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Vladimir SKRAČIĆ

The Toponomastic Primer

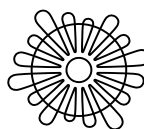
*Basic Terminology and Field
Research Methodology*



Vladimir Skračić

THE TOPONOMASTIC PRIMER

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Research Methodology**



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To Vojmir Vinja, my professor and friend

Vladimir Skračić

THE TOPONOMASTIC PRIMER
Basic Terminology and Field Research Methodology

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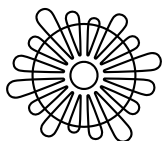
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Vladimir Skračić

THE TOPONOMASTIC PRIMER

Basic Terminology and Field Research Methodology



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Editor's Note

Toponomastics, primarily thanks to Vladimir Skračić, has in recent years become one of the scholarly hallmarks of the University of Zadar – the only institution of higher education in Croatia to boast a research center specialized in onomastic studies, established back in 2003. The University's intent to contribute to the broader international dissemination of one of its center's research methods and findings through this English-language publication is therefore understandable. On the other hand, as it is evident from the preface, the author clearly intended this book for a domestic audience, chiefly students. Everything in it, from the numerous examples to the terminology, is tied to the Croatian context and to experiences drawn from the fieldwork conducted along the coast and islands on the Croatian side of the Adriatic. That is why the author, modestly underestimating his contribution to the broader methodological and theoretical framework of onomastics, initially questioned whether such a text was suitable for translation and whether it might be of interest to an international audience. Ultimately, he agreed to the translation and assisted both the translator and the editor in resolving the uncertainties encountered during the process.

The main issue concerned terminology. Developing a consistent onomastic terminology in the Croatian language was precisely the task to which Vladimir Skračić devoted himself wholeheartedly just before retiring, attempting to systematize what he described in the preface as a “considerable mess in our discipline.” While retaining already established terms, which could be said to belong to the so-called *core terminology*, the author proposed a comparatively large number of new ones. The problem with the latter group is clear: how to

translate terms for which there are no direct equivalents in English-language onomastic terminology, or where such equivalents exist but are not widely accepted? Yet even terms from the former group posed difficulties. For instance, following Croatian tradition, for Skračić, the term *zoonym* is reserved for particular species rather than names of individual animals, whereas in the terminology of the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences*, the term covers “proper name of an animal.” During our discussions, the translator, Tomislav Kuzmanović, insisted – and I am glad he did – that the onomastic terminology presented in this book constitutes a well-thought-out system, and that any hybrid translation solutions would significantly compromise the clarity and consistency of the text. Therefore, all onomastic terms from the original were ultimately retained in the translation, all formed using the *Greek stem + -onym* model, with adaptations in accordance with the rules for romanizing Greek words in English. There is no doubt that this choice by the translator and the editor will not meet with universal approval. However, all terms are thoroughly explained, so readers encountering them for the first time should have no difficulty understanding them.

With the author’s approval, some minor errors from the original were corrected during translation. The author also updated the overview in Chapter 2.2. to reflect changes in the status of island and coastal toponymy research in the fourteen years since the original publication. Likewise, portions of the text pertaining to research conducted under the auspices of the *Center for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics* were revised and brought up to date. Editorial footnotes address the rare instances where I felt it necessary to clarify certain details that a broader audience might not find readily understandable.

It has been an honor to contribute to this edition of my professor’s and friend’s book through my editorial work. I thank both him and the translator, Tomislav Kuzmanović, for their outstanding collaboration.

Nikola Vuletić

Foreword: How to Get to the Buried Treasure?

Should one engage in onomastics, and why is it important? Should one engage in art, examine rare plant species, educate students, study small and remote offshore islands, investigate the seabed, and uncover rare remnants of the past? What makes someone, at the end of their professional career, with the experience of unsuccessful educational and scholarly reforms, engage in *useless things*, explain to everyone and everywhere why they decided to “write a book” about proper names, about phenomena and processes no one cares about? Well, you see – as that wise Croatian writer would say – these questions have no answers!

However, once we step out of the philosophical sphere and surrender ourselves to the “everyday life” of a researcher, once we forget the questions about the meaning of this and that, once we get carried away by our work and love for language, for heritage, and – let it be said – for our homeland, we simply tell ourselves: this must be done!

In Croatia and the Adriatic, there are vast expanses that have not yet been touched by a researcher’s hand, there are linguistic areas we can barely move through because everything is overgrown, and we do not have the tools at hand. There are linguistic and many other disciplines, such as toponomastics, that are barely known... And we have no answers to any of this. Some of these fields and disciplines are the guardians of our identity, of our essence, of our distinctiveness among nations, I would say, of our national pride – often unfounded when we think of how we treat them. This book is dedicated to one of those “marginal” disciplines, which, as it seems, holds the key to unlocking the vault filled with the gold bars of Croatian linguistic heritage. Figuratively speaking, it awaits the sailors from the Greek ship from our story at the end of the book.

Let's stay within the metaphor, even though what follows has no such overtones. That the *treasure* understands the linguistic legacy of our forebearers preserved in toponymic forms needs no further explanation. I most certainly knew where it lay hidden. My natural and linguistic heritage led me to it. Even then, the guardians of the vault were few, old, and weary from waiting. Fortunately, they hadn't forgotten everything yet. And so began the process of investigation, through conversing with witnesses, locating sites, developing precise maps, and establishing a corpus. For many years, up until 2003, I was a solitary seeker. Then, with the help of some good people, I build a new ship for the voyage. In 2004, fresh matriculates, young sailors whom I personally selected and taught how to navigate and set course for the search, boarded the ship. They learned quickly, much faster and better than anyone dared to hope, they earned their degrees and thus became the captains of deep-sea (scholarly) navigation. Since 2006, when we unearthed our first treasure on the Island of Pašman, almost every year, we have tested our skills on a different island.

Today, everyone is dissatisfied with the care for the Croatian language. From those who can barely string a sentence to experts. There's always someone or something in the way, preventing them from realizing their ideal of the language: for some, it's the orthography, for others, those nostalgic for Serbo-Croatian, and for others still, official educational policies... But we rarely ask if we have done everything within our power to change this situation. Because the realm of language is not just about expressing oneself correctly, about orthography, national pride... The realm of language is a vast and broad field, and in it there is room for everyone.

Although it may not seem so on the level of everyday communication, when it comes to language, much of it is hidden and redundant in terms of daily use. I have chosen one of those linguistic fields that is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to access – toponomastics, a branch of onomastics or the study of names. The problem with my choice is not that proper names are not important, but that I have chosen as the object of my study the names that are the hardest to get to. This is to say that within that vast system of names, which are usually presented to the public in ten-volume encyclopedias, I have chosen those that cover the

smallest and least accessible references, known only to small and often neglected communities on remote Adriatic islands. I have decided to rescue them from oblivion and present them to the public, which, I am sad to admit, has not shown much interest in this endeavor. These names and these communities, because of the state they are in, require special care, similar to the care that civilized societies show toward minority groups of all kinds. To ensure and organize this care, it was necessary to invest a certain amount of effort and resources. Some of these conditions I met *by definition*, some I secured with the help of the University of Zadar, and some are yet to be obtained. One of the first, and most glaringly absent, was a guide through this linguistic discipline, especially its method of field research. *The Toponomastic Primer* is a result of that want.

The purpose and necessity of such a handbook are discussed elsewhere in the book. However, something needs to be said about the title. I struggled with it for a long time. There was, and still is, a danger that it might be misunderstood. One could object that toponomastics is a discipline with its own tradition and established authors in Croatian linguistics, and it does not need any handbooks, especially not one that would be called *a primer*. All of this is true, but it is also true that I have spent my whole life with students of all levels and have unequivocally determined that, in terms of terminology and methodology, there is a considerable mess in our discipline! Worse yet, despite brilliant individual achievements, there is no comprehensive work that could be used for the initiation of either students or curious enthusiasts. The publication of *Uvod u hrvatsko imenoslovlje* (Introduction to Croatian Onomastics) by Petar Šimunović has, in large part, filled that gap. At the time it appeared, this handbook was already close to completion, and I could not abandon it, especially since the two books do not exclude each other, either in approach or content.

The situation in toponomastic research is further complicated by the fact that it is not only linguists who are interested in toponomastics. It often serves as an auxiliary (for them) discipline to both geographers, historians, ethnologists... and many others who are often poorly informed or completely uninformed about linguistic matters, especially about the specific issues of toponomastic terminology and methodology. To meet their needs, and in an effort to ensure a minimum of terminological and methodological consistency, I decided to call this book *a primer*.

Even though it will not, by itself, ensure the quality of onomastic research,

there is no doubt that this handbook— especially if it meets the standards of quality, as is the case with Šimunović's *Uvod u hrvatsko imenoslovlje* – is necessary. If for no other reason, then because every discipline that “takes itself seriously” must have such a book in its library. More than one, if possible. And that is precisely what has happened! Of course, it is clear that the real reasons are much deeper, as I have already mentioned. Considering the fortunate turn of events and the growing faculty at *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*¹, I am confident that, alongside publications from the *Onomastica Adriatica* series, new works from this theoretical paradigm will appear very soon.

This is the place in book prefaces where thanks are extended to all who have helped. It is never simple! There is always the risk of someone being overlooked, someone not being given as much space as they deserve or expect. The longer the list, the greater the risk. As I have already mentioned, I realized long ago that a book like this was needed, and several years ago it was nearly completed, i.e., it had reached the stage where its concept and structure were defined and developed. It was precisely at that moment that I found myself in a position that did not allow for significant engagement on any other project. And everything came to a halt. But now, I can no longer delay. I have reached the end of my working life, and, at the close of my professional career, it matters greatly to me “to leave behind” something useful and practical. I would like to believe that this handbook will be that contribution and that its quality and scope will prove its worth.

In this situation, I turned to my colleagues for help. It is no exaggeration to say that this book would not have seen the light of day without them. Although the manuscript was practically finished, there was no time for all the tasks of editing the manuscript and preparing it for print. All those tasks, along with many others not mentioned here, were carried out by my colleagues Ante Jurčić and Kristijan Juran from *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*. At various stages, they were joined by other colleagues from *the Center* and other

¹ With the expansion of its focus and research areas, as well as the inclusion of new scholars and researchers under its auspices, now known as the *Center for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics*.

university departments: Nikola Vuletić, Barbara Vodanović, Josip Faričić, and Milenko Lončar. I thank them all, especially the reviewers Slobodan Čače and Ante Jurić, and the language editor Ankica Bralić.

In 2007, we sadly lost our beacon of inspiration – our colleague, researcher, promoter of Adriatic linguistic heritage, and our friend – Vojmir Vinja, a member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In the book's appendix, I explained how, thanks to him, I became an onomastician. My modest academic journey is directly connected to Vinja's scholarly views and principles, especially to the one principle that is perhaps not so academic, but could be, on this occasion, pathetically called the principle of all principles – *the principle of the Mediterranean*. Professor, as we always called him, lived his Mediterranean to the very last day of his life, and we believe he still lives it in the shade of some heavenly pine. This handbook is a small tribute to his immortal Mediterranean soul.

I wanted this book to be simple and accessible. It comes out of my teaching and professional experience, my fieldwork, and, if it is fitting to say – it is a reflection of my character. Out of my love for synchronic and field research, for empirical and rational insights, as well as out of care for what is often overlooked – in this case, toponomastics within linguistics – I decided to write a simple and, I hope, readable handbook on toponomastics.

This handbook walks the line of scholarly rigor, even though it addresses most of the essential questions that are in the focus of toponomastics as an academic discipline. The slightly more relaxed approach is compensated in many places by detailed case studies that accompany the theoretical part of the discussion. Experience has taught me that anyone who takes their research seriously adheres to scholarly rigor, staying clear of simplistic statements and the absence of scholarly apparatus. This is undoubtedly good for both scholarship and the scholar. On the other hand, almost nothing is done to popularize academic research. Some believe that it is not even necessary. I do not share that opinion, and one of the reasons this book looks the way it does is precisely the attempt to also make it interesting for those who are not experts. Perhaps especially for them! For this reason, I have included several “onomastic” anecdotes from the early stages of my field research in the appendix of the book.

Zadar, the month of January 2011.

The Author

1. Introduction

1.1. Surprise, Surprise: It's Onomastics

I am Vladimir Skračić. I am the head of the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research at the University of Zadar. These two simple sentences contain a number of proper names (Vladimir, Skračić, University, Center, Zadar), some of which we also encounter as common nouns (university and center), while others appear only as names, either as anthroponyms (Vladimir and Skračić) or as toponyms (Zadar). For some, the meaning is transparent (center and university), while for others, at least at first glance, it is obscure (Vladimir, Skračić, Zadar). What they all have in common is that they denote a single person and no one else, i.e. a specific reality (a particular institution of higher education, one organizational unit, or one city).

The specificity of the other nouns in that sentence is that they do not denote any concrete and specific reality, but rather that they have a generally accepted value for all participants in the linguistic process and can, in principle, be understood by everyone (head, onomastic, Adriatic...). By analyzing each spoken or written text in this way, we would come to the conclusion that the entire lexicon of a language, given that it either identifies or signifies, either individualizes or generalizes, can be divided into two large classes: one that denotes only one thing or person and no other (Adriatic, Čiovo, Ankica, Kristijan), and one that has universal value, which always denotes the same for everyone in all situations: water, island, stone, bird, grass... In this handbook, we will focus on the first group within the scholarly discipline called onomastics, and more specifically on one of its branches – toponomastics.

1.2. The Toponomastic Primer

However, before we attempt to provide any answers to the questions of what onomastics, toponomastics, and anthroponomastics are, we must address the following question: is a book on this linguistic issue necessary, and if so, for what reasons and of what kind?

While teaching *Adriatic Toponymy* in the graduate programs in *Linguistics*, *Croatian Maritime History*, *Geographic Foundations of the Littoralization of Croatia*, and *European Studies: Languages and Cultures in Contact* at the University of Zadar, we reached the unequivocal conclusion that there is not a single work in the entire Croatian linguistic literature that provides, within a reasonable number of pages, an explanation of elementary data related to onomastics in general, Adriatic toponymy in particular, as well as the methods of field research in toponomastics, to those who are completely unfamiliar with the subject. Faced with the reality that, in the limited number of hours available for our course, we cannot explain even the basic onomastic terms, let alone engage in more significant analyses and discussions, we decided to write a book – a primer on onomastics – with special regard to toponomastics and specifically its Adriatic component.

When the work on the material for this primer was in its final stages, Petar Šimunović published his *Uvod u hrvatsko imenoslovlje (Introduction to Croatian Onomastics)*. Our first thought, alongside the joy of seeing such a book published, was that all we had done so far was in vain. What had initially motivated us to write the primer had come to pass. However, as with most of Petar Šimunović's works, this one too is characterized by highly specialized and scholarly approach. It lacks the pedagogical and methodological component, which is crucial for those who wish to get involved in onomastic research – particularly students and young scholars. Not because its author would be incapable of including it, but probably because it was not among his priorities. This in no way diminishes the value of Šimunović's book. The difference lies in the amount of information (in his favor), the approach, and the target audience.

We believed, and still believe, that such a book could have many uses, and for us, its greatest value, aside from its pedagogical and scholarly dimensions, lies in the very fact that it exists. In the field of onomastics, at least as far as

our region is concerned, there are many deserving individuals with outstanding achievements. A significant number of topics have been covered in two important journals dedicated to this field: *Onomastica Jugoslavica* (14 issues) and its successor *Folia Onomastica Croatica* (18 issues to date). However, despite these accomplishments, there is currently no practical **handbook** that offers, in one place, an accessible and comprehensive overview of onomastics, and specifically toponomastics: a handbook that defines their place within linguistics, describes the disciplines, fields, and research methods, proposes relevant terminology, offers guidelines for fieldwork, or explains the use of archival materials...

All our onomasticians are, in a sense, self-taught. With few exceptions, they have all attained their expertise, so to speak, indirectly, either by educating themselves individually or by engaging with onomastic topics found in general linguistic literature. They had no handbook, let alone a textbook! Of course, this in no way diminishes the value of their individual endeavors, but it is also not a path one should follow, a path that should provide students and young scholars with a reliable foundation in onomastic and toponomastic research, and offer anyone interested in onomastics, toponomastics, or field research simple and accessible

DIACHRONIC APPROACH TO ONOMASTICS

While describing the toponymy of the island of Vrgada, the father of Croatian onomastics, Petar Skok, clearly expresses his view on which parts of the toponymic material are linguistically relevant and which are not:

“Aside from these three old Romance toponyms (Šipnata, Kokara, and Sudujan, *author’s note*), and disregarding the recent Italian and linguistically insignificant toponym Baščün, Pod Baščünom (Ital. *bastione*, ‘bastion’), all the others are purely Croatian.” – P. Skok, *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, p. 141.

Before the breakthrough and popularization of synchronically oriented structural linguistics, such views on “linguistically insignificant toponyms” were an integral part of the then-prevailing interest in diachrony, and as such, they were a legitimate reflection of the intellectual climate of the time. A major role in introducing structuralism into Croatian linguistics was played by Vojmir Vinja, Petar Skok’s student. By applying his structuralist-inspired belief in the equal importance of synchronic and diachronic, linguistic and non-linguistic, as well as formal and semantic elements in the study of lexical corpora, Vinja enriched Croatian etymology, lexicology, and onomastics with a series of major works, thereby introducing new methodological standards for their study.

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reading material. Although such generalized statements may sound like clichés, as we will show, there are numerous areas of social and even everyday life to which onomastic insights can be applied. Given that toponomastics is not often taught as part of linguistics programs, it can generally be said that, even abroad, interest in toponomastics is largely individual, and there are few places in the world where onomastics is institutionally pursued, at least in terms of formal teaching. The new Bologna study model, through its category of *elective courses*, has opened considerable space for those who wish to teach and those who wish to explore toponomastic topics.

