

## Familiarity with Slovenian Exonyms in the Professional Community

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### Abstract

As part of UNGEGN, experts on geographical names are continually striving to limit the use of exonyms, especially in international communication. However, this conflicts with the linguistic heritage of individual peoples as an important element of their cultural heritage. In order to obtain suitable points of departure to prepare the planned standardization of Slovenian exonyms, in the fall of 2010 we used an internet survey to conduct a study on their degree of familiarity among the Slovenian professional community, especially among geographers (teachers, researchers, and others) and linguists. The survey was kept brief for understandable reasons and contained four sets of questions. The first set applied to familiarity with the Slovenian exonyms for seventy European cities, the second to familiarity with the Slovenian exonyms for ten European islands and archipelagos, the third to familiarity with archaic Slovenian exonyms for ten European cities, and the fourth to the most frequently used forms for ten non-European cities with allonyms. We asked the participants to answer the questions off the top of their heads without relying on any kind of literature or browsing the web. We received 167 completed questionnaires and carefully analyzed them. Many of the participants had difficulty recognizing endonyms. A basic finding of the analysis was that the degree of familiarity with individual exonyms varies greatly.

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### 1. Introduction

As part of the project “Slovenian Exonyms: Methodology, Standardization, and GIS” at the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute, we determined the level of familiarity with names for foreign topographic items and features in Slovenian among the professional community. We hypothesize that the professional community, through its use of exonym variants of geographical names in school instruction and writing research articles, discussion articles, and amateur works, as well as in everyday conversations, has a significant influence on their familiarity and use among the general public in addition to the media, atlases, and various literature.

A specific cycle is typical in the use of exonyms: creation → used increasingly frequently → used frequently and generally → used increasingly less frequently (dying away) → archaic → forgotten. Not every exonym necessarily goes through each developmental stage, but each one is certainly in one of them.

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. 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, 12), and in modern Czech, for example, *Celovec* ‘Klagenfurt’, *Terbiž* ‘Tarvisio’, and *Brunšvik* ‘Braunschweig’ (Beránek *et al.*, 2006), and among the Slovenians formerly established exonyms that have fallen into disuse include *Kodanj* ‘Copenhagen’, *Kelmorajn* ‘Cologne’, *Monakovo* ‘Munich’, *Solnograd* ‘Salzburg’, *Inomost* ‘Innsbruck’, *Kraljevo* ‘Craiova’, and *Skoplje* ‘Skopje’, and little better fate appears to await the Slovenian exonyms *Čikago* ‘Chicago’, *Filadelfija* ‘Philadelphia’, *Milan* ‘Milan’, and *Turin* ‘Turin’. The last two names are still used by members of the Slovenian minority in neighboring parts of Italy.

## 2. Historical aspects of Slovenian exonym use

The Slovenian practice of nativizing geographical names through newspapers has a long tradition. The citation of Slovenian exonyms strengthened with the development of journalism at the transition between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The lack of normative rules at that time for the writing of proper nouns, and especially for names of foreign origin, means that the existence of variant written forms is not surprising; this is also manifested in the inconsistent use of capital letters. Slovenians gradually freed themselves from foreign-language influence and journalistic models, but variation nonetheless increased during the national awakenings in the mid-nineteenth century due to contacts with other Slavic languages and the diversity of written sources and writers (Orel, 2003, 35).

In Slovenian newspapers in the first half of the nineteenth century, foreign geographical names were either translated or, for a few names of foreign places or regions that were familiar and significant to Slovenians, existing Slovenian equivalents were used. Examples of foreign geographical names that were nativized early include *Beligrad* 'Belgrade', *Benedke/Mletci* 'Venice', *Blatograd* 'Moosburg, Austria', *Carigrad* 'Istanbul', *Dunej / Dunaj / Beč* 'Vienna', *Jakin* 'Ancona', *Kina* 'China', *Kopenhagen* 'Copenhagen', *Lashko* 'Italy', *Lipiza* 'Leipzig', *Lvov* 'Lviv', *Moshkovia* 'Moscow', *Niskozeška* 'the Netherlands', *Rajna* 'Rhine', *Rim* 'Rome', *Sedmograško* or *Erdeljsko* 'Transylvania', and *Solnigrad* 'Salzburg' (Kladnik, 2007b, 434).

For somewhat later journalism, phonetic adaptation to Slovenian was characteristic in both pronunciation and writing. Foreign names were completely or partially rewritten according to Slovenian pronunciation. Characteristic examples are *Bolonja* 'Bologna', *Brisel* 'Brussels', *Diseldorf* 'Düsseldorf', *Frankobrod* 'Frankfurt am Main', *Inšpruk* 'Innsbruck', *Kadix* 'Cadiz', *Kanterburi* 'Canterbury', *Korsika/Corsika* 'Corsica', *Liež* 'Liège', *Majnc* 'Mainz', *Savoja* 'Savoy', *Shvajz/Švajza* 'Switzerland', and *Vičenca* 'Vicenza'.

