

Some Additional Thoughts on the Nature of Endonyms

Submitted by Slovenia*
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Abstract

This article deals with the delicate relationship between demarcating the concepts of endonym and exonym in the case of place names in Slovenia and neighboring countries. On the one hand, this raises the question of the nature of endonyms on the territory of Slovenia in the languages of officially recognized minorities and their respective linguistic communities, and their relationship to exonyms in the languages of neighboring countries. On the other hand, it also raises the issue of Slovenian exonyms for place names in neighboring countries and their relationship to the nature of Slovenian endonyms on their territories. At a certain point, these dimensions intertwine, and it is there that the demarcation between the concepts of endonym and exonym is most difficult and problematic.

Premises

The essence of the nature of the endonym was discussed by Paul Woodman in the abstract to his systematic and, in places, somewhat “poetic” paper:¹

“The endonym is the basic toponymic exemplar and as such it needs to be understood properly. To do so we need to appreciate the context of space and place that produces it. Most endonyms arise from the elemental human relationship with space and place, and possess an intrinsic and enduring value which cannot normally be either bestowed or removed by political arbitrariness.”

He continues by further developing his thoughts on the nature of the endonym:

“... endonyms are indisputably names created in and arising from within the locality, rather than names attributed from the outside (this latter characteristic being the classic mark of the exonym). . . . These names are endonyms irrespective of the manner in which they manifest themselves: they may be written or spoken; in an official language or in a well-established language; in a standard form of one of these languages or even in a dialect form of one of these languages. The process is social, emotional, even spiritual, and the resulting names are truly endonyms. . . . This inevitably leads us to the realization that the official authority with overall governing competence over these localities – usually the State – does not usually play an initial role in the creation of an endonym. An endonym is most frequently the product of a “bottom→up” approach to toponyms, with the people on the spot being its originators and determiners. An endonym can originate as an item of personal or locally collective property, a reflection of the individual’s right to choose the name and the language (or dialect thereof) by which he denotes his local geographical features. However, in certain socio-political environments, it can be the State that determines the endonym . . . only the State can determine which endonyms are official; this will be a natural by-product of whatever laws determine the official language or languages of that State. Also, the State will have a role in determining which endonyms are standardized, perhaps by legislation concerning orthographic rules – without proper accordance to the appropriate orthographic rules an

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¹ Woodman, P. 2009: The Nature of the Endonym. Paper for the twenty-fifth session of UNGEGN, held in Nairobi.

endonym will not be standardized. But even those endonyms which fall outside the “official” and “standardized” categories remain, quite simply, endonyms; albeit unofficial and non-standardized, and albeit very possibly of severely limited value outside their own immediate locale . . . Thus we can say that endonyms are a factor of terrain and language, not of politics. The processes that create endonyms work independently of State authority and do not depend on the existence of any particular State. . . . It is of course important that, if a language is not actually official, it should at least be well-established before its toponyms can be considered as endonyms. Migrant or seasonal populations are not sufficiently well-established for their language names. However, such communities may well take root over time.”

Woodman’s exceptionally well-considered premises are complemented by some comprehensive thoughts by Peter Jordan that in an otherwise concrete observation address the nature of the exonym. These remarks are of key importance for understanding our thoughts on the issue of delimiting endonyms and exonyms:²

“The naming of persons, animals, things as well as geographical features (as mental constructs) is an act of appropriation. This affects also exonyms and is not the least the reason, why they are politically such a sensitive matter. To use exonyms as if they were endonyms (under the pretext that these places were “in our hands earlier” or that there were still splinters of a certain linguistic community there) aggravates this effect. . . . This affects also names in minority languages. Bilingual or multilingual naming frequently stirs up conflict. It is felt as an expression of the fact that ownership or dominance is not only in the hands of one group, but that another group claims to define or to share the identity of a place.”

Our observations do not address the nature of endonyms and exonyms in the function of transboundary names, but deal with the sensitive relationship in demarcating endonyms and exonyms in the case of nation-states, in which we consciously limit ourselves to place names in Slovenia and neighboring countries. As examples from the entire corpus, we generally cite a selection of ten the most characteristic name forms; if there are fewer, all of the appropriate names are cited. On the one hand, this raises the question of the nature of endonyms in Slovenia in the languages of officially recognized minorities and their respective linguistic communities, and their relationship to exonyms in the languages of neighboring countries. On the other hand, this raises the issue of Slovenian exonyms for place names in neighboring countries and their relationship to the nature of Slovenian endonyms on their territories. At a certain point, these dimensions intertwine, and it is there that the demarcation between the concepts of endonym and exonym is most difficult and problematic. Because of changes in ethnic composition, certain names change from endonyms into exonyms, and certain others acquire the characteristic of historical names.

Brief Historical Background

The Slovenians settled the eastern Alps, the edges of the Pannonian and Friulian lowlands, and the western part of the Dinaric Alps between the second half of the sixth century and the ninth century. The area they settled was significantly larger than today’s ethnic Slovenian territory. The greatest contraction of Slovenian settlement occurred to the northwest, north, and northeast of present-day Slovenia due to German medieval colonization and subsequent Germanization, as well as Hungarianization after the arrival of the Magyars. The border towards Friuli and Italy to the west and southwest, as well as with the linguistically related Croats to the east, southeast, and south, was considerably more stable.

Historically, most of present-day Slovenia was long a part of Austria. Only the extreme northeastern area of Prekmurje was part of Hungary, whereas the extreme western and southwestern part belonged to the Republic of Venice. The Slovenians were actively involved in international trends and developments, and so they gradually nativized the names of settlements with historical, commercial, trade, administrative, religious, or some other significance, and other geographical features. It was completely logical that nearby places were most subject to this type of Slovenianization. Historical sources attest to a tradition more than two centuries old of Slovenianizing many Central European geographical names.³

² Jordan, P. 2009: What is an Endonym? Still a Question after Decades of Standardization. Paper for the twenty-fifth session of UNGEGN, held in Nairobi.

