

THE LIFE OF SLOVENIAN EXONYMS AND THEIR FAMILIARITY IN THE PROFESSIONAL COMMUNITY

O ŽIVLJENJU SLOVENSКИH EKSONIMOV IN NJIHOVEM POZNAVANJU V STROKOVNI JAVNOSTI

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One of the most recognizable Slovenian exonyms is certainly the name of the Czech capital Prague, Praga in Slovenian. Eden najbolj prepoznavnih slovenskih eksonimov je zagotovo ime češkega glavnega mesta Praga.

The life of Slovenian exonyms and their familiarity in the professional community

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ABSTRACT: This article examines the lifecycle of Slovenian exonyms in which the characteristic stages are the creation of an exonym, its increasingly frequent use, its frequent and general use, its increasingly rarer use or dying out, death, and being forgotten. The findings of a similar Czech study on exonyms are briefly presented. The presentation of familiarity with Slovenian exonyms is based on an online survey that was carried out in September and October 2010. We received over 160 correctly completed questionnaires. Analyzing them increased our knowledge of familiarity with exonyms for European cities, European islands and archipelagos, and archaic exonyms for European cities that people no longer use today. We also analyzed the degree of familiarity by respondent's ages and professions.

KEY WORDS: geography, geographical names, exonym, linguistics, Slovenian, online survey

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1 Introduction

We carried out a study at the ZRC SAZU Anton Melik Geographical Institute as part of the fundamental research project »Slovenian Exonyms: Methodology, Standardization, and GIS.« Among other things, we sought to determine the level of current familiarity with names for foreign topographical 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.

Experts still have not reached consensus on the precise definition of an exonym (Kladnik 2009); the concept of a »nativized foreign geographical name« is not a synonym for »exonym,« but a somewhat more broadly defined near-synonym; the definition of the Slovenian term *eksonim* and the majority of other terms used in connection with geography can be found in the section titled *Terminološki slovarček* (Terminological Glossary) published in the volume *Pogledi na podomačevanje tujih zemljepisnih imen* (Aspects of Nativizing Foreign Geographical Names; Kladnik 2007, 14–24). A specific lifecycle is typical in the use of exonyms, or nativized foreign geographical names: 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.

One can speak about excellent, good, average, and weak familiarity with individual exonyms as well as complete unfamiliarity with them. The use of exonyms is additionally complicated by occasional changes to their original names, which nevertheless influence their everyday use in other parts of the world, including in Slovenia.

1.1 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 briefly in section 3.

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 non-European cities with several allonymic variants (10 names; the results for this set of questions will be reported in a future article).

We asked the respondents to provide the names that they have »in their heads«; that is, that they should »pull them out of their hats« without resorting to any kind of literature or web browsers.

The survey was carried out at the end of September and in October 2010. 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 linguistics discussion forum (Internet 1). 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. 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. 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, 58, 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.

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

2 The lifecycle of exonyms

Like every geographical name, an exonym is also a living thing. It is born – as an original name, of course – it changes over time, and it finally dies; sometimes it also rises from the dead. The lifespan of exonyms varies greatly. Some exonyms may pass away in a few years, some are already centuries old, and in some languages even millennia.

The use of exonyms can therefore be defined as a kind of lifecycle that mixes the fates of naming and renaming endonyms, various contacts between regions with source and target languages, relations between the two languages, the linguistic rules of the target language, factors in exonym use, and, not least of all, international recommendations (limitations) on their use. If this is a lifecycle in which exonyms are some kind of natural right of the speakers of the target language, we should not be overly concerned about the appearance of new exonyms because certain other names with this status are falling into oblivion at the same time (Kladnik 2007).

It is possible to think about the lifecycle of exonyms from different perspectives. We are interested in their cycle in the sense of: borrowing → non-established use → established use → non-established use → dying away. Special attention can be directed to the developmental phases of nativizing names in the sense of dealing with them; that is, where they are taken from, their substantive and linguistic processing, their standardization, their preservation, and their technological reproduction.

Exonyms or nativized foreign geographical names also arise because of a natural need, and so they should not be viewed dogmatically. They are usually the result of borrowing foreign geographical names with their pronunciation and spelling adapted to the features of the target language. In the case of Slovenian, this means leaving out all sorts of modifications, pronouncing sonorants and voiced and voiceless obstruents as in normal Slovenian words, accentuation as in Slovenian, and spelling without diacritics and with adaptations or simplifications of special characters (Slovenski pravopis 2001, §222)

Moder (1972, 397) wrote the following about the nativization of foreign geographical names: »*The only applicable principle and guideline might be that, when a new, hitherto unknown geographical name is received and borrowed, it would be good to consider a) its original and b) its spoken form and then to take steps in line with this; that is: for general use we do not recommend spellings using letters that deviate too much or are too complicated, that we do not usually use and largely do not have; otherwise, one must reasonably take into account the level of nativizing names today... with a range from the smallest deviation from the original official name to a complete translation...*«

Many exonyms are more or less recognized forms of original endonyms (e.g., Slovenian *Lombardija* 'Lombardy', *Karači* 'Karachi', and *Kartum* 'Khartoum') and express adaptations in pronunciation. Some less well-known exonyms may have been translated into the target language through a third language (e.g., Slovenian *Angora* 'Ankara' via Spanish and *Norimberk* 'Nuremberg' via Czech), and so they are subject to gradual disappearance. There is less danger of this in cases when a particular name is in a single sovereign country and its use can be advantageous from the perspective of the target language. There are also cases when the use of nativized foreign names is more or less necessary. An interesting case is Slovenian *Donava* 'Danube', for which the use of one of the original name forms would cloud the fact that it runs through several European countries and would imply that it belongs to a single country or language community. Exonyms are also indispensable for certain spatial phenomena that are not under the sovereignty

of any country; for example, Antarctica, the Indian Ocean, and the Mid-Atlantic Ridge. A lively exchange of opinions is now taking place among experts on whether these names can be defined as exonyms or not (Jordan 2011).

It generally holds (Moder 1972, 397) that »*the more a geographical name is in general use, the more we feel like it is native and in speech, and sometimes also in writing, completely naturally include it in the Slovenian lexicon.*« Some nativized foreign geographical names are felt to be foreign words and borrowings, and some have an air of the exotic, whereas others seem completely native. Copyeditors for newspapers, and even more so radio and television, also influence the nativization of names borrowed from languages that use the Roman alphabet or other phonemic scripts. Because of the nature of these media, they must also pay attention to their correct pronunciation, and for this purpose the nativized forms of names are certainly the handiest (Pogačnik 2003).

The characteristic development of nativization is apparent in the case of the Slovenian adaptation of *Loire* > *Loira* > *Loara* (Moder 1972). An interesting development is seen in the case of the adaptation of the Italian city of Florence. Some time ago, the Slovenian nativized name *Florenca* was in general use, derived from the older name form *Florentia*, which was and still is expressed in English and French *Florence*, Russian *Florentsiya*, Portuguese *Florença*, Spanish *Florençia*, Romanian *Florența*, and Danish *Florens*. In Slovenian the original Italian name was later partially adapted into *Firenza* and *Firenca*; however, the adjective remained *florentinski*, but the increasingly frequent use of the name in its spoken form gradually also influenced the written form. The spelling *z* changed into a spoken /ts/ (spelled *c* in Slovenian), and the originally singular form was changed to a plural one. The modern Slovenian form *Firence* with the genitive *Firenc* and locative *Firencah* came into being. The adjective form *firenški* was also adapted to the new predominant form of the name, but the form *florentinski* remained in living use, especially with special stylistic or semantic shades of meaning (e.g., *florentinski zrezek* 'T-bone steak', literally, 'Florentine cutlet'; Kladnik 2007).