One encounters different spellings even when the same geographical names are cited in one newspaper. Perhaps the most striking example is the Czech city of Olomouc, which was written as *Olomovec*, *Golomovec*, *Olimüz*, *Olomuc*, *Holomuc*, and *Oljmiz*. Similar examples are *Horvaško / Hrovaško / Horvatsko* 'Croatia', *Estrajh / Austrijsko / Avstrija* 'Austria', and *Angleško / Engleško* 'England, Great Britain' (Kladnik, 2007b, 435).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Slovenian slowly and arduously made its way from being a colloquial language of uneducated people to a language used in administration, the judiciary, and education, and thus a language that also made scholarly creation possible. At that point the Slovenians also saw the publication of the first world atlas in Slovenian, which was issued in fascicles from 1869 to 1877. Altogether 18 maps were printed, portraying the entire world and parts of it. It was published by the Slovenian Society (Sln. *Matica Slovenska*), and it was edited by the lawyer and linguist Matej Cigale, who carried out pioneering work in nativizing geographical names.

Cigale created a linguistic policy through geographical names and at the same time placed Slovenian alongside other European languages in countries with a developed cartographic tradition. Because of the lack of examples in the sparse and incomplete professional literature of the time, his nativized names are the result of intellectual coinage, and not at all the result of uncritical borrowing from related publications. All of the maps together contain 4,178 Slovenian exonyms (Kladnik 2007a, 33).



Figure 1. Detail of a map of Spain and Portugal that was published in the sixth and final fascicle of Cigale's *Atlant* (Atlas, 1877).

The first Slovenian-language school atlas was also published around 1900. The editors of the geographical names were Simon Rutar and Fran Orožen (Rutar & Orožen, 1899). After this there were few atlases in Slovenian. One of the larger such atlases appeared in 1972, and the “golden age” of atlas publication began with the independence of Slovenia in 1991, when atlases literally started springing up like mushrooms after a rain. Because of the various editing concepts of the individual publications, neither the use of exonyms nor their spelling is consistent (figure 2).



Figure 2. The spelling of Slovenian exonyms differs considerably from map to map, which is clear from a comparison of Greece's Chalkidiki Peninsula in *Atlant* (Atlas, 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).



### 3. Methodology

As far as we know, related research on familiarity with and the dying away of exonyms has only been carried out in the Czech Republic (Boháč, 2007). In both its scope as well as its depth of investigation, it was significantly more modest. It was carried out by mail with questionnaires sent to the author's professional colleagues. The number of questionnaires is not cited. Although Boháč's article lacks scholarly rigor, the author did succeed in synthesizing certain findings, which we sum up in the following section.

In order to determine the degree of familiarity with Slovenian exonyms, we decided to carry out a web-based survey. In the initial phase of its preparation we anticipated eight sets of questions in order to obtain the most precise information possible. However, experience showed that such a questionnaire is time-consuming, and so we sought to shorten it because otherwise it would be difficult to obtain a satisfactory number of responses. In the final phase, we prepared four sets of questions:

- familiarity with the exonyms for European cities (70 names);
- familiarity with the exonyms for European islands and archipelagos (10 names);
- familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities (10 names);
- the most frequently used name forms for Asian cities with several allonymic variants (10 names).

We asked those that participated in the web-based survey to write the name that they normally use for a particular feature as precisely as possible, whether this is a Slovenian exonym or an endonym. We emphasized that we expected them to cite the names that they have “in their heads” without resorting to any kind of literature or web browsers. We gave them the opportunity to state that they were not familiar with a particular city or island, or that they were not familiar with it in the endonym form.

The survey was carried out at the end of September and in October 2010. We first tested the questionnaire among people working for the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute, then we made it public on the Geolista “geographical” electronic distribution list, and a week later on the Slovlit (Internet) linguistics discussion forum. It also circulated informally among geography students so that we also obtained insight into exonym familiarity among up-and-coming geographers.

The response was relatively good because about one-tenth of the approximately 1,600 users of both lists replied. We received 173 responses. Seven questionnaires were completely unusable because the respondents simply did not complete them or had done so with too little care.

### 4. A Czech study on exonyms

Pavel Boháč (2003) wrote about the gradual dying out of exonyms from Czech vocabulary. He says that in Czech there are several thousand exonyms, but the question nonetheless arises how many of them are actually known by people, how many of them are used in communication, and to what extent people are aware of their nature—that is, whether they differentiate them from endonyms at all—in speaking or writing.

He determined that young people especially do not differentiate between names such as *Trent* and *Taranto*, *Main* and *Mainz*, *Geneva* and *Genoa*, *Trier* and *Trieste*, and *Konstanz* and *Constanța* or even *Constantinople*; all of these names have Czech exonyms, which further impedes their correct understanding.

The analysis of familiarity included the names of all 53 cities that have Czech exonyms from among 175 various kinds of central European exonyms cited in a very widely used school atlas (assuming that in the past 15 to 20 years these names have not changed); that is, from Poland, Germany, Austria, the Benelux countries, northern Italy, Slovenia, and Hungary, as well as the French, Croatian, Serbian, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian periphery.

