# Croatian external relations as reflected by the use of exonyms

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**ABSTRACT:** Departing from the assumption that exonyms, in the sense of »names used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is spoken and differing in its form from the name used in an official or well-established language of the area where the geographical feature is situated« (UN Glossary definition 2007), are indicators of external historical as well as current political, cultural, and economic relations of a community, the article investigates the case of Croatian exonyms as documented by the recently published editions of Ivana Crljenko (2016, 2018). For comparison, (Austrian-)German, Hungarian and Italian exonyms are also examined in this respect. In essence, the assumption is found to also be confirmed by the Croatian case, although several linguistic factors distort the picture. The article also reveals the weaknesses of the current UN Glossary definitions of the terms »exonym« and »endonym«.

**Keywords:** *exonyms; Croatian; (Austrian-)German; Hungarian; Italian; UNGEGN*

## 1. Introduction

It is the intention of this article to demonstrate by the example of Croatian exonyms that exonyms are, in contrast to endonyms, not symbols of appropriation and territorial claims but indicate the network of external relations of a given community (see Jordan 2019).

The article departs from the definitions of the United Nations Glossary that specify an exonym as a »name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is spoken and differing in its form from the name used in an official or well-established language of the area where the geographical feature is situated« and an endonym as a »name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is situated«. (Kadmon 2007: 2)

*Beč* is thus the Croatian exonym for the German endonym *Wien, Croatia* the English exonym for the Croatian endonym *Hrvatska*. The endonym is the norm,

the exonym the exception. Only a relatively small number of geographical features are distinguished by an exonym.

Differentiation between endonym and exonym is, however, not as clear-cut as these definitions may suggest. In many cases, where a small difference between endonym and exonym occurs in writing, e.g. by the omission or the addition of diacritics, the exchange of a letter or the addition of a vowel or a grammatical ending, this was done with the intention to reflect the original pronunciation, the endophone, as good as possible. A deviation from the endonym was not intended to create. To the contrary: had the endonym not been adapted to the orthography of the receiver language, this would have resulted in a pronunciation much more different from the endophone in the receiver community. A case in point is the historical Croatian way of spelling the Romanian endonym *Câmpolung* as *Kimpolung*. Had the *C* not been replaced by a *K* and the *â* by an *i,* Croatian-speakers would pronounce the name differently from the endophone. Thus, creating an exonym in writing according to the UN Glossary can result in achieving an endophone in pronunciation and vice versa.

A next step in deviation from the endonym in writing is the addition of a vowel or a grammatical ending as practised in Italian, an *a* is added to the German endonym *Bern* (resulting in *Berna*) to conform to Italian naming habits, or in Latvian, when Dutch *Gent* is written as *Gente.*

Another deviation from the endonym in writing is, of course, the conversion of scripts. This is regarded by the United Nations Glossary as not creating exonyms.

Linguists like Jarno Raukko (2007), Peeter Päll (2000, 2011, 2014, 2015; Päll, Matthews 2007), Ojārs Bušs (2014, 2015, 2016) and Philip Matthews (2014; Päll, Matthews 2007) conclude from these adaptations to the receiver language in writing that it would be necessary to discern between linguistically avoidable and unavoidable transformations of the endonym, when it is used by speakers of another language. Accordingly, they proposed to regard names resulting from linguistically unavoidable transformations not as exonyms, at least not in the full sense. Peeter Päll, for example, proposed a new terminology discerning between endonyms (e.g. *Москва*), endonymoids by conversion of scripts (e.g. *Moskva*) or adapting name endings (e.g. *Stokholma* or *Stockholma*), exonyms (e.g. *Moscow*), and exonymoids by translation of generic terms, omission or alteration of diacritical marks, declension or derivation (Päll 2011: 92). Päll and other linguists would regard endonym and exonym not as strictly opposed, but as the two ends of a gradual transition, in which »exonymity« gains at the expense of »endonymity«. From a cultural-geographical perspective, however, an endonym is the name used and accepted by the local community with specific functions in mediating between inhabitants and geographical space (see Jordan 2019). The local community will perceive already the

slightest deviation from their name in spelling as alienating it, as creating a name version used by others, not by themselves, as an exonym. Likewise, the slightest adaptation of a name to the receiver language already shows the attempt of a receiver community to integrate the foreign feature designed by this name into their cultural sphere and to avoid its exclusion and alienation — this is the most important function of exonyms according to Otto Back (2002).

Lists of exonyms and their comparison make the problem of concepts and definitions of endonym and exonym visible as if under a magnifying glass. Concepts and definitions were always intensively debated, and the two compromises achieved in 2002 and 2007 as documented by the UN Glossary were never considered as satisfying. Immediately after the 2007 definitions had been decided, the discussion on them was resumed, but they were finally confirmed in 2014, because no agreement on new proposals could be achieved (see Jordan, Bergmann, Burgess and Cheetham 2011; Jordan, Woodman 2014; Jordan, Woodman 2015).

