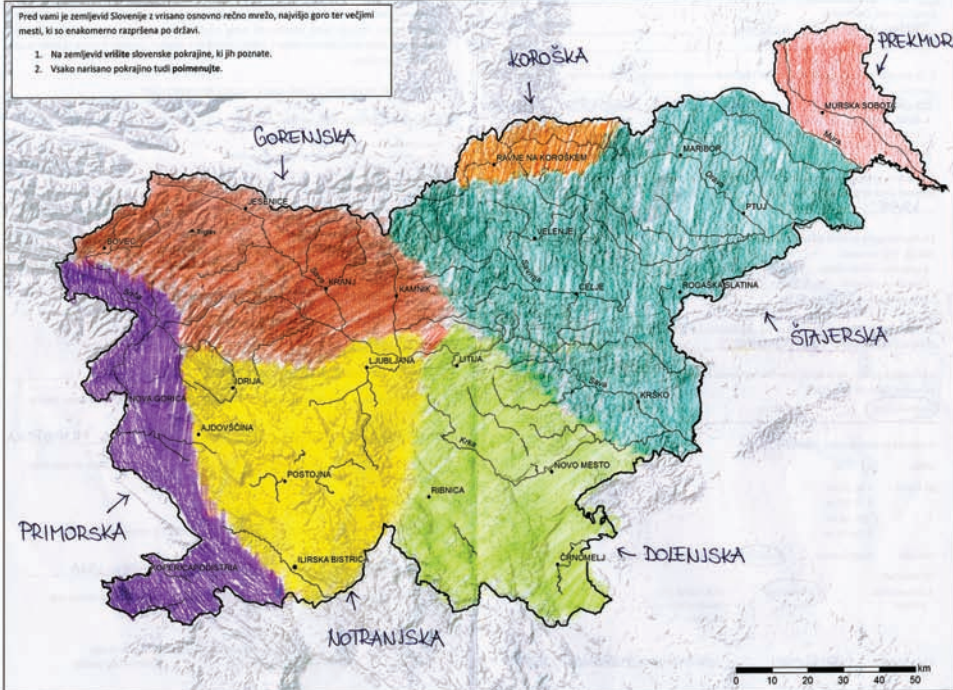
Pred vami je zemljevid Slovenije z vrstano osnovno rečno mrežo, najvišjo goro ter večjimi mesti, ki so enakomerno razpršena po državi.

1. Na zemljevid vrtite slovenske pokrajine, ki jih poznate.
2. Vsako narisano pokrajino tuči polmenojte.



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6.1 Field names

What was initially a natural landscape was gradually transformed into a cultural landscape through human activity, with agriculture being the main transforming factor. Because of the land's varying degree of suitability for cultivation, through field division villages were divided into several parts referred to with proper nouns (Penko Seidl 2011). The most established Slovenian term for this is *ledinsko ime* 'field name', but the terms *terensko ime* 'terrain name' (Čop 2002) and *zemljiško ime* 'land name' (Unuk 2004) are also found in literature. The Slovenian term *ledina* initially referred to a parcel of land with uniform land use; for example, a meadow, pasture, field, or orchard (Jarc 2004). Such parcels were the result of changes to the tribal social system in the early stage of Slovenian ethnogenesis. After the abandonment of nomadic farming, and when hunting, fishing, and foraging could no longer supply enough food, people began raising herbivores and keeping them in enclosures where they grazed. Such an enclosure was called a *stan* in Slovenian (Fabčič 2010).

Another way in which these parcels of land were formed was through the colonization of uninhabited areas. The settlers cleared a part of land and divided it into smaller parcels (*ledine*). Changes in the cultivation of arable land, especially crop rotation and manuring, led to the ultimate division of the former common land. This process was first applied to tilled fields, then meadows, and finally forests. The only common land that remained was pastures (Jarc 2004). Larger parcels of land were also subdivided into smaller ones for various social reasons, such as inheritance, sale, and expropriation, whereby individual parts acquired new names.

The Slovenian word *ledina* derives from the Indo-European root **lendh-* 'vacant or uncultivated land'. Words derived from this root in other European languages can also denote a cleared area in a forest, stubble field, fallow land, steppe, territory, land, barren landscape, or valley (Snoj 1997).

Field names are especially common in Europe's West Germanic linguistic area (Germany, Austria, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, the Netherlands), Slavic area (Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Croatia, and Slovenia), and Baltic area (Latvia and Lithuania), and they have been studied most systematically in these places. They are referred to with the following terms: *Flurname* or *Riedname* in German, *veldnaam* in Dutch, *почвуше/уро́чище* in Russian, *uroczyisko* in Polish, *pomístní jméno* in Czech, and *apyrubė* in Lithuanian (Flurname 2015).

These names – which, by definition, are names of smaller uninhabited places (Snoj 2009) – designate the basic features and characteristics of a parcel of village land (Kladnik 1999b). The division of the village area into these units originates from the permanent collective concepts of a natural division of space.

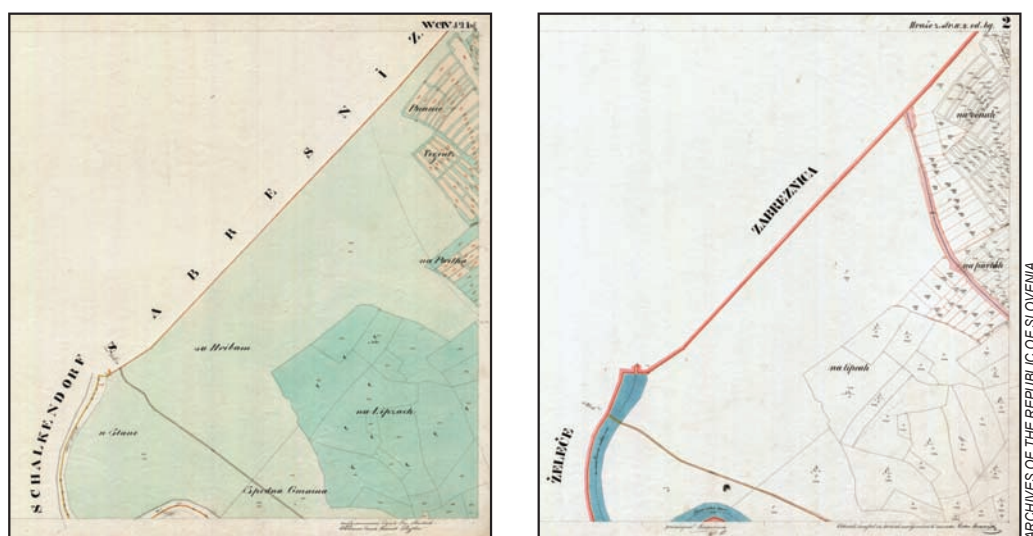


Figure 36: Field names in the Franciscan Cadaster (left) and the Revised Cadaster (right).

The borders between individual units often run along natural divides, such as riverbeds, foothills, terrace risers, bends in slopes, and ridges. Hence, their names express the basic characteristics of the natural environment and all human changes made to improve these characteristics (Penko 2013). Most of these names were created by the locals, but some were also formed by the surveyors carrying out cadastral surveys (Ribnikar 1982). However, some names are simply general geographical terms adapted to a specific geographical characteristic, whereby their written form indicates that they are proper nouns (Fabčič 2010). Due to modern processes that cause changes to the countryside, the land-use category within an individual parcel is no longer uniform. Thus, the parcel has lost its original function, but the locals still perceive it as a whole, even though diverse land use can now be observed there.

Some field names no longer express the parcels' original characteristics, but they have nonetheless remained unchanged (Penko 2013). These names were first systematically recorded on the Franciscan Cadaster maps (Kladnik 1999b), whereas before that they were only preserved through oral tradition (Fabčič 2010). They are rarely listed in older written sources. An exception is *Slavinski misal* (the Slavina Missal), an illuminated medieval manuscript codex that contains several field names (Dragoceni srednjeveški rokopis ... 2019). Specific names can also be found in various rent-rolls.

The Franciscan Cadaster, in which field names are systematically collected, comprises maps and protocols. In addition to field names, the protocols also contain various descriptions and information on buildings, parcels, and so on (Ribnikar 1982). This cadaster was completed in 1828 and a revised version was produced in 1869, but it has not been preserved in full for all the former Habsburg hereditary lands (Ulice v mestni občini Ljubljana 2014; Figure 36). The revised cadaster also contains field names, and so it is an important toponymic source for the areas for which it has been preserved, based on which changes in the field names between both cadaster editions can be examined. The third historical source for studying field names is the documents of possession in individual cadastral districts produced at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. These documents are composed similarly to the Franciscan Cadaster, with names provided in Slovenian (Fabčič 2010), a modern source for these names is the Slovenian Register of Geographical Names (REZI) at a 1:5,000 scale. This is an official record of permanent names of features with a chronologically, historically, ethnologically, or socially established identity (Pogorelčnik 1999; Peršolja 2003). However, an irreplaceable source, especially for studying the current use of field names and their dialect versions, is the local informants. The best among them are older individuals familiar with both the local living environment and its lifestyle. Farmers, forestry workers, hunters, and fishermen are usually the best informants (Klinar et al. 2012).

A special challenge in collecting field names is their transcription. The Franciscan Cadaster uses German or Italian, and its revised edition uses Slovenian. REZI also uses Slovenian, but the problem arises in standardizing the information obtained from informants that use these names in their local dialect.

The transcription of these names should be adapted to the research purpose; these names can be transcribed in a manner suited for dialectology, in simplified dialect forms, or in standardized forms (Klinar et al. 2012). There are also several options for spatially delimiting the study area. Cadastral districts have proven to be the best level for comparing modern and historical sources. Since the time of the Franciscan Cadaster, their borders have mostly remained the same. Other suitable territorial units include settlements, parishes, municipalities, and local communities, but their borders are usually more variable than those of cadastral districts.

Field names are the result of development within a landscape and its language (Fabčič 2010). As phenomena of language, space, and history, their study in Slovenia is at the intersection of research by linguists, geographers and landscape architects, and historians. In addition, they are also dealt with by ethnographers and ethnologists. There are also many amateur collectors and researchers of these names, and some of their research is very good (e.g., Jarc 2004; Silič 2011).

In addition to the spatial distribution and current use of these names, both linguists and geographers focus on their motivation. Klinar et al. (2012) defined the following types of motivation for field names: the land (shape of terrain, soil composition and characteristics, land characteristics), bodies of water, climate characteristics, vegetation (presence, species), people (ownership and legal relations, human activity, human creations, communications, spiritual life, and history), and proper nouns (personal and geographical names).

A detailed study of these names was conducted in the cadastral district of Leše (Klinar and Geršič 2013; 2014; Geršič and Kladnik 2016a), which can be illustrated as an example. The motivation for the development of field names in the cadastral district of Leše is considerably more difficult to determine, and so

we have not grouped the field names into semantic categories, but we have corroborated them with some of the most interesting examples.

The great majority of them derive from the geographical characteristics of the terrain where part of the named land is located. Thus, the general configuration of the terrain may already serve as a basis for creating a field name. This is seen, for example, in the field name *Goríce* 'hills' and *Bórd* 'hill'. More often, a field name designates a surface characteristic; for example, *Kràs* 'karst' for stony or rocky terrain; *Močivance* (< *močilnik* 'spring'), *Vúžanca* (< *lužna* 'puddle'), and *Vóka* (< *loka* 'flood-meadow') for wet and damp terrain; and *Rávna níva* 'level field' for flat terrain. Some examples also attest to the microclimatic characteristics of particular areas. These include field names that indicate insolation (e.g., *Osónca* < *osončena* [*stran*] 'sunny side'), exposure to wind (e.g., *Vétarən* < *vetroven* 'windy'), and other salient climate features; for example, the name of the cave *Snežénšca* (< *snežna* [*jama*] 'snow cave'), which cold air blows out of. A significant portion of field names are also derived from the land's vegetation characteristics because the lives of people once depended on materials produced from plants. Field names most often refer to species of plants that were plentiful or grew well in a particular area. Characteristic examples are *Gábra* < *gaber* 'hornbeam' (*Carpinus betulus*); *Smrécje* < *smreka* 'spruce' (*Picea abies*), and the meadow *Šentjánšca* < *šentjanževka* 'St. John's wort' (*Hypericum perforatum*). The motivation for the name of the settlement of Leše itself indicates the presence of hazel trees (< *leska* 'hazel', *Corylus avellana*). Some field names designate a relationship to nearby features in the landscape or terrain characteristics. These are usually prepositional phrases. Among the most frequent prepositions used are *v* 'in', *na* 'on', *pri* 'at', *za* 'behind', and *pod* 'below', expressing the relationship to the feature. A good example is the field name *Mevóde*, which refers to its position between two creeks (< *med* 'between' + *voda* 'creek').

The next group with related onomastic motivations includes field names connected with human activity. Current and especially former land use are indicated by names connected with working the land and other farm tasks. This is how field names such as *Séče* (a slope of Mount Dobrča) arose because people cut hay there (< *seči* 'to mow'), and *Vinógrad* 'vineyard', a meadow in a sunny position, which folk tradition says was once planted with grapevines. The activity of extracting raw materials lies behind the field name *Bájžalnov ápn* (< *Bajželjnovo apno* 'Bajželj's lime kiln'), where people once dug gravel and burned lime. The word *laz* 'clearing' is the origin of field names such as *Váz*. The informants' explanation that this was a place where a meadow was cleared in the forest is in line with the meaning of the word in the Standard Slovenian Dictionary from 2010. Some field names are also connected with transportation links in an area. Certain routes even acquired names because of their importance. Such a motivation for the creation of a field name can be seen in the names *Koržíše* (< *križišče* 'crossroads'), which designates a meadow at the intersection of two field roads, and *Úlce* (< *ulica* 'street'), which refers to a narrow path with trees growing along it. In some cases, ownership is also the motivation for naming a piece of land. The field name *Čarkónca* (< *cerkev* 'church') indicates church land that was owned by the local parish. Some names are also additionally designated by a possessive adjective derived from a house name and indicate whose land a certain feature belongs to. Such an example is the field name *Korénov vórt* 'Koren's garden', indicating land belonging to the Koren farm.

Finally, there are some interesting examples of field names that cannot be placed in any of the motivational categories cited above. Some of them are connected to animals but have motivations that vary. There is a meadow in Leše named *Júnčovc* (< *junec* 'bull') because the farmer that raised the village bull had the right to pasture it there. At one time in Upper Carniola, each village had only one bull, which was used to breed the cows (Klinar and Geršič 2014; Geršič and Kladnik 2016a; Figure 37).

At the Virtual Library of Slovenia portal, a keyword search for *ledinska imena* 'field names' returns around three hundred hits, including fifty books, 146 research papers and papers of general interest, twenty-seven conference papers, nineteen cartographic products, including two atlases (Kejžar 2013; Silič 2014), thirty-five bachelor's theses, one master's thesis, and two doctoral dissertations. The first dissertation was written by Dušan Čop (1983) and covers Upper Carniola, and the second one was written by Matej Šekli (2006) and covers the northwestern part of Slovenia. Two of the works date from before the Second World War (Vatovec 1929; Simonič 1935). The work by Simonič is especially important; it examines field names and toponyms among the Gottschee Germans, who lived in a minority enclave dating back to the Middle Ages in southern Slovenia. This German enclave almost completely disappeared during and after the Second World War.

Geographers have also played an important role in the study of field names, as demonstrated through their thorough approach. Sore (1993; 1994) dealt with field names, regional names, and hydronyms in the

6.2 House names

»Preserved traditional house names help determine historical and family conditions, social stratification and interpersonal contacts, and administrative and political structure. Immigration and emigration are very important aspects of social culture, and they have left a strong trace in the house names in the Žiri area« (Zorko 2005, title page). a short and concise outline of house names provided by Terezija »Zinka« Zorko reveals that house names have great informative value, and that it is vital to study them and to collect and preserve this type of cultural heritage.

House names were used to designate farms and their corresponding properties, as well as the people living there (Housname 2015). a house name (German *Hausname*, in Alsace *Hofname*, Dutch *huisnaam*, Luxembourgish *Hausnumm*) is the name of an occupied or vacant house in a settlement or part of a settlement (e.g., a farm with land or a house without appertaining land), but not the name of an individual outbuilding (e.g., a woodshed, barn, or drying shed). Onomastic studies may also include names of individual ancillary outbuildings that do not form part of a farm and communal village structures (e.g., churches, rectories, schools, inns, fire stations, grain mills, sawmills, communal drying sheds, and stamp mills; Klinar et al. 2012). According to onomastic classification, these are ranked among nicknames (Keber 2002), but in general they are geographical names passed down into local speech and thus most often reshaped by dialect features.

House names are primarily found in rural areas in the central European West Germanic linguistic area (in Germany, Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, France's Alsace region, and the Czech Republic's Sudetenland area) (Housname 2015), which is where the bulk of studies of this phenomenon have also been carried out. Such names also spread from the German linguistic environment following the same pattern into what is now Slovenia, although, with the exception of some Croatian regions, they did not penetrate further into the Balkan Peninsula. They are also found in the Baltics and England, where they are primarily proper nouns (English House Names 2015). Following the European pattern, they also spread to the western part of North America, South Africa, Australia, and elsewhere (Housname 2015).

As an important part of Slovenian cultural heritage, house names are largely still alive in the Slovenian countryside (Keber 2002; Kotnik Šipec 2004). a house name usually forms when an individual takes over a farm but has a last name that differs from that of the former owner, and the house keeps its old name (Zorko 2004). Traditionally, a house was named by the neighbors, not its owners (Kotnik 2011). House names arose from the need to more accurately differentiate between people because social development and advances meant that personal names were no longer sufficient.

The origins of individual house names are extremely diverse, and they often reflect the time that a farm was established. Many of these names arose from the name given to the owner or other household members at birth or when they were baptized (e.g., *Matičk*, *Pavlek*, *Jošk*, *Urban*). House names are also frequently associated with professions or other human activities; they are connected most frequently with craftsmen (e.g., *Kovač* 'smith', *Kolar* 'wheelwright', *Žnidar* 'tailor', *Šuštar* 'shoemaker', *Mlinar* 'miller', etc.). The oldest house names stemmed from topographical features; for example, *Grabnar* 'ravine dweller' because a farm was located next to a ravine, or *Slemenc* 'ridge dweller' because the farm was located on the upper part of a ridge. Some house names are ethnonyms (e.g., *Lah* 'the Italian', *Oger* 'the Hungarian', *Nemc* 'the German', *Amerikanc* 'the American'), and others stem from names ascribed to the inhabitants of lands and regions populated by Slovenians (e.g., *Korošec* 'Carinthian', *Gorenc* 'Upper Carniolan', *Bohinc* 'one from Bohinj', *Čič* 'one from Čičarija in Istria', etc.). Aside from these, the origins of house names can be traced back to other motivations. For example, a very diverse group of house names come from various nicknames (e.g., associated with animals, skin or hair color, and other physical and psychological features, plants, food and drinks, clothing and shoes, money and measures, designations for the elderly, time of birth, family relationships, artisan products, tools, and substances). House names also arose from the status the farm had in the village, or the original function of the farm building (e.g., *Kajžar* 'cottager', *Gruntar* 'large landowner', *Mežnarija* 'sexton's house', *Farovž* 'rectory'). Another important motivational basis for these names is related to clerical and administrative functions (e.g., sexton, mayor, tax collector). More recent house names, on the other hand, were inspired by the surnames of the first owners (e.g., *Škerl*, *Jeriša*, *Keršič*, *Tavčar*, *Okorn*; Štukl 1997; Škofic 2001; Kotnik Šipec 2004; Zorko 2004; Hawlina 2008; Klinar 2011; Klinar and Geršič 2014).

The first Slovenian discussions on traditional house names can be found in 1856 in the newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (Agricultural and Handicraft News), in which Janez Bleiweis describes the

Authors of research on Slovenian house names include the linguist Zinka Zorko with her paper »Hišna imena na Koroškem« (House Names in Carinthia, 2004), the literary historian and ethnologist Marija Stanonik with her work *Hišna imena v Žireh* (House Names in Žiri, 2005), the ethnochoreologist Mirko Ramovš with his paper »Hišna imena v vaseh Ježica, Savlje, Kleče, Mala vas in Stožice« (House Names in the Villages of Ježica, Savlje, Kleče, Mala Vas, and Stožice, 1999), and more recently the dialectologist Jožica Škofic with her papers »Hišna imena v Kropi« (House Names in Kropa, 2001), »Hišna imena kot gradivo za dialektološko raziskovanje« (House Names as Material for Dialectology Research, 2005), »Zemljepisna lastna imena med narečjem in knjižnim jezikom« (Geographical Proper Nouns Between Dialect and Standard Language, 2009), and »Zasnova slovarja gorenjskih hišnih imen« (Concept for a Dictionary of Upper Carniolan House Names, 2011), as well as the dialectologist and comparative linguist Matej Šekli with his paper »Hišna imena v Ovčji vasi« (House Names in Valbruna, 2005). An important contribution to the study of house names is found in the work of the geographer Klemen Klinar from the Upper Carniola Development Agency (Razvojna agencija Zgornje Gorenjske, RAGOR), who published his findings in a series of thirty-four booklets in the series *Kako se pri vas reče?* (What's the Name of Your House?). Because the topic of house names has broad appeal, it is not surprising that it is also tackled by many amateur researchers of local history, ethnography, and dialects.

In ethnically Slovenian cross-border areas, the greatest attention has been dedicated to house names in the Jaun Valley (German: *Jauntal*, Slovenian: *Podjuna*), the Rosen Valley (*Rosental*, *Rož*), and the Gail Valley (*Gailtal*, *Zilja*) in the southern part of Austrian Carinthia, where, for example, Bertrand Kotnik issued a collection of fifteen books in the series *Zgodovina hiš južne Koroške* (History of Houses in Southern Carinthia), in which he compiled a detailed inventory of the house names in this part of Slovenian ethnic territory in Austria. The first book in the series appeared almost three decades ago (Kotnik 1992), and the last one ten years ago (Kotnik 2011). Various authors have also examined house names in Slovenian ethnic territory in Italy (within the Trieste area, Slavia Friulana, and Val Canale; e.g., Merku 2002; Šekli 2005), and in the cross-border Slovenian settlements in the Slovenian-speaking part of Hungary (Hungarian: *Vendvidék*; e.g., Kozar-Mukič 1999).

In addition to written sources, living use is a very important source of house names (as well as field names). This can be examined with the help of informants, usually elderly locals that still use house names in their daily communication. Due to changed lifestyles, many young people no longer use these names. Because these names are used colloquially and usually in dialect, their transcription poses a further challenge.

They can be transcribed in three ways. The dialectological form allows for accurate phonetic transcription based on a conversation or a field recording. This can only be done by trained researchers or dialectologists. Because such a transcription is illegible to non-professionals, it is only appropriate for specialized texts. A simplified dialect form marks the stress, quality, and length of stressed vowels, and shows the schwa and other special features preserved in the names. Such transcription can be read by a wider circle of people because such symbols are taught in primary and secondary schools. The third form is a standardized transcription, in which agreed-upon rules of standardization must be followed.



Figure 39: A ceramic sign with the house name in a simplified standardized form.

Detailed and systematic phonetic studies of house names allow professionals to explore the special features of individual local dialects. Based on versions of a specific house name, especially in terms of its endings, dialectologists can define the borders between individual local subdialects within a specific dialect (Škofic 2012; 2017; Table 8).

Table 8: Examples of identical house names with different dialect forms (the settlements where the fieldwork was carried out are in parentheses).

Standardized form	Dialect form 1	Dialect form 2	Dialect form 3
Pri Lizniku	<i>Par Lizneko</i> (Zgoša)	<i>Par Liznek</i> (Bohinjska Bela)	<i>Par Liznjako</i> (Kranjska Gora)
Pri Kovaču	<i>Par Kováč</i> (Zabreznica)	<i>Par Kováčo</i> (Zgornje Gorje)	<i>Par Kaváč</i> (Rateče)
Pri Lazarju	<i>Par Vázarjo</i> (Stara Fužina)	<i>Par Lázarjo</i> (Bohinjska Bistrica)	<i>Par Vázarja</i> (Dobravica)

The public representation of house names is key to their satisfactory preservation in living use. In addition to published sources (booklets, maps, and websites), people have accepted the idea and, in many places, signs with names attached to houses (Figure 39).

6.3 Field names and house names as part of UNESCO intangible cultural heritage

The preserved names of fields, meadows, arable land, forests, glades, clearings, paths, waters, parts of villages or hills, mountain pastures, and farms are an important part of national cultural heritage. At the same time, they constitute rich linguistic heritage, which in a time of rapid lifestyle changes is endangered more than ever before (Kunaver 1988; Silič 2011). The exceptional cultural value of exclusively Slovenian field names is also confirmed by their inclusion in neighboring Austria's UNESCO National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Piko-Rustia 2010). In 2010, the Austrian National Agency for Intangible Cultural Heritage included southern Carinthian field names and house names in the inventory of Austrian intangible cultural heritage (Piko-Rustia 2012; 2017; 2018).

Intangible heritage is defined as an element that contributes to preserving cultural diversity and sustainable development in a region (Klinar 2012). Even though field names are limited to a specific territorial community in which collective memory has developed, it is also vital to preserve them in written form due to their heritage value. Recording memories is the only means for preventing these names from sinking into oblivion (Halbwachs 2001).

Slovenian field names and house names (published as *Slowenische Flur- und Hofnamen in Kärnten*) were among the first such names to be included in the Austrian inventory. The matter was also met with a wide media response on both sides of the border. This also raised the expectation that the attitude toward Slovenian cultural heritage and the Slovenian ethnic community in Austrian Carinthia in general is finally improving (Piko-Rustia 2012).

The application for including field names and house names in the UNESCO inventory was co-signed by representatives of societies and individuals that had intensively collected these names and also produced several maps of this type in the past. However, interest in collecting names is not new; its rudiments can already be found in the nineteenth century and it grew exceptionally strong immediately after the Second World War, among both German- and Slovenian-speaking researchers (Piko-Rustia 2012).

Recently, such names have been collected individually or as part of various projects, in which the Zell Farmers Interest Group, the Urban Jarnik Slovenian Ethnographic Institute, and the Gorjanci Slovenian Cultural Society participated alongside individuals. These activities stimulated collection campaigns across the Gail, Jaun, and Rosen valleys (i.e., the ethnic Slovenian territory in Austria). Expert technical assistance to individual societies was provided by the Urban Jarnik Slovenian Ethnographic Institute, and in the following years the St. Margareten / Abtei Cultural Society and the Slovenian Cultural Society also started collecting names. The Klagenfurt Slovenian Alpine Club also became involved and established a committee for field names and house names. In cooperation with the Alpine Association of Slovenia and the Austrian club, it reviewed cross-border hiking maps and laid out the cross-border hiking trail *Okoli Košute – Pot Alpske konvencije / Rund um die Koschuta – Weg der Alpenkonvention* (Around Mount Košuta: The Alpine Convention Trail) with bilingual signposts in southern Carinthia. The Christian Cultural Association, the Slovenian Cultural Association, and the Urban Jarnik Slovenian Ethnographic Institute offered individuals

and societies organizational and expert assistance in collecting and displaying house names and field names in Austrian Carinthia (e.g., Figure 40). The Urban Jarnik Institute has established contacts with both national (i.e., Austrian and Slovenian) standardization commissions, which it regularly informs of the current developments and challenges (Piko-Rustia 2012).

Field names can be recorded in several ways. This is most commonly done on maps, preferably in combination with an accompanying text additionally explaining the names. Also available are online versions of such maps, where a recording of the name's pronunciation in dialect, explanatory photos, and so on, are added to a specific name. a good example is the FLU-LED cultural portal (Internet 6).

Despite the inclusion of Slovenian names in the Austrian inventory of intangible cultural heritage, a certain degree of opposition is still present, especially when an intent is expressed to publicly display these names, such as with bilingual signs or signposts, and so on. The issue is that many field names do not have a German equivalent and sometimes they are spelled only in German (e.g., *Košuta* → *Koschuta*) or semantically translated (e.g., *Blato* → *Moos*). a great methodological step forward in collecting and recording these names has been the cross-border project FLU-LED (*Kulturni portal ledinskih in hišnih imen / Kulturportal der Flur- and Hausnamen*; Piko-Rustia 2012).

6.4 Street names

Slovenia has approximately six thousand settlements composed of spatially separate hamlets, especially in the uplands and hills of eastern Slovenia. Due to the revised administrative division after Slovenia's independence, which increased the number of municipalities, and growing suburbanization, street systems are being introduced in an increasing number of settlements, which can be attributed to the need for easier spatial orientation. In April 2020, there were 307 settlements with an established street system in Slovenia and there were only sixty-three municipalities of the total of 212 in which not even a single settlement had a street system. From 1980, when the first streets were recorded in the Register of Spatial Units, to 2020, the number of streets has doubled: it has increased from 4,979 to 10,413.



Figure 40: Signposts with house names in Zell in Austrian Carinthia.

The Act Regulating the Determination of Territories and the Naming and Marking of Settlements, Streets, and Buildings (ZDOIONUS) (Zakon o določanju območij ... 2008) provides the general frameworks for naming streets (as well as roads, trails, paths, squares, etc.). According to its basic provisions, every street must have a name, there cannot be two streets with the same name in the same settlement, the name must be Slovenian, and the act also specifies the naming procedure.

In larger towns the street system is quite old; in Ljubljana, for example, the first streets were already named in the High Middle Ages (Valenčič 1989). Even though street signs usually only make orientation in a town easier in our daily hectic lives, the names of streets, roads, squares, and parks, which are largely named after distinguished individuals or connected with historically important events of a place, also provide insight into part of the landscape characteristics and historical dimensions of a town's development, and they often reflect spatial identity at various levels (Yeoh 1996; Crljenko 2014; Ulice v mestni občini Ljubljana 2015).

Renaming streets is nothing new. The renaming of streets as a consequence of political change in authority was first observed during the French Revolution (Azaryahu 1997). The central square in Paris, which was planned by Ange-Jacques Gabriel and built in 1755, was named *Place Louis XV* 'Louis XV Square' when it was created, after the monarch at the time. The 1793 revolution cost the king his throne, and the name of the square was also changed to *Place de la Révolution* 'Revolution Square'. In 1795 the new government renamed it *Place de la Concorde* 'Harmony Square'. After the fall of Napoleon in 1814, the square was again renamed after Louis XV, and in 1826 it was renamed after his successor Louis XVI, who was guillotined on the square on January 21st, 1793. After the July Revolution of 1830, the name *Place de la Concorde* was reestablished, and this is still in use (Place de la Concorde 2020).

The French revolution thus became a model for renaming streets, which became a common characteristic of major changes in political regimes and with this some sort of »revolutionary ritual« (Azaryahu 1997) whereby the victory of the new regime over the vanquished was expressed in a distinctive manner (Azaryahu 1996).

Renaming is a two-step process. First it is necessary to eradicate the existing name; that is, to remove the motivation for using this name from collective memory, and then to implant the new name and to achieve its use in everyday life (Azaryahu 1992). Intensive changing of street names accompanied the collapse of communist regimes in eastern and central Europe (Koonz 1994; Azaryahu and Golan 2001; Robinson, Engelstoft and Pobric 2001).

In a study of street name changes in Ljubljana in the narrower area of the town Geršič and Kladnik (2016b) identified 795 streets, of which 470 retained their original names the entire time, 288 of them were renamed at least once, and the remaining 122 experienced a different fate (they were eliminated, abandoned, built up, or became parts of other streets or squares). One street was renamed as many as seven times (*Wienerstrasse/Dunajska cesta* → *Tyrševa cesta* → *Bleiweisova cesta* → *Ciril-Methodova cesta* → *Dunajska cesta* → *Tyrševa cesta* → *Titova cesta* → *Slovenska cesta*). Comparing the number of name changes by individual years, it can be established that the most name changes were carried out in 1923 and 1952 (fifty-two changes each). This is followed by 1877 (thirty-six changes), 1941 (thirty-four changes), 1991 (twenty-five changes), and 1939 (twenty-two changes). In other years, fewer than twenty streets were renamed.

The reasons for such dynamics vary. For example, in 1952 the majority of name changes were carried out in the center of the town, and most names were changed that were connected with churches and monasteries, and with personalities and institutions associated with the Church. They were changed to names of people's heroes of Yugoslavia, Partisan commanders, and revolutionaries. The changes of 1941 were the result of Italian annexation of the territory of the Drava Province south of the Sava River. The Italian authorities were quick to remove the memory of Ljubljana's affiliation with Yugoslavia from its street names. Especially targeted for removal were Serbian names and names from the political and cultural life of the Slavic nations that commemorated their connections with the Slovenians. Nor were the new authorities inclined toward streets named after places in Slovenian ethnic territory that were known for battles in the First World War or for the oppressive Italian policy in the Littoral. Some street names in the town center were changed so that they could bear the names of important personages from Italian cultural life. The year 1991 must also be mentioned, when a considerable number of Ljubljana's streets were renamed in connection with Slovenia's independence and the transition from communism (Geršič and Kladnik 2016b).

Taking a closer look at politically motivated name changes, it can be determined that, among all of the changes, 45% were politically or ideologically motivated (Figure 41). Politically motivated changes were

determined based on the time when they occurred. When such name changes are examined by historical periods, it can be established that the majority occurred between 1951 and 1960 (eight changes from the category of Slovenian political figures to Slovenian revolutionaries, and seven changes from the category of churches to Slovenian revolutionaries), followed by the period after 1991 and then between 1941 and 1942.

Even though some authors describe communist regimes as the type of government that most radically interfered with street names (e.g., Light 2004), this assertion can be at least partially rejected in the case of communism in Yugoslavia. There are several reasons for this. One of them is certainly that, in comparison with other Eastern European countries, the political regime in Yugoslavia was less harsh. Another reason is certainly the municipal committee that has overseen names and name changes for Ljubljana's streets for 125 years. It was established in 1889 and was first led by municipal councilor Ivan Hribar, who later became one of Ljubljana's most popular mayors. The committee worked out the rules for names very systematically and has also held to them in principle, and so perhaps there have been fewer name changes to streets than would have been expected (Valenčič 1989).

At present, the procedure for naming streets in Slovenia is as follows: the municipality suggests the names and its proposal is later reviewed by the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names, primarily from the perspective of the proposed names' linguistic suitability. Municipalities or local communities are required to take account of any comments and amendments presented by the commission (Zakon o določanju območij ... 2008).

Streets are named after a topographic object or something else connected with the local or national history, past development, values, social environment, cultural tradition, and important individuals (Table 9).

An especially intensive modern examination of street names began after 1990 in connection with Slovenia's independence, which was accompanied by the transition from communism. Namely, due to their nature, street names are a direct reflection of the current state of politics and mindset in a specific society (Urbanc and Gabrovec 2005).

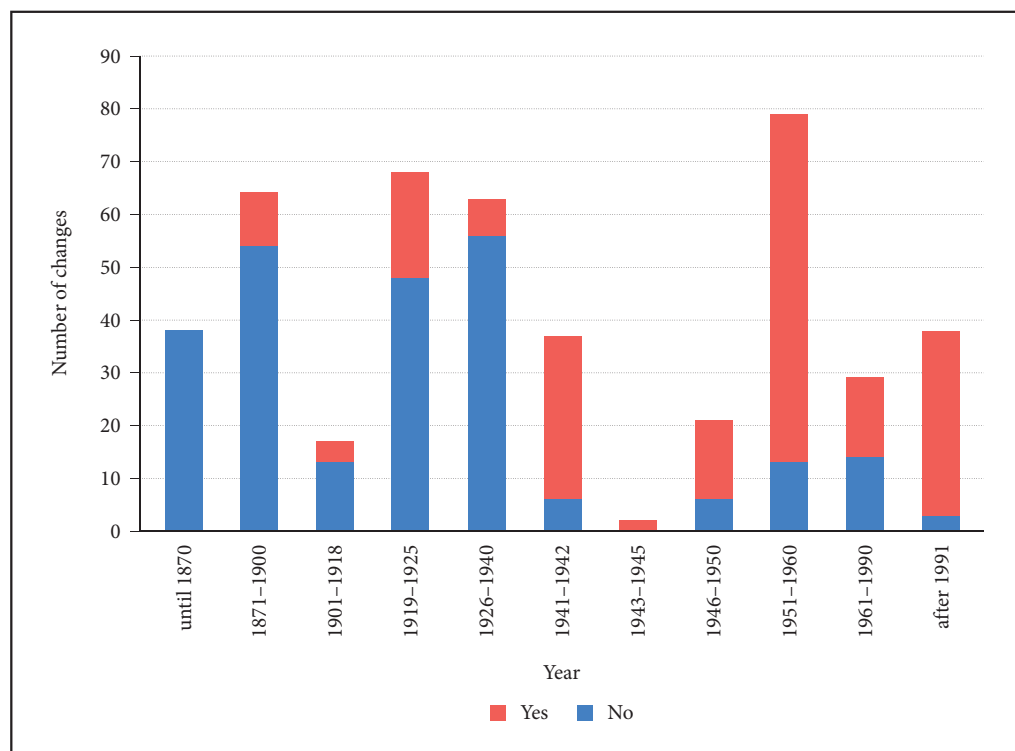


Figure 41: Share of politically and/or ideologically motivated name changes for Ljubljana's streets by characteristic historical period.

Table 9: Typical examples of street names by type of motivation.

Naming motivation	Example
Individuals	<i>Cesta Franceta Prešerna</i> 'France Prešeren Street' <i>Ulica Leona Štuklja</i> 'Leon Štukelj Street' <i>Ulica Josipine Turnograjske</i> 'Josipina Turnograjska Street' <i>Trg Davorina Jenka</i> 'Davorin Jenko Square'
Field names	<i>Dobrava</i> 'Dobrava Street' <i>Jarmen</i> 'Jarmen Street' <i>Klek</i> 'Klek Street' <i>Pristava</i> 'Pristava Street' <i>Roje</i> 'Roje Street' <i>Varta</i> 'Varta Street'
Houses	<i>Bognarjeva ulica</i> 'Bognar Street' <i>Gorenčeva ulica</i> 'Gorenc Street' <i>Omejčeva ulica</i> 'Omejc Street'
Activity	<i>Davčna ulica</i> 'Tax Street' <i>Industrijska cesta</i> 'Industry Street' <i>Mlinska pot</i> 'Mill Lane' <i>Obrtna ulica</i> 'Craftsman Street' <i>Oljarska ulica</i> 'Oil Mill Street' <i>Šolska pot</i> 'School Street'
Destination of the street	<i>Cesta na Ješenco</i> 'Ješenca Street' <i>Mariborska cesta</i> 'Maribor Street' <i>Pohorska ulica</i> 'Pohorje Street' <i>Poljska cesta</i> 'Field Lane'
Characteristics of the street or area	<i>Češnjeva ulica</i> 'Cherry Street' <i>Kratka pot</i> 'Short Lane' <i>Krožna pot</i> 'Circle Lane' <i>Sončna ulica</i> 'Sunny Lane' <i>Svetla ulica</i> 'Bright Street' <i>Vrtna ulica</i> 'Garden Street' <i>Zavita ulica</i> 'Curve Street'
Past events	<i>Ulica osamosvojitve Slovenije</i> 'Slovenian Independence Street' <i>Trg osvoboditve</i> 'Liberation Square' <i>Trg francoske revolucije</i> 'French Revolution Square'
Values	<i>Cesta svobode</i> 'Freedom Street' <i>Ulica miru</i> 'Peace Street' <i>Trg prijateljstva</i> 'Friendship Square'
Miscellaneous	<i>Martinova ulica</i> (in a winegrowing region) 'Martinmas Street' <i>Očetovska ulica</i> (emphasizing the role of fathers) 'Paternity Street' <i>Ulica mladih</i> (emphasizing the role of young people) 'Youth Street'



Figure 42: Jesenice still has a street named after Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito.

In some places, quite heated debates are still going on regarding streets named after the Yugoslav president and communist party leader Josip Broz Tito (Figure 42). In some towns, such as Jesenice, the former *Titova cesta* ‘Tito Street’ was renamed *Cesta maršala Tita* ‘Marshall Tito Street’, whereas in others, such as Ljubljana, one of the main arteries formerly named after him obtained a different name and efforts were made to move the old name to a new, more marginal location (Geršič and Kladnik 2016b). In 2009, a planned artery was named after Tito, but this caused such an uproar that ultimately the decision on using the name was even adjudicated by the constitutional court, which, among other things, found as follows (Odllok o določitvi ... 2011): »Reintroducing a street named after Josip Broz Tito as the symbol of the Yugoslav communist regime can thus be objectively understood as a recognition of the former non-democratic regime. In the Republic of Slovenia, where the development of democracy and free society based on respecting human dignity began with the break with the former system, any glorification of the communist totalitarian regime on the part of the authorities is unconstitutional.« Hence, after two years the street name *Titova cesta* was renamed *Štajerska cesta* ‘Styria Street’. The explanation provided by the constitutional court demonstrates the great communicational value of the names of streets and roads.

7 Country names

The names of countries are the best-known and most frequently used geographical names at the global level. They can be categorized under choronyms and macrotoponyms. The Slovenian normative guide requires them to be Slovenianized, and so nearly all Slovenian names of countries are Slovenian exonyms. This is the only group of geographical names that has been fully standardized in Slovenia based on the international ISO 3166 standard.

7.1 Standardizing country names at the global level

Standardized country names are exceptionally important at all levels of communication. They are the result of the efforts and exchanged views of various experts, especially linguists, geographers, and lawyers.

Geographers were the first to become aware of the importance of standardizing geographical names, and so standardization was already included among the decisions adopted at the first International Geographical Congress of the International Geographical Union held in Antwerp in 1871 (Kladnik and Perko 2013c).

Due to the importance and sensitivity of country names, in 1992 the Working Group on Country Names was established as part of the UNGEGN. Its aim was to establish and maintain a list of the official forms of country names. The United Nations Secretariat publishes a terminology bulletin for country names and their updates in the six official UN languages (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish). An important protocol is being followed in this regard, according to which every country suggests its own short and formal names in its official language(s), alongside English and French, but other UN members must agree with its suggestions (Kladnik and Perko 2015a). In practice, some formal names in English and French, as proposed by the countries themselves, do not entirely match structurally (e.g., *Republic of Italy* in English, *la République italienne* in French, and *Repubblica Italiana* in Italian as the original language), which makes the standardization of country names difficult in other languages, including Slovenian.

The list of official country names from the UN bulletin is also used by the International Organization for Standardization (ISO) as a reference source in its standards.

The most important national standard that also includes country names is ISO 3166: Codes for the Representation of Names and Countries and Their Subdivisions. Its first edition was published in 1974, and it has been continually updated ever since. In 1997, it was divided into the following three parts: ISO 3166-1, which contains the names of countries and certain dependencies; ISO 3166-2, which, alongside the names of countries, also contains the names of the principal subdivisions of individual countries; and ISO 3166-3, which contains formerly used names of countries. The standard was last published in print in 2013, and since then it has been available in digital form. The last edition, from 2020, contains updated versions of all three parts.