Respondents had to write the Czech exonym versions of the given endonyms as correctly as possible or, if they did not know them, to use a spelling of the name in the form they knew best. Based on the frequency of their citation and their normative correctness, Boháč categorized the spellings of the names into five categories of familiarity with exonyms: excellent (without normative errors), very good (with normative errors), average, poor, and none.

What did he determine (Boháč, 2007, 116–118)? Only 11 exonyms were ranked as excellent (e.g., *Basilej* ‘Basel’, *Drážďany* ‘Dresden’, and *Benátky* ‘Venice’), five as very good (e.g., *Bydhošť* ‘Bydgoszcz’, *Norimberk* ‘Nuremberg’, and *Túrin* ‘Turin’), 18 as average (e.g., *Cáchy* ‘Aachen’, *Debrecín* ‘Debrecen’, *Lublaň* ‘Ljubljana’, and *Curych* ‘Zürich’), 11 as poor (*Kluž* ‘Cluj-Napoca’, *Štýrský Hradec* ‘Graz’, and *Trident* ‘Trento’), and eight as none (e.g., *Celovec* ‘Klagenfurt’, *Lutych* ‘Liège’, *Miškovec* ‘Miskolc’, and *Roztoky* ‘Rostock’).

Boháč anticipates that in the near future certain exonyms will move from the average category to poor or even none, and that all of them in the excellent category may end up in the very good category, especially because there is a noticeable lack of them in the majority of Czech media.

### 5. Analysis of the survey on familiarity with Slovenian exonyms

After collecting the responses to the on-line questionnaire we carefully analyzed them. Unfortunately, the response was too small to ensure statistical significance, but it is nonetheless possible to make certain general observations based on the 166 complete questionnaires received. Some respondents responded only to individual sets of questions, and so the number of questions taken into account and analyzed differs for individual sets of questions. For the first set of questions 166 responses were taken into account, 163 for the second, 158 for the third, and 165 for the fourth. Details connected with individual geographical names are also very interesting.

Appropriate responses to all of the sets of questions posed were received from 157 respondents. Of these, 34 were geography teachers, 29 were research geographers, 36 were other geographers (students and geographers engaged in other professions), and 58 were not geographers. The greatest number of respondents were up to 31 years old, 44 were 31 to 40 years old, 30 were 41 to 50 years old, 19 were 51 to 60 years old, and six were over 60 years old (figure 3).

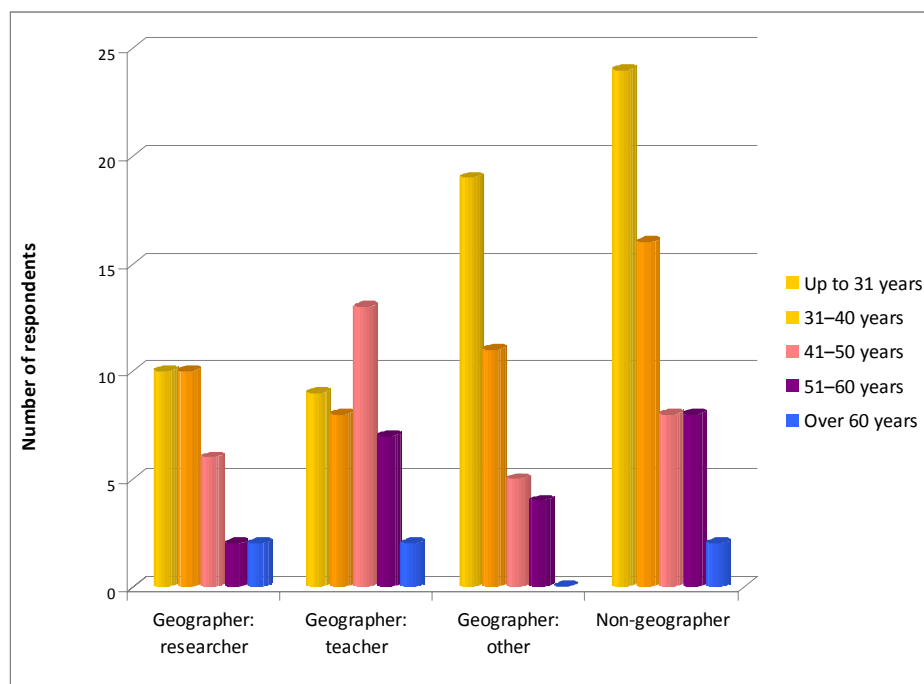


Figure 3. Professional composition of those surveyed by age.