³ Orel, I. 2003: *Zemljepisna imena v slovenskem časopisju do srede 19. stoletja. Besedoslovne lastnosti slovenskega jezika – Slovenska zemljepisna imena* (Toponyms in Slovenian Journalism to the Mid-19th Century. Lexicological Features of Slovenian: Slovenian Toponyms). Društvo Pleteršnikova domačija Pišce, Slavistično društvo Slovenije. Pišce.

In the High and Late Middle Ages, feudal lords colonized some sparsely settled parts of Slovenia with German-speaking serfs, especially from Carinthia and Tyrol. They contiguously settled in the Sora Plain (and were soon Slovenianized), the Bača Gorge, the headwaters of the Selška Sora River in the southern part of the Julian Alps (where they persisted until the mid-nineteenth century), and the Kočevje region, where a contiguous linguistic enclave survived until the Second World War, when as part of an agreement between the Germans and Italians nearly all of them were relocated to southern Styria, which was part of the German Reich at that time. Prior to this, the Slovenian inhabitants there had been exiled to Serbia.

During this entire time, the German population also lived in Slovenian towns, where they generally comprised a higher social and economically stronger stratum of the population. The towns were the focal points of semi-planned Germanization, the proponents of which became the victims of political and ideological reprisals after the founding of Yugoslavia and the political emancipation of the Slovenians, as well as after the Second World War.

The Italian population in coastal towns and the surrounding countryside experienced a similar fate when, following the London Memorandum in 1945, the majority more or less voluntarily emigrated to Italy. Although one-third of today's Slovenia was under Italy during the interwar period, the Slovenian population preserved its contiguous settlement because the Italians that settled there comprised only civil administrators and the military.

The Perspective from Slovenia Outwards

The greatest number of Slovenian exonyms in neighboring countries is found in Austria and Italy, and considerably fewer in Croatia and Hungary. We are speaking here about true exonyms that apply to major settlements outside of current Slovenian ethnic territory, although they are often in its vicinity, and so the Slovenian population is (or was) in close contact with them. Characteristic Slovenian exonyms in Austria are Althofen (**Stari Dvor**), Brückl (**Mostič**), Feldkirchen (**Trg**), Graz[♦] (**Gradec**), Leibnitz[♦] (**Lipnica**), Milstatt (**Milštat**), Sankt Veit an der Glan (**Šentvid ob Glini**), Spittal an der Drau (**Špital ob Dravi**), Vienna (**Dunaj**), and Wolfsberg (**Volšperk**), and those in Italy are Aquileia (**Oglej**), Cervignano del Friuli[♦] (**Červinjan**), Cormons (**Krmin**), Gemona del Friuli (**Gumin**), Grado[♦] (**Gradež**), Moggio Udinese (**Možnica**), Pontebba (**Tablja**), Rome (**Rim**), Udine (**Videm**), and Venice (**Benetke**). In Croatia there are only six modern Slovenian exonyms:⁶ Brod na Kupa (**Brod na Kolpi**), Karlovac (**Karlovec**), Pula (**Pulj**), Rijeka (**Reka**), Sisak (**Sisek**), and Zadar (**Zader**), and in Hungary only four: Budapest (**Budimpešta**), Szentgotthárd (**Monošter**), Szombathely (**Sombotel**), and Sopron (**Šopron**); it should be noted that Szentgotthárd is on the extreme edge of Slovenian ethnic territory and serves the function of an ethnic center for the Slovenians of the Rába Region.

There are especially many toponyms in Austria with an obvious Slovenian etymology;⁷ these are marked as being different from German names, but over the course of time have spontaneously become part of the German linguistic environment and there simply are no Slovenian exonyms for them. Characteristic examples can be found in southern Styria, northern and western Carinthia, and East Tyrol. In the Möll Valley south of Mount Großglockner and near Lienz in East Tyrol alone the following place names of Slovenian origin can be found:⁸ **Döllach** in slovene form 'Dole', **Göriach** 'Gorje', **Görtschach** 'Goriče', **Lassach** 'Laze', **Mörtschach** 'Merče', **Prappernitze** 'Praprotnice', **Rojach** 'Roje', **Sagritz** 'Zagorica', **Stranach** 'Strane', and **Untersagritz** 'Spodnja Zagorica'.

In Austria, Italy, and Hungary there are plentiful Slovenian endonyms in border regions that still have contiguous Slovenian settlement. The official status of the Slovenian minorities varies in different countries.

[♦] Names with a Slovenian etymology.

⁶ Some are the result of transcriptions in Kajkavian Ekavian, which were very frequently used for the entire Balkan Peninsula in the oldest Slovenian atlases; for example, Bakar (**Baker**), Osijek (**Osek**), Kladanj (**Kladenj**), Čačak (**Čaček**), and Kragujevac (**Kragujevec**).

⁷ Čop, D. 1975: *Slovenska krajevna imena in priimki na Koroškem in vzhodnem Tirolskem* (Slovenian Place Names and Last Names in Carinthia and East Tyrol), OJ 5.

⁸ Internet: <http://www.maplandia.com/austria/steiermark/liezen/dollach/>

Because this ethnic territory is shrinking due to continual planned assimilation policies, some settlement names are gradually acquiring the character of exonyms. One such example is one of the historical centers of Slovenian identity, Klagenfurt/**Celovec**, the capital of the Austrian state of Carinthia (Kärnten), which today lies outside contiguous Slovenian ethnic territory. Nonetheless, because of its etymology, its historical role, and its still active central function (including for Slovenians), we include it among Slovenian endonyms for the time being.