The UN Glossary definitions of 2007 are closer to the cultural-geographical than to the linguistic perspective, but validate language and officiality as criteria for the endonym/exonym divide and count script conversion not as creating exonyms, which a pure cultural-geographical classification would not do. However, since the four lists of exonyms on which this article is based apply them with exceptions and no other generally accepted definitions exist, this article also has to accommodate to the definitions of exonym and endonym as formulated by the UN Glossary.

Before examining exonyms as indicating the external relations of a human community, it has, however, also to be admitted that there exist linguistic and feature--related factors favouring or disfavouring the creation of exonyms in the sense of the UN Glossary definitions and thus distorting the function of exonyms to be verified here.

(1) The use of exonyms is favoured, if

    (a)   a certain name is difficult to pronounce by speakers of the receiver language. Examples: Polish *Wrocław* compared to Polish *Lublin* for German--speakers.

    (b)   intrinsic requirements of a receiver language's grammar result in deviations from the endonym in writing. Example: the German exonym *Sankt Petersburg* for the Russian endonym *Sankt-Peterburg*.

    (c)   pronunciation rules of a receiver language require orthographic modification of the endonym to conform to the endophone. Example: historical Croatian name *Kartagena* for the Spanish endonym *Cartagena*.

    (d)   the endonym is written in a different script. Although pure script conversion is not conceived as creating exonyms according to the UN Glossary,

it already entails some alienation of the endonym, and using an exonym in the sense of the UN Glossary is only a small step further. Example: the German exonym *Moskau* for the Russian-Cyrillic endonym *Москва*.

(e) the endonym is borrowed from another language and just formally adapted to the endonym language. This may provoke the receiver language to create its own deviation from the original. Example: the German exonym *Syrakus* for the Italian endonym *Siracusa,* which, however, has its origin in Greek.

(f) a feature crosses community boundaries, has for this reason several endonyms, and the receiver language needs a common name for the feature. Example: the English exonym *Adriatic Sea* for the endonyms *Jadransko more* (Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Serbian), *Jadransko morje* (Slovenian), *Mare Adriatico* (Italian), *Deti Adriatik* (Albanian).

(2) The use of exonyms is disfavoured, if

(a) receiver language speakers are well-acquainted with a donor language due to its trade language function;

(b) the donor language has a high prestige;

(c) the exonym is borrowed from another language and just formally adapted to the exonym language. Example: the German exonym *Adrianopel* with its Greek origin has been abandoned in favour of the Turkish endonym *Edirne*.

(3) A factor with ambivalent effects is the close linguistic relation between donor and receiver language. This may either prevent the creation of exonyms, because the endonym is easily readable and pronounceable by the receiver-language speaker (e.g. Slovenian *Gorica* for Croatians). But it may also result in the contrary, because it needs just another diacritic, another character or another article to totally conform to the receiver language, while it does not conform anymore to the UN definition of the endonym then (e.g. Slovenian *Celovec* transformed to Croatian *Celovac*).

But apart from these distortions, it can be assumed that exonyms have been formed and maintained for geographical features to which a community was and is closely related in economic, cultural, and political terms, resulting in a frequent use of their names. They therefore need to be easily and safely pronounced, to be easily memorised. The spatial pattern of exonym use reflects the historical and current political, cultural and economic relations of a community.

## 2. Methodological approach

As already indicated, this treatise will try to verify this assumption by the spread of Croatian exonyms but will first, for comparison, test it by the examples of (Austrian-)German, Hungarian and Italian exonyms. It refers to the following works of both receptive/descriptive and normative character as sources:

- Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO) (ed.) (2012), Empfehlungen zur Schreibung geographischer Namen in österreichischen Bildungsmedien. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

- Dutkó, András (2007), List of Hungarian exonyms. Paper presented at the 5th Meeting of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms, Prague 16–18 May 2007.

- Toniolo, Sandro (2002), Main Italian exonyms for European geographical elements. Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Berlin, 27 August – 5 September 2002, E/CONF.94/CRF 63.

- Crljenko, Ivana (ed.) (2018), Hrvatski egzonimi II. Popis suvremenih i povijesnih egzonima. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža.

The choice of the three other cases as compared to the Croatian is guided by focusing on cases in close neighbourhood, but with as much as possible different linguistic, cultural, historical, and political backgrounds, resulting also in rather divergent external relations and, in consequence, exonym patterns. In effect, exonyms of four linguistic communities are compared, of which one belongs to the Ural family (Hungarian) and three to the Indo-European family, but to three different groups, i.e., the Slavic, Romance, and Germanic. The differences in cultural, historical, and political backgrounds will be explained with the individual cases.