A professional pursuit of onomastics goes, almost as a rule, hand in hand with an interest in other disciplines of the humanities, linguistic and non-linguistic alike, for which onomastic data serves as valuable evidence (dialectology, history, geography, etc.). On the other hand, pursuing onomastics for the sake of onomastics itself is a rare occurrence, even among linguists, who are, by nature, the most qualified to engage with it. When it comes to the scholarly community, we could claim that onomastics is somewhat everyone's and no one's discipline. It is a favored fruit of the humanities when it serves as support for insights in various historically oriented studies, but it regularly loses its appeal when toponyms, and names in general, cease to be exclusive witnesses of linguistic history, i.e., when they need to be studied synchronically, independent of their historical and linguistic context. One reason for such marginalization of onomastics may lie in the fact that most people accept their own names as a self-evident fact, like walking or listening, without ever questioning it. Given that, on a morphosyntactic and prosodical level, elements of the onomastic lexicon (*onyms*) behave much like other lexemes, there is a common, albeit rarely verbalized, view among linguists that this field does not deserve particular linguistic attention.

When it comes to the appeal of scholarly engagement in onomastics, we must not forget the objectively challenging conditions for collecting and processing data that onomasticians face on a daily basis: from the laborious and time-consuming search for attestations in the archives, through expensive field research with often uncertain results, to analyses and systematizations that require extensive education in the humanities, which is often difficult to obtain due to limited access to onomastically relevant literature.

This handbook could also be of use for all of those who do not engage in on-

onomastics and toponomastics but frequently stumble upon them, as both disciplines assist many who obtain their data through language, especially through linguistic attestations that record proper names. And what is history, literature, cartography, or land registry without proper names?

Finally, this handbook is intended for all casual users of toponomastics, for everyone who navigates it without even realizing it, for those who believe it will help them uncover the meaning of their name or the name of their hometown. It is also intended for all those who will have to pronounce or write the name of an Iraqi or Iranian (or tomorrow a Mongolian or Nepalese) city they have never heard of, for those who need to “find” the adjective for the nouns such as *Silba* or *Sveti Filip i Jakov* (*sibenski* and *filipjanski*, respectively), for those who have to answer the question of what the inhabitants of *Vrgada* or *Veli Rat* are called (*Vrgadin* and *Velaraćanin*), for all those purists who struggle to fit onomastic facts into their rigid linguistic frameworks, and finally for students and pupils who, secretly, while their instructor is lecturing, play little toponomastic games: *name, place, animal, thing... that start with an S*.

1.3. Proper Name – A Fundamental Human Need

A proper name is the result of the human need for precise identification of objects or living beings. Beyond this, a proper name serves many other functions: from spatial orientation to the need for originality when it comes to naming pets, cars, cafés, or vacation resorts. And how does a proper name come into existence? The said need for identifying spaces or people prompts an individual or a community to “come up with” a specific name for a certain configuration (a toponym) or a person (an anthroponym). These are two different processes, yet they share the common feature of assigning a name to a particular object or person (including animals, especially domesticated ones) or, using linguistic terminology, attributing a specific linguistic form (*toponymic form*) – or, simply put, a **name** – to a given content (*referent* in onomastics).

Understanding the process of naming in toponomastics requires a certain degree of abstraction. It is clear that the process is not uniform and does not follow a defined pattern. In some places, a net called *trata* was used for fish-

ing, so the location was named *Trata*, while other places that served the same purpose were called *Lovišće*, *Lojena*, *Gavunišće*... Over time, the tools used for fishing, the methods employed, or the type of catch motivated the creation of a name, a unique name at that assigned to this specific fishing ground and no other within a given geographical area. This was done, among other reasons, to avoid confusion when drawing lots for fishing spots in the same zone. It is evident that the same reality requiring a name encouraged the same linguistic processes. This becomes particularly clear with toponymic forms originating in different languages. For example, *Trata*, *Nova Pošta*, *Lojena*, and *Lojišće* are names of fishing grounds; *Aranj*, *Šepurine*, *Šipnata*, and *Studenac* refer to bodies of water; *Straža*, *Ozrinj*, *Kustodija*, and *Šantinela* are locations used for observing the surrounding maritime area, etc.

How long did this process of “transition” last – from a common noun to a proper name, from an appellative to a toponym? There is no definitive answer. However, it can definitely be established that the process moved faster when the need for spatial identification was greater. In Zadar, there is a street-neighborhood called *Pet Nebodera* (Five Skyscrapers). Before these buildings were constructed, there was no linguistic need for identification (or it was purely descriptive). Once they were built, it became a necessity. The height of these structures in a city with relatively low buildings certainly contributed to this. In this and similar cases, the process takes only a few years. Naturally, in toponymy things occur much more slowly (and more spontaneously) than, for example, in anthroponymy, where a name is essentially imposed and becomes functional the moment it is recorded in official registers.

1.4. The University of Zadar – The Onomastic Center of Croatia

Aside from individual research projects related to onomastics, Zadar is currently the only city in Croatia where the university conducts systematic research on onomastic and, especially, toponomastic topics. There are many reasons for this.

Without diminishing the importance of any other region, the birthplace of Croatian toponomastic research is the Adriatic. Numerous civilizations, different linguistic systems, the coastline with countless coves and bays and more

than a thousand islands and islets, the indisputable importance of the sea... each of these factors individually and all of them collectively have influenced the formation of an exceptionally rich and diverse system of names that has been attracting scholars from the very beginning of toponomastic research. Additionally, Zadar and the Adriatic cities in general are home to rich archives, containing vast collections of documents with a virtually unlimited number of recorded personal names and toponyms. The first systematic toponomastic field research also began on the Adriatic (Skok, Jurišić, Šimunović), largely in Zadar and its surroundings (Bjelanović, Finka, Jurišić).

Adriatic Toponymy, adapted to postgraduate level of study, was an elective course in the four previously mentioned study programs, while *Onomastics* was one of the core courses in the Linguistics Program. The MA Program in Romance Studies offered by the Department of French and Ibero-Romance Studies also included *Onomastics* among its mandatory subjects. Furthermore, the University of Zadar is the only institution with a unit specialized in the study of this field: *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*.

2. An Overview of Adriatic Toponomastic Research

2.1. The Adriatic and Its Islands – A Good Place for Toponomastic Research

The aforementioned reasons lead us to believe that *The Toponomastic Primer*, intended as a textbook for students at Croatian universities, cannot begin without a brief overview of Adriatic toponomastic research and its key figures.

Layers upon layers of civilizations and their cultures can be found along the Adriatic shores and islands, with their material and linguistic remains easily recognizable even to this day (Liburnians, Greeks, Romans, autochthonous Romance population of Dalmatia, Croats, Venetians, French, English, Austrians, and Italians). However, for our story, far more significant are the languages used to name the reality of the inhabitants of these civilizations and nations. Given that some of these languages have vanished from the face of the earth and serve no purpose for communication (such as Liburnian and Dalmatian Romance), while others are no longer spoken in the Adriatic region (with certain exceptions for Italian), it is precisely toponomastics and anthroponomastics, through the study of place and personal names (toponyms and anthroponyms), that allow us to gain insight into the carriers of these civilizations even when historical records and material evidence are lacking.

There are also new developments. The Adriatic reality of today presents a whole range of new problems and challenges. The overpopulation of earlier periods in many areas has been replaced by a demographic wasteland. This is particularly true for small and remote islands. Even when such islands have a relatively large number of inhabitants compared to their size, the population is,

on average, of advanced age, without the possibility of renewal or progression through natural population growth. Since living speakers are the backbone of any linguistic system, their disappearance will also lead to the collapse of the (top)onomastic system they have maintained. Therefore, even from this perspective, the islands are highly endangered yet extremely potent points on Croatia's toponomastic map that should be researched and studied as soon as possible.

On the other hand, the standard language, omnipresent thanks to widely accessible media, neutralizes local traditional vernaculars in which toponymic forms are generally confirmed. This does not mean that the standard language should not be nurtured. Quite the opposite! However, it also means that, under current conditions, greater and greater attention should be paid to local dialects – which, once again, are exceptionally well-documented in toponyms.

Therefore, it is neither a bias, nor a sign of local patriotism, nor of regional exclusivity to give particular attention to Adriatic toponomastic research, especially when it comes to contemporary inventories. There are still vast, unexplored areas of the coastline and entire islands untouched by the toponomastic hand.

CROATIA – A COUNTRY BY THE SEA

The coastline of the Croatian part of the Adriatic is 6,175 kilometers long: 4,398 km refer to the islands, and the remainder belongs to the shoreline between Savudrija Bay and the Bay of Kotor, meaning that, in relation to the land area of its national territory, Croatia has the longest coastline of all Mediterranean countries. It is quite certain that such an intensely articulated coastline, together with the high population density in the past and the population's dependence on nature and living off the natural environment, must have resulted in the creation of a large number of place names. Otherwise, navigation would have been impossible! Croatia's national territory also boasts the greatest number of islands in the Mediterranean. Recent counts have shown that there are 1,246 islands, both large and small. This is certainly much fewer than Greece (around 6,000 islands), but significantly more than Italy, Montenegro, Spain, and France, as well as the African and Asian Mediterranean countries. It is true that this is much fewer than the number of islands in the Nordic countries, especially Norway, Sweden, and Finland, which, it should be noted, are quite specific and would be difficult to compare with Croatia's islands. Croatian waters, thanks to territorial waters (33,200 km²), together with the Ecological and Fishery Protection Zone, make up 57,070 km², which is more than Croatia's land area.

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2.2. The Status of Island and Coastal Toponymy Research

With regards to the published toponymic material collected through field research, the area of the Adriatic islands and coastline can be divided into three categories based on the degree of research conducted so far:

Undocumented or poorly documented areas

- Coastline: coastal areas along the Velebit Channel; coastal areas between Cape Ploča (Planka) and Brela; Dubrovnik region;
- Islands: Plavnik, Prvić (in the Baška Municipality), Vis.

Partially documented areas

- Western Istria: coastline (Jurišić); additional material for the Medulin area (Peruško);
- Eastern Istria: coastline between Brseč and Lovran (Gilić; Eterović);
- The island of Krk: the areas of Baška (Dorčić), Dobrinj (Jelenović), and Vrbnik (Žic);
- The Cres and Lošinj archipelago: coastline (Jurišić); additional material for the islands of Susak (Hraste) and Unije (Nikolić), and for the areas of Beli (Velčić) and Nerezine (Šprljan);
- Coastal areas between Rijeka and Senj: Sušak (Grčić-Simeunović), Kostrena (Gilić), Bakar, Bakarac (Luzer), and Crikvenica (Bašić);
- Northern Zadar region: coastline (Finka);
- Southern Zadar and Šibenik region: coastline (Finka and Šojat), addi-

tional material for the Sveti Filip i Jakov area (Jurić and Vuletić);

- The island of Hvar with its adjacent islets: the areas of Brusje, Grablje, Hvar (Hraste), Pitve (Barbić), and Pakleni Islands (Kovačić);
- Makarska region (Andrijašević, Jurišić, Vidović);
- The Neretva estuary: the SE part (Milić and Vidović);
- The Pelješac peninsula: the areas of Brijesta, Dubrava, Janjina, Oskorušno, and Žuljana (Vidović and his collaborators);
- The island of Korčula: the areas of Vela Luka (Vidović) and Blato (Milat Panža);
- The islands of Biševo, Sušac, Brusnik and Jabuka (Božanić);
- The Lastovo archipelago, the island of Mljet, and the Elaphiti Islands: coastline (Šimunović).

Optimally documented areas

- The islands of Rab, Goli Otok and Sveti Grgur (*Onomastica Adriatica*, upcoming);
- The islands of Pag, Maun, and Škrda (*Onomastica Adriatica*);
- The central and outer chains of the Zadar archipelago: Olib, Silba, Premuda, Škarda, Molat, Tun, Zverinac, Lavdara, Iž, Sestrunj (Skračić), Dugi Otok (Skračić), Rava (Skračić; Jurić), and Ist (Skračić; Jurić); additional material for the areas of Iž (Martinović) and Sali (Piasevoli);
- The inner group of the Zadar archipelago: Vir (Skračić and Šprljan), Rivanj (Radulić; Šprljan), Pašman, Ugljan (*Onomastica Adriatica*), and Vrgada (Jurišić; *Onomastica Adriatica*);
- The Kornati islands (Finka and Šojat; Skračić; *Onomastica Adriatica*);
- The Šibenik archipelago: Murter, Prvić, Zlarin, Kaprije, Žirje, and Krapanj (Finka and Šojat; *Onomastica Adriatica*);
- The islands of Veli Drvenik and Mali Drvenik (Marasović-Alujević and Lozić Knezović);
- The island of Čiovo (Jurić);
- The island of Šolta (Marasović-Alujević and Lozić Knezović);
- The island of Brač (Šimunović; additional material by Lozić Knezović for the coastline, and by Vidović for the Pučišće area);
- The islands of Svetac and Šćedro (Marasović-Alujević and Božanić);
- The island of Palagruža (Božanić).

2.3. The Adriatic Toponomasticians

Toponomastic material formed the backbone of works and studies conducted by numerous historians, geographers, and linguists, starting with the first Ptolemaic maps, the Anonymous of Ravenna, and Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus... However, there are many unknowns in the toponymic forms left by the ancient authors. To this day, many have not been identified or precisely located. For example, the Anonymous of Ravenna lists *Dicera*, *Teraria*, and *Biperaria*, while Porphyrogenitus mentions *Estiunez* and *Katautrebena*, but it remains unclear which islands these names refer to. If we exclude individual attempts at etymologizing (which are often conflated with toponomastics, and vice versa), the first systematic study of Adriatic toponymy was undertaken by Croatian linguist Petar Skok (1881–1956). Toponomastics was his first love. He began his academic career by defending his doctoral dissertation on French toponymy. Skok's work in toponomastics continued throughout his entire scholarly opus, as evidenced by his contributions to linguistic journals, his books, and finally, in his monumental etymological dictionary.

Without reservation, Petar Skok can be called the father of Croatian (top)onomastics because his study of proper names used a completely new methodology, even if still within the framework of the tradition of the Neogrammarian linguistic school of which he was a disciple. His primary interest was etymology. However, Skok was aware that the era of cabinet-style work in toponomastics had passed, and that future toponomastic research would have to be conducted in the field; that, in linguistic terms, what the name denotes (*referent*), or in other words, the reality it describes (or identifies in toponomastics), would also have to be considered. Skok devoted a large part of his etymological research to the Adriatic islands. In addition to numerous articles published in journals in Croatia and abroad, he also published several books on the topic, including *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima* (Slavic and Romance Heritage on the Adriatic Islands, 1950), which is certainly one of the foundational works of Croatian onomastic literature.

2.3.1. *Petar Skok*

Despite not having a formal education in Slavic philology (he completed his studies in Romance and Germanic philology in Vienna in 1904, where, in 1905, under the mentorship of W. Meyer-Lübke, he defended his dissertation on the topic of four toponymic suffixes in place names in southern France), Petar Skok is the author of a foundational work in Croatian philology: the first and, to this day, the first comprehensive etymological dictionary of the Croatian language. In addition to the general lexicon, the dictionary also traces the development of a large number of toponyms and lexemes of Slavic origin confirmed solely in toponymy, which makes it, alongside *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, one of the two fundamental textbooks for the study of South Slavic, Croatian, and especially Adriatic toponymy. Considering the linguistic and dialectal diversity

of the eastern Adriatic region, attested in numerous Adriatic toponymic examples, it is clear that a thorough and pertinent etymological and onomastic study of the said lexical material could only have been conducted by someone who, in addition to the dominant Slavic element, was deeply familiar with the non-Slavic linguistic environment. Skok's qualifications in this regard were unrivaled at the time, as evidenced by Vinja's statement included in the preface to *Jadranske etimologije* (JE I: 5): "No one better than him knew the influence of Romance languages, especially Romanian dialects, the influence of Turkish, Albanian, Greek, and other neighboring languages that are, each in its own

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way, more or less reflected in the three-dialectal partition of the Croatian language.”

Skok was not interested in the Adriatic and Adriatic topics because he loved the sea, fish, beaches, sailing, or islands. Especially not because he associated the sea with leisure. Skok simply knew that, when it came to the Adriatic, it was the linguistic space where a vast amount of data from different linguistic

P. SKOK: “FIELD RESEARCH IS ESSENTIAL...”

In his monograph, Skok writes: “*In the past, this island [Premuda] must have been heavily wooded, just like Silba. The name of the promontory, the fields around it, and the Medvijak grove – a rare toponym in the Zadar archipelago, encountered only on the island of Pag – are a clear indication of this*” (*Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otovima*, SRJO, p. 91). This passage suggests that Skok assumed the toponym denoted the (land) bear and that he was unaware of the existence of the mammal called *morska medvjedica*, i.e., ‘sea bear,’ in the Croatian language (Mediterranean monk seal, *Monachus albiventer*). Monk seals had their terrestrial habitats in caves and small coves on the islands, a fact confirmed numerous times in Adriatic toponymy (Biševo, Kornati, Molat, Murter, Premuda, Pag, Silba...).

In another instance, Skok states: “*Pelegrin and Piligrin were borrowed into our language as Italian common words meaning ‘pilgrim.’ Such a metaphorical name for a promontory may only be explained through field research*” (SRJO, p. 129). As in many other cases, Skok focused on form and accurately guessed the origin of the name. However, despite being aware of the risks, he was essentially “knocking on an open door.” The cape was named after the Church of Saint Peregrine located on it.