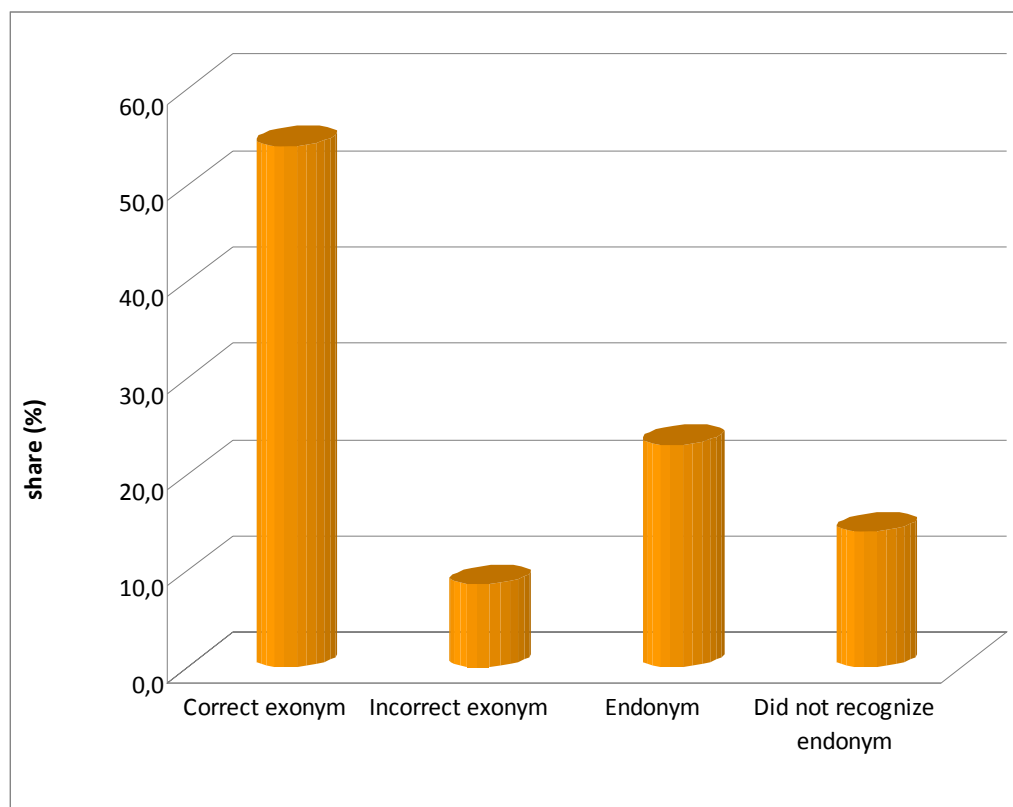
We sorted the individual responses into four basic categories: correct exonyms (if they were spelled completely correctly), improper exonyms (containing minor or major spelling mistakes, or if the wrong exonym was cited), endonyms (if endonyms were cited as the best-known form), and unknown names (if respondents were unable to determine which geographical name was meant).

### 5.1. Familiarity with exonyms for European cities

The first question investigated familiarity with exonyms for 70 carefully selected European cities from 31 countries: *Atene* ‘Athens’, *Banjaluka* ‘Banja Luka’, *Banska Bistrica* ‘Banská Bystrica’, *Beljak* ‘Villach’, *Benetke* ‘Venice’, *Bitolj* ‘Bitola’, *Brod na Kolpi* ‘Brod na Kupi’, *Breže* ‘Friesach’, *Brižinje/Brižinj* ‘Freising’, *Bruselj* ‘Brussels’, *Bukarešta* ‘Bucharest’, *Carigrad/Istanbul* ‘Istanbul’, *Čedad* ‘Cividale del Friuli’, *Česke Budějovice* ‘České Budějovice’, *Drač* ‘Durrës’, *Edinburg* ‘Edinburgh’, *Firence* ‘Florence’, *Frankfurt ob Majni / Frankfurt na Majni* ‘Frankfurt am Main’, *Gradec* ‘Graz’, *Haag* ‘The Hague’, *Harkov* ‘Kharkiv’, *Hercegnovi* ‘Herceg Novi’, *Humin/Gumin* ‘Gemona del Friuli’, *Janina* ‘Ioannina’, *Karlovec* ‘Karlovac’, *Karlovi Vari* ‘Karlovy Vary’, *Katovice* ‘Katowice’, *Kijev* ‘Kyiv’, *Kišinjev/Kišinjov* ‘Chişinău’, *Konstanca* ‘Constanța’, *Kopenhagen* ‘Copenhagen’, *Kordova* ‘Córdoba’, *Krakov* ‘Kraków’, *Lipnica* ‘Leibnitz’, *Lizbona* ‘Lisbon’, *Lodž* ‘Łódź’, *Lozana* ‘Lausanne’, *Luksemburg* ‘Luxembourg’, *Lurd* ‘Lourdes’, *Monošter* ‘Szentgotthárd’, *Nica* ‘Nice’, *Nikozija* ‘Nicosia’, *Pariz* ‘Paris’, *Patras* ‘Patras’, *Peč* ‘Pejë/Peć’, *Peč/Pečuh* ‘Pécs’, *Pirej* ‘Piraeus’, *Praga* ‘Prague’, *Priština* ‘Priština’, *Pulj* ‘Pula’, *Ravena* ‘Ravenna’, *Reka* ‘Rijeka’, *Sankt Peterburg* ‘Saint Petersburg’, *Sisek* ‘Sisak’, *Skader* ‘Shkodër’, *Šmohor* ‘Hermagor’, *Solun* ‘Thessaloniki’, *Sombotel* ‘Szombathely’, *Talin* ‘Tallinn’, *Temišvar* ‘Timișoara’, *Tirana* ‘Tirana’, *Trident* ‘Trent’, *Turin* ‘Turin’, *Varšava* ‘Warsaw’, *Videm/Viden* ‘Udine’, *Vilna* ‘Vilnius’, *Vroclav* ‘Wrocław’, *Železno* ‘Eisenstadt’, and *Ženeva* ‘Geneva’.