ISO standards are published in English and French, but national organizations can also translate them into their national languages.

The great importance of standardizing country names as well as other geographical names is also confirmed by efforts to establish the linguistic rights of the deaf, who communicate in sign languages. To facilitate sign language communication, a list of country names in English sign language has been produced (Matthews, McKee and McKee 2009).

7.2 The first standardization of country names in Slovenia

In Slovenia, too, geographers were the first to begin systematically dealing with the names of countries. In 1982, the Slovenian Geographical Society set up a commission that submitted geographical proposals for the Slovenian names of countries to the Normative Guide Committee at the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1986, the Slovenian government established the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names. In 1987 and 1988, the commission worked on a new list of Slovenian country names and their two-letter, three-letter, and numeric codes for the Yugoslav translation of the ISO 3166 standard. However, because geographers and linguistics were again unable to reach an agreement, the commission's members, who comprised eight experts, decided on the problematic country names by a majority vote (Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

The list approved applied until 1996, when the new Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names produced a new list of Slovenian country names. This time, its members confirmed all the country names unanimously, and in 1996 the Slovenian Institute for Standardization published them in the Slovenian edition of the standard, SIST ISO 3166:1996, entitled *Abecedni seznam imen držav, uradnih kratkih in polnih imen držav* (Alphabetical List of the Names of Countries and Their Official Short and Official Full Names). In this way, the names of countries were standardized in Slovenian for the first time.

The Slovenian standard distinguishes between three versions of country names: the Slovenian short name, the official Slovenian short name, and the official Slovenian full (long) name. With most countries, their Slovenian short name is essentially the same as their official short name. For example, *Slovenija* 'Slovenia', *Rusija* 'Russia', and *Južna Koreja* 'South Korea' are Slovenian short names, *Slovenija* 'Slovenia', *Ruska federacija* 'Russian Federation', and *Republika Koreja* 'Republic of Korea' are the official Slovenian short names, and *Republika Slovenija* 'Republic of Slovenia', *Ruska federacija* 'Russian Federation', and *Republika Koreja* 'Republic of Korea' are the official Slovenian full names.

In defining all three versions of Slovenian country names, the commission took into account the English and French forms of country names listed in the ISO 3166 standard, the established use of individual country names in Slovenian, and the Slovenian normative guide, especially its rules on writing foreign geographical and personal names in Slovenian, which, in simplified terms, require as follows: the names of countries are Slovenianized, well-known geographical and personal names are Slovenianized, and less well-known geographical and personal names are left in their original form (or transliterated for non-Roman scripts).

From these rules, the commission set a single, simplified, systematic, and unambiguous rule for writing the names of countries in Slovenian: the names of countries are translated into Slovenian, whereby only those components of country names that are considered less well-known geographical or personal names are left in their original form and possessive forms are used for adjectives based on personal names (Perko 1996b).

Thus, the commission fully Slovenianized the 185 names of countries at that time, except for the names of two countries that contained less well-known geographical names (i.e., *Gvineja Bissau* and *Sierra Leone*) and the names of eight countries that contained the names of persons, including saints (e.g., *Saint Kitts in Nevis* 'Saint Kitts and Nevis' and *Saint Vincent in Grenadine* 'Saint Vincent and the Grenadines').

7.3 The second standardization of country names in Slovenia

Due to many political changes after 1996, when the SIST ISO 3166:1996 was published, in 2006 the Slovenian Institute for Standardization decided to publish a new translation of the international standard, which differs from the previous versions in that the short names in the official language(s) of individual countries are added to the official short and official full names in English and French. Therefore, the Slovenian Government's Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names again began to systematically review the names of countries. In 2004, it set up the Sub-Commission for Country Names composed of

geographers and linguists. The sub-commission established that, despite the adopted standard, non-standardized forms of country names were still common in Slovenia and that the non-uniform use of individual country names across different levels and areas primarily resulted from the differences between the country names listed in the Slovenian standard SIST ISO 3166:1996 (e.g., *Kirgizistan* 'Kyrgyzstan' or *Marshalllovi otoki* 'Marshall Islands') and those listed in the 2001 Slovenian normative guide (*Slovenski pravopis*; e.g., *Kirgizija* or *Marshalllovo otočje*), which leaves out the names of the following seven independent countries: *Gvajana* 'Guyana' (independent since 1966), *Tuvalu* (independent since 1978), *Kiribati* (independent since 1979), *Antigva in Barbuda* 'Antigua and Barbuda' (independent since 1981), *Mikronezija* 'Micronesia' (independent since 1990), *Palav* 'Palau' (independent since 1994), and *Vzhodni Timor* 'East Timor' (independent since 2000). In turn, the normative guide lists *Portoriko* 'Puerto Rico' as an independent country, although it has been an unincorporated US territory since 1952. In addition, the normative guide lists certain old names of countries without providing a suitable explanation; for example, *Bečuanija* 'Bechuanaland' for *Bocvana* 'Botswana', *Britanski Honduras* 'British Honduras' for *Belize*, *Burma* for *Mjanmar* 'Myanmar', *Cejlon* 'Ceylon' for *Srilanka* 'Sri Lanka', *Dahomej* 'Dahomey' for *Benin*, *Formoza* 'Formosa' for *Tajvan* 'Taiwan', *Gornja Volta* 'Upper Volta' for *Burkina Faso*, *Kampučija* 'Kampuchea' for *Kambodža* 'Cambodia', and *Siam* for *Tajska* 'Thailand' (Kladnik 2005a; Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

In making the names uniform, the commission proceeded from the systematic examination of the entire corpus of names and certain principles defined in advance, such as the uniform use of the common noun *otoki* 'islands' instead of *otočje* at the end of multiword names, the Slovenianization of the names of countries named after saints and noble or royal families, and the use of short names of countries in line with everyday usage (e.g., *Rusija* 'Russia' instead of *Ruska federacija* 'Russian Federation'). Among other things, it prepared a list of multiword official full names of countries that contain two basic syntactic forms: a proper denominal adjectival premodifier (e.g., *Italijanska republika*, literally 'Italian Republic') or a nominative proper-noun appositive (e.g., *Republika Avstrija* 'Republic of Austria'). The members of the Sub-Commission for Country Names used the table of official full names of countries in English and French as provided in the ISO 3166-1 standard, which Slovenia is also required to follow. They determined that from the Slovenian linguistic perspective both syntactic forms were equal, and they therefore considered the option of only using the form with a nominative proper-noun appositive (e.g., *Republika Italija* 'Republic of Italy') in Slovenian (regardless of the syntactic form used in the original, in English, or in French), but they eventually agreed that this would have been too great a deviation from the original syntactic form (Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

After over two years of regular consultations and through consensus-based decision-making, the sub-commission produced a proposal of uniform country names for the new Slovenian standard SIST ISO 3166 and the revised Slovenian normative guide, which it also coordinated at three meetings with the Normative Guide Committee's chair, Jože Toporišič. In 2007, the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names unanimously standardized this coordinated proposal (Kladnik and Perko 2007). In this way, the Slovenian names of countries were standardized for the second time.

Thus, for the 2006 standard the commission only modified a few minor details from the 1996 standard, mostly related to more systematic and consistent Slovenianization of country names, whereby it really only introduced two new changes: for Congo and Papua New Guinea.

Because the short name *Kongo* 'Congo' refers to two countries, they cannot be distinguished from one another if only the short name is used. This is only possible by using the long name for the former Zaire (Slovenian: *Zair*) – that is, *Demokratska republika Kongo* 'Democratic Republic of the Congo' – or by adding the names of their capital cities: *Kongo Brazzaville* 'Congo-Brazzaville' and *Kongo Kinšasa* 'Congo-Kinshasa'. Such addition is common practice in English, but it also occurs in Slovenian. Due to the need to differentiate between the two short names, the commission decided to use the short forms *Zahodni Kongo* 'West Congo' and *Vzhodni Kongo* 'East Congo' based on the model of *Južna Koreja* 'South Korea' and *Severna Koreja* 'North Korea', and the two countries' location in relation to one another. These two short forms do not follow the original official short names of both countries, but that is also the case with both Koreas (Kladnik and Perko 2007; Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

With *Papua Nova Gvineja* 'Papua New Guinea', the problem is the name's syntax, which is structurally malformed in Slovenian. If the name involves a coordinating relationship between Papua and New Guinea, the proper form should be *Papua in Nova Gvineja* 'Papua and New Guinea', and, if it involves a subordinating relationship, the proper form should be *Papuanska Nova Gvineja* 'Papuanian New Guinea'. The

commission opted for *Papuanska Nova Gvineja* (just like *Ekvatorialna Gvineja* 'Equatorial Guinea'), which follows the French official name *la Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée* and emphasizes the fact that the country belongs to its people, the Papuans (Kladnik and Perko 2007; Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

Slovenian country names resulting from the second standardization were also published in the book *Slovenska imena držav* (Slovenian Country Names; Kladnik and Perko 2013c), which popularized the issue of naming countries in Slovenian (Figure 43)

7.4 Problematic country names in Slovenian

Even though country names are among the most frequently used geographical names and there are fewer than two hundred, the two standardizations of these names in Slovenian revealed various linguistic, geographical, political, and other problems (Perko 1996a; Kladnik and Perko 2007; Kladnik and Perko 2013c; Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

According to the 2001 Slovenian normative guide, the names of countries, well-known royal families, and saints are Slovenianized, whereas personal names and less well-known geographical names are left in their original form. However, because some country names also contain the names of persons, geographical features, royal families, and saints, this can cause confusion because the relationships between individual rules defined in the normative guide are not clear. One can either adhere only to the first rule and Slovenianize all country names without exception, or leave all the personal and geographical names within country names in their original form, thus only partly Slovenianizing them.

Problematic short names of countries can be divided into several groups (Kladnik and Perko 2013c; Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

The first group includes countries that contain another geographical name in their names, such as Guinea-Bissau, which is named after its capital Bissau, and Sierra Leone, which is named after the Lion Mountains (originally from Portuguese: *Serra Leoa*). If this capital city and the mountains are considered less well-known geographical names and the rule in the Slovenian normative guide is followed according to which such names are left in their original form, this results in the forms *Gvineja Bissau* and *Sierra Leone*, but if



Figure 43: Front page of the book *Slovenska imena držav* (Slovenian Country Names; Kladnik and Perko 2013c).

both names are fully Slovenianized, what we get is *Gvineja Bisau* and *Sjera Leone* or, in a translated form, even *Levje gorovje* 'Lion Mountains'. Because Guinea-Bissau is part of the Portuguese-speaking area and its capital was founded by the Portuguese, the proper form of the name is *Bissau* and not *Bissao*, which sometimes comes up. The Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names has standardized the names *Gvineja Bissau* and *Sierra Leone*.

The group of countries named after well-known royal families include two countries: Luxembourg and Liechtenstein. If their names are left in their original forms, the Slovenian and English forms are the same, but, if they are Slovenianized, they are spelled *Luksemburg* and *Lihtenštajn*. Before the two names were standardized, the Slovenianized form *Luksemburg* was more common in Slovenian, whereas it was the original form that prevailed with the other: *Liechtenstein*; this was also the result of the form provided in the normative guide. The commission has standardized the Slovenianized form for both names.

Among the countries named after persons, the most problematic in Slovenian is Mauritius because its Slovenian form varies the most among all the country names, from the original form to various degrees of Slovenianization: *Mauricius*, *Mauricijus*, *Mavricius*, *Mavricijus*, and *Mavritius*. In 1589, this island in the Indian Ocean was named in honor of stadtholder Prince Maurice von Nassau (1567-1625). The commission decided to standardize its most Slovenianized form: *Mavricij*.

With regard to countries named after a person, it is important to distinguish between possessive and classifying adjectives in Slovenian. a good example is *Saudova Arabija* 'Saudi Arabia', which is named after Ibn Saud, the founder of the ruling dynasty. The form with a classifying adjective is *Saudska Arabija* or, in an even more Slovenianized version, *Savdska Arabija*, and the form with a possessive adjective is *Saudova Arabija*. The commission decided to standardize the latter – that is, *Saudova Arabija*. The same applies to the Solomon Islands, named after the legendary biblical King Solomon, which have been standardized in Slovenian as *Salomonovi otoki* (and not *Salomonski otoki*), and the Marshall Islands, named after the British explorer John Marshall, which have been standardized as *Marshallovi otoki* (and not *Marshallski otoki*, which in Slovenian would imply they were named after the military rank of marshal).

Somewhat more extensive is the group of countries named after saints. Because the name of the nearby microstate San Marino is deeply rooted among Slovenians, it would be very difficult to Slovenianize it into *Sveti Marin* 'Saint Marinus' (e.g., the French call it *Saint-Marin*), and therefore the commission decided to standardize its original form. The situation is different with the names of more distant island countries, which the commission standardized in their Slovenianized forms: *Sveti Krištof in Nevis* 'Saint Kitts and Nevis', *Sveta Lucija* 'Saint Lucia', *Sveti Vincencij in Grenadine* 'Saint Vincent and Grenadines', and *Sveti Tomaž in Princ* 'São Tomé and Príncipe'.

The names of Muslim countries in Central Asia, once republics of the Soviet Union, form a special group. In Slovenian, two forms are used for them, one with the suffix *-ija* and one with the suffix *-stan*. The endings *-ija* (e.g., *Italija* 'Italy', *Rusija* 'Russia', *Bolivija* 'Bolivia') and *-ska* (e.g., *Poljska* 'Poland', *Japonska* 'Japan', *Tajska* 'Thailand') in Slovenian denote a country or state, like the ending *-stan* in Iranian, Turkish, and similar languages. However, based on the languages spoken in these countries, it makes more sense to use the name forms *Kazahstan* 'Kazakhstan', *Tadžikistan* 'Tajikistan', *Uzbekistan*, *Kirgizistan* 'Kyrgyzstan', and *Turkmenistan* instead of *Kazahija*, *Tadžikija*, *Uzbekija*, *Kirgizija*, and *Turkmenija*. The commission also decided to do the same. It is interesting that the forms *Pakija* and *Afganija* have never been used in Slovenian to refer to the two neighboring countries of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

The next group of countries raises the issue of whether their names should be written as one word or two; for example, *Kostarika* 'Costa Rica', *Šrilanka* 'Sri Lanka', and *Vietnam* 'Vietnam' (or sometimes *Viet Nam*). In the past, the name *Šri Lanka* was most often spelled as two words in Slovenian, but the commission decided to standardize the names of all three countries as one word.

This is followed by a group of countries for which several name forms are used in Slovenian under the influence of other languages. Thus, due to the influence of Croatian the Croatian endonym *Hrvatska* 'Croatia' is also used instead of *Hrvaška*. Similar pairs include *Zelenortski otoki* and *Kapverdski otoki* for Cabo Verde, *Srednjeafriška republika* and *Centralnoafriška republika* for the Central African Republic, *Bahrajn* and *Bahrain* for Bahrain, and *Bocvana* and *Botsvana* for Botswana. The commission has standardized the former, more Slovenianized forms.

A very large group comprises countries whose names include the generic terms *otok* 'island', *otoki* 'islands', and *otočje* 'islands, archipelago'. The singular form *otok* is not problematic. The problem is its plural form, which can be either *otoki*, which is the regular plural form, or *otočje*, which is defined as a plurale tantum

in Slovenian (like, e.g., *list* 'leaf', *listi* 'leaves', and *listje* 'leaves, foliage') and for which a rough English equivalent would be *archipelago*. In a geomorphological sense, the term *otočje* denotes a multitude of small islands or islands of various sizes, often scattered around, and the term *otoki* a smaller number of islands of a more equal size, which are often referred to with an abbreviated, single-word proper name variant (e.g., *Azorski otoki* or *Azori* for the Azores, *Havajski otoki* or *Havaji* for Hawaii, and *Kurilski otoki* or *Kurili* for the Kuril Islands). The clipped forms are also used in English (e.g., the Antilles, Maldives, and Marianas). The line between these two terms is very subjective, and therefore for these countries the commission decided to use the most general term: *otoki* (and not *otočje*).

Another problem encountered in standardizing country names is the necessity for regular or ongoing standardization because new countries are created (e.g., in recent years *Črna gora* 'Montenegro', *Srbija* 'Serbia', *Južni Sudan* 'South Sudan', and *Kosovo*) and some countries change their short names or, even more often, their full names. There have been over twenty such cases since the publication of the first Slovenian standard in 1996. For example:

- Afghanistan (Slovenian: *Afganistan*) changed its full name from the Republic of Afghanistan (Slovenian: *Republika Afganistan*) to the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (Slovenian: *Islamska republika Afganistan*);
- Bolivia (*Bolivija*) changed its full name from the Republic of Bolivia (*Republika Bolivija*) to the Plurinational State of Bolivia (*Večnacionalna država Bolivija*);
- Eritrea (*Eritreja*) switched from Eritrea (*Eritreja*) to the State of Eritrea (*Država Eritreja*);
- Nepal went from the Kingdom of Nepal (*Kraljevina Nepal*) to the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal (*Zvezna demokratična republika Nepal*);
- Somalia (*Somalija*) switched from the Somali Republic (*Somalska republika*) to the Federal Republic of Somalia (*Zvezna republika Somalija*);
- Venezuela changed its name from the Republic of Venezuela (*Republika Venezuela*) to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (*Bolivarska republika Venezuela*), and
- Congo-Kinshasa (*Vzhodni Kongo*) changed its name from the Republic of Zaire (*Republika Zair*) to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (*Demokratična republika Kongo*).

A further problem in standardizing the official full names of countries in Slovenian has to do with differences in the syntactic forms of the names in English and French with some countries – for example, *Russian Federation* (not *Federation of Russia*) versus *Fédération de Russie*, or *Republic of South Africa* (not *South African Republic*) versus *République sud-africaine*.

In Slovenianizing the official full names of countries, these can also be divided into several groups.

The first and largest group comprises countries whose official full names include their official short names in the function of a noun; for example, *Republika Slovenija* 'Republic of Slovenia', *Država Izrael* 'State of Israel', *Kraljevina Belgija* 'Kingdom of Belgium', *Skupnost Bahami* 'Commonwealth of The Bahamas', and so on.

The second group consists of countries whose official full names include their official short names in the function of an adjective; for example, *Francoska republika* (French: *République Française* 'French Republic'), *Česka republika* (Czech: *Česká Republika* 'Czech Republic'), *Portugalska republika* (Portuguese: *República Portuguesa* 'Portuguese Republic'), *Ruska federacija* (Russian: *Rossijskaja federacija* 'Russian Federation'), *Gabonska republika* (French: *République Gabonaise* 'Gabonese Republic'), and so on. This group contains the names of twelve countries.

The third group includes countries without an official full name, such as Australia, Barbados, Ireland, Japan, Romania, Turkmenistan, and Ukraine.

7.5 The sensitive nature of standardizing country names

The treatment of geographical names, including the names of countries, can be sensitive, complex, ideologically motivated, and even politically risky. The examples of *Južna Afrika* 'South Africa' and *Moldavija* 'Moldova' show the challenges that the commission had to face in standardizing the most suitable short and full names of these two countries and defending Slovenian linguistic tradition (Perko 1996a; Kladnik and Perko 2015b).

The basic problem of naming the country in Africa's extreme south is that the Slovenian name *Južna Afrika* refers to both the country of South Africa (Afrikaans: *Suid-Afrika*, French: *Afrique du sud*) and the geopolitical region of Southern Africa (Afrikaans: *Suider Afrika* and *Suidelike Afrika*, French: *Afrique australe*).

In this case, Slovenian capitalizes both words, but if reference is made to the geographically southern part of the African continent, the spelling *južna Afrika* 'south Africa' is used, with the first word uncapitalized. This is especially problematic in geography because no linguistic distinction can be made between the first two names in Slovenian. Therefore, in the past the form *Južnoafriška republika* 'Republic of South Africa' (Afrikaans: *Republiek van Suid-Afrika*, French: *la République sud-africaine*) became established in Slovenian, proceeding from the name of the British dominion *Južnoafriška unija* 'Union of South Africa' and the Boer *Južnoafriška republika* 'South African Republic' (Afrikaans: *Suid-Afrikaansche Republiek*). However, this does not match the official short and full names of the country, which succeeded these two political entities in 1961, listed in the ISO 3166 standard (Kladnik and Perko 2013c; Kladnik and Perko 2015b). Therefore, the commission decided to standardize the official short name *Južna Afrika* and the official full name *Republika Južna Afrika*. In this way, the name of the continent performs the function of a noun and the cardinal direction the function of an adjective, which is also the case in the official short and full names of the country in its nine other official languages alongside English and Afrikaans. For example, in Zulu the short name is *Ningizimu Afrika* and the full name is *iRiphabhuliki yaseNingizimu Afrika*.

A solution in Slovenian would thus be to use *Južna Afrika* as the short name of the country and *južna Afrika* to refer to the southern part of the continent.

The case of South Africa is primarily a geographical-linguistic problem, whereas with some other countries the political connotation is at least as important. The governments of some countries sometimes encourage and even demand that their endonyms be used in foreign languages instead of the traditional exonyms. Thus, for example, East Timor (Slovenian: *Vzhodni Timor*), Ivory Coast (Slovenian: *Slonokoščena obala*), and Moldova/Moldavia (Slovenian: *Moldavija*) wish their endonyms to be used in their original form in all languages: *Timor-Leste* (the original Portuguese form), *Côte d'Ivoire* (the original French form), and *Moldova* (the original Romanian/Moldavian).

Moldova even refuses to conclude agreements with Slovenia if the name *Moldova* is not used in them, which is why the Slovenian Foreign Ministry makes continuous efforts to have the forms *Moldova* and *Republika Moldova* established in Slovenian, which goes against the firmly rooted traditional Slovenian name *Moldavija*.

Such views are linguistically unacceptable. Just like any other country, Moldova defined its official name in its official language as well as its spelling in English and French, but that does not mean the same form also has to be used in Slovenian, German, Spanish, Arabic, and so on. If a text is in Moldavian (Romanian), it is also normal for the name of the country to be in Moldavian (Romanian), but if a text is in Slovenian, the name form should follow the Slovenian linguistic standard. The Slovenian form *Moldavija* has been part of Slovenian linguistic heritage at least since the first Slovenian world atlas, *Atlant*, which was published in individual sheets between 1869 and 1877. This applies to both the name of the natural, historical, and cultural region that is now divided between Romania and Moldova, and the name of the political entity in the eastern part of this region. The form *Moldavija* has so far been listed and used by the 2001 Slovenian normative guide (*Slovenski pravopis*), all Slovenian atlases, other specialized literature, school textbooks, and, naturally, the general public as a whole (Kladnik and Perko 2015a).

Moldova thus had the right to register the original Moldavian (Romanian) name in all three language versions. Because no other UN member state objected, all countries, including Slovenia (especially their government bodies), are required to:

- Use the original name *Moldova* in their English, French, or Moldavian (Romanian) documents;
- Use the Slovenian exonym *Moldavija* in Slovenian documents (in accordance with the Slovenian standard SIST ISO 3166 and the Slovenian normative guide);
- Use the names that agree with their national standards (e.g., the German or Russian standard) in documents written in other languages.

Moldova's request for Slovenia to use the Moldavian (Romanian) form *Moldova* in Slovenian has no legal or similar basis (at the international or national level) and violates Slovenia's sovereignty and right to use its geographical names in line with its linguistic tradition, normative guide, and national standard – and, ultimately, the UN resolutions on geographical names in Slovenia (Kladnik and Perko 2013c; Kladnik and Perko 2015b).

Forcing the original form *Moldova* on other countries is akin to Slovenia requesting other countries to stop using their exonyms for Slovenia in their languages (e.g., *Slowenien* in German, *Eslovenia* in Spanish, and *Slovinsko* in Slovak) and only use the Slovenian endonym *Slovenija*.

7.6 The current situation

Since 2007, the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names has regularly been standardizing the changes to country names after their publication in the UN bulletin and has been posting the current standardized list of country names on the website of the Slovenian Mapping and Surveying Authority and the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute. The last two changes to the Slovenian standard were made in 2019, when Macedonia (Slovenian: *Makedonija*, or the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, *Nekdanja jugoslovanska republika Makedonija*) changed its name to North Macedonia (Slovenian: *Severna Makedonija*), and in 2020 when Swaziland (Slovenian: *Svazi*) changed its name to Eswatini (Slovenian: *Esvatini*).

On the current list of 198 standardized country names, the Slovenian short name is equivalent to the endonym (i.e., the original name) for the following twenty-one countries and Slovenia:

- Angola (*Angola* in Portuguese and Slovenian);
- Argentina (*Argentina* in Spanish and Slovenian);
- Barbados (*Barbados* in English and Slovenian);
- Belize (*Belize* in English and Slovenian);
- Burkina Faso (*Burkina Faso* in French and Slovenian);
- Gabon (*Gabon* in French and Slovenian);
- Grenada (*Grenada* in English and Slovenian);
- Honduras (*Honduras* in Spanish and Slovenian);
- Kiribati (*Kiribati* in English, Kiribati, and Slovenian);
- Latvia (*Latvija* in Latvian and Slovenian);
- Malta (*Malta* in Maltese, English, and Slovenian);
- Niger (*Niger* in French in Slovenian);
- North Macedonia (*Severna Makedonija* in Macedonian and Slovenian);
- San Marino (*San Marino* in Italian and Slovenian);
- Serbia (*Srbija* in Serbian and Slovenian);
- Sierra Leone (*Sierra Leone* in English and Slovenian);
- Slovenia (*Slovenija* in Slovenian);
- Togo (*Togo* in French and Slovenian);
- Tonga (*Tonga* in Tongan, English, and Slovenian);
- Tuvalu (*Tuvalu* in Tuvaluan, English, and Slovenian);
- Uganda (*Uganda* in Swahili, English, and Slovenian);
- Vanuatu (*Vanuatu* in Bislama, English, French, and Slovenian).

If the stress marks and diacritics are ignored, the same applies to another seven countries:

- Benin (*Bénin* in French and *Benin* in Slovenian);
- Nepal (*Nepāl* in Nepalese and *Nepal* in Slovenian);
- Pakistan (*Pākistān* in Urdu and *Pakistan* in Slovenian);
- Panama (*Panamá* in Spanish and *Panama* in Slovenian);
- Samoa (*Sāmoa* in Samoan and *Samoa* in Slovenian);
- Senegal (*Sénégal* in French and *Senegal* in Slovenian);
- Turkmenistan (*Türkmenistan* in Turkmen and *Turkmenistan* in Slovenian).

Thus, a total of twenty-nine country names in Slovenian are the same as the original endonyms (but that does not mean that their pronunciation in the original languages and Slovenian is also the same), and the remaining 169 are Slovenian exonyms with various degrees of Slovenianization, ranging from minor changes, such as for Italy (*Italia* in Italian and *Italija* in Slovenian), Andorra (*Andorra* in Catalan and *Andora* in Slovenian), or Romania, (*România* in Romanian and *Romunija* in Slovenian) to full translations, such as for Ivory Coast (*Côte d'Ivoire* in the French original and *Slonokoščena obala* in Slovenian).

There is only one true Slovenian name (i.e., not a translation): *Nemčija* 'Germany' (*Deutschland* in German).

Among the Slovenian and English short names of countries, 163 are different and the following thirty-five are the same: Angola, Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Gabon, Grenada, Haiti, Honduras, Iran, Kiribati, Kosovo, Laos, Mali, Malta, Nauru, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Samoa, San Marino, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, Tonga, Turkmenistan, Tuvalu, Uganda, Uzbekistan, Vanuatu, and Venezuela (Table 10).

Table 10: Short, official short, and official full names of countries in English and Slovenian.

English short name	Slovenian short name	English official short name	Slovenian official short name	English official full name	Slovenian official full name
Afghanistan	<i>Afganistan</i>	Afghanistan	<i>Afganistan</i>	the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan	<i>Islamska republika Afganistan</i>
Albania	<i>Albanija</i>	Albania	<i>Albanija</i>	the Republic of Albania	<i>Republika Albanija</i>
Algeria	<i>Alžirija</i>	Algeria	<i>Alžirija</i>	the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria	<i>Ljudska demokratična republika Alžirija</i>
Andorra	<i>Andora</i>	Andorra	<i>Andora</i>	the Principality of Andorra	<i>Kneževina Andora</i>
Angola	<i>Angola</i>	Angola	<i>Angola</i>	the Republic of Angola	<i>Republika Angola</i>
Antigua and Barbuda	<i>Antigua in Barbuda</i>	Antigua and Barbuda	<i>Antigua in Barbuda</i>	—	—
Argentina	<i>Argentina</i>	Argentina	<i>Argentina</i>	the Argentine Republic	<i>Argentinska republika</i>
Armenia	<i>Armenija</i>	Armenia	<i>Armenija</i>	the Republic of Armenia	<i>Republika Armenija</i>
Australia	<i>Australija</i>	Australia	<i>Australija</i>	—	—
Austria	<i>Avstrija</i>	Austria	<i>Avstrija</i>	the Republic of Austria	<i>Republika Avstrija</i>
Azerbaijan	<i>Azerbajdžan</i>	Azerbaijan	<i>Azerbajdžan</i>	the Republic of Azerbaijan	<i>Republika Azerbajdžan</i>
Bahamas (the)	<i>Bahami</i>	Bahamas (the)	<i>Bahami</i>	the Commonwealth of the Bahamas	<i>Skupnost Bahami</i>
Bahrain	<i>Bahrajn</i>	Bahrain	<i>Bahrajn</i>	the Kingdom of Bahrain	<i>Kraljevina Bahrajn</i>
Bangladesh	<i>Bangladeš</i>	Bangladesh	<i>Bangladeš</i>	the People's Republic of Bangladesh	<i>Ljudska republika Bangladeš</i>
Barbados	<i>Barbados</i>	Barbados	<i>Barbados</i>	—	—
Belarus	<i>Belorusija</i>	Belarus	<i>Belorusija</i>	the Republic of Belarus	<i>Republika Belorusija</i>
Belgium	<i>Belgija</i>	Belgium	<i>Belgija</i>	the Kingdom of Belgium	<i>Kraljevina Belgija</i>
Belize	<i>Belize</i>	Belize	<i>Belize</i>	—	—
Benin	<i>Benin</i>	Benin	<i>Benin</i>	the Republic of Benin	<i>Republika Benin</i>
Bhutan	<i>Butan</i>	Bhutan	<i>Butan</i>	the Kingdom of Bhutan	<i>Kraljevina Butan</i>
Bolivia	<i>Bolivija</i>	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	<i>Večnacionalna država Bolivija</i>	the Plurinational State of Bolivia	<i>Večnacionalna država Bolivija</i>
Bosnia and Herzegovina	<i>Bosna in Hercegovina</i>	Bosnia and Herzegovina	<i>Bosna in Hercegovina</i>	—	—
Botswana	<i>Bocvana</i>	Botswana	<i>Bocvana</i>	the Republic of Botswana	<i>Republika Bocvana</i>
Brazil	<i>Brazilija</i>	Brazil	<i>Brazilija</i>	the Federative Republic of Brazil	<i>Federativna republika Brazilija</i>
Brunei	<i>Brunej</i>	Brunei Darussalam	<i>Država Brunej</i>	—	—
Bulgaria	<i>Bolgarija</i>	Bulgaria	<i>Bolgarija</i>	the Republic of Bulgaria	<i>Republika Bolgarija</i>
Burkina Faso	<i>Burkina Faso</i>	Burkina Faso	<i>Burkina Faso</i>	—	—
Burundi	<i>Burundi</i>	Burundi	<i>Burundi</i>	the Republic of Burundi	<i>Republika Burundi</i>
Cabo Verde	<i>Zelenarski otoki</i>	Cabo Verde	<i>Zelenarski otoki</i>	the Republic of Cabo Verde	<i>Republika Zelenarski otoki</i>
Cambodia	<i>Kambodža</i>	Cambodia	<i>Kambodža</i>	the Kingdom of Cambodia	<i>Kraljevina Kambodža</i>
Cameroon	<i>Kamerun</i>	Cameroon	<i>Kamerun</i>	the Republic of Cameroon	<i>Republika Kamerun</i>
Canada	<i>Kanada</i>	Canada	<i>Kanada</i>	—	—
Central African Republic (the)	<i>Srednjeafriška republika</i>	Central African Republic (the)	<i>Srednjeafriška republika</i>	the Central African Republic	<i>Srednjeafriška republika</i>
Chad	<i>Čad</i>	Chad	<i>Čad</i>	the Republic of Chad	<i>Republika Čad</i>
Chile	<i>Čile</i>	Chile	<i>Čile</i>	the Republic of Chile	<i>Republika Čile</i>
China	<i>Kitajska</i>	China	<i>Kitajska</i>	the People's Republic of China	<i>Ljudska republika Kitajska</i>

Colombia	<i>Kolumbija</i>	Colombia	<i>Kolumbija</i>	the Republic of Colombia	<i>Republika Kolumbija</i>
Comoros (the)	<i>Komori</i>	Comoros (the)	<i>Komori</i>	the Union of the Comoros	<i>Zveza Komori</i>
Congo-Brazzaville	<i>Zahodni Kongo</i>	Congo (the)	<i>Kongo</i>	the Republic of the Congo	<i>Republika Kongo</i>
Congo-Kinshasa	<i>Vzhodni Kongo</i>	Congo (the Democratic Republic of the)	<i>Demokratska republika Kongo</i>	the Democratic Republic of the Congo	<i>Demokratska republika Kongo</i>
Costa Rica	<i>Kostarika</i>	Costa Rica	<i>Kostarika</i>	the Republic of Costa Rica	<i>Republika Kostarika</i>
Croatia	<i>Hrvaška</i>	Croatia	<i>Hrvaška</i>	the Republic of Croatia	<i>Republika Hrvaška</i>
Cuba	<i>Kuba</i>	Cuba	<i>Kuba</i>	the Republic of Cuba	<i>Republika Kuba</i>
Cyprus	<i>Ciper</i>	Cyprus	<i>Ciper</i>	the Republic of Cyprus	<i>Republika Ciper</i>
Czechia [not yet in common use]	<i>Česka</i>	Czechia	<i>Česka</i>	the Czech Republic	<i>Česka republika</i>
Denmark	<i>Danska</i>	Denmark	<i>Danska</i>	the Kingdom of Denmark	<i>Kraljevina Danska</i>
Djibouti	<i>Džibuti</i>	Djibouti	<i>Džibuti</i>	the Republic of Djibouti	<i>Republika Džibuti</i>
Dominica	<i>Dominika</i>	Dominica	<i>Dominika</i>	the Commonwealth of Dominica	<i>Skupnost Dominika</i>
Dominican Republic (the)	<i>Dominikanska republika</i>	Dominican Republic (the)	<i>Dominikanska republika</i>	the Dominican Republic	<i>Dominikanska republika</i>
East Timor	<i>Vzhodni Timor</i>	Timor-Leste	<i>Vzhodni Timor</i>	the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste	<i>Demokratska republika Vzhodni Timor</i>
Ecuador	<i>Ekvador</i>	Ecuador	<i>Ekvador</i>	the Republic of Ecuador	<i>Republika Ekvador</i>
Egypt	<i>Egipt</i>	Egypt	<i>Egipt</i>	the Arab Republic of Egypt	<i>Arabska republika Egipt</i>
El Salvador	<i>Salvador</i>	El Salvador	<i>Salvador</i>	the Republic of El Salvador	<i>Republika Salvador</i>
Equatorial Guinea	<i>Ekvatorialna Gvineja</i>	Equatorial Guinea	<i>Ekvatorialna Gvineja</i>	the Republic of Equatorial Guinea	<i>Republika Ekvatorialna Gvineja</i>
Eritrea	<i>Eritreja</i>	Eritrea	<i>Eritreja</i>	the State of Eritrea	<i>Država Eritreja</i>
Estonia	<i>Estonija</i>	Estonia	<i>Estonija</i>	the Republic of Estonia	<i>Republika Estonija</i>
Eswatini	<i>Esvatini</i>	Eswatini	<i>Esvatini</i>	the Kingdom of Eswatini	<i>Kraljevina Esvatini</i>
Ethiopia	<i>Etiopija</i>	Ethiopia	<i>Etiopija</i>	the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia	<i>Zvezna demokratska republika Etiopija</i>
Fiji	<i>Fidži</i>	Fiji	<i>Fidži</i>	the Republic of Fiji	<i>Republika Fidži</i>
Finland	<i>Finska</i>	Finland	<i>Finska</i>	the Republic of Finland	<i>Republika Finska</i>
France	<i>Francija</i>	France	<i>Francija</i>	the French Republic	<i>Francoska republika</i>
Gabon	<i>Gabon</i>	Gabon	<i>Gabon</i>	the Gabonese Republic	<i>Gabonska republika</i>
Gambia (the)	<i>Gambija</i>	Gambia (the)	<i>Gambija</i>	the Republic of the Gambia	<i>Republika Gambija</i>
Georgia	<i>Gruzija</i>	Georgia	<i>Gruzija</i>	—	—
Germany	<i>Nemčija</i>	Germany	<i>Nemčija</i>	the Federal Republic of Germany	<i>Zvezna republika Nemčija</i>
Ghana	<i>Gana</i>	Ghana	<i>Gana</i>	the Republic of Ghana	<i>Republika Gana</i>
Greece	<i>Grčija</i>	Greece	<i>Grčija</i>	the Hellenic Republic	<i>Helenska republika</i>
Grenada	<i>Grenada</i>	Grenada	<i>Grenada</i>	—	—
Guatemala	<i>Gvatemala</i>	Guatemala	<i>Gvatemala</i>	the Republic of Guatemala	<i>Republika Gvatemala</i>
Guinea	<i>Gvineja</i>	Guinea	<i>Gvineja</i>	the Republic of Guinea	<i>Republika Gvineja</i>
Guinea-Bissau	<i>Gvineja-Bissau</i>	Guinea-Bissau	<i>Gvineja-Bissau</i>	the Republic of Guinea-Bissau	<i>Republika Gvineja-Bissau</i>
Guyana	<i>Gvajana</i>	Guyana	<i>Gvajana</i>	the Co-operative Republic of Guyana	<i>Kooperativna republika Gvajana</i>
Haiti	<i>Haiti</i>	Haiti	<i>Haiti</i>	the Republic of Haiti	<i>Republika Haiti</i>
Honduras	<i>Honduras</i>	Honduras	<i>Honduras</i>	the Republic of Honduras	<i>Republika Honduras</i>

English short name	Slovenian short name	English official short name	Slovenian official short name	English official full name	Slovenian official full name
Hungary	<i>Madžarska</i>	Hungary	<i>Madžarska</i>	—	—
Iceland	<i>Islandija</i>	Iceland	<i>Islandija</i>	the Republic of Iceland	<i>Republika Islandija</i>
India	<i>Indija</i>	India	<i>Indija</i>	the Republic of India	<i>Republika Indija</i>
Indonesia	<i>Indonezija</i>	Indonesia	<i>Indonezija</i>	the Republic of Indonesia	<i>Republika Indonezija</i>
Iran	<i>Iran</i>	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	<i>Islamska republika Iran</i>	the Islamic Republic of Iran	<i>Islamska republika Iran</i>
Iraq	<i>Irak</i>	Iraq	<i>Irak</i>	the Republic of Iraq	<i>Republika Irak</i>
Ireland	<i>Irška</i>	Ireland	<i>Irška</i>	—	—
Israel	<i>Izrael</i>	Israel	<i>Izrael</i>	the State of Israel	<i>Džava Izrael</i>
Italy	<i>Italija</i>	Italy	<i>Italija</i>	the Republic of Italy	<i>Italijanska republika</i>
Ivory Coast	<i>Slonokoščena obala</i>	Côte d'Ivoire	<i>Slonokoščena obala</i>	the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire	<i>Republika Slonokoščena obala</i>
Jamaica	<i>Jamajka</i>	Jamaica	<i>Jamajka</i>	—	—
Japan	<i>Japonska</i>	Japan	<i>Japonska</i>	—	—
Jordan	<i>Jordanija</i>	Jordan	<i>Jordanija</i>	the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan	<i>Hasemitska kraljevina Jordanija</i>
Kazakhstan	<i>Kazahstan</i>	Kazakhstan	<i>Kazahstan</i>	the Republic of Kazakhstan	<i>Republika Kazahstan</i>
Kenya	<i>Kenija</i>	Kenya	<i>Kenija</i>	the Republic of Kenya	<i>Republika Kenija</i>
Kiribati	<i>Kiribati</i>	Kiribati	<i>Kiribati</i>	the Republic of Kiribati	<i>Republika Kiribati</i>
Kosovo	<i>Kosovo</i>	Kosovo	<i>Kosovo</i>	the Republic of Kosovo	<i>Republika Kosovo</i>
Kuwait	<i>Kuvajit</i>	Kuwait	<i>Kuvajit</i>	the State of Kuwait	<i>Džava Kuvajit</i>
Kyrgyzstan	<i>Kirgizistan</i>	Kyrgyzstan	<i>Kirgizistan</i>	the Kyrgyz Republic	<i>Kirgiška republika</i>
Laos	<i>Laos</i>	Lao People's Democratic Republic (the)	<i>Laoska ljudska demokratična republika</i>	the Lao People's Democratic Republic	<i>Laoska ljudska demokratična republika</i>
Latvia	<i>Latvija</i>	Latvia	<i>Latvija</i>	the Republic of Latvia	<i>Republika Latvija</i>
Lebanon	<i>Libanon</i>	Lebanon	<i>Libanon</i>	the Lebanese Republic	<i>Libanonska republika</i>
Lesotho	<i>Lesoto</i>	Lesotho	<i>Lesoto</i>	the Kingdom of Lesotho	<i>Kraljevina Lesoto</i>
Liberia	<i>Liberija</i>	Liberia	<i>Liberija</i>	the Republic of Liberia	<i>Republika Liberija</i>
Libya	<i>Libija</i>	Libya	<i>Libija</i>	the State of Libya	<i>Džava Libija</i>
Liechtenstein	<i>Lihenštajn</i>	Liechtenstein	<i>Lihenštajn</i>	the Principality of Liechtenstein	<i>Kneževina Lihenštajn</i>
Lithuania	<i>Litva</i>	Lithuania	<i>Litva</i>	the Republic of Lithuania	<i>Republika Litva</i>
Luxembourg	<i>Luksemburg</i>	Luxembourg	<i>Luksemburg</i>	the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg	<i>Veliko vojvodstvo Luksemburg</i>
Madagascar	<i>Madagaskar</i>	Madagascar	<i>Madagaskar</i>	the Republic of Madagascar	<i>Republika Madagaskar</i>
Malawi	<i>Malavi</i>	Malawi	<i>Malavi</i>	the Republic of Malawi	<i>Republika Malavi</i>
Malaysia	<i>Malezija</i>	Malaysia	<i>Malezija</i>	—	—
Maldives	<i>Maldivi</i>	Maldives	<i>Maldivi</i>	the Republic of Maldives	<i>Republika Maldivi</i>
Mali	<i>Mali</i>	Mali	<i>Mali</i>	the Republic of Mali	<i>Republika Mali</i>
Malta	<i>Malta</i>	Malta	<i>Malta</i>	the Republic of Malta	<i>Republika Malta</i>