In a third example, he observes: “*The name Maknare (feminine plural) is particularly interesting as a nautical term for Sette bocche, referring to the sea between Sestrunj, Veliki and Mali Tun, Molat, and the islet of Kamenjak. Here, fishing nets tear easily. When the current is strong, navigation is impossible. It is a Romance derivative with the suffix -aria from machina, meaning ‘stone.’ It thus means ‘a place full of stones’*” (SRJO, p. 96). While the etymology is correct, the motivation and transmission of the word are most certainly not, as the name originally referred to an olive grove on Sestrunj before being transferred to the nearby straits.

Any suggestion that these observations undermine Skok’s work is entirely unfounded. In fact, the person who warns of the dangers of misunderstanding referents and the misconceptions this can create – is Skok himself.

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communities was stored. Within this great inventory, personal names and toponyms, due to their specific status within the lexicon, their resistance to linguistic changes and innovations, their ability to outlive the generation of name-givers and many others that came after them, were particularly important and interesting field of linguistic research.

In purely linguistic terms, Skok was fully equipped for such research. His only practical shortcomings were a chronic lack of time and a relatively limited familiarity with the maritime environment and seafaring activities. Thus, most likely due to time constraints, *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima* was not written as it was originally envisioned – drawing solely from the primary sources. Numerous oversights or generalizations in descriptions of maritime realities or fishing activities indicate a lack of personal experience related to the sea. However, despite these mostly charming limitations, Skok – a man from the continent, a native of Žumberak, raised far from the sea and maritime tradition – produced a unique linguistic monograph on the Croatian islands.

2.3.2. *The First Field Toponomasticians*

The ideal Skok aspired to – analyzing the data obtained from informants through field research – was later realized by linguists whose primary research focus, like Skok's, did not lie in toponomastics, yet who were nonetheless fully aware of its importance for linguistic research and linguistic national identity. Among the first systematic field toponomastic studies conducted in the Adriatic, several pioneering efforts stand out: Blaž Jurišić's work on the coastal areas of western Istria, Cres, and Lošinj (1957); Ivo Jelenović's study of the Dobrinj area and the northwestern part of the island of Krk; Petar Šimunović's work on Brač and the Elaphiti Islands; Božidar Finka and Antun Šojat's research covering the area from Privlaka to Rogoznica and the Šibenik archipelago (1974); and Finka's work on the coastal toponymy of northern part of the Zadar coastline (1960). Among these, Jurišić's research (conducted in collaboration with France Bezlaj from the *Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts* and several state institutes) stands out as the most extensive and well-organized, so much so, that, to this day, this project remains unmatched in Croatia in terms

of scale and funding. The published results of Jurišić's research include a corpus consisting of approximately 5,000 coastal toponyms, toponymic forms collected through both fieldwork and the study of historical and contemporary cartographic and cadastral sources for the region. One of the primary objectives of Jurišić's research was to bring order to the onomastic chaos that had taken hold of the region's geographical maps following Venetian and Austrian rule – a goal he largely succeeded in achieving. It is a shame that such extensive and well-organized studies did not extend to the inland areas. However, this was partially rectified by Ivo Jelenović, who, with great enthusiasm and dedication, conducted research on parts of the island of Krk.

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2.3.3. *Petar Šimunović*

The first comprehensive study of the toponymy of a Croatian island is the work of Petar Šimunović. His *Toponimija otoka Brača* (The Toponymy of the Island of Brač, 1972, republished in 2004 under the title *Bračka toponimija*) is a linguistic and onomastic synthesis of the island's toponymy based on the material gathered from all preserved archival documents – from the toponymy of *Povaljska listina* (Povlja Charter, 12th century), *Brački razvod* (Brač Perambulation, 13th – 15th centuries), and the lists from the first cadastral records of the 19th century, to contemporary toponymy collected through field research conducted in twenty-one cadastral divisions of Brač. The exceptionally well-documented toponymic history of Brač (*Povaljska listina* is one of the oldest and, in terms of toponyms, richest medieval documents in the Croatian language), as well as the Chakavian dialect well-preserved in

modern Brač vernaculars, allowed Šimunović to compose an outstanding diachronic overview of toponymic material, unlikely to be made for any other Adriatic island. A significant contribution to the study's value is Šimunović's Brač heritage (born in Dračevica), an invaluable factor in the

context of "having intimate field knowledge," which, as previously noted in discussions of Skok's fieldwork, is a prerequisite for high-quality etymological and semantic analysis of toponymic material. In his toponomastic monograph of Brač, as well as in his later works, Šimunović approaches toponomastic issues from all relevant perspectives, both linguistic and extralinguistic. Moreover, at times, it could appear that the extralinguistic (historiographical) aspect is dominant in some of his chapters, which is crucial for the quality of semantic treatment in toponomastics. In all his studies on toponymy, Šimunović insists that toponomastic research, especially in today's context, is inconceivable without fieldwork and a thorough understanding of extralinguistic facts, as well as precise localization of toponymic forms. As the most extensive and comprehensive overview of the linguistic and onomastic characteristics of the toponymy of an island system (including, for the first time, a complete presentation of

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its inland part), Šimunović's *Brač* has become a methodological model for most later researchers, at least in terms of the systematization of material. His exceptional knowledge of the evolution of the Croatian language and its dialects, as well as his analysis of these changes in attested toponymic forms, only adds to the value of Šimunović's work.

3. Onomastic Disciplines

3.1. Toponomastics

Even though onomastics is superordinate to toponomastics, as its field of study includes all proper names and not only those referring to natural configurations and artificial structures in nature, we will nevertheless begin with toponomastics, since this primer is intended specifically for those interested in this discipline.

Toponomastics (Greek *topos*, 'place') studies toponyms, i.e., linguistic forms used to identify geographical configurations (mountains, islands, capes, bays, seas, rivers, celestial bodies, etc.), as well as artificial structures, particularly those created through the process of construction (cities and all types of settlements, streets and squares, roads and paths, etc.).

For those less familiar with the field who are forced to use toponomastic terminology, the terms **toponymy** and **toponomastics** may seem synonymous. However, despite their formal similarity, their meanings differ. In contemporary use, *toponomastics* and *toponomastic* refer to the linguistic discipline itself and the methods used to describe and study it, while *toponymy* and *toponymic* denote the totality of toponyms within a particular area, zone, region, or country. In short, there is no such thing as **Adriatic toponomastics* but rather *Adriatic toponymy*, just as there is no **toponymic method* but only a *toponomastic method*. In older works, the term **toponymics** can still be found. It can more or less reliably be equated with *toponymy*, whereas the use of the term **topography** for *toponymy* is mostly incorrect, as topography does not concern itself with the linguistic aspect of toponyms. The Croatian terms **mjestopis** and **mjestopisni**, which would correspond to *toponym* and *toponymic/toponomastic*, are rarely used, even by older authors.

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Complete terminological equivalence between languages does not exist, so when dealing with foreign languages, terminology should be approached with caution, i.e., following the agreed use in the specific language.

Scholarly terminology is the result of a conscious normative process based on more or less established orthographic practices within a given field. Consequently, even in the terminologies of genetically related languages, the same terms often have different meanings. When it comes to Romance languages, for example, French uses the term (*étude de*) *noms de lieux* ('place names'), or *toponymie*, both for the discipline (rarely) and for the totality of names within a given area, whereas Italian uses *toponomastica* for both the scholarly field and the totality of toponyms, even though for the latter it also employs the noun *toponimia*. Similarly, in Catalan, *toponímia* is used for the discipline, as in French, but unlike French, Catalan also uses *toponomàstic*, though exclusively as an adjective meaning 'related to a toponym,' while the adjective *toponímic* is used to mean 'related to toponymy (i.e., the discipline).'

Unlike Croatian, most European languages insist on a terminological distinction between names of inhabited places (and the discipline studying them) and names of all other named objects found in nature (mountain tops, valleys, waterways, etc.). According to the terminology used in the *International Handbook of Onomastics (Namenforschung – Ein internationales Handbuch zur Onomastik*, Vol. I (1995)/II (1996), Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York), in German onomastic studies, for example, the term *Ortsnamen* (i.e., *Ortsnamenkunde* for the discipline) covers exclusively the names of inhabited places (Germ. *Ort*, 'settlement'), whereas the term *Flurnamen* (Germ. *Flur*, 'passage, hallway') is used for all other geographical names except for water surfaces (*Gewässernamen*). Only when the names of inhabited places need to be precisely distinguished from other toponymic subtypes is the term *Siedlungsnamen* used in German for settlement names. A similar distinction exists in French and English. The French term *noms de lieux* most often refers to the names of inhabited places, just as the English *place names* does, whereas for uninhabited locations in the broadest sense, French most often uses the term *lieux-dits* (French *dit*, 'so-called'), i.e., *microtoponyms* in English, even when referring to relatively large geographical features (hills, fields, etc.). Recently, a special working group within the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS)*, based in Uppsala, Sweden, has undertaken the task of developing international onomastic terminology. Croatia is represented in the project by the *Institute for the Croatian Language and the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*.

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3.1.1. Toponomastics: Primarily a Linguistic Discipline

Despite all its intersections with both linguistic and non-linguistic fields of study, toponomastics is, first and foremost, a linguistic discipline, as all the contents and identities that need to be interpreted are, ultimately, expressed solely through linguistic means. If this is the case, we must answer the following questions: What are these linguistic means? How are they formed? From which era do they originate? To which linguistic system do they belong today? And how are they organized to produce the linguistic expression we refer to in our terminology as the toponymic form, or, in everyday language, a proper name or simply a name?

The analysis and systematization of material from a given corpus are the ultimate linguistic and scholarly purposes of its collection. Since this is primarily a handbook, we will attempt to show how this analysis and systematization could and should be approached, highlighting key aspects that need to be taken into consideration to arrive at valuable insights and results in the simplest way possible. Given that a toponym is a linguistic sign with two faces, it follows that the processes of analysis and systematization must also be conducted on two planes: that of expression (linguistic forms) and that of content (in our case, toponomastic identities), essentially, the referents.

There are many other possible approaches. One could focus on the relationships between toponymic forms along a temporal axis, showing, on the one hand, the dynamic historical evolution of forms and, on the other, the static contemporary description of toponomastic data. We will attempt to avoid this division by including elements of both historical and contemporary circumstances into the discussion at the toponymic form: toponomastic identity (referent) level.

By definition, toponomastics is interwoven with other disciplines – yet it also extends beyond scholarship. The referents described through topono-

mastic procedure, and thus essentially frozen as toponymic forms, represent all aspects of human life and existence. Consequently, historical, sociological, ethnological, and, in the broadest sense of the word, cultural approaches to the corpus are also possible. However, despite all these possibilities, it must be emphasized once again: toponomastics remains, above all, a linguistic discipline.

3.2. Onomastics

Onomastics studies *linguistic signs* used to identify mostly concrete facts that are, by their nature, unique, irreplaceable, and indivisible (*individuum*). The word comes from the Greek *onoma* meaning ‘name’; Latin: *nomen*. Onomastics is, therefore, the study of names, distinct from lexicography and lexicology in its field of interest and objectives. Onyms (names) have the same phonological structure as appellatives (*Rijeka – rijeka*, river; *Dugi Otok – dugi otok*, long island; *Sestrica – sestrica*, little sister); they are formed through the same processes, have the same nominal categories (number, gender, and case, although number and gender rarely change because they are determined by the form of the name), belong to the same linguistic classes, and follow the same morphosyntactic rules. A key difference between the onomastic and general lexicon is that it predominantly consists of lexemes – once having a full lexical meaning – that refer to something *concrete*, that is, nouns and adjectives, specifically concrete nouns.

This concreteness is often difficult to recognize in today’s form of a name, given that it has evolved into a form that is unrecognizable from its original, either due to a lack of knowledge of the linguistic system from which the name originated or due to phonetic and morphological adaptations (*Vrgada* comes from a Latin participle indicating the redness of the island, *Kornat* is the island that has a (stone) crown on its southeastern cape of Opat, and *Sutomišćica* refers to the place whose patron saint is Saint Euphemia, etc.). Due to the relatively low interest of linguistic researchers in onomastics, in many studies and library catalogues onomastics often is often associated with anthroponomastics (personal names), which is not accurate. Anthroponomastics is just one of the fields within onomastics. *Onomastics* and *onomastic* are, therefore, terms that encompass all disciplines interested in (all) proper names: from the names

of perfumes to those naming the largest rivers on the planet. In older Croatian literature, the term *imenoslovlje* (name studies) was often used. In the title of his latest work, *Uvod u hrvatsko imenoslovlje* (Introduction to Croatian Name Studies, 2009), Petar Šimunović reintroduces this term to contemporary literature. The totality of linguistic units studied by onomastics is also called *onymy*. In Croatian scholarly practice, the terminological pair *onomastics: onomy* (onomastika: onimija) follows the same contextual distinction as the pair ‘discipline’: ‘material’, i.e., *toponomastics: toponymy* (toponomastika: toponimija).

3.3. Anthroponomastics

From the Greek *anthropos* meaning ‘human being, person.’ Anthroponomastics studies personal names, surnames, nicknames (byname), and other linguistic forms used to identify human beings – hypocoristics (diminutives), pseudonyms, and other attributes that can function as a “second name” (*Father of the Nation, Supreme Leader, Queen of the Croats*, etc.). Anthroponyms, just like toponyms, have been with us since the earliest written records of human existence. Everyone has always had some form of name, from Yahweh to the last biblical shepherd. The key difference between the formation of toponyms and anthroponyms lies in the fact that personal names, at least “official” ones, are given through a socially accepted practice (such as baptism), whereas toponyms and various unofficial forms of personal names (nicknames and hypocoristics) mostly arise spontaneously and take on their “crystallized” form over time.

If we examine anthroponyms from the perspective of motivation and functionality of a name, not all anthroponymic subtypes carry the same onomastic “weight.” For instance, while family nicknames and surnames (as their official and definitive form) are usually motivated by the person’s origin or by visual, status-related, professional, or other characteristics of the named group (Skračić, Jurić, Horvat, Turčinov, Kovač, Glavan, Debeljuh, etc.), personal nicknames are much more often motivated by the official form of a personal name (hypocoristics – Tome, Frane, Ičo...) and less frequently by characteristics of the bearer (Bucu, Jaki, Brzi, meaning ‘Chubby,’ ‘Strong’ (or ‘Big Man’), and ‘Nippy,’ respectively, etc.). From a diachronic perspective, surnames are

much closer to toponyms in terms of motivation and onomastic functionality than personal names, which are generally not motivated by the characteristics of their bearers. Just as is the case with family nicknames and surnames, toponyms are usually motivated by the features of the referent (*Glavica, Rat, Gvozd*, etc.). The motivation behind personal names is primarily symbolic and pragmatic, which means that it is not based on the relationship between the components of the linguistic sign (content: form) but rather on the establishment of certain extralinguistic, socioculturally conditioned goals, primarily prophylaxis and fashion. The term *prophylactic* can be translated as “one that protects from...,” from the Greek *prophylake*, adjective *prophylaktikos*, and it refers to a name given after ancestors, saints, or supernatural beings in the hope that they will, in turn, protect the named individual in this world. A separate category of anthroponyms includes *pseudonyms*, from the Greek *pseudonymos*, “false name,” which are the result of a name-giver selecting a name for themselves, a name often known only to them and their closest circle.

Just as names are given to people, they are also given to domestic animals, especially pets, so, even though it may seem inappropriate in this context, we will discuss this topic here as well. Animal names are often taken from existing names across almost all onomastic categories, but – as is a specific characteristic of this field – they are also frequently motivated by some noticeable trait of the animal itself (the dog *Šarko*, the horse *Vranac*, the cow *Bijelka*, the cat *Miško*, meaning ‘Spot,’ ‘Raven,’ ‘Chalky’ or ‘Milky,’ and ‘Mousey,’ respectively). However, there is no universally accepted term for this category of names. The term *zoonym* is reserved for particular species (*dog, cat, eagle, sardine*) rather than the names of individual animals, so a more precise term is needed. This will undoubtedly be a challenge for those studying this specific onomastic field. Some suggest the term *bionym*, derived from the Greek *bios*, ‘life’ and *onoma*, ‘name’. Another option could be *prosopozoonym*, from the Greek *prosopon*, ‘person’. However, *anthroponym* is certainly not suitable.

For the purposes of this handbook, animal names motivated by their appearance, the sound they make, or the behavior they typically exhibit will be referred to simply as *motivated names*, even though the issue of the motivation of a linguistic sign (and by extension, onomastic motivation) is a more complex subject, and undoubtedly one of the longest-standing topics in the history of linguistic thought – from antiquity to the present. Therefore, when discussing

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When looking at Croatian anthroponymy – and the same rules apply to more or less all other European languages – the names of the majority of people are rooted in tradition, and their original motivation is most often marked by a specific religion, nation, or region. These names are not necessarily of Slavic origin (*Domagoj, Tomislav, Vladimir*, etc.), on the contrary, they are predominantly foreign, but they entered the corpus of Croatian names a long time ago, most frequently as Christian names (*Ivan, Franjo, Petar*, etc.), and therefore, they should be considered original Croatian or folk names, as Tomo Maretić calls them. On the other hand, unlike these more or less canonical names, less common or unconventional names in anthroponomastics are considered fashionable and are characterized by: 1) a small number of users, and 2) the short-lived nature of the trend. For instance, such names include *Andrea, David, Doris, Leon, Nikol, Nola, Rea, Rene, Saša*, and so on. This group also includes names motivated by ideology, daily politics, or the media, such as *Slaven, Jugoslav, Sutjeska, Tilema* (shortened from *Tito-Lenin-Marx*), *Tito, Jamezdin* (from *James Dean*), *Soniboj* (after *Sunny Boy*, a character from an American TV series popular in the 1960s), etc., and they are similar to forgotten Croatian paleoanthroponyms and mythonyms, such as *Borna, Buga, Porin, Teha, Vuga*, etc., which were revived, after centuries of hibernation, as expressions of the newly found Croatian identity. Interesting conclusions about modern Croatian anthroponymy can be drawn from the results of a study on the names of newborn children in Croatia, conducted in 2001 by onomastician Anđela Frančić. According to her research, the ten most frequent male and female names of that year were:

- a) female names: *Lucija, Ana, Petra, Ivana, Laura, Marija, Sara, Matea, Karla, and Iva*, and
- b) male names: *Ivan, Luka, Marko, Antonio, Filip, Josip, Karlo, Dominik, Matej, and Petar*.