In addition, there are characteristic Slovenian endonyms in the southern part of the Austrian states of Carinthia (Kärnten) and Styria (Steiermark):⁹ Bad Eisenkappel/**Železna Kapla**, Bad Radkersburg/**Radgona**, Bleiburg/**Pliberk**, Eibiswald/**Ivnik**, Ferlach/**Borovlje**, Globasnitz/**Globasnica**, Hermagor/**Šmohor**, Leutschach/**Lučane**, Villach/**Beljak**, and Völkermarkt/**Velikovec**. Characteristic Slovenian endonyms in Italy are distributed along the entire Italian-Slovenian border:¹⁰ Basovizza/**Bazovica**, Cividale del Friuli/**Čedad**, Gorizia/**Gorica**, Lucinico/**Ločnik**, Monfalcone/**Tržič**, Prosecco/**Prosek**, Tarvisio/**Trbiž**, Trieste/**Trst**, Valbruna/**Ovčja vas**, and Villa Opicina/**Opčine**.

All of the Slovenian endonyms in Hungary are located in the exclusively rural Slovenian Rába Region north of the tripoint between Hungary, Austria, and Slovenia:¹¹ Alsószölnök/**Dolnji Senik**, Apátistvánfalva/**Števanovci**, Felsőszölnök/**Gornji Senik**, Orfalu/**Andovci**, Rábatótfalu/**Slovenska ves**, Ritkaháza/**Ritkarovci**, Szakonyfalu/**Sakalovci**, and Permise/**Verice**. For the entire Slovenian ethnic community in the Rába Region, which speaks the Prekmurje dialect and does not entirely understand standard colloquial Slovenian, the administrative measure that combined the settlements of Permise/Verice and Ritkaháza/Ritkarovci into a combined settlement named Kétvölgy/**Verice-Ritkarovci** – literally, ‘two valleys’ in Hungarian – was a difficult blow because it was a departure from the traditional naming of the settlement. In the Slovenian Rába Region, as in other cross-border areas, there is also a large number of Slovenian choronyms and other geographical names.

The Perspective on Slovenia from Outside

We can begin our look into Slovenia where the previous section ended; that is, with choronyms and other geographical names. In addition to Slovenian names, we also find such endonyms in the languages of both officially recognized ethnic minorities in Slovenia – that is, in Italian and Hungarian. Such names need not remain in their original linguistic form because nativization of names into more Slovenian forms has also occurred in Slovenia; this was common in the coastal region, where there is an Italian population, as well as along the Slovenian-Hungarian border in Prekmurje, where there is a Hungarian population. Thus in the countryside around Koper one can find many choronyms and hydronyms that are etymologically of Italian origin, although their Slovenian orthography represents the way they are pronounced.¹² Typical examples in the cadastral district of Smedela include **Babuder**, **Bajon**, **Brut**, **Burkola**, **Fontana**, **Fontanela**, **Jurada**, **Karbonara**, **Mačerata**, **Pjažentin**, **Pošlona**, **Rampin**, **Skarpoline**, and **Trikola**.

The names of all 25 settlements in this ethnically mixed area are also officially bilingual; etymologically they are of Italian or older origin. Characteristic examples of Italian endonyms are¹³ Ankaran/**Ancarano**, Bertoki/**(Bertocchi**, Hrvatini/**Crevatini**, Izola/**Isola**, Kolomban/**Colombano**, Koper/**Capodistria**, Piran/**Pirano**, Portorož/**Portorose**, Sečovlje/**Sicciole**, and Šalara/**Salara**. The official Slovenian ethnic policy has gone so far so as to even impose certain new bilingual place names of Slovenian origin in ethnically mixed areas, which has

⁹ Furlan, M., Gložančev, A., Kladnik, D., Perko, D., Šivic-Dular, A. 2008: Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000 (Gazetteer of the 1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). In: *Državna pregledna karta Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000* (1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Geodetski inštitut Slovenije. Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Kozar-Mukič, M. 1998: Slovensko Porabje (The Slovenian Rába Valley). *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, volume 12. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

¹² Titl, J. 2000: *Toponimi Koprškega primorja in njegovega zaledja* (Toponyms of the Koper Littoral and Surrounding Countryside). Knjižica Annales. Koper.

¹³ Furlan, M., Gložančev, A., Kladnik, D., Perko, D., Šivic-Dular, A. 2008: Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000 (Gazetteer of the 1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). In: *Državna pregledna karta Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000* (1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Geodetski inštitut Slovenije. Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana.

an unnatural effect, even though it clearly defines the location within this area. The most striking such examples are Jagodje/**Jagodje** and Dobrava/**Dobrava presso Isola**, whereas in the case of the bilingual settlement of Prade/**Prade** the Slovenian name is identical to the original Italian endonym.

All 30 of the settlements in the area settled by Hungarians and officially defined as ethnically mixed are also written with bilingual names,¹⁴ in which it is obvious in many cases that the Slovenian names are derived from the Hungarian endonyms. Characteristic examples of Hungarian endonyms are Čentiba/**Cente**, Dolga vas/**Hosszúfalu**, Dolina pri Lendavi/**Völgyifalu**, Genterovci/**Göntérháza**, Gornji Lakoš/**Felsőlakos**, Lendava/**Lendva**, Mostje/**Hidvég**, Petišovci/**Petesháza**, Trimlini/**Hármasmalom**, and Žitkovci/**Zsitkóc**. Some Slovenian names orthographically differ minimally from the Hungarian ones – for example, Banuta/**Bánuta** – and two are identical in both languages: Kapca/**Kapca** and Pince/**Pince**.