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), and in modern Czech, for example, *Celovec* 'Klagenfurt', *Terbiž* 'Tarvisio', and *Brunšvik* 'Braunschweig' (Index českých exonym 2006), and among the Slovenians formerly relatively well established exonyms that have fallen into disuse include *Kodanj* 'Copenhagen', *Kelmorajn* 'Cologne', *Monakovo* 'Munich', *Brižinje* and also *Brižinj* 'Freising' (from which Slovenian derives *brižinski spomeniki* 'Freising Manuscripts'), *Solnograd* 'Salzburg' (from which Slovenian derives *solnograški žličniki* 'Salzburger Nockerl', a dessert soufflé), *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).

3 A Czech study on exonyms

The Czech scholar Pavel Boháč (2003) wrote about the gradual dying out of exonyms from Czech vocabulary. He says that in Czech there are several thousand exonyms. He determined that young people especially do not differentiate between similar 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.

His analysis included the names of 53 cities from among the 175 various kinds of central European exonyms cited in a very widely used school atlas; 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.

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', *Lubljaň* 'Ljubljana', and *Curych* 'Zürich'), 11 as poor (*Kluž* 'Cluj-Napoca', *Štýrský*

Hradec ‘Graz’, and *Trident* ‘Trento’), and eight as none (e.g., *Celovec* ‘Klagenfurt’, *Lutyeh* ‘Liège’, *Miškovce* ‘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.

4 Familiarity with Slovenian exonyms

After collecting the responses to the on-line questionnaire at the end of October 2010, 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 completed questionnaires received. Perhaps even more interesting are the details connected with individual geographical names, which we intend to present in a separate article.

4.1 Familiarity with exonyms for European cities

We 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 Kupa’, *Breže* ‘Friesach’, *Brižinje/Brižinj* ‘Freising’, *Bruselj* ‘Brussels’, *Bukarešta* ‘Bucharest’, *Carigrad/Istanbul* ‘Istanbul’, *Čedad* ‘Cividale del Friuli’, *Česke Budjeovice* ‘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’, *Kordoba* ‘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*

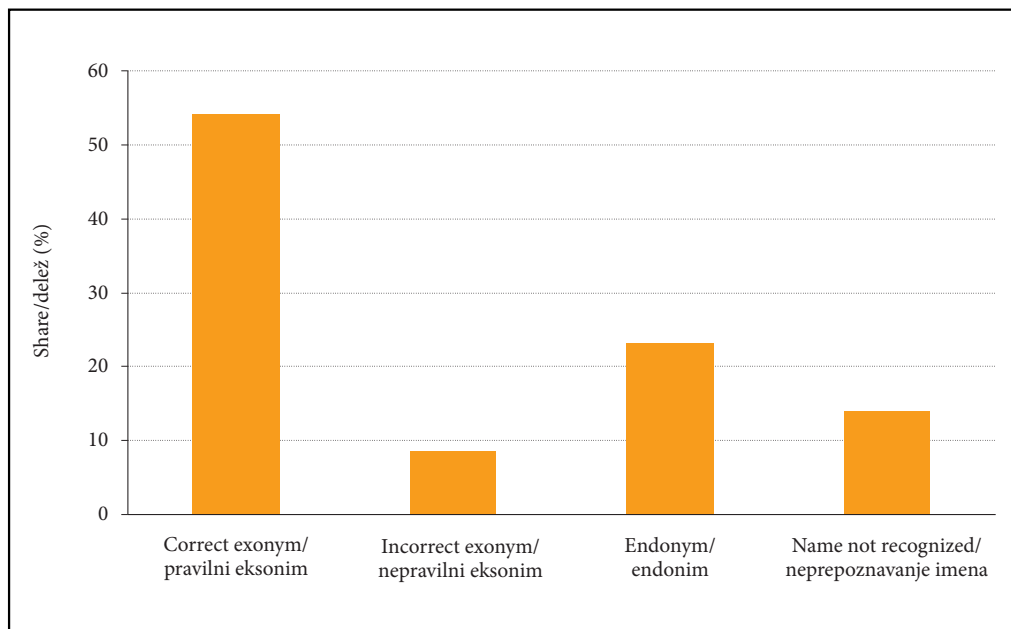


Figure 1: Familiarity with exonyms for European cities.

'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 1).

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. 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.

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 Francišek* '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 *Česke Budejovice* (38 times) and *Česke Budjevice* (24 times), but the following variations also appeared as attempts to write the name of this southern Czech city: *Česke Budejevice*, *Česke Budjelovice*, *Česke Budjerovice*, *Česke Budjavice*, *Česke Budjovice*, *Česke Budovice*, *Česke Budvice*, *Česke Budžejovice*, *Česke Budževice*, and even *Česke Toplice* and *Budweiss*. This is apparently a difficult onomastic problem that Slovenians have difficulty writing 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).

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

For exactly 10 city names, more than half of the respondents provided only the endonym variant. At the top of the list was Banja Luka, for which the endonym was used by 90.7% of those that participated in the survey. This list also includes the cities of Turin, Bitola, Sisak, Pula, Karlovac, Trent, Freising, Herceg Novi, and Córdoba, followed closely (to our considerable surprise and also chagrin) by the town of Leibnitz in Austrian Styria (45.2%), for which the Slovenian exonym is *Lipnica*. Almost none of the respondents used the endonyms to refer to Lisbon, Warsaw, Priština, Athens, Bucharest, Istanbul, Prague, and Tirana.

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, Chișinău, 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, Florence, Graz, Istanbul, Lisbon, Paris, Prague, Priština, Pula, and Rijeka.

4.2 Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos

We investigated familiarity with the exonyms for 10 selected European islands and archipelagos: *Briuni* 'the Brijuni Islands', *Eolski otoki/Liparski otoki* 'the Aeolian Islands', *Hebriidi* '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 2).

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%).

4.3 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', *Draždana* '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 3).

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 or extinct.

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 the principality of 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 (it is not entirely clear whether this refers to the country or the capital city, Brasília), in addition, the Slovenian exonyms *Bazovica* 'Basovizza' and *Oglej* 'Aquilaia' 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. Unfamiliarity was also indicated by the frequent repetition of names for the exonyms cited in the questionnaire, which violated the instructions. This probably indicated that the respondents did not read the instructions carefully.

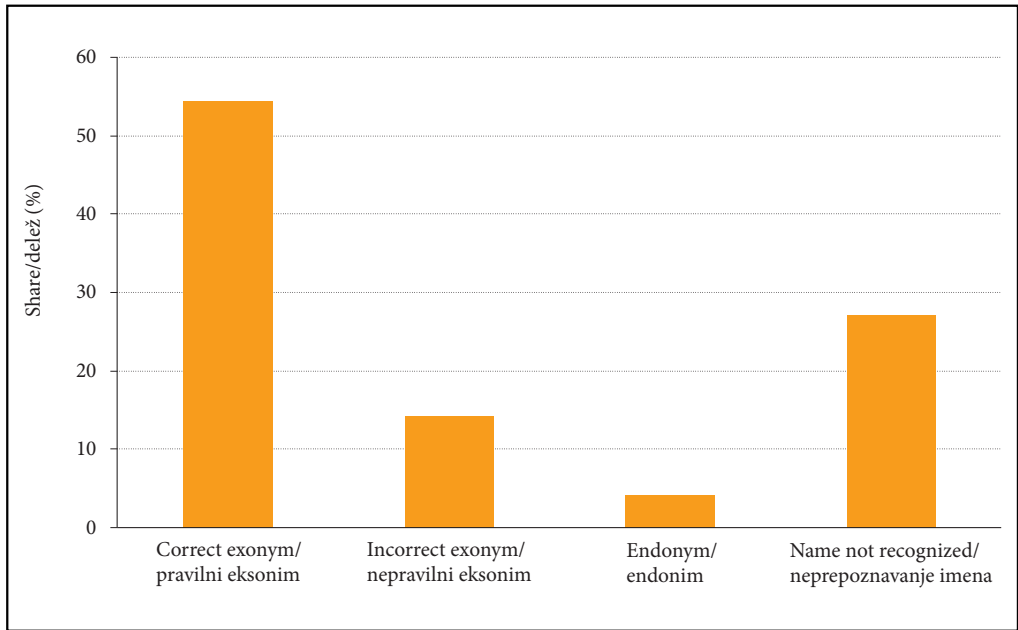


Figure 2: Familiarity with exonyms for European islands and archipelagos.