The Austrian list (AKO 2012) represents recommendations by the Austrian Board on Geographical Names, i.e., the Austrian expert committee for the standardisation of geographical names closely cooperating with the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN), for the rendering of exonyms in Austrian school atlases and other educational media, with the intention to also have an impact on media in general. It draws from the selection of geographical features represented in Austrian geographical school atlases (a feature has to be represented at least in the largest scale of an atlas to be eligible for the list) and is based on the body of exonym knowledge typical for a better-educated segment of society. The list is thus receptive on the one hand, but has also the normative attitude of recommending well-established and popular exonyms for further use.

The list of Hungarian exonyms elaborated by the Hungarian Board on Geographical Names (Dutkó 2007) and the gazetteer of Italian exonyms elaborated and published by Sandro Toniolo (2002) have in principle the same character and attitude.

This is in general also true for the list of Croatian exonyms edited by Ivana Crljenko and published by The Institute of Lexicography in Zagreb in two volumes (Crljenko 2016, 2018). There is, however, a not unimportant difference between the Croatian and the other sources in obtaining the corpus of exonyms: while the Austrian, Hungarian, and Italian lists refer to recent geographical school atlases (not historical atlases!) as the only kind of sources (drawing names from the largest-scale map of a region they contain), the Croatian list draws from a large variety of sources including encyclopedias and lexica. This results in Croatian exonyms being recorded for very specific features like ancient excavation sites.

Another difference between the Croatian and the Austrian on the one hand and the two others on the other is discerning between exonyms in current use and exonyms declining in use or having gone out of use.

When comparing the four cases with reference to the assumption that exonyms have been formed and maintained for features to which a community was and/or is closely connected in economic, cultural and political terms, only exonyms for populated places, not for natural features, continents, countries, historical-cultural landscapes, and administrative units have been taken into account. This has been practiced for the following reasons:

(1) Natural features are usually and traditionally referred to by many exonyms, since

- they are frequently transboundary features (rivers, mountain ranges, seas) and thus favour the use of exonyms;

- their names are frequently composed of a proprial and a generic term, and the generic term can easily be translated into the receiver language, creating an exonym in the sense of the UN Glossary;

- they are regarded as a common property of humankind rather than of a specific culture and thus as linguistically rather disponible.

(2) Continents and countries are the most prominent features and referred to by exonyms even by the most distant communities.

(3) Historical-cultural landscapes like Dalmatia [Dalmacija][1] or Slavonia [Slavonija] are spatially not as evenly distributed to result in a representative pattern.

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[1]  In this article, an exonym for features other than countries and transboundary features appears with the corresponding endonym in rectangular brackets, when it is first mentioned.

(4) Administrative units like lands, provinces, districts, or communes bear names partly of a rather technical nature not easily transformed into exonyms. Depending on the character of these names (varying from country to country), these features are partly referred to by exonyms, partly not, resulting in an inconsistent and not really appropriate pattern, when this should indicate the network of a community's external relations.

It would thus distort the aim of this research if it included names of all feature categories. Confining it to names of populated places means to refer to name categories that reflect most precisely the issue of political, cultural, and economic relations.

The case studies are confined to Europe in the most conventional sense, i.e., in the sense of the western part of the Eurasian continent, in the East delimited by the line Ural Mountains – Ural River – Caspian Sea – Caucasus – Black Sea – Bosporus [İstanbul Boğazı] – Dardanelles [Çanakkale boğazı], including Cyprus.

What makes the evaluation of the four lists and their comparison additionally tricky is the fact that they comprise some (and not a few) names used by autochthonous minorities and thus »used in an official or well-established language of the area where the geographical feature is situated« (Kadmon 2007: 2). In consequence, they do not comply to the UN Glossary definition of the exonym. This can in the Hungarian and Italian cases be partly attributed to their publication before the new UN Glossary definitions were passed, in all cases to on-going changes regarding the officiality of minority names. Names in these sources corresponding to locally official names at the time of writing this article (end of 2020) were not included into the comparison, because they were obviously endonyms.

It was, however, much more difficult to decide whether a name is used in a non-official, but well-established language. Where the relevant languages are spoken by a significant minority — such as Hungarian in the Szekler Land [Ținutul Secuiesc/Székelyföld], in western parts of Romania, or in southern Slovakia — and are therefore without any doubt well-established, corresponding names in the sources were not included into the comparison. Where these languages are today only spoken by a tiny minority, like German in some Romanian areas or in the Bratislava region, German names were regarded as endonyms when German names are today also official (like in Romania), but regarded as exonyms in all other cases (like in the Bratislava region).

## 3. The three cases used for comparison

### 3.1. (Austrian-)German exonyms (Fig. 1)

It deserves to be mentioned in advance that the use of German exonyms differs considerably within the German-speaking area. German is a polycentric language, and the German-speaking area is composed of parts with a rather divergent history, was and is under different rule with different spheres of political and economic action and interests having resulted and still resulting in different external relations. What adds to this are divergent neighbourhood contacts due to spatial vicinity, as they are also reflected by map scales in geographical school atlases. They are larger for the neighbourhood of a country, portraying a larger number of places known primarily by their exonyms at the other side of the border.