Another important statistical detail the author underlines is that the ten most chosen male names accounted for one-third of all names recorded in 2001. Particularly striking is the fact that in Split and Dubrovnik no less than 43 percent of male children were given one of the ten most common names. Naming female children is somewhat more “liberal,” so the ten most frequent female names make up “only” one-quarter of all names given in 2001. When both male and female names are considered, it is easy to calculate that approximately thirty percent of children in Croatia are given names considered usual or even desirable. The noticeable predominance of names from the Christian anthroponymicon, especially among male children (for girls, derived forms such as *Karla, Petra, Laura, Iva*, etc., are slightly more popular), does not, of course, mean that all these names were directly motivated by religion, but it clearly indicates that a considerable number of parents, when choosing a name for their child, are not ready to step outside of the “recommended” sociocultural framework. Fashion in naming can also have a distinctly local character. For instance, names like *Šime, Donat, and Zara* are common in Zadar, *Duje* in Split, *Vlaho* in Dubrovnik, *Ante* throughout Dalmatia, etc.

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animal names – specifically the names of individual animals – it is important to emphasize that, in terms of their onomastic value, they can be compared to human nicknames and personal names, but also to common nouns, depending on the extent and manner of their motivation. For instance, the onomastic status of a motivated dog name like *Šarko* ('Spot') is entirely equivalent to human nicknames such as *Crni* ('Black'), *Žuti* ('Blondie'), or *Debeli* ('Fatso'), etc., while non-motivated dog names such as *Rex* or *Astor* are, in the onomastic sense, equivalent to human names like *Marko*, *Krešo*, or *Ljudevit*.

However, not all motivated animal names are entirely comparable in onomastic terms. The names of pets, such as dogs and cats, are typically not passed down to their offspring or their "posthumous" successors from another litter, even if the new pet shares key physical characteristics (coat pattern, floppy ears, fur texture, etc.) that were the exclusive basis for naming their predecessor. When it comes to naming livestock, entirely different rules apply. For example, the names of cows or sheep are often passed down through generations to new animals that share the same distinguishing characteristic (in linguistic terms, a *distinctive feature*). At that, the only restriction is that, within a given stable or pen, a specific name must belong to only one animal at a time in order to maintain its onomastic functionality. This key difference clearly demonstrates that livestock names function primarily as labels used for distinguishing individual animals within a group rather than as markers of "personality," uniqueness, indivisibility, and irreproducibility, which are typically associated with pet names and, naturally, human names. If we consider them as inheritable elements of a system of status labels within a specific group – comparable to military ranks or, perhaps more clearly, to positions in a soccer team (*full-back*, *winger*, *center-forward*, etc.) – we could classify livestock names as nouns much closer to appellatives than to onyms.

3.3.1. *The Origins of the Naming Formula*

A personal name is the oldest attested naming method among Indo-European peoples. Nonetheless, we can assume that non-Indo-European peoples followed a similar path, as every community had to face the issue of addressing and distinguishing its members. Studies of naming patterns among Indo-European peoples have shown that, alongside a personal name, most nations also used a *patronym* (father's name). For instance, the ancient Greeks used both a personal name and a patronym in everyday communication, yet when presenting themselves officially, they would also include the *demotic* (information about the neighborhood they came from) alongside the said elements. The naming system of the Roman world is more complex than that of the ancient Greeks, and it is primarily associated with the three-name pattern consisting of the *praenomen*, *gentilicium*, and *cognomen*. In the Roman system, the patronym transformed into a *gentilicium* (a collective name), i.e., the father's name, expressed in the genitive case, turned into an adjectival form of the name and it no longer indicated the descent from an individual (the father) but from a common ancestor.

In the early Middle Ages, the system of a single name, indicated by the term *nomen*, was in use until the 7th century. Between the 7th and 10th centuries, a by-name, i.e., the name added to the personal name, began to be used in Europe. This additional name was defined by the terms *supernomen* or *cognomen*, while the term *nomen* was reserved for the personal name given at birth. With the development of a new onomastic system from the 10th century onward, the terms became unclear, and the situation grew more complex. A person's name could consist of four or more elements, whose order and composition varied from source to source or even within a single source, making it impossible to speak of a normative naming pattern.

The later Middle Ages saw the development of the so-called *two-name formula* (meaning "a formula whose components belong to two different anthroponymic categories," i.e., both the (personal) name-bynome and (personal) name-surname categories). A surname (a permanent, hereditary, and unchanging element of the formula) began to appear alongside the personal name, along with other "additions" such as a patronym, nickname, ethnonym, the name of one's occupation, title, or civil status. The use of these elements

was most likely the result of practice rather than official naming laws, which is why medieval naming practices reflect a mixture of very different types of information. It is believed that the process of establishing the two-name formula began in central Italy between the 10th and 12th centuries, from where it spread to the south of France, and then, moving through its northern regions, reached Germany. From there, it expanded to the north and the east of the continent. Different peoples, as well as regions inhabited by the same groups, adopted the two-name formula at different times. The transition from the one-name formula to the two-name formula was not solely the result of adopting the Latin naming type (the so-called Italo-centric theory), but rather the result of complex changes that took place on the social, economic, and cultural levels of society as a whole. A new, larger, and more complex society required a more specific identification, which the one-name formula could no longer provide.

Before the 12th century, Croats did not have surnames. What the plural name forms such as *Kačići*, *Kukari*, *Šubići*, and *Snačići*, etc. stood for were not surnames. These forms were added to the personal names of Croatian medieval nobles to indicate their belonging to a specific clan rather than a family within that clan, which is the true function of a surname. Based on the available studies of anthroponymic material recorded in Croatian historical and cultural monuments, such as *Supetarski kartular* (Supetar Cartulary, 1080–1105) and *Povaljska listina* (Povlja Charter, 1250), it can be concluded that, at the time these documents were created, single-name identification was still the dominant method of individual identification, but there is also evidence of the existence of bynames and very rare instances of surnames. The onomastic material from Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić's *Povijesni spomenici grada Zagreba* (Historical Monuments of the City of Zagreb) shows that in 14th century Zagreb, the single-name system prevailed, whereas in 13th-century Zadar, a three-part denomination was most commonly used (Latin documents from this period record the following structure of the said denomination: personal name + father's and grandfather's names in the genitive case or with the possessive marker *de*).

Until the end of the 10th century, the Eastern Slavs used only a personal name given to a child at birth. In Poland, the single-name system persisted until the end of the 12th century, while in some parts of the Balkan Peninsula, it remained in use all until the 19th century. In Sweden, for instance, a naming

formula consisting of a personal name and a patronym was used until the second half of the 19th century, while in Iceland, this formula remains in use today. In countries outside the European cultural sphere, only one element of the naming formula (the personal name) follows the European principle, while the second element varies in origin and may be another personal name, a patronym, a surname, or another marker of origin.

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3.4. Chrematonomastics

Pottier refers to this branch of onomastics as *minor onomastics* (*onomastique mineure*), though it is difficult to determine what exactly is meant by the term *minor*. Is it minor in importance because toponymy and anthroponymy are of major importance, or is it *minor* in scope because naming new products is not as important as naming people and natural configurations? It is not easy to say. Most likely, the term indicates a distinction between what is traditional and well-documented through research and what is new and what yet needs to have its linguistic (onomastic) status determined.

Today, there is a growing need to include names in onomastics that belong neither to toponomastics nor anthroponomastics but that objectively occupy an ever-growing space in everyday communication. The proliferation of such names in our world is remarkable, with advertising companies constantly bombarding us with them: new car models, new cosmetic products, new digital devices, new hygiene products, new furniture – bedroom sets, kitchens, armchairs; new hotel, restaurant, and café names; names of shops and retail chains; names of medications and pharmaceutical preparations; names of beverages and food products; names of music bands and various artistic creations... A distinctive feature of this

onomastic field is that it frequently assigns names using lexemes that are already part of onomastics: for example, the car *Mercedes* consists of an element that is already an existing proper name, as is the case with Hotel *Borik*, the *Olympus* camera, or the *Mate Balota* passenger ferry.

The lack of interest among onomasticians in this group of onyms/appellatives is best attested by the fact that there is no widely accepted term for it within onomastic terminology. Various terms have been proposed and used for referents that are the object of its study (*technonym, ergonym, eponym...*). P. Šimunović proposes the term *chrematonym*, derived from the Greek *khrēma*, 'thing'. The corresponding name for the onomastic discipline studying this category of names would thus be *chrematonomastics*. However, this field appears to be far more complex than it seems, and further subdivision into smaller categories should perhaps be considered.

Even though names from this group can be found all around us, and even though the naming procedure for such items is subject to legal regulation in many countries, just as with personal names, and even though incorrect or illegal use can be sanctioned, this group of names does not attract significant interest among onomasticians. This is probably because the onyms in this category come from the corpus of already existing and well-known names (which have already been analyzed for linguistic purposes elsewhere). *Mercedes*, *Borik*, *Olimp*, and *Mate Balota* already exist as names outside of this new usage. These forms have now been – arbitrarily – attached to new referents through an imposed naming process, without any *inherent motivation*. By *inherent*, we mean that there is no direct link between, for example, the name of a poet (Mate Balota) and a ferry, unless Jadrolinija Shipping Company's decision to name their ferries after poets is seen as such.

In addition, names from this category are not always easy to systematize. Even though they regularly belong to the onymic paradigm, many are composed of true appellatives arranged into new phrases that now function as onyms (e.g., *Serbian Orthodox Church* or *Days of Croatian Film*). Moreover, in this category, it is not always easy or straightforward to establish a clear distinction between onyms and appellatives: *Mercedes* is a car distinct from all other car brands (onym), but *Mercedes* is also a car with recognizable characteristics common to all *Mercedes* vehicles (appellative). What applies to *Mercedes* also applies to other names in this group: sailboats, cosmetic products, brand names, etc.

According to P. Šimunović, this class of chrematonyms also includes many names that we are not entirely certain should be categorized as such. These include the names of churches and religious orders (as communities), artistic groups, military alliances, buildings, roads, vehicles, works of art, festivals, (sport) competitions, holidays, accolades, historical events, various schools (movements), etc. It is legitimate to ask if names such as *Palmolive* soap, the title of the novel *Kužiš stari moj?* (*You Get It, Man* by Zvonimir Majdak), and the Catholic order *Society of Jesus* should be classified as onyms. For us, chrematonyms are primarily those onyms that have adopted an already existing name as their form, as in the case with *Mate Balota* when it becomes the name of a ship or *Donat* (after St. Donatus of Zadar) when it becomes the name of a hotel. However, onyms, if they are such, and we believe they are, regardless of their class, such as the titles of novels, plays, posters, paintings, and, generally, works of human creativity, should not be put in the same category as true chrematonyms. This is not because works of art are more important than ships or hotels, but because we are dealing with different naming processes and a different nature of the referents: in the first case, it is a matter of a regular transfer (*Mate Balota*, the poet: *Mate Balota*, the ship), while in the second, it involves a true act of naming a human creation, where the name is rooted in the “content of the product” and it represents, initially at least, a type of a complex appellative in the process of onymization. It is, of course, clear that a new ship named *Guernica* or *Pastir Loda* (*Loda the Shepherd*, a novel by Vladimir Nazor) will be considered an ordinary chremotonym.

The categorization and classification of onyms from this linguistic domain require much more work. It is our contention that the following terminology – at the level of semantic classification – could find its application in toponomastics. Thus, we need to establish:

A) A broad field that, at the level of the onomastic system as a whole, corresponds with toponomastics and anthroponomastics, and this is the already proposed *chrematonym*.

B) Several smaller fields that together make up this larger one:

B1) The field of *ergasionyms*, from the Greek *ergasia*, ‘work,’ ‘action,’ ‘piece,’ ‘character,’ ‘effect.’ This is the field where the already existing or invented onyms are transferred to new referents, generally to products or various objects (*Mate Balota* for a ship; *Donat* for a hotel; *Olympus* for a camera; *Chanel* for perfume, etc.);

B2) The field of *epigraphonyms*, from the Greek *epigraphe*, ‘title.’ This is the field whose semantic content includes names of products of human genius: titles and names of artistic, scientific, and technical works (novels, collections of poetry, paintings, sculptures, films of all kinds, and other creations of the human spirit, such as *Les Fleurs du mal* (poetry by Charles Baudelaire), *With Fire and Sword* (a novel by Henryk Sienkiewicz), *The Last Supper* (a painting by Leonardo da Vinci), *History of the Croats* (a sculpture by Ivan Meštrović), *Day for Night* (*La Nuit américaine*, a film by François Truffaut), etc.);

B3) The field of *koinonyms*, from the Greek *koinonia*, ‘community,’ ‘part,’ ‘association,’ ‘unity,’ or ‘alliance.’ This is the field that includes names of various social and political institutions (*Hrvatski Sabor*, *Croatian Parliament*), associations (*Croatian Helsinki Committee*), clubs (*Hrvatski Dragovoljac*, a Croatian football club), religious communities (*Province of St. Jerome*), and military alliances (*NATO*, *Little Entente*), which are neither *ergasionyms* nor *epigraphonyms*.

The future and further work in this field will show whether there is a real need for more precise classification. Therefore, these suggestions should not be taken as an act of terminological violence, but as an attempt to approach this exceptionally important field of onomastics with more attentive research focus.

COMPARATIVE TERMINOLOGY

A careful analysis of the selection of already existing names for new “products” would reveal many non-linguistic reasons. Let’s take just one example from Zadar. The city has several “eminent” saints, each of whom is, in their own way, a part of the city’s identity: St. Donatus (Sveti Donat in Croatian), thanks to the unique architecture of the church, is an unmistakable symbol of Zadar, despite the fact that the saint was never canonized; St. Anastasia (known locally as Sveta Stošija) is the saint after whom the city’s cathedral is named; St. Chrysogonus (Sveti Krševan) is the official patron saint of the city; St. Simeon (Sveti Šime) is the beloved patron of the people of Zadar and the surrounding area; and finally, St. Zoilus (Sveti Zoilo), who was also an important patron saint of the city until just a few centuries ago. Interestingly, from an extralinguistic perspective, only Donat significantly participates in the creation of new chrematonyms, while the others are barely present (Stošija and Krševan to a slightly larger degree, Šime and Zoilo to a lesser). In Zadar, many things bear Donat’s name, often without the saintly title: associations, cafes, driving schools... When considering why this is the case, we cannot disregard the importance of the monument and the people’s identification with it, but it cannot be overlooked that only this bishop’s name was used without the saintly attribute, which, for the communist authorities of the time, was certainly a favorable circumstance: the name unmistakably belonged to Zadar, it was clearly associated with

the Christian community, even though without the saintly attribute, and it did no harm to the politicians. The ideal the politicians dream of.

The analysis of company names in Zadar County was carried out by V. Ćosić and A. Mahnić-Ćosić. Among the interesting, though rarely surprising, data gathered by the authors, several fascinating statistical facts stand out as an illustration of the situation in this onomastic class.

When analyzing company names with regards to their semantic-lexical field, the most numerous are the names that include toponyms, such as *Asseria*, *Jadera*, *Laurana Trade*, *Kornat Express*, etc. The second most represented group consists of company names derived from personal names, mostly the names and surnames of the owners or their children, either in full, abbreviated, or compound forms, such as: *Antea*, *Vranić Komerc*, *Fuzul Trade*, *Dinos* (< Dino + s), *Marton* (< Marin + Toni), *MAS* (< Mate, Ante, Stipe), etc. Regarding their linguistic origin, alongside company names derived from Croatian names and nouns, the most numerous are chrematonyms formed from nouns taken from the English language (*Miami*, *Sunset*, *Ice Commerce*, etc.), while Latin and Italian are nearly half as common (*Pax*, *Sucus*, *Zio Commerce*, *Mercato Oggi*, etc.), and French and German are barely represented. It is also interesting to note that names in foreign languages are more common in the more expensive and “posh” parts of the city, whereas names derived from Croatian lexemes are more frequent in less exclusive neighborhoods (*Pijaca*, *Varoš*, *Kampo Kaštelo*, etc.). The structure of the names also depends on the type of the name-giver’s business; for example, jewelers almost always name their businesses after their children, while restaurateurs, with just a few exceptions, use foreign names for their businesses.

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4. Toponomastics in Relation to Other Scholarly Fields and Disciplines

4.1. Toponomastics in Relation to Other Linguistic Disciplines

In this handbook, our discussions and analyses will be principally based on contemporary linguistic tendencies. Since it has already been established that onomastic material is simply a specific type of lexicographical material, issues of phonetics, morphology, and syntax will be set aside. Some specific phenomena occur at these levels as well: for example, shifts in accentuation in nicknames and surnames; the presence of very specific, often hybrid, affixes in toponymic forms; changes in the adjective: noun order in complex toponymic forms, etc. Nonetheless, the most significant changes take place at the level of semantics, where meaning is replaced by identity and individualization. This will be discussed later in the book.

For our purposes, two physical spaces – land and sea – will be designated as central fields of research within toponomastics. Objectively, given that the natural environment in which humans live is primarily dry land, there is a vast disparity in the amount of data available from these two spaces, naturally favoring land. If we take into consideration that islands and the coastline are also land, it may seem that there is no reason for this division.

Therefore, our schematic division into land and sea does not rest solely on objective, physical and geographical realities. It simply wants to underline that researchers have never been particularly interested in the maritime and island space, together with its specific configurations. This will become clearer later when we address the terminological deficiency in defining the distinct features

of the coastal and island littoral. Likewise, this division, in a way, speaks in favor of the affirmation of “maritime” research, thereby expanding the focus beyond purely linguistic issues.