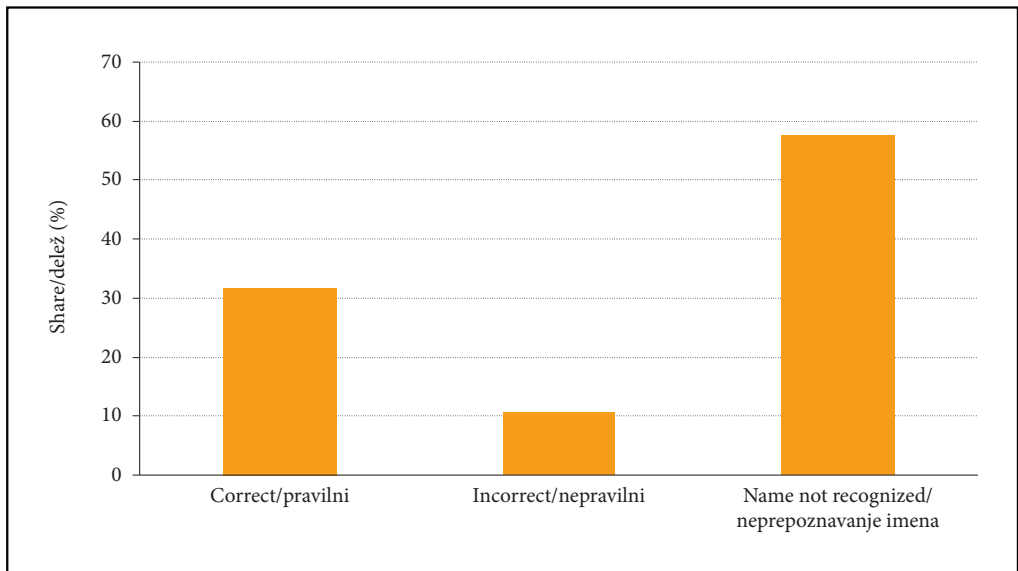


Figure 3: Familiarity with archaic exonyms for European cities.

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

5 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 research geographer of the same age at 73.3%, although his lead over those that fol-

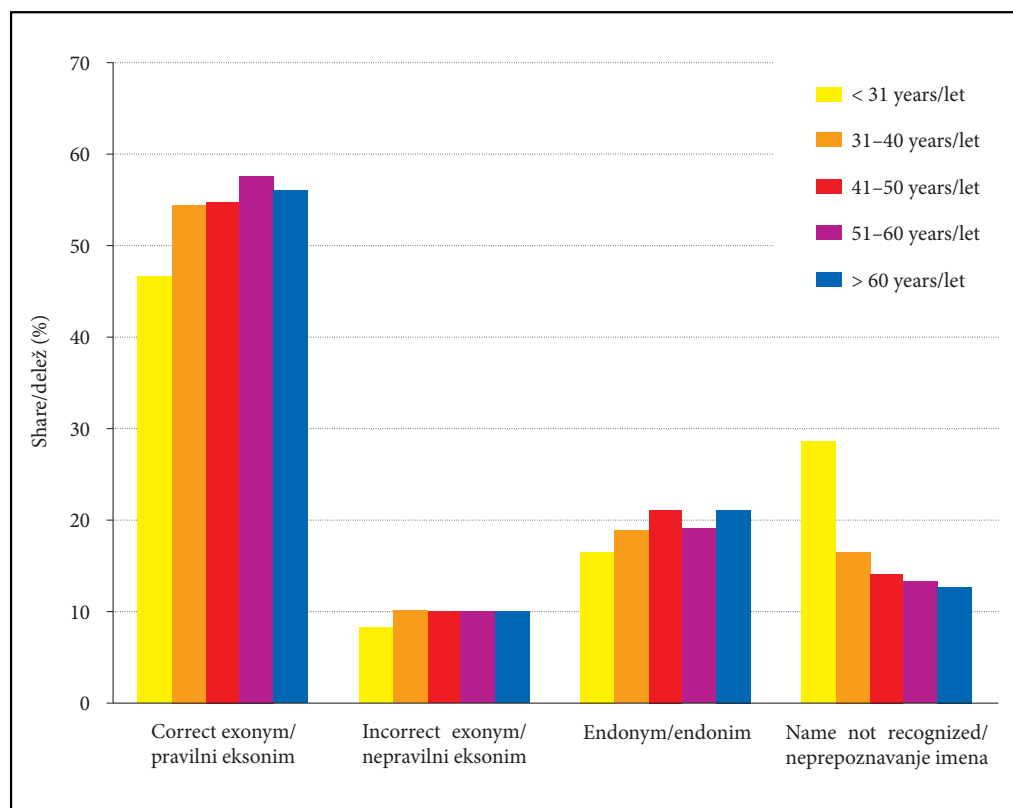


Figure 4: Familiarity with exonyms by respondents' age.

lowed 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 held by 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. Two of them scored 100%. One of them was a non-geographer in the 31-to-40 age group, and the other was a research geographer in the same age group.

An analysis of the statements by all the respondents with regard to their age structure (Figure 4) 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.

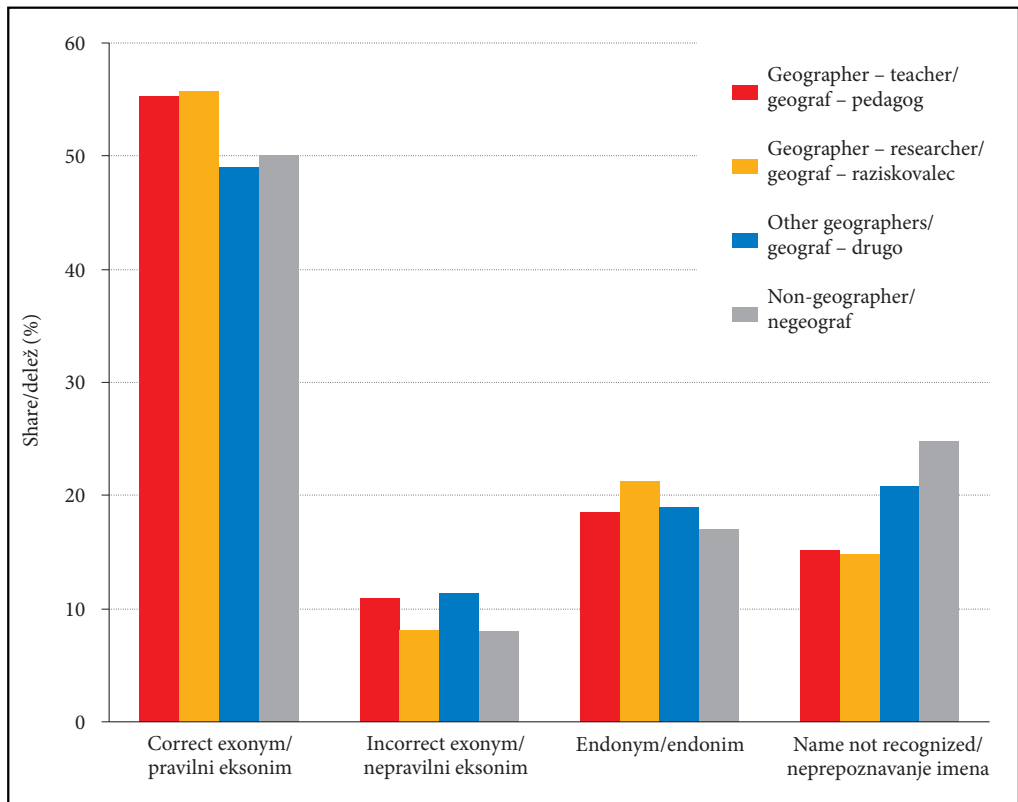


Figure 5: Familiarity with exonyms by respondents' profession.

Regarding the respondents' profession (Figure 5), 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.