The difference between (German) exonym use in Austria and Germany is most impressive related to German exonyms for places in Slovenia. While the Austrian pattern of exonyms is dense there, because small places just beyond the border are also well-known (by their exonym) at least at the Austrian side of the border, exonym use in Germany shows as a blank space for all populated places in Slovenia, with not even its capital Ljubljana »honoured« by an exonym. A list of German exonyms common to all parts of the German-speaking area will accordingly be rather short, should it ever see the light of the day.

The spatial spread of German exonyms used in Austria for populated places in Europe as shown by Figure 1 differentiates — as already mentioned — between exonyms in current use (full black dots) and historical exonyms less used in current contexts (grey circles).

The Austrian list, however, also comprises a category admitting the alternative of an exonym to be used or not, depending on the context. A case in point is *Pressburg,* the exonym for Bratislava. It was classified as to be used optionally, since the use of *Bratislava,* the endonym, is gaining ground especially in the city's Austrian neighbourhood, while educational media still cultivate the exonym. This optional category added to the exonyms in current use is in Figure 1, and not differentiated from them graphically. *Agram,* the German exonym for Zagreb, however, is classified as out of current use and just historical, although the Austrian embassy in Zagreb is still titled *Österreichische Botschaft in Agram.*

**Figure 1.** (Austrian-)German exonyms for populated places in Europe
(Author's draft according to AKO 2012)

The spatial spread of (Austrian-)German exonyms primarily reflects the former German settlement or political domination, especially of the former Habsburg lands with a larger share of German-speakers up to World War II — what is today Czechia, Slovakia, Polish Silesia [Śląsk] and Slovenia — secondly also outside the former Habsburg lands, e.g. in present-day Poland or Russia's Kaliningrad region, the northern part of formerly German-settled Prussia. This corresponds to historical relations still highlighted in the teaching of history, but also to later political and economic relations that continued even in times of the Iron Curtain and had a revival after its fall. It cannot be denied that using these exonyms has also a touch of nostalgia, of commemorating »a glorious common past«, but — except for tiny groups — nothing of political claims. The fading away of exonyms for places along the eastern Adriatic coast is mainly due to their Italian origin and the exodus of Italians at the end of World War II depriving the names of their former legitimation of being the names of the locally dominant language. The decline in use also of exonyms for the Croatian interior can simply be explained by the disappearance of the German

element in cities and towns and by the replacement of administrative by labour migrant relations after World War I and World War II, respectively.

The relatively low density of exonyms in the territories of the former Hungarian Kingdom including current Romanian lands inside the Carpathian arc, up to 1918/19 part of the dual Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, is mainly due to the fact that most German names there are still endonyms, since they are locally official or at least corresponding to the language of a substantial minority.

Another cluster of German exonyms outlines the eastern border regions of France, Alsace and Lorraine, also due to former German settlement and political domination, although it is questionable whether the names of the still existing Aleman minority in Alsace like *Straßburg* or *Weißenburg* can be qualified as exonyms. This western exonym cluster continues in the North in Belgium, which was under the title »Austrian Netherlands« a Habsburg land for almost a century (XVIII). (Austrian-)German exonyms for populated places in the French part of Switzerland (Suisse romande), however, are obviously in decline, which may be different among Swiss German-speakers.

By far lower in density, but still remarkable is the spread of German exonyms over East-Central Europe in general as well as over South-East Europe and Italy, especially northern Italy. These were the main directions of political, trade, and cultural interests and relations of German-speaking countries and powers for many centuries. As regards Greece, its ancient sites with their importance for European culture and history are also relevant.

What strikes is that the British Isles, France, and the Iberian Peninsula are with the exceptions of *Nizza [Nice]* and *Lissabon [Lisboa]* not covered by German exonyms. This cannot be explained by a lack of relations, rather by the fact that most of these languages (certainly English, French, Spanish) are prestigious among German-speakers and frequently known as trade languages.

### 3.2. Hungarian exonyms (Fig. 2)

The spatial spread of Hungarian exonyms clearly shows the extent of the former Hungarian Kingdom, reduced by two thirds by the Treaty of Trianon (1920). Hungarian names for populated places in these territories are in Figure 2, however, classified only as exonyms, if they are not official and are not used by a substantial number of local Hungarian-speakers. Thus, regions that have retained relatively large Hungarian minorities, like southern Slovakia, Ukrainian Transcarpathia [Zakarpattja], Romania inside the Carpathian arc, the Serbian Voivodina [Vojvodina], the Croatian Baranja, the Slovenian Prekmurje, and the Austrian Burgenland, are

only partly covered by black dots, if at all. The use of exonyms for places of the former Hungarian Kingdom is based on close relations up to the present day, but also expresses a kind of nostalgia, even more than in the Austrian case. Hungarian exonyms for these places appear even on road signs along motorways, in the first position.