A problem closely connected to the nature of the endonym has arisen in connection with bilingual names in the ethnically mixed area in Prekmurje. A few years ago, one of the local communities decided to dissociate itself from the ethnically mixed area, whereby the official bilingualism was also abandoned. This includes the settlements of Lončarovci, Ivanjševci, and Berkovci pri Prosenjakovcih (with the Hungarian names **Geróháza**, **Jánosfa**, and **Berkeháza**), for which it is no longer clear based on the definition of an endonym whether these are still endonyms or perhaps Hungarian exonyms instead.

The same is true of the territory of the German ethnic enclave in the Kočevje area. From the time they arrived in what is now Slovenia, the Kočevje Germans differed significantly from the Germans that settled other parts of Slovenia because they settled the Kočevje area primarily for economic reasons. The first colonists were brought in the 1430s by Count Oton of Ortenburg and came from Carinthia and Tyrol.

In 1910 there were 61 ethnically mixed and 110 completely German settlements in the Kočevje area with 17,184 inhabitants. In 1931 only 31 settlements were completely German and 11,878 inhabitants spoke German as their native language.

After the Second World War, the Germans in the Kočevje region officially no longer existed. Many settlements were completely destroyed, and the names of the others were Slovenianized. Nonetheless, a strong German influence can still be recognized in their names.¹⁵ Thus **Göttenitz** became Gotenica, **Gottschee** Kočevje, **Handlern** Handlerji, **Hasenfeld** Zajčje Polje, **Lienfeld** Livold, **Moos** Mlaka pri Kočevski Reki, **Reichenau** Rajhenav, **Schalkendorf** Šalka vas, **Stalzern** Štalcerji, and **Zwischlern** Cvišlerji. Because this involves ethnic and temporal discontinuity, the question arises whether the German forms of the names, despite their unquestionable endonymic nature, are still endonyms or perhaps only German exonyms, or are perhaps primarily historical names. The German minority in Slovenia has no official status.

Let us continue with our overview of German names within Slovenia and first look at German exonyms. With regard to the circumstances presented in the historical overview, it seems that the use of the following exonyms is completely acceptable in Slovenia:¹⁶ Celje (**Cilli**), Jesenice (**Aßling**), Kamnik (**Stein**), Kočevje (**Gottschee**), Kranj (**Krainburg**), Ljubljana (**Laibach**), Ljutomer (**Luttenberg**), Maribor (**Marburg**), Postojna (**Adelsberg**), and Ptuj (**Pettau**). In the 1992 Orbis atlas¹⁷ there is also a map that shows the extreme northern part of Slovenia on which place names and other geographical names are almost exclusively written in German, indicating a much broader understanding of exonyms. For example, one finds Črna na Koroškem written as German **Schwarzenbach**, Luče as **Leutsch**, Prevalje as **Prävali**, Radenci as **Radein**, Reifnig as **Ribnica na Pohorju**, Ruše as **Maria Rast**, Solčava as **Sulzbach**, Veržej as **Wernsee**, Zgornja Velka as **Oberwölling**, and Žirovnica as **Scheraunitz**. These are minor settlements that indeed also had German names under the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but which fell out of use in everyday life both in Slovenia and elsewhere. Such an exceptional degree of exonymization cannot be explained by any actual need other than political impulses.

The fact that serious difficulties arise in appropriately delimiting historical names from exonyms and differentiating them is confirmed by a page with a list of European exonyms on Wikipedia.¹⁸ The German

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ ibid.

¹⁶ *Der Neue Orbis Weltatlas* (The New Orbis World Atlas). Orbis Verlag. Munich, 1992.

¹⁷ ibid.

¹⁸ Internet: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_European_exonyms

version of the list¹⁹ includes a full 343 German “exonyms” in Slovenia, of which we cite only part of the list for places beginning with the letter *b* in Slovenian: Begunje na Gorenjskem (**Vigaun bei Lees**), Bela Cerkev (**Weißkirchen in Krain**), Beltinci (**Fellsdorf**), Bistrica pri Mariboru (**Feistritz bei Marburg**), Bizeljsko (**Wisell**), Blanca (**Blanza bei Lichtenwald**), Blatnik (**Rußbach**), Bled (**Veldes**), Bohinj (**Wochein**), Bohinjska Bela (**Wocheiner Vellach**), Bohinjska Bistrica (**Wocheiner Feistritz**), Borovnica (**Franzendorf**), Bovec (**Flitsch**), Braslovče (**Fraßlau**), Brezje (**Bresiach**), Brezje [pri Rožnem Dolu] (**Wretzen bei Tschermoschnitz**), Brezno (**Fresen**), Brezovica pri Ljubljani (**Bresowitz bei Laibach**), Brežice (**Rann**), Brusnice (**Wrußnitz**), and Buče (**Fautsch**).

The Italian “exonyms” in Slovenia are no different. Because the names along the Adriatic coast are endonyms in nature, and elsewhere Italians never constituted an indigenous population, the large degree of exonymization of Slovenian places is surprising, if not problematic.

The most Italian forms of names appear in the western part of Slovenia, which was part of Italy between 1919 and 1943. At that time there was planned Italianization of all previously exclusively Slovenian toponyms, which nonetheless continue to clearly express Slovenian linguistic heritage. The names were used bilingually. Let us take a look, for example, at some typical renamings of ten places in the Municipality of Pivka, which at that time was known in Slovenian as Sveti Peter na Krasu:²⁰ Gradec/**Grazza**, Klenik/**Clenico**, Krastje/**Crastia**, Nemška vas/**Nenci**, Palčje/**Palice**, Petelinje/**Petteline**, Radohova/**Rodocca**, Selce/**Selza**, Št. Peter/**San Pietro del Carso**, and Trnje/**Tergne**.

A strange background to Italian “exonyms” is revealed in the list of settlements in the Municipality of Tolmin in the Italian version of Wikipedia, in which all but five of the 72 settlements appear written in Italian. This presentation is all the more problematic because the Italian names are cited first and the Slovenian names are written in parentheses, as though they were exonyms (Table 1).