6 Conclusion

Like all geographical names, exonyms are like living organisms with a characteristic lifecycle. Our study, of course, included only exonyms at the peak of their usage and in the process of dying out because new exonyms are constantly being created, despite recommendations otherwise from the resolutions of the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names. As part of the target language, the corpus of exonyms, just like the language itself, is exposed to constant changes. In line with the resolutions, the excessive use of exonyms should be avoided especially due to their historical and political sensitivity. In practice, however, 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. They create linguistic rules without regard to attempts to influence the language from the outside. 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.

We have shown that in practice the use of exonyms is relatively inconsistent and is left up to individuals' relationship to and feelings for this issue or the language. However, a more detailed study (Kladnik 2006) has shown that recently manners and extent of nativizing foreign geographical names have been made considerably uniform, which will surely facilitate their much-needed planned standardization.

7 Acknowledgement

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O življenju slovenskih eksonimov in njihovem poznavanju v strokovni javnosti

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IZVLEČEK: Članek najprej obravnava življenjske cikle slovenskih eksonimov, pri čemer so kot značilne faze izpostavljene nastanek eksonima, njegova čedalje pogostejša raba, pogosta in splošna raba, čedalje redkejša raba oziroma odmiranje, odmrtnje in pozaba. Na kratko so predstavljeni izsledki podobne češke raziskave o eksonimih. Prikaz poznavanja slovenskih eksonimov temelji na spletni anketi, izvedeni septembra in oktobra 2010. Prejeli smo več kot 160 ustrezno izpolnjenih vprašalnikov. Z njihovo analizo smo poglobili znanje o poznavanju eksonimov evropskih mest, evropskih otoških reliefnih oblik ter starih, reliktnih eksonimov evropskih mest, ki jih v sodobni javni rabi ne uporabljamo več. Stopnjo poznavanja smo razčlenili tudi glede na starostno sestavo in poklic (strokovnost) respondentov.

KLJUČNE BESEDE: geografija, zemljepisna imena, eksonim, jezikoslovje, slovenščina, spletna anketa

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1 Uvod

Na Geografskem inštitutu Antona Melika ZRC SAZU smo opravili raziskave v okviru temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta Slovenski eksonimi: metodologija, standardizacija, GIS. Z njim smo med drugim želeli ugotoviti stopnjo dejanskega poznavanja imen za tuje topografske objekte in pojave v slovenskem jeziku v strokovni javnosti. Predpostavljamo namreč, da prav ta z rabo eksonimskih različic zemljepisnih imen pri poučevanju v šolah, pisanju znanstvenih, strokovnih in poljubnih del in tudi vsakdanjih pogovorih poleg medijev, atlasov in razne literature pomembno vpliva na njihovo poznavanje in rabo v širši javnosti.

Tudi za rabo eksonimov oziroma podomačenih tujih zemljepisnih imen (ker med strokovnjaki natančna definicija eksonima še vedno ni poenotena (Kladnik 2009), pojem podomačeno tuje zemljepisno ime ni njegova sopomenka, ampak nekoliko širše opredeljena blizupomenka; razlaga pojma eksonim in večine drugih uporabljenih pojmov v zvezi z zemljepisnimi je v poglavju Terminološki slovarček, objavljenem v monografiji Pogledi na podomačevanje tujih zemljepisnih imen (Kladnik 2007, 14–24)) je značilen določen cikel: nastanek → čedalje pogostejša raba → pogosta, splošna raba → čedalje redkejša raba (odmiranje) → odmrtnje → pozaba. Ni nujno, da vsak eksonim preide čez vse razvojne faze, zagotovo pa je vsak v eni od njih.

Govorimo lahko o odličnem, dobrem, povprečnem in šibkem poznavanju posameznih eksonimov ter njihovem popolnem nepoznavanju. Rabo eksonimov dodatno zapleta občasno spreminjanje originalnih imen, ki slej ko prej vpliva na njihovo vsakdanjo rabo v drugih delih sveta, tudi pri nas.

1.1 Metodologija

Kolikor nam je znano, je bila doslej raziskava o poznavanju in odmiranju eksonimov opravljena le na Češkem (Boháč 2007). Tako po obsegu kot globini poizvedovanja je bila bistveno skromnejša. Izvedena je bila dopisno z anketiranjem stanovskih in poklicnih kolegov avtorja. Število anket ni navedeno. Čeprav v Boháčevem članku primanjkuje znanstvene natančnosti, je avtorju uspelo sintetizirati nekatera spoznanja, o katerih poročamo v 3. poglavju.

Pri nas smo se za ugotavljanje stopnje poznavanja eksonimov odločili za izvedbo spletne ankete. V začetni fazi njene vsebinske priprave smo v želji pridobiti kar najbolj podrobne informacije predvideli osem vprašanj. Ker se je pokazalo, da je takšen vprašalnik zlasti časovno preobsežen, smo se lotili njegovega krajšanja, saj bi sicer le stežka prejeli zadovoljivo število odgovorov. Na koncu smo prišli do nabora štirih vprašanj:

- poznavanje eksonimov evropskih mest (70 imen),
- poznavanje eksonimov evropskih otoških reliefnih oblik (10 imen),
- poznavanje starih, reliktnih eksonimov evropskih mest (10 imen),
- najpogostejša raba imenske oblike neevropskih mest z več alonimskimi različicami (10 imen; o rezultatih tega poizvedovanja bomo poročali v enem od prihodnjih člankov).

Respondente smo opozorili, naj navedejo odgovore, kot jih imajo »shranjene« v svojih glavah, torej, naj jih »stresejo iz rokava«, ne pa s pomočjo kakršnekoli literature ali spletnih brskalnikov.

Anketo smo izvedli konec septembra in oktobra 2010. Vprašalnik smo najprej preizkusili med sodelavci Geografskega inštituta Antona Melika ZRC SAZU, zatem smo ga objavili na »geografski« elektronski distribucijski listi Geolista, teden pozneje pa še na jezikoslovnem diskusijskem forumu SlovLit (internet 1). Neformalno je zaokrožila tudi med študenti geografije, tako da smo pridobili tudi vpogled v poznavanje eksonimov med najmlajšo generacijo strokovne javnosti.

Izplen je bil dokaj dober, saj se je med okrog 1600 uporabniki obeh list odzvala slaba desetina. Prejeli smo namreč 173 odgovorov. Sedem jih je bilo povsem neuporabnih, saj so respondenti vrnili neizpolnjene ali premalo natančno izpolnjene vprašalnike. Nekateri so odgovorili le na posamezna vprašanja, zato se število upoštevanih in analiziranih odgovorov pri posameznih vprašanjih razlikuje. Pri prvem je bilo upoštevanih 166 odgovorov, pri drugem 163, pri tretjem 158 in pri četrtem, zadnjem 165 odgovorov. Na vsa vprašanja je ustrezno odgovorilo 157 respondentov. Od teh je bilo 34 učiteljev geografije, 29 raziskovalcev geografije, 36 geografov drugih profilov (študentje, z drugimi poklici) in 58 negeografov. Največ, 58, jih je bilo starih do 31 let, 44 od 31 do 40 let, 30 od 41 do 50 let, 19 od 51 do 60 let in 6 več kot 60 let.

Posamezne navedbe smo razčlenili v štiri temeljne kategorije: pravilni eksonimi (če so bili popolnoma pravilno zapisani), nepravilni eksonimi (če so bili zapisani z manjšimi ali večjimi pravopisnimi napakami, če je bil naveden napačen eksonim), endonimi (če so bili kot najbolj znana oblika navedeni endonimi) ter neprepoznavanje imena (če respondenti niso uspeli ugotoviti, za katero zemljepisno ime gre). Zastopnost

posameznih kategorij poznavanja imen smo ugotavljali s preprosto analizo izračunavanja deležev navedb po razredih starostne in poklicne sestave respondentov in za vse, ki so sodelovali v anketi, skupaj.