**Figure 2.** Hungarian exonyms for populated places in Europe
(Author's draft according to Dutkó 2007)

Another pattern — much less significant, however — reflects the (historically) most important trade routes for Hungary: from the Pannonian Basin across the Adelsberg Gate [Postojnska vrata] or the Gorski kotar to the upper Adriatic; across former Upper Hungary, today Slovakia, and the Carpathians through southern Poland (Krakkó [Kraków], Boroszló [Wrocław]) to Saxony [Sachsen] (Lipcse [Leipzig]) and the lands along the lower Rhine.

Hungarian exonyms, too, are rare for places on the British Isles, in France and on the Iberian Peninsula for the same reasons as explained with German exonyms.

### 3.3. Italian exonyms (Fig. 3)

Regarding the spatial spread of Italian exonyms, two aspects are most characteristic: their crowding along the eastern coast of the Adriatic as well as in the Ionian and Aegean space; and their high density in German-speaking and adjacent areas (especially Belgium, but also the Netherlands and Bohemia [Čechy]).



**Figure 3.** Italian exonyms for populated places in Europe (Author's draft according to Toniolo 2002)

Their crowding along the eastern coast of the Adriatic as well as in the Ionian and Aegean space is mainly the heritage of Venice [Venezia]. During its expansion as a seafaring power well into the eastern part of the Mediterranean, it founded or incorporated many towns and trading posts, and gave them Venetian names that were later regarded as Italian. But also, after the end of Venice as a political power in 1797, Venetian/Italian names for these places were well-perpetuated. At first by Austria, which »inherited« the eastern Adriatic coast from Venice and did not substantially interfere into its ethno-social stratification. It saw Venetians, later called Italians, as the dominant group with their names (like *Ragusa [Dubrovnik], Spalato [Split], Cattaro [Kotor]*) as the most prestigious. Later, already since Italy's unification

between 1859 and 1870, but even more so after World War I and the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Italian national interests were very much focused on these regions including temporal Italian political transgressions (»mare nostro«), e.g. during World War II. Since Italians remained as a substantial minority only at Istria's [Istra] west coast, where their names also enjoy officiality, all Italian names for places southeast of it count as exonyms today and are represented as such on Figure 3.

The impressive density of Italian exonyms in German-speaking and adjacent areas can be explained historically as well as by current relations and linguistically. To start with the linguistic reason, it is the difficulty most Italian-speakers have in pronouncing many German names. This would, however, not be so much a problem, if these names would not frequently be needed due to close historical and current relations. Historically, northern parts of present-day Italy were for centuries part of the Holy Roman Empire, a political union with close internal trade relations. This union comprised all German-speaking countries and Belgium, the Netherlands and Bohemia. It is very telling in this context that all Nordic languages except Finnish use German exonyms for places in Italy. After World War II, Germany as well as the Benelux countries became privileged destinations of Italian labour migration and emigration.

The non-Italian speaking parts of Switzerland are a special case due to Switzerland's intensive internal relations and Italian being one of the three (four) official (national) languages at the federal level, while all these languages are locally official only where they are spoken by the local population following the territorial principle.

The high density of Italian exonyms compared to (Austrian-)German and Hungarian ones on the British Isles, in France, and on the Iberian Peninsula has, besides historical (Roman Empire, West Roman Empire, Frankish Empire), mainly linguistic reasons: characters of the original name provoking exophonic pronunciation in Italian are replaced by characters avoiding this (e.g. Italian *Valenza* for Spanish *Valencia*); transparent components of Romance names are translated (e.g. Italian *Palma di Mallorca* for Spanish *Palma de Mallorca*); the Italian habit to avoid ending a word by a consonant creates endonymoids in the sense of Peeter Päll 2011 (e.g. Italian *Edinburgo* for English *Edinburgh*). While all these adaptations to the receiver language correspond to the intention of preserving the endonym as much as possible, they escape the definition of the endonym by the UN Glossary.

## 4. Croatian exonyms

When turning finally to the Croatian case as the impetus for and focus of this article, we first widen the scope to the spread of Croatian exonyms for all kinds of