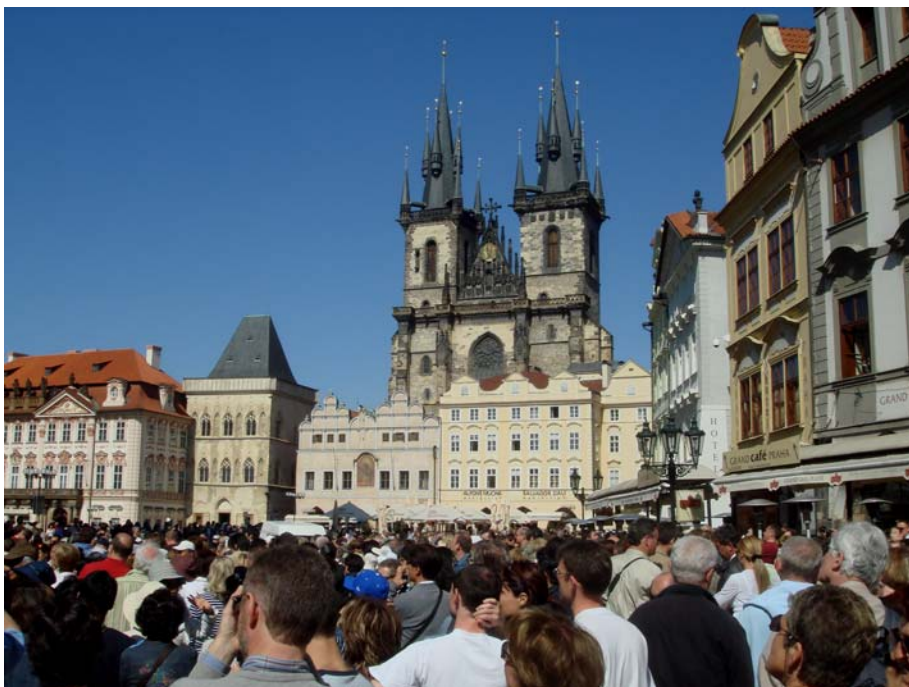
The respondents were required to write the name that they usually use alongside the cited endonym, whether this was an exonym or endonym. If the exonym had two forms, we counted both forms or either of them as correctly spelled.

Looking at all of the cities cited as a whole, it can be concluded that 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 4).



**Figure 4.** Familiarity with exonyms for European cities.

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 5). Over 80% also spelled the exonyms for the following correctly: Priština (99.4%), Bucharest (98.8%), Nice (97.6%), Tirana (97.0%), Warsaw (95.8%), Venice (94.7%), Istanbul (94.6%), Athens (94.0%), 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%), Kraków (82.5%), and Brod na Kupi (81.4%). These names 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.



**Figure 5.** Among all Slovenian exonyms, the one used most consistently is *Praga* ‘Prague’, the Czech capital (photo: Drago Kladnik).

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, and so many people simply made up a Slovenian equivalent), 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, which already includes, for example, *Belgrad* ‘Belgrade’, *Monakovo* ‘Munich’, *Kelmorajn* ‘Cologne’, *Inomost* ‘Innsbruck’, *Kjodža* ‘Chioggia’, *Jakin* ‘Ancona’, *Novi Jork* ‘New York’, and *Sveti Frančišek* ‘San Francisco’.

The next category dealt with was misspelled or mixed-up exonyms. The number-one name in this category was the exonym for České Budějovice, which was misspelled by 57.8% of respondents. The two most common misspelled forms were *Češke Budejovice* (38 times) and *Češke Budjevice* (24 times), but the following variations also appeared: *Češke Budejovice*, *Češke Budejevica*, *Češke Budějovice*, *Češke Budjelovice*, *Češke Budjerovice*, *Češke Budjavice*, *Češke Budjevice*, *Češke Budjovice*, *Češke Budovice*, *Češke Budvice*, *Češke Budžejovice*, *Češke Budževica*, *Česke Budejovice*, *Česke Budjeovice*, *Česke Budjevice*, *Česke Budjevice*, *Budejovice*, *Budjevice*, and even *Česke Toplice* and *Budweiss*. This is apparently a difficult onomastic problem that Slovenians have difficulty writing (and pronouncing) despite relative familiarity with the city and the Slavic origin of the name, even though the name is provided in the dictionary section of the Slovenian normative guide (Toporišič *et al.*, 2001).