2 Življenjski cikli eksonimov

Kot vsako zemljepisno ime je tudi eksonim kot živo bitje. Se rodi, najprej seveda kot originalno ime, se s časom spreminja in končno izgine; včasih tudi vstane od mrtvih. Razpon njegove življenjske dobe je zelo različen. Medtem ko nekateri eksonimi izginejo že v nekaj letih, so nekateri stari že stoletja, v nekaterih jezikih celo tisočletja.

Rabo eksonimov je torej mogoče opredeliti kot nekakšen življenjski cikel, v katerem se prepletajo usode poimenovanj in preimenovanj endonimov, raznovrstni stiki med območji z izvornim in ciljnim jezikom, odnosi med obema jezikoma, jezikovna pravila ciljnega jezika, dejavniki rabe eksonimov in ne nazadnje mednarodna priporočila (omejevanja) njihove rabe. In če že gre za življenjski cikel, v katerem so eksonimi neke vrste naravna pravica govorcev ciljnega jezika, nas ne sme pretirano skrbeti pojavljanje novih eksonimov, saj nekatera druga imena s takšnim statusom istočasno tonejo v pozabo (Kladnik 2007).

O življenjskem ciklu eksonimov je mogoče razmišljati z več zornih kotov. Zanima nas lahko njihov krogotok v smislu: prevzemanje > neustaljena raba > ustaljena raba > neustaljena raba > odmiranje. Posebna pozornost je lahko namenjena razvojnim fazam podomačevanja imen v smislu ravnanja z njimi, torej njihovemu zajemanju, vsebinski in jezikovni obdelavi ter njihovemu standardiziranju, hranjenju in tehnološki reprodukciji.

Eksonimi oziroma podomačena tuja zemljepisna imena nastajajo zaradi naravne potrebe, zato se nanje ne bi smelo gledati dogmatično. Navadno so rezultat prevzemanja tujih zemljepisnih imen v izgovarjavi in zapisu, prilagojenima značilnostim ciljnega jezika. V primeru slovenščine to pomeni opuščanje vseh vrst modifikacij, izgovarjavo zvočnikov ter zvenceh in nezvenceh nezvočnikov kakor v navadnih slovenskih besedah, naglaševanje kot v slovenščini ter zapisovanje brez diakritičnih znamenj in s prilagajanjem, poenostavljanjem posebnih črk (Slovenski pravopis 2001, §222).

O podomačevanju tujih zemljepisnih imen je Moder zapisal (Moder 1972, 397): *»Edino kolikor toliko veljavno vodilo in navodilo naj bi nemara bilo, da ob sprejemanju in prevzemanju novega, dotlej še neznanega zemljepisnega imena dobro premislimo a) njegovo izvirno in b) izgovorno obliko in potlej v skladu s tem ukrepamo, se pravi: za splošno rabo ne predlagamo preveč odmaknjene in tudi ne preveč komplicirane pisave s črkovnimi znamenji, kakršnih na splošno ne uporabljamo in jih večinoma tudi nimamo, sicer pa smiselno upoštevamo dosedanje stopnje v podomačevanju imen ... z razponom od kar najmanjšega odmika od izvirnega uradnega imena pa do popolnega prevoda ...«*

Mnogi eksonimi so bolj ali manj prepoznavne oblike originalnih endonimov (na primer Lombardia za Lombardia, Karači za Karachi, Kartum za Al Khurṭūm) in odražajo izgovorne prilagoditve. Nekateri manj znani eksonimi so bili lahko v ciljni jezik prevzeti prek tretjega jezika (na primer Angora za Ankara prek španščine, Norimberk za Nürnberg prek češčine), zato so podvrženi postopnemu izginjanju. Manjša nevarnost za to je v primerih, ko je določeno ime v eni sami suvereni državi in je njegova raba z vidika ciljnega jezika lahko koristna. So pa tudi primeri, ko je raba podomačenih tujih imen tako rekoč nujna. Značilen primer je ime Donava, pri kateri bi raba ene od izvirnih imenskih oblik zamegljevala njen tok čez več evropskih držav in napeljevala na pripadnost eni sami državi ali jezikovni skupnosti. Eksonimi so nepogrešljivi tudi za nekatere prostrane pojave, ki niso pod suverenostjo nobene države, na primer Antarktika, Indijski ocean, Srednjatlantski hrbet. O tem, ali lahko ta imena opredelimo za eksonime ali ne, med izvedenci prav zdaj poteka živahna izmenjava mnenj (Jordan 2011).

Na splošno velja (Moder 1972, 397): *»Kolikor bolj je zemljepisno ime splošno v rabi, toliko bolj ga občutimo domače in ga vsaj govorno, včasih pa tudi pisno povsem naravno vključujemo v slovensko besedno zakladnico.«* Nekatera podomačena tuja zemljepisna imena občutimo podobno kot tujke in izposojenke, nekatera s pridihom eksotike, spet druga povsem domače. Na podomačevanje imen, prevzetih iz jezikov z latiničnimi ali drugimi fonemskimi pisavami, vplivajo tudi lektorji pri časopisih, še bolj pa na radiu in televiziji. Zaradi narave teh medijev morajo skrbeti tudi za pravilno izgovarjavo, za ta namen pa so podomačene oblike imen zagotovo najbolj priročne (Pogačnik 2003).

Značilen razvoj podomačevanja je viden na primer v prilagajanju imena tipa Loire > Loira > Loara (Moder 1972). Zanimiv razvoj se kaže na primer v prilagajanju imena italijanskega mesta Firenze. Pred

časom je bila v rabi podomačitev Florenca, izpeljana iz starejše imenske oblike Florentia, ki se je in se še odraža tudi v angleški ter francoski podomačitvi Florence, ruski Florencija, portugalski Florença, španski Florenca, romunski Florența, danski Florens. Pri nas je bilo pozneje izvirno italijansko ime deloma prilagojeno v Firenza in Firenca, pridevnik pa je še ostal florentinski, a čedalje pogostejša uporaba imena v izgovorni obliki je polagoma vplivala tudi na pisno obliko. Zapis »z« se je spremenil v izgovorjeni »c«, prvotno edninsko obliko pa je zamenjala množinska. Nastala je sodobna oblika Firenze z roditeljskim Firenc in mestnikom v Firencah. Novi prevladujoči obliki imena se je prilagodila tudi pridevniška oblika firenški, vendar oblika florentinski zlasti v stilnih ali pomenskih odtenkih (na primer florentinski zrezek) še ostaja v živi rabi (Kladnik 2007).

Ko so podomačena tuja zemljepisna imena v živi rabi, sestavljajo neodtujljiv del določenega jezika, potem pa za mnoge med njimi nastopi faza postopnega odmiranja. Tako se na primer v sodobni angleščini le še izjemoma uporabljata eksonima Leghorn za Livorno in Salonika za Thessaloniki (slovensko Solun) (Woodman 2003), v sodobni češčini na primer Celovec za Klagenfurt, Terbiž za Tarvisio in Brunšvik za Braunschweig (Index českých exonym 2006), pri nas pa so že utonila v pozabo nekdanja razmeroma dobro uveljavljena podomačena imena Kodanj za København, Kelmorajn za Köln, Monakovo za München, Brižinje (tudi Brižinj; od tod brižinski spomeniki) za Freising, Solnograd (od tod solnograški žličniki) za Salzburg, Inomost za Innsbruck, Kraljevo za Craiova, Skoplje za Skopje, kar se obeta tudi imenom ameriških mest v oblikah Čikago in Filadelfija ter italijanskih mest Milan in Turin (obe imeni sta še živi med pripadniki slovenske narodne skupnosti v zamejski Italiji!).

3 Češka raziskava o eksonimih

Čeh Pavel Boháč poroča o postopnem izginjanju eksonimov iz besedišča češkega jezika (Boháč 2003). Navede, da je v češčini več tisoč eksonimov. Ob tem ugotavlja, da zlasti mladi ne razlikujejo med podobnimi imeni kot so Trento in Taranto, Main in Mainz, Genève in Genova, Trier in Trieste, Konstanz in Constanța ali celo Constantinopolis; vsa navedena imena imajo češke eksonime, kar dodatno otežuje njihovo razumevanje.