features (not only populated places) by European country, as represented by Figure 4 copied from Ivana Crljenko 2020. The exceptional number of Croatian exonyms in Greece can mainly be explained by the fact that Crljenko uses as sources also historical encyclopedias, lexica, and atlases with all their hints at ancient sites, and not only geographical school atlases with usually smaller-scale maps for Greece that can only show a certain selection.
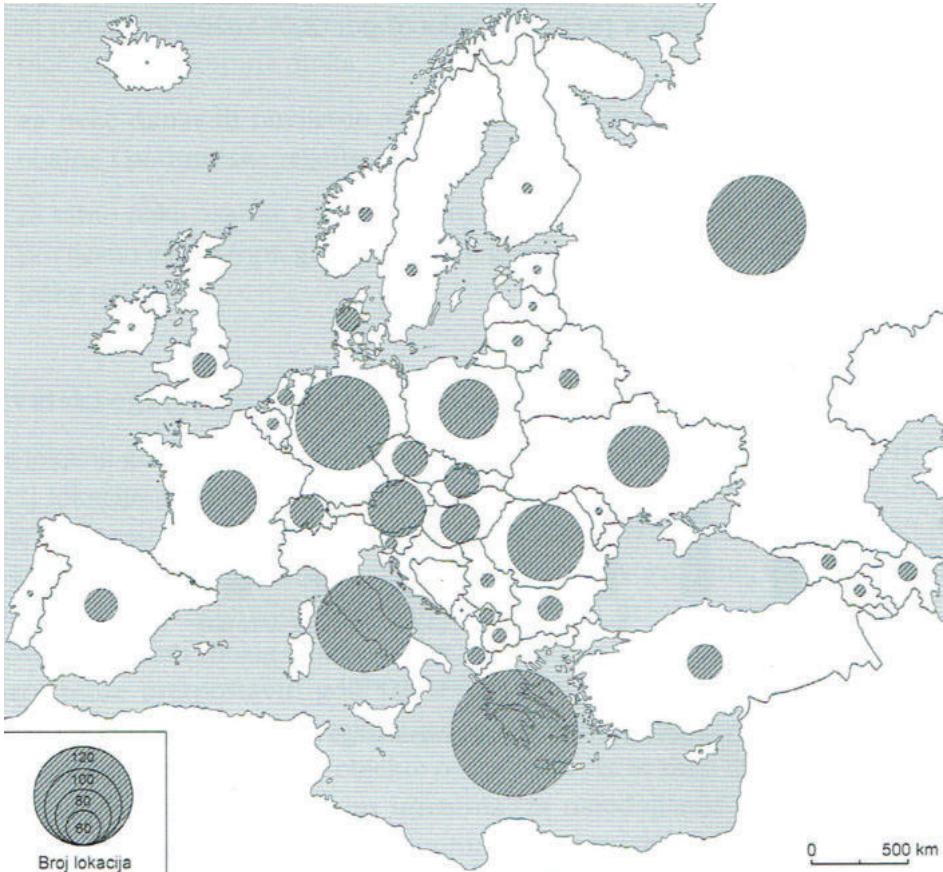


**Figure 4.** Croatian exonyms for all feature categories by European countries (Source: Crljenko 2020)

The large number of Croatian exonyms in Russia can be attributed to the fact that, in a large country with a lot of features, conversion of Slavic names from Russian-Cyrillic to Croatian orthography results in exonyms according to the UN Glossary, although they are near to endophones and would be classified as endonymoids by Peeter Päll (2011).

Otherwise, the pattern shown by Figure 4 corresponds to the findings that will be discussed related to exonyms of populated places represented by Figure 5.

Figure 5 presents Croatian exonyms just for populated places and is thus comparable with figures 1–3. Like the (Austrian-)German case, but different from the Hungarian and Italian cases, the list of exonyms taken as the source (Crljenko 2018) allows differentiation between exonyms in current use (full black dots) and historical exonyms in the sense exonyms to be found only in older sources (grey circles).

What becomes evident on first sight is that the use of Croatian exonyms has significantly declined. This is especially true for features in Romania, Poland, Czechia, and Slovakia. The decline, however, is mainly due to giving up orthographic adaptation to the receiver language: diacritics and special characters of the donor alphabet are not converted anymore. Romanian *Constanţa, Ploieşti,* and *Târgovişte* are now preserved in their original orthography, while they were written *Konstanca, Ploješti, Trgovište* in older Croatian sources; Polish *Gdańsk* is no longer transformed to *Gdanjsk; České Budějovice* remains in the Czech endonym version and is not transformed to *Budjejovice*; Slovakian *Banská Bystrica* is no longer adapted to *Banska Bistrica* in Croatian orthography.

Not much less affected by this kind of abandoning adaptation to Croatian orthography are names of Italian cities: *Bolonja* has changed to *Bologna, Mesina* to *Messina, Pistoja* to *Pistoia, Piza* to *Pisa, Tarent* to *Taranto,* and *Trident* to *Trento*. Thus, the abandoning of exonyms affects in the vast majority names that had never been exonyms in the full sense as understood by Peeter Päll (2011). It may be interpreted not so much as indicating a change of Croatian external relations than as conforming to the United Nations' call for reducing the use of exonyms as expressed by several UN resolutions of the 1970s and 1980s (see UNGEGN 2020).