Table 1: *Il comune di Tolmino è diviso in 72 insediamenti* (naselja)²¹ (The municipality of Tolmin is divided into 72 settlements)

• Baccia di Modrea (<i>Bača pri Modreju</i>)	• Paniqua (<i>Ponikve</i>)
• Baccia [di Piedicolle] (<i>Bača pri Podbrdu</i>)	• Pecine (<i>Pečine</i>)
• Càmina (<i>Kamno</i>)	• Piedicolle (<i>Podbrdo</i>)
• Cal (<i>Kal</i>)	• Piedimelze (<i>Podmelec</i>)
• Chiesa San Giorgio (<i>Kneža</i>)	• Poglizze di Monte San Vito (<i>Polje [“Poljice”]</i>)
• Ciadra (<i>Čadrg</i>)	• Polubino (<i>Poljubinj</i>)
• Cighino (<i>Čiginj</i>)	• Porsenna (<i>Porezen</i>)
• Clavice (<i>Klavže</i>)	• Prapeno di Lubino (<i>Prapetno</i>)
• Colle Pietro (<i>Petrovo Brdo</i>)	• Prapeno del Monte (<i>Prepetno Brdo</i>)
• Coritenza (<i>Koritnica</i>)	• Rauna di Piedimelze (<i>Kneške Ravne</i>)
• Cosarsa (<i>Kozaršče</i>)	• Rauna di Tolmino (<i>Tolminske Ravne</i>)
• Cosmeriza (<i>Kozmerice</i>)	• Roče
• Cucco di Gracova (<i>Kuk</i>)	• Rutte di Gracova (<i>Rut</i>)
• Daber	• Rutte di Volzana (<i>Volčanski Ruti</i>)
• Dolgi Laz	• Sabbice di Tolmino (<i>Žabče</i>)
• Dollia (<i>Dolje</i>)	• Sacria (<i>Zakraj</i>)
• Dobrocenie (<i>Drobočnik</i>)	• Santa Lucia d’Isonzo (<i>Most na Soči</i>)
• Gàbria di Tolmino (<i>Gabrje</i>)	• Sant’Osvaldo [“Strizisce”] (<i>Stržišče</i>)
• Gorski Vrh	• Sella di Piedimelze (<i>Sela nad Podmelcem</i>)
• Gracova Serravalle (<i>Grahovo ob Bači</i>)	• Sella di Volzana (<i>Sela pri Volčah</i>)
• Grande (<i>Grant</i>)	• Sellischie di Tolmino (<i>Selišče</i>)
• Grudenza (<i>Grudinca</i>)	• Selze di Caporetto (<i>Selce</i>)
• Iusina (<i>Hudajužna</i>)	• Slappe d’Idria (<i>Slap ob Idrijci</i>)

¹⁹ Internet: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_German_exonyms_for_places_in_Slovenia

²⁰ *Censimento della Popolazione del Regno d’Italia al 1. dicembre 1921. III. Venezia Giulia* (Population Census of the Kingdom of Italy of 1 December 1921. III. Julian March). Ministero dell’Economia nazionale. Direzione generale della Statistica – Ufficio del Censimento. Rome, 1926.

²¹ Internet: <http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tolmino>

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Idria di Baccia (<i>Idrija pri Bači</i>) • <i>Lisec</i> • Loia (<i>Loje</i>) • Logarschie (<i>Logaršče</i>) • Log [di sopra] (<i>Gorenji Log</i>) • Lom di Canale (<i>Kanalski Lom</i>) • Lom di Tolmino (<i>Tolminski Lom</i>) • Lubino (<i>Ljubinj</i>) • Modrea (<i>Modrej</i>) • Modreuzza (<i>Modrejce</i>) • Monte San Vito (<i>Šentviška gora</i>) [sic] • Monte Snoile (<i>Znojile</i>) • Oblocca (<i>Obloke</i>) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sottolmino (<i>Zatolmin</i>) • “Stazione” (<i>Postaja</i>) • Stopenico (<i>Stopnik</i>) • Temeline (<i>Temljine</i>) • Tertenico (<i>Trtnik</i>) • Tribussa Inferiore (<i>Dolenja Trebuša</i>) • Tribussa Superiore (<i>Gorenja Trebuša</i>) • Tolmino (<i>Tolmino</i>) • Vetta di Monte San Vito (<i>Bukovski Vrh</i>) • Villa Grotta di Dante (<i>Zadlaz-Čadrg</i>) • Vollària (<i>Volarje</i>) • Volzana (<i>Volče</i>) • Zaraban (<i>Zadlaz-Žabče</i>) |
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Nonetheless, certain Italian name forms in Slovenia can be defined as completely suitable exonyms.^{22,23} The page with the list of European exonyms on Wikipedia contains 46 toponyms in the Italian section for Slovenia, including Ajdovščina (**Aidussina**), Bovec (**Plezzo**), Idrija (**Idria**), Kobarid (**Caporetto**), Ljubljana (**Lubiana**), Pivka (**San Pietro del Carso**), Postojna (**Postumia**), Sežana (**Sesana**), Tolmin (**Tolmino**), and Vipava (**Vipacco**).

The presentation of Hungarian exonyms in Slovenia is only slightly better. According to one²⁴ available source, the only true Hungarian exonym in Slovenia is Murska Sobota (**Muraszombat**), whereas another²⁵ adds Celje (**Cilli/Cille**), Ormož (**Ormosd**), and Ptuj (**Potony**).