There is also a third space – the sky – richly populated with toponyms transferred from Earth. However, on this occasion, we will set it aside. First, because the primary focus of this book lies on land and sea, and second, because this system is not essentially innovative and is therefore similar to the system of chrematonyms. Apart from a few celestial bodies visible from Earth (*Sunce*, *Mjesec*, *Danica*, *Sjevernjača*, the Sun, the Moon, Venus, the North Star, respectively) and several constellations (*Vlašići*, *Šćapi*, *Velika i Mala Kola*, the Pleiades, Orion, the Big and Little Dipper), all toponyms (for now, let’s call them **astronyms**, from the Greek *aster*, ‘star’) found in the sky exist or have existed as onyms on Earth. What would be particularly interesting in this system is not the analysis of the “content” – since, from an earthly and layman perspective, all stars are almost identical – but rather those other, non-linguistic circumstances that led to their naming. Why were certain stars and constellations given these or those names while others remained nameless (at least to the general public)? Such and similar questions will have to be addressed by someone who undertakes an analysis of astronyms.

4.1.1. Toponomastics and Etymology

Toponomastics is often equated with **etymology** (from the Greek *etymon*, ‘truth’), which is only partially true. When you tell someone unfamiliar with the subject that you are engaged in toponomastics, the first question they will ask is to explain “the meaning of the name of their hometown.” Naturally, both toponymic forms and the general lexicon can be approached etymologically, but this is not enough of a reason for the two disciplines to be considered the same. The methods used by toponomastics and etymology are completely distinct, with different ultimate goals (even though they may sometimes complement or even overlap); therefore, it is safe to say they are different disciplines.

This confusion among the uninformed, and sometimes even the well-educated, arises because toponomastic contents are often incomprehensible. On the other hand, humankind has an innate tendency to try and make sense of the world around it, including the words/lexemes/toponyms that surround it.

What was the meaning of the original forms from which toponyms we now use on a daily basis, such as Zadar, Šibenik, Pašman, Ugljan, Vrgada, Murter, Kornati..., originated? Since etymologists most often provide explanations for such questions, the confusion of equating these two disciplines is quite understandable.

In linguistic terminology, the result of this misunderstanding is what is called *folk etymology*. Folk etymology, in simple terms, is the desire to understand the meaning of something at all costs, which means that a familiar meaning for an incomprehensible name is sought in one's own language. Thus, the incomprehensible *Ugljan* is interpreted as *Uljan* (because it has *ulje*, *oil*, not *ugljen*, *coal*), *Stomorin*, one of the older names for Kornat, is assumed to mean an island surrounded by one hundred seas (*sto mora*), not as an island with a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (*Insula Sanctae Mariae*), and *Čikat* and *Pržanj*, incomprehensible to the Italians, thus become *Cigale* and *Persani* (at the time of renaming).

PORPHYROGENITUS – THE ETYMOLOGIST

Without question, the title of the most famous folk etymologist in history can be attributed to the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the creator of the oldest known “toponomastic study” of the Adriatic coast and its islands, incorporated into his description of the empire under the title *De administrando imperio* (10th century), which many affectionately call the Croatian history primer. For Croatian linguistic and, especially, onomastic heritage, it is an unusually fortunate circumstance that the emperor's passion for etymologies, as well as his awareness of the importance of “studying toponymy,” culminated in the chapters in which Porphyrogenitus speaks about the eastern Adriatic coast (the so-called Dalmatian chapters), which stand out both in the number of registered toponyms and in the number of interpretations of their etymologies (about thirty). Thus, in his text, the first “elaborated,” though undoubtedly erroneous, etymologies of the names of several of our coastal cities can be found, for example: *Tetrangurin* (Trogir) “because it is as small as a cucumber” (Greek *angurion*, ‘cucumber’), *Aspalat* (Split) “small palace,” *Diadora* (Zadar) < Latin “*iam era* [sic],” ‘odavna bijaše’ (translation: Lončar 2002), ‘it had long existed,’ etc. Even though contemporary literature treats (and rightfully so) Porphyrogenitus’ etymologies mostly as curiosities that are part of the “history of linguistics,” etymologies that came centuries later are often just as lively in terms of their folk etymological spirit. For instance, J. Baraković believed that Zadar comes from “*za dar*” (‘as a gift’), and A. Mayer (1957!) saw the Greek words *tragos*, ‘goat’ and *oros*, ‘hill’ in the toponym *Tragurion* (Trogir), thus associating it with the modern name of the neighboring “goat hill” (Kozjak, in Croatian *koza*, ‘goat’), even though the city was founded on a shallow shoal, far from the foothills of the said hill. However, no

matter how naive and unfounded they may be, folk etymologies can sometimes serve as a very valuable source of associations for finding scholarly sound answers to etymological questions. This is perhaps best illustrated by Skok's explanation of the etymology of the toponym *Zadar*, along with various pseudo-scholarly attempts to explain it from a historical perspective that are intriguingly intertwined with certain relevant facts:

“The ancient Croats identified the Romance-Dalmatian form of *Iadra* with their genitive case, which they used to create a new nominative form *Zadbr* > today *Zadar*. What stands out, however, is the fact that they did not replace the Latin consonant *j* with *ž*-, as in *raža* for Latin *raia*, *Maž* for the Latin name *Maius*, etc., but with *z*. Constantine writes *Jadera* as Διάδωρα, which is understandable only if we consider that the initial syllable *ia-* was replaced by the Modern Greek, or rather Byzantine, preposition *ya* < Ancient Greek *διά*. Constantine reflected the syllables *-dera* with the Greek plural *δώρα* from *δώρον*, ‘gift’. Therefore, Constantine’s Διάδωρα is not a reflection of a folk pronunciation but his learned etymology, which, and this is important, corresponds with Baraković’s interpretation of *Za + dar* ‘donum.’” (Skok, 1954: 41)

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The stigma with which linguists treat folk etymology is not always entirely justified, given that many words in the general lexicon have “turned out correct.” The same applies to toponyms. In terms of function, “correct” and “incorrect” do not exist and, as such, can be completely ignored in linguistic analysis. The identification does not become any less reliable because of the fact that what is today *Sunčana Uvala* (‘Sunny Bay’) on the island of Lošinj was once called *Veli Žal* (‘Big Beach’), whereas *Skrivadica* on the island of Ist, as well as all such peninsulas in the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago, was known as *Škrovada* (the people of Ist speak Cakavian², which is the cause of the connection with the verb *skrivati*, “to hide,” without any confirmation from the field). There are many similar examples. One of the most bizarre we have heard is

² Cakavian vernaculars are characterized by the loss of distinction between /tʃ/, /ʃ/, /z/ and /c/, /s/, /z/.

directly related to our discipline, i.e., *toponomystics*. It is an unforeseen adaptation that we were never aware of.

The forced translation of toponyms at certain points in history could also fall under the paradigm of etymologizing. After conquering new, almost always foreign territories, many peoples resorted to translation, adaptation, or some other form of regulation of local names. The Croatian experience in this regard is particularly painful, especially in the Adriatic (Zadar, Istria, Lošinj, Cres, and Lastovo). “On March 28, 1923, the Italians implemented the Law No. 800, which changed the names of all our places in the newly acquired provinces...” states R. Jelić, speaking about the forced change of names and surnames in Zadar to match “the spirit of the Italian language.” Such new forms mostly did not survive, even though, in this particular case, the occupation period was very long and had a significant impact on the population. However, forced translation of toponyms also occurs within one’s own language, which is not always easy to understand. The most recognizable example is the thalassonym/choronym *Mediteran*, which in the Croatian language practice is accepted both as *Sredozemno more* (Mediterranean Sea) and *Sredozemlje* (Mediterranean), even though the two do not cover exactly the same content. It would not be difficult to establish that these two terms, despite a good and, from a linguistic perspective, acceptable translation, are not completely synonymous. However, the reason why translating toponyms it is not advisable form of linguistic practice lies in the fact that, in a vast number of cases, we do not know the actual “first meanings” of these toponyms. They should not be translated, even when the meaning can be assumed or fully deduced. Why are *Sardinia*, *Krk*, *Korčula*, *Vis*, *Zadar* not translated? Simply because meaning is not an onomastic category! Identification – which is indeed an onomastic category – is established even when the “meaning” is not entirely clear or understood. The analysis of the meaning found in appellatives that have become toponyms is carried out at other linguistic levels, primarily semantic and etymological.

4.1.2. Toponomastics and the Standard – Ethnics and Ktetics

The vast majority of toponymic forms enter standard language practice through prolonged use in public speech. It is understandable that names whose referents are more important were “standardized” earlier and more completely.

Although many existing forms underwent significant transformation before standardization, their current form is generally not questioned. The process of standardization of these names deserves special attention, especially when it comes to names originating in the distant past or from other languages. This will be further discussed in section 6.1.2.6. *Exonyms*. The guidelines provided by Croatian style manuals in this regard are generally insufficient and sometimes even confusing.

PUNTA RATA

A particular case of the translation of toponyms is *tautology*. There are many ways in which toponymic forms are introduced from one language to another: the complete disappearance of the old name and its replacement with a new one (*Srimač: Murter; Dlačnik: Premuda; Stomorin: Kornat; Kisa: Pag*), adaptation and change of form (*Rubricata: Lapkat; Vrgada; Arbe: Rab; Curicta: Krk*), as well as translation (*Santo Pietro: Sveti Petar*, the old Croatian form *Krmčina; Isola Grossa and Isola Longa: Dugi Otok; Krava: Vaka*). However, in a purely linguistic and toponomastic sense, the most interesting case is the one that many authors (especially Skok) call *tautology*. Toponomastic tautology is the process of taking a toponym from a substrate language, to which an interpretation (it is explained) is added in the new language. Thus, the new toponymic form now appears as a two-part name from two different languages with a unique toponomastic content (referent). The first element of the new toponymic expression is an appellative whose content is transparent in the new language (e.g., *punta*, ‘cape,’ ‘point’), while the second is a noun from the old language that is incomprehensible to the new name-giver (e.g., *rat*, ‘cape,’ ‘point’). The result of this process is *Punta Rata* (confirmed many times in the Adriatic), or – *Porto Luka* or *Luška Vala*. This is a phenomenon known in all toponomastic systems. One of the most famous examples is *Linguaglossa* in Italy, where ‘tongue’ as the metaphorical content is expressed twice in the name, or in France *Eau de Robec*, where the content ‘water’ is expressed three times: two Romance etyma, *aqua* and *rivus*, and one Old Germanic *bekkr*, today *Bach*. In the case of *Punta Oštro*, which Skok lists as an example of tautology, however, there is a problem. *Oštro* in this case most likely comes from *auster* (‘southern’), and not *oštar* (‘sharp,’ ‘pointy’). The cape at Prevlaka is indeed oriented southward.

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Dominant strands in linguistic standardization ignore the existence of toponomastic words that do not conform to (imagined) word-formation norms, thus dismissing the inherent ability of the Croatian word-formation system to adapt to any situation, including hybrid ones. In this regard, *ethnics* and *ktetics* present a particular problem.

An ethnic is a noun, in both singular and plural forms, as well as in masculine and feminine genders, used to designate the inhabitants of a precisely defined area: a city, town, village... (*Zadranin, Zadranka, Zadrani, Zadranke* for Zadar; *Sibenjanin, Sibenka, Sibenjani, Sibenke* for Silba; or *Portulan, Portulani, Portulanka, Portulanke* for Porat, a costal neighborhood in Sali). A ktetic, on the other hand, is a possessive adjective in all three grammatical genders that denotes something belonging or standing in relation to a particular oikonym (the toponymic form used for specific urban areas): *šibenski, šibenska, šibensko* (for Šibenik); *molajski, molajska, molajsko* (for Molat), in both singular and plural forms.

Within the Croatian linguistic community, opinions on the use of these highly needed linguistic forms are highly contested. However, the debate essentially boils down to two main perspectives. The first is represented by scholars who believe that language must be reduced to a fixed number of word-formation rules, which, accordingly, means that all ethnics and ktetics should be formed following the same pattern and using the same suffixes. The second perspective sees each ethnic and ktetic as a special linguistic gift, arguing that its uniqueness enriches the heritage of the Croatian language, that it should be seen as part of the identity of a particular community, and that it should not be forcibly “made to fit” a standardized linguistic model. Instead, such gifts should be treated like treasure and their originality should be preserved with the utmost care. Naturally, this position implies the need for at least one (elementary) lexicon of oikonyms, ethnics, and ktetics used in the Republic of Croatia.

If the latter position were to prevail, as it should, it would no longer happen that the ethnics for Vrgada, Murter, and Premuda become **Vrgađanin, *Murteranin, *Premuđanin* instead of *Vrgadin, Murterin, Premujanin*, or that ktetics turn into **molatski* instead of *molajski*, **tkonski* instead of *kunski*, **silbljanski* instead of *sibenski*... Given the purpose and intention of this book and its author, taking sides in this debate may not be appropriate. Nonetheless, we

believe that standing up with those advocating for the use of authentic ethnics and ktetics should not be seen as an abuse of authority, nor do we see this as a position going against language standardization. A linguistic standard is an indisputable linguistic acquisition that should never be questioned. However, it should be said that lexemes from all lexical fields cannot have the same status in the process of standardization. Ethnics and ktetics, often designating small and unknown settlements and their inhabitants, have developed as part of the Croatian language, using its word-formation resources. There are exceptions influenced by substrata, superstrata, and adstrata, but even such occurrences are also part of the history of the Croatian language.

The argument that “correcting” the word-formation formulas for ethnics and ktetics makes the new forms more acceptable to the majority of speakers cannot be accepted. Just as most Croatian speakers are unaware of many toponyms in the national corpus, they are also unfamiliar with most ethnics and ktetics derived from them. That is simply the way it is! The moment a linguistic or some other social need makes an unknown toponym, ethnic, or ktetic known (what are the ktetics derived from the toponyms Zrće, Punta Skala, or Sveti Petar?), the forms in which they appear will be learned as well. Otherwise, the fate of dialects and “small” languages, especially today, in an era of general globalization, including language globalization, comes into question, which is sometimes euphemistically enforced in the name of protecting the standard. Will eliminating everything that cannot be standardized from the system make us all speak “correctly”? After all, what does “norm” even mean in onomastics?

The French language is a compelling example. Due to its turbulent history and, particularly, its phonetic evolution, French saw such departures that drawing a parallel between certain toponyms and corresponding ethnics it is nearly impossible. The French standard not only tolerates unpredictable word-formation patterns but it, in a way, takes pride in them. A resident of Saint-Étienne is called *Stéphanois*, someone from Pau is *Palois*, from Évreux – *Ébroïcien*, from Bordeaux – *Bordelais*, from Fontainebleau – *Bellifontain*... Despite all the disadvantages coming out of such (un)structured forms of ethnics and ktetics, their existence in France is considered a linguistic treasure, and familiarity with them is regarded as a mark of excellence and knowledge!

All onyms within a national community came into being *in situ*, as part of the idioms specific to a particular part of the national territory. These are of-

ten not just distinct dialects, speech groups, or local vernaculars, but entirely different languages, often even extinct ones. All these oikonymic forms, some more and some less successfully, have been integrated into the standardized language. However, some ethnics and ktetics resist being forced into such package! And rightfully so! If, by virtue of the specific subject of its study, we recognize toponomastics and toponyms as guardians of a nation's linguistic treasure, then the same principle must be applied to toponomastic "products" – ethnics and ktetics.

Just because we do not like someone's name, we cannot call them by a different name! In fact, the truth is that proper names (toponyms as well as anthroponyms) are often loaded with contents that go far beyond basic identification need (origin, other linguistic affiliations, possible animosity...), but this should not be a reason to arbitrarily alter a name and the categories derived from it. In everyday practice, such actions can be considered socially unacceptable. At the very least. Shouldn't this be obvious? Linguists, more than anyone else, should not be the ones making such mistakes, as they are, by the nature of their profession, most familiar with the issue.

However, it must be said, in all honesty, that the problem of standardizing toponymic forms does exist and is not simple. It seems, however, that it has been mislocated and is being approached incorrectly. The key question to ask is: who – in Croatia, for example – should be responsible for standardizing toponymic forms, along with their ethnics and ktetics? Croatia has over 6,000 settlements. In the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago alone, we have registered around 10,000 distinct toponymic forms. How many, then, exist at the national level? In theory, all of them have their own ktetic, at least. Surveys conducted on the islands, where we documented the names of small referents, and when we say "small," this automatically means that they are not known in the broader community, showed that the informants used very different accents and, at times, even completely different pronunciation for these ethnics and ktetics. When faced with the need to correctly transcribe these recordings onto paper, we often found ourselves in a dilemma about of how to register them, so, in order to avoid the pitfalls previous researchers had fallen into, we recorded all the stress patterns and phonetic variations we encountered. From a communicative standpoint, such records are practically useless. Individually, they may function within closed areas, but once they, for one reason or other, "enter" the

public domain, they need to be brought down to a unique form. Ideally, onomasticians should be involved in selecting these forms, following principles that would need to be established in advance. The existing principles are either insufficient or unimplementable.