Marshall Islands (the)	<i>Marshallovi otoki</i>	Marshall Islands (the)	<i>Marshallovi otoki</i>	the Republic of the Marshall Islands	<i>Republika Marshallovi otoki</i>
Mauritania	<i>Mavretanija</i>	Mauritania	<i>Mavretanija</i>	the Islamic Republic of Mauritania	<i>Islamska republika Mavretanija</i>
Mauritius	<i>Mavričij</i>	Mauritius	<i>Mavričij</i>	the Republic of Mauritius	<i>Republika Mavričij</i>
Mexico	<i>Mehika</i>	Mexico	<i>Mehika</i>	the United Mexican States	<i>Združene mehiške države</i>
Micronesia	<i>Mikronezija</i>	Micronesia (Federated States of)	<i>Združene države Mikronezije</i>	the Federated States of Micronesia	<i>Združene države Mikronezije</i>
Moldova	<i>Moldavija</i>	Moldova (the Republic of)	<i>Republika Moldavija</i>	the Republic of Moldova	<i>Republika Moldavija</i>
Monaco	<i>Monako</i>	Monaco	<i>Monako</i>	the Principality of Monaco	<i>Kneževina Monako</i>
Mongolia	<i>Mongolija</i>	Mongolia	<i>Mongolija</i>	—	—
Montenegro	<i>Črna gora</i>	Montenegro	<i>Črna gora</i>	—	—
Morocco	<i>Maroko</i>	Morocco	<i>Maroko</i>	the Kingdom of Morocco	<i>Kraljevina Maroko</i>
Mozambique	<i>Mozambik</i>	Mozambique	<i>Mozambik</i>	the Republic of Mozambique	<i>Republika Mozambik</i>
Myanmar	<i>Mjanmar</i>	Myanmar	<i>Mjanmar</i>	the Republic of the Union of Myanmar	<i>Republika Zveza Mjanmar</i>
Namibia	<i>Namibija</i>	Namibia	<i>Namibija</i>	the Republic of Namibia	<i>Republika Namibija</i>
Nauru	<i>Nauru</i>	Nauru	<i>Nauru</i>	the Republic of Nauru	<i>Republika Nauru</i>
Nepal	<i>Nepal</i>	Nepal	<i>Nepal</i>	the Federal Democratic Republic of Nepal	<i>Zvezna demokratična republika Nepal</i>
Netherlands (the)	<i>Nizozemska</i>	Netherlands (the)	<i>Nizozemska</i>	the Kingdom of the Netherlands	<i>Kraljevina Nizozemska</i>
New Zealand	<i>Nova Zelandija</i>	New Zealand	<i>Nova Zelandija</i>	—	—
Nicaragua	<i>Nikaragva</i>	Nicaragua	<i>Nikaragva</i>	the Republic of Nicaragua	<i>Republika Nikaragva</i>
Niger (l/the)	<i>Niger</i>	Niger (the)	<i>Niger</i>	the Republic of the Niger	<i>Republika Niger</i>
Nigeria	<i>Nigerija</i>	Nigeria	<i>Nigerija</i>	the Federal Republic of Nigeria	<i>Zvezna republika Nigerija</i>
North Korea	<i>Severna Koreja</i>	Korea (the Democratic People's Republic of)	<i>Demokratična ljudska republika Koreja</i>	the Democratic People's Republic of Korea	<i>Demokratična ljudska republika Koreja</i>
North Macedonia	<i>Severna Makedonija</i>	North Macedonia	<i>Severna Makedonija</i>	the Republic of North Macedonia	<i>Republika Severna Makedonija</i>
Norway	<i>Norveška</i>	Norway	<i>Norveška</i>	the Kingdom of Norway	<i>Kraljevina Norveška</i>
Oman	<i>Oman</i>	Oman	<i>Oman</i>	the Sultanate of Oman	<i>Sultanat Oman</i>
Pakistan	<i>Pakistan</i>	Pakistan	<i>Pakistan</i>	the Islamic Republic of Pakistan	<i>Islamska republika Pakistan</i>
Palau	<i>Palav</i>	Palau	<i>Palav</i>	the Republic of Palau	<i>Republika Palav</i>
Palestine	<i>Palestina</i>	Palestine, State of (the)	<i>Država Palestina</i>	the State of Palestine	<i>Država Palestina</i>
Panama	<i>Panama</i>	Panama	<i>Panama</i>	the Republic of Panama	<i>Republika Panama</i>
Papua New Guinea	<i>Papuanova Gvineja</i>	Papua New Guinea	<i>Papuanova Nova Gvineja</i>	the Independent State of Papua New Guinea	<i>Neodvisna država Papuanova Nova Gvineja</i>
Paraguay	<i>Paragvaj</i>	Paraguay	<i>Paragvaj</i>	the Republic of Paraguay	<i>Republika Paragvaj</i>
Peru	<i>Peru</i>	Peru	<i>Peru</i>	the Republic of Peru	<i>Republika Peru</i>
Philippines (the)	<i>Filipini</i>	Philippines (the)	<i>Filipini</i>	the Republic of the Philippines	<i>Republika Filipini</i>
Poland	<i>Pojlska</i>	Poland	<i>Pojlska</i>	the Republic of Poland	<i>Republika Poljska</i>
Portugal	<i>Portugalska</i>	Portugal	<i>Portugalska</i>	the Portuguese Republic	<i>Portugalska republika</i>
Qatar	<i>Katar</i>	Qatar	<i>Katar</i>	the State of Qatar	<i>Država Katar</i>
Romania	<i>Romunija</i>	Romania	<i>Romunija</i>	—	—
Russian Federation (the)	<i>Rusija</i>	Russian Federation (the)	<i>Ruska federacija</i>	the Russian Federation	<i>Ruska federacija</i>
Rwanda	<i>Ruanda</i>	Rwanda	<i>Ruanda</i>	the Republic of Rwanda	<i>Republika Ruanda</i>

English short name	Slovenian short name	English official short name	Slovenian official short name	English official full name	Slovenian official full name
Saint Kitts and Nevis	<i>Sveti Kristof in Nevis</i>	Saint Kitts and Nevis	<i>Sveti Kristof in Nevis</i>	—	—
Saint Lucia	<i>Sveta Lucija</i>	Saint Lucia	<i>Sveta Lucija</i>	—	—
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	<i>Sveti Vincencij in Grenadine</i>	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	<i>Sveti Vincencij in Grenadine</i>	—	—
Samoa	<i>Samoa</i>	Samoa	<i>Samoa</i>	the Independent State of Samoa	<i>Neodvisna država Samoa</i>
San Marino	<i>San Marino</i>	San Marino	<i>San Marino</i>	the Republic of San Marino	<i>Republika San Marino</i>
Sao Tome and Principe	<i>Sveti Tomaž in Princ</i>	Sao Tome and Principe	<i>Sveti Tomaž in Princ</i>	the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe	<i>Demokratska republika Sveti Tomaž in Princ</i>
Saudi Arabia	<i>Saudova Arabija</i>	Saudi Arabia	<i>Saudova Arabija</i>	the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	<i>Kraljevina Saudova Arabija</i>
Senegal	<i>Senegal</i>	Senegal	<i>Senegal</i>	the Republic of Senegal	<i>Republika Senegal</i>
Serbia	<i>Srbija</i>	Serbia	<i>Srbija</i>	the Republic of Serbia	<i>Republika Srbija</i>
Seychelles	<i>Sejšeli</i>	Seychelles	<i>Sejšeli</i>	the Republic of Seychelles	<i>Republika Sejšeli</i>
Sierra Leone	<i>Sierra Leone</i>	Sierra Leone	<i>Sierra Leone</i>	the Republic of Sierra Leone	<i>Republika Sierra Leone</i>
Singapore	<i>Singapur</i>	Singapore	<i>Singapur</i>	the Republic of Singapore	<i>Republika Singapur</i>
Slovakia	<i>Slovaška</i>	Slovakia	<i>Slovaška</i>	the Slovak Republic	<i>Slovaška republika</i>
Slovenia	<i>Slovenija</i>	Slovenia	<i>Slovenija</i>	the Republic of Slovenia	<i>Republika Slovenija</i>
Solomon Islands (the)	<i>Salomonovi otoki</i>	Solomon Islands (the)	<i>Salomonovi otoki</i>	—	—
Somalia	<i>Somalija</i>	Somalia	<i>Somalija</i>	the Federal Republic of Somalia	<i>Zvezna republika Somalija</i>
South Africa	<i>Južna Afrika</i>	South Africa	<i>Južna Afrika</i>	the Republic of South Africa	<i>Republika Južna Afrika</i>
South Korea	<i>Južna Koreja</i>	Korea (the Republic of)	<i>Republika Koreja</i>	the Republic of Korea	<i>Republika Koreja</i>
South Sudan	<i>Južni Sudan</i>	South Sudan	<i>Južni Sudan</i>	the Republic of South Sudan	<i>Republika Južni Sudan</i>
Spain	<i>Španija</i>	Spain	<i>Španija</i>	the Kingdom of Spain	<i>Kraljevina Španija</i>
Sri Lanka	<i>Šrilanka</i>	Sri Lanka	<i>Šrilanka</i>	the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka	<i>Demokratska socialistična republika Šrilanka</i>
Sudan (Ø/the)	<i>Sudan</i>	Sudan (the)	<i>Sudan</i>	the Republic of the Sudan	<i>Republika Sudan</i>
Suriname	<i>Surinam</i>	Suriname	<i>Surinam</i>	the Republic of Suriname	<i>Republika Surinam</i>
Sweden	<i>Švedska</i>	Sweden	<i>Švedska</i>	the Kingdom of Sweden	<i>Kraljevina Švedska</i>
Switzerland	<i>Švica</i>	Switzerland	<i>Švica</i>	the Swiss Confederation	<i>Švicarska konfederacija</i>
Syria	<i>Sirija</i>	Syrian Arab Republic (the)	<i>Sirska arabska republika</i>	the Syrian Arab Republic	<i>Sirska arabska republika</i>
Taiwan	<i>Tajvan</i>	Taiwan (Province of China)	<i>Kitajska provinca Tajvan</i>	—	—
Tajikistan	<i>Tadžikistan</i>	Tajikistan	<i>Tadžikistan</i>	the Republic of Tajikistan	<i>Republika Tadžikistan</i>
Tanzania	<i>Tanzanija</i>	Tanzania, the United Republic of	<i>Združena republika Tanzanija</i>	the United Republic of Tanzania	<i>Združena republika Tanzanija</i>
Thailand	<i>Tajska</i>	Thailand	<i>Tajska</i>	the Kingdom of Thailand	<i>Kraljevina Tajska</i>
Togo	<i>Togo</i>	Togo	<i>Togo</i>	the Togolese Republic	<i>Togovska republika</i>
Tonga	<i>Tonga</i>	Tonga	<i>Tonga</i>	the Kingdom of Tonga	<i>Kraljevina Tonga</i>
Trinidad and Tobago	<i>Trinidad in Tobago</i>	Trinidad and Tobago	<i>Trinidad in Tobago</i>	the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago	<i>Republika Trinidad in Tobago</i>
Tunisia	<i>Tunizija</i>	Tunisia	<i>Tunizija</i>	the Republic of Tunisia	<i>Republika Tunizija</i>

Turkey	Turčija	Turkey	Turčija	the Republic of Turkey	Republika Turčija
Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan	Turkmenistan	—	—
Tuvalu	Tuvalu	Tuvalu	Tuvalu	—	—
Uganda	Uganda	Uganda	Uganda	the Republic of Uganda	Republika Uganda
Ukraine	Ukraina	Ukraine	Ukraina	—	—
United Arab Emirates (the)	Združeni arabski emirati	United Arab Emirates (the)	Združeni arabski emirati	the United Arab Emirates	Združeni arabski emirati
United Kingdom (the)	Združeno kraljestvo	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (the)	Združeno kraljestvo Velike Britanije in Severne Irske	the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Združeno kraljestvo Velike Britanije in Severne Irske
United States (the)	Združene države	United States of America (the)	Združene države Amerike	the United States of America	Združene države Amerike
Uruguay	Urugvaj	Uruguay	Urugvaj	the Eastern Republic of Uruguay	Vzhodna republika Urugvaj
Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	Uzbekistan	the Republic of Uzbekistan	Republika Uzbekistan
Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	Vanuatu	the Republic of Vanuatu	Republika Vanuatu
Vatican (the)	Vatikan	Holy See (the)	Sveti sedež	—	—
Venezuela	Venezuela	Venezuela	Bolivarska republika Venezuela	the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela	Bolivarska republika Venezuela
Vietnam	Vietnam	Viet Nam	Vietnam	the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam	Socialistična republika Vietnam
Western Sahara	Zahodna Sahara	Western Sahara	Zahodna Sahara	—	—
Yemen	Jemen	Yemen	Jemen	the Republic of Yemen	Republika Jemen
Zambia	Zambija	Zambia	Zambija	the Republic of Zambia	Republika Zambija
Zimbabwe	Zimbabve	Zimbabwe	Zimbabve	the Republic of Zimbabwe	Republika Zimbabve

Table 10, in which independent countries are listed in the alphabetical order of their English short names, includes the following columns:

- English short name;
- Slovenian short name;
- English official short name (as listed in ISO 3166–1);
- Slovenian official short name (as standardized by the Slovenian Government’s Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names);
- English official full name (as listed in ISO 3166–1); and
- Slovenian official full name (as standardized by the Slovenian Government’s Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names).

8 Gazetteers and registers of geographical names

When Slovenia joined the UN in 1992, it also agreed to respect all its resolutions on geographical names. Several resolutions promote the compilation of registers of geographical names, the publication of lists of geographical names (i.e., gazetteers), and the standardization of geographical names in different languages, and so the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names is also active in this area (Kladnik and Perko 2013c; 2015a).

To date, the commission has participated in the compilation, standardization, and publication of two gazetteers: one for a 1:1,000,000 map and one for a 1:250,000 map. It is engaged in ongoing collaboration on two databases of geographical names: a list of names of countries and dependent territories, and the most extensive database of geographical names in Slovenia, which contains names from official national maps of varying scales.

8.1 Register of country names

The oldest of the gazetteers mentioned is the register of names of countries and dependent territories, which was created in 1995 as a basis for the first standardization of official short and full names of countries and dependent territories carried out by the commission in 1996. It was published as part of Slovenian standard SIST ISO 3166 that same year by the Slovenian Institute for Standardization. The development of this register, which is continually updated, is discussed in Chapter 7.

At the end of 2020, the register encompassed 250 units (countries and dependent territories with a high degree of independence) containing numerous data, including names in Slovenian, English, French, and the original language. Slovenian names were last standardized by the commission in their entirety in 2006, and since then all changes have been standardized on an ongoing basis. Part of this register, which includes standardized Slovenian short, official short, and official full names, is published on the websites of the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority and the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute.

8.2 Gazetteer for a 1:1,000,000 map

In 2001, the commission standardized Slovenian names on a 1:1,000,000 map of Slovenia. The map and gazetteer were published in the bilingual English–Slovenian publication *Zgoščeni imenik zemljepisnih imen Slovenije / Concise Gazetteer of Slovenia*, which was issued by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority as part of the *United Nations Series of National Gazetteers*.

The introductory part of the publication provides a geographical overview of Slovenia and describes the Slovenian language and alphabet. It is followed by a table with some Slovenian geographical terms in English, German, French, and Spanish. Most of the book is taken up by a double-page map (Figure 44), a legend, and a gazetteer of all names with the name type, the position on the map grid, and the latitude and longitude (Perko 2001).

Figure 44: Detail from the 1:1,000,000 map (© Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia). ►



There are a total of 843 names on the map, of which 464 are in Slovenia, 127 in Austria, sixteen in Hungary, 183 in Croatia, and fifty-three in Italy. Bilingual names are counted as one name. There are fourteen bilingual names on the border: six on the border with Austria (e.g., Slovenian *Karavanke* and German *Karawanken* ‘Karawanks’), one on the border with Hungary (Slovenian *Krka* and Hungarian *Kerka* ‘Krka River’), three on the border with Croatia (e.g., Slovenian *Sotla* and Croatian *Sutla* ‘Sotla River’), and four on the border with Italy (e.g., Slovenian *Julijske Alpe* and Italian *Alpi Giulie* ‘Julian Alps’). Bilingual variants are also provided for one hundred Slovenian endonyms and exonyms outside Slovenia (the Slovenian name is written in parentheses), of which fifty-three are in Austria, three in Hungary, six in Croatia, and thirty-eight in Italy. In Slovenia, there are twelve names written in the two bilingual areas: four are Slovenian–Hungarian and eight are Slovenian–Italian (the Hungarian or Italian name is added in parentheses).

Within Slovenia, the names of villages, or comonyms, predominate, accounting for 64%, followed by the names of water bodies, or hydronyms, accounting for 12%. Other name types are oronyms, choronyms, and astionyms, accounting for roughly equal shares (Table 11).

8.3 Gazetteer for a 1:250,000 map

In 2007, the commission standardized Slovenian geographical names in Slovenia and Slovenian exonyms in Austria, Hungary, Croatia, and Italy on a 1:250,000 map. The publication, issued in 2008 by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority in Slovenian and English, has a map on the front (Figure 45) and a list of names on the back with the name type and grid location on the map, and easting and northing coordinates of the UTM system in meters. It was published as the *Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne*

Table 11: Geographical names on the 1:1,000,000 map by type and country.

Type	Country (number)						
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy	Total	Outside Slovenia
Oronyms	40	9	0	6	3	58	18
Hydronyms	54	12	2	15	8	91	37
Choronyms	33	8	1	10	3	55	22
Astionyms	39	7	2	19	18	85	46
Comonyms	298	91	11	133	21	554	256
Total	464	127	16	183	53	843	379
Type	Country (% of total)						
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy	Total	Outside Slovenia
Oronyms	68.97	15.52	0.00	10.34	5.17	100.00	31.03
Hydronyms	59.34	13.19	2.20	16.48	8.79	100.00	40.66
Choronyms	60.00	14.55	1.82	18.18	5.45	100.00	40.00
Astionyms	45.88	8.24	2.35	22.35	21.18	100.00	54.12
Comonyms	53.79	16.43	1.99	24.01	3.79	100.00	46.21
Total	55.04	15.07	1.90	21.71	6.29	100.00	44.96
Type	Country (% within country)						
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy	Total	Outside Slovenia
Oronyms	8.62	7.09	0.00	3.28	5.66	6.88	4.75
Hydronyms	11.64	9.45	12.50	8.20	15.09	10.79	9.76
Choronyms	7.11	6.30	6.25	5.46	5.66	6.52	5.80
Astionyms	8.41	5.51	12.50	10.38	33.96	10.08	12.14
Comonyms	64.22	71.65	68.75	72.68	39.62	65.72	67.55
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Figure 45: Detail from the 1:250,000 map (© Surveying and Mapping Authority of the Republic of Slovenia). ►



karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1 : 250 000 / Gazetteer of the National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia at the Scale 1:250,000 (Furlan et al. 2008).

There are a total of 8,203 names on the map, of which 4,273 are in Slovenia, 1,078 in Austria, 102 in Hungary, 2,271 in Croatia, and 479 in Italy.

Bilingual names are counted as one name. There are forty-four bilingual names on the border (separated by a slash): twenty-two on the border with Austria, one on the border with Hungary, twelve on the border with Croatia, and nine on the border with Italy. Twenty-six Slovenian exonyms outside Slovenia are written bilingually (the Slovenian name is written in parentheses): nine in Austria, one in Hungary, six in Croatia, and ten in Italy. There are also 613 Slovenian endonyms outside Slovenia that are written bilingually (they are separated from endonyms in the languages of the majority nations by a slash): 393 in Austria, seven in Hungary, four in Croatia, and 209 in Italy. In Slovenia, fifty-one names are written in the two bilingual areas (separated by a slash): thirty-one Slovenian–Hungarian and twenty Slovenian–Italian.

Within Slovenia, the names of villages, or comonyms, heavily predominate, accounting for 84%. Oronyms account for 8%, hydronyms for 7%, and choronyms and astionyms for only 1% each (Table 12).

8.4 Register of geographical names

The Register of Geographical Names (*Register zemljepisnih imen*, REZI) is maintained by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority and was first published in 1997. It contains geographical names from national maps at four levels of detail: for scales of 1:5,000 (or 1:10,000 for sparsely populated areas), 1:25,000, 1:250,000, and 1:1,000,000. For each geographical name, data are kept on the type of name, its position on the map, and its link to other registers of national spatial data.

The register distinguishes thirty-seven types of names or named objects: nine oronyms (e.g., mountains or caves), ten hydronyms (e.g., rivers or waterfalls), three choronyms (e.g., countries or provinces),

Table 12: Geographical names on a 1:250,000 map by type and country.

Type	Country (number)						Total	Outside Slovenia
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy			
Oronyms	344	109	2	67	37	559	215	
Hydronyms	277	102	10	175	48	612	335	
Choronyms	43	5	3	10	3	64	21	
Astionyms	39	7	2	20	18	86	47	
Comonyms	3,570	855	85	1,999	373	6,882	3,312	
Total	4,273	1,078	102	2,271	479	8,203	3,930	
Type	Country (% of total)						Total	Outside Slovenia
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy			
Oronyms	61.54	19.50	0.36	11.99	6.62	100.00	38.46	
Hydronyms	45.26	16.67	1.63	28.59	7.84	100.00	54.74	
Choronyms	67.19	7.81	4.69	15.63	4.69	100.00	32.81	
Astionyms	45.35	8.14	2.33	23.26	20.93	100.00	54.65	
Comonyms	51.87	12.42	1.24	29.05	5.42	100.00	48.13	
Total	52.09	13.14	1.24	27.68	5.84	100.00	47.91	
Type	Country (% within country)						Total	Outside Slovenia
	Slovenia	Austria	Hungary	Croatia	Italy			
Oronyms	8.05	10.11	1.96	2.95	7.72	6.81	5.47	
Hydronyms	6.48	9.46	9.80	7.71	10.02	7.46	8.52	
Choronyms	1.01	0.46	2.94	0.44	0.63	0.78	0.53	
Astionyms	0.91	0.65	1.96	0.88	3.76	1.05	1.20	
Comonyms	83.55	79.31	83.33	88.02	77.87	83.90	84.27	
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	

four astionyms (e.g., cities or streets), and eleven comonyms (e.g., villages or farms). Of these, eleven are micronyms (e.g., churches or solitary rock formations) and twenty-six are macronyms (e.g., mountain ranges or railway lines). This division is approximate because a particular name can be classified into several types, and the boundary between microtoponyms and macrotoponyms is also not unambiguously defined.

Geographical names at the 1:1,000,000 and 1:250,000 scales have already been fully standardized by the commission. This is the same set of names as those contained in the printed gazetteers for the 1:1,000,000 and 1:250,000 maps. The only difference is that the basic unit of the gazetteers is the geographical name, and the basic unit of the register is the form of the geographical name provided on the map. Because a name can be written multiple times, bilingually, or in several variants, the number of entries in the register is greater than the number of names in the gazetteers.

The number of names in the gazetteer for the 1:1,000,000 map is 843, and the number of names in the register for the same scale is 1,043, or a quarter more. For the 1:25,000 scale, the number of names in the gazetteer is 8,203, and the number of entries in the register is 8,811, which is almost a tenth more.

For the 1:25,000 scale, geographical names have not yet been standardized, but only toponomastically verified. The total number of entries is 68,467, which is almost eight times more than at the 1:250,000 scale. The toponomastic review of geographical names includes field and desk collection, recording, and

Table 13: Entries of geographical names in the REZI by scale.

Type	Scale (number of entries)				
	1:5,000	1:25,000	1:250,000	1:1,000,000	Total
Oronyms	16,095	15,314	655	122	32,186
Hydronyms	13,233	7,703	717	132	21,785
Choronyms	54,843	10,228	76	26	65,173
Astionyms	976	823	97	97	1,993
Comonyms	53,170	34,399	7,266	666	95,501
Total	138,317	68,467	8,811	1,043	216,638
Micronyms	37,655	18,264	3	2	55,924
Macronyms	100,662	50,203	8,808	1,041	160,714
Total	138,317	68,467	8,811	1,043	216,638

Type	Scale (% of entries by scale)				
	1:5,000	1:25,000	1:250,000	1,000,000	Total
Oronyms	50.01	47.58	2.04	0.38	100.00
Hydronyms	60.74	35.36	3.29	0.61	100.00
Choronyms	84.15	15.69	0.12	0.04	100.00
Astionyms	48.97	41.29	4.87	4.87	100.00
Comonyms	55.67	36.02	7.61	0.70	100.00
Total	63.85	31.60	4.07	0.48	100.00
Micronyms	67.33	32.66	0.01	0.00	100.00
Macronyms	62.63	31.24	5.48	0.65	100.00
Total	63.85	31.60	4.07	0.48	100.00

Type	Scale (% of entries by type)				
	1:5,000	1:25,000	1:250,000	1:1,000,000	Total
Oronyms	11.64	22.37	7.43	11.70	14.86
Hydronyms	9.57	11.25	8.14	12.66	10.06
Choronyms	39.65	14.94	0.86	2.49	30.08
Astionyms	0.71	1.20	1.10	9.30	0.92
Comonyms	38.44	50.24	82.47	63.85	44.08
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Micronyms	27.22	26.68	0.03	0.19	25.81
Macronyms	72.78	73.32	99.97	99.81	74.19
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

processing, cooperation with local residents, research on the origin, spelling, and pronunciation of dialect and standard Slovenian variants, and a basic spelling conformity check. Theoretical guidelines (Furlan, Gložančev and Šivic-Dular 2000) are also available for the normatively correct entry of geographical names in the register.

Geographical names for the 1:5,000 and 1:10,000 scales are the least reviewed because there are 130,317 of them, twice as many as at the 1:25,000 scale (Table 13).

There are therefore more than 200,000 entries in the register, of which a quarter are microtoponyms and three-quarters are macrotoponyms. The share of microtoponyms from the largest to the smallest scale falls from 27% to less than 1%, and the share of macrotoponyms increases from 72% at the largest scale to more than 99% at the smallest scale of 1:1,000,000.

At the 1:5,000 scale, choronyms predominate with 40%, whereas comonyms predominate at the other three scales, accounting for as much as 82% at the 1:250,000 scale.

Of all the names in the register, 5% are already standardized, 32% have been toponomastically reviewed, and the remaining names are still in the initial stage of verification.

9 Slovenian exonyms

The current definition of the term *exonym* adapted for Slovenian users is the following: »a name used in a specific language for a geographical feature located outside the area where that language is widely spoken, and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s) in the area where the geographical feature is located. Examples: English *Warsaw* for Polish *Warszawa*, French *Londres* for English *London*, German *Mailand* for Italian *Milano* [‘Milan’], [and] Slovenian *Dunaj* for German *Wien* [‘Vienna’], *Burgundija* for French *Bourgogne* [‘Burgundy’], *Skalno gorovje* for English *Rocky Mountains*, and *Kitajska* for Chinese *Zhongguo* [‘China’]« (Kadmon 2000; 2002; Kladnik 2009b).

There are three main reasons for the emergence, development, and existence of exonyms (Figures 46 and 47). The first has to do with culture or history. Close cultural ties made a specific name feel more native and thus its spelling and pronunciation were adapted to the characteristics of the target language. Not being aware of the indigenous names that already existed, European researchers, colonists, or military invaders often assigned names to geographical features in their own languages, even though those features already had a name in the indigenous language. The second reason for the emergence of exonyms was pronunciation difficulty. Speakers of some languages cannot pronounce certain foreign names, or they cannot even perceive certain sounds and hence they misunderstand the meaning of the names. The third reason is geographical, connected with cases in which a specific geographical name extends across two or more countries, whereby each uses its own endonym for it. In cases like these, the languages further from the feature usually use exonyms that are often endonyms in the language of a major world country. In Slovenian, this primarily applies to English and Russian names (Kladnik 2006). Some geographical names also lie outside the territorial sovereignty of an individual country (Jordan 2011).

Within the Slovenian context, an important factor in Slovenianizing foreign geographical names is newspapers, which show a constant tendency to Slovenianize names. Journalists and copyeditors rely on the normative guide, which favors Slovenianization, but they ignore international recommendations and the usage tradition for names (Kladnik 2006).

According to the long-ingrained opinion of the UN, the use of exonyms constitutes a substantial barrier in international communication and therefore UNGEGN seeks to limit it. Excessive use of exonyms should be avoided especially because of their historical and political sensitivity. However, attempts to rapidly reduce the number of exonyms have been overly optimistic because exonyms have already become an inalienable part of vocabulary in individual languages and thus part of the linguistic cultural heritage of individual nations. This also applies to Slovenian. However, exonyms have a life cycle, and they continue to emerge and die (Boháč 2007). a reduction in exonyms can thus only be achieved through their natural dying out and by preventing the emergence of new ones along the way.

Foreign words and phrases are incorporated into Slovenian as loanwords, foreignisms, or semi-nativized words, and they can be Slovenianized in terms of pronunciation, morphology, syntax, or spelling (Slovenski pravopis 2001). These are referred to as Slovenianized foreign geographical names, which are a semantically slightly broader concept than exonyms (Kladnik 2006; 2009a) because they also include names that

DEREK WINTERBURN, FLICKR



Figure 46: Jerusalem is the city with the most exonyms in different languages.

DRAGO KLADNIK



Figure 47: One of the oldest Slovenian exonyms is *Carigrad* 'Istanbul', which Slovenian still uses to refer to this city that has changed its name the largest number of times (*Byzantium, Augusta Antonina, Nea Rome, Konstantinópolis, İstanbul*).

many do not consider exonyms and differ from the original names at least in omitted diacritics. This results in different pronunciation, and in extreme cases their omission is also permitted by the Slovenian normative guide (Slovenski pravopis 1 – pravila 1994); for example, *Arhangelsk* for Russian *Arhangel'sk* 'Arkhangelsk', *Bogota* for Spanish *Bogotá*, *Plzen* for Czech *Plzeň* 'Pilsen', and *Agra* for Hindi *Āgra*. They may also differ from the original by only omitting a paper (e.g., *Salvador* instead of Spanish *El Salvador* or *Rif* instead of Arabic *Ar-Rif* / *er Rif*) or in at least one different letter (e.g., *Anapurna* instead of Nepali *Annapurna*, *Dahomej* instead of French *Dahomey*, or *Črna gora* instead of Montenegrin *Crna Gora* 'Montenegro'; the last example is also a translation). They also include those original multilingual names that are used in Slovenian exclusively in one of their (often Slavic) noun forms, such as *Odra* for Czech/Polish *Odra* or German *Oder*, *Buhara* for Russian *Buhara* 'Bukhara', or *Amur* for Russian *Amur* or Chinese *Heilong Jiang* (Kladnik et al. 2013).

The use of Slovenianized foreign geographical names in Slovenian atlases relies on a tradition going back at least a century and a half (Kladnik 2005c). Most problems in writing geographical names on maps are still related to the former colonial and Soviet countries because cartographers often know only approximate spellings of their original geographical names in one of the colonial languages or Russian. In addition, it still remains unclear how to Romanize geographical names originally written in a non-Roman (alphabetic, syllabic, or pictographic) script. However, writing geographical names is also connected with a series of linguistic, cartographic, and even political issues (Perko 2002). In this, the use of Slovenianized foreign geographical names is left to the discretion of individual editors, who, lacking familiarity with this topic, insist on their own particular views and solutions (Kladnik 2006).

There are a wide range of views on the optimal degree of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names, from advocating the use of only a handful of the most established exonyms to supporting general Slovenianization in order to facilitate the understanding of spatial features among the widest possible circle of users. With regard to different perspectives on the use of exonyms in Slovenian atlases, Drago Bajt wrote the following some time ago (1993): »However, this atlas [*Veliki atlas sveta* 1972], too, has been the cause of dispute between Slovenian geographers and linguists for several years regarding how geographical names are written. Even the publisher itself established the following in the introduction: 'Writing geographical names on maps and in atlases is always a subject of its own. Geographers would like to write as many names as possible in their original form, whereas Slavic specialists would prefer to Slovenianize them all. The result is nearly always a compromise between the two extremes.' Even in the Great Family Atlas of the World [*Veliki družinski atlas sveta* 1992], the dispute between geographers and linguists continues.«

Younger geographers involved in the production of atlases, where they are mainly in charge of editing geographical names, have developed a multilayered perspective on Slovenianizing foreign geographical names – that is, from the perspective of the linguistic tradition of the names, the rules defined in the Slovenian normative guide, and the UN resolutions on exonyms. Therefore, it is not surprising that in recent years solutions for Slovenianizing foreign geographical names applied in individual works have become significantly more uniform, which forms a good basis for standardizing these names (Kladnik et al. 2013).

The share of exonyms normally decreases as the map's scale becomes smaller. In Slovenian atlases, there are usually more exonyms on general maps of the world and the continents, whereas endonyms predominate on detailed, regional maps. The degree of Slovenianizing names is primarily influenced by the type of atlas (e.g., general, school, road, marine, or thematic atlas) rather than the diverse criteria pursued by individual editors. Exonyms are more often used in school and general atlases, which contain smaller-scale maps illustrating the world or individual continents (Kladnik 2006).

9.1 History of studying Slovenian exonyms

Studying Slovenian exonyms has a fairly long tradition. In the spirit of eighteenth-century linguistic orientation and methodology, Slavic and non-Slavic European toponyms were examined from a comparative, typological, and etymological perspective by Johann Siegmund Popowitsch (Slovenian: Žiga Popovič) (1750). He attributed an important role in the etymology of European toponyms to Slavic languages and hence also Slavic names (e.g., he linked the morpheme *gard/grad* in the Slavic names *Zarigrad* 'Istanbul', *Belgard* 'Belgrade', or *Stargard* to towns, including the German name *Stuttgart*) (Šivic-Dular 2002).

An important source for understanding the early stage of development of Slovenian exonyms is a study of geographical names in Slovenian newspapers until the mid-nineteenth century (Orel 2003), when the

use of Slovenianized foreign geographical names became widespread through the development of journalism and publishing current news. Considering the absence of normative rules for spelling proper nouns and especially names of foreign origin at that time, the lack of uniformity at all linguistic levels, variety in written form, foreign forms, or (partial) Slovenianization are not surprising; in addition, the use of capitalization was also not uniform. Liberation from foreign-language influences and journalistic models was gradual and, during the period of national awakening, variability was also increased through connections with the Slavic world and the diversity of sources and authors. The linguist Marko Jesenšek (2003) presented the use of Slovenianized foreign geographical names in the newspaper *Prijatelj*, which was published in the Prekmurje dialect from 1875 to 1879 under the editorship of Imre Agustich (Slovenian: Imre Augustič).

Slovenian exonyms started to appear in school textbooks in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first author to present a large number of these systematically was Janez Jesenko (Bratec Mrvar and Kladnik 2008; Bratec Mrvar et al. 2008; Kladnik, Bratec Mrvar and De Brea Šubic 2008), whose regional geography textbook (Jesenko 1865) gave the Slovenian names of the continents and major seas; for the individual continents, he provided the names of the major peninsulas, capes, islands, straits, lakes, rivers, mountain ranges, peaks, lowlands, major cities, and countries or the best-known regions.

Jesenko's selection of several hundred geographical names was surely an important model for the lawyer and linguist Matej Cigale (Urbanc 2005) in the preparation of his *Atlant* (1869–1877) (Kladnik 2005c; Orožen Adamič and Urbanc 2005; Kladnik et al. 2006; Urbanc et al. 2006; Kladnik and Geršič 2016). One of the most important achievements of this first Slovenian world atlas was the use of Slovenian geographical names on the maps (Figure 48) because Cigale as an editor Slovenianized over four thousand foreign geographical names. Despite its exceptional importance for the development of Slovenian, *Atlant* was almost completely forgotten. This is also testified to by the following passage in *Geografski obzornik* authored by Jakob Medved, who was the first to tackle the analysis of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names: »To this end, I reviewed all geographical atlases for which I assumed that they could have influenced the 'Slovenianization' of foreign



Figure 48: Detail from the map *Španija in Portugalsko* (Spain and Portugal), one of the eighteen maps in *Atlant*.

geographical names« (Medved 1969). *Atlant* was not mentioned at all. In 2005, the Anton Melik Geographical Institute reissued a facsimile edition of the atlas (*Atlant*, 2005). The facsimile edition of the original maps was accompanied by a publication with papers about *Cigale* and the significance of *Atlant*, as well as a newly prepared index of names (Kladnik 2005b).

Quite some time passed until the publication of the next Slovenian-language atlas; a reworking of Vinzenz von Haardt's atlas (Rutar and Orožen 1899). The editing of the names in the atlas and on his wall map of Austria-Hungary was first undertaken by Simon Rutar, a geographer and historian from the Littoral, however the relevant ministry did not approve his 1896 work due to the phonetic transcription of the geographical names. Because Rutar did not want to change this, the atlas and the wall map were published a few years later in a further reworking by Fran Orožen (*Zemljepisni atlas za srednje in ... 1902*). Just as the German original had done, both Rutar and Orožen extensively Slovenianized the names of mountains, rives, gulfs, seas, islands, peninsulas, capes, lakes, and so on. »At that development stage of the Slovenian culture and nation it was probably necessary to prove that Slovenians also had their own geographical names and terms.« wrote Medved (1969, 15), who advocated writing names in their original languages.

The writer and teacher Josip Brinar was also aware of the problems surrounding the use of Slovenian exonyms, and to this end he published *Slovarček zemljepisnih imen, njih izvor in pomen* (Glossary of Geographical Names, Their Origin, and Meaning; Brinar 1928).

The leading Slovenian geographer Anton Melik dealt with the issue of using foreign geographical names in the Slovenian environment very early on, reporting the following in a brief paper (Melik 1928, 129): »there is significant chaos in writing place names in Slovenia, and a strong need can be felt for uniform rules that would become the basic for practical usage.«

Melik (1928, 129) continues by arguing the following: »However, a distinction must be made between two types of foreign place names. First, there are names that were appropriated by our language very early on and so they have been more or less reworked in our language and even today still belong to the inventory of the living vernacular. Such names include, for instance, *Dunaj* ['Vienna'], *Gradec* ['Graz'], *Rim* ['Rome'], and *Benetke* ['Venice'], and I would also count *Praga* ['Prague'], *Pariz* ['Paris'], etc. among them. These names must also continue to be written in Slovenian form in the future.

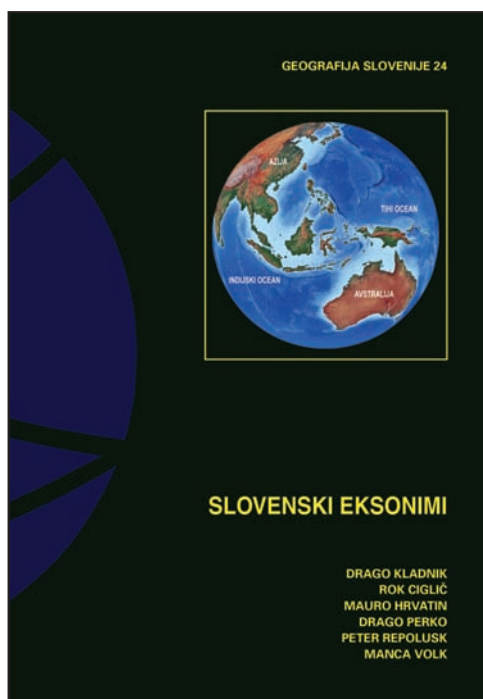


Figure 49: Title page of the book *Slovenski eksonimi* (Slovenian Exonyms) from 2013.

»However, among these names I would not count those that were introduced during the period of national awakening by translating or somewhat Slavicizing foreign names, such as *Inomost* for Innsbruck, *Monakovo* for München [‘Munich’], *Solnograd* for Salzburg, etc. These names did not pass into the vernacular or did not arise from it; I believe we should reject them as artificial formations and only write *Innsbruck*, *München*, *Salzburg*, etc. Similarly, there is no reason whatsoever for writing the old names *Pad* and *Rodan*, but only *Po*, *Rhône*, etc. All these names belong to a different type – that is, ones that should be consistently written in the language of the population living there.«

This view accompanied geographers almost the entire twentieth century.

This was followed by several decades of quiescence, which was interrupted by the publication of the first extensive Slovenian world atlas, accompanied by two papers by its main editors, the linguist Janko Moder (1972) and the geographer Jakob Medved (1969).

Since then, in principle geographers have been advocating the predominant use of geographical names in their original form, which to some extent goes against the rich Slovenian language tradition in this area. Among the most involved and conspicuous geographers in this regard was Ivan Gams (1964; 1984a; 1985), who also touched upon the standardization of Slovenian country names (Gams 1989). This topic was also discussed by the geographers Franc Lovrenčak (1987), Drago Perko (1996a; 1996b), and Kladnik and Perko (2007; 2013c; 2015a; 2015b), and the linguist Metka Furlan (2003).

Research on Slovenian exonyms has flourished in the new millennium. Among other things, a special issue of the journal *Acta geographica Slovenica* on the appropriate use of exonyms was published (Perko, Jordan and Komac 2017). The first paper on Slovenian exonyms in this period was authored by Milan Orožen Adamič (2004), and in 2007 Drago Kladnik was the first Slovenian geographer to receive a PhD with a dissertation on geographical names (Kladnik 2006). Before that, Kladnik had already published a paper on the exonyms used in an important Slovenian world atlas (Kladnik 1995) and one on the deficiencies of exonym usage as prescribed by the current Slovenian normative guide (Kladnik 2005a). After that, he published a series of independent papers and volumes, discussing the characteristics of exonym use in selected European languages (2007a), exonym use in the oldest Slovenian world atlases (Kladnik 2007b; 2007e; 2009c), the typology of Slovenian exonyms (Kladnik 2007d), and the semantic demarcation of the concepts of endonym and exonym (Kladnik 2009a; 2009b). He also reported on dealing with exonyms in Slovenia in the UNGEGN Information Bulletin (Kladnik 2016). The most comprehensive examination of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names is provided by the second volume in the series *Georitem* (Kladnik 2007c).

Kladnik has also coauthored several works on exonyms. Worth mention among these are the book *Slovenski eksonimi* (Slovenian Exonyms; Kladnik et al. 2013) (Figure 49) and papers discussing the life of Slovenian exonyms and their familiarity in the professional community (Kladnik and Bole 2012), comparing Slovenian and Croatian exonyms (Kladnik et al. 2017), colors expressed in Slovenian exonyms (Kladnik and Geršič 2018), and Slovenian exonyms in North America (Perko and Kladnik 2017) and Slovenia’s neighboring countries (Perko and Kladnik 2019).