Although the Hungarians are not excessively interested in the territory of most of Slovenia, which was once in the Austrian part of the empire, the situation is entirely different regarding toponyms in Prekmurje, which was part of the Hungarian half of the empire until 1918. At that time the names of all places were either monolingual Hungarian or bilingual Hungarian/Slovenian, and so it is understandable to some extent that the memory of those times has been preserved. The situation is similar with all parts of the former Kingdom of Hungary that are now parts of the independent countries of Romania, Ukraine, Slovakia, Croatia, and Serbia, including its northern area of Vojvodina,²⁶ where the list of Hungarian toponyms includes 363 items. The list for the Prekmurje region²⁷ (in addition to the 30 officially bilingual place names, which are certainly endonyms, the list incorrectly includes names of some settlements south of the Mura River and even the name *Cille* for Celje) encompasses 183 toponyms in Hungarian (many are cited as allonyms), including the following 13 beginning with the letter *s* in Slovenian: Satahovci (**Muraszentes**), Sebeborci (**Szentbibor**), Selo (**Nagyótlak**), Serdica (**Seregháza**), Skakovci (**Szécényfa**), Sodišinci (**Bírószék/Szodesincz**), Sotina (**Hegyszoros/Szotina**), Središče (**Szerdahely**), Srednja Bistrica (**Középbeszterce**), Stanjevci (**Kerkaszabadhegy**), Strehovci (**Órszentvid/Sztrelec**), Strukovci (**Sürüház/Strukóc**), and Suhi Vrh (**Szárzhegy**).

Because the Hungarian toponyms and their significantly longer tradition of use have a different history than the Italian names, the question arises whether it is more appropriate to define those that have not been in the officially bilingual area in Prekmurje for centuries as exonyms or as historical names.

As already indicated in the historical overview, the Slovenians have the fewest toponymic issues with Croatia (if one overlooks the recently arisen disputes regarding the name of the Bay of Piran²⁸). The only Croatian exonym in Slovenia is Koper (**Kopar**).²⁹

²² Internet: http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Categoria:Comuni_della_Slovenia

²³ Internet: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_European_exonyms

²⁴ *Cartographia Világatlasz* (Cartographia World Atlas). Cartographia. Budapest, 1995.

²⁵ Internet: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_European_exonyms

²⁶ Internet: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_exonyms_\(Vojvodina\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_exonyms_(Vojvodina))

²⁷ Internet: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_exonyms_\(Prekmurje,_Slovenia\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hungarian_exonyms_(Prekmurje,_Slovenia))

²⁸ Kladnik, D., Pipan, P. 2009: The Bay of Piran (*Piranski zaliv*): An Example of Political Controversy in Geographical Names as an Expression of Cultural Relations. In: *Geographical Names as a Part of the Cultural*

Issues Connected with the Suitability of Slovenian Endonyms in Cross-Border Areas and Endonyms in Minority Languages in Slovenia

The main problem regarding the suitability of endonyms in the languages of ethnic minorities in bilingual areas is variation in transcriptions of geographical names, which is rooted in difficulties in standardizing them, and this in turn with the difficult decision of whether they should be treated in line with the principles of standard linguistic norms or special dialect features. The core of the problem lies in the fact that responsibility for standardizing geographical names in bilingual areas (including names in the languages of ethnic minorities) lies with the names authorities in those countries where the majority of the population speaks another language, whereas the norms of the standard language are created in neighboring countries, where the minority ethnic group has the status of the ethnic majority.

In the case of Slovenia and its cross-border regions, this means that the standard language norms for Slovenian are created in Slovenia and that the Slovenian Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names is responsible for standardizing all geographical names in Slovenia, including Italian and Hungarian names, for which it lacks the necessary linguistic knowledge. On the other hand, the standardization of Slovenian names in Austria, Italy, and Hungary is the responsibility of the names authorities there, which also lack the necessary linguistic knowledge for suitable treatment of names in minority languages. Consequently there is a vital need for cooperation between linguistically well-versed minority representatives and names authorities within such countries – however, in the case of small and isolated ethnic minorities, this can be very problematic, if not even impossible. It is even worse if members of the ethnic majority exploit the inability of ethnic minorities or parts of them to appropriately respond for assimilation-motivated policy, resulting in increasingly greater deviation of geographical names in minority languages from the norms of their standard language.

Consequently, in line with the principles of good practice in dealing with geographical names, it would be advisable to promote cooperation between the names authorities in countries responsible for standardization of names in minority languages and the names authorities in neighboring countries where the normative rules are created. Such cooperation should automatically make sense because in modern Europe with its open borders (in many places for now, more in word than in deed) the goal of all political and professional bodies responsible for ethnic minority issues should be to ensure equal (linguistic, educational, cultural, social, economic, infrastructural, etc.) opportunities for further successful development.

If this does not occur, the completely logical result is that politicians in countries with ethnic minorities will have much to say about the need to protect ethnic minorities, but in practice (alongside constant more or less open chicanery) the number of members of ethnic minorities will continue to fall mercilessly.

The fact is that it is easiest to control minority issues when several thousand representatives of a minority ethnic group contiguously settle a territorially bounded ethnically mixed area, which is the case of the Italian and Hungarian minorities in Slovenia. A larger number could be problematic. It is also because of this that there is resistance in Slovenia to recognizing the more numerous ethnic minorities that settled there after the Second World War (Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, Macedonians, and Albanians), who arrived as economic immigrants (and in the last two decades also as political immigrants) and settled in various parts of the country, especially in cities. The same is true of the remaining members of the German minority scattered among towns. In the case of all of these groups, Slovenia's ethnic policy is not oriented toward protecting them so much as destroying their ethnic identity and gradually assimilating them, which is at least officially supported by worsened demographic conditions.

Let us also take a look at some completely practical examples of inconsistent use of Slovenian toponyms across the border. In the ethnically mixed area of southern Carinthia in Austria, the Slovenian minority officially numbers approximately 15,000 and is still sufficiently vital to ensure that the Slovenian geographical names

Heritage, ed. Peter Jordan et al. (= *Wiener Schriften zur Geographie und Kartographie* vol. 18). Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien. Vienna.