Ktetics of the Zadar Island Settlements and Ethnicities of Their Inhabitants (Selected Examples)

OIKONYM	ETHNIC (M.)	ETHNIC (F.)	KTETIC	CROATIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA DICTIONARY
Bānj (PA)	Bānjac	Bānjka	bānjski	
Bargŭlje (MO)	Bargŭljac	Bargŭljka	bargŭlski	
Božāva (DO)	Božāvljanin	Božāvka	božāvski	
Čeprljānda (UG)	Čeprljāndar	Čeprljānka	čeprljānski	
Dobropoljāna (PA)	Poljānac	Poljānka	poljānski	
Fortāšćina (UG)	Fortāšćanin	Fortāška	fortāški	
Gōrnje Selō	Gornjesēlac	Gornjesēlka	gornjesēlski	
Gudŭće	Gudŭćanin	Gudŭška	gudŭški	
Īst	Iščānin	Iščŭnka	iščŭnski	
Īz (Vēli -)	Īžānin	Īška	īški	Īžānin, Īžānka, īški
Jezēra (MU)	Jezerānin	Jezērka	jezērski	Jezerānin, Jēzērka, jezēračkī, jezērānskī
Kuāle, Kalī, Kalī (UG)	Kualjānin	Kuāljkā	kuāljski	Kāljanin, Kāljkānka (Kāljkā), kālškī (kāljski)
Krāj (PA)	Krājānin	Krājka	krājski	
Kukljīca (UG)	Kukljīćanin	Kukljīška	kukljīški	Kukljīćar (Kukljīćanin), Kukljīćarka, kukljīćkī
Kŭn (PA)	Kŭnjānin	Kŭnka	kŭnski	Tkōn, tkōnskī
Lazarēt	Lazarēćanin	Lazarēška	lazarēški	
Lŭka (DO)	Lŭćānin	Lŭška	lŭški	
Lŭke (MU)	Lŭćanin	Lŭćānka	lŭćānski	
Molāt	Molāćanin	Molājka	molājski	Mōlaćanin, Mōlaćānka, mōlaćānskī, mōlatskī
Mucē (IŽ)	Mucēlanin	Mucēlka	mućēlski	
Mulīne (UG)	Donjesēlac	Donjesēlka	donjesēlski	
Murtēr	Murterīn	Murtērka	murtērski	Mūrterānin (Murtērīn), Mūrterānka (Murtērka), mūrterškī

OIKONYM	ETHNIC (M.)	ETHNIC (F.)	KTETIC	CROATIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA DICTIONARY
Něvidane (PA)	Něvijac	Něvijka	něvijski	Nevidānac, Nėvidānka, nėvidnški
Olib	Olibljanin	Olipka	olipski	Ōlibljanin, Ōlibljānka, Ōlipski
Pōrat / Věli Rāt (DO)	Portulānin, Velārčanin	Portulānka, Velārka	portulānški, velārški	
Priēko (UG)	Priēčanin	Priēška	priēški	Prēcānin, Prēcānka, prēcānški
Premūda	Premūjanin	Premūjanka	premūjski	
Rīvanj	Rivānjac	Rīvanjka	rīvanjski	Under the entry: <i>riva!</i>
Sāle (DO)	Sāljanin	Sāljka	sāljski	Sāli, Sāljanin, Sāljānka, Sāljka, sāljski
Sīlba	Sībenjanin	Sībenka	sībenski	Sīlba, Sībenjan, Sībenjānka
Stomīšćica	Stomīšćanin	Stomīška	stomīški	
Šušica (UG)	Šušičanin	Šušiška	šušiški	
Škārda	Škārjanin	Škārjanka	škārjanski	
Ugljān (UG)	Ugljānac	Ugljānka	ugljānski	Ūgljan, Ūgljanin (Ugljānac), Ūgljānka, ūgljānški
Ugrīnic (PA)	Ugrīnac	Ugrīnka	ugrīnski	
Věli Rāt (DO)	Velārčanin	Velārka	velārški	
Verōna, official- ly Verunic (DO)	Verūnjanin	Verūnka	verūnski	
Vrgāda	Vrgadīn	Vrgadīnka	vrgadīnski	Only: Vrgada
Zapuntē (MO)	Zapuntēlac	Zapuntēka	zapuntēski	
Zverīnac	Zverīnčanin	Zverīnška	zverīnški	
Ždrēlac (PA)	Ždrēčanin	Ždrēška	ždrēški	

DO – Dugi otok; MO – Molat; MU – Murter; PA – Pašman; UG – Ugljan

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4.1.3. Toponomastics and Dialectology

The relationship between toponomastics and dialectology deserves special attention. Even though there are many common points in their methods and field of research, they are not one and the same discipline. In simple terms, it could be said that all toponomastic material is also dialectological, given that all toponymic forms originated within a specific local dialect. Later adjustments caused by the pressures of the standard language, or some other reasons, are not part of this analysis. Dialectological descriptions are of exceptional importance for toponomastics, and it could be said without hesitation that these are sister disciplines. What separates them is their ultimate research objective. In addition to the linguistic aspect of the sign, toponomastics is especially interested in the semantic and, even more precisely, the identification side of the toponymic form, which is almost irrelevant to dialectology.

The state of field research into Croatian dialects is similar to that of toponomastic material. The situation is especially difficult in zones of increased demographic regression. Islands, particularly small, inhabited islands, are a clear example of such a situation. The all-present standard on one side and the lack of speakers on the other will deal the final blow to the dialects of small islands and their toponomastic heritage. If insufficient care for dialects continues at this pace, toponyms and toponymy will remain the last line of defense. *Beli*, however, will be difficult to change to *Bijeli*, *Tisno* to *Tijesno* (the “experiment” has already failed once), *Preko* to *Oltre...*

It is fortunate, however, that in the last ten years, a large number of dialect dictionaries have appeared, especially dictionaries of the Čakavian dialects. Even though some of them are questionable in terms of their lexicographical quality, they can undoubtedly be seen as a cornerstone in preserving the Croatian dialectal base. Unfortunately, they will find little practical “application.”

However, it is important to emphasize that *the left-hand side* of the dictionary will always be an important source of information for dialectological research, especially those related to comparative studies of various linguistic issues.

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4.1.4. *Toponomastics and Lexicography*

The most comprehensive onomastic and, by extension, toponomastic inventories of a language can be found in encyclopedias. From the first encyclopedia by Diderot to present-day encyclopedic handbooks and lexicons of all kinds (including Wikipedia), many changes have occurred, and the production of such manuals has reached unprecedented levels, even in countries with small print runs. Nowadays, it is common practice to combine general and onomastic lexis in so-called encyclopedic dictionaries. One such dictionary has appeared in the Croatian linguistic market, too. It is *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik* (Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary, 2002).

Is there a special onomastic lexis, and should it be studied? This question can be addressed on several levels. First, we should reiterate what is already known: a lexis whose linguistic characteristics (primarily morphological) would make it different from the general one does not exist. Second, on a semantic level of analysis, the division according to different lexical fields could also include the creation of an onomastic lexicon. Some attempts in this regard have already been made in the field of anthroponymy, while the toponomastic sphere remains highly fragmented; as a result, parts of such efforts can, for the

time being, be found scattered across books and scholarly articles by Croatian onomasticians. In short, there is a need for a modern and, if possible, comprehensive toponomastic dictionary. Whether this can be realized is a question for future generations of onomasticians. The principles on which such a dictionary should be built are yet to be determined. In any case, there are good lexicographical and onomastic models in many countries.

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4.2. Toponomastics in Relation to Non-Linguistic Sciences and Disciplines

After determining the position of toponomastics within onomastics and in relation to other linguistic disciplines with which it directly interacts, i.e., shares certain aspects or areas of research, we should also attempt to define its relationship with other scholarly fields and their disciplines. Since we have already established that everything around us is marked by words and that every word (especially a concrete noun) can become a toponymic form, this means, in practice, that the content covered by toponyms originates from diverse semantic fields, including those that are, among other things, dominant areas of interest in other aspects of scholarly research. From the perspective of toponomastics, the most interesting field is that of geography, particularly cartography as its integral part, but there are also important connections with history, archeology, art history, and even literature interwoven with anthroponymic and toponymic forms.

However, before attempting to outline these relationships, we must stress that studying toponomastics goes beyond mere scholarship. The orbit of toponomastics includes countless everyday activities, trades, skills, and practices... from fishing, agriculture, and farming to shipbuilding and navigation, from our relationship with the sea, atmosphere, and nature in general to saints and religious celebrations, folk beliefs, and anecdotes... We are all toponomasticians, either as users of a naming system agreed upon within a speech community (e.g., those familiar with fishing grounds or bird habitats) or as modern name-givers of digital and pharmaceutical products. None of the following Zadar hodonyms (street and neighborhood names) have the status of an official name: *Pet Nebodera* (Five Skyscrapers), *Kod Gostionice Vere* (At Vera's Tavern), *Kod Gospe o Zdravlja* (At Our Lady of Health), *Maraska* (the Maraska Spirits and Beverages Factory), *Bulevar* (Boulevard), *Poluotok* (Peninsula), *Četiri Kantuna* (Four Corners), *Kalelarga* (the main street on the peninsula, literally, 'broad street'), and *Riva* (the waterfront). Yet, they all function as true toponyms, which, in essence, they are! They are far more recognizable – thus fulfilling the true purpose of toponyms – than the official toponymic phrases used to designate these neighborhoods. A great example is Zadar's beloved waterfront, which has, over time, borne a series of honorific names, from an Italian king and an Austrian emperor to a Yugoslav marshal and a Croatian king, but among generations of Zadar's residents, regardless of their language or era, it has always been known simply as *Riva*.

For complete toponomastic information, it is sufficient that the participants in the communication process (at least two) recognize both the toponymic form and the referent it designates. Everything else is "surplus." We do not need to know Latin to convey to someone that a cove named *Tratica* (from the Latin *trahere*, past participle, meaning 'to pull'; indicating that this is where fishing nets were pulled from the shore) is a good fishing spot, as here its name has an extralinguistic purpose. On the other hand, even the most knowledgeable toponomastician will not be able to determine the meaning hiding behind the toponym *Jadra* – now *Piškerica* – in the Kornati Islands unless they possess a thorough knowledge of the island's geographical, hydrological, and topographical characteristics, as well as the history of Adriatic and, in particular, Sali's fishing traditions.

This aspect of research, as well as the methods that should guide it, will be discussed later in this book. For now, the key reason for drawing attention to this is

to emphasize both the simplicity and the complexity of toponomastic processes. A toponomastician must be an excellent scholar, first and foremost, a linguist, then an etymologist and a dialectologist, as well as an expert with exceptional knowledge of the field and conditions in the field across different epochs. Naturally, this is an ideal to strive for, and such a person does not truly exist.

Besides the fields of study most relevant for toponomastics, which will be discussed in more detail further on in the text, the analysis should also consider other, perhaps less obvious, fields, such as hydrography, oceanography, mareography, meteorology, geodesy, pedology, anthropology...

4.2.1. *Toponomastics in Relation to Historical Sciences*

We have already established that toponomastics is neither etymology nor dialectology, and now we will state that it is neither history, geography, cartography, nor any other science. However, we will also claim that many sciences and studies, especially non-linguistic ones, could not be defined in their totality without the assistance of toponomastics. Thus, toponomastics often serves as an auxiliary field of study. Given that it is possible, with a fair degree of certainty, to define the time periods in which particular linguistic phenomena (primarily phonetic and morphosyntactic) occurred and were implemented, such phenomena can be used to establish the minimum age of a certain toponymic form and, accordingly, the age of the person who determined it. This is of great importance for historical sciences, even though many historians are not always aware of this fact, so they tend to engage in uncertain etymologizing rather than acquiring fundamental knowledge of linguistic changes in different epochs and regions. Here is a brief reminder:

If the toponymic forms cannot be tracked back to either Greek or Latin origin, it can be assumed, depending on the zone in which they are found, that they originate from Liburnian or some other pre-Roman language. Saying that a certain toponym belongs to these languages is always accompanied by labels such as *probably, possibly, maybe...* Nonetheless, it is generally agreed that entire series of toponyms can be attributed to this linguistic layer, e.g., *Fripa, Gripa, Hripa, Hrica* (the referent is always rocky terrain); *Jadro, Jadarce, Jadrce, Jadra* (the referent is always water); *Molat, Mljet, Melta, Malta* (almost always an island); *Škarda, Skrda, Skradin, Skrad, Skardiščak* (rocky terrain or a peak).

Particularly striking is the rich occurrence of the *Aranj*, *Arvanj*, *Varanje*, *Rivanj*, *Vrnj*, *Vrvonj* series, which exclusively and always marks water, and which is neither of Greek, Romance, nor Slavic origin. It appears that the names of the two largest lakes on the Adriatic, both having the adjective *vransko*, belong to this group.

The names of pre-Roman settlements along the Adriatic also belong to this group, and many of them are characterized by the suffix *-ona* (which, through *-un*, results in the Croatian *-in*): *Aenona* (Nin), *Albona* (Labin), *Flanona* (Plo-min), *Salona* (Solin), *Scardona* (Skradin), *Promona* (Promina).

This group also includes countless toponyms that were adapted into the Romance and later Croatian linguistic systems. Their origins cannot be established with certainty, but they were likely named very early due to their importance: *Krk*, *Cres*, *Ist*, *Rava*, *Iž*, *Sestrunj*, *Kisa*, *Rivanj*, *Jarta*, *Rab*, *Brač*, *Šolta*, *Lastovo*... This should not be confusing, because it is clear that the linguistic path of every pre-Roman toponym in the Adriatic, that reached the Croats, could only have gone through Latin and Dalmatian Romance, its successor. It is important to note that all the above examples are also cited in literature as examples of the Dalmatian Romance layer.

When it comes to the Romance layer, well-documented in Adriatic toponymy, it is crucial, from both linguistic and historical perspectives, to determine the epoch in which these forms came into being and, even more importantly, the moment when linguistic changes occurred in these forms. These changes grew from Latin and Vulgar Latin through Dalmatian Romance or Istrian Romance to Croatian. Generally speaking, it is not always easy to determine which toponym the Croats took from something that could still be considered Latin or from an already fully developed Romance language (Dalmatian or Istrian): the established distinguishing criteria are not applicable to all cases. An ideal, “canonical” example of the Late Latin layer would be *Solin* < SALŌNA, for the Dalmatian Romance layer *Kanajt* < CANNĒTUM, and for the Istrian layer *Motovun* < MONTŌNA. There is a problem, however, with toponyms that, at least superficially, show characteristics of both layers, such as *Palit* < PALŪDE (where Ō through /u/ gave /i/, as in *Solin*, but the pre-stressed /a/ remained preserved, as in *Kanajt*, instead of shifting to /o/).

However, it should be noted that, when it comes to old Romance words, the traditional terminological distinction between “Late Latin” and “Early Ro-

mance” has recently been abandoned. According to prominent Romance and Slavic scholars, most notably N. Vuletić and G. Holzer, the oldest Eastern Adriatic Romance elements can quite legitimately be attributed to the Early Romance language as well, given that the phonetic changes supporting this conclusion had already taken place. One of the better-confirmed examples of this is the change of Latin *ō* > Romance [o] > [u] (and later > Slavic /y/ > /i/), which explains why the Latin *SALŌNA* became *Solin* in Croatian, rather than **Solun* (Greek *Solun*, Thessaloniki, is a separate problem and will not be discussed here).

Unlike these examples, it is relatively easy to determine which toponym belongs to the indigenous Romance language and which to the later Venetian. One of the basic criteria is the fate of Latin intervocalic stops /p, t, k/, which remained preserved if the toponym was of Late Latin or Dalmatian Romance origin (e.g., *LUPELLU* > *Ljubljaj*, ‘Dicentrarchus labrax,’ etc.), but changed to /b, d, g/ in the Venetian, except in cases where they were in contact with sonorants. A perfect example of this is the name of the island of Vrgada: the original Latin *RUBRICATA* evolved into *Lapkat* in the older layer (/k/ and /t/ were retained), yet it became *Vergada* in Venetian (/k/ > /g/, and /t/ > /d/). Both forms were used as the island’s names, but in the end *Vrgada* prevailed. At the same time, these criteria are key indicators of the survival of indigenous Romance languages along our coast, and, at the same time, they show the spread of Venetian influence in the region. In addition, toponyms from the oldest layers, e.g., *Mirine*, *Polača*, *Šipnata*, are valuable indicators for archaeologists and historians when trying to determine the location of the earliest settlements.

When it comes to the history of art, experts can easily determine the period in which different styles emerged. However, as already stated, toponymic confirmations can also help in dating. The most striking example is toponyms derived from saints’ names i.e., hagnonyms, where the Latin *SANCTUS* became *sut*, or simply *su* or *st* in Croatian, such as in *Sutivan* (several examples), *Stomorica* (in a number of different variants), *Sutomišćica*, *Sutvara*, *Sukošan*, etc. Even though it may not seem so at first, research in art history, especially the data about the construction of religious buildings, the locations where they were built, and the individuals involved in their construction, is of great importance to toponymy. Archival material of this kind (especially contracts) is well preserved.

Archaeological findings, especially those from earlier periods, are often the only available testimonies about onyms that were in use in the studied area.

These testimonies are particularly important because they provide insights into languages whose structure and lexis we do not know, yet we are certain they were in use. For our area, this primarily includes the Liburnian language, which has reached us exclusively through Roman inscriptions in which we recognize Liburnian anthroponyms or toponyms. Although we are much better informed about the Dalmatian Romance language and have many more examples in various documents, some archaeological finds also offer important insights into this language.

However, when it comes to archaeology, it should be said that toponomastics has often been its vital assistant (until now, at least) in discovering new archaeological sites, given that toponyms carry old linguistic confirmations, which can then (through the content behind their names) point to remains of material culture. Data is also obtained through field interviews, where informants point out such places, especially when nothing can be deduced from the name and when there are some new objects in the area that are not an indication of any particular find or site (dry-stone walls, paths, shrubs, trees). As our field research on the outer and central chains of the Zadar islands was coming to a close, we encountered many toponyms that had not been researched yet that could be of interest to archaeologists. These include: *Grobina*, *Dvorina*, *Crkvina*, *Mikaljeva Ograda* on Dugi Otok, *Mirine*, *Mir*, and *Mirišće* in several places, *Selišće*, *Požunjski*, and *Mleci* on Iž, *Ripišće* on Zverinac, *Gusterne* and *Kučice* on Molat, *Karanke* on Sestrunj, *Zlatarica* in Trtuša, on Kornat, etc.