Online gazetteers of Slovenian exonyms were prepared simultaneously with their detailed examination, and they have now acquired the character of reference sources. The first was posted around 2000 (Kladnik 2001b), but a significantly more complete gazetteer was produced as part of the applied project *Slovenski eksonimi: metodologija, standardizacija, GIS* (Slovenian Exonyms: Methodology, Standardization, GIS) carried out from 2008 to 2011. It is accessible on the website of the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute under the rubric *Zbirke* (Collections) (Preglednica eksonimov 2014), and in the online dictionary database *Termania* (Internet 7) under the title *Slovar slovenskih eksonimov* (Dictionary of Slovenian Exonyms; Kladnik and Perko 2013b). It is accompanied by comprehensive explanatory notes in Slovenian (Kladnik and Perko 2014) and English (Kladnik and Perko 2013a). Slovenian achievements in producing a gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms were also presented at a meeting of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms (Kladnik and Geršič 2014).

Also worth highlighting in relation to Slovenian exonyms is a linguistics paper on the use of English geographical names in Slovenian (Šabec 2003).

9.2 Slovenian exonym development stages

The history of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names reveals certain typical stages related to the inclusion of Slovenian territory and Slovenian in a specific time period and territorial-political environment.

Initially, the Slovenianization tendencies had a pan-Slavic orientation because, as a rule, many geographical names in ethnically mixed European areas or in their vicinity as well as elsewhere were written in any Slavic language. Czech, Slovak, and Polish played an especially important role in this regard (Kladnik 2006).

A representative of introducing foreign geographical names to Slovenian in this way was Matej Cigale with his *Atlant* (1869–1877). Thus, for example, in this atlas the names of the Arieș River, Crișul Alb River, and Borcea Branch of the Danube (Romanian: *Brațul Borcea*) in what is now Romania are written as *Aranjoš*, *Beli Kriš*, and *Borša*, the region of Dobrogea as *Dobrudža*, and the settlements of Brașov and Târgoviște as *Braševo* and *Trgovišče*; in what is now Hungary, the settlements of Eger, Miskolc, and Mosonmagyaróvár are referred to with the Slavic forms *Jager*, *Miškovec*, and *Mošonj*, the river Sebes-Körös is referred to as *Brzi Kriš*, and the historical region of Jászság is referred to as *Jazigija*; the towns of Wolgast, Bautzen, Zschopau, Dessau, Dresden, and Lübeck in what is now Germany are referred to as *Bolegošt*, *Budišin*, *Čopava*, *Desov*, *Draždane*, and *Ljubek* and *Bukovec*. In Slovenianizing the names, Cigale clearly relied on the names used in the Czech atlases published in the mid-nineteenth century (e.g., Merklas 1846). This is indicated by the names of some larger towns in today's southern Germany, which were clearly spelled following the Czech model but taking into account the rule for Slovenianizing Czech words: *Mnihov* (Czech *Mnichov* for Munich), *Rezno* (Czech *Řezno* for Regensburg), and *Norimberg* (Czech *Norimberk* for Nuremberg) (Kladnik 2006; 2007e).

Toward the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth century, the influence of Germanization can be perceived; this was of course strongest in ethnically mixed areas along the northern Slovenian ethnic border, whereas elsewhere the German written form was primarily used as a result of the administrative-political situation at that time rather than planned efforts.

A typical representative of this period is Fran Orožen with his *Zemljepisni atlas za ljudske šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom* (Geographical Atlas for Primary Schools with Slovenian as the Language of Instruction) (1902), who was already criticized for excessive use of German criteria in writing place names by Jakob Medved (1969). What Medved meant by this is probably that the names of German settlements are usually written



Figure 50: At the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, the German form *Lissabon* was also used for the Portuguese capital Lisbon.

in their original form, but he clearly also noticed the use of German names in non-German ethnic territory. Thus, for instance, the German exonyms *Posen*, *Thorn*, *Hermannstadt*, and *Kronstadt* are added in parentheses with the Slovenianized names of the Polish towns *Poznanj* 'Poznań' and *Torun* 'Toruń', and the Romanian towns of *Sibinj* 'Sibiu' and *Braševo* 'Braşov'. Several German names were also used in other areas, such as *Lissabon* for Lisbon (Portuguese: *Lisboa*) (Figure 50), *Turin* for Turin (Italian: *Torino*), *Napoli* for Naples (Italian: *Napoli*), and *Milan* for Milan (Italian: *Milano*) (Kladnik 2006; 2007e).

After the First World War and the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (later the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), there was a strong penetration of names under the influence of Serbian, which were modeled on Russian. In school textbooks and atlases of that time, the previously established Slovenian common nouns *dežela* 'land' and *gozd* 'forest' in multiword names were replaced by the foreign terms *zemlja* and *les*. Thus the maps of De Agostini's school atlas (*Zemljepisni atlas za srednje in ... 1941*) featured the names *Arnhemova zemlja* 'Arnhem Land', *Coatsova zemlja* 'Coats Land', *Grahamova zemlja* 'Graham Land', *Severna zemlja* (Russian: *Severnaya Zemlya*), *Bakonjski les* 'Bakony Mountains' (Hungarian: *Bakony-hegység*), *Bavarski les* 'Bavarian Woods' (German: *Bayerischer Wald*), *Češki les* 'Upper Palatine Forest' (Czech: *Český les* and *Šumava*, German: *Böhmerwald*), and *Dunajski les* 'Vienna Woods' (German: *Wienerwald*) (Kladnik 2006; 2007e).

Hence for example, under the influence of Serbo-Croatian, the 1959 school atlas (*Šolski atlas*) adapted for the Slovenian market by Valter Bohinec contains a series of phonetic transcriptions of Arabic, Persian, Hindi, Chinese, and some other geographical names, which partly also became established in Slovenian textbooks and geographical literature. Some are still used as Slovenian exonyms; for example, *El Džuf* for the Mauritanian region El Djouf, *Erg Šeš* for the Algerian–Mali desert Erg Chech, and *Nedžd* for the Saudi region Najd. Also originating from this period is the Slovenian form *Indokina* 'Indochina', which has still not been fully replaced by the more appropriate Slovenian forms *Indokitajska* or *Indokitajski polotok* (Kladnik 2006; 2007e).



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Figure 51: Kyrgyzstan's capital, Bishkek, is written in Slovenian as *Biškek*, which is actually both its Kyrgyz and Russian name. The photo shows the presidential office building, called the »White House.«

Immediately before and during the Second World War, the influence of Italian increased under the impact of De Agostini's school atlas and newspapers, which reported exhaustively on developments in the Italian colonies. Italian names were most frequently used for geographical features in what are now Libya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Even though most later sank into oblivion, some of them have nonetheless been preserved. Typical examples are the names *Bengazi*, *Bomba*, and *Derna* for the Libyan towns of *Binghāzī* / *Banghāzī* 'Benghazi', *Būmbah*, and *Darnah*, and *Cirenaica* for the Libyan administrative unit of *Barqah* 'Cyrenaica'; *Adua* and *Dire Dawa* for the Ethiopian towns of 'Adywa 'Adwa' and *Dirē Dawa* 'Dire Dawa'; *Bender Beila* and *Hargeisa* for the Somali towns of *Bandar Beyla* 'Bayla', and *Hargeysa*, and *Nogal* for the Somali administrative unit of *Nugaal* 'Nugal'; and *rt Guardafui* for *Raas Caseyr* 'Cape Guardafui', also in Somalia (Kladnik 2006; 2007e).

After the Second World War and especially during the globalization of information, English came to the forefront, in which Anglicizing Arabic geographical names and names in other British colonies was most typical. The role of French was less important, yet not negligible, especially in northwestern Africa and the Indochinese Peninsula. Examples of Slovenian foreign geographical names borrowed from English include *Aden* for 'Adan, *Bangkok* for *Krung Thep*, *Benares* for *Vārānasi*, *Celebes* for *Sulawesi*, *El Obeid* for *Al Ubayyid*, *Ganges* for *Ganga*, *Gaza* for *Ghazzah*, *Port Said* for *Būr Sa'īd*, and *Ubangi* for *Oubangui/Ubangi*. Those borrowed from French include *Constantine* for *Qusanḫīnah*, *Hammamet* for *Ḥammāmāt*, *Kairouan* for *Al Qayrawān*, *Sousse* for *Sūsa*, and *Tanger* for *Ṭanja* 'Tangier' (Kladnik 2006).

The most recent stage began with the geopolitical changes during the 1990s. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, as a rule Russian lost the status of an official or at least leading language in these newly formed states, which also led to changes in the official status of geographical names there. However, because in some cases the Russian variants were traditionally established, they also continue to be used in Slovenian. Typical examples are *Ašhabad* for *Ašgabat* 'Ashgabat', *Baku* for *Bakī*, *Buhara* for *Buḥoro* 'Bukhara', *Harkov* for *Kharkiv*, *Kijev* for *Kyjiv* 'Kiev/Kyiv', *Kišinjev* for *Chişinău*, *Samarkand* for *Samarqand*, *Semipalatinsk* za *Semei* 'Semei', *Taškent* for *Toškent* 'Tashkent', and *Zaporožje* for *Zaporizhzhia* (Kladnik 2006; 2007e). However, name of Kyrgyzstan's capital *Biškek* 'Bishkek' is transliterated from the same Russian and Kyrgyz noun form, written in Cyrillic as *Бишкек* (Figure 51).

9.3 Categorizations of Slovenian exonyms

This section builds on a paper presented at the conferences of the Working Group on Exonyms in Prague (Kladnik 2007d), and Corfu (Kladnik and Geršič 2014) and the explanatory notes in the gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms (Kladnik and Perko 2013a). It is precisely this systematically compiled spreadsheet with a list of Slovenian exonyms and their diverse features that makes it possible to produce several types of categorizations.

9.3.1 Degree of exonymization

This section contains information on the typology of adapting the exonyms included in the gazetteer (Preglednica eksonimov 2014; Table of Exonyms 2020) to Slovenian. Several exonymization typologies have been worked out to date. The first detailed typology was developed in the 1970s by Janko Moder for the *Great World Atlas* (Moder 1972; Veliki atlas sveta 1972). His typological groups also take pronunciation into account. For the purposes of the exonym spreadsheet, we developed a modified version of this classification, which, after final improvement in 2015, includes twelve types that are ordered from the smallest to greatest degree of exonymization (Kladnik et al. 2017):

Exonym from translated common noun and original proper noun (type A): Typical examples are the following names: *otoki Bounty* 'Bounty Islands', *globel Meteor* 'Meteor Deep', *hrbet Sala y Gómez* 'Sala y Gómez Ridge' [*Cadena de Sala y Gómez*], *jezero Hanka* 'Lake Khanka' [*ozero Xanka*], *mizasta gora Sylvania* 'Sylvania Tablemount / Bikini Guyot', *plošča Nazca* 'Nazca Plate', *prelom GOFAR* 'GOFAR Fracture Zone', *rt Correnti* 'Cape Correnti' [*Capo delle Correnti*], and *zemeljska ožina Kra* 'Kra Isthmus / Isthmus of Kra' [*Khokhok Kra*].

Exonym from translated common noun and more or less Slovenianized proper noun (type B): Typical examples are: *gora Fudži* 'Mount Fuji' [*Fujisan*], *jarek Ob* 'Ob Trench', *jezero Abaja* 'Lake Abaya' [*Abaya Hayk*], *oaza Karga* 'Kharga Oasis' [*el-Karga*], *gora Kenija* 'Mount Kenya' [*Kirinyaga / Mount Kenya*], *polotok Šantung* 'Shandong Peninsula' [*Shāndōng Bāndǎo*], *rt Komorin* 'Kanyakumari' [*Kanniyākumāri*],

slana puščava Lut 'Lut Desert' [*Dasht-e Lūt*], *prekop Majna–Donava* 'Main–Danube Canal' [*Main–Donau-Kanal*], and *jezero Tanganjika* 'Lake Tanganyika' [*Lake Tanganyika* / *Lac Tanganyika*].

Exonym from adopted secondary original name (type C): These include geographical names that differ from the official original names and can be borrowed in an unchanged, non-adapted form as colonial names, names from the past, names in neighboring languages, and names from Slavic languages. Since they became widely used, they have been used exclusively or largely in this version, whereas the official forms of the names are only used for their unambiguous identification. Typical examples of this type of adaptation include the following names: *Benares* 'Varanasi' [*Vārānāsī*], *Bistrica* 'Haliacmon River' [*Haliákmon*], *El Obeid* 'Al-Ubayyid' [*Al Ubayyid*], *Kijev* 'Kiev/Kyiv' [*Kyjiv*], *Harkov* 'Kharkiv', *Kanton* 'Guangzhou' [*Guǎngzhōu*], *Sinkiang* 'Xinjiang' [*Xīnjiāng*], *Tripolis* 'Tripoli' [*Ṭarābulus*], *Armenija* 'Armenia' [*Hayastan*], *Cejlon* 'Sri Lanka' [*Śrī lamkāva*], *Peking* 'Beijing' [*Běijīng*], and *Kosovska Mitrovica* [*Mitrovicë*].

Exonym from original name with omitted special characters and diacritics (type D): Also in this adaptation type, the main principle is to remain as faithful to the original form as possible, but here the main issue is that a letter or diacritic is omitted due to simplifications in Slovenian printing, tradition, and pronunciation. For example: *Reykjavik* [*Reykjavík*], *Gdansk* [*Gdańsk*], *Narjan Mar* 'Naryan-Mar' [*Nyar'yana marq*], *Iran* [*Īrān*], *Riga* [*Rīga*], *Bogota* [*Bogotá*], *Islamabad* [*Islāmabād*], *Sana* 'Sana'a' [*Ṣan'ā'*], and *Agadir* [*Ağadīr*].

Exonym from transliterated original name with simplified letters and diacritics (type E): This includes a large group of names that are transferred from non-Roman scripts (e.g., Cyrillic, Arabic, Hebrew, Devanagari, Chinese, and Japanese) into the Roman alphabet. In this process, we skip the intermediary language (French, English, German, or Russian) and any unusual phonetic representation (*sh, sch, ch = š; oo, ou = u*); for example, we write *Pandžab* instead of *Punjab*, and *Sečuan* instead of *Sichuan/Szechwan* [*Sichuān Shěng*]. We also omit any long or short syllable markings, as already mentioned with the Roman alphabet; for example, *Džuba* 'Juba' [*Dzhúbā*], *Asuan* 'Aswan' [*Aswān*], *Tokio* 'Tokyo' [*Tokyō*], and *Bengazi* 'Benghazi' [*Bīngāzī*]. Even greater adaptation linked to the written form has become common in the pronunciation of these names. They are pronounced like Slovenian names, without any foreign flavor.

Exonym from transcribed original name with Slovenianized ending (type F): This group of exonyms is composed of »hybrids« partly resulting from the Slovenianization tendencies present in the previous two groups. It includes names with a Slovenianized ending (e.g., *Tirana* [*Tiranē*]) or the root (e.g., in the pronunciation of *Ostende* 'Ostend' [*Oostende*]), especially if the root is commonly known (e.g., from a personal name; e.g. *Ptolemaida* [*Ptolemais* / *Tolmeta* / *Āthār Ṭulmaythah*]) or it does not belong to the same language group (Native American and Spanish cities in North America, and native names in the former British, French, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies. They also include names such as *Praga* 'Prague' [*Praha*], *Pariz* 'Paris', and *Varšava* 'Warsaw' [*Warszawa*]). The following basic principle applies to the entire group: the better the name is known, the longer it is present in Slovenian consciousness, and the more frequently it is used, the smaller the likelihood that its pronunciation will strictly copy the original form; instead, it is simplified (especially the endings), which makes it easier to decline and to derive its adjectival form.

Exonym from borrowed and adapted name (type G): This group includes names borrowed from another language, Slovenianized, and adapted to Slovenian pronunciation (e.g., *Abesinija* 'Abyssinia' [from Italian *Abissinia*]) or Slovenian usage: *Šensi* 'Shanxi Province' [*Shānxī Shěng*], *Velika Vlačka* 'Wallachia Mayor/Muntenia' [*Ṭara Românească*], *Hongkong* 'Hong Kong' [*Xiānggǎng*], *Peč* 'Peč' [*Peja* / *Pejë* / *Peć*], *Kašgar* 'Kashgar' [*Kāshī* / *Qeşqer*], *Japonske Alpe* 'Japanese Alps' [*Nihon Arupusu*], *Mizijski Olimp* 'Mysian Olympus' [*Uludağ*], *Dnester* 'Dniester' [*Dnister* / *Nistru*], *Nahičevan* 'Nakhchivan' [*Naxçıvan*], and *Irtiš* 'Irtys' [*Irtyš* / *Ertis* / *Éřqísī hé*].

Exonym with phonetic form of the roots and Slovenianized endings from the Latin suffixes -ia, -ea (type H): This group includes names of some countries, continents, major regions, islands, and island groups, which are usually formed from roots adapted to Slovenian pronunciation and the Slovenianized ending -ija or -ea, which derives from the Latin suffixes -ia and -ea. Examples: *Avstralija* 'Australia', *Španija* 'Spain' [*España*], *Francija* 'France', *Avstrija* 'Austria' [*Österreich*], *Eritreja* 'Eritrea' [*Ertrā* / *Iritriyā*], *Gvineja* 'Guinea' [*Guinée*], *Belgija* 'Belgium' [*België* / *Belgique*], *Azija* 'Asia', *Cezareja* 'Caesarea', *Lombardija* 'Lombardy' [*Lombardia*], *Sicilija* 'Sicily' [*Sicilia*], *Katalonija* 'Catalonia' [*Cataluña* / *Catalunya*], *Tasmanija* 'Tasmania', and *Polinezija* 'Polynesia'.

Exonym with phonetic form of the root and Slovenian ending (type I): The next stage of adaptation is best seen in the names of numerous countries, continents, settlements, regions, and island groups. Here,

an ideal harmony is achieved between the foreign root and Slovenian pronunciation, which means that the root is written completely phonetically and the endings are completely Slovenian. Typical examples are: *Portugalska* 'Portugal', *Pomorjanska* 'Pomerania' [*Pommern / Pomorze*], *Kurili* 'Kuril Islands / Kurile Islands' [*Kuril'skie ostrova / Chishima-rettō*], *Porenje* 'Rhineland' [*Rheinland*], *Pfalška* 'Palatinate' [*Pfalz*], *Bukarešta* 'Bucharest' [*București*], *Afrika* 'Africa', *Bretanja* 'Brittany' [*Bretagne*], *Apalači* 'Appalachians / Appalachian Mountains', and *Pireneji* 'Pyrenees' [*Pirineos / Pyrénées*].

Exonym from fully translated name (type J): This group includes full translations of endonyms. This stage no longer involves original official names that preserve the root, but only in the semantic sense. Examples: *Skalno gorovje* 'Rocky Mountains', *Plitvina lososov* 'Salmon Bank', *Rdeče morje* 'Red Sea' [*al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar*], *Rt dobrega upanja* 'Cape of Good Hope' [*Cape of Good Hope / Kaap die Goeie Hoop*], *Nizozemska* 'Netherlands' [*Nederland*], and *Veliko slano jezero* 'Great Salt Lake'. These names also include generally and partly borrowed foreign names, such as *Pacifik* 'Pacific', *Mediteran* 'Mediterranean', and roots of heavily Slovenianized geographical names, such as *Nova Zelandija* 'New Zealand', *Zahodna Avstralija* 'Western Australia', *Zahodno-sibirsko nižavje* 'West Siberian Plain' [*Zapadno-Sibirskaia ravnina*], and *Nova Škotska* 'Nova Scotia'.

Exonym from traditionally Slovenianized name with a trace of the original root (type K): This group is comprised of names in which the root can still be traced in places. Examples: *Lipnica* 'Leibnitz', *Firence* 'Florence' [*Firenze*], *Konstantinopol* 'Constantinople' [*Konstantinopolis / Constantinopolis*], *Apulija* 'Apulia' [*Puglia*], and *Rim* 'Rome' [*Roma*].

Exonym from Slovenian name (type L): In the last group the root can no longer be traced because the names have been developed in Slovenian themselves (due to their historical connections with the named places). Typical examples include *Celovec* 'Klagenfurt', *Videm* 'Udine', *Dunaj* 'Vienna' [*Wien*], *Benetke* 'Venice' [*Venezia*], and *Carigrad* 'Istanbul' [*İstanbul*].

Table 14: Classification of Slovenian exonyms by exonymization.

Exonymization type	Frequency
A	355
B	101
C	281
D	87
E	358
F	241
G	169
H	202
I	241
J	2,819
K	72
L	128

Among the Slovenian exonyms examined, more than half (55.9%) belong to category J. The remaining categories are significantly more equally represented, whereby categories A and E stand out with more than three hundred names, and categories D and K stand out with fewer than one hundred names (Table 14).

9.3.2 Semantic types

One of the most important categorization schemes for Slovenian exonyms is their division into semantic groups. The classification is adapted to global dimensions and the standard division of names of geographical features and topographic objects in Slovenian atlases and encyclopedias. We combined several geographical features and topographic items into main items or semantic groups, which can also be referred to as semantic types.

The largest spatial unit is **continent**; for example, *Afrika* 'Africa', *Južna Amerika* 'South America' [*América del Sur / América do Sul / Amérique du Sud / South America*], and *Antarktika* 'Antarctica', but also *Oceanija* 'Oceania' and *Srednja Amerika* 'Central America' [*América Central / Amérique centrale / Central America*], which has been treated as a separate continent due to the large density of exonyms in a relatively small area.

The names of **countries** form another type (e.g., *Jordanija* 'Jordan' [*al-Urdun*], *Srednjeafriška republika* 'Central African Republic' [*Centrafrique / Kōdörösēsē ti Bēafrika*], and *Združene države Amerike* 'United States of America'). The list only includes those countries whose Slovenianized name differs from the original name. The names of island countries such as *Kuba* 'Cuba', *Antigva in Barbuda* 'Antigua and Barbuda', *Palav* 'Palau' (Figure 52), and *Salomonovi otoki* 'Solomon Islands' deviate somewhat from the established pattern because they are also the names of island relief forms.

The majority of Slovenian exonyms are classified under the **settlement** semantic type. They include the Slovenianized forms of large cities (e.g., *Rim* 'Rome' [*Roma*], *Krakov* 'Crakow' [*Kraków*], *Basra* [*al-Basra*], and *Akra* 'Accra') and important settlements in cross-border areas (e.g., *Brod na Kolpi* 'Brod na Kupa', *Krmin* 'Cormons', *Velikovec* 'Völkermarkt', and *Monošter* 'Szentgotthárd'). Some settlements are also labeled **historical settlement** (e.g., *Korint* 'Corinth' [*Kórinthos*] and *Šparta* 'Sparta' [*Spárti*] in the Peloponnese). Some settlements have changed their names completely over time, and so their former name is also Slovenianized (e.g., *Akvileja* 'Aquileia' and *Bizanc* 'Byzantium' [*Byzantion*]). Other settlements have disappeared (e.g., *Efez* 'Ephesus' [*Ephesos*], *Herakleja* 'Heraclea Lyncestis', *Mikene* 'Mycenae' [*Mykēnai / Mykēnē*], and *Troja* 'Troy' [*Troia / Ilion / Truva*]), and the modern names of some of them still contain traces of the old name (e.g., *Maraton* 'Marathon' [*Marathónas*] and *Tebe* 'Thebes' [*Thíva / Thēbai*]). Exceptionally, the table also includes **parts of settlements** (e.g., *Elizejske poljane* 'Champs-Élysées' and *Latinska četrt* 'Latin Quarter' [*Quartier Latin*]).

The **land relief form** semantic group is very diverse. It includes all names connected with terrain and relief categories in general. Thus it contains the names of mountain ranges (e.g., *Aljaško gorovje* 'Alaska Range', *Čerskijevo gorovje* 'Chersky Range' [*hrebet Čerskogo*], and *Apalači* 'Appalachians / Appalachian Mountains'), chains of hills (e.g., *Flindersovo hribovje* 'Flinders Ranges', *Jenisejsko hribovje* 'Yenisei Mountains' [*Enisejskij krjaž*], and *Slovaško rudogorje* 'Slovak Ore Mountains' [*Slovenské rudohorie*]), low hills (e.g., *Donsko višavje* 'Don Hills' [*Donskaja grjada*], *Srednjerusko višavje* 'Central Russian Upland' [*Srednerusskaja vozvyšennost'*]), peaks (e.g., *K2 / Čogori*, formerly Mount Godwin Austen [*Qogir Feng / Qiáoogēlǐ Fēng / Chogori / Dapsang / Lamba Pahar*], *Adamov vrh* 'Adam's Peak' [*Samalakanda / Sivanolipatha Malai / Sri*



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Figure 52: *Palav* is the Slovenian exonym for Palau, an island country in the western Pacific.

Pada], and *Aventin* ‘Aventine Hill’ [*Aventino / Aventinus*]), plateaus (e.g., *Bolivijska visoka planota* ‘Altiplano’ [*Altiplano de Bolivia / Meseta del Collao*], *Jukonska planota* ‘Yukon Plateau’, *Lavrencijsko višavje* ‘Laurentian Upland’ [*Laurentides*], plains and lowlands (e.g., *Padsko nižavje* ‘Po Plain’ [*Pianura Padana / Val Padana*], *Pridnepersko nižavje* ‘Dnieper Lowland’ [*Prydniprovs’ka nyzovyna*], and *Turansko nižavje* ‘Turana Lowland’ [*Turan perslgi / Turon Pasttekislgi / Tūran Ojlaty*]), tablelands (e.g., *Barklyjev ravnik* ‘Barkly Tableland’ and *Južnotečajni ravnik* ‘Antarctic Plateau / Polar Plateau’), basins (e.g., *Akvitanska kotlina* ‘Aquitaine Basin’ [*Bassin d’Aquitaine*], and *Velika kotlina* ‘Great Basin’), depressions (e.g., *Katarska depresija* ‘Qattara Depression’ [*Munḥafaḍal-Qaṭṭāra*] and *Turfanska depresija* ‘Turpan Depression’ [*Tūlūfān Péndi / Turpan Oymanliqi*]), rifts (e.g., *Vzhodnoafriški tektonski jarek* ‘East African Rift’), land faults (e.g., *Prelomnica svetega Andreja* ‘San Andreas Fault’), mountain passes (e.g., *Karakorumski prelaz* ‘Karakoram Pass’ [*Kālākūnlūn Shānkōu*] and *Burgundska vrata* ‘Belfort Gap’ [*Trouée de Belfort*]), river and dry valleys (e.g., *Ferganska dolina* ‘Fergana Valley’ [*Farg’ona vodiysi / Fergana örööñü / wodii Farghona*], *Dolina smrti* ‘Death Valley’, and *Nogalska dolina* ‘Nugaal Valley’ [*Doox Nugaaleed*]), and canyons (e.g., *Veliki kanjon* ‘Grand Canyon’).

Hydronyms, or names of bodies of water, are divided into land and sea hydronyms. The **land hydronym** semantic type includes the names of rivers (e.g., *Beli Nil* ‘White Nile’ [*an-Nīl al-Ābyaḍ*], *Meander* ‘Meander River’ [*Büyük Menderes Nehri / Maïandros*], and *Ren* ‘Rhine’ [*Rhein / Rhin / Rijn*]), freshwater lakes (e.g., *Čadsko jezero* ‘Lake Chad’ [*Lac Tchad / Bahr as Salam*], *Kamsko zaježitveno jezero* ‘Kama Reservoir’ [*Kamskoe vodohraniliše*], and *jezero Hanka* ‘Lake Khanka’ [*ozero Hanka / Xingkāi Hú*]), saline lakes (e.g., *Mrtvo morje* ‘Dead Sea’ [*Yām Ha-Melaḥ / al-Bahr al-Mayyit*], *Veliko slano jezero* ‘Great Salt Lake’, *Vansko jezero* ‘Lake Van’ [*Van Gölü / Gola Wanê*], and *jezero Natron* ‘Lake Natron’), periodically dry lakes (e.g., *Šot el Hodna* ‘Chott el Hodna’), lagoons (e.g., *laguna Mirim* ‘Mirim Lagoon’ [*Lagoa Mirim / Laguna Merin*] and *Beneška laguna* ‘Venetian Lagoon’ [*Laguna Veneta / Laguna di Venezia*]), canals (e.g., *Panamski prekop* ‘Panama Canal’ [*Canal de Panamá*]), and *prekop Majna–Donava* ‘Main–Danube Canal’ [*Main-Donau-Kanal*]), waterfalls (e.g., *Angelov slap* ‘Angel Falls’ [*Salto Angel*] and *Viktorijini slapovi* ‘Victoria Falls’ [*Victoria Falls / Mosi-*



Figure 53: Land hydronyms also include the exonym *Viktorijini slapovi* ‘Victoria Falls’ for the waterfall on the Zambezi River on the border between Zambia and Zimbabwe.

oa-Tunya / Shungu Namutitima]; Figure 53), swamps (e.g., *Kuško močvirje* 'Rann of Kutch' and *Pripjatsko barje* 'Pripyat Marshes' [*Pripjatskie bolota / Pinskie bolota*]), and glaciers (e.g., *Pastirica / Pasterca* 'Pasterze Glacier' [*Pasterze*], *Byrdov ledenik* 'Byrd Glacier' [*Byrdreen*], and *Malaspinin ledenik* 'Malaspina Glacier').

The **sea hydronym** semantic group includes the names of oceans (e.g., *Tihi ocean* 'Pacific Ocean' and *Arktični ocean* 'Arctic Ocean'), seas (e.g., *Andamansko morje* 'Andaman Sea' [*Mottama / Thale Andaman / Laut Andaman*], *Ligursko morje* 'Ligurian Sea' [*Mar Ligure / Mer Ligure*], *Sargaško morje* 'Sargasso Sea', and *Vatsko morje* 'Wadden Sea' [*Waddenzee / Wattenmeer / Vadehavet*]), inland seas (e.g., *Notranje morje* 'Seto Inland Sea' [*Setonaikai*], and *Visajansko morje* 'Visayan Sea'), gulfs (e.g., *Biskajski zaliv* 'Bay of Biscay' [*Golfe du Gascogne / Golfo de Vizcaya / Mar Cantabrico / Bizkaiko Golkoa*], *Sirta* 'Gulf of Sidra' [*Khalij Surt*], and also *Foxejeva kotlina* 'Foxe Basin', which is actually an unusual sea name), straits (e.g., *Danski preliv* 'Denmark Strait' [*Danmarksstrædet / Grænlandssund*], *Deviški prehod* 'Virgin Passage', *Dovrska vrata* 'Dover Strait' [*Dover Strait / Pas-de-Calais*], *Hormuška ožina* 'Strait of Hormuz' [*Tangeh ye Hormoz / Madiq Hurmuz*]), fjords (e.g., *Trondheimski fjord* 'Trondheim Fjord' [*Trondheimsfjorden*] and *Zahodni fjord* 'West Fjord' [*Vestfjorden*]), estuaries (e.g., *Amazonkino ustje* 'Amazon Estuary' [*Estuário de Rio Amazonas*], *Iravadijino ustje* 'Irrawaddy Estuary / Mouths of the Irrawaddy'), and extensive ice shelves in the Antarctic seas (e.g., *Ameryjeva ledena polica* 'Amery Ice Shelf' and *Rossova ledena polica* 'Ross Ice Shelf').

The **submarine feature** semantic group is diverse and large. It is composed of continental shelves (e.g., *Arafurska celinska polica* 'Arafura Shelf' and *Keltska celinska polica* 'Celtic Shelf'), shoals (e.g., *Doggerska plitvina* 'Dogger Bank' and *Srebrna plitvina* 'Silver Bank'), abyssal fans (e.g., *Amazonkin vršaj* 'Amazon Cone' and *Indov vršaj* 'Indus Cone'), submarine canyons (e.g., *Amazonkin kanjon* 'Amazon Canyon' and *Hudsonov kanjon* 'Hudson Canyon'), seamounts (e.g., *Gora predsednika Thiersa* 'President Thiers Seamount', *gora Seine* 'Seine Seamount', and *Flamska kopa* 'Flemish Cap'), guyots (e.g., *mizasta gora Discovery* 'Discovery Tablemount' and *mizasta gora Ob* 'Ob' Tablemount'), abyssal plains (e.g., *Cejlonska ravnina* 'Ceylon Plain'), deep-sea plateaus (e.g., *Demerarska planota* 'Demerara Plateau'), submarine troughs (e.g., *Nankajska udorina* 'Nankai Trough'), submarine deeps (e.g., *Diamantinina globel* 'Diamantina Deep' and *Barentsova globel* 'Barents Depth'), submarine trenches (e.g., *Aleutski jarek* 'Aleutian Trench' and *Filipinski jarek* 'Philippine Trench'), mid-ocean ridges (e.g., *Srednjeatlantski hrbet* 'Mid-Atlantic Ridge' and *Hrbet na devetdesetem poldnevniku* 'Ninetyeast Ridge'), submarine rises (e.g., *Čilski prag* 'Chile Rise' and *Rockallski prag* 'Rockall Rise'), oceanic basins (e.g., *Celebeška kotlina* 'Celebes Basin' and *Šikokujska kotlina* 'Shikoku Basin'), oceanic plateaus (e.g., *Agulhaška planota* 'Agulhas Plateau' and *Blakova planota* 'Blake Plateau'), discordances (e.g., *Avstralsko-antarktična diskordanca* 'Australian–Antarctic Discordance'), and submarine fracture zones and fracture systems (e.g., *Agassizov prelom* 'Agassiz Fracture Zone' and *Clippertonski prelom* 'Clipperton Fracture Zone').

The **island relief form** semantic group is also quite extensive. It consists of the names of islands (e.g., *Kreta* 'Crete' [*Kriti*], *Fraserjev otok* 'Fraser Island', *Hudičev otok* 'Devil's Island' [*Île du Diable*], *Otok Robinsona Crusoeja* 'Robinson Crusoe Island' [*Isla Robinson Crusoe*], *Sveti Krištof* 'Saint Kitts', and *Ognjena zemlja* 'Tierra del Fuego') and archipelagos (e.g., *Marijansko otočje* 'Mariana Islands', *Kerguelenovi otoki* 'Kerguelen Islands' [*Îles Kerguelen*], *Azori* 'Azores' [*Açores*], and *Adamov most* 'Adam's Bridge' [*Ātām Pālam / Rāmasetu*]). There is a rough difference between Slovenian names containing generic terms *otočje* 'archipelago' and *otoki* 'islands'. As a rule, the term *otočje* refers to large groups of smaller islands, or atolls, which are common in tropical seas; for example, *Ekvatorsko otočje* 'Line Islands' and *Maldivi* 'Maldives' [*Dhivehi Raajje*]. The term *otoki* usually refer to small groups of larger islands (e.g., *Kanarski otoki* 'Canary Islands' [*Islas Canarias*], *Orkneyjski otoki* 'Orkneys / Orkney Islands' [*Orkneys / Orkney Islands / Arcaibh*], and *Havajski otoki* 'Hawaiian Islands' [*Hawaiian Islands / Mokupuni o Hawai'i*]). The common noun *otoki* is also used in the names of countries (i.e., *Maršalovi otoki* 'Marshall Islands' [*Marshall Islands / Aolepān Aorōkin Mājēl*], *Salomonovi otoki* 'Solomon Islands', and *Zelenortski otoki* 'Cabo Verde' (Figure 54)), and dependent territories (e.g., *Ferski otoki* 'Faroe Islands' [*Føroyar / Færøerne*] and *Kajmanski otoki* 'Cayman Islands'). For example, the Slovenian exonym *Marshallovo otočje* 'Marshall Archipelago' refers to the island group as a natural feature, and the exonym *Marshallovi otoki* 'Marshall Islands' refers to the administrative unit. Names of island groups can also contain the common nouns *arhipelag* 'archipelago' (e.g., *Arktični arhipelag* 'Arctic Archipelago'), *atol* 'atoll' (e.g., *Johnstonov atol* 'Johnston Atoll'), *otoška skupina* 'island group' (e.g., *otoška skupina Agalega* 'Agalega Islands'), *čer* 'reef' (e.g., *Čeri svetega Petra in Pavla* 'Saint Peter and Saint Paul Archipelago' [*Penedos de São Pedro e São Paulo*]), and *koralni greben* 'coral reef' (e.g., *Veliki koralni greben* 'The Great Barrier Reef').

The **coastal relief form** semantic group includes the names of peninsulas (e.g., *Apeninski polotok* 'Apenine Peninsula' [*Penisola Italiana*], *Krim* 'Crimea' [*Krims'kyy pivostriv* / *Krymskij poluostrrov* / *Krym* / *Qırım yarımadası*], and *Polotok ribičev* 'Rybachy Peninsula' [*poluostrrov Rybačij*]), capes (e.g., *Rt dobrega upanja* 'Cape of Good Hope' [*Cape of Good Hope* / *Kaap die Goeie Hoop*] and *Zeleni rt* 'Cap-Vert'), coasts (e.g., *Obala popra* 'Pepper Coast', *Azurna obala* 'French Riviera' [*Côte d'Azur*], and *Obala Jurija V.* 'George V Coast', which also refers to a natural landscape), isthmuses (e.g., *Panamska zemeljska ožina* 'Isthmus of Panama' [*Istmo de Panamá*] and *zemeljska ožina Kra* 'Kra Isthmus / Isthmus of Kra' [*Khokhok Kra*]), and sand-dune spits (e.g., *Kurska kosa* 'Curonian Spit' [*Kurskaja kosa* / *Kuršiy nerija*]). This group also contains the names of river deltas (e.g., *Donavina delta* 'Danube Delta' [*Delta Dunării* / *Del'ta Dunayū*], *Gangesova delta* 'Ganges Delta' [*Gāṅgēya ba-dbīpa*], and *Orinokova delta* 'Orinoco Delta' [*Delta del Orinoco*]).

A **natural landscape** is a territorially complete physical-geographical part of the Earth's surface smaller than a continent that has not been significantly affected by human activity, or only to a small extent. It may possess several characteristics, but its definition does not usually emphasize any individual natural elements. Typical examples include the names *Dežela kraljice Maud* 'Queen Maud Land' in Antarctica, *Caprivijev pas* 'Caprivi Strip' in northeastern Namibia, *Daljnji vzhod* 'Far East' in the extreme eastern part of Asia, *Frizija* 'Frisia' [*Friesland* / *Fryslân*] in northwestern Germany and the northern Netherlands, *Indijska podcelina* 'Indian Subcontinent' in south Asia (which is also a historical administrative unit), *Hrvaško Zagorje* 'Croatian Zagorje' [*Hrvatsko zagorje*] (due to its hilly features, this part of western Croatia can also be treated as an oronym), *Piemont* 'Piedmont' [*Piemonte*] in Italy (also an administrative unit), *Atika* 'Attica' [*Attikí*] in Greece (a natural landscape, an administrative unit, and a historical region), and *Mazurija* 'Masuria' [*Mazury*] in Poland, which has the same characteristics as Attica. The most typical natural landscapes include deserts (e.g., *Sahara* 'Sahara' [*aš-šahrā' al-kubrā*], *Gobi* 'Gobi Desert' [*Gov* / *Gēbi* (*Shāmò*)], *Kizilkum* 'Kyzyl Kum' [*Qizilqum* / *Qyzylqum*], and *Atakama* 'Atacama Desert' [*Desierto de Atacama*]), and steppes (e.g., *Kulundinska stepa* 'Kulunda Steppe' [*Kulundinskaja step*] / *Qulyndy Zhazyghy*], *Masajska stepa* 'Masai Steppe', and *Stepa gladu* 'Hunger Steppe' [*Betpak-Dala*]).



Figure 54: Terraced landscape on Santo Antão, one of the nine inhabited islands of Cabo Verde.

A **historical region** is a landscape unit that had great importance in historical development but did not play the role of a contemporary state or administrative unit. Typical examples include the names *Abesinija* 'Abyssinia' in today's Ethiopia, and *Bitinija* 'Bithynia' and *Lidija* 'Lydia' in Asia Minor as important regions of Ancient Greek civilization, *Kastilija* 'Castile' [*Castilla*] as the heart of modern-day Spain, *Akadija* 'Acadia' [*Acadie*] as the center of the French-speaking people in eastern North America (Figure 55), and *Anam* 'Annam' [*An Nam / Annán*] as a French protectorate in Southeast Asia. Numerous French regions, such as *Burgundija* 'Burgundy' [*Bourgogne*], *Normandija* 'Normandy' [*Normandie*], and *Provansa* 'Provence' [*Provença*], can be considered both historical and natural regions.

Oases, such as the Kharga Oasis (*oaza Karga* [*al-Wāhāt al-Ḥārīġa*]) and Siwa Oasis (*oaza Siva* [*Wāhāt Sīwa*]), are classified under the **paysage** semantic group, which is not very large. Some of them have natural region features, and others have the features of a settlement.

Administrative units at various levels form a separate semantic type, which includes federal states (e.g., *Severna Dakota* 'North Dakota', *Maharaštra* 'Maharashtra' [*Mahārāṣṭra*], and *Zahodna Avstralija* 'Western Australia'), other states and regions (e.g., *Bavarska* 'Bavaria' [*Bayern*], *Spodnja Saška* 'Lower Saxony' [*Niedersachsen*], *Zgornja Avstrija* 'Upper Austria' [*Oberösterreich*], and *Toskana* 'Tuscany' [*Toscana*]), republics (e.g., *Ingušija* 'Ingushetia' [*Respublika Ingušetija / Ğalġaj Moxk*], *Kabardinsko-balkarska republika* 'Kabardino-Balkaria' [*Kabardino-Balkarija / Kabardino-Balkarskaja republika / Ķêbêrdej-Balkêr Respublikê / Qabarti-Malqar Respublika*], and *Republika Srbska* 'Republika Srpska'), autonomous territories (e.g., *Čukotsko avtonomno okrožje* 'Chukotka Autonomous Okrug' [*Čukotskij avtonomnyj okrug*], and *Židovsko avtonomno okrožje* 'Jewish Autonomous Oblast' [*Evrejskaja avtonomnaja oblast / Yidishe avtonome gegnt*]), departments (e.g., *Provansa - Alpe - Azurna obala* 'Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur'), overseas territories or colonies (e.g., *Britanski Deviški otoki* 'British Virgin Islands', and *Francoska Gvajana* 'French Guiana' [*Guyane française*]), administrative territories (e.g., *Britansko ozemlje v Indijskem oceanu* 'British Indian Ocean Territory' and *Francoska*



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Figure 55: Entrance sign to the Canadian part of the historical region of Acadia.

južna ozemlja ‘French Southern and Antarctic Lands’ [*Terres australes et antarctiques françaises*]), provinces (e.g., *Sečuan* ‘Sichuan’ [*Sičuān Shěng*], *Šansi* ‘Shanxi’ [*Shānxī Shěng*], and *Severozahodna provinca* ‘North West’ [*North West / Noordwes / Bokone Bophirima*]), counties (e.g., *Železna županija* ‘Vas County’ [*Vas megye*]), and unions such as *Britanska skupnost narodov* ‘Commonwealth’, and *Evropska unija / Evropska zveza* ‘European Union’. Some administrative units (e.g., *Sikim* ‘Sikkim’ [*Bras mo ljons / Mayel Lyang / Yuksom / Shikimpati*]) were independent states in the past.