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

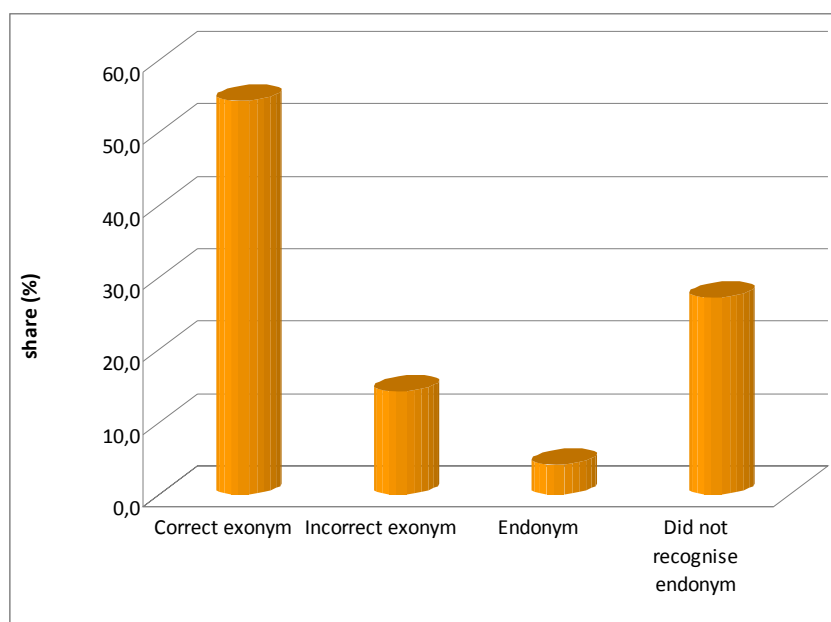
For exactly ten city names, more than half of the respondents provided only the endonym variant. At the top of the list was Banja Luka, for which the endonym was used by 90.7% of those that participated in the survey. This list also includes the cities of Turin, Bitola, Sisak, Pula, Karlovac, Trent, Freising, Herceg Novi, and Córdoba. Almost none of the respondents used the endonyms to refer to Lisbon, Warsaw, Priština, 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, Hermagor, Szentgotthárd, Peć, Szombathely, and Eisenstadt. On the other hand, all of them recognized the endonyms for the cities of Banja Luka, Brussels, Bucharest, Istanbul, Florence, Graz, Lisbon, Paris, Prague, Priština, Pula, and Rijeka.

### 5.2. 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’, *Hebridi* ‘the Hebrides’, *Lofoti* ‘Lofoten’, *Nova dežela / Nova zemlja* ‘Novaya Zemlya’, *Pitjuzi* ‘the Pine Islands’, *Shetlandski otoki* ‘the Shetland Islands’, *Sporadi* ‘the Sporades’, *Velika Britanija* ‘Great Britain’, and *Zelandija/Zeland* ‘Zealand’. 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 6).



**Figure 6.** Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos.

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 (63.8%), and the Brijuni Islands (52.8%).

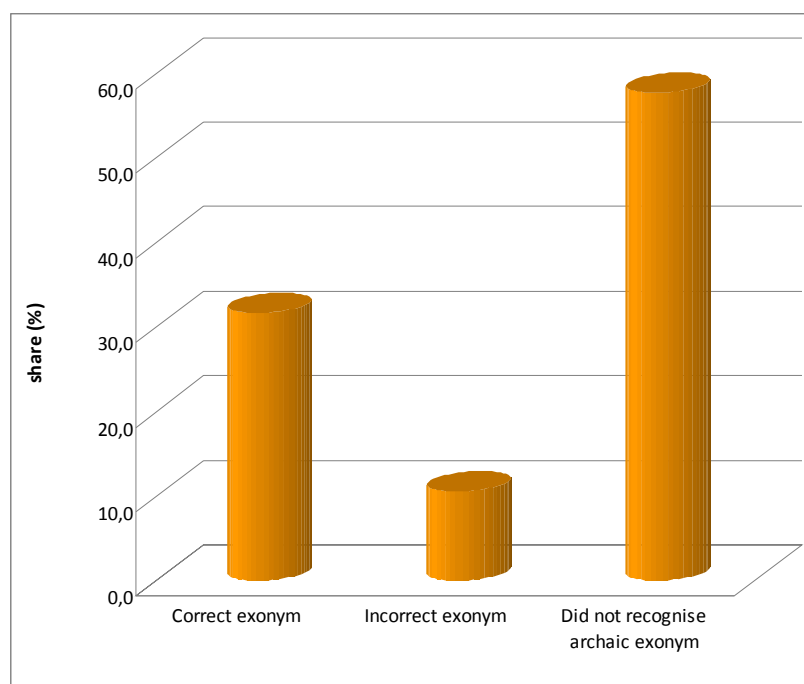
The remaining three names did not even reach 20%: the Shetland Islands (18.2%), Zealand (12.8%), and the Pine Islands (0.0%). The Shetland Islands are certainly familiar, but their name was cited in very different ways, most often with incorrect exonyms (a full 70.3% of these are such cases, among which appear the spellings *Šetlandski otoki* [79 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 stands out strongly (44.8%).