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4.2.2. *Toponomastics in Relation to Topography*

When toponomastics, i.e., primarily historical toponymy, is the subject of historiographers' works, the term *topography* is often used in contexts where the term *toponymy* would be expected if, for example, linguists were dealing with the same names and applying the same methodology. This is, of course, a minor terminological confusion that can easily be resolved by examining the etymology of these terms (*topography* < Greek *topos*, 'place' + *graphein*, 'to write' and *toponymy* < Greek *topos* + *onymia* < Greek *onoma*, 'name') or, even more simply, by looking these words up in an encyclopedic (or similar) dictionary. In *Hrvatski enciklopedijski rječnik* (Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary), for example, the following definitions can be found: 1) *topography*: "a geographical discipline that studies, measures, and surveys the forms and features of the Earth's surface and represents them on geographical maps and plans"; "the identification and description of a particular location," 2) *toponymy*: "the totality of place names in a given area," and 3) *toponomastics*: "a branch of linguistics that studies geographical names, place names..." In short, topography studies and describes the terrain, while toponomastics studies and describes words used to name the terrain. Therefore, it is clear why geographers and historians primarily use the term *topography*, whereas linguists opt for *toponymy* and *toponomastics*. However, exceptions are common.

The reason why the term *topography* is often used even when the subject of the discussion is, in fact, *toponymy* lies in the entirely understandable fact that the space we describe must be identified, and this can only be done with the help of its name. Likewise, the topographic method is an essential and key part of linguistic research into toponymy, despite the fact that few toponomasticians are willing to admit that much of their work essentially overlaps with what geographers do. However, there are significant differences between linguists' and non-linguists' approach to extra-linguistic space. While the identification of names in space is the ultimate goal of topography, for toponomastics, it is merely an auxiliary tool for linguistic analysis of toponymic forms. Thus, even though it often deals with toponymic signs, topography is not concerned with the linguistic description but only the content (referent) of a toponymic sign, whereas for toponomastics, the primary task is precisely

the linguistic description. For example, if we are describing the modern toponyms of *Žman* and *Ždrelac*, from the perspective of both toponomastic and topographic descriptions, it is important to associate these names with their historical attestations – *Mečano* or *Crikva žmanska* for *Žman*, i.e., *Iugum* or *Iocum* (~ *paruum* or ~ *magnum*) and *Zuncalo* for *Ždrelac* – as well as with the geographical locations they denote, namely the village on Dugi Otok and the strait between the islands of Pašman and Ugljan. However, while the identification of the name and its location in the studied space marks the end of topographic analysis, it is at the same time the very beginning of toponomastic analysis, which continues with linguistic examination, where the established extra-linguistic facts serve simply as an initial, even though often indispensable, piece of information.

In addition, in terms of the amount of information needed for their analysis, the interest of topography and toponomastics in extra-linguistic aspects of the research matter is not entirely comparable. For a topographic description, all information about the named space is important, whereas toponomastic description focuses only on linguistically relevant information, which allows us to say that toponomastic interest in geography is selective. Regarding the aforementioned examples, for the toponomastic analysis of the name *Žman*, the information about the number of neighboring villages to its southeast and northwest is far more important than the information about the position of the village – e.g., on a hill, in a field, or by the sea – since we know that *Mečano*, *Mžan*, and other historical variations of the name ultimately derive from Latin *MEDIANUS* ‘central’. At the same time, for the linguistic description of the toponym *Ždrelac*, the information about the shape of the strait in antiquity (Latin *IUGUM*, ‘yoke’, cf. *Iugum*) or perhaps the vegetation in its vicinity (Latin *IUNCUS*, ‘rush, weaver’s broom,’ cf. *Iocum*, *Zuncalo*...) is undoubtedly far more important than the information about sea currents or the composition of the soil near the strait, etc.

Finally, despite the apparent differences between geographers, historians, and linguists in terms of research methodology and objectives, there are more and more researchers among the modern-day non-linguists who approach linguistic issues arising from topographic descriptions adhering to the highest standards of toponomastic methodology – including its terminology. In this context, it is certainly worth mentioning the toponomastic contribution of his-

torian S. Čače from the University of Zadar, whose recent works on the ancient toponymy and topography of the Eastern Adriatic makes him a prominent figure in Croatian toponomastics.

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4.2.3. *Toponomastics in Relation to Geography*

Given that geography, at least in part, concerns itself with describing land formations and Earth's features, toponomastics is certainly one of the disciplines most closely connected to it. One of the tasks of toponomastics is to explain the relationship and linguistic procedures between a named geographical unit (referent) and the name "assigned" to it. It is a fact that the largest number of toponyms within any given broader area refers to geographical formations and toponymized metaphors, regardless of the language from which they originate. The first impulses in naming a specific place were, therefore, to "retell" what was seen at the site: *bok* ('hip' or 'side'), *draga* ('cove'), *garma* ('cove'), *glava* ('head'), *hripa* ('rocky terrain'), *kuk* ('hip'), *lebro* ('rib'), *linga* ('shallow'), *pećina* ('cave'), *plat* ('plateau'), *prisika* ('isthmus'), *rudina* ('rocky plain'), *rat* ('cape' or 'point'), *sika* ('shallow rock'), *skar* ('low shore'), *školj* ('islet' or 'island'), *vabis* ('steep underwater terrain'), *vala* ('bay'), *vrata* ('strait' or 'narrow passage,' literally 'door'), *zaglav* ('headland'), *zgon* ('pen'), *žaplo* ('sea passage'), *ždrilo* ('strait,' literally 'throat'), etc.

For geography, it is of utmost importance to provide clear and unambiguous definitions for all land configurations. This may seem self-evident, but it is not. Take, for example, the number of islands in the Croatian Adriatic and the terms island, islet, reef, and rock. In one of the most recent studies on this issue, the question about the exact number of islands was finally (temporarily) set aside,

even though not all questions received definitive answers. For the first time, this list does not include “unnamed reefs/rocks.” However, it is not known what would have happened had the list been extended to include all islands – 1,246 of them. Instead, the list stopped at 604 (79 islands and 525 islets). Our experience, along with that of other researchers cataloging toponomastic material in the Šibenik-Zadar archipelago, where approximately 2 out of 5 (42%) of all Croatian islands are located, shows that the real onomastic challenges arise precisely when we come to the small and “less important” islands.

One of the tasks of geography is to offer an unambiguous categorization of islands, while toponomastics has the task of finding their names (they are “among the people,” if they are not on the map). However, this seemingly simple task is not always easy to accomplish (see below). It is not easy to physically mark the insignificantly small surface area of reefs on large-scale maps, let alone inscribe their names (and the less important a referent, the longer its name). And *carta canta!* Just as with other systems (minor winds, small and insignificant fish, tiny bodies of water), problems increase as size and importance decrease. What is not marked does not exist! And so, the names of the smallest referents disappear. However, our research in the densest island zone has never uncovered a single nameless islet or reef. Quite the opposite! As already mentioned, names become more descriptive and more numerous as the perceived value (for whatever reason) of what is being described decreases.

HOW MANY ISLANDS IN CROATIA?

The Croatian archipelago is characterized by great geographical fragmentation and dispersion. It is a space of somewhat *perplexing* geography, which in the past caused many dilemmas and led to many false conclusions. The ancient Greek geographer Strabo (1st century AD) stated that there were sixty islands in Liburnia, which is the first known account of the number of islands. *The Fifth Map of Europe*, drawn by Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century AD), the renowned geographer and cartographer, shows no more than eight islands in the Adriatic. The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (10th century) diplomatically, as a true Byzantine would only know, stated the following: *In the region of Dalmatia up to Benevento (...), there are very many islands, so ships need never fear the waves...* This statement is certainly ambiguous, yet within the broader context, it is very telling!

More systematic studies of Croatian islands were part of the first complete hydrographic surveys of the Adriatic. Based on these surveys, A. Sobieczky reported in 1911 that there were 1,121 islands, islets, and reefs along the northeastern Adriatic coast. In 1952, I.

Rubić listed 1,040 islands, islets, and reefs in Croatia, while data from the Hydrographic Institute of the Yugoslav Navy, analyzed by A. Irić in 1955, stated that Croatia had 1,185 islands, islets, and rocks. This figure has since been accepted as the official number. However, in 1997, N. Stražičić documented 1,151 islands, islets, and reefs. More recently, a study published in *Geoadria* in 2004, conducted by a research team from the Croatian Hydrographic Institute led by T. Duplančić Leder, claimed that Croatia has 1,246 islands, islets, and reefs. Is this the final number? Not likely, even though the number was verified through research and should be recognized and used as the official number, at least until new discoveries are made.

But what is an 'island'? *An island is a piece of land surrounded by water* (sea, river, or lake). A similar definition is explicitly stated in Article 121, Chapter VIII of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, which further specifies that *an island is a landmass that remains above sea level at high tide*. Accordingly, a rock that remains below sea level, i.e., submerge, at high tide, cannot be considered an island.

However, this raises another question: which landmass can be considered an island, yet not a continent, and what is the smallest landmass that can be considered an island? In global terms, Australia is considered the smallest continent, while Greenland is the largest island. The upper limit is, therefore, established. The problem, however, is that there is no lower limit according to which some part of land always above sea level would be considered an island. Can linguistics, particularly toponomastics, help geographers in resolving this issue? One possible solution along is to offer a definition of *an island* as any part of land that is permanently surrounded by water and has its own name. In other words, the natural-geographic criterion should also include socio-economic factors recognized by the linguistic community on whose territory the naming process takes place. However, even if such a definition of the smallest islands were accepted, the exact number of Croatian islands would still not be settled. For example, some Croatian islands are connected to the mainland by bridges built at sea level, yet they remain classified as islands. Such islands are also called *pseudo-islands*. This leads to the question: why are Krk, Pag, Vir, Murter, and Čiovo considered islands, while Nin, Tribunj, and Trogir are not? (They were not included in the Duplančić Leder list!) On the other hand, it is entirely understandable that places such as Uljanik, Primošten, Rogoznica, and Vranjic, as well as Zadar, Rovinj, and Dubrovnik (and many other significantly smaller locations) that once had their *insular past* are no longer considered islands.

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The already mentioned land features and physical characteristics of a referent are the most common motivations for naming, followed by metaphors from the geographical domain, e.g., *Barilo* ('small wooden barrel or drum'), *Batel* ('small boat'), *Bačva* ('barrel'), *Funestra* ('window'), *Gundula* ('small boat'), *Pohljib* ('half a loaf of bread'), *Kablin* ('wooden bucket'), *Katrida* ('chair'), *Klobuk* ('hat'), *Oključ* ('key'), *Kosiraca* ('billhook'), *Kruna* ('crown'), *Lancun* ('sheet'), *Lopar* ('oven peel'), etc.). Even though such names primarily come from folk vocabulary – the first name-givers were certainly not learned individuals – they can still be very useful and informative to geographers in describing the referents, especially when the reasons that motivated the naming process have been lost to the name's history and long usage.

4.2.4. *Toponomastics/Toponymy in Relation to Cartography*

Since maps are spatially defined and cover a given area, it would be more accurate – in line with the previous explanations – to speak of the relationship between toponymy and cartography. Cartography and toponymy could be considered one and the same discipline if cartography were also interested in linguistic issues revealed in the toponymic form. However, cartography is only interested in that other part of the toponomastic sign, i.e., its content, or in our terminology, the identification of the name (the toponymic form) and the referent, which is shown on the map through colors, schematics, or symbols. Whether a name is correct or not (*Sibenska* instead of *Šibenska*, *Lavsa* instead of *Lavca*, *Babina Guzica* instead of *Babina Gušica*) is completely irrelevant. Whether these forms correspond to those used by native speakers of the local community or whether are they artificial, acquired from older editions of maps, foreign or domestic, is also irrelevant. For cartographers and map users, the only thing that matters is that the map is as faithful a “reflection” of reality as possible and that a name, regardless of what it may be, matches the representation of a particular geographical configuration on the map. For a toponomastician, however, this is not the case!

Should names on maps be corrected according to toponomastic and linguistic principles? It is not easy to give a straightforward answer to this question. In order to compare the names on maps with linguistic practice in the field, it would be necessary to determine what that practice actually

is. Experience shows that only field research can provide a qualified answer. However, such research is rarely conducted. Even if such endeavors were undertaken more frequently (which does happen from time to time), a clear position from both linguistic and cartographic experts would be needed to ensure that the correction (re-ambulation) process is carried out according to agreed-upon principles. Experience in other areas of standardizing the Croatian language shows that such aspirations are not easily put into practice. Far from it! Cartographers would probably be easier to work with than linguists. *Experientia docet!*

NAME CHANGE: COLENTUM: SRIMAČ: MURTER

In the past, many names have changed spontaneously. Whatever *spontaneous* may mean, here it stands in opposition to *imposed*. For now, we will set aside the attempts and occasional implementation of imposed name changes. It is difficult to say what deeper reasons prevailed, causing a fully accepted name, used for centuries, such as *Srimač* (for present-day Murter), to disappear completely and permanently, leaving no trace in the island's toponymy. To add to the linguistic irony, this has happened to Murter twice. It has been conclusively proven that the ancient town (settlement) of *Kolent* (*Colentum*, more commonly found in literature) was located at the site of Murter's *Gradina*. Yet, no trace of it remains in the island's toponymy, even though many islands bearing names that date back to pre-antiquity and antiquity have preserved them to this day, often in distorted forms (*Vrgada*, *Rab*, *Vis*, etc.).

In the case of *Colentum*, the reason seems clear – at some point in history, the island lost all of its population, which caused a break in the transfer of toponomastic knowledge. Everything that was once known was now “forgotten,” so today, in the toponomastic corpus of Murter there are no toponyms from the old Romance stage of settlement. However, when it comes to the replacement of *Srimač* with *Murter*, the situation is entirely different. What is absolutely certain is that both names, *Srimač* and *Murter*, coexisted in use for at least five centuries. At the beginning of the 14th century, when the form *mortari* appeared on Vesconti's chart of a cove on the island's southern side along the coastal sailing route, and immediately after in archival documents (*insula Mortari*), the pressure on the older name increased, so that by the 17th century, the local priest, Don Jadrij Skračić, was concluding his fellow islanders' wills with the following lines: “*This was written by me, Don Jadrij Skračić, parish priest of Srimač,*” and “*This was written by me, Don Jadrij Skračić, parish priest of Murter.*” The final outcome is the present-day state of affairs.

There are also other, rather bizarre examples. On an Italian map from 1943, *Punta Studenca* on Pašman (named after a nearby freshwater spring, or ‘*studenac*’) was listed as *Punta Novembre* (the confusion is obvious, as the Croatian word for November is *studen*). This form did not survive in cartography. A similar case is the transition from *Veli Zal* on the island of Lošinj through *Vale del Sol* to *Sunčana Uvala*.

Many referents have changed their names over time or are still (depending on the user)

identified by different names. The Kornati islands, due to their unique settlement history and land use, are a striking example. In one study, we identified forty such islands. Here are some examples: *Arapovac*; *Crnikovac*; *Babujaš*; *Klobuk*; *Bikarijica*; *Počivalo*; *Bisaga*; *Krpejina*; *Blitvica*; *Dinarić*; *Božišnjak*; *Kurbarić*; *Donja Sikica*; *Caparinjak*; *Gominjak*; *Garmenjak*; *Gustac*; *Beli*; *Kalahatin*; *Saparica*; *Kolobučar*; *Turčin*; *Mali Obručan*; *Trbuh*; *Piškerica*; *Jadra*; *Vela Sestrica*; *Tajer*; *Vodenjak*; *Žakanić*.

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The practical and purely onomastic (here, identificational) function of the re-ambulation process is also on the side of those opposing changes. Their arguments are strong and should be treated with respect, as changing long-established habits in the use of accepted names can lead to undesirable consequences, even irreversible damage. Despite this, our position is that the re-ambulation of toponymic forms on maps is necessary, provided that it is gradual, reasonable, and based on pertinent principles. It seems that something of this kind is also being prepared at the level of the EU. Practice, however, has shown that, especially in sparsely populated zones far from linguistic irradiation centers, such as the Kornati, for example, there are numerous referents (in this case, islands) that bear more than one name. Modern nautical charts generally avoid this ambiguity, but in the field, the situation remains ambivalent. From a linguistic standpoint, this is not necessarily a problem, but from a cartographic perspective, it is far from ideal.

Cartography is of immense importance to toponomastics and toponymy. Like an open archive, it guides us through the linguistic and geographical

past of name-giving in a specific segment of the described territory. Sometimes, only cartography can explain linguistic and other processes involved in name-formation.

4.2.5. *Toponomastics and Ethnology*

Among the scholarly fields and disciplines that can (also) find subject matter for their research and synthesis in toponymy, in terms of data usability, ethnology certainly stands at the very top. We could almost say that ethnologists “profit” from toponomastics more than linguists, who, with few exceptions, are mostly interested in the opaque, unexplained, and archaic aspects of toponymic material. If we define ethnology as the study of folk life and customs in the broadest sense, it is clear that it is just as interested in all toponyms that can provide insights into this subject, and these include, more or less, all nouns with understandable content, including even basic geographical lexis (*vrh, dolac, draga, laz, polje, rat, gora, jezero, aranj, zgon*, etc.), which, even though it could be considered fixed, since it has been present in the language since prehistory, often contains hints, even if quite marginal, about the culture of the people.