The **historical administrative unit** semantic group is largely composed of former colonies (e.g., *Britanska Somalija* ‘British Somaliland’, *Francoska Zahodna Afrika* ‘French West Africa’ [*Afrique Occidentale française*], *Portugalska Gvineja* ‘Portuguese Guinea’ [*Guiné Portuguesa*], *Severna Rodezija* ‘Northern Rhodesia’, *Indokitajska* ‘Indochina’ [*Indochine*], and *Mandžurija* ‘Manchuria’ [*Mǎnzhōu*]), parts of former colonies (e.g., *Transjordanija* ‘Transjordan’), the names of administrative units of former large states that dissolved later on (e.g., *Galicija* ‘Galicia’ [*Halychyna / Galicja*] in Austria-Hungary, and *Kurlandija* ‘Courland’ [*Kurzeme*]), the names of former countries (e.g., *Nemška demokratična republika* ‘German Democratic Republic’ [*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*], *Južni Vietnam* ‘South Vietnam’ [*Việt Nam Cộng hòa*], and *Otomansko cesarstvo / Osmansko cesarstvo* ‘Ottoman Empire’ [*Yüce Osmanlı Devleti / Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*]), and the names of former principalities and related territorial units (e.g., *Hadhramaut* [*Ḥaḍramawt*] in Yemen, and *Lotaringija* ‘Lotharingia’ [*Lothringen*]) in contemporary France and the Netherlands.

The **other** semantic group is not very large, but semantically it is still quite diverse. It includes the names of river dams and sluices (e.g., *Asuanski jez* ‘Aswan Dam’ [*Sadd al Aswān / Sadd al Ālī*], and *Jez treh sotesk* ‘Three Gorges Dam’ [*Chángjiāng Sānxiá Dàbà*]), defensive walls (e.g., *Kitajski zid* ‘Great Wall of China’ [*Wǎnlǐ Chángchéng*], and *Hadrijanov zid* ‘Hadrian’s Wall’), archeological sites (e.g., *Abu Simbel* [*Abū Sunbul*]), tectonic plates (e.g., *Afriška plošča* ‘African Plate’, *Evrazijska plošča* ‘Eurasian Plate’, and *Kokosova plošča* ‘Cocos Plate’), shields (e.g., *Afriški ščit* ‘African Shield’, *Baltski ščit* ‘Baltic Shield’, and *Kanadski ščit* ‘Canadian Shield’), and other geological formations (e.g., *Kaledonsko gorstvo* ‘Caledonian Mountains’), isolated points in the Earth’s surface (e.g., *Južni tečaj* ‘South Pole’), and abbreviated compound geographical names (e.g., *Magreb* ‘Maghreb’ [*al-Mağrib / al-Mağhrib al-Arabī / Tamazgha*], and *Beneluks* ‘Benelux’).

Table 15: Classification of Slovenian exonyms by semantic type.

Semantic type	Frequency
Continent	17
Country	176
Settlement	610
Historical settlement	169
Part of settlement	3
Landform	635
Land hydronym	565
Sea hydronym	514
Submarine feature	729
Island relief form	499
Coastal landform	357
Natural landscape	398
Historical region	163
Paysage	12
Administrative unit	296
Historical administrative unit	220
Other	68

The largest group of exonyms (729 or 14.5%) refers to submarine features, and a similar number (over six hundred) denote settlements and landforms. Frequently represented are also the categories »land hydronyms« and »sea hydronyms« (each with over five hundred exonyms), and the category »island landforms« (499). Exonyms denoting natural landscapes and coastal relief forms occur over three hundred times, and only slightly fewer in number (296) are exonyms denoting administrative units (Table 15).

9.3.3 Exonym location (continent, ocean)

In terms of location, Slovenian exonyms can be classified in several ways. The roughest classification is by continent and ocean. If a feature denoted by the exonym extends across several territorial units, its location is given in all the units it belongs to; this means all the corresponding continents and oceans are provided.

Classification by continent is more complicated than classification by country because it can be carried out in several ways. Classification by continent is defined in terms of physical geography and not politically, which is why the divisions do not always follow the national borders. Due to ethnic, linguistic, and historical reasons, Central America is treated as a special unit composed of the countries of Central America, and the islands of the Caribbean region or the Greater and Lesser Antilles.

Table 16: Classification of Slovenian exonyms by continent.

Continent	Frequency
Africa	561
Antarctica	167
Asia	1,020
Central America	100
Europe	1,397
North America	281
Oceania	223
South America	108

Due to Slovenia's traditional embeddedness in the European environment and especially central Europe, it is understandable that the majority of exonyms (1,397 or 36.2% out of the 3,857 denoting land features) refer to Europe. Likewise, there are significantly more exonyms covering the other two continents of the Old World – that is, Asia (1,020) and Africa (561) – than the New World continents. Even if North, South, and Central America are combined into the common continent of America, the number of exonyms referring to these (489) is smaller than those referring to Africa (Table 16).

The borders between oceans are based on the borders agreed upon by the experts of the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO). These are fairly clear; the only exceptions are the Arctic and Southern/Antarctic oceans. The area of the Arctic Ocean matches the Arctic Sea and is essentially its allonym, whereas the Southern/Antarctic Ocean is a body of water south of 60° S latitude bordering on the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific Oceans, which correspondingly reduces their respective areas (Perko 2006).

Table 17: Classification of Slovenian exonyms by ocean.

Ocean	Frequency
Southern Ocean / Antarctic Ocean	85
Arctic Ocean	117
Atlantic Ocean	495
Indian Ocean	181
Pacific Ocean	413

The largest group of exonyms denoting sea hydronyms or mareonyms (a total of 1,291 combined with the submarine features) refers to the Atlantic (495; a significant number refer to the Mediterranean Sea), which is the closest ocean to Slovenia. Many also refer to the world's largest body of water, the Pacific (413), and significantly fewer refer to the other three oceans. The distribution of exonyms is also strongly influenced by the quantity of the submarine features they denote, which were classified by appertaining oceans (Table 17).

9.3.4 Recommended use of exonyms

This categorization should be regarded as an attempt to evaluate the overall corpus of foreign geographical names and to highlight those names whose usage is practically obligatory or at least recommended.

The categorization can help eliminate any names whose use is not recommended, unnecessary, or even inappropriate.

The main five selected categories are: necessary use, recommended use, less recommended use, not recommended or unnecessary use, and inappropriate use.

Table 18: Classification of Slovenian exonyms by recommended use.

Recommended use	Frequency
Necessary (A)	544
Recommended (B)	2,154
Less recommended (C)	1,671
Not recommended or unnecessary (D)	607
Inappropriate (E)	68

The use of 544 or 10.8% of exonyms was defined as necessary, and the use of a further 2,154 (42.7%) is recommended. Thus, the use of over half (53.5%) of the exonyms included in the spreadsheet is highly recommended. The use of 1,671 (33.1%) is allowed, but priority is given to endonyms, whereas the use of 607 (12.0%) exonyms is not recommended or is unnecessary. In modern everyday practice, the use of sixty-eight (1.3%) exonyms recorded in the spreadsheet is completely inappropriate; these are mainly old, archaic names, and the purpose of their inclusion in the spreadsheet was to prevent them from sinking into oblivion (Table 18).

9.4 Familiarity with Slovenian exonyms

We investigated familiarity with Slovenian exonyms for seventy carefully selected European cities from thirty-one countries. a study showed (Kladnik and Bole 2012; Kladnik and Pipan 2014) how deeply engrained certain well-known and less well-known exonyms are in the minds of geographers and similar specialists. The familiarity determined among the professional community is presumed to be at a higher level than among the public.

9.4.1 Methods

In order to determine the degree of familiarity with Slovenian exonyms, we decided to carry out a web-based survey and prepared the following sets of questions:

- Familiarity with exonyms for European cities (seventy names);
- Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos (ten names);
- The most frequently used name forms for non-European cities (all of them from Asia) with several allonymic variants (ten names).
- Familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities (ten names; the results are presented in the section on archaic exonyms);

We asked the 173 respondents to provide the names that they have »in their heads«; that is, that they were to »pull them out of their hats« without resorting to any kind of literature or web browsers. The survey was carried out at the end of September and in October 2010. For the first set of questions, 166 responses were taken into account, 163 for the second, 165 for the third, and 158 for the fourth. Appropriate responses to all of the sets of questions posed were received from 157 respondents. Of these, thirty-four were geography teachers, twenty-nine were research geographers, thirty-six were other geographers (students and geographers engaged in other professions), and fifty-eight were not geographers. The greatest number of respondents, fifty-eight, were up to 31 years old, forty-four were 31 to 40 years old, thirty were 41 to 50 years old, nineteen were 51 to 60 years old, and six were over 60 years old.

We sorted the individual responses into four basic categories: correct exonyms (if they were spelled completely correctly), improper exonyms (containing minor or major spelling mistakes, or if the wrong exonym was cited), endonyms (if endonyms were cited as the best-known form), and unknown names (if respondents were unable to determine which geographical name was meant). The representation of individual categories of familiarity with names was determined through a simple analysis of calculating the shares of answers by the age groups and professions of the respondents and for all that participated in the survey together.

9.4.2 Familiarity with exonyms for European cities

We investigated familiarity with Slovenian exonyms for seventy carefully selected European cities from thirty-one countries: *Atene* 'Athens' [*Athína*], *Banjaluka* 'Banja Luka', *Banska Bistrica* 'Banská Bystrica', *Beljak* 'Villach', *Benetke* 'Venice' [*Venezia*], *Bitolj* 'Bitola', *Brod na Kolpi* 'Brod na Kupi', *Breže* 'Friesach', *Brižinje* / *Brižinj* 'Freising', *Bruselj* 'Brussels' [*Brussel* / *Bruzelles*], *Bukarešta* 'Bucharest' [*București*], *Carigrad* / *Istanbul* 'Istanbul' [*Istanbul*], *Čedad* 'Cividale del Friuli', *Česke Budějovice* 'České Budějovice', *Drač* 'Durrës', *Edinburg* 'Edinburgh', *Firence* 'Florence' [*Firenze*], *Frankfurt ob Majni* / *Frankfurt na Majni* 'Frankfurt am Main', *Gradec* 'Graz', *Haag* 'The Hague' [*'s-Gravenhage* / *Den Haag*], *Harkov* 'Kharkiv', *Hercegnovi* 'Herceg Novi', *Humin* / *Gumin* 'Gemona del Friuli', *Janina* 'Ioannina', *Karlovec* 'Karlovac', *Karlovi Vari* 'Karlovy Vary', *Katovice* 'Katowice', *Kijev* 'Kiev / Kyiv' [*Kyjiv*], *Kišinjev* / *Kišinjav* 'Chișinău', *Konstanca* 'Constanța', *Kopenhagen* 'Copenhagen' [*København*], *Kordova* 'Córdoba', *Krakov* 'Cracow' [*Kraków*], *Lipnica* 'Leibnitz', *Lizbona* 'Lisbon' [*Lisboa*], *Lodž* 'Łódź', *Lozana* 'Lausanne', *Luksemburg* 'Luxembourg' [*Lëtzebuerg* / *Luxemburg*], *Lurd* 'Lourdes', *Monošter* 'Szentgotthárd', *Nica* 'Nice', *Nikozija* 'Nicosia' [*Levkosia* / *Lefkoşa*], *Pariz* 'Paris', *Patras* 'Patras', *Peč* 'Peč' [*Peja* / *Pejë* / *Peć*], *Peč* / *Pečuh* 'Pécs', *Pirej* 'Piraeus' [*Peiraiás*], *Praga* 'Prague' [*Praha*], *Priština* 'Pristina' [*Prishtina* / *Prishtinë* / *Priština*], *Pulj* 'Pula', *Ravena* 'Ravenna', *Reka* 'Rijeka', *Sankt Peterburg* 'Saint Petersburg' [*Sankt-Peterburg*], *Sisek* 'Sisak', *Skader* 'Shkodër', *Šmohor* 'Hermagor', *Solun* 'Thessaloniki', *Sombotel* 'Szombathely', *Talin* 'Tallinn', *Temišvar* 'Timișoara', *Tirana* 'Tirana' [*Tirana* / *Tiranë*], *Trident* 'Trent', *Turin* 'Turin' [*Torino*], *Varšava* 'Warsaw' [*Warszawa*], *Videm* / *Viden* 'Udine', *Vilna* 'Vilnius', *Vroclav* 'Wrocław', *Železno* 'Eisenstadt', and *Ženeva* 'Geneva' [*Genève*].

The respondents were required to write the name that they usually use alongside the cited endonym, and whether this was an exonym or endonym. If the exonym had two forms, we counted both forms or either of them as correctly spelled.

Looking at all of the cities cited as a whole, the respondents wrote the correct exonyms in 54.1% of cases, incorrect exonyms in 8.6% of cases, and endonyms in 23.2% of cases, and that they did not recognize the names in 14.1% of cases (Figure 56).

We determined large differences in the use of exonyms for individual cities and their familiarity in general. The only city that everyone used the correct exonym for was Prague (Figure 57). Over 80% also spelled

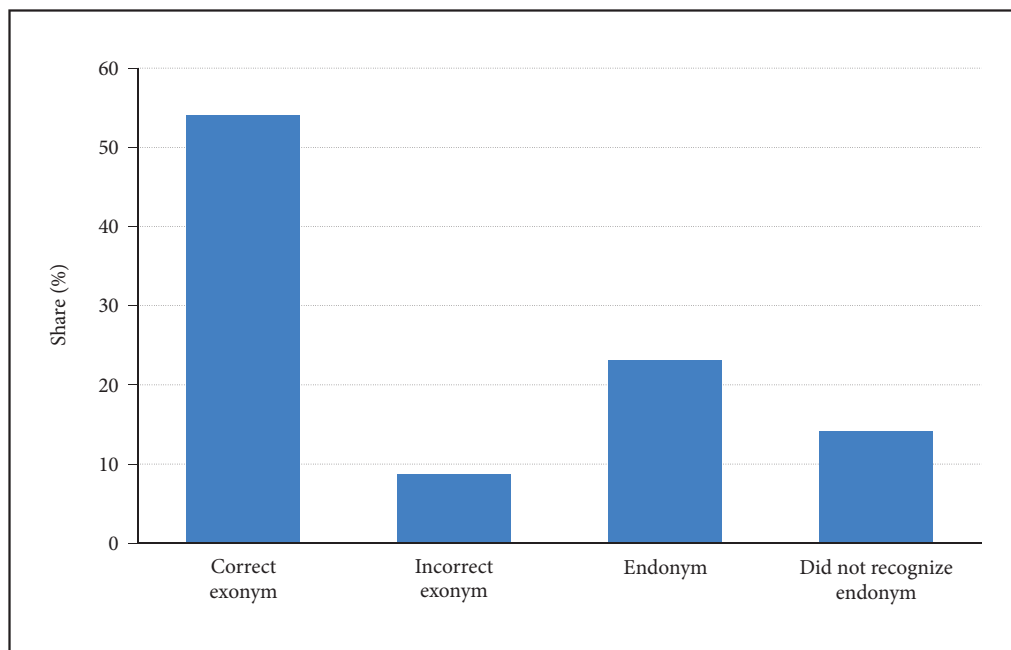


Figure 56: Familiarity with exonyms for European cities.

the exonyms for the following correctly: Pristina (99.4%), Bucharest (98.8%), Nice (97.6%), Tirana (97.0%), Warsaw (95.8%), Venice (94.7%), Istanbul (94.6%), Athens (94.0%), Kiev / Kyiv (92.8%), Brussels (92.8%), Florence (89.8%), Paris (88.6%), Geneva (86.8%), Villach (85.6%), Rijeka (85.2%), Tallinn (85.0%), Lisbon (84.3%), Cracow (82.5%), and Brod na Kupi (81.4%). The names of these cities may be defined as the solid core of Slovenian exonyms that are also well known among the general public, which generally also uses these names when communicating in Slovenian society.

In contrast, 13 cities were known or cited by fewer than 20% of respondents. The very last was the exonym for Bitola (0.6%), followed by the names for Trent (1.8%), Szombathely (3.5%), Turin (5.3%), Ioannina (5.4%), Córdoba (6.7%), Freising (7.6%), Banja Luka (9.0%), Nicosia (9.5%); we are convinced that significantly more people are familiar with this exonym but that the respondents had difficulty in recognizing it due to the considerable differences between it and the Greek and Turkish endonyms *Levkosia* and *Lefkoşa*, Eisenstadt (10.0%), Sisak (10.1%), České Budějovice (13.3%), and Friesach (13.5%). These are names that have largely sunk into oblivion among both experts and the general public and will probably soon end up on the list of archaic Slovenian exonyms.

The next category dealt with was misspelled or mixed-up exonyms. The number-one name in this category was the exonym *Česke Budjeovice* for the southern Czech city of České Budějovice, which was misspelled by 57.8% of respondents. The two most common among thirteen misspelled forms were *Česke Budejovice* (thirty-eight times) and *Česke Budjevice* (twenty-four times).

Similarly difficult was the correct use of the exonyms for Saint Petersburg (46.4% spelled wrong), Córdoba (42.7%), Szombathely (34.1%), and The Hague (31.3%). On the other hand, there are quite a number of exonyms (for Banja Luka, Florence, Karlovac, Katowice, Nice, Paris, Prague, Pristina, Pula, Ravenna, Rijeka, Sisak, and Tirana) for which all of the respondents correctly wrote either endonyms or exonyms.

For ten city names, more than half of the respondents provided only the endonym variant. At the top of the list was Banja Luka, for which the endonym was used by 90.7% of those that participated in the survey. This list also includes the cities of Turin, Bitola, Sisak, Pula, Karlovac, Trent, Freising, Herceg Novi, and Córdoba, followed closely by the town of Leibnitz in Austrian Styria (45.2%), for which the Slovenian



Figure 57: Among all Slovenian exonyms, the one used most consistently is *Praga* 'Prague', the Czech capital.

exonym is *Lipnica*. Almost none of the respondents used the endonyms to refer to Lisbon, Warsaw, Pristina, Athens, Bucharest, Istanbul, Prague, and Tirana – which, with the exception of Istanbul, are all capital cities.

The greatest difficulty in recognizing names was in recognizing the endonym variants for the northern Greek city of Ioannina (55.4%). Over 30% of the respondents also failed to recognize the endonyms for Kharkiv, Friesach, Durrës, Gemona del Friuli, Piraeus, Shkodër, Patras, Chişinău, Nicosia, Hermağor, Szentgotthárd, Peć, Szombathely, and Eisenstadt. On the other hand, all of them recognized the endonyms for the cities of Banja Luka, Brussels, Bucharest, Florence, Graz, Istanbul, Lisbon, Paris, Prague, Pristina, Pula, and Rijeka.

9.4.3 Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos

We investigated familiarity with the exonyms for ten selected European islands and archipelagos: *Brioni* 'the Brijuni Islands', *Eolski otoki / Liparski otoki* 'the Aeolian Islands' [*Isole Eolie / Isole Lipari*], *Hebriidi* 'the Hebrides', *Lofoti* 'Lofoten', *Nova dežela / Nova zemlja* 'Novaya Zemlya' [*Novaja zemlja*], *Pitjuzi* 'the Pine Islands' [*Islas Pitiusas / Illes Pitiuses*], *Shetlandski otoki* 'the Shetland Islands', *Sporadi* 'the Sporades' [*Sporades*], *Velika Britanija* 'Great Britain', and *Zelandija / Zeland* 'Zealand' [*Sjælland*].

The respondents were required to write the name of the island or archipelago next to the endonym provided in the form that they usually used, whether this was an exonym or an endonym. If the exonym had two forms, both forms or either of them were considered correct.

The general level of familiarity with these exonyms was quite similar to familiarity with the exonyms for European cities. This especially applies to the percentage of correct exonyms (54.4%), whereas the percentage of incorrect exonyms is somewhat greater (14.2%) and the percentage of endonyms cited is significantly smaller (4.2%). The percentage of unknown names is also greater (27.1%) (Figure 58).

An overview of familiarity with individual endonyms from this group reveals considerable polarization. More than half of the respondents wrote the correct exonym in seven cases: for Great Britain (95.8%), the Aeolian Islands (83.8%), Novaya Zemlya (78.1%), the Sporades (68.7%), the Hebrides (63.9%), Lofoten

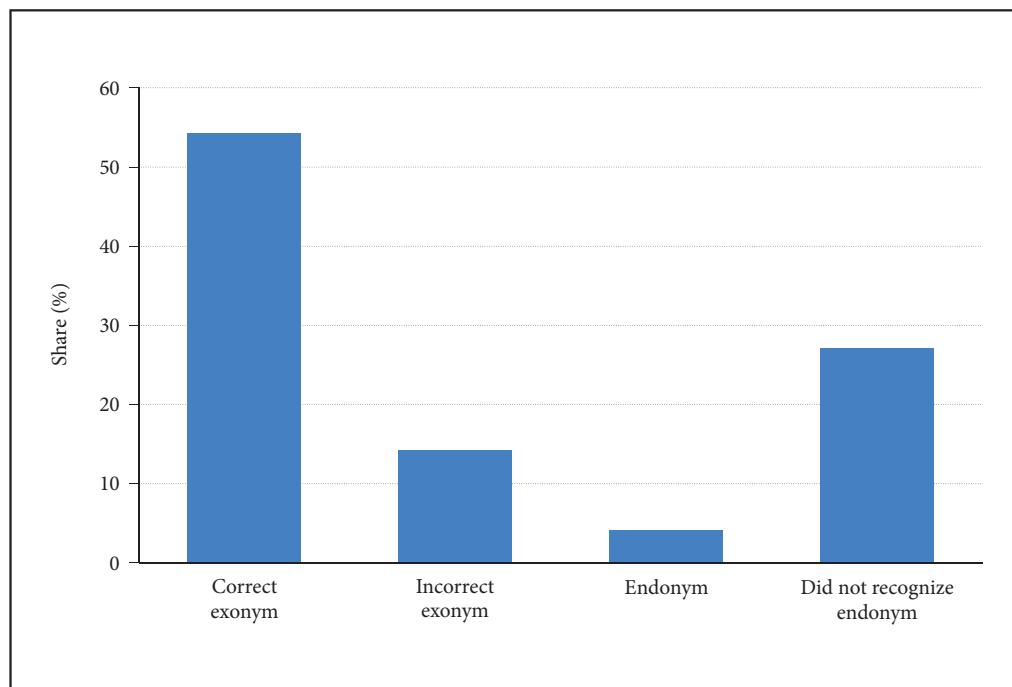


Figure 58: Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos.

(63.8%), and the Brijuni Islands (52.8%). The remaining three names did not even reach 20%: the Shetland Islands (18.2%), Zealand (12.8%), and the Pine Islands (0.0%).

The Shetland Islands are certainly familiar, but their name was cited in very different ways, most often with incorrect exonyms (a full 70.3% of these are such cases, among which appear the spellings *Šetlandski otoki* [seventy-nine times], *Šetlandsko otočje*, *Šetlandi*, and *Šetlantski otoki*). In contrast, the Pine Islands (encompassing the Balearic islands of Ibiza and Formentera) are a rather unfamiliar geographical feature among Slovenians because a full 85.3% of the respondents were not familiar with them. The Danish island of Zealand was also unknown to 60.9% of them, and among the misspelled exonyms Croatia's Brijuni Islands stand out strongly (44.8%).

9.4.4 Familiarity with exonyms for Asian cities

The investigation about familiarity with the exonyms for non-European cities was by its nature different from the investigation about the names in the other three sets of questions in the survey because in them we provided at least two variants, and there may also be several exonym-endonym variants for these ten Asian cities. We asked the respondents to mark the one they knew best and used the most. Familiarity with these names was not included in the overall assessment of familiarity with exonyms (subchapter 9.4.5).

The questionnaire included variants for the following ten cities, with Slovenian exonyms in bold: *Alma Ata* / *Alma-Ata* / *Almaty* 'Almaty', *Ašhabad* / *Ašgabat* 'Ashgabat', *Benares* / *Varanasi* 'Varanasi', *Bombaj* / *Bombay* / *Mumbaj* / *Mumbai* 'Mumbai', *Kanton* / *Guangzhou* 'Guangzhou', *Madras* / *Čenaj* / *Chennai* 'Chennai', *Makasar* / *Makassar* / *Ujung Pandang* 'Makassar', *Rangun* / *Rangoon* / *Yangon* 'Rangoon', *Sajgon* / *Saigon* / *Hošiminh* / *Ho Chi Minh* 'Ho Chi Minh City', and *Vientiane* / *Viangchan* 'Vientiane'.

From the answers received, we conclude that the use of Slovenian exonyms for known cities (and other geographical names) is very persistent and that speakers have difficulty getting used to any changes in their names. Characteristic examples are the exonym variants for the largest Kazakh city, Almaty, the Turkmen capital Ashgabat, the Indian business center Mumbai, the southern Chinese metropolis Guangzhou, the eastern Indian city of Chennai, the Burmese capital Rangoon, and, last but not least, the Laotian capital



ANDRZEJ IWROTEK, FLICKR

Figure 59: Slovenian uses the name variants Benares and Varanasi equally for the holy Indian city on the Ganges.

Vientiane and the largest Vietnamese city, Ho Chi Minh City. For all of these there are also established older, also colonial, name variants. Especially entrenched in Slovenian are the exonyms for Almaty, Ashgabat, Mumbai, Guangzhou, and Rangoon, and in terms of how established it is, the older name Madras ranks first for Chennai in Slovenian.

The exceptions to the rule are the colonial name *Benares*, which is completely equal to the modern, originally Sanskrit version *Varanasi* (Figure 59), and the name of the Indonesian city on the western coast of the island of Sulawesi, *Makassar*, which the majority (three-quarters) of respondents did not recognize at all. More than half of them also did not recognize *Viangchan* 'Vientiane', and more than one-third did not recognize *Asgabat* 'Ashgabat' and *Varanasi*.

By far the most familiar city on the list was Mumbai, with only one response indicating it was unfamiliar. Its new name has quickly become accepted because of its strong media presence and, under the influence of newspapers and television, the use of the Slovenian exonym *Mumbaj* is spreading inexorably.

9.4.5 Familiarity with exonyms by profession and age

We combined the responses to all three sets of questions (non-European cities were not included, but archaic exonyms were) into a single file with a total of ninety results from the questions in a single questionnaire.

Viewed as a whole, exonyms were suitably identified in 52.0% of cases, the respondents did not recognize them in 20.0% of cases, in 19.6% of cases they stated that they usually use endonyms for the names we asked about, and in 9.4% of cases they did not write the exonym correctly.

By far the most correct exonyms (81.1%) were provided by a geography teacher in the 31 to 40 age group, followed by research geographer of the same age, who scored 73.3%. The best non-geographer attained 71.1% accuracy. At the very bottom were two young people, non-geographers under the age of 31, who wrote the correct exonyms in 20.9% and 27.8% of cases, respectively. The most persistent users of endonyms are research geographers; four of them were in the first five places (the top scorer, in the 41 to 50 age group). In general, endonyms are least used by geography teachers and non-geographers.

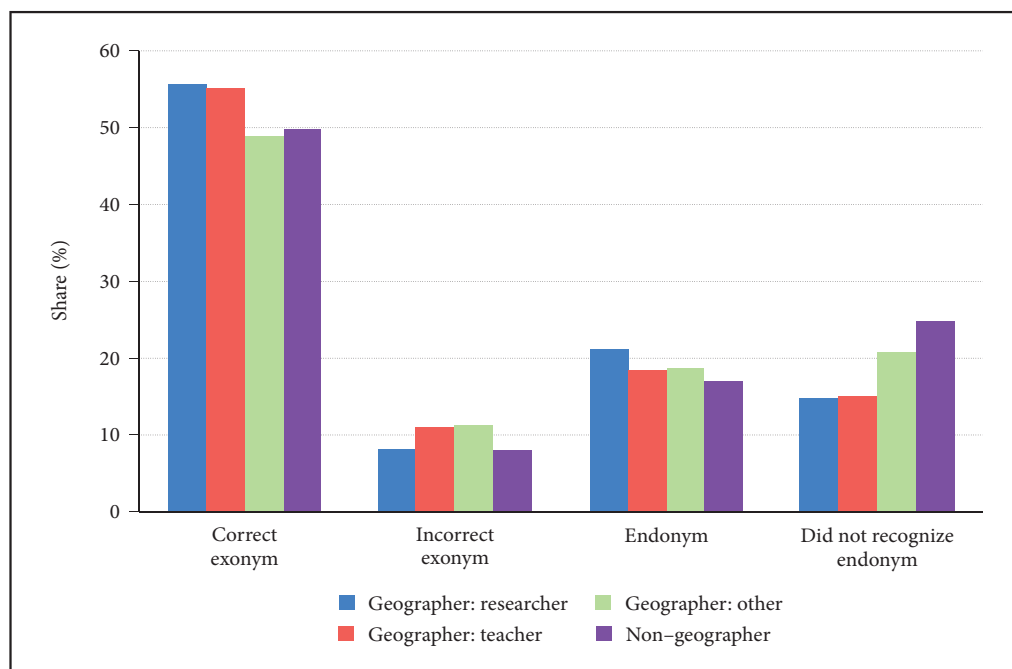


Figure 60: Familiarity with exonyms by profession.

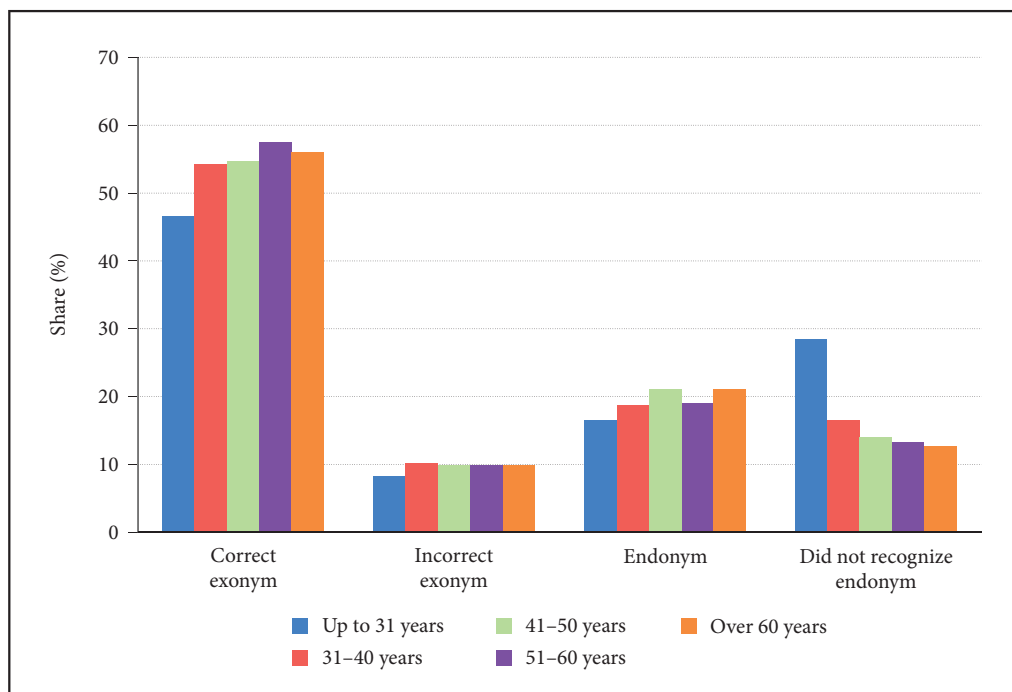


Figure 61: Familiarity with exonyms by age.

Regarding the respondents' profession (Figure 60), it is clear that geographers that are teachers and researchers use correct exonyms to a somewhat greater degree. These were highest on the scale of incorrectly cited exonyms, closely followed by research geographers. These also clearly use endonyms the most, whereas non-geographers use them the least. Non-geographers and geographers with other profiles were also at the forefront in failure to recognize names because their correct recognition lags considerably behind that of geography teachers and especially that of research geographers.

Regarding the respondents' age structure (Figure 61) it is noticeable that the use of both correct exonyms and correct endonyms moderately increases with age, that the share of incorrectly cited exonyms is very similar in all age groups, and that the ability to recognize geographical names decreases with increasing age.

9.5 Gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms

A gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms is result of the research project *Slovenski eksonimi: metodologija, standardizacija, GIS* (Slovenian Exonyms: Methodology, Standardization, GIS). It includes more than five thousand of the most frequently used exonyms that were collected from more than fifty thousand documented various forms of these types of geographical names (Kladnik and Geršič 2014). The spreadsheet, equipped with a search tool, is publicly accessible on the internet in Slovenian (Preglednica eksonimov 2014) and in English (Table of Exonyms 2020; Figure 62). To facilitate understanding, it is accompanied by detailed explanatory notes in Slovenian (Kladnik and Perko 2014) and English (Kladnik and Perko 2013a). The notes provide a detailed explanation of the methodology and also precisely define the individual categories by column.

The table of exonyms in lexicographic form is also included in the online dictionary database *Termania* (Kladnik and Perko 2013b). It has also been published in print (Kladnik et al. 2013), albeit in a significantly reduced version featuring the 3,818 most frequently used exonyms presented in only eleven columns; all exonyms are also displayed on maps in the final section of the book.

ID	Slovenian exonym	Genitive	Adjective form	Endonym	Language	Location (continent, ocean)
1	katarakt	1. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl al-Awwal/1st Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
2	katarakt	2. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl ath Thani/2nd Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
3	katarakt	3. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl ath Thalth/3rd Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
4	katarakt	4. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl ar-Rābi/4th Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
5	katarakt	5. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl al-Khāmis/5th Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
6	katarakt	6. katarakta	kataraktski	Ash Shallāl as-Sablūkah/6th Cataract	Arabic/English	Africa
7	Abadan	Abadana	abadanski	Ābādān	Iranian	Asia
8	Abbotova ledena polica	Abbotove ledene p...	–	Abbot Ice Shelf	English	Southern Ocean
9	Abdera	Abdere	abderski	Abdéra	Greek	Europe
10	Aberdari	Aberdarov	aberdarski	Aberdare Range/Nyandarua	English/Kikuyu	Africa
11	Abesinija	Abesinije	abesinski	Māngestā Ityop'pya/ Ityōppya	Amharic	Africa
12	Abhazija	Abhazije	abhaški	Āpsny/Abkhazeti Avt'onomiuri Respubl...	Abkhazian/Georgian	Asia
13	Abidos	Abidosa	abidoški	Abydos/Abidju	Greek/Ancient Egyptian	Africa
14	Abidžan	Abidžana	abidžanski	Abidjan	French	Africa
15	Abrolhoška plitvina	Abrolhoške plitvine	abrolhoškoplitvinski	Abrolhos Bank	English	Atlantic Ocean
16	Abruči	Abrucov	abruški	Abruzzi/Abruzzo	Italian	Europe
17	Abruški Apenin	Abruškega Apenin...	abruškoapeninski	Appennino Abruzzese	Italian	Europe
18	Abu Ariš	Abu Ariša	abuariški	Abū 'Arīsh	Arabic	Asia
19	Abu Dabi	Abu Dabija	abudabjski	Abū Zabī	Arabic	Asia
20	Abu Kebir	Abu Kebirja	abukebirski	Abū Kabīr	Arabic	Africa
21	Abu Simbel	Abu Simbla	abusimblski	Abū Sunbul	Arabic	Africa
22	Abukir	Abukirja	abukirski	Abū Qīr/Canopus	Arabic/Latin	Africa
23	Abukirski zaliv	Abukirskega zaliva	abukirski	Khalij Abu Qīr	Arabic	Atlantic Ocean
24	Adamava	Adamave	adamavski	Ādamaoua/Adamawa	French/English	Africa
25	Adamava	Adamave	adamavski	Province de l'Adamaoua	French	Africa
26	Adamov most	Adamovega mosta	–	āthām pālam/rāmasetu	Tamil/Sanskrit	Asia
27	Adamov vrh	Adamovega vrha	adamovovški	Samalakanda/Sivanolipatha Malai/Sri	Sinhala/Tamil/Sanskrit	Asia
28	Adanska ravnina	Adanske ravnine	adanskoraminski	Çukurova	Turkish	Asia
29	Adelajda	Adelajde	adelajdski	Adelaide	English	Oceania
30	Adelajdin otok	Adelajdinega otoka	adelajdinootški	Adelaide Island	English	Antarctica
31	Adeljina dežela	Adeljine dežele	adeljski	Terre Adélie/Adélie Coast	French/English	Antarctica

Figure 62: Excerpt from the introductory part of the English version of the table of Slovenian exonyms (source: Table of Exonyms 2014).

The spreadsheet contains thirty-five categories (the last two are available only in Slovenian):

Column A: ID. ID (*identifier*) is the identification number by which all the exonyms included are ordered based on the alphabetical list of Slovenian exonyms in Column B.

Column B: Nominative form of the Slovenian exonym. In this column all the exonyms included are ordered alphabetically.

Column C: Genitive form of the Slovenian exonym. This column contains the genitive forms of all the exonyms included.

Column D: Adjectival form of the Slovenian exonym. This column contains the adjectival forms of almost all the exonyms included.

Column E: Original geographical name (endonym). In this column, endonyms are provided for all the Slovenian exonyms. They are written in the Roman alphabet and, for non-Roman-based orthographies, a standard Roman-alphabet transliteration.

Column F: Language of the endonym. This column contains the languages of the endonyms of all the Slovenian exonyms listed in the spreadsheet. The endonyms are provided in 219 languages.

Column G: Exonym location (continent, ocean). Just like the next one, this column provides information on the geographical location of exonyms or adapted foreign geographical names. If a feature denoted by the exonym extends across several territorial units, its location is given in all the units it belongs to; this means that all the corresponding continents and oceans are provided.

Column H: Exonym location (country, sea). The countries are defined according to the latest situation at the time this volume was being created. The only exception is Western Sahara, which has been almost completely taken over by Morocco, but it is still treated as an independent country. Taiwan, Palestine, and Kosovo are also listed as independent countries.

Sea exonyms include all sea names outside world oceans, and their undersea features.

Column I: Semantic type of the exonym. In this column, exonyms are divided into semantic groups. The classification is adapted to global dimensions and the standard division of names of geographical features and topographic items in Slovenian atlases and encyclopedias. We combined several geographical features and topographic items into main items or semantic groups, which can also be referred to as semantic types.

Column J: Latitude of the exonym.

Column K: Longitude of the exonym.

Column L: Degree of Slovenianization of the exonym. This column contains information on the typology of adapting the exonyms included to Slovenian.

Column M: Status of the exonym according to standardization. In this column, exonyms are defined in terms of the level of their standardization or, which is evident in the great majority of cases, their lack of standardization.

Column N: Recommended use of the exonym. We decided to use five main categories of recommended use (necessary, recommended, less recommended, not recommended or unnecessary, inappropriate) of the Slovenian exonyms included in the spreadsheet.

Column O: Alternative exonym (allonym). An alternative geographical name or allonym is any of the two or several toponyms denoting a single topographic item.

Column P: CIGALE'S ATLAS (1869–1877). This column contains all the forms of Slovenian exonyms that appear in *Atlant* (Atlas), the first Slovenian world atlas that was published by the Slovenian Society (*Matica slovenska*) from 1869 to 1877.

Column Q: OROŽEN'S SCHOOL ATLAS, 1902. *Zemljepisni atlas za ljudske šole s slovenskim učnim jezikom* (Geographic Atlas for Public Schools) is an adapted version of Haardt's atlas published in 1883.

Column R: DE AGOSTINI SCHOOL ATLAS (1941). Soon after the Italian annexation of much of Slovenia during the Second World War, the famous Italian cartographic publisher De Agostini published *Zemljepisni atlas za srednje in njim sorodne šole* (Geographical Atlas for Secondary and Similar Schools).

Column S: MEDVED'S GREAT WORLD ATLAS (1972). *Veliki atlas sveta* (Great World Atlas) is considered the first modern Slovenian world atlas and was published in 1972 by Mladinska Knjiga publishers.

Column T: GREAT FAMILY WORLD ATLAS (1992; 1996). *Veliki družinski atlas sveta* (Great Family World Atlas) was first published in 1992 and its second edition in 1996 by Državna Založba Slovenije, and it is still considered one of the best atlases published in Slovenian.

Column U: ATLAS 2000. *Atlas sveta 2000* (2000 World Atlas) was published in 1997.

Column V: MONDE NEUF (2003). In 2003, the cartographic enterprise Monde Neuf d.o.o., which was established by the cartographers Damir and Denis Šehić, published *Geografski atlas sveta za šole* (School Geographic Atlas).

Column W: MLADINSKA KNJIGA SCHOOL ATLAS (2005). *Atlas sveta za osnovne in srednje šole* (Primary and Secondary-School World Atlas) is the most widely used Slovenian atlas, and a true best seller.

Column X: GREAT WORLD ATLAS (2005). Even though in a way *Veliki atlas sveta* (Great World Atlas) is the successor to *Veliki družinski atlas sveta* (DZS 1992) and the note »revised edition« was added to its title, it is actually a completely new product.

Column Y: OTHER. This column contains exonyms collected from other sources, among which *Veliki splošni leksikon* (Great General Encyclopedia), published in 1997 and 1998, and *Slovenski pravopis* (*Slovenian Normative Guide*), published in 2001, are the most prominent.

Columns Z, Column AA, Column AB, Column AC, Column AD, Column AE, Column AF, and Column AG: English, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Croatian, and Hungarian form of the exonym.

These columns contain the English, French, German, Spanish, and Russian exonyms as name forms in main official world languages, and Italian, Croatian, and Hungarian exonyms as name forms in languages of neighboring countries for all the Slovenian exonyms included.

Column AH: Etymology of the exonym. This column provides the etymology and meaning for the majority of the exonyms included, which is exceptionally important for the correct formation of their Slovenian names.

Column AI: Notes about the exonym. This column contains various interesting facts connected with a specific exonym.

A gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms has been designed as a contribution to further standardization of Slovenian exonyms, for which determining the etymology of the exonyms included is of great importance.

By systematically documenting all the exonyms, we have ensured that this important aspect of the Slovenian language will not sink into oblivion. The list of Slovenian exonyms will not only help preserve linguistic heritage as an important aspect of Slovenian cultural heritage, but also help preserve national identity (Kladnik and Geršič 2014).

A special table (Table 19) was produced for illustration a part of spreadsheet in this book. However, for layout reasons it is organized differently than the large online spreadsheets available in Slovenian (*Preglednica eksonimov* 2014) and English (Table of Exonyms 2014).

Table 19: Selected examples from Gazetteer of Slovenian Exonyms by fields (note: for layout reasons, the entries in the table are rearranged so that the selected exonyms are listed horizontally and the various fields vertically). In cases in which the original name is in English / French / German / Spanish / Italian / Croatian / Hungarian, the value 0 is entered in the corresponding field. A dash (–) is used in cases in which we were unable to find the English / French / German / Spanish / Russian / Italian / Croatian / Hungarian equivalent of the Slovenian exonym.