²⁹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_European_exonyms

there are appropriate.^{30,31,32} For example, decades ago the dialect form of the generic element *ves* ‘village’ in toponyms was adjusted to *vas*, the standard Slovenian form. Nonetheless, the use of certain geographical names remains inconsistent (Table 2).

Table 2: Comparison of transcriptions of selected Slovenian endonyms in bilingual territory in Austrian Carinthia in various sources.

German name	Klemenčič, 1972 ³³	<i>Atlas Slovenije</i> , 1986 ³⁴	<i>Atlas Slovenije</i> , 2005 ³⁵	<i>Osnovna državna karta</i> , 2008 ³⁶	Internet ³⁷
Federaun (Oberfederaun)	Vetrov	Vetrov	Vetrov	Megrje	Vetrov
Mittewald	Na Dobrovi	Na Dobrovi	Na Dobravi	–	Na Dobravi
Outschena	Ovčena	Ovčena	Ovčna	Ovčna	Ovčena
Paßriach	Pozerje	Pazrije	Pazrije	Pazrije	Pazrije
Pudlach (Oberpudlach)	Zg. Podlaz	Zg. Podlaz	Zgornji Podlog	Zgornji Podlog	Zgornji Podlaz
St. Egyden	Št. Ilj	Št. Ilj	Šentilj	Šentilj	Šentilj
St. Kanzian am Klopeiner See	Škocijan	Škocijan	Škocijan	Škocjan v Podjuni	Škocijan v Podjuni
St. Michael	Šmihel	Šmihel	Šmihel pri Pliberku	Šmihel pri Pliberku	Šmihel
Wurdach	Brda	Brda	Vrdi	Vrdi	Vrdi
Zell-Pfarre	Sele Fara	Sele	Sele-Fara	Sele	Sele-Fara

Another extreme is represented by the isolated community of Resian Slovenians,³⁸ who live in a remote Alpine valley below the crags of Mount Kanin in the extreme northeastern part of Italy. Because of their isolation and difficult accessibility, the approximately 1,200 remaining inhabitants have gradually developed the Resian dialect to such a degree that other Slovenians understand it only with difficulty. Recently Resian has even acquired its own alphabet with special characters. Some characterize Resian as an independent language,^{39,40,41}

³⁰ *Dvojezična Koroška – Seznam dvojezičnih krajevnih imen južne Koroške = Zweisprachiges Kärnten – Zweisprachiges Ortsverzeichnis von Südkärnten* (Bilingual Carinthia: A List of Bilingual Place Names in Southern Carinthia). Mohorjeva založba/Hermagoras-Verlag. Klagenfurt, 1982.

³¹ Zdovc, P. 1993: *Slovenska krajevna imena na avstrijskem Koroškem: pisava, izgovorjava in naglas, vezava in sklanjatev ter izpeljava slovenskih koroških krajevnih imen* (Slovenian Place Names in Austrian Carinthia: Written Form, Pronunciation and Accent, Case Government and Declension, and Derivation of Slovenian Carinthian Place Names). Slovenski znanstveni inštitut. Klagenfurt.

³² Zdovc, P. 2008: *Slovenska krajevna imena na avstrijskem Koroškem* (Slovenian Place Names in Austrian Carinthia). Drava. Klagenfurt.

³³ Klemenčič, V. 1972: *Koroška – Karta in imenik slovenskih in nemških krajevnih imen = Kärnten – Landkarte und Ortschaftsverzeichnis mit slowenischen und deutschen Ortsnamen* (Carinthia: Map and Gazetteer of Slovenian and German Place Names). Založba Obzorja. Maribor.

³⁴ *Atlas Slovenije* (Slovenian Atlas), 1st ed. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana, 1986.

³⁵ *Atlas Slovenije* (Slovenian Atlas), 4th ed. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana, 2005.

³⁶ Furlan, M., Gložančev, A., Kladnik, D., Perko, D., Šivic-Dular, A. 2008: *Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000* (Gazetteer of the 1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). In: *Državna pregledna karta Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000* (1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Geodetski inštitut Slovenije. Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana.

³⁷ Internet: <http://james.at/zweisprachig/a-d.php>

³⁸ Matičetov, M., Pahor, M. 1996: Rezijani (Resians). *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, volume 10. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

³⁹ Steenwijk, H. 1992: *The Slovene Dialect of Resia*. Amsterdam.

⁴⁰ Vermeer, W. 1993: L'origine delle differenze locali nei sistemi localici del Resiano (The Origin of Local Differences in the Place Names of Resia). In: *Fondamenti per una gramatica pratica resiana* (Principles of a Practical Grammar of Resian). CLEUP. Padua.

⁴¹ Steenwijk, H. 2005: *Piccolo dizionario ortografico resiano = Mali bisidnik za tö jošť rozajanskě pisanjě*. (Small Normative Dictionary of Resian) CLEUP. Padua.

whereas the law on the protection of the Slovenian minority in Friuli-Venezia Giulia (adopted by the regional council in October 2007) includes Resian among the Slovenian dialects.⁴² There is also an extensive composite volume advocating its classification as a Slovenian dialect.⁴³ This lack of expert consensus, which is being exploited by nationalists and has made its way among the minority representatives, is the reason for the very low degree of uniformity in writing these geographical names (Table 3). The Slovenian professional community is currently still inclined to transcribe these names using standard Slovenian characters, but because of all of their special features it allows deviation from the current norms of standard Slovenian.

Table 3: Comparison of transcriptions of selected Slovenian endonyms in the Resia Valley, Italy in various sources.