### 5.3. Familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities

Inquiring about familiarity with old exonyms seemed especially interesting to us in compiling the questionnaire because we consciously included the exonyms for ten European cities that no longer appear in everyday use, although they are still preserved in the memories of individuals with deeper interest in historiography and linguistics, and some are also indirectly encountered through their derived adjectival forms, such as *florentinski (zrezek)* 'T-bone steak' (literally, 'Florentine cutlet') and *solnograški (žličniki)* 'Salzburger Nockerl' (a dessert soufflé). The questionnaire included the following ten names: *Bazileja* 'Basel', *Draždane* 'Dresden', *Florenca* 'Florence', *Kandija* 'Heraklion', *Kelmorajn* 'Cologne', *Kodanj* 'Copenhagen', *Kraljevi Gradec* 'Hradec Králové', *Monakovo* 'Munich', *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 7).



**Figure 7.** Familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities.

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%) and Florence (75.3%). These are followed by the exonyms for Munich (46.2%), Szeged (33.5%), and Cologne (32.2%), which 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 more or less forgotten in modern Slovenian.

Because the 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' (34.0%), which 52 respondents misidentified as Monaco (they wrote this name 47 times in the exonym form *Monako* and five times as the endonym *Monaco*). The exonym *Bazileja* was most often incorrectly ascribed to the country Brazil using the Slovenian exonym *Brazilija* (it is not entirely clear whether this refers to the country or the capital city, Brasília); in addition, the Slovenian exonyms *Bazovica* (for the Italian town of Basovizza between Trieste and the Slovenian border) and *Oglej* 'Aquileia' also appeared. The exonym *Florenca* 'Florence' was misidentified four times as Venice, and the exonym *Kandija* 'Heraklion' (from Venetian *Candia*, which is an Italian exonym still in use for Crete's largest city) was misidentified seven times as Novo Mesto, the capital of the traditional Slovenian region of Lower Carniola.

More than two-thirds of respondents admitted that they did not recognize the exonyms *Kodanj* 'Copenhagen' (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.

## 6. Familiarity with exonyms by age and profession

We combined the responses to all three sets of questions into a single file with a total of 90 results from the questions. Perhaps the inclusion of the somewhat different questions about familiarity with archaic exonyms seems somewhat methodologically questionable (for these questions citing endonyms was not anticipated, and these were not taken into account if they were provided), but in terms of content it nicely rounds out the topic dealt with.

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.

These boring averages conceal considerable individual differences in familiarity with exonyms, which should also be ascribed to individuals' affinity for geographical names. Here it is not insignificant that we were dealing with respondents with more professional knowledge, and who far exceeded the general level of familiarity with exonyms and geographical names in general. In this process we discovered a personal preference to use either exonyms or endonyms, especially among those most familiar with the names.

By far the most correct exonyms (81.1%) were provided by a geography teacher in the 31-to-40 age group, followed by a research geographer of the same age at 73.3%, although his lead over those that followed him is not as great as his lag behind the one in first position. 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. An outlier in the number of incorrectly cited or written exonyms was a geographer between 51 and 60 years old that was not a researcher or a teacher (32.2%). On the other hand, two research geographers replied without any incorrect answers; one was in the 31-to-40 age group and the other in the 41-to-50 age group. Research geographers are also the most persistent users of endonyms because four of them were in the first five places (the top scorer, in the 41-to-50 age group, ranked at 43.3%). In general, endonyms are least used by geography teachers and non-geographers. The most extreme example was a non-geographer under the age of 31 (4.4%).

The ability to recognize names has an important influence on all of the values discussed so far. In line with expectations, non-geographers performed the worst, taking the first nine places, with the very worst being a person under the age of 31 that scored 58.2%. Tenth place was also held by a younger person, a geography teacher under the age of 31 that scored a "shameful" (for a geographer) 44.4%. Fifteen respondents succeeded in recognizing more than 95% of the names cited on the questionnaire. These were seven geography teachers, four research geographers, three non-geographers, and one geographer with a different professional profile.

An analysis of the statements by all the respondents with regard to their age structure (figure 8) revealed 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.