ID	27	132	187	388	979	1758	2105	3495
Slovenian exonym	<i>Adamov vrh</i>	<i>Amazonka</i>	<i>Angelov slap</i>	<i>Baltsko morje</i>	<i>Dunaj</i>	<i>Jeruzalem</i>	<i>Kelmarajin</i>	<i>Portugalska</i>
Genitive	<i>Adamovega vrha</i>	<i>Amazonke</i>	<i>Angelovega slapa</i>	<i>Baltskega morja</i>	<i>Dunaja</i>	<i>Jeruzalem</i>	<i>Kelmarajina</i>	<i>Portugalske</i>
Adjective	<i>adamovovski</i>	<i>amazonski</i>	<i>angelovoslapski</i>	<i>baltskomorski</i>	<i>dunajski</i>	<i>jeruzalemski</i>	<i>kelmarajinski</i>	<i>portugalski</i>
Endonym	<i>Samalakanada / Sivanalpatha Malai / Sri Pada</i>	<i>Rio Amazonas / Solimões</i>	<i>Salto Angel</i>	<i>Østersjøen / Ostsee / Läänemeri / Itämeri / Baltiiskoje more / Baltijsk jūra / Baltijos jūra / Morze Bałtyckie</i>	<i>Wien</i>	<i>Jerusalem / al-Quds</i>		<i>Portugal</i>
Language	Sinhala / Tamil / Sanskrit	Portuguese	Spanish	Swedish / Dutch / German / Estonian / Finnish / Russian / Latvian / Lithuanian / Polish	German	Hebrew / Arabic	German	Portuguese
Location (continent, ocean)	Asia	South America	South America	Atlantic Ocean	Europe	Asia	Europe	Europe
Location (country, sea)	Sri Lanka	Brazil / Peru	Venezuela	Baltic Sea	Austria	Israel	Germany	Portugal
Semantic type	land relief form	land hydronym	land hydronym	sea hydronym	settlement	settlement	settlement	country
Latitude	6° 48' 33" N	0° 23' 1" N	5° 58' 3" N	55° 55' 19" N	48° 12' 33" N	31° 46' 14" N	50° 56' 0" N	39° 33' 15" N
Longitude	80° 29' 59" E	50° 5' 37" W	62° 32' 8" W	18° 40' 49" E	16° 22' 22" E	35° 12' 29" E	6° 57' 0" E	8° 6' 50" W
Degree of Slovenianization (see Section 9.3.1 for explanation)	G	H	I	I	K	E	J	H
Status	not standardized	not standardized	not standardized	not standardized	not standardized	not standardized	not standardized	standardized
Recommended use (see Section 9.3.4 for explanation)	B	A	B	A	A	A	E	A
Alternative exonym	/	/	/	<i>Baltik, Baltiškā morje</i>	/	/	/	/

ID	27	132	187	388	979	1758	2105	3495
CIGALE'S ATLAS (1869–1877)	/	Amazonška reka	/	Baltiško morje/ Vzhodno morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalija
OROŽEN'S SCHOOL ATLAS (1902)	/	Amazonski veletok	/	Vzhodno morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
DE AGOSTINI SCHOOL ATLAS (1941)	/	Amazonas	/	Baltiško morje/ Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
MEDVED'S GREAT WORLD ATLAS (1972)	/	Amazonka	/	Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
GREAT FAMILY WORLD ATLAS (1992, 1996)	/	Amazonka	/	Baltiško morje / Vzhodno morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
ATLAS 2000 (1997)	/	Amazonka	Angelov slap	Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
MONDE NEUF (2003)	/	Amazonka	/	Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
MILADINSKA KNJIGA SCHOOL ATLAS (2005)	/	Amazonka	Angelov slap	Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
GREAT WORLD ATLAS (2005)	/	Amazonka	Angelov slap	Baltiško morje	Dunaj	Jeruzalem	/	Portugalska
OTHER	Adamov vrh	/	/	/	/	/	Kelmorajin	/
English name	Adam's Peak	Amazon River	Angel Falls	Baltic Sea	Vienna	Jerusalem	Cologne	none
French name	Pic d'Adam	Amazon	Salto Angel	Mer Baltique / Baltique	Vienna	Jérusalem / Salem	Cologne	none
German name	Sri Pada	Amazonas	Salto Angel	0	0	Jerusalem	0	none
Spanish name	Pico de Adán	Río Amazonas	0	Mar Baltico	Viena	Jerusalén	Colonia	none
Russian name	Adamova veršina	Amazonka	Anhel'	0	Vena	Jerusalim	Kéln	Portugalija
Italian name	Sri Pada	Rio delle Amazzoni	Salto Angel	Mar Baltico	Vienna	Gerusalemme	Colonia	Portogallo
Croatian name	Adamov vrh	Amazona	–	Baltiško more	Beč	Jeruzalem	none	none
Hungarian name	Sri Pada	Amazonas	Angel-vizesés	Balti-tenger	Bécs	Jeruzsálem	none	Portugália

Etymology	<p>The name is derived from a legend in which the Biblical figure Adam stood on the peak and left an impression in the shape of an enormous footprint. In Sinhala the name means 'Butterfly Mountain'.</p>	<p>The name may be derived from a Lithuanian or Latvian word meaning 'white', or perhaps from a Slavic word meaning 'swamp'. Some suggest that it is related to the Danish word <i>bælt</i> 'strait', referring to the Skagerak and Kattegat straits.</p>	<p>The name developed from the Latin name <i>Vindobona</i>, which is a compound derived from the Celtic words <i>vindo</i> 'white' and <i>bona</i> 'fortification'.</p>	<p>One of the holiest cities in the world has a name of uncertain origin. Cuneiform texts give it in the form <i>Urusalimmi</i> and Egyptian hieroglyphics as <i>Shalim</i>. It is possible that <i>uru</i> means 'house', <i>šalim</i> means 'peace'. . . . Some authorities . . . hold that the second part of the name is that of the Canaanite god Shalim, regarded as the city's patron, and that the first part represents the Hebrew root <i>yryh</i>, usually meaning 'to throw' or 'to shoot' but here having the sense 'to lay a foundation'. The name would then mean '(place) founded by Shalim'. The regular Arabic name is 'the holy one'.</p>	<p>The Slovenian name is a corrupted form of the widespread name <i>Köln</i> <i>am Rhein</i> (Cologne on the Rhine River); the German name <i>Köln</i> is derived from older forms (<i>Cöllen</i>, <i>Cölln</i>, <i>Cölln</i> and <i>Cöln</i>) based on the Latin name <i>Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippensium</i>. Because the port there never froze.</p>
Notes	<p>With a height of 979 meters this is the tallest waterfall in the world.</p>				

9.6 Archaic Slovenian exonyms

This section focuses on the most typical exonyms that are no longer widely used and have already completely or almost completely sunk into oblivion (e.g., *Kelmorajn* for the German city of Cologne [Köln]). However, they can still be traced in certain adjectival forms, such as in the name of the dessert *solnograški žličniki* ‘Salzburg soufflé’ (German: *Salzburger Nockerl*) derived from the archaic exonym *Solnograd* for the now widely used variant *Salzburg*, and *florentinski zrezek* ‘T-bone steak’ (literally, ‘Florentine cutlet’) derived from the exonym *Florenca* for the predominant modern form *Firence* ‘Florence’ [Firenze].

When exonyms are in living use, they comprise an inalienable part of a given language, but then many of them enter a phase of gradually dying out (Boháč 2007). For example, in modern English the exonym *Leghorn* is only rarely used for the Italian city of Livorno, and *Salonika* for the Greek city of Thessaloníki (Woodman 2003), and in modern Czech, for example, *Celovec* ‘Klagenfurt’, *Terbiž* ‘Tarvisio’, and *Brunšvik* ‘Braunschweig’ (Beránek et al. 2006; Boháč 2007).

Among the Slovenians, formerly relatively well-established exonyms that have fallen into disuse along with the already mentioned *Kelmorajn*, *Solnograd*, and *Florenca* are *Kodanj* ‘Copenhagen’ [København], *Monakovo* ‘Munich’ [München], *Brižinje*, and also *Brižinj* ‘Freising’ (from which Slovenian derives *Brižinski spomeniki* ‘Freising Manuscripts’, the first Latin-script continuous text in a Slavic language and the oldest document in Slovenian, which are kept at the Bavarian State Library in Munich), *Kjodža* ‘Chioggia’, *Jakin* ‘Ancona’, *Inomost* ‘Innsbruck’, *Kraljevo* ‘Craiova’, and *Skoplje* ‘Skopje’, *Novi Jork* ‘New York’, *Sveti Frančišek* ‘San Francisco’ and also some other less well-known names. For now, a little better fate appears to await the Slovenian exonyms *Čikago* ‘Chicago’, *Filadelfija* ‘Philadelphia’, *Milan* ‘Milan’ [København], and *Turin* ‘Turin’ [Torino] (the last two names are still used by Slovenians along the Italian border and members of the Slovenian minority in Italy), which will probably soon end up on the list of archaic Slovenian exonyms.

The first to systematically study foreign geographical names in Slovenian was the linguist Irena Orel (Orel 2003; 2009), who examined the use of geographical names in the newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (volumes 1842/43, 1845, and 1846), *Lublanske novize*, printed by Johann Friedrich Egger (1797), *Novice kmetijskih, rokodelnih in narodskih reči* (1847–1849), and *Slovenija* (1848–1850). Also worth mentioning is the latest study of Slovenian exonyms in the first Slovenian normative guide of 1899 authored by Fran Levec (Geršič 2020c).

In the first half of the nineteenth century, foreign geographical names were translated and Slovenian equivalents were already used for the names of some well-known foreign places, rivers, and regions important for Slovenians. Typical examples of Slovenianized foreign geographical names or their variants include *Dunaj/Beč* (now *Dunaj* ‘Vienna’ [Wien]), *Benedke/Mletci* (now *Benetke* ‘Venice’ [Venezia]), *Solnigrad* (now *Salzburg*), *Moshkovia* (now *Moskva* ‘Moscow’), *Beligrad* (now *Beograd* ‘Belgrade’), *Dobrovnik/Ragusa* (now *Dubrovnik*), *Frankobrod/Frankobrod na Majnu* (now *Frankfurt ob Majni* ‘Frankfurt am Main’), *Munakovo* (now *München* ‘Munich’), *Majland* (now *Milano* ‘Milan’), *Koppenhagen* (now *København* ‘Copenhagen’), *Novi Orleans* (now *New Orleans*), *Rajna* (now *Ren* ‘Rhine’ [Rhein / Rhin / Rijn]), *Sedmograško/Erdeljsko* (now *Transilvanija* ‘Transylvania’ [Transilvania / Ardeal / Erdély / Siebenbürgen]), *Lashko* (now *Italija* ‘Italy’ [Italia]), *Švajza* (now *Švica* ‘Switzerland’ [Schweiz / Suisse / Svizzera / Svizra]), and *Nizozemska* (now *Nizozemska* ‘Netherlands’ [Nederland]) (Kladnik 2006).

Cigale’s Atlant (1869–1877), which was created before the major twentieth-century political changes, contains many Slavic names for features in what are now non-Slavic areas in Europe, mostly in Germany, Romania, and Hungary. Typical examples in Germany include *Branibor* for Brandenburg, *Brunšvik* for Braunschweig, *Devin* for Magdeburg, *Draždane* for Dresden, *Ljubek* for Lübeck, *Moguč* for Mainz, and *Rostoki* for Rostock. Names in Romania include *Belgrad* for Alba Iulia, *Blaževo* for Blaj, *Brajlov* for Brăila, and *Jaš* for Iași, and names in Hungary include *Berincek* for Mezőberény, *Kriš* for Körös, *Miškovec* for Miskolc, and *Novgrad* for Nógrád (Kladnik 2005c; 2007e; 2009c).

Inquiring about familiarity with old exonyms seemed especially interesting to us in compiling the questionnaire because we consciously included the exonyms for following ten European cities: *Bazileja* ‘Basel’, *Draždane* ‘Dresden’, *Florenca* ‘Florence’ [Firenze], *Kandija* ‘Heraklion’, *Kelmorajn* ‘Cologne’ [Köln], *Kodanj* ‘Copenhagen’ [København], *Kraljevi Gradec* ‘Hradec Králové’, *Monakovo* ‘Munich’ [München], *Segedin* ‘Szeged’, and *Solnograd* ‘Salzburg’. The respondents were required to write the modern name of the city, in either endonym or exonym form, next to the archaic Slovenian exonym.

As expected, general familiarity with these exonyms was quite poor. On average, 57.7% of the responses indicate that the respondents did not recognize the names. When the modern names were provided alongside these archaic exonyms, respondents wrote the correct form in three-quarters of cases (Figure 63).

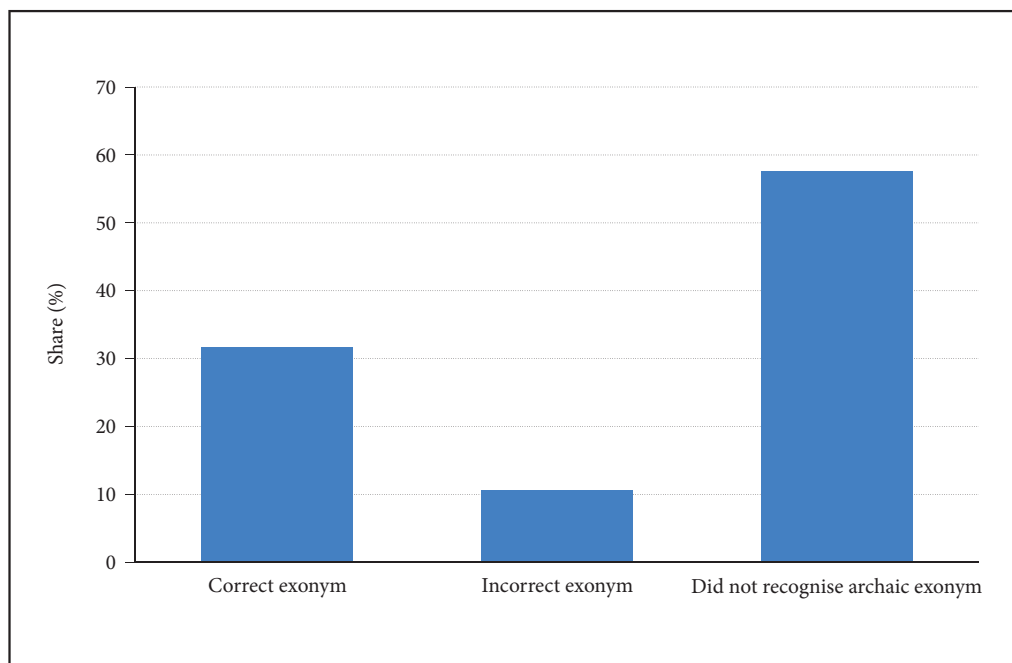


Figure 63: Familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities.



Figure 64: View of the old town of Salzburg, once referred to in Slovenian as *Solnograd*, which is probably the best-known archaic Slovenian exonym.



BOJAN ERHARTIČ

Figure 65: The historic center of Florence [*Firenze*], once referred to in Slovenian as *Florenca* and now called *Firence*.

Both of these cited values are only averages, which reflect great degrees of difference in the level of familiarity for individual names. The most familiar archaic exonyms are for Salzburg (79.1%) (Figure 64) and Florence (75.3%) (Figure 65). These are followed by the exonyms for Munich (46.2%), Szeged (33.5%), and Cologne (32.2%), which obviously have not completely sunk into oblivion. However, this does not apply to the exonyms for Dresden (12.7%), Basel (10.8%), Hradec Králové (5.0%), Copenhagen (3.2%), and Heraklion (1.9%), which are (almost) totally forgotten in modern Slovenian.

More than two-thirds of respondents admitted that they did not recognize the exonyms *Kodanj* 'Copenhagen' [*København*] (92.4%), *Draždane* 'Dresden' (79.8%), *Kandija* 'Heraklion' (77.9%), *Bazileja* 'Basel' (74.1%), and *Kraljevi Gradec* 'Hradec Králové' (73.9%) and were unable to place them.

Because familiarity with such exonyms is weak, it is not surprising that some interesting errors were made in respondents' efforts to come up with the correct name. Among all of the names, the most incorrect answers for the current name were for the exonym *Monakovo* 'Munich' [*München*] (34.0%), which 52 respondents misidentified as Monaco (they wrote this name forty-seven times in the exonym form *Monako* and five times as its endonym form *Monaco*).

10 Slovenian geographical names as exonyms

Just as some foreign geographical names appear in Slovenian and/or other languages, some geographical names from Slovenian territory have different forms in other languages. Slovenian geographical names as exonyms have been identified in certain foreign-language lists, such as Polish (Rudnicki et al. 2010), Czech (Beránek et al. 2006), and Finnish (Hakulinen and Paikkala 2012), in the online database GeoNames (Internet 8), and on Wikipedia.

To facilitate comparison and analyses, Slovenian geographical names were divided into five semantic groups: place names, hydronyms, choronyms, oronyms, and names of historical regions.

An exonymization level index (ε) was introduced to statistically compare the names. It can be calculated by entering the number of all languages in which exonyms of a specific type appear (e.g., settlements) into the denominator (Σj_{\max}), and the number of languages of an individual exonym into the numerator (j_n). Hence, the equation reads as follows:

$$\varepsilon = j_n / (\Sigma j_{\max}).$$

The index values range from 0 to 1, in which 0 means that there are no exonyms for the selected name, and 1 means that exonyms for this name exist in all of the languages within the group.

10.1 Place names

This section presents an analysis of the exonymization of place names included the twenty-nine settlements with the largest population according to the 2011 census data.

The selected place names were identified in thirty-five languages. As expected, Ljubljana has the highest level of exonymization (0.86; Figure 66), and Litija has the lowest (0) because no exonyms were found for Litija. a high level of exonymization for Ljubljana is hardly surprising; this is the Slovenian capital and in many respects the most important Slovenian city. Ljubljana is followed by Maribor (0.21), Ptuj and Nova Gorica (both 0.16), and Novo Mesto (0.14), whereas other towns studied have a lower level. It is already clear with the third name that the level of exonymization and size are not closely connected. Reasons for this can be ascribed to various factors. It is certainly not insignificant that, at the time when exonyms were created more intensely, the ranking of towns by population was different than today; in addition, some towns also had a different function (e.g., Nared et al. 2017).

When comparing the number of exonyms by individual language (Figure 67), it can be established that the largest number of exonyms are in German (all names except Litija). This is hardly surprising because the German linguistic environment was one that coexisted in and dominated today's Slovenian environment the longest, and German exonyms in particular are a reminder of historically strong Germanic influence. It is also important that the official language of Slovenia's northern neighbor Austria is German. German is followed by Latin (15). Latin exonyms in Slovenian territory are also not surprising. Many settlements go back to Roman antiquity, which is also reflected in their names. In addition, from an ecclesiastical administrative point of view, Slovenia was under the jurisdiction of Rome, where Latin was the language of the Church, including liturgy, and of science and art. However, it is interesting that the number of Lithuanian exonyms is the same as the number of Latin ones (15), which is a result of the adaptation of foreign geographical names to Lithuanian normative rules because there

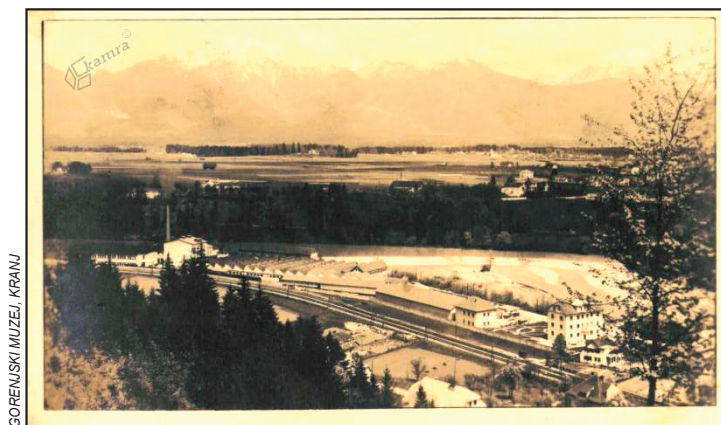
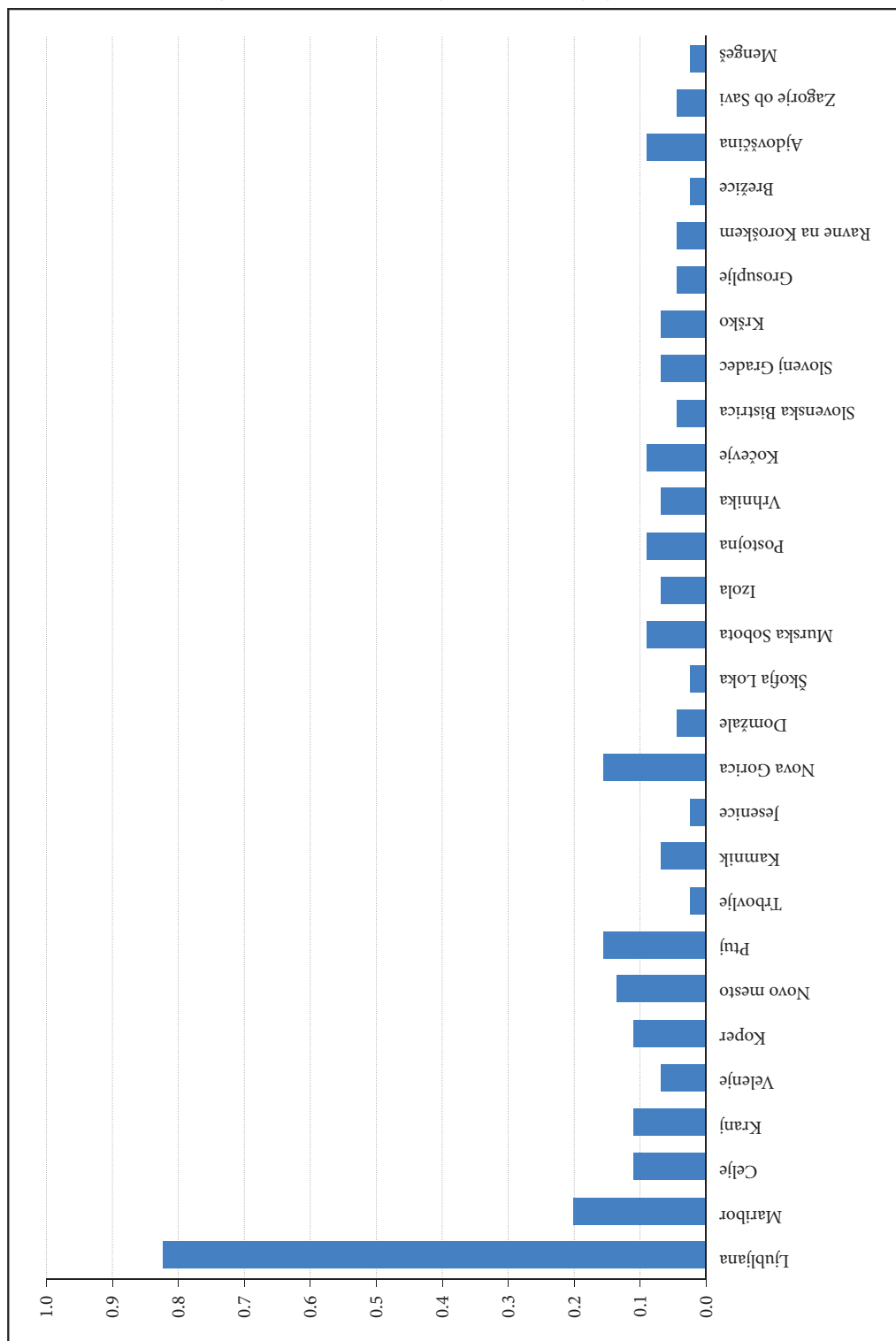
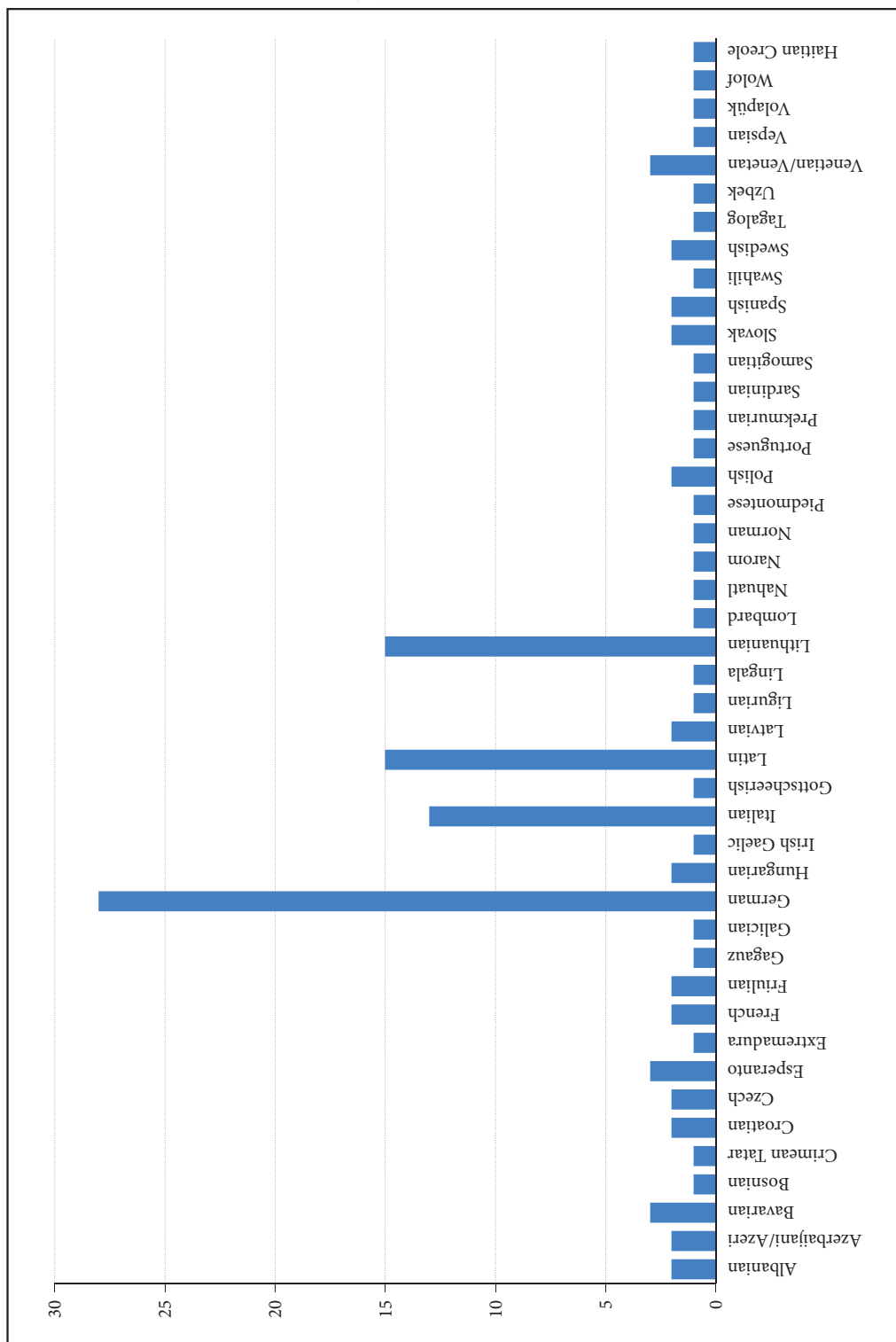


Figure 68: The Jugobruna factory in Kranj.

Figure 66: Level of exonymization of Slovenian place names. ► p. 142

Figure 67: Number of exonyms by language. ► p. 143





is not a close connection between Slovenian linguistic territory and Lithuania. Italian follows with thirteen exonyms. This is not surprising, considering that this is the official language of Slovenia's western neighbor and that the western part of today's Slovenia was part of Italy during the interwar period. Other languages include three exonyms at the most. It is interesting that only two exonyms can be found in the languages of Slovenia's southern and eastern neighbors, Croatia and Hungary. These are *Kopar* 'Koper' and *Novo Mesto* (Slovenian: *Novo mesto*; the only difference is in the capitalization of the common noun) in Croatian, and *Cille* 'Celje' and *Muraszombat* 'Murska Sobota' in Hungarian. Examples of individual exonyms whose formation seems illogical at first glance, are also interesting; for instance, the Czech exonym *Kranj* 'Kranj'. In order to explain the origin of this exonym, one must dig deeper into history. In the early nineteenth century, Kranj was growing into an important industrial town. It achieved its industrial peak following the Second World War, but the Czechs had already invested their capital in Kranj's industry during the war. The Jugobruna and Jugočeška factories were established, and the latter was the largest textile factory in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (before the Second World War; Figure 68). This link between the Czech capital and Kranj's industry can be cited as the main reason for the formation of the Czech exonym for Kranj.

10.2 Hydronyms

The analysis of the level of exonymization of Slovenian hydronyms (Figure 69) included three major lakes (Lake Bled, Lake Bohinj, and Lake Cerknica) and eleven rivers. The entire course of the Kokra, Ljubljana, Savinja, and Vipava rivers lies within Slovenia, whereas others (the Dragonja, Drava, Kolpa, Krka, Mura, Sava, and Soča rivers) are either border rivers, or they rise or empty in other countries. The fact that a river lies on the border or flows through several countries definitely influences the level of exonymization.

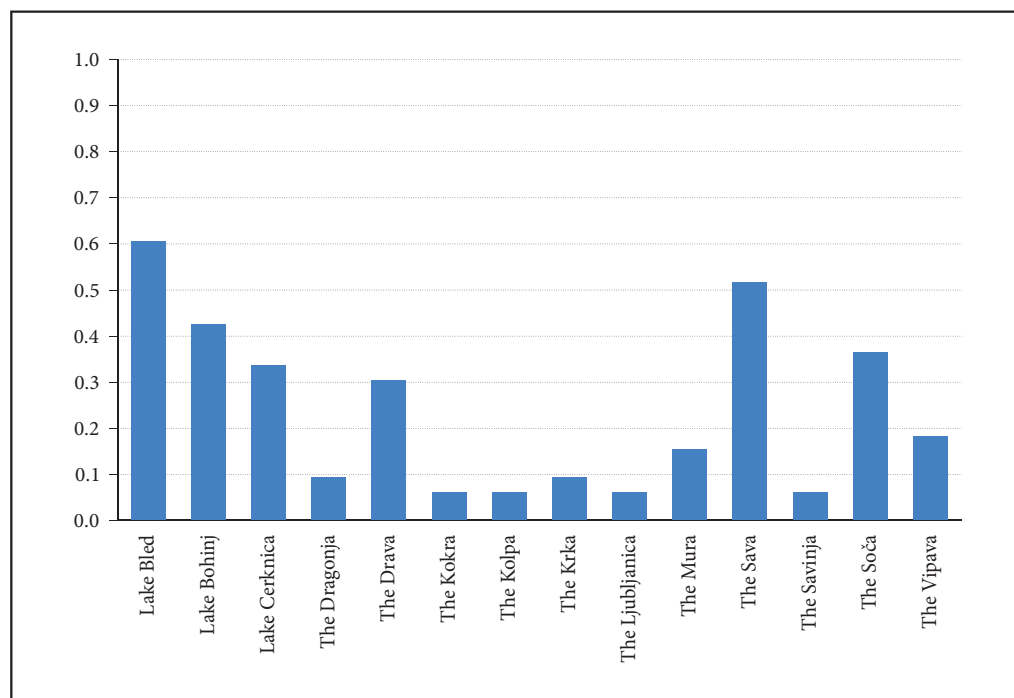
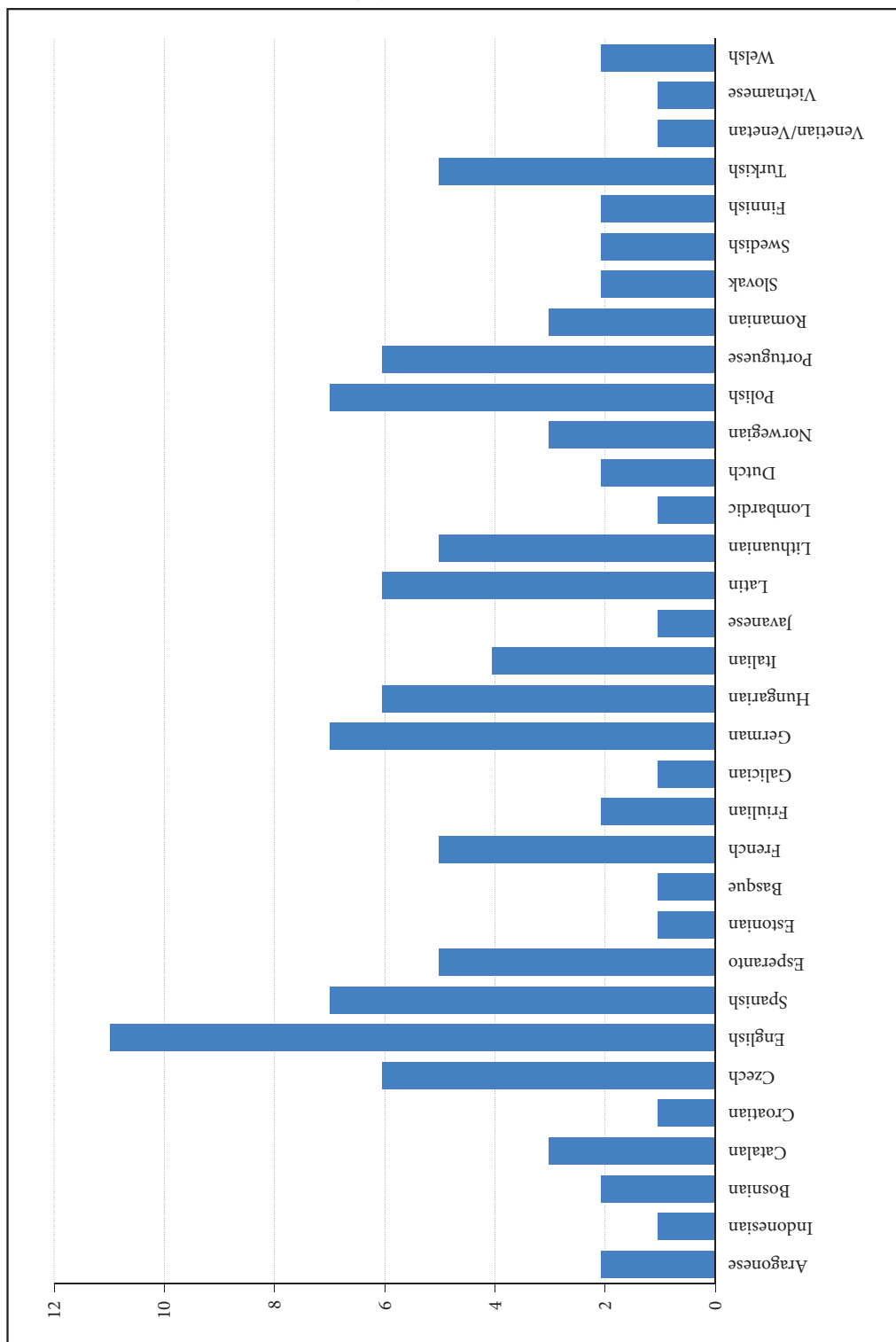


Figure 69: Level of exonymization of Slovenian hydronyms.

Figure 70: Number of exonyms by language. ►



With regard to the exonymization of the names of lakes, it can be established that the number of exonyms for Lake Bled in foreign languages surpasses the number of exonyms for the other two lakes. Bled is considered a global tourist destination, and in the past it was a fashionable tourism resort that was frequented by many wealthy foreign visitors. This is definitely the reason why there are so many exonyms for Lake Bled (20). a somewhat lower level is typical of Lake Bohinj, and an even lower level for Lake Cerknica.

The highest level of exonymization among the selected rivers is achieved by the Sava River, which is Slovenia's longest river. It flows into the Danube in Belgrade and enters Serbia from Croatia, where it also flows along the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina for a while. It is followed by the Soča and Drava rivers. The Soča is important in terms of tourism and hydroelectric power. It is even more widely known for being the Austrian–Italian front line (the Isonzo Front) in the First World War. The Drava is Slovenia's second-largest river, important especially because of its hydroelectric power plants. All of the rivers mentioned above flow through different countries. Rivers with basins only in Slovenia have a significantly low level of exonymization, as do the rivers that form part of the national border. Especially with the Kolpa River, the main reason for this is the use of the Croatian endonym in foreign languages (eight identified examples and only two exonyms). The level of exonymization of the names of rivers also shows that it does not depend on the river length and that it is influenced by several factors.

When comparing the number of exonyms by language (Figure 70), it can be established that the majority can be found in English, followed by Polish, Spanish, and German. English predominates because the proper nouns in the names are translated and the definite paper is used. When comparing the languages of Slovenia's neighboring countries, the largest number of exonyms can be found in German and the smallest in Croatian. German definitely dominates because of its role in the past, whereas the situation with Croatian is probably the result of similarity between the two languages because they both belong to the South Slavic language group.

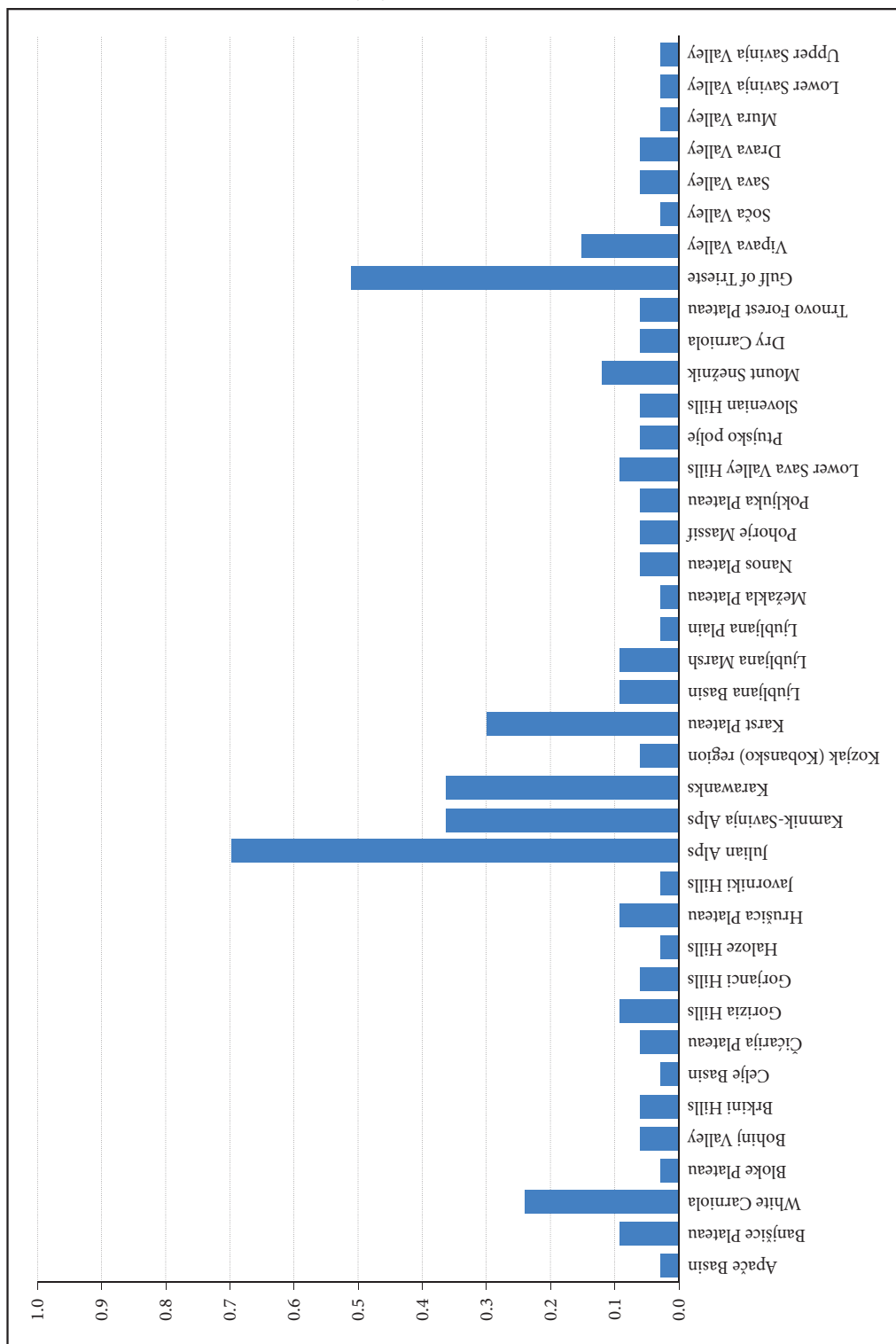
10.3 Choronyms

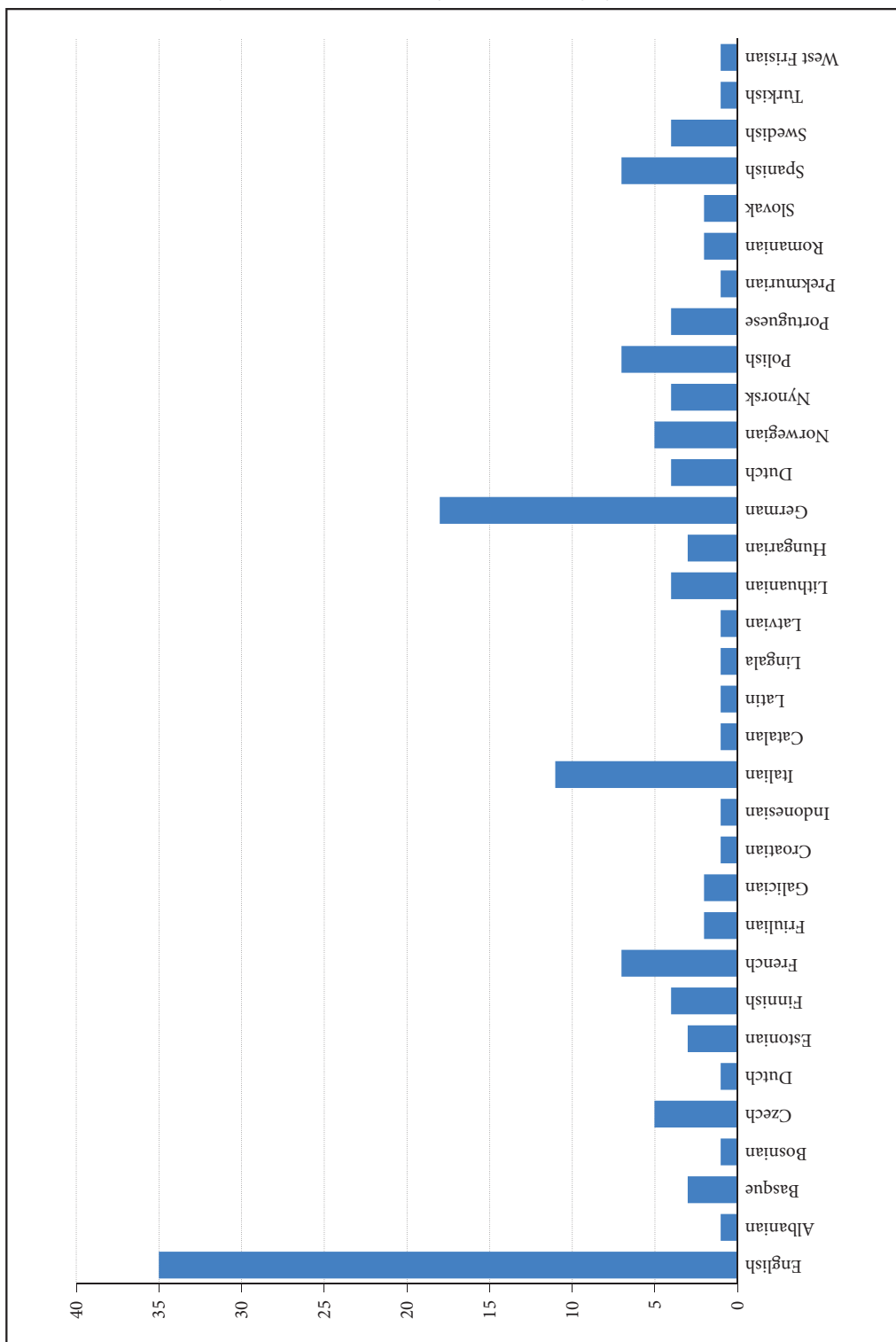
In terms of landscapes, Slovenia is a European hotspot (Ciglič and Perko 2013). a number of Slovenian geographers have already drawn attention to its landscape diversity. Their findings are further substantiated by the landscape classifications of Europe, which show that several European landscape types meet in Slovenia (Ciglič and Perko 2013). Landscape diversity also results in a number of choronyms (names of landscape units). In order to study the level of their exonymization (Figure 71), we only selected the most important choronyms, which we presumed might also have exonym versions.