In Italian and Austrian regions near the border to Slovenia, the Croatian language had earlier used Slovenian exonyms, or in several cases even Slovenian endonyms in the sense of the UN Glossary, i.e. names used by the local Slovenian minorities. They have, with a few exceptions, been replaced by Italian and German endonyms, respectively, i.e. by the endonyms of the locally dominant official languages. In most cases, this exceeds the abandoning of orthographic adaptations, of endonymoids, so the exonyms that have only recently become more widely used in their endonimic forms may be understood as a shift from defending Yugoslavian common interests towards Croatian self-reliance, a shift of external relations of the receiver language community. Others were replaced by endonyms even earlier. Cases in point are, in Italian border regions, the Slovenian name *Čedad* replaced by the Italian endonym *Cividale del Friuli*, Slovenian *Červignan* replaced by Italian *Cervignano del Friuli,* Slovenian *Gorica* by Italian *Gorizia,* Slovenian *Gradiška* by Italian

*Gradisca d'Isonzo,* Slovenian *Milje* by Italian *Muggia,* Slovenian *Videm* by Italian *Udine,* and Croatian *Tržić,* derived from Slovenian *Tržič,* by Italian *Monfalcone.* In Austrian border regions, Slovenian *Borovlje* has been replaced by German *Ferlach,* Croatian *Celovac,* derived from Slovenian *Celovec,* by German *Klagenfurt am Wörthersee,* Slovenian *Trg* by German *Feldkirchen in Kärnten,* Slovenian *Velikovec* by German *Völkermarkt,* and Croatian *Gradac,* derived from Slovenian *Gradec,* by German *Graz,* although *Graz* has the same Slavic roots. Only *Beljak* [Villach] and *Gospa Sveta* [Maria Saal] remained as lexically Croatian exonyms taken from local Slovenian names.

What is obvious also in Figure 5 is the exceptional density of Croatian exonyms in Greece due to the reasons already explained with Figure 4. More apparent than in the earlier figure is the density of Croatian exonyms in Ukraine, a country to which Croatia has no special relations. The explanation is that Croatian, like several other languages, conserves converted Russian name versions, which have lost official status after Ukraine's independence, and correspond in most cases to a locally well-established language. According to the UN Glossary, they would thus enjoy endonym status and regarding them as exonyms is not really justified.

In the area of the former Serbo-Croatian group of languages, exonyms — by orthographic adaptation — only occur when ijekavian Croatian deviates from an ekavian endonym like it is with *Srijemska Mitrovica* replacing the Serbian ekavian endonym version *Sremska Mitrovica.*

Apart from these rather linguistic factors, a certain spatial pattern is confirmed as regards Croatian exonyms in current use: the Pannonian Basin including the eastern part of Austria and the Adriatic space (including Albania) stand out. This pattern actually corresponds to Croatia's historical and also current network of relations: historical Croatia-Slavonia's inclusion into the Kingdom of Hungary and, more generally, its Central European orientation; the Croatian coast's inclusion into the Adriatic space from ancient times, but especially promoted by Venice.
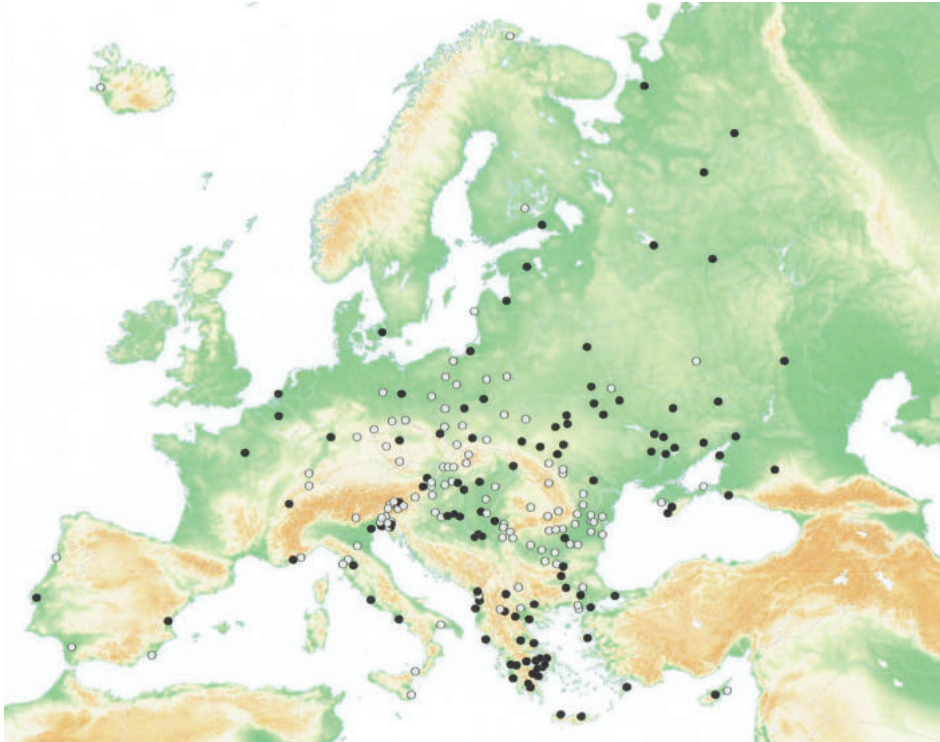
**Figure 5.** Croatian exonyms for populated places in Europe
(Author's draft according to Crljenko 2018)

What may surprise is the lack of exonyms for Germany and the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and also for the greatest part of Austria. This can be explained by the prestige of the German language in Croatia; by — in contrast to some other East-Central European Slavic-speakers — the lack of hesitation to use German widely; by — also in contrast to some other East-Central European Slavic-speakers — no historically-rooted mental reservations against German-speaking countries, since instead there exists a feeling of being allies; by a good command of German among many Croats due to a tradition of labour migration going back to the 1960s and many German-speaking tourists coming for vacations to Croatia, also from the 1960s onward. An additional explanation may be that Croatian labour migrants, like most labour migrants from other generating countries (see Gherghinescu 2014; Felecan 2021; Mácha 2021), behave culturally rather adaptively, which includes the use of place names they find and hear from locals.