V analizo je iz nabora 175 v zelo razširjenem šolskem atlasu navedenih raznovrstnih eksonimov z območja srednje Evrope, to je iz Poljske, Nemčije, Avstrije, Beneluxa, severne Italije, Slovenije, Madžarske ter iz francoskega, hrvaškega, srbskega, romunskega, ukrajinskega in beloruskega obrobja vključil imena 53 mest. Intervjuvanci so morali za posamezna mesta ob navedenih endonimih čim bolj pravilno zapisati češke eksonimske različice, ali pa, če teh niso poznali, uporabiti zapis imena v obliki, ki jim je najbolj znana. Zapis imen posameznih mest je glede na pogostost navedb in pravopisno pravilnost razvrstil v pet kategorij poznavanja eksonimov: odlično (brez pravopisnih napak), zelo dobro (s pravopisnimi napakami), povprečno, šibko, nikakršno.

Le 11 eksonimov se je znašlo v kategoriji odlično (na primer Basilej za Basel, Drážďany za Dresden, Benátky za Venezia, slovensko Benetke), 5 v kategoriji zelo dobro (na primer Bydhošť za Bydgoszcz, Norimberk za Nürnberg, Túrin za Torino), 18 v kategoriji povprečno (na primer Cáchy za Aachen, Debrecín za Debrecen, Lublaň za Ljubljana, Curych za Zürich), 11 v kategoriji šibko (na primer Kluž za Cluj-Napoca, Štýrský Hradec za Graz (slovensko Gradec), Trident za Trento) in 8 v kategoriji nikakršno (na primer Celovec za Klagenfurt, Lutych za Liège, Miškovec za Miskolc, Roztoky za Rostock).

Boháč predvideva, da se bodo v bližnji prihodnosti nekateri eksonimi iz kategorije povprečno preseleli v kategorijo šibko ali celo nikakršno, prav vsi iz kategorije odlično pa bi se lahko znašli v kategoriji zelo dobro, še zlasti zato, ker je opaziti njihovo odsotnost v večini čeških sredstev javnega obveščanja.

4 Poznavanje slovenskih eksonimov

Ko smo konec oktobra 2010 zbrali odgovore na spletni vprašalnik, smo jih skrbno analizirali. Odziv je bil žal premajhen, da bi zagotavljal zadovoljivo statistično pomembnost, vseeno pa je mogoče tudi na podlagi prejetih 166 izpolnjenih vprašalnikov strniti določena splošna spoznanja. Morda še bolj zanimive so podrobnosti, povezane s posameznimi zemljepisnimi imeni, ki jih nameravamo predstaviti v posebnem članku.

4.1 Poznavanje eksonimov evropskih mest

Poizvedovali smo po poznavanju eksonimov sedemdesetih premišljeno izbranih evropskih mest iz 31 držav: Atene (Athína/Athēnai), Banjaluka (Banja Luka), Banska Bistrica (Banská Bystrica), Beljak (Villach), Benetke (Venezia), Bitolj (Bitola), Brod na Kolpi (Brod na Kupi), Breže (Friesach), Brižinje/Brižinj (Freising), Bruselj (Brussel/Bruxelles), Bukarešta (București), Carigrad/Istanbul (İstanbul), Čedad (Civiale del Friuli), Češke Budějovice (České Budějovice), Drač (Durrës), Edinburg (Edinburgh), Firence (Firenze), Frankfurt ob Majni/Frankfurt na Majni (Frankfurt am Main), Gradec (Graz), Haag (s-Gravenhage/Den Haag), Harkov (Kharkiv/Harkiv), Hercegnovi (Herceg Novi), Humin/Gumin (Gemona del Friuli), Janina (Ioánnina), Karlovec (Karlovac), Karlovi Vari (Karlový Vary), Katowice (Katowice), Kijev (Kyjiv), Kišinjev/Kišinjov (Chişinău), Konstanca (Constanța), Kopenhagen (København), Kordova (Córdoba), Krakov (Kraków), Lipnica (Leibnitz), Lizbona (Lisboa), Lodž (Łódź), Lozana (Lausanne), Luksemburg (Luxembourg), Lurd (Lourdes), Monošter (Szentgotthárd), Nica (Nice), Nikozija (Levkosia/Lefkoşa), Pariz (Paris), Patras (Pátrai), Peč (Pejë/Peć), Peč/Pečuh (Pécs), Pirej (Piraeus/Peiraieus), Praga (Praha), Priština (Prishtinë/Priština), Pulj (Pula), Ravena (Ravenna), Reka (Rijeka), Sankt Peterburg (Sankt-Peterburg), Sisek (Sisak), Skader (Shkodër), Solun (Thessaloníki), Sombotel (Szombathely), Šmohor (Hermagor), Talin (Tallinn), Temišvar (Timișoara), Tirana (Tiranë), Trident (Trento/Trient), Turin (Torino), Varšava (Warszawa), Videm/Viden (Udine), Vilna (Vilnius), Vroclav (Wrocław), Železno (Eisenstadt) in Ženeva (Genève).

Respondenti so morali ob navedenem endonimu ime mesta zapisati v obliki, ki jo običajno uporabljajo, pa naj si gre za njegovo eksonimsko ali endonimsko različico. Če ima eksonim dve obliki, smo kot pravi len zapis upoštevali katerokoli od njih.

Če pogledamo odgovore kot celoto, lahko ugotovimo, da so vsi respondenti v 54,1 % primerov zapisali pravilne eksonime, v 8,6 % primerov so navedli nepravilne eksonime, v 23,2 % primerovh so mesta poimenovali z originalnimi imeni oziroma endonimi, v 14,1 % primerov pa jim jih ni uspelo prepoznati (slika 1)

Slika 1: Prepoznavnost eksonimov evropskih mest.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

V rabi eksonimov pri posameznih mestih in njihovi prepoznavnosti nasploh smo ugotovili velike razlike. Edino mesto, za katerega so prav vsi uporabili pravi eksonim, je Praga. Več kot 80 % jih je pravilne eksonime zapisalo tudi ob imenih Priština (99,4 %), Bukarešta (98,8 %), Nica (97,6 %), Tirana (97,0 %), Varšava (95,8 %), Benetke (94,7 %), Carigrad oziroma Istanbul (94,6 %), Atene (94,0 %), Kijev (92,8 %), Bruselj (92,8 %), Firence (89,8 %), Pariz (88,6 %), Ženeva (86,8 %), Beljak (85,6 %), Reka (85,2 %), Talin (85,0 %), Lizbona (84,3 %), Krakov (82,5 %) in Brod na Kolpi (81,4 %). Navedena imena lahko opredelimo kot trdno jedro slovenskih eksonimov, dobro znano tudi v širši javnosti, ki jih praviloma tudi uporablja v komunikaciji znotraj slovenske skupnosti.

Na nasprotni strani lestvice je 13 mest, ki jih pozna oziroma pravilno navaja manj kot 20 % respondentov. Povsem na repu je eksonim Bitolj (0,6 %), ki mu sledijo imena Trident (1,8 %), Sombotel (3,5 %), Turin (5,3 %), Janina (5,4 %), Kordova (6,7 %), Brižinje oziroma Brižinj (7,6 %), Banjaluka (9,0 %), Nikozija (9,5 %; za ta eksonim smo prepričani, da ga pozna bistveno več ljudi, a so imeli respondenti zaradi precejšnje različnosti tako grškega kot turškega endonima velike težave pri njegovem prepoznavanju; mnogi so si njegovo slovensko eksonimsko ustreznico kar izmislili), Železno (10,0 %), Sisek (10,1 %), Češke Budějovice (13,3 %) in Breže (13,5 %). Gre za imena, ki so tako v strokovni kot širši javnosti že dodobra pozabljena in se bodo verjetno kaj kmalu znašla na seznamu reliktnih eksonimov, kjer so že na primer imena Belgrad, Monakovo, Kelmorajin, Inomost, Kjudža, Jakin, Novi Jork, Sveti Frančišek in podobna.