Among choronyms, the Julian Alps (Slovenian: *Julijske Alpe*) have the highest level of exonymization (0.72). This is the highest and largest mountain range in Slovenia, extending across the border to Italy. The Julian Alps are part of the Southern Limestone Alps. The reason for the high level of exonymization is definitely their exceptional natural diversity and appeal for both winter and summer tourism. a relatively high level of exonymization (0.38) is also typical of two distinctly mountainous landscapes, the Karawanks (Slovenian: *Karavanke*) and the Kamnik–Savinja Alps (Slovenian: *Kamniško-Savinjske Alpe*). Second place on this scale goes to the Gulf of Trieste (Slovenian: *Tržaški zaliv*). It is part of the larger Gulf of Venice (Slovenian: *Beneški zaliv*) and its territory is shared by Italy, Slovenia, and Croatia. Due to its strategic location, it is an exceptionally important body of water, which is also reflected in the high level of exonymization (0.53). The ports of Trieste and Koper are located in its hinterland, providing access to the open sea to many countries in central and eastern Europe. The gulf's tourism role is also important: many Italian and German tourists spend their vacations there year after year, and in recent years tourists from eastern European countries have also begun visiting the area. a high level of exonymization is also typical of the Slovenian choronym *Kras*, which refers to the Karst Plateau rising steeply from the Gulf of Trieste and gradually descending toward the Vipava Valley. The Slovenian name *Kras* is especially important in terms of describing the type of landscape that was scientifically studied for the first time in this very region. This scholarly importance is also clearly reflected in the level of the name's exonymization. a notable level of exonymization is also typical of the choronyms White Carniola (Slovenian: *Bela krajina*) and Vipava Valley (Slovenian: *Vipavska*

Figure 71: Level of exonymization of names of Slovenian landscapes. ►

Figure 72: Number of exonyms by language. ► p. 148





dolina), whereas others do not exceed a level of 0.10. Three landscapes selected have a zero level of exonymization: the Dežela Plain (Slovenian: *Dežela*), the Goričko Hills (Slovenian: *Goričko*), and the Bovec Basin (Slovenian: *Bovška kotlina*).

In geographical onomastics, the name *Dežela* was defined in great detail by academy member Anton Melik in his 1959 book *Posavska Slovenija*: »a plain on the left bank of the Sava River between Žirovnica and Begunje, bearing a name commonly used by the local people« (Melik 1959, 30). On the other hand, the Goričko region is a border region, which must definitely have an older and still well-established name. The name *Bovška kotlina* 'Bovec Basin' is even younger than *Dežela*. It refers to a relatively small border landscape unit in the Julian Alps and has a geological connotation.

When comparing the number of exonyms for these choronyms by language (Figure 72), it can be established that the majority can be found in English. English dominates mainly due to the use of the definite paper, which should be used in front of choronyms, as proposed by some authors (e.g., Klinar 1994). This is followed by German, which is hardly surprising given the historical circumstances. The same applies to Italian. Hungarian and Croatian are next among the languages of Slovenia's neighboring countries. However, significantly more exonyms than in these two languages can be found in French, Spanish, Polish, and Czech.

10.4 Oronyms

Slovenia's high mountain zone (above 1,600 m above sea level) covers 11% of its area. a large portion of the country's area also belongs to the uplands, and so its overall relative elevation is considerably high (Perko 2007a; Perko 2007b; Perko and Ciglič 2020a; Perko, Ciglič and Zorn 2020). Consequently, there are many mountains in Slovenia: almost four thousand peaks have an elevation of more than 2,000 m. We included only a few of the highest mountains in the analysis of the level of exonymization, but we made certain to include all of the major Slovenian mountain ranges.

The highest level of exonymization of Slovenian mountains (Figure 73) is achieved by Mount Triglav (2,864 m). This is the highest mountain in Slovenia and the symbol of Slovenian identity. It is followed by Mount Krn, which belonged to Italy during the interwar period and played an important role in the First

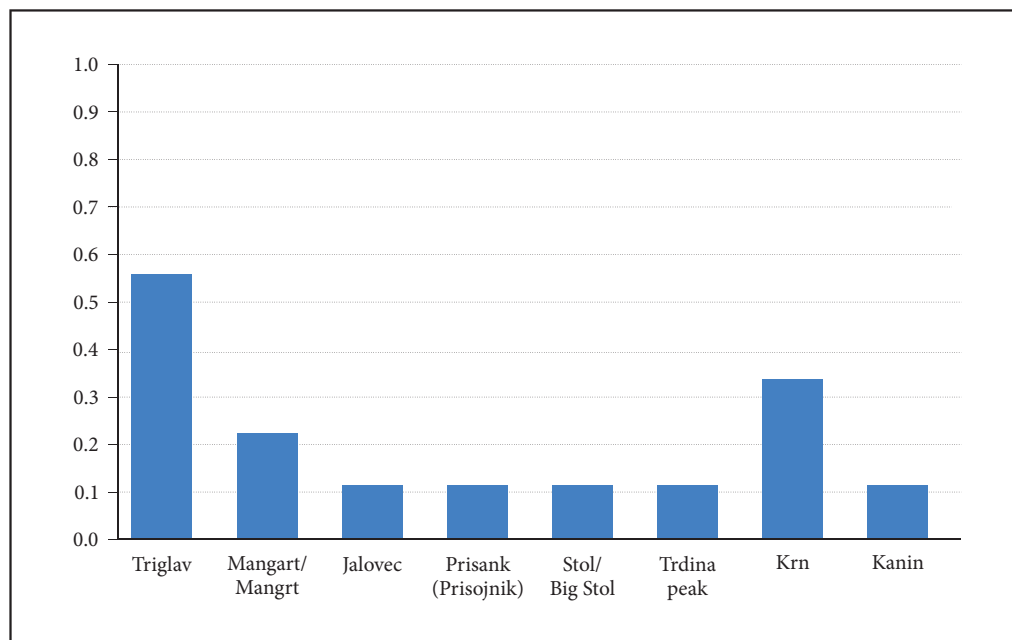


Figure 73: Level of exonymization of Slovenian oronyms.

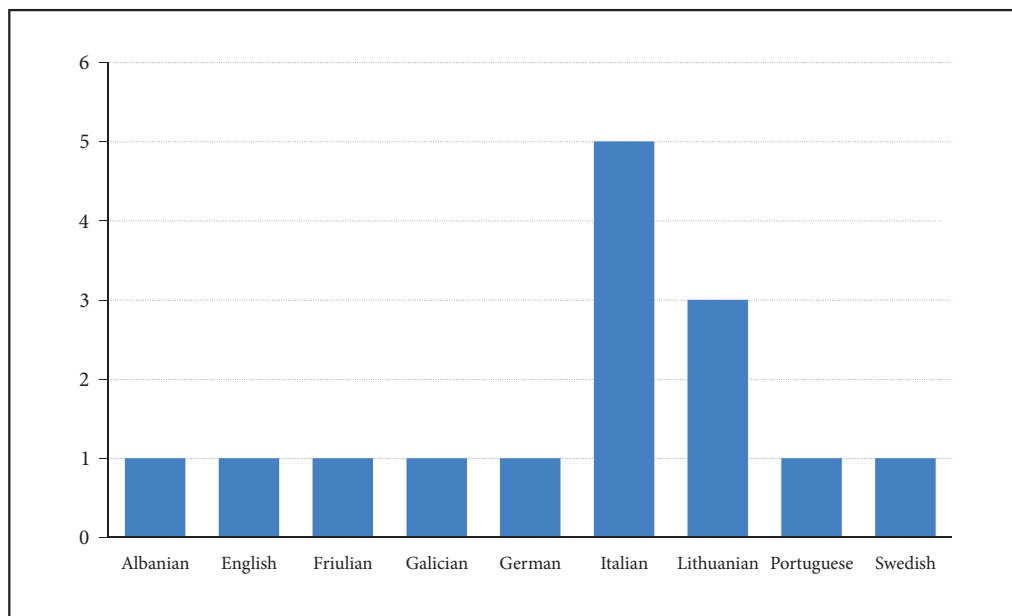


Figure 74: Number of exonyms by language.

World War. Other names have a low level of exonymization, and no exonym whatsoever has been identified for Slovenia's second-highest mountain, Mount Škrlatica (2,740 m). The analysis showed that the level of exonymization depends not only on the elevation, but also other, diverse factors.

Among the languages compared (Figure 74), Italian strongly predominates, followed by Lithuanian. The predominance of Italian is hardly surprising considering that western Slovenia, which includes the majority of the highest mountains, belonged to Italy during the interwar period, when the Italian government's Italianization efforts also included active changing of geographical names. With regard to Lithuanian, a similar conclusion can be drawn as with place names; in the adaption of names to its normative rules, Lithuania clearly does not follow the UNGEGN recommendations on forming and using exonyms.

10.5 Names of historical regions

The regions or lands discussed in this section are not traditional geographical regions, but a type of relic of past administrative divisions that are nonetheless very much alive among people.

The lands in what is now Slovenia were first mentioned as early as the thirteenth century, but they received their final shape and became part of the Habsburg Monarchy around 1300. The County of Gorica was the last among them; it was established after 1600. The sense of belonging to a particular land also developed alongside the formation of the crown lands, and later on this severely hindered the Slovenian area from forming connections inside the Habsburg Monarchy (Piry and Orožen Adamič 1998). Old boundary stones along major roads marking the former borders between the crown lands can still be found today (Figure 75).

The Hungarian part of the monarchy included Prekmurje, whereas the other lands (i.e., Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, the County of Gorica, Istria, and the City of Trieste) were part of its Austrian half. The borders between individual lands mostly ran along natural dividing lines such as rivers and mountain ridges. Carniola was the only land located entirely in Slovenian ethnic territory. It covered nearly half of today's Slovenia and was divided into Upper Carniola (Slovenian: *Gorenjska*), Lower Carniola (Slovenian: *Dolenjska*), and Inner Carniola (Slovenian: *Notranjska*). Part of the former Carniola now lies outside Slovenia because the former Carniolan municipality of Fusine (Italian: *Fusine in Valromana*) near Tarvisio is part of Italy (Gabrovec and Perko 1998). The administrative unit of the City of Trieste was excluded from the analysis of the level



Figure 75: Boundary stone between Styria and Carniola.

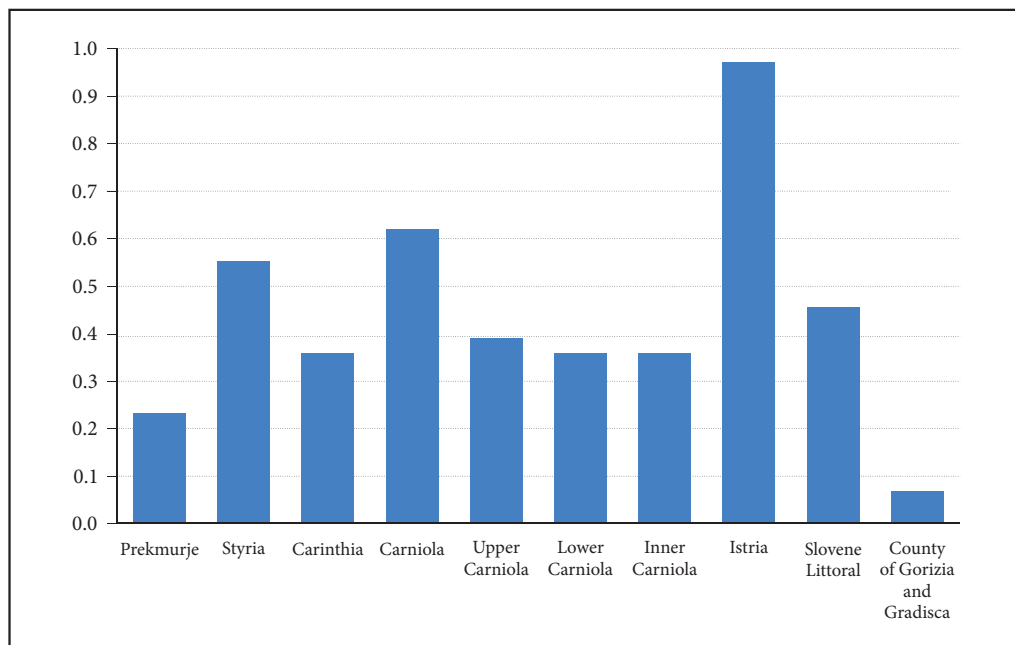
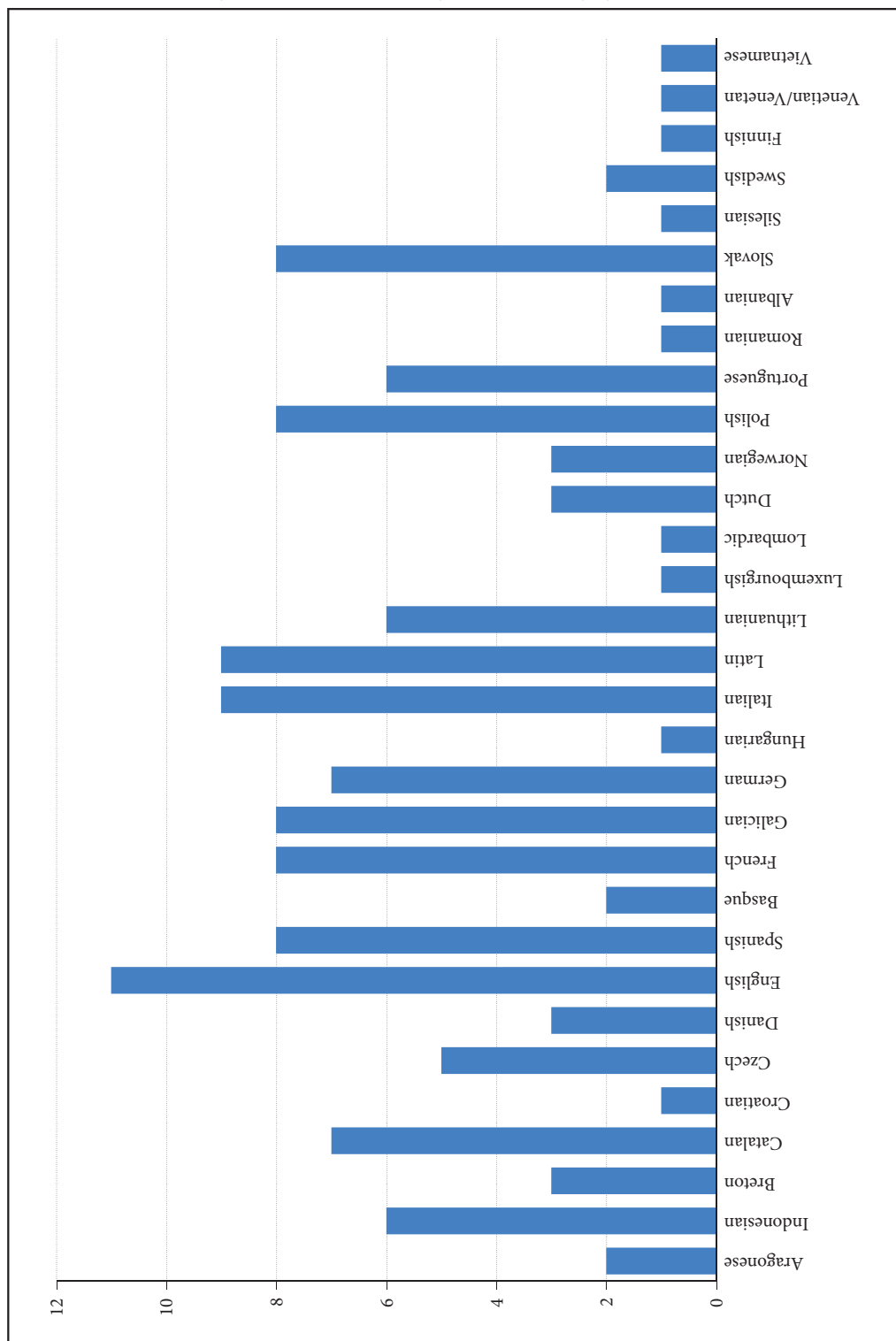


Figure 76: Level of exonymization of names of Slovenian historical regions.

Figure 77: Number of exonyms by language. ► p. 152



of exonymization because this city is now part of Italy and it makes more sense to analyze its name as part of the exonymization of Italian endonyms.

Istria achieves the highest level of exonymization among the names of Slovenian historical regions (Figure 76). Most of the former land of Istria now lies in Croatia. Croatian Istria is an important European tourism region, which might be one of the reasons for the high level of exonymization of its name. However, the historical aspect seems more important because this was already an important region in antiquity, and later on it became a strategically important border area between the Republic of Venice and Austria. Carniola dominates among the other names, which is not surprising considering that it was the central part of Slovenian ethnic territory. A surprisingly low level of exonymization is typical of the Gorica or Gorica–Gradisca region. The name of this land that once covered the entire Soča Valley and its countryside, the Karst region, and the Vipava Valley is hardly present as an exonym. However, it is true that it was fairly small compared to other lands.

When comparing the number of exonyms by language (Figure 77), English predominates, followed by Italian and Latin. With regard to English, the use of the definite paper in front of the names (as proposed by some authors (e.g., Klinar 1994) can be highlighted again, whereas Latin (and consequently Italian) achieves a high level primarily because of its past use in church administrative matters, in which regional division was very important. The modest number of German exonyms is surprising. The reason for this is most likely the incompleteness of the sources selected. Namely, German exonyms exist for the majority of the names of historical regions because during the time of the Austrian Empire and later Austria–Hungary German was the official language and the language of the upper classes. However, they were not identified in the sources selected. Among other languages, the large number of Slovak exonyms, which were not among the most frequent ones with other types of names, seems a little surprising. The number of exonyms in certain Romance languages such as French, Galician, and Spanish is also surprising.

10.6 Names of the country

The name of the country of Slovenia, which became independent in 1991, is formed in Slovenian with the suffix *-ija*, which is of Romance origin and is common in the names of countries and regions. The name was first recorded in the phrase *in Sclaviniam* between AD 785 and 798 in a Latin document, in which it refers to Carantania and Lower Pannonia, but this name was written in Medieval Latin and not Slovenian.

Sixty-four exonym versions were identified for the name of the country. The name written as *Slovenia* is the most common (thirty-seven; Figure 78), followed by *Eslovenia*, *Slowenien*, and *Sloveniyya*. The majority of exonym versions (forty-nine) only appear once. The frequency of individual exonym versions reflects the colonial past of the third-world countries. Therefore, English, German, and Spanish name equivalents predominate; for example, the Spanish name predominates in South America, Central America, and the Philippines, and the English equivalent predominates in North America, Uganda, Tanzania, and elsewhere. However, this paradigm falls through in a number of cases; for example, the Vietnamese equivalent differs from the French one, as does the Fulani, the Indonesian differs from the Dutch, the Quechuan from the Spanish, the Yoruba from the English, and so on. The original Latin form of the name is also very common.

Exonym versions of the name *Slovenija* in artificial and dead languages are also interesting. We identified them in Lojban, Ido, Interlingua, Interlingue, Latin, Novial, Esperanto, and Volapük (Table 20).

Table 20: Exonym versions of the name of the country in artificial and dead languages.

Language	Lexeme
Lojban	<i>slovEni,as</i>
Ido	<i>Slovenia</i>
Interlingua	<i>Slovenia</i>
Interlingue	<i>Slovenia</i>
Latin	<i>Slovenia</i>
Novial	<i>Slovenia</i>
Esperanto	<i>Slovenio</i>
Volapük	<i>Slovenijän</i>

German ethnic community lived in some major Slovenian towns. The situation was similar with Latin in fifth place, which predominated before German. Together with German, Latin was the language of the church administration, which had a significant impact on Slovenia's spatial development.

English, which follows German, is high on the scale because of the use of the definite paper in the English versions of choronyms (as proposed by some authors (e.g., Klinar 1994)) and hydronyms – which, however, is not the case with place names.

The high position of Italian as the official and majority language of neighboring Italy on the scale is not surprising. It can primarily be ascribed to strong Italianization carried out in western Slovenia during the interwar period, when this part of the country was part of Italy. Both personal and geographical names were changed, which is now reflected in a considerable number of Italian exonyms. Compared to the majority languages in Slovenia's northern and western neighbors, Hungarian and Croatian exonyms are very few. In some other languages of the Slavic language group, exonyms for topographic elements in Slovenian territory are much more common; Polish and Czech rank sixth and ninth, mainly thanks to the numerous exonyms in the category of traditional regions and hydronyms. Lithuanian is also high on the scale (fourth place). The majority of Lithuanian exonyms can be found with place names. Among the remaining languages, Spanish, French, and Portuguese have the largest numbers of exonyms for Slovenian territory.

Based on the findings about the use of exonyms and the level of exonymization, one can interpret many historical phenomena and processes closely connected with individual geographical names (e.g., the Czech exonym *Kraň* for Kranj) and Slovenia as a whole (numerous exonyms for the Slovenian capital, Ljubljana). Foreign exonyms for named elements in Slovenia can thus be investigated as part of historical studies. They mirror the meaning of individual named topographic elements, while reflecting the role of geographical names in a specific language corpus and subsequently the wealth of an individual language. Translating names from Roman scripts into non-Roman scripts remains a special challenge. An attempt to translate a selection of two hundred Slovenian geographical names into Arabic was made by Zagórski, Geršič, and Kladnik (2018).

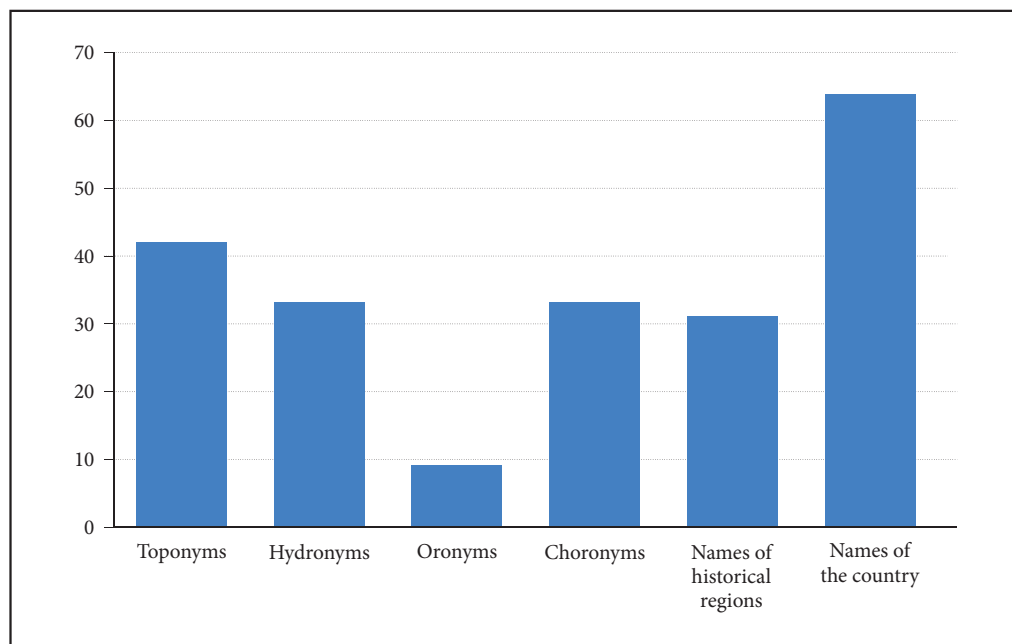
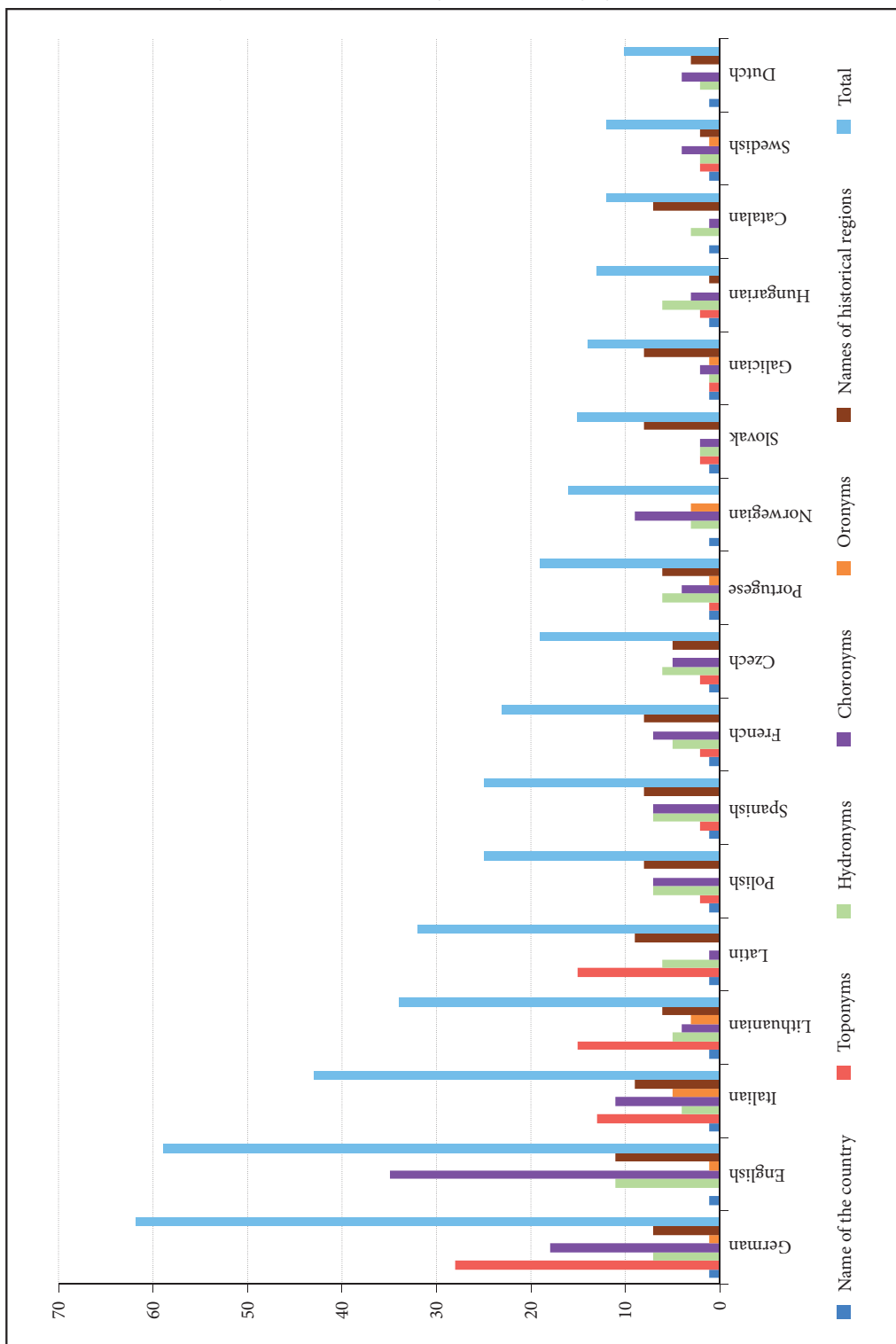


Figure 79: Number of languages by name type.

Figure 80: Number of exonyms in selected languages by name type. ► p. 156



11 Bilingual geographical names

The equal use of geographical names in bilingual areas has long been the subject of international discussions. Hence, it is no coincidence that Resolution II/36: Problems of Minority Languages was adopted as a part of the Second United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names held in London as early as 1972 (Resolutions adopted ... 2018). The resolution recognizes the desirability of uniform treatment of geographical names in a minority language in various countries where a specific minority language is spoken, and it recommends that, where possible and in consultation with native speakers of the minority language, the countries in question should:

- Adopt a common orthography for all geographical names in the minority language;
- Use that orthography for the standardization of place names in the minority language in their territory; and
- Publish the standardized names on their official maps and in national gazetteers.

A characteristic of all place names, but one that is especially important for minorities, is that they underpin the emotional ties of a group to a place. If members of non-dominant groups are able to read place names in their own language (on signposts and street signs), this generates a sense of familiarity and a feeling of attachment to that place. Because only those groups that have been settled in a place for generations will have developed their own place names, they regard the public representation of these names as a recognition of their longstanding presence and of the fact that they have contributed to shaping the culture and landscape of this place (Jordan 2016a).

There are two officially recognized ethnic minorities in Slovenia, which live in the extreme southwestern and northeastern parts of the country: that is, the areas bordering Italy and Hungary (Komac 2015). On the other hand, Slovenians also contiguously inhabit ethnically mixed areas in neighboring Italy, Austria, and Hungary, where they encounter various degrees of officially recognized bilingualism.

11.1 Bilingual geographical names in Slovenia

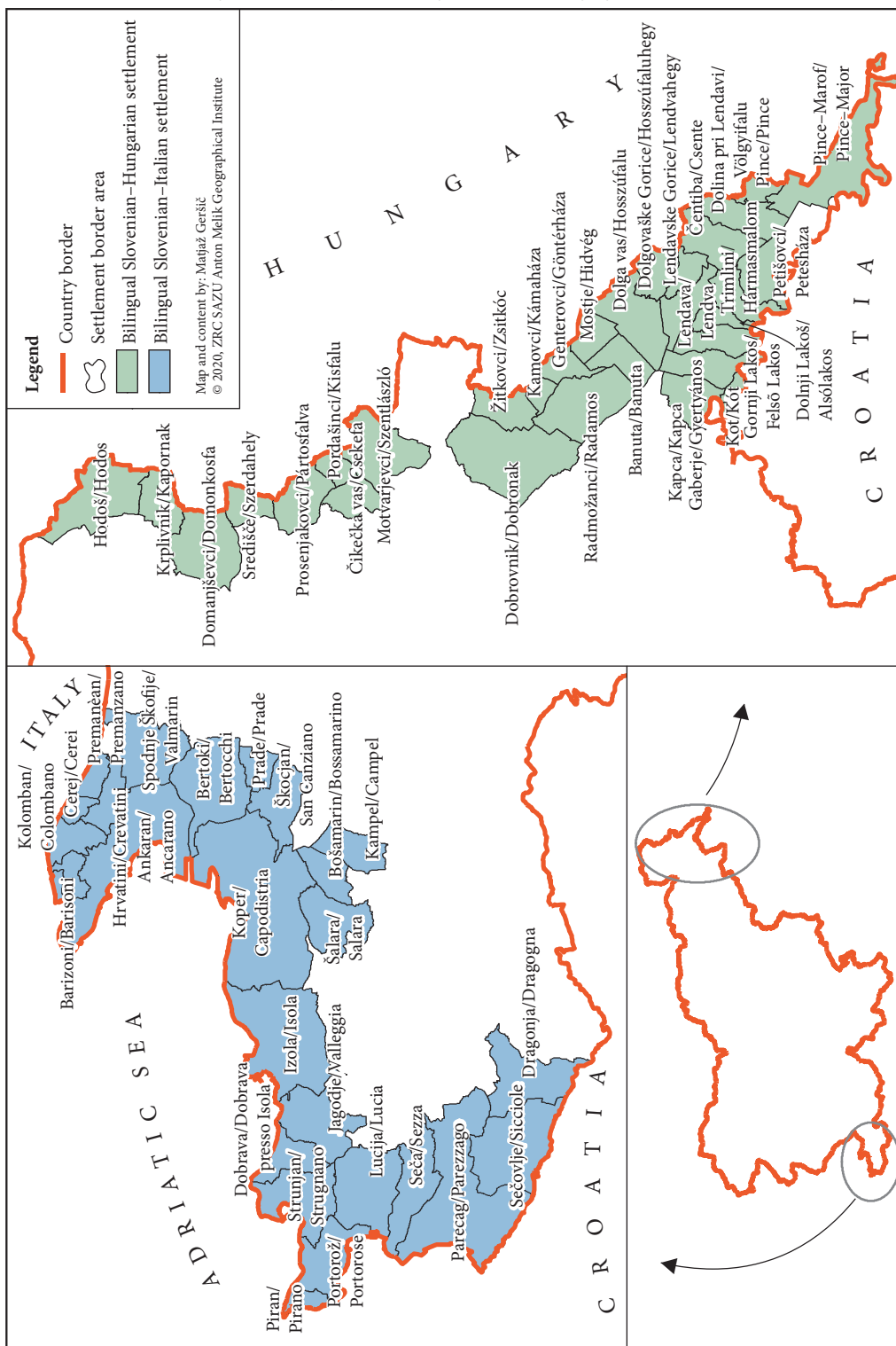
Research on bilingual geographical names in Slovenia has been scant. Milan Orožen Adamič (2000; 2007) was the first researcher to draw the international community's attention to the dimension of this phenomenon, and recent years have seen the publication of two more papers (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017; Geršič, Kladnik and Brnot 2020) that systematically present current developments in the areas inhabited by the Italian and Hungarian ethnic communities. In addition, they also provide a brief overview of the former German linguistic island in the Kočevje area.

Slovenia is a country in which minority issues are handled in an exemplary manner. The official language in the country is Slovenian but, in municipalities where members of the Italian or Hungarian ethnic communities live, Italian and Hungarian are also official languages. In Slovenia, both the Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities are recognized under the constitution and in legislation. In addition to the constitution, the 1994 Self-Governing Ethnic Communities Act also lays down provisions for their organization and the protection of basic minority rights (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

The members of both ethnic groups amount to some ten thousand people, which is around 0.5 percent of the total population in Slovenia. Immigrants from elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia and their descendants contribute significantly more to Slovenia's ethnic heterogeneity. Members of the native ethnic minorities populate only a narrow belt on the coast of the Adriatic and along the Hungarian border (Figure 81) (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

Italians are a notable minority in their bilingual area, accounting for only 4 to 5% of the total population. Approximately 80% of all ethnic Italians in Slovenia live in the bilingual area, where the historically important towns of Koper (Italian: *Capodistria*), Izola (*Isola*), and Piran (*Pirano*) are located. Ethnic Hungarians predominate in the majority of their bilingual rural settlements, but they no longer form the majority in the bilingual town of Lendava (Hungarian: *Lendva*), which is the center of the bilingual area. Around 83% of the members of the Hungarian ethnic minority live in native bilingual settlements (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

Figure 81: Areas of officially recognized ethnic minorities in Slovenia. ► p. 158



The members of both communities have a representative in the ninety-member Slovenian parliament, they have their own media, and, most importantly, they receive education in their native language. Furthermore, the members of the majority Slovenian population that live in the ethnically mixed areas also learn how to write in the language of the minority and use it in primary school (Geršič, Kladnik and Brnot 2020).

The earliest regulations on writing geographical names in bilingual areas in Slovenia can be traced back to the days of the former Yugoslavia, when the Socialist Republic of Slovenia was allowed to independently create and adapt its legislative framework, although this had to comply with the Yugoslav constitution (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

At the end of April 1980, the Decree on Writing Geographical Names in Ethnically Mixed Areas of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia on Plans and Maps (Odredba ... 1980) was adopted. Article 3 of the decree provided that in ethnically mixed areas geographical names on plans and maps had to be written bilingually (i.e., in both languages), with the Slovenian name preceding the Italian or Hungarian name. Article 4 required that in ethnically mixed areas the names of settlements, hamlets, streets, regions, waters, peaks, mountain ranges, and microtoponyms had to be written in both languages. The typography and size of letters had to be the same in both languages (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

In December 2014, the Register of Geographical Names (REZI 25, part of the register covering 1:25,000 maps) included around three hundred names of geographical features in Slovenian Istria (the Slovenian–Italian bilingual area) and around 250 names in Prekmurje (the Slovenian–Hungarian bilingual area). Of these, there were forty bilingual geographical names in Slovenian Istria and fifty-two in Prekmurje. In that same period, REZI 5, which covers 1:5,000 maps, included around 650 names of geographical features in Slovenian Istria and around 670 in Prekmurje. Of these, there were two hundred bilingual names in Prekmurje and only four in Slovenian Istria (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

The small number of bilingual names in the area populated by the Italian ethnic minority is probably no coincidence. Even though exhaustive studies of geographical names are available for this area and its surroundings (e.g., Titl 1998; 2000), in them the original Italian names are largely Slovenianized and therefore not useful for standardization in native Italian. The main problem surrounding the suitability of endonyms in the languages of both ethnic minorities in bilingual areas is the lack of uniformity of their written form connected with decisions regarding their treatment according to the principles of the standard language norm or special dialect features (Kladnik 2009b).

There are twenty-five bilingual settlements in Slovenia that use Slovenian and Italian as official languages, and thirty bilingual settlements that use Slovenian and Hungarian as official languages (Kladnik 2009b; Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017). In accordance with the law, the names of the settlements in which the members of these two minorities natively live are standardized and written in bilingual form on road signs. Typical examples of bilingual Slovenian–Italian place names are *Ankaran / Ancarano*, *Bertoki / Bertocchi* (Figure 82), *Izola / Isola*, *Kolomban / Colombano*, *Koper / Capodistria*, *Piran / Pirano*, *Portorož / Portorose*, *Sečovlje / Sicciole* and *Šalara / Salara*, and Slovenian–Hungarian examples are *Čentiba / Csente*, *Dolga vas / Hosszúfalu*, *Dolina / Völgyifalu*, *Genterovci / Göntérháza*, *Gornji Lakoš / Felsőlakos*,



Figure 82: Bilingual Slovenian–Italian sign at the entrance to a bilingual settlement in Slovenian Istria in southwestern Slovenia.



Figure 83: Bilingual Slovenian–Hungarian sign at the entrance to a bilingual settlement in Prekmurje in northeastern Slovenia.

Lendava / Lendva, Mostje / Hidvég, Petišovci / Petesháza, Prosenjakovci / Pártosfalva, Motvarjevci / Szentlászló (Figure 83), *Trimlini / Hármasmalom*, and *Žitkovci / Zsitkóc* (Furlan et al. 2008).

To date, the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names has standardized the names of more than half of settlements within Slovenia; those in ethnically mixed areas have also been standardized in the languages of the two officially recognized ethnic minorities. Approximately one thousand geographical names from the 1:1,000,000 map of Slovenia were standardized in 2001 (Perko 2001), and all of the geographical names within Slovenia as displayed on the 1:250,000 *National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia* (Furlan et al. 2008) were standardized in 2008. In addition to the already standardized names of the settlements depicted, both maps also use the standardized names of all other features presented, such as regions, rivers, major streams, lakes and reservoirs, bays, mountain ranges, hills, major peaks, and karst caves and shafts. However, these geographical names have only been standardized in Slovenian and not also in the languages of the two ethnic minorities.

The 1:1,000,000 map features seven bilingual names of settlements in the area populated by the Italian ethnic minority and four in the area populated by the Hungarian ethnic minority, whereas the 1:250,000 map is significantly more detailed. It features twenty-two out of twenty-five bilingual names of settlements with Slovenian and Italian as well twenty-nine out of thirty bilingual names of settlements with Slovenian and Hungarian as official languages (written with a slash between them), whereas other geographical names in both ethnically mixed areas are written only in Slovenian (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017).

All other geographical names in ethnically mixed areas, both Slovenian and non-Slovenian, have largely yet to be standardized. Because of this, problems have emerged in connection with the new decree on writing geographical names in bilingual areas. On the one hand, the requirement to standardize these names in the languages of both officially recognized minorities creates a sense of inequality with Slovenian as the majority language and, on the other, it has accelerated standardization efforts. Many names are no longer used in their original foreign-language form because in Slovenia, too, the names have been adapted to a form closer to Slovenian, which was more common in the coastal region, where the members of the Italian ethnic community live (Geršič, Kladnik and Brnot 2020). Thus, in the countryside around Koper one can come across a multitude of field names and hydronyms of Romance origin that are, however, spelled as they sound in Slovenian (Titl 2000). Such names are only characteristic of the cadastral district of Smedela; for example, *Babuder, Bajon, Brut, Burkola, Fontana, Fontanela, Jurada, Karbonara, Mačerata, Pjažentin, Pošlona, Rampin, Skarpoline*, and *Trikola* (Kladnik 2009b).

The representatives of both ethnic minorities spent much more time preparing their respective lists of names than we had anticipated. Cooperation with the Italian ethnic community has been incomparably better than that with the Hungarian community. Throughout the preparation of the list of names, the Italian community worked with the representatives of the Surveying and Mapping Authority, whereas the Hungarian community did not, even though it received much more input material for the preparation of the list. Indeed, the commission practically compiled the list together with the Italian community, which



TJASA ŠKAMPERLE



TJASA ŠKAMPERLE

Figure 84: The problematic monolingual sign at the entrance to the newly built tunnel on the Slovenian coast.

Figure 85: After intervention, a bilingual sign was installed.

meant any errors could be resolved as they appeared. Thus, only a few names remained unresolved on the list that was eventually submitted to the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names (Geršič, Kladnik and Brnot 2020).

No cooperation took place with the Hungarian community while the list was being prepared. The list eventually submitted is made up of several documents that have not been harmonized one with another, and therefore it is full of mistakes and issues that remain unclear. Moreover, a number of non-uniform solutions were proposed. A detailed review showed that various types of »problems« appeared with more than half the Hungarian geographical names proposed (Geršič, Kladnik and Brnot 2020).