The lack of Croatian exonyms for the Anglosphere, the Francosphere, and the Iberian Peninsula resembles the pattern of (Austrian-)German and Hungarian exonyms for very much the same reasons: their languages are prestigious and frequ-

ently learned as trade languages. With a few exceptions, current Croatian exonyms are just orthographic adaptations of the endonym to the Croatian language and thus endonymoids in the sense of Peeter Päll (2011): Croatian *Pariz* for the endonym *Paris,* Croatian *Ženeva* for the endonym *Genève,* Croatian *Kartagena* for the endonym *Cartagena.* Only *Nica* and *Lisabon* may count as »true« exonyms, since the first is derived from the Italian exonym *Nizza* and not from the French endonym *Nice,* and the second is derived from the German exonym *Lissabon,* and not from the Portuguese endonym *Lisboa.*

A good indicator for external relations is also the mediator language for some Croatian exonyms. It is German not only in the case of *Lisabon,* but also in the cases of, e.g. *Dorpat [Tartu], Kopenhagen [København],* and *Prag [Praha].* It is Hungarian in the cases of, e.g. *Beč [Wien]* and *Munkač [Mukačeve],* Slovenian in the cases of *Gradac [Graz]* and *Trst [Trieste],* and Italian (or rather Venetian) in the case of *Nikozija [Lefkosia/Lefkoşa].* Russian is the mediator language for most Croatian exonyms for features in Ukraine like *Kijev [Kiïv], Harkov [Harkiv]* or *Černobil [Čornobil'].*

## 5. Conclusions

The assumption that the spatial pattern of exonyms is largely influenced by historical and current political, cultural, and economic relations of the exonym-using community could in essence also be verified by the Croatian case. Even when distortions by linguistic factors like orthographic adaptations, the prestige of languages and the spread of trade languages are significant, the historical Croatian network in the Pannonian Basin as well as into the Adriatic space becomes obvious. Quite interesting is also the abandoning of using Slovenian minority names as Croatian exonyms in Italy and Austria along the Slovenian border, in some cases likely due to a change in relations after the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Much less apparent are the traditionally and currently strong Croatian relations to the German-speaking area, a fact that may be explained by asymmetry in language command and the strong impact of labor migration with its tendency towards adaptiveness.

What is also revealed by a study like this is how disputable the current definitions of the exonym and the endonym as given by the UN Glossary are. They neither satisfy the needs of a clear and practicable distinction between the two concepts as it would specifically be necessary when lists of exonyms are composed, nor do they clearly opt for one of the possible approaches, the linguistic on the one hand, or the sociological and cultural-geographical on the other. For this decision, it would be necessary to consider why the endonym/exonym divide is so critical and important, why it is the »great toponymic divide« as Paul Woodman (2012) calls it and arouses so much conflict and heated debates. Is it perhaps the attitude of persons, groups, and communiti-

es to regard defining their own name as a symbol of self-determination and identity and to refer to all kinds of deviations as not authoritative to the same extent?

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## ODRAZ HRVATSKIH VANJSKIH ODNOSA U UPOTREBI EGZONIMA

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**SAŽETAK:** Krećući od pretpostavke da su egzonimi, u smislu »riječi u uporabi u određenom jeziku za označavanje geografskih objekata smještenih izvan govornoga područja toga jezika te koje se oblikom razlikuju od imena korištenog u službenom ili ustaljenom jeziku područja gdje je geografski objekt smješten« (definicija UN-ova Glosara iz 2007) pokazatelji vanjskih povijesnih, kao i trenutačnih političkih, kulturnih i ekonomskih odnosa pojedine zajednice, članak istražuje slučaj hrvatskih egzonima zabilježenih u recentnim izdanjima Ivane Crljenko (2016, 2018). Za usporedbu, na isti se način razmatraju (austrijsko-)njemački, mađarski i talijanski egzonimi. U suštini, hrvatski slučaj potvrđuje pretpostavku, iako nekoliko lingvističkih čimbenika iskrivljuje sliku. U članku se usto otkrivaju slabosti definicije pojmova »egzonim« i »endonim« iz postojećega UN-ova Glosara.

**Ključne riječi:** *egzonimi; hrvatski; (austrijsko-)njemački; mađarski; talijanski; UNGEGN*