Kot naslednjo kategorijo obravnavamo nepravilno zapisane oziroma med seboj pomešane eksonime. V njej je absolutni rekorder eksonim Češke Budějovice, ki ga je napačno zapisalo kar 57,8 % respondentov. Največkrat sta se pojavili nepravilni obliki Češke Budejovice (38-krat) in Češke Budjevice (24-krat), kot poskuse zapisa slovenskega eksonima tega južnočeškega mesta pa lahko prepoznamo še imenske oblike Češke Budejevice, Češke Budjelovice, Češke Budjerovice, Češke Budjavice, Češke Budjovice, Češke Budo-vice, Češke Budvice, Češke Budžejovice, Češke Budževice ter celo Česke Toplice in Budweiss. Očitno gre za težak imenoslovni problem, ki ga kljub dokajšnji prepoznavnosti in slovanskemu izvoru le stežka pravilno zapišemo, četudi je ime navedeno v slovarskem delu Slovenskega pravopisa (2001).

Podobno težavna je tudi pravilna raba eksonimov Sankt Peterburg (46,4%), Kordova (42,7%), Somotel (34,1%) in Haag (31,3%). Na drugi strani imamo kar lepo število eksonimov (Banjaluka, Firenze, Karlovec, Katovice, Nica, Pariz, Praga, Priština, Pulj, Ravena, Reka, Sisek in Tirana), ki so jih vsi respondenti ustrezno zapisali bodisi kot endonime bodisi kot eksonime.

Natanko pri desetih imenih je več kot polovica respondentov navedla izključno endonimsko različico. Na vrhu seznama je Banjaluka, za katero imensko različico Banja Luka uporablja 90,7% od tistih, ki so odgovorili na anketi. V njem so še imena Torino, Bitola, Sisak, Pula, Karlovac, Trento, Freising, Herceg Novi in Córdoba, takoj zatem pa je na naše precejšnje presenečenje in tudi žalost na vrsti avstrijsko štajersko mesto Leibnitz (45,2%), po naše Lipnica. Skoraj nihče ne uporablja endonima za poimenovanje mest Lizbona, Varšava, Priština, Atene, Bukarešta, Carigrad oziroma Istanbul, Praga in Tirana.

Največje težave s prepoznavnostjo so se pokazale pri identifikaciji že zapisane endonimske različice severnogrskega mesta Ioánnina (55,4%). Več kot 30% respondentom ni uspelo prepoznati tudi eksonimov Kharkiv/Harkiv, Friesach, Durrës, Gemona del Friuli, Piraievs/Peiraieus, Shkodër, Pátrai, Chişinău, Levkosa/Lefkoşa, Hermagor, Szentgotthárd, Pejë/Peć, Szombathely in Eisenstadt. Na drugi strani je vsem uspelo prepoznati Banjaluko, Bruselj, Bukarešto, Carigrad oziroma Istanbul, Firenze, Gradec, Lizbono, Pariz, Prago, Prištino, Pulj in Reko.

4.2 Poznavanje eksonimov evropskih otoških reliefnih oblik

Poizvedovali smo po poznavanju eksonimov desetih izbranih evropskih otoških skupin in otokov: Brioni (Brijuni), Eolski otoki/Liparski otoki (Isole Eolie/Isole Lipari), Hebridi (Hebrides/Western Isles), Lofoti (Lofoten), Nova dežela/Nova zemlja (Novaja zemlja), Pitjuzi (Islas Pitiuses/Illes Pitiüses), Shetlandski otoki (Shetland Islands), Sporadi (Sporádhnes), Velika Britanija (Great Britain) in Zelandija/Zeland (Sjælland).

Respondenti so morali ob navedenem endonimu ime otočja ali otoka zapisati v obliki, ki jo običajno uporabljajo, pa naj si gre za njegovo eksonimsko ali endonimsko različico. Če ima eksonim dve obliki, smo kot pravičen zapis upoštevali katerokoli od njih.

Splošna stopnja poznavanja teh eksonimov je dokaj podobna poznavanju eksonimov evropskih mest. To velja še zlasti za delež navajanje pravičnih eksonimov (54,4%), delež nepravilnih eksonimov je nekaj večji (14,2%), delež navedenih endonimov pa bistveno manjši (4,2%). Večji je tudi delež neprepoznanih imena (27,1%; slika 2).

Slika 2: Prepoznavnost eksonimov evropskih otoških reliefnih oblik.

Glej angleški del prispevka.

Analiza poznavanja posameznih endonimov iz te skupine je razkrila precejšnjo polarizacijo. Več kot polovica respondentov je kar v sedmih primerih zapisala pravilni eksonim: Velika Britanija (95,8%), Eolski otoki/Liparski otoki (83,8%), Nova dežela/Nova zemlja (78,1%), Sporadi (68,7%), Hebridi (63,9%), Lofoti (63,8%) in Brioni (52,8%). Preostala tri imena niso dosegla 20%: Shetlandski otoki (18,2%), Zelandija/Zeland (12,8%) in Pitjuzi (0,0%).

Medtem ko so Shetlandski otoki zagotovo prepoznavni, a se njihovo ime navaja z zelo različnimi, največkrat nepravilnimi eksonimi (teh primerov je kar 70,3%, največkrat pa so se pojavili zapisi Šetlandski otoki (kar 79-krat), Šetlandsko otočje, Šetlandi in Šetlantski otoki), so Pitjuzi (skupno ime za balearska otoka Ibiza in Formentera) izrazito neznan zemljepisni pojem, saj jih kar 85,3% respondentov ne prepozna. 60,9% jih ni prepoznalo tudi danskega otoka Zelandije, Med nepravilno zapisanimi eksonimi močno izstopajo še Brioni (44,8%).

4.3 Poznavanje starih, reliktnih eksonimov evropskih mest

Poizvedovanje o poznavanju starih eksonimov se nam je pri snovanju vprašalnika zdelo še posebno zanimivo, saj smo v njem zavestno izpostavili eksonime desetih evropskih mest, ki se v sodobni vsakdanji rabi ne pojavljajo več, vendar so še ohranjeni v spominu posameznikov s poglobljenim zanimanjem za zgodovino pisje in jezikoslovje, z nekaterimi pa se posredno srečujemo tudi prek iz njih izpeljanih pridevniških oblik, kot je to primer s pojmom florentinski (zrezek) in solnograški (žličniki). V vprašalnik smo vključili naslednjih deset imen: Bazileja (Basel), Draždane (Dresden), Florenca (Firenze/Firenze), Kandija (Ira-

klion/Heraklion/Iraklio), Kelmorajn (Köln), Kodanj (København), Kraljevi Gradec (Hradec Králové), Monakovo (München), Segedin (Szeged) in Solnograd (Salzburg).

Respondenti so morali ob navedenih starih slovenskih eksonimih vpisati njihovo sodobno ime, ki je bilo lahko navedeno v endonimski ali eksonimski različici.

Splošna prepoznavnost teh eksonimov je skladno s pričakovanji bistveno slabša. V povprečju lahko kar 57,7 % navedb respondentov uvrstimo v kategorijo neprepoznavanje imena. Če pa so respondenti ob reliktnem eksonimu navedli njegovo sodobno ime, so pravilno obliko zapisali v treh četrтинah primerov (slika 3).

Slika 3: Prepoznavnost reliktnih eksonimov evropskih mest.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

Obe navedeni vrednosti sta le povprečji, v katerih se odražajo velike razlike v poznavanju posameznih imen. Najbolj prepoznavna eksonima sta Solnograd (79,1 % pravih navedb) in Florenca (75,3 %). Sledijo jima imena Monakovo (46,2 %), Segedin (33,5 %) in Kelmorajn (32,2 %), ki tudi še niso povsem utonili v pozabo. To pa ne velja za eksonime Draždane (12,7 %), Bazileja (10,8 %), Kraljevi Gradec (5,0 %), Kodanj (3,2 %) in Kandija (1,9 %), ki so tako rekoč pozabljeni, izumrli.