Italian name	Medved, 1974 ⁴⁴	<i>Enciklopedija Slovenije</i> , 1996 ⁴⁵	<i>Osnovna državna karta</i> , 2008 ⁴⁶	Internet ⁴⁷
Coritis	Korito	Korīto	Korito	Korīto
Gniva	Njiva	Njīwa	Njiva	Njiva
Lischiazze	Lisenek	Liščāca	Liščace	Liščāca
Oseacco	Osojani	Osoanē	Osojani	Osoane
Prato di Resia	Ravnica	Ravanca	Ravanca	Ravanca
Resiutta	Na Bili	Bila	Na Bili	Na Bili
San Giorgio	V Bili	Bila	V Bili	Bila
Stolvizza	Solbica	Solbica	Solbica	Solbica

⁴² http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialetto_resiano

⁴³ Toporišič, J., Paternu, B. (ed.) 2008: *Resiano: un dialetto sloveno* (Resian: A Slovenian Dialect). Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti. Ljubljana.

⁴⁴ Medved, J. 1974: *Zemljevid z italijanskimi in slovenskimi krajevnimi imeni v Furlaniji, Benečiji in Julijski krajini = Carta dei nomi geografici con forma italiana e slovena nei Friuli-Venezia Giulia* (Map with Italian and Slovenian Place Names in Friuli-Venezia Giulia). Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

⁴⁵ Ferenc, T. 1996: Rezija (Resia). Enciklopedija Slovenije, volume 10. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

⁴⁶ Furlan, M., Gložančev, A., Kladnik, D., Perko, D., Šivic-Dular, A. 2008: Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000 (Gazetteer of the 1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). In: Državna pregledna karta Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000 (1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Geodetski inštitut Slovenije. Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana.

⁴⁷ Internet: <http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resia>

Considerable lack of uniformity is also evident in the case of transcriptions of place names in Venetian Slovenia⁴⁸ (Table 4). Because Venetian Slovenia was continuously under the administration of the Republic of Venice and later Italy, certain special features have developed in the language. This is the reason that deviations from the modern norms of standard Slovenian are also allowed in this dialect – for example, the spellings *bardo* and *varh* instead of *brdo* ‘hill’ and *vrh* ‘peak’. It is therefore understandable that the transcriptions of the names of certain settlements have been continually changing, whereas the transcriptions of others, such as *Tavorjana* (Italian Torreano), are more stable. Most recently, an initiative has surfaced among Italian nationalists to treat the Venetian Slovenian dialect as a special category separate from the uniform protection of the Slovenian linguistic community in Italy.

Table 4: Comparison of transcriptions of selected Slovenian endonyms in Venetian Slovenia, Italy in various sources.

Italian name	Medved, 1974 ⁴⁹	<i>Enciklopedija Slovenije</i> , 1996 ⁵⁰	1:25,000, 1996–1999 ⁵¹	<i>Osnovna državna karta</i> , 2008 ⁵²	Internet ⁵³
Canalutto	Kanalič	Skrile	Skrile	–	Skrila
Canebola	Čenebola	Čenebola	Čenebola	Čanebola	Čanebola
Cepletischis	Ceplesišča	Čeplesišče	Čeplesišče	Čeplesišče	Čeplesišče
Cosizza	Kozca	Kozica	Kozica	Kozica	Kosca
Grimacco	Grmək	Grmek	Grimako	–	Garmak
Masarolis	Mažerole	Mažerole	Mažerole	Mažerole	Mažeruola
Montefosca	Črni vrh	Črni Vrh	Črni Vrh	Črni Vrh	Čarni Varh
Platischis	Plestišča	Platišče	Plestišča	Plestišča	Plestišče
Ponteacco	Petjag	Petjag	Petjak	Petjag	Petjag
Prosenicco	Prosnid	Prosnid	Prosnid	Prosnid	Prosnid
San Pietro al Natisone	Špeter Slovenov	Špeter Slovenov	Špeter	Špeter Slovenov	Špietar
Savogna	Sovodnje	Sovodnje	Sovodnje	Sovodnja	Sauodnja
Severinaz	Zverinac	Zaverinac	Zaverinac	–	Zverinac
Stregna	Srednje	Srednje	Srednje	Srednje	Srednje
Torreano	Tavorjana	Tavorjana	Tavorjana	Tavorjana	Tavorjana

⁴⁸ Bufon, M., Jeri, J. 1987: Beneška Slovenija (Venetian Slovenia). *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, volume 1. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

⁴⁹ Medved, J. 1974: *Zemljevid z italijanskimi in slovenskimi krajevnimi imeni v Furlaniji, Benečiji in Julijski krajini = Carta dei nomi geografici con forma italiana e slovena nei Friuli-Venezia Giulia* (Map with Italian and Slovenian Place Names in Friuli-Venezia Giulia). Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

⁵⁰ Bufon, M., Jeri, J. 1987: Beneška Slovenija (Venetian Slovenia). *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, volume 1. Mladinska knjiga. Ljubljana.

⁵¹ *Državna topografska karta Republike Slovenije 1:25.000* (1:25,000 National Topographic Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Inštitut za geodezijo in fotogrametrijo FGG, Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana, 1996–1999. Sections: Breginj 064, Bovec 065, Logje 087, Kobarid 088, Tolmin 089, Neblo 107, Anhovo 108.

⁵² Furlan, M., Gložančev, A., Kladnik, D., Perko, D., Šivic-Dular, A. 2008: Imenik zemljepisnih imen Državne pregledne karte Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000 (Gazetteer of the 1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). In: *Državna pregledna karta Republike Slovenije v merilu 1:250.000* (1:250,000 National General Map of the Republic of Slovenia). Geodetski inštitut Slovenije. Geodetska uprava Republike Slovenije. Ljubljana.

⁵³ Internet: http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavia_veneta