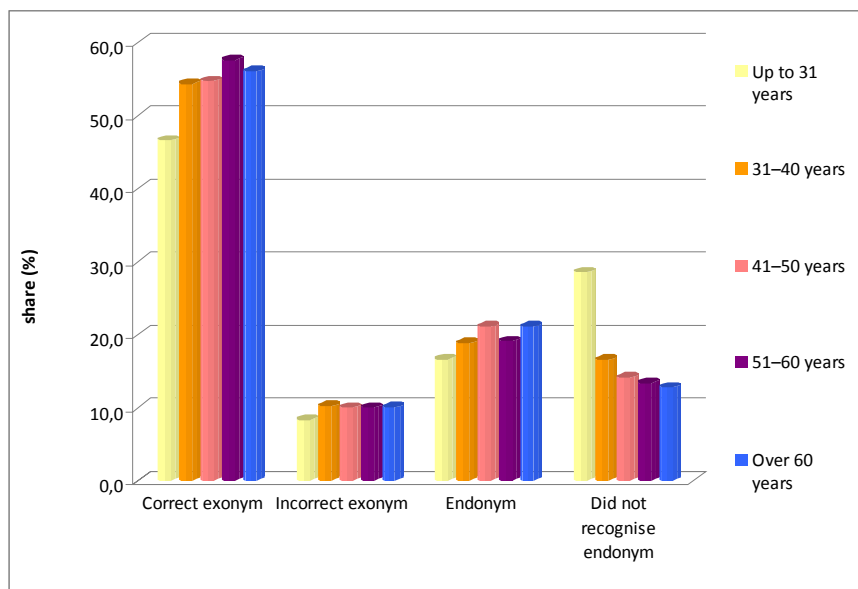


Figure 8. Familiarity with exonyms by age.

Regarding the respondents’ profession (figure 9), it is clear that geographers that are teachers and researchers use correct exonyms to a somewhat greater degree, whereas non-geographers had slightly better familiarity than geographers with other profiles. 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.

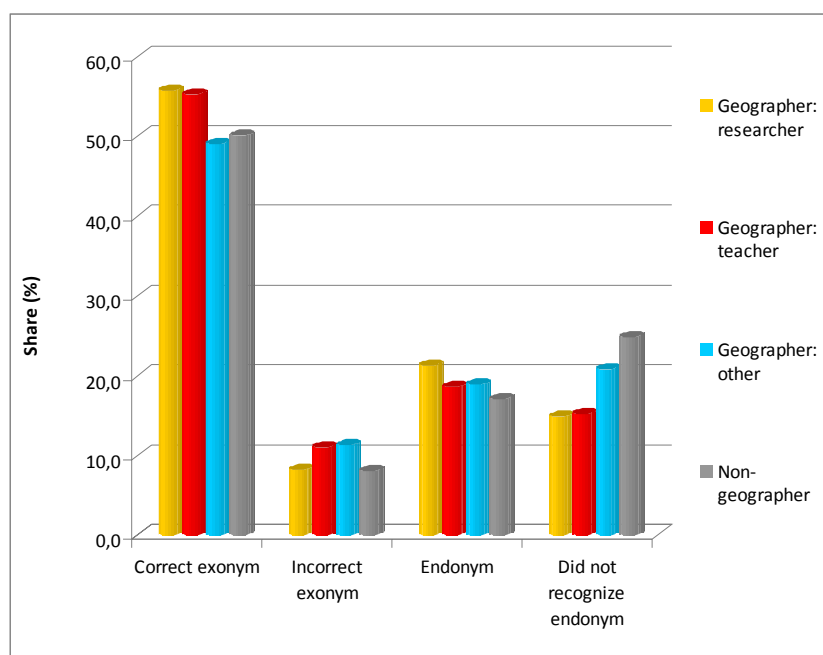


Figure 9. Familiarity with exonyms by profession.

## 7. 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 first three sets of questions of the survey because in them we provided at least two variants, and there may also be several exonym-endonym variants for 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. 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', *Vientiane*/*Viangchan* 'Vientiane'.

From the answers received it is possible to 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 Kazakh capital 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 Vientiane and the Vietnamese capital 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*, and the name of the Indonesian city on the western coast of the island of Sulawesi, *Makassar*, which the majority of respondents (three-quarters) did not recognize at all. More than half of them also did not recognize *Viangchan* 'Vientiane' and more than one-third did not recognize *Ašgabat* '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. This name form was marked as best known by 27 respondents.

## 8. Conclusion

This study included only exonyms at the peak of their usage and in the process of dying out. Despite recommendations otherwise from the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (Natural Resources Canada 2004), new exonyms are constantly coming into existence. In line with the resolutions, the excessive use of exonyms should be avoided especially due to their historical and political sensitivity. In practice, in the majority of languages the number of exonyms is still increasing, which is the result of the needs of speakers of a particular language and its autonomy, which linguists cultivate. Establishment of the principles that the United Nations set up is doubtless contributing to more purposeful use of geographical names in

Slovenia as well, but to a certain degree these measures conflict with the normative rules of Slovenian.

In practice, the use of Slovenian exonyms is relatively inconsistent and is left up to individuals' relationship to and feelings for this issue or the language. Recently the manner and extent of nativizing foreign geographical names in Slovenian have been made considerably uniform, which will surely facilitate their much-needed planned standardization.

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