The ethnic communities did not work together with name specialists or onomastics authorities in either Italy or Hungary. The Hungarian community has often been advised to establish contact with the Hungarian commission for the standardization of geographical names and it has, moreover, been sent the relevant contact information. To date, however, it has shown no will to enter into such cooperation.

An interesting case of observing bilingualism with regard to a road tunnel recently occurred in the ethnically mixed area of Slovenian Istria (Geršič, Kladnik and Repolusk 2017). In 2015, the newly built Markovec Tunnel (under Markovec Hill) was opened. At the beginning, the sign in front of it was only in Slovenian (*Markovec*; Figure 84), whereas all of the other road signs in this area are bilingual. This issue was even discussed by the European Commission, which agreed that the sign in front of the tunnel must include both the Slovenian and Italian names. After this and a concurring judgement by the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names, the Italian name *Monte San Marco* was added (Figure 85).

11.2 Bilingual geographical names in ethnically Slovenian cross-border areas

In the past, Slovenians inhabited a much larger territory than today, and due to historical reasons part of the Slovenian population has remained outside Slovenia. Almost one-third of the approximately 2.5 million Slovenians and persons of Slovenian ethnic background live outside Slovenia. Indigenous Slovenian minorities live in the border regions of all four neighboring countries, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and Croatia. The Slovenian minorities in Italy and Austria play an important role in the promotion of cross-border cooperation and contribute significantly to the development of the border regions (Zupančič 2001).

Geographical names also play an important role as defenders of Slovenian identity in cross-border regions. Their history and, perhaps even more, their current fate reflect the linguistic affiliation with the Slovenian nation and the struggle against cultural and economic assimilation with the majority nations or their toponyms (Geršič 2016b).

11.2.1 Italy

The Slovenian minority in Italy occupies approximately 1,500 km² of the Friuli Venezia Giulia region, where according to Slovenian estimates there are between 83,000 and 100,000 Slovenians and, according to official Italian estimates, 52,000. Around 10,000 Slovenians also live in the Friuli lowlands outside the area of indigenous settlements (Zupančič 2001).

Geographical names in Slovenian ethnic territory in Italy have been fairly well researched. A map with Italian and Slovenian toponyms in Friuli Venezia Giulia edited by the geographer Jakob Medved was published as early as 1974 (Medved 1974). Alongside the two volumes of *Krajevni leksikon Slovencev v Italiji* (A Gazetteer of Slovenian Place Names in Italy; 1991; 1995) already mentioned above, toponyms are examined in numerous papers by Pavle Merkù (e.g., 1970; 1987; 1991c; 1997; 1999; 2002), who focused primarily on their etymology (also Merkù, Furlan and Torkar 2006). Merkù also studied the origin of certain hydronyms (Merkù 1991a) and oronyms (Merkù 1991b), and he also explored microtoponyms in the province of Trieste (Merkù 1992) and even house names in the Municipality of Savogna (Slovenian: *Sovodenj*) (Merkù 2002). Slovenian toponyms in the eastern Veneto region were studied by Božo (Natalino) Zuanella (1986–1987), who also published findings on house names (Merkù 2002). Vlado Klemše explored Slovenian toponyms and field names in Friuli and Carnia (Klemše 1986), toponyms in the karst area around Doberdò (*Doberdob*) (Klemše 2008), where he had previously already studied the field names (Klemše 1988) and hydronyms (Klemše 2007). He also researched toponyms, field names, and hydronyms in San Floriano del Collio (*Števerjan*) (Klemše 1993). Together with the participants in a youth research camp in the Canale Valley (Italian:

Val Canale, Slovenian: Kanalska dolina), Matej Šekli studied house names in Valbruna (*Ovčja vas*) (Šekli 2005), and he published the findings of his research on the house names in Laglesie San Leopoldo (*Lipalja vas*) in a scholarly volume (Grošelj et al. 2016). Geographical names in Resia (*Rezija*) were studied in detail by Roberto Dapit (1995; 1998; 2008). The latest work on this subject is a review paper on the minorities and their toponyms in the border region of Friuli Venezia Giulia authored by Milan Bufon (2016).

The distribution of Slovenian geographical names in Italy was significantly influenced by historical development. For several centuries, this region belonged to the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Counts of Gorica, and in the fifteenth century it was split between the Republic of Venice and the Habsburg Austrian Empire. After the Republic of Venice fell in 1797, the area belonged to Austria until 1918, and after 1918 to Italy (Bufon 1995; Zupančič 2001).

Some forty to seventy Slavic or Slovenian settlements were created by the Patriarchs of Aquileia between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries in central Friuli, above all in the belt between Pordenone and Palmanova, and the Tagliamento and Torre rivers. By the end of the fifteenth century, all the names of these Slavic villages had taken on Romance forms (e.g., *Goričica* > *Goricizza*, *Jezernik* > *Iesernicco*, *Močilo* > *Mazzilis*, *Topoljane* > *Topogliano*), but their original names survived linguistic assimilation (Bufon 2016; Figure 86).

Slovenians also quite intensively settled the area between Karst plateau of Doberdò and the Isonzo River. In addition, there was a period of more organized repopulation, supported by the Republic of Venice, especially after the wars at the beginning of both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this period, a new variation of the Venetian dialect developed and toponyms changed considerably (e.g., *Podrtija* / *Podercia* became modern *Portanzie*). Puntin (2003) provides a tentative list of seventy-five toponyms of Slovenian origin in the present-day area of Monfalcone (e.g., *Gumilizze*, *Presecha*, and *Starigrado*).

Today there is a population of Slovenian origin in fifty-six municipalities of the provinces of Udine (thirty-five), Gorizia (fifteen), and Trieste (six), but Slovenians are officially recognized as an ethnic group in only thirty-two communities (Bufon 2016). The Slovenian minority in the province of Trieste is protected by the 1954 London Memorandum concerning the division of the former Free Territory of Trieste, which was included in the 1975 Treaty of Osimo. The Slovenian minority is also protected in the province of Gorizia, where de facto at least some of the protective provisions for the province of Trieste were applied. These provisions cover the ability to use the minority language in administrative matters and the introduction of bilingual toponyms in areas with at least a 25% share of Slovenians. In practice, official and visual bilingualism was, however, introduced only in those municipalities where, at the local level, Slovenians represented the majority of the population (three in the province of Gorizia and four in the province of Trieste (Bufon 1995; 2016; Figure 87).

On the other hand, the position of the Slovenians in the province of Udine is very different. It clearly indicates, however, how the original language of the members of a given minority group may regress to the point that it is only considered a local dialect. These Slovenians were unable to take part in the Slovenian national movement after the political partition of 1866 separated them from the core of the Slovenian eth-



PRIMOZ PIPAN



PRIMOZ PIPAN

Figure 86: Example of an early Slovenian name at the heart of the Friuli plain between Udine and Pordenone. The original Slovenian toponym has been Italianized and its Friulian form is added below.

Figure 87: A bilingual (Italian–Slovenian) sign in the Trieste countryside. The toponym shows that its Italian form developed from the Italianized pronunciation of the Slovenian name.

nic community, and the local Slovenian population was never able to use its own language in public matters or learn it at school. As a result, the use of the original minority language is becoming less frequent even within families, and Slovenian is thereby losing much of its value (Bufon 2003).

Gradually, linguistic special features developed that deviated from the modern norms of standard Slovenian and are permissible in the Veneto dialect; for example, the use of the dialect forms *bardo* and *varh* instead of standard Slovenian *brdo* 'hill' and *vrh* 'peak'. Slovenia has also adopted the etymological or phonological principle for the Venetian Slovenia (Slovenian: *Beneška Slovenija*) – its allonym is Venetian region (Slovenian: *Benečija*) – and Resia (Slovenian: *Rezija*) because adapting the names in these regions to the standard norm could result in such changes that the locals would no longer even recognize certain names (Kladnik 2006; 2009b).

Until the end of the First World War, the Canale Valley (Slovenian: *Kanalska dolina*, German: *Kanaltal*, Friulian: *Val Cjanâl*, Italian: *Val Canale*) in the extreme northeast of the province of Udine was part of Austrian Carinthia and as such inhabited exclusively by ethnic Germans and Slovenians (each accounting for approximately half the population). After its 1919 annexation to Italy under the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the immigrant Italians and Friulians gradually became its majority ethnic groups, whereas the shares of Germans and Slovenians decreased to approximately one-tenth each (Steinecke 2001).

Only at the end of the twentieth century and during the first two decades of the new millennium did the attitudes of the Italian national and local regional governments toward all minority groups in Friuli Venezia Giulia start to change. As a result, minority toponyms regained their official status and visual bilingualism became more common within municipalities and localities included in the officially recognized minority areas. Because there is partly overlapping of these areas, in some places three toponyms (along Italian and Slovenian also Friulian; Figure 88) or, in Val Canale, even four toponyms (e.g., Italian *Valbruna* / Friulian *Valbrune* / Slovenian *Ovčja vas* / German *Wolfsbach*) can be found on the town signs, although Italian regulations do not permit the use of more than two languages on town signs (Bufon 2016).

After 2001, when the Italian government eventually adopted a special law for the Slovenian ethnic minority, several local governments in the Venetian Slovenia and Resia claimed their inhabitants spoke a special non-Slovenian local language (Vermeer 1993), which in their opinion should be recognized alongside standard Slovenian. This was strongly opposed by Slovenian linguists (e.g., Toporišič and Paternu 2008). The result was that in the province of Udine visual bilingualism became quite chaotic, and, rather than using standard Slovenian, it follows the local dialect forms of toponyms, written with non-Slovenian letters and also using special diacritics (Figure 89). The Slovenian professional community continues to lean toward writing the names using Slovenian orthography, but, due to special features of the Resian dialect, it nonetheless allows deviations from the modern norms of standard Slovenian (Kladnik 2009b).

According to the results of a study conducted by the Slovenian Research Institute (SLORI) in Trieste (Mezgec 2015), only 15% of all signs and visual inscriptions in the Slovenian-inhabited areas in Italy are bilingual or multilingual, and only 9% include Slovenian. This is primarily the result of the fact that only



Figure 88: A trilingual (Italian–Slovenian–Friulian) sign in Venetian Slovenia. The Slovenian toponym *Most* (dialectal *Muost*) is written in dialect form.



Figure 89: A bilingual sign (in Italian and the Resian dialect) in Resia. In spelling the dialect forms of names in this isolated valley, letters with special diacritics are used that, except for *č*, *š*, and *ž*, are essentially unknown in Slovenian.



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Figure 90: Italian–Slovenian bilingual signs in front of an intersection near Monfalcone (Slovenian: *Tržič*).



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Figure 91: A bilingual (Italian–Slovenian) information sign at the entrance to the Municipality of Duino–Aurisina (Slovenian: *Devin - Nabrežina*). The Slovenian text contains several grammatical errors.

2% of signs and visual inscriptions in the town of Trieste and 7% in the town of Gorizia include Slovenian. The situation is similar in the Venetian Slovenia (only 5% of the signs include Slovenian) and Val Canale, where only 3% of signs and visual inscriptions include Slovenian, whereas 18% of all signs include other languages, mainly German and English. Visual bilingualism is greater only on the outskirts of Trieste and Gorizia (Figure 90), where about 23% of all signs and visual inscriptions include Slovenian. Slovenian is only more widely used on visual signs (both private and public) in the predominantly Slovenian municipalities. For instance, in the municipalities of Doberdò (Slovenian: *Doberdob*) and Duino–Aurisina (*Devin - Nabrežina*) (Figure 91), they represent about 60% of all signs. In Resia and the Venetian Slovenia, local Slovenian variations prevail over standard Slovenian; both represent together about 30 to 40% of all signs and inscriptions in the area.

11.2.2 Austria

The Slovenian minority in Austria occupies some 2,600 km² of southern Carinthia and Styria, where according to official Austrian data (2001 census) there are some 12,500 Slovenians and, according to Slovenian estimates, between 45,000 and 50,000 (Zupančič 2001; Jordan 2016b).

The names in this region were first systematically studied by the priest, writer, historian, ethnographer, and linguist Urban Jarnik (Grafenauer 2013), who discussed the local toponyms and explained their origin in the journal *Carinthia* (Jarnik 1813). Based on his etymological studies, he also published a paper on the Germanization of Carinthia (Jarnik 1826), which was quite provocative for that time and in which he demarcated the Slovenian–German linguistic border. The pioneer of modern onomastics, Eberhard Kranzmayer, produced an extensive overview of toponyms in Austrian Carinthia in two volumes (Kranzmayer 1956; 1958). Soon after that, a paper on selected southern Carinthian geographical names (primarily choronyms) was published in the leading Slovenian journal *Geografski vestnik* (Šašel 1960). Considerably greater attention was attracted by a map of Austrian Carinthia with a Slovenian and German gazetteer produced by the Slovenian geographer Vladimir Klemenčič (1972). During the 1970s, the etymology of toponyms in Carinthia and East Tyrol was studied by the linguist Dušan Čop (1975). During the last decades of the twentieth century, toponyms in Austrian Carinthia were examined, largely from the orthographic and dialectological perspective, by the linguist Pavel Zdovc (1973; 1979; 1982; 1983; 2010), to whom the main credit goes for the definitive establishment of the modern standard Slovenian norm in spelling the Slovenian geographical names in Carinthia. Zdovc also studied choronyms in Carinthia (Zdovc 1983). Slovenian toponyms in Carinthia have been studied in detail by the linguist Heinz-Dieter Pohl, born in Vienna, especially from the viewpoint of their historical contact with the German cultural environment (Pohl 2000; 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2011b; 2016). The geographer Peter Jordan, born in Hermagor (Slovenian: *Šmohor*), has dealt extensively with bilingualism in Carinthia. He is of German ethnicity, like Pohl. In his works, he initially studied the possibilities of using bilingual names on official topographic maps (Jordan 1988; 1992; 2006),

and recently he has also explored the use of bilingual names on Austrian military maps (Jordan 2018). He is especially engaged in studying the importance of bilingual geographical names for cultural identity (Jordan 2004; 2006; 2012a; 2012b; 2014; 2016a; 2016b); within this context, he also presented the use of such names on town signs (Jordan 2009) and highlighted the dimensions of the place-name conflict in Carinthia (Jordan 2017). The resolution of this conflict was also reported on by Pohl (2011a), and an extensive volume has been published on this issue (Hren and Pandel 2012). A bilingual gazetteer was published several years earlier (Kattinig, Kulnik and Zerzer 2005). The etymology of selected Slovenian geographical names in Carinthia was also discussed by Silvo Torkar (2010a). Worthy of mention here is also a study of Slovenian and German oronyms in bilingual Carinthia (Grozđanić Dizdarević 2018). The overview of research on geographical names in Austrian bilingual areas can be concluded with the waggish paper on bilingual toponyms in these areas by Boris Jaušovec (2011).

The Alpine Slavs, the ancestors of the present-day Slovenians, settled the Eastern Alps together with the Avars, who may have spoken a Turkic language, in the sixth and seventh centuries AD. They established their first state, the principality of Carantania, very early on in what is now Carinthia, but had to submit to Bavarian and Frankish overlordship as early as the eighth century. Later they were incorporated into the Habsburg Monarchy for nearly a millennium, up until its dissolution in 1918 (Zupančič 2001; Pohl 2016). Throughout that period, with German colonization and social stratification, the Slovenian people were exposed to strong Germanization. The Slovenian ethnic border gradually moved toward the southeast, finally settling north of the Drau (Slovenian: *Drava*) River in central and eastern Carinthia. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, at least about 30% of Carinthian population spoke Slovenian (Pohl 2016).

The current Slovenian–Austrian border was established by the October 1920 plebiscite (Zupančič 2001). After that, the northern part of Slovenian ethnic territory (i.e., in Austria) also remained outside Slovenia. This mainly covers Carinthia and a smaller portion of Styria, where Slovenians are concentrated in the microregion of the Radkersburg Corner (German: *Radkersburger Winkel*, Slovenian: *Radgonski kot*), made up of



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Figure 92: A bilingual sign at the entrance to Bleiburg.

several villages around Radkersburg (Slovenian: *Radgona*). After the 1920 Treaty of Trianon, Austria also gained eight settlements in the Raab (Slovenian: *Raba*, Hungarian: *Rába*) Valley with a majority Slovenian population, which became part of Burgenland (Munda Hirnök 2020). The territory inhabited by the Slovenian ethnic community, which continues to shrink in numbers, was subject to continuous strong Germanization, resulting in a unique ethno-linguistic mix, also reflected in geographical names.

After the Second World War, the Austrian State Treaty, which re-established Austria as a sovereign democratic state, was signed in 1955. Article 7 of this treaty details the obligations of the Austrian authorities regarding the rights of the Slovenian ethnic community in Austria. Even though the Slovenian ethnic community in Carinthia and Styria acquired special rights, they have not yet been fully implemented to date (Hren and Pandel 2012).

The largest gap between the obligations defined in the treaty and their fulfillment can be seen in the unresolved problem of bilingual town signs in Austrian Carinthia. However, Article 7 does not contain any specification about the percentage of the local Slovenian-speaking population needed for the implementation of this right. Originally, 205 places and localities in thirty-six municipalities were supposed to receive bilingual town signs. After several, occasionally very dramatic and heavily politicized, attempts to put up bilingual signs, the so-called Town Sign Compromise (German: *Ortstafelkompromiss*), was reached in 2011, which was ultimately accepted by all parties and essentially calmed what was at times a highly delicate political situation. The compromise ruled that 164 villages and towns in twenty-four municipalities in the southern parts of Carinthia were officially given bilingual names (Figures 92, 93, and 94) based on a share of a 17.5% Slovenian-speaking population in a single settlement according to the 2001 population census. Minor deviations from this benchmark were possible in cases where this was accepted locally (Gully 2011; Pohl 2011a; Hren and Pandel 2012; Jordan 2016a; 2016b; 2017).

For historical reasons, numerous geographical names of clearly Slovenian origin can also be found outside the current ethnically mixed area in Austria (Čop 1975; Bergmann 2005; Pohl 2009a; 2011b). Slovenians still perceive them as different from the German ones, even though they gradually spontaneously became part of the German linguistic environment. Typical examples can be found in southern Styria, northern and western Carinthia, and East Tyrol. In the Möll (Slovenian: *Bela*) Valley south of Austria's highest peak, Grossglockner (Slovenian: *Veliki Klek*), and in the Lienz area in East Tyrol alone, one encounters the following toponyms of Slovenian origin: *Döllach* (Slovenian form: *Dole*), *Göriach* (*Gorje*), *Görtschach* (*Goriče*), *Lassach* (*Laze*), *Mörtschach* (*Merče*), *Prappernitze* (*Praprotnice*), *Rojach* (*Roje*), *Sagritz* (*Zagorica*), *Stranach* (*Strane*), and *Untersagritz* (*Spodnja Zagorica*; Kladnik 2009b).

Alongside names of Slovenian origin, which are larger in number, names of German origin can also be found in the bilingual area. This topic and the semantic relations between these names have been discussed by Pohl (2016, 186–187): »... The first Carinthians, in the strict sense of the word, referred to the location of their home and settlement as (Slovenian) *Gorje* / (German) *Göriach*, that is, 'on the mountain' and *Bistrice* / *Feistritz* located 'by the mountain stream'; these are names of Slovenian origin, but names



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Figure 93: Resolving the bilingual sign dispute also opened opportunities for using other bilingual road signs.



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Figure 94: A bilingual bus stop sign.

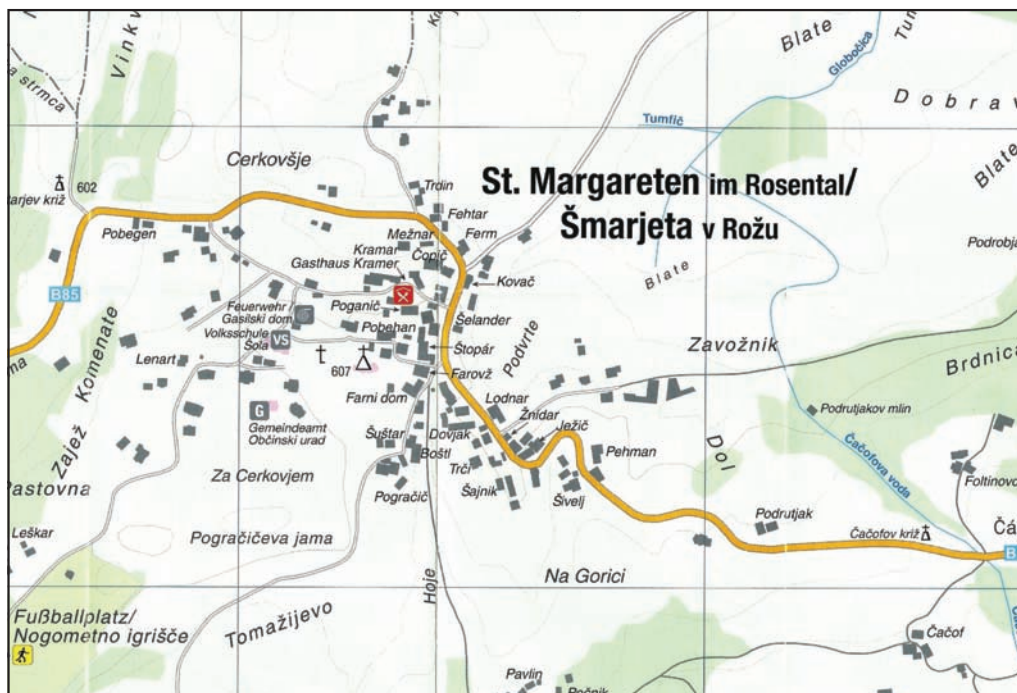


Figure 95: Detail from the map (St. Margareten ... 2011) with geographical names in standard Slovenian.

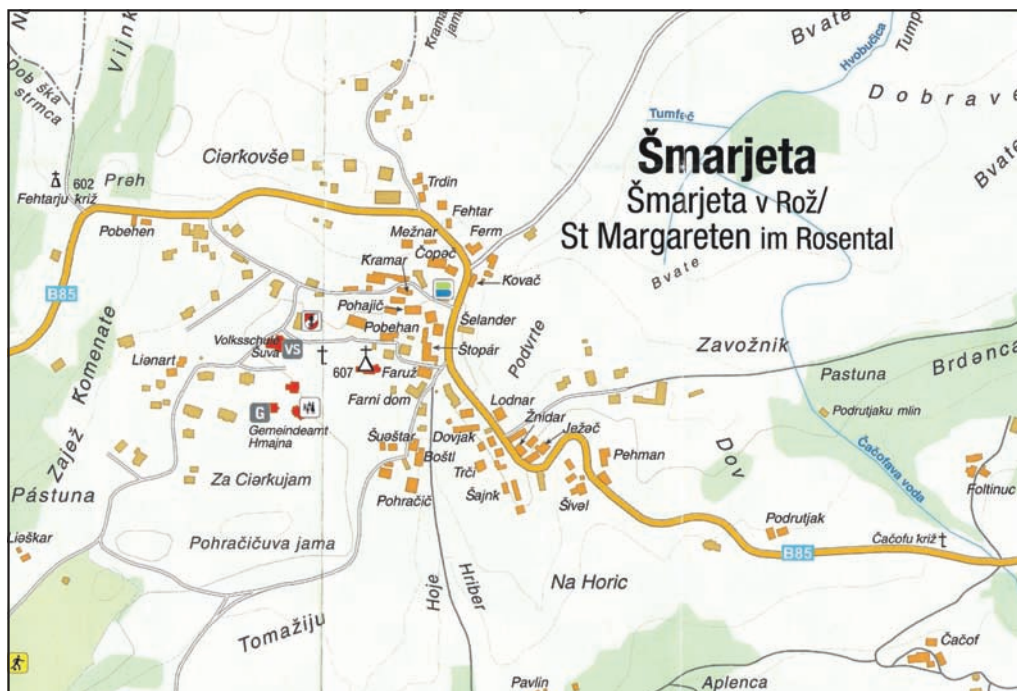


Figure 96: Detail from the map (St. Margareten ... 2015) with geographical names in phonetically simplified dialect form.

of German origin also exist: (German) *Bleiburg* / (Slovenian) *Pliberk* ... or *Finkenstein* / *Bekštanj* (literally, 'finch rock'), which have been taken over the Germans. ... The names were passed orally from one language to another, but often localities were named differently, such as German *Hart* 'forest' and Slovenian *Breg* 'bank, slope', or, quite simply, they were translated; for example, German *Aich* and Slovenian *Dob* 'oak'. ...« Pohl adds that many names of Slovenian origin are very old. For example, the names *Ostrovica* in the form *Astaruuiza* (German: *Hochosterwitz*) and *Trebinje* in the form *Trebina* (German: *Treffen*) were mentioned as early as 860.

Examples of Slovenian exonyms adjacent to the officially recognized ethnically mixed area in southern Austria include *Stari Dvor* (German: *Althofen*), *Mostič* (*Brückl*), *Trg* (*Feldkirchen*), *Lipnica* (*Leibnitz*), *Milštat* (*Milstatt*), *Šentvid ob Glini* (*Sankt Veit an der Glan*), *Špital ob Dravi* (*Spittal an der Drau*), and *Volšperk* (*Wolfsberg*; Kladnik 2009b). They are also shown on the State Index Map of Slovenia with a gazetteer on the back (Furlan et al. 2008). On it, Slovenian exonyms are provided in parentheses next to the German names, whereas Slovenian endonyms, as known in Slovenia and hence greater in number than those officially recognized by Austria, are provided after the German names, from which they are separated with a slash.

In the ethnically mixed area, special attention is dedicated to studying microtoponyms, especially field names and house names. Bertrand Kotnik was the first to deal with house names in detail. He published his findings in as many as fifteen volumes, each focusing on a different parish and/or municipality (Kotnik 1992–2011).

Most recently, the focus in studying field names and house names has moved to cartographic representations. To make their collection uniform and their spelling grounded on scholarly findings, a detailed methodology was produced as part of the bilateral project FLU-LED (Klinar et al. 2012). As a result of these efforts, the Urban Jarnik Slovenian Ethnographic Institute in Klagenfurt publishes maps with field names and house names in southern Carinthia in cooperation with the local cultural societies and with assistance from linguists and geographers in Slovenia. Nine maps covering eight municipalities in the bilingual area in Carinthia have been published since 2008 (e.g., Marktgemeinde Finkenstein ... 2015), and many more are being prepared.

The first map featuring field names and house names in dialect form was published by the Gorjanci Slovenian Cultural Society for the Municipality of Köttmannsdorf (Slovenian: *Kotmara vas*) (Kotmara vas ... 2008). The society's website (<https://www.gorjanci.at>) offers audio pronunciation for approximately eight hundred names written on this map. It is especially interesting that the map of the Municipality of Sankt Margareten im Rosental (Slovenian: *Šmarjeta v Rožu*) was first published with names provided in standard Slovenian (St. Margareten ... 2011; Figure 95) and a few years later also in a phonetically simplified dialect form (St. Margareten ... 2015) (Figure 96).

All the efforts to collect, record, and position the field names and house names in southern Carinthia were rewarded in 2010 by the entry of these names into Austria's UNESCO National Inventory of Intangible Cultural Heritage (Piko-Rustia 2012; 2017; 2018).

11.2.3 Hungary

The ethnic Slovenian bilingual area in the Rába Valley in Hungary's extreme west comprises only seven villages (there used to be nine, but some of them were merged) with Hungarian, Slovenian, and, in some cases, even German names (Kozar Mukič 2002; Munda Hirnök 2020). The Slovenian minority is spread across little less than 100 km² along the Rába River. Although Slovenian estimates placed the figure of Slovenians at up to 5,000, according to the official Hungarian census in 1990 only 2,252 Slovenians lived in this region (Zupančič 2001). According to the last Hungarian census, conducted in 2011, the number of Slovenians fell to 1,609, of whom 639 live in the nearby city of Szentgotthárd (Slovenian: *Monošter*). The share of Slovenians in the Rába Valley is 15.3%, of whom over 70% live in the villages of Felsőszölnök (Slovenian: *Gornji Senik*) and Kétyvölgy (Slovenian: *Verica - Ritkarovci*; Munda Hirnök 2020).

So far, the Slovenian geographical names in the Rába Valley have been relatively poorly studied, yet several interesting papers have been published on the subject. Initially, these were more general, like one about the history of names designating the Slovenians in the Rába Valley and the use of Slovenian there by Marija Kozar-Mukič (1997), and in the past two decades there have also been some focusing exclusively on toponymy. The earliest among them was written by Kozar-Mukič (2002), who explored the etymolo-

gy of selected Slovenian toponyms in the Rába Valley and also briefly presented the characteristics of the Slovenian field names and house names there. Several years before that, Slovenian house names in all the settlements in the Rába Valley were listed, albeit not using a uniform methodology, in a special volume published in 1999 (Kozar-Mukič 1999). They were studied in detail in another paper, which, however, only covers the settlements of Felsőszölnök and Apátistvánfalva (Slovenian: *Števanovci*) (Dončec Merkli and Emberšič Škaper 2013). The latest paper on geographical names also focuses on Felsőszölnök (Bajzek Lukač 2017), while also dealing relatively thoroughly with the etymology, psychological motivation, and semantics of geographical names in different languages (Slovenian, Hungarian, German, and Latin) across the entire ethnic Slovenian area in the Rába Valley. It is interesting that the author uses the ending *-ce* for the Slovenian forms of toponyms instead of the more common ending *-ci*; for example, *Andovce* instead of *Andovci* (Hungarian: *Orfalu*) and *Sakalovce* instead of *Sakalovci* (Hungarian: *Szakonyfalu*).

Slovenians already settled the region between the Rába and Mura rivers together with the Avars in the sixth century. The area has been under Hungarian rule since the eleventh century. The 1920 Treaty of Trianon established the current border between Slovenia and Hungary. Between 1948 and 1990, Hungary remained in the Soviet bloc and the Slovenian minority was cut off from Slovenians in Yugoslavia; with the border closed, the contacts between both communities were practically non-existent (Zupančič 2001). The Slovenian ethnic community in the Rába Valley was granted formal protection under the Hungarian constitution of 1972, followed by the National and Ethnic Minorities' Rights Act adopted in 1993 (Munda Hirnök 1999). Because the Slovenians in the Rába Valley were politically separated from the Slovenians in Prekmurje, their dialect developed differently than the Prekmurje dialect on the Slovenian side of the border.

With Slovenia's independence in 1991, Slovenia's and Hungary's accession to the European Union in 2004, and the entry of both countries in the Schengen area in 2007, the situation of ethnic Slovenians in the Rába Valley has improved in every respect. In 1990, the Association of Slovenians in Hungary was established in Felsőszölnök (Figure 97). The bilateral Agreement Granting Special Rights to the Slovenian Ethnic Minority in the Republic of Hungary and the Hungarian Ethnic Community in the Republic of Slovenia signed in 1992 proved to be very important. Nonetheless, the everyday use of Slovenian in the Rába Valley is greatly truncated because, until recently, there was no formal legal nor institutional support for it. Slovenians are constantly exposed to assimilation with the majority Hungarian population. They do not know standard Slovenian and only speak the Rába dialect of Slovenian (*domanja rejč* 'the local language'), a variant of the Prekmurje dialect (Munda Hirnök 1999; 2000; 2020).

The regional names *Porabje* 'Rába Valley' and *Slovensko Porabje* 'Slovenian Rába Valley' developed in Slovenia after the First or Second World Wars. The locals use the names *Slovenska okroglina* or *Slovenska krajina* 'Slovenian area' (Kozar-Mukič 1997).

The field names in the Rába Valley are partly monolingual and partly bi- or even trilingual. Over half are exclusively Slovenian, reflecting geomorphological characteristics, location, and even ownership. From



Figure 97: A bilingual (Hungarian–Slovenian) sign at the entrance to Felsőszölnök (Slovenian: *Gornji Senik*), which is considered the informal center of the ethnic Slovenian area in the Rába Valley.



Figure 98: A trilingual (Hungarian–Slovenian–German) street sign in Pine Street (Hungarian: *Fenyves utca*, Slovenian: *Ulica borov*, German: *Tannenstraße*) in Alsószölnök (Slovenian: *Dolnji Senik*, German: *Unterzerming*).

Szentgotthárd toward the Slovenian border, the share of Slovenian names of this type increases and the share of Hungarian names decreases (Kozar-Mukič 2002).

The Rába Valley is also characterized by house names derived from the names and surnames of past residents or former owners and their social status, ethnicity, occupation and other activities, and nicknames, as well as the topographic features of the local area (Dončec Merkli and Emberšič Škaper 2013). House names are most often formed with the adjectival suffixes *-ini*, *-ovi*, and *-ski* (e.g., *Čukini*, *Kolarini*, *Ivanovi*, *Ižakovi*, *Grofoski*, and *Tišlarski*) (Kozar-Mukič 2002). They are still very much alive among the local residents, who use them in everyday communication and hence know them well; they also use them for orientation in the village (Dončec Merkli and Emberšič Škaper 2013). Interesting among the microtoponyms (Figure 98) are also names referring to a smaller cluster of houses (*kroše*u), which, however, have only been preserved in Felsőszölnök. Most clusters of houses are named after the first owner of the property (Kozar-Mukič 2002).

The following quoted passage about microtoponyms in Felsőszölnök seems befitting to conclude the discussion on geographical names in Hungary's Rába Valley because it reveals the complex and closely interconnected characteristics of names across the entire region (Bajzek Lukač 2017, 16–17): »In Felsőszölnök (*Gornji Senik*), the routes connecting individual parts or hamlets of the village were only defined (named) a few years ago. The new Slovenian names actually have nothing in common with the old names of hamlets, such as *Bekavaraš*, *Sobota*, *Grebenšček*, *Čmeštarin krošel*, *Götz major*, *Gubič*, and *Coutar*, which very clearly indicate the motivation for naming a specific part of the village.

»The Slovenian dialects do not use the nouns *reka* 'river' or *jezero* 'lake' and the same applies to Felsőszölnök, where not even the two creeks have a Slovenian name, but only a Hungarian one (*Török patak* and *Szölnök patak*); however, ditches do have their own names, which are usually derived from the nearest house (house name), such as *Kutin djarek*, *Krajcaren djarek*, *Dvöci djarek*, *Šlosen djarek*, which I classify under the names of water bodies (hydronyms).

»The village lies in a large area with varied terrain, where every hill, elevation, and valley has its own name (oronyms); for example, *Vrajži dou*, *Miklin dou*, *Divicin dou*, *Duga znouž*, *Čmešteren breg*, and *Meleken vrej*; the motivations for these names were most often the owners or residents of a specific area – that is, their house name.

»Fields, pastures, meadows, and forests also have their own names, such as *Duge njive*, *Calnika*, *Celena*, *Celna*, *Raven*, *V kamle*, *Bükonja*, *Gladek lec*, *Črna bükonja*, *Djouške*, *Evino*, *Poposko*, *Zidosko*, *Djanke*, *Stardjaš*, and *Stari haj*, referred to in expert literature as field names. These features were named after their owner, a land characteristic, typical vegetation, and so on.«

12 Conclusion

Geographical names, or toponyms, are proper names that by definition refer to a specific geographical feature that they identify and individualize (Furlan, Gložančev and Šivic-Dular 2000). They develop at a specific point in time in a specific linguistic area (Šivic-Dular 1988).

At first glance, it may seem that geographical names are not a main topic of geographical research, especially because geographers share the study of them at least with linguists. In reality, practically all geographical research is connected with geographical names in one way or another because literally everything on Earth and in the universe has its own name. The global significance of geographical names is confirmed by the fact that they are dealt with by the United Nations, which even coordinates international work in this area via the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN). In addition, geographical names have national and local significance because they are part of the cultural heritage of any nation or of the residents of a specific region.

Regional linguistic and geographical divisions represent the main level of international organization in this area. In line with the UNGEGN statute, every country can decide for itself which division it wishes to join. It can also be a member of several divisions at the same time. Slovenia belongs to the East Central and South-East Europe Division (ECSEED) together with Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

The Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names has been operating in Slovenia (with interruptions) ever since 1986, with headquarters at the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute since 1995. It comprises experts in geography, linguistics, cartography, geodesy, statistics, and history, as well as representatives of the relevant ministries. When Slovenia joined the UN in 1992, it also agreed to respect the resolutions on geographical names adopted before its independence. To this end, working material was prepared in which the toponymic resolutions and their content were also presented in detail in Slovenian (Radovan and Orožen Adamič 1999).

The use of geographical names in Slovenia is defined by three types of normative works. The most important are the normative guides, which usually include several sections on geographical names. To date, six normative guides have been published in Slovenian. In turn, the etymology of the names is provided in etymological dictionaries. Until now, these have not yet examined all geographical names, which can roughly be divided into those of Slovenian origin and those of non-Slovenian origin. The third group comprises toponymic guidelines, which, alongside normative rules and certain general sections, also contain some distinctly technical guidelines intended primarily for cartographers.

In terms of the size of the objects or features they denote, geographical names are divided into microtoponyms and macrotoponyms. Microtoponyms include three main types of geographical names: house names, field names, and street names. House names are not included in any official register, but they are invaluable for the preservation of intangible cultural heritage, especially as indicators of specific features in local dialects. In modern times, efforts are being made to preserve them in various ways because their living use tends to be increasingly rarer due to modernization processes. In terms of their living use, field names are sharing the fate of house names. The only difference is that at least some of them are listed in the Register of Geographical Names maintained by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority. Street names are official, and all of them are included in the Register of Spatial Units. They have changed frequently in modern history, sometimes also due to political motives, through which certain political regimes enforced their power.

Slovenian geographers have dealt most intensively with macrotoponyms while translating world atlases from languages other than Slovenian, standardizing Slovenian geographical names, and producing seminal geographical works on Slovenia after its independence and as part of some post-1991 national projects. In parallel with this, a multilingual glossary of common terms in Slovenian geographical names has been compiled (Table 2). The main focus has been on the names of settlements, regions, and countries.

In addition to country names, to date the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names has also standardized Slovenian geographical names on the 1:1,000,000 map of Slovenia, which contains 843 names, of which 464 are in Slovenia, and on the 1:250,000 map of Slovenia with 8,203 names, of which 4,273 are in Slovenia.

The Register of Geographical Names (REZI) is the largest collection of geographical names in Slovenia. It is maintained by the Slovenian Surveying and Mapping Authority and contains over 200,000 names from national maps at four different scales.

A flagship discipline of Slovenian onomastics is the study of exonyms, or Slovenianized foreign geographical names, which has been dealt with almost exclusively by geographers. According to the UN, the use of exonyms is a substantial barrier in international communication, and therefore UNGEGN has continually sought to limit their use, especially due to their historical and political sensitivity. It has turned out that attempts to rapidly reduce the number of exonyms were overly optimistic because exonyms have already become an inalienable part of vocabulary in individual languages and thus part of the linguistic cultural heritage of individual nations. This also applies to Slovenian. Thus, for instance, the use of Slovenianized foreign geographical names in Slovenian atlases is based on a tradition going back at least a century and a half (Kladnik 2007e).

The examination of the practice of Slovenianizing foreign geographical names applied to date reveals certain typical stages. Initially, the Slovenianization tendencies had a pan-Slavic orientation because, as a rule, many geographical names in ethnically mixed European areas or in their vicinity as well as elsewhere were written in any Slavic language. Czech and Polish played an especially important role in this regard. Later, the influence of Germanization can be perceived and, after the First World War, the influence of Serbian and, through it, Russian. Before and during the Second World War, the influence of Italian grew stronger, and during the globalized information age English is coming to the forefront.

A few years ago, the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute produced a gazetteer of Slovenian exonyms, which is a spreadsheet with more than five thousand of the most frequently used exonyms, treated in thirty-five different categories. Only 256 or 5.1% of Slovenian exonyms included in that list have been standardized to date. A standardization procedure must be carried out for them to become standardized, whereby a detailed interdisciplinary (geographic and linguistic) analysis should be performed on the exonyms included in the list.

The use of 544 or 10.8% of exonyms was defined as necessary, and the use of a further 2,154 (42.7%) is highly recommended. The spreadsheet also includes some still well-known archaic exonyms with the purpose of preventing them from sinking into oblivion.

Slovenia is a country in which minority issues are handled in an exemplary manner. This is especially true for the native more or less contiguously populated areas of the Italian and Hungarian ethnic minorities. Such an approach ensures that functional bilingualism is maintained, something that is also manifested externally through the consistent use of bilingual names of settlements on town signs along the main roads. Slovenian settlement names (but only up to the level of entire settlements, not individual hamlets) and other important geographical names have already been standardized, whereas the Italian and Hungarian names have not.

In the past, the Slovenians inhabited a much larger territory than today, and due to historical reasons part of the Slovenian population has remained outside Slovenia. Slovenians thus also contiguously inhabit ethnically mixed areas in neighboring Italy, Austria, and Hungary. The Slovenian ethnic community there, which in the past was exposed to assimilation more or less everywhere, enjoys various degrees of protection. All of this is also reflected in the diverse destiny of Slovenian geographical names in these regions. In the Italian cross-border areas, Slovenian geographical names hold the status of official names only in the provinces of Trieste and Gorizia, but not also in both provincial capitals (i.e., Trieste and Gorizia). In addition, in the Venetian Slovenia and Resia (both in the province of Udine), dialect name forms can also be found that use non-Slovenian letters. In turn, in the bilingual area of the southern part of Austrian Carinthia, a compromise was reached after several decades of conflict, according to which 164 villages were officially given bilingual names. In the ethnic Slovenian Rába Valley in Hungary, only a few settlements have been recognized as having bilingual names, and for those also populated by Germans trilingual names are in effect. Microtoponyms are a vital element of the cultural landscape across all ethnically Slovenian cross-border regions. Slovenian field names have been especially thoroughly studied in southern Austrian Carinthia, where they have been recently listed in the national UNESCO inventory of intangible cultural heritage. Slovenian house names have also been well studied. They continue to be part of living usage in Austrian Carinthia, Hungary's Rába Valley, and Italy's Canale Valley in the extreme northeast of the province of Udine.

The ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute, which the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SAZU) established in 1946 specifically to study Slovenian natural and cultural heritage, has been dealing with geographical names ever since its inception, and especially intensively since Slovenia's independence in 1991. Its efforts can roughly be divided into the following:

- Standardizing geographical names in cooperation with the Slovenian Government Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names;
- Carrying out research projects on geographical names and research projects involving geographical names;
- Producing seminal geographical works on Slovenia, of which geographical names form an inseparable part.

All these areas will continue to be the institute's main interest in the future.

We hope that the professional community and the public also continue to be aware of the need for new findings on geographical names and their global and national importance. Along with suitable funding, this will allow the much-needed interdisciplinary (and international) research that is vital for further standardization of Slovenian geographical names and thus their formal elevation to a higher level. Moreover, activities in these areas are especially important from the viewpoint of fulfilling Slovenia's internationally adopted obligations.

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