Ker je poznavanje tovrstnih eksonimov šibko, ne preseneča, da so se ob trudu respondentov »uganiti« pravilno ime, pojavile nekatere zanimive zablode. Med vsemi imeni se je največ nepravilnih zapisov sodobnih imen pojavilo ob eksonimu Monakovo (34,0 %), ki ga je kar 52 respondentov napačno prisodilo kneževini Monako (47-krat so to ime zapisali v eksonimski različici, petkrat kot endonim Monaco). Bazilejo so največkrat napačno pripisali Braziliji (ni povsem jasno ali državi ali njenemu glavnemu mestu), ob njej pa sta se pojavili tudi imeni Bazovica in Oglej. Ime Florenca so kar štirje pripisali Benetkam, sedem pa jih je podomačenko Kandija (iz beneškega imena Candia, kar je še vedno živ italijanski eksonim za največje mesto na Kreti Iraklion) pripisalo dolenski prestolnici Novo mesto. Na nepoznavanje kaže tudi pogosto ponavljanje imen v vprašalniku navedenih eksonimov, kar je v nasprotju z navodili. V tem se najbrž odraža tudi površno branje navodil. Sicer pa je več kot dve tretjini respondentov odkritosrčno navedlo, da eksonimov Kodanj (92,4 %), Draždane (79,8 %), Kandija (77,9 %), Bazileja (74,1 %) in Kraljevi Gradec (73,9 %) ne prepoznavajo in imajo nepremostljive težave z njihovo umestitvijo.

5 Poznavanje eksonimov glede na starostno sestavo in strokovnost

Odgovore na vsa tri vprašanja smo združili v enotno datoteko s skupno devetdesetimi rezultati poizvedovanj. Morda se zdi vključitev metodološko nekoliko drugačnega poizvedovanja o poznavanju starih eksonimov rahlo sporna (pri tem vprašanju niso bile predvidene navedbe endonimov in te ob morebitnih zapisih tudi niso bile upoštevane), a vsebinsko zagotovo dobro zaokroža obravnavano tematiko.

Gledano v celoti so bili eksonimi ustrezno obravnavani v 52,0 % primerov, v 20,0 % primerov respondenti imen niso prepoznali, v 19,6 % primerov so navedli, da za imena, o katerih smo povpraševali, običajno uporabljajo endonime, v 9,4 % primerov pa eksonima niso pravilno zapisali.

V teh suhoparnih povprečjih se skrivajo precejšnje individualne razlike v poznavanju eksonimov, ki jih gre pripisati tudi afiniteti posameznikov do zemljepisnih imen. Pri tem ni nepomembno, da smo imeli opraviti s strokovno nadpovprečno podkovanimi respondenti, ki daleč presegaajo splošno raven poznavanja eksonimov in zemljepisnih imen nasploh. Ob tem pa se je zlasti med največjimi poznavalci razkrila tudi osebna nagnjenost k rabi bodisi eksonimov bodisi endonimov.

Daleč največ pravih eksonimov (81,1 %) je navedel učitelj geografije, star med 31 in 40 let, sledi mu enako star geograf – raziskovalec s 73,3 %, njegova prednost pred zasledovalci pa ni tako izdatna kot zaostanek za prvimi. Najboljši negeograf je dosegel 71,1 %. Povsem na dnu lestvice sta dva mlajša, do 31 let stara negeografa, ki sta pravilne eksonime zapisala le v 20,9 % oziroma 27,8 % primerov. Izstopajoč rekorder po številu nepravilno navedenih oziroma zapisanih eksonimov je od 51 do 60 let star geograf, ki ni ne raziskovalec ne pedagog (32,2 %). Na nasprotni strani lestvice sta brez ene same nepravilne navedbe geografa raziskovalec, eden star od 31 do 40 in drugi od 41 do 50 let. Raziskovalci s področja geografije so tudi najbolj zapriseženi uporabniki endonimov, saj so na prvih petih mestih kar štirje (rekorder v starosti od 41 do 50 let je dosegel 43,3-odstotni delež). Endonime praviloma najmanj uporabljajo učitelji geografije in negeografi. V ospredju se je znašel do 31 let star negeograf (4,4 %). Na vse doslej navedene vrednosti pomembno vpliva sposobnost prepoznavanja imen. Po pričakovanjih so se najslabše odrezali

negeografi, ki so zasedli prvih devet mest. Najslabše ocenjena, do 31 let stara oseba je imela kar 58,2-odstotni delež. Deseto mesto je zasedel manj kot 31 let star učitelj geografije z za geografa »sramotnimi« 44,4 %. Petnajstim respondentom je uspelo prepoznati več kot 95 % v vprašalniku navedenih imen. Med njimi so sedem učiteljev geografije, štiri raziskovalci s področja geografije, trije negeografi in en geograf drugega poklicnega profila. Dva sta dosegla stoo odstotni izkupiček. Eden od njiju je od 31 do 40 let star negeograf, drugi pa enako star geograf – raziskovalec.

Analiza navedb vseh respondentov glede na njihovo starostno sestavo je razkrila (slika 4), da se tako raba pravih eksonimov kot endonimov s starostjo rahlo povečuje, da so deleži nepravilno navedenih eksonimov zelo podobni v vseh starostnih skupinah in da se sposobnost prepoznavanja zemljepisnih imen s starostjo povečuje.

Slika 4: Prepoznavnost eksonimov glede na starostno sestavo respondentov.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

Glede na strokovnost oziroma poklic respondentov je opazno (slika 5), da geografi – raziskovalci in učitelji geografije v nekoliko večji meri uporabljajo pravilne eksonime, negeografi pa so rahlo boljši poznavalci od geografov drugih profilov. Ti so najviše na lestvici nepravilno navedenih eksonimov, tesno za petami pa so jim geografi – raziskovalci. Ti tudi opazno najpogosteje uporabljajo endonime, najredkeje jih uporabljajo negeografi. Negeografi in geografi drugih profilov so v ospredju tudi pri neprepoznavanju imen, prepoznavanje pa gre precej bolje od rok učiteljem geografije in še zlasti geografskim raziskovalcem.

Slika 5: Prepoznavnost eksonimov glede na strokovnost respondentov.
Glej angleški del prispevka.

6 Sklep

Eksonimi so tako kot vsa zemljepisna imena kot živi organizmi z značilnimi življenjskimi cikli. V našo raziskavo smo seveda lahko vključili le eksonime na vrhuncu njihove rabe in v fazi odmiranja, saj novi eksonimi, kljub drugačnim priporočilom resolucij konferenc Združenih narodov o standardizaciji zemljepisnih imen, nenehno nastajajo. Kot del ciljnega jezika je namreč korpus eksonimov tako kot jezik sam izpostavljen nenehnim spremembam. Skladno z mednarodnimi priporočili naj bi se pretirani rabi eksonimov izogibali zlasti zaradi njihove zgodovinsko-politične občutljivosti. Kljub temu se v praksi v večini jezikov število eksonimov še vedno povečuje, kar je posledica potreb govorcev določenega jezika in njegove avtonomije, za katero skrbijo jezikoslovci. Ti kreirajo jezikovna pravila, ne meneč se za poskuse vplivanja na jezik od zunaj. Uveljavljanje načel, ki so jih vspostavili Združeni narodi, nedvomno prispeva k bolj smotrni rabi zemljepisnih imen tudi pri nas, a so ta načela do določene mere navzkriž s pravopisnimi pravili.

Dokazali smo, da je v praksi raba eksonimov razmeroma neenotna, prepuščena odnosu in občutku posameznika do te problematike oziroma do jezika. Pa vendar je podrobnejša raziskava (Kladnik 2006) razkrila, da so se v zadnjem času načini in stopnje podomačevanja tujih zemljepisnih imen precej poenotili, kar bo zagotovo olajšalo njihovo prepotrebno standardizacijo.

7 Zahvala

Prispevek temelji na temeljnem raziskovalnem projektu »Slovenski eksonimi: metodologija, standardizacija, GIS«, ki ga financira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije.

8 Viri in literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.