However, the most important part of the toponymic lexis for ethnology is the one that directly speaks to the presence of humans in a given space, their work, and their impact on the landscape. Toponyms such as *Volujak*, found in many fields, because oxen were used for plowing, *Trata*, for many coves, because the fishing nets were dragged from the shore, *Straža*, for prominent peaks on the island, given that defending against intruders was the islanders’ most important task, *Kurilišće*, for places from which smoke signals were sent before lighthouses existed, *Koledišće*, for gathering places in almost every settlement on the islands, because this is where *koleda* (Christmas bonfires) were lit, as well as many other toponyms, are clear testaments to the history of folk culture. To illustrate, here are a few more examples. Each of them is, *de facto*, a story and could be the subject of a lengthy description. In fact, the less recognizable the lexeme in the toponymic form, the longer the story should be. Therefore, we will provide only a summary of the toponymic forms that best illustrate the life of our ancestors and Croatian heritage. These cover two main areas of activity, one linked to the sea, and the other to the land. The

first group includes: *Batelaža*, *Fogun* (fishermen's "field" kitchens), *Garafulin*, *Pastura*, *Spreža* (columns for mooring ships), *Griparica* (from 'grip,' a type of ship), *Kažun*, *Dvor*, *Pošta*, *Gavunišće*, *Kantarišće*, *Ušatišće* (places where different types of fish gathered), *Migavica*, *Trata*, *Palandara* (types of fishing nets), *Prihodišće*, *Ašumivanje*, *Kumandanje*, *Šijanje*, *Krokada* (all places from which nets were dragged), *Spansa*, *Steralo* (places where nets were dried), *Shajanje*, *Škver*, *Orsan* (places where ships were pulled out for repair), *Saurna*, *Savrnar*, *Kučarine* (remains of salt farms in the sea)... The second group includes: *Brodarišće*, *Kargadur* (places for loading and unloading timber, livestock), *Pastirski*, *Sakatur* (places for gathering livestock), *Požar*, *Garina*, *Teg*, *Ugljevica*, *Žganj* (fields and meadows created by burning), *Jara*, *Osik*, *Vosik*, *Prisika* (fenced spaces or pens for livestock), *Lupeška*, *Tatinja* (bays for pirate raids and similar "illegal" activities), etc.

However, in ethnology, the field of interest is not limited solely to information pertaining to the culture of a particular community on a macro level, from the perspective of a wider set of communities. For studying the material and spiritual culture of each community, data about life on the micro level, i.e., entirely individual and ephemeral events, offers just as much information from which it is possible to get insight into the spirit of the time and the community. Anecdotes transformed into toponyms are the best example of such information. At that, it is important to note that *the known* and *the unknown* are relative concepts, and that equal attention should be given to both *the unknown* and *the known*. From the perspective of the universe of a small local community, which carries the same value for research as a large one, almost everything is *known* and important, from the most intimate life events of every individual to those of global importance. Going back to the microcosm of the island population, the familiarity of toponyms ranges from just a few families inhabiting a small village on Mali Iž to all of humanity. Therefore, we will focus on some rare toponomastic confirmations which, for the sedentary population of the day, comprised the center of the world, the only known universe. In both onomastic and any other sense, these are indisputable markers of identity.

Each point on the shore where something of importance happened had its own name. Often, this was the site of a shipwreck or some other tragedy, so the name was chosen according to the ethnic origin of the owner or the crew:

NAMING-GIVING TRENDS OF THE PAST

Until the beginning of the 15th century, folk names prevailed on the islands and along the northern Dalmatian coast (most often with the stem *Rad-* as in *Radoslav*, *Ratko*, *Radica*, etc., followed by the names with the stems *Stan-*, *Prib-*, *Drag-*, and, for today's understanding of folk names, completely unexpected variants such as *Prven*, *Dobrota*, *Dragočaj*, *Desan*, etc.). In the mid-15th century, the dominance of Christian saint names began. Folk names were completely replaced by the new ones after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which entrusted parish priests across the Catholic world with the task of giving all baptized children exclusively saint names and recording them in the church registers (birth records). For example, in Murter, between 1658 and 1706, more than half of all male children were named *Jadre*, *Ive*, *Mate*, *Šime*, and *Ante* (51%), and a similar trend was seen among female children, who were most often called *Jele*, *Kate*, *Luce*, and *Matija* (48.9% of the total). The name was typically chosen according to one of the saints whose feast was celebrated around the time of the child's birth or baptism. In the 18th-century Murter, for example, 26 out of 33 male children who bore the name *Bare* were baptized in August, the month in which the feast of St. Bartholomew is celebrated. In Sv. Filip i Jakov, from 1658 to 1827, the most frequent baptismal names were *Šimun* (14.1%), *Matej* (9.9%), and *Ivan* (8.4%) for boys, and *Matija* (12.5%), *Lucija* (9.1%), and *Katarina* (8.8%) for girls. In Betina on the island of Murter, in the period from 1719 to 1838, the distribution was as follows: *Ivan* (10.8%), *Matej* (10.5%), and *Antun* (9.5%) for boys, and *Antica* (10.5%), *Ivana* (9.8%), and *Jelena* (7.2%) for girls. The fund of personal names remained notably limited until the second half of the 19th century, when Germanic Christian names (*Albert*, *Eduard*, *Ferdinand*; albeit in small numbers) as well as traditional folk names (*Branimir*, *Dobroslav*, *Danica*) begin to appear – the former under the influence of the Austrian state administration, and the latter under the influence of the Croatian national revival movement. Some other names from the church calendar, such as *Augustin*, *Ambroz*, *Damjan*, *Gašpara*, *Tadijana*, etc. also appeared at this time.

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Punta Puiza, *Arbanež* (a point on the shore), *Grego* (a small island)... Other names were the result of ordinary or, on the other hand, quite bizarre events: *Bonašera* (a greeting some fisherman addressed to a rock at night, thinking it was another ship), *Di se vo utopi* (a pit where an ox drowned), *Žena Ubijena* (the place where a dead woman was found), *Ivicina Stopica* (a footprint, allegedly, belonging to someone called Ivica), *Mali Šuprkov* (a rock resembling a child with such a family nickname), *Manjarema* (a shallow spot between two rocks where an oar could get caught and break), *Zamakni Veslo* (a point along the shore of Premuda where one had to pull in the oar, halfway between *Punta Lopate* and *Krijal*), etc.

4.2.6. *Toponomastics in Practice*

We interact with toponyms more often than we realize, and the number of toponyms we come into contact with is growing at an astonishing speed. New technologies literally bombard us with information, often with toponyms at their center. Naturally, the so-called traditional systems (encyclopedias, dictionaries of proper names, atlases, various taxonomic lists) have long exceeded the capacity of human memory, and in this respect, there is no difference between older periods and the present day. The only difference is accessibility, or more precisely, the ease with which we access the relevant systems. In an effort to store as many names as possible, our brain has found such support in modern electronic tools that, in this regard, it no longer needs to do anything. Today, everything is memorized, not in the brain, but on mobile phones, computers, and digital devices of all kinds. Whether we need to remember ten thousand toponyms or a billion, it makes no difference to us. We are capable of neither. Someone else has always had to do it for us!

When we say that we interact with toponyms more than we realize, we are not referring to “completely mundane” situations where we ask a passerby for directions to a street, hotel, or restaurant, or when we ask them to identify, among all the boats docked on Zadar’s waterfront, the one sailing to Mali Iž. Rather, we are referring to those toponyms that are not the result of the long-established naming process but instead enter our lives in various ways, through an (often) arbitrary decision by some official body or an individual acting on their own.

The construction of the Croatian highway system, for example, made already existing toponyms, that were previously unknown to the wider community, widely accessible: *Zir*, *Jadova*, *Janjče*, *Brloška Dubrava*, to name a few. The same applies to other domains: the names of new ferries, new airplanes, new residential and commercial complexes, new telecommunications and banking packages, new roads, new kitchen lines, new license plates, festivals, fairs, clubs... Navigating all the new names that today come from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, and tomorrow possibly from Yemen or Nepal, is by no means easier.

The problem before us and our toponomastic insight is exactly the same as in the past. No one can master the entire toponymic corpus, not even when it encompasses a much smaller area than the entire globe. When discussing toponomastics in day-to-day practice, it seems important to draw out attention not to the sheer amount of information we possess but to the way in which we obtain and transmit it. While we can appreciate every hotel owner's inclination to name their establishment as they see fit (even though, in many countries, this inclination cannot be fully realized), the same cannot be said for government institutions, the media, or overly confident individuals when they are imposing names on objects of public interest (such as roads, public institutions, organizations, events). These names must be placed within socially and linguistically acceptable framework, particularly if they are funded by the state.

The fact that today Croatia is represented in the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (the nature of this representation is not the subject of this study) and UNESCO's Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names does not resolve the problem of standardization – and this is just one segment of onomastics – far from it. In fact, the crux of the matter troubling this complex onomastic sector is of domestic provenance. For example, no reasonable person in Croatia can explain why the country's most important highway is called *Dalmatina*! Why is Đakovo abbreviated as DJ on license plates (avoiding the Croatian diacritic), while Šibenik is ŠI and Križevci KŽ (without applying the same principle)? How is it possible that (foreign) names denoting identical referents in student materials (textbooks, atlases, maps), from one the same publisher, are not treated equally? Why do nautical charts, from one edition to another, include entire series of topo-

nyms taken from foreign maps, even though authentic, academically verified lists exist to correct them?

We may agree, if we must, that from a purely onomastic perspective there is no problem! Whether a highway is called *Dalmatina*, *Kalmetina*, or, tomorrow, *Severina*, does not matter as long as all Croatian citizens recognize the same referent in it. Likewise, it makes no difference if a license plate for Šibenik reads ŠI or SI. The real problem lies elsewhere. It is not unreasonable to expect from a well-organized state to have a ready answer for all matters of public interest – including onomastics. And in this domain, it is a matter of public interest to prioritize those names that promote the national language and, through it, national identity.

FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Following the initiative of the Croatian Geographical Society – Zadar and the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research, the *First National Conference on Geographical Names* was held at the University of Zadar in November 2009. The organizers invited experts and scholars from various fields: in addition to linguists and geographers, the conference also hosted historians, geodesists, lexicographers, schoolteachers... Thirteen papers were presented, analyzing various areas that face naming “challenges” at the national level. The goal was to provide an overview of the current situation, identify the causes of the mess in the naming process, i.e., in the transfer of names from different linguistic systems (both domestic and foreign) into Croatian, and to propose a new approach to onomastic policy in the Republic of Croatia. In terms of implementation, this would involve assembling a group of experts from different fields who have an interest in onomastics, either by their vocation or through their professional occupation. This body would advise governmental institutions, from the highest to the lowest levels, as well as institutions, organizations, and businesses, public as well as private, i.e., all of those who are in the position of explicitly or implicitly determining and organizing public use of proper names (toponyms, anthroponyms, and chrematonyms). Similar bodies exist within governments and parliaments in many countries in Europe and elsewhere in the world, as well as within the United Nations and UNESCO, of which Croatia is a member. However, Croatia currently does not have such a body at the national level.

In terms of representation and standardization (whatever this means), onomastic policy in Croatia is administered by the *Croatian Geodetic Institute* whose representative has been a longtime member of UNGEGN (*United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names*). UNGEGN consists of 23 divisions, and Croatia is a member of the East Central and South-East Europe Division (ECSEED). ECSEED was established in 1967 at the first *UN Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names* in Geneva. The division's member countries belong to the Southern and Eastern European as well as Western

Asian UN regions and, besides Croatia, they include Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechia, Greece, Hungary, Montenegro, Poland, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, North Macedonia, Turkey, and Ukraine.

The standardization of geographical names is addressed in UN resolutions 2009a and 2009b, which define it as “*an activity aiming at the maximum possible uniformity in the form of every geographical name on Earth (...), including national standardization and/or international agreement, including the achievement of equivalences between different writing systems.*” However, Croatia’s representative in the UN’s body for onomastic issues is not an onomastician – a situation that is also true for other member countries. While many disciplines play an important role in matters concerning the naming processes and defining proper names, none is as essential as onomastics itself.

All the presented papers were published in a volume titled *Geografska imena – Zbornik radova s Prvog nacionalnog znanstvenog savjetovanja o geografskim imenima* (Geographical Names – Proceedings of the First National Conference on Geographical Names), edited by Josip Faričić and Vladimir Skračić and published by the University of Zadar.

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What should be done? This is not just a linguistic issue but a political one, political with regards to implementing a particular policy, in this case, language policy. However, this issue primarily concerns linguists. It cannot be resolved by choosing one orthographic standard over another. Solutions found in orthographic manuals are often outdated and out of sync with the developments and the times in which we live. Neither the *Commission for the Standardization of the Croatian Language* nor opposing linguistic normativists can resolve this issue. The responsibility for this condition rests with toponomasticians, geographers, cartographers, surveyors, historians, as well as all others whose fields of study intersect with toponomastics, because they have never stood up and put this issue on the agenda, neither with the public nor with the government. In short, Croatia urgently needs a governmental body – under the Government, Parliament, or the relevant

ministry (many countries we look up to already have such institutions) – that can bear any name: *National Council for Onomastics*, *Commission for Onomastic Affairs*, or *Committee for Geographical Names*, etc. This body would be responsible for voicing official positions and proposing solutions to onomastic challenges.

5. Basic (Top)Onomastic Terminology and Concepts

On several occasions in this book, we have used toponomastic terms that could not be avoided when discussing this topic. Perhaps it could have been expected that the chapter on toponomastic terminology and concepts would appear at the very beginning. However, apart from being unusual, we chose not to do so because the preceding discussion has moved along the edges of real toponomastic issues, not delving deep into theoretical explorations and focusing primarily on the environment in which toponomastic questions arise. Now, the time has come to clarify all toponomastic terms, not only to facilitate a better understanding of the discussions that follow but also to clearly define our position on terminological issues in onomastics.

Like any other scholarly discipline, toponomastics has its specific terminology. Much of it overlaps with onomastic and general linguistic terminology, but there are also important departures. A good tool is the key to success in any craft. Linguistic tools, as it is well known, have the inherent weakness of being made from the very material they must analyze, i.e., language itself! In short, both the means of description and the subject of description are language! Because of this fact, but not only because of it, it is necessary to agree on the terms used in this manual, whether they are already widely accepted or introduced here for the first time. Whenever possible, and to clarify distinctions more effectively, the relationships between terms will be presented in oppositional pairs.

5.1. Linguistic Sign: Toponomastic Sign

The fact that language is one of the semiological systems that function through signs is a generally accepted fact that needs no further elaboration. At the foundation of this system lies the linguistic sign, more or less the same as it was defined by Ferdinand de Saussure. The existence of the linguistic sign is an acquisition that no one, regardless of the linguistic school or approach they belong to, questions anymore.

In short, a linguistic sign consists of two aspects that depend on each other, and the existence of one presupposes the existence of the other. A change in one triggers a change in the other, or results in its annulment. De Saussure called them *signifiant* and *signifié*, which have been translated into Croatian as *označitelj* (signifier) and *označenik* (signified). Regardless of the terminology, which varies not only across languages but also from one linguist to another, it is a given and reliable fact that a linguistic sign consists of at least two components. We will most commonly refer to them as **expression** (toponymic form) and **content** (referent). Other terms are also possible and permissible.

The **expression** is the formally shaped part of the sign (composed of phonemes). The **content** is the (abstract) part to which a particular concept, notion, or meaning is attached. In the common noun – here an appellative – *riječka* ('river') (an appellative is the opposite of a toponym; not necessarily a noun, though it most often is), the phonemes arranged in a specific order, /r/ + /i/ + /j/ + /e/ + /k/ + /a/, make up its expression, while its content is the meaning we assign to this sequence of phonemes (to this expression), i.e., 'a body of flowing water.' The **reality** (*realia*) itself, i.e., the 'river' as a geographical given, is not part of the linguistic sign but rather part of the reality the sign describes which, by its nature, is not linguistic. The connection between the 'river' (reality) and the expression used to describe it is based on convention, agreement, linguistic community, and knowledge of the system... If this were not the case, i.e., if there were a direct link between expression and reality, the same word for the content 'river' would exist in all languages of the world. In fact, there would be only one language!

The toponomastic sign is one of the variants of the onomastic sign adapted to toponomastics. Actually, it would be more precise to speak of the onomastic sign, as it encompasses both anthroponyms and toponyms, as well as all other,

still unnamed onyms that do not fall into either of these categories. However, taking into consideration the subject matter discussed here and the need for precision, we will focus only on the toponomastic sign. Nonetheless, it should be made clear that whenever we use the term toponomastic, we also imply onomastic, since toponomastics is merely a branch of onomastics, and at this level of analysis, they can be treated together.

Is there a difference between the toponomastic sign and what is generally referred to in linguistic practice as the linguistic sign? Yes, there is.

As previously mentioned, in terms of expression (form, acoustic image, phoneme arrangement), toponomastic signs do not differ from general linguistic signs. They follow the same linguistic rules at all levels as any other linguistic signs. Except at the semantic level.

If we examine the previously mentioned appellative *rijeka* and the toponym *Rijeka*, we will see that both forms have the same phonological and morphological structure and follow the same declension rules. At this point, the only difference is orthographic: the toponym is capitalized, but this distinction is not perceived in speech. Moreover, there are languages that capitalize all nouns, both appellatives and toponyms. Besides, orthography is not a linguistic category in the modern sense of the word.

The content is where the linguistic and toponomastic signs differ. As our example – *rijeka* – shows, the same sequence of phonemes (expression) conveys different contents (meanings) if we say:

1. *Rijeka* teče od izvora prema ušću. (The *river* flows from the source to the mouth.)
2. Brod je uplovio u *Rijeku*. (The ship sailed into *Rijeka*.)
3. *Rijeka* je dala dva gola Hajduku. (*Rijeka* scored two goals against Hajduk.)

We will focus on the first two examples, leaving the third aside for now.

It is clear that in the first sentence the noun *rijeka* is a common noun (an appellative, using onomastic terminology) and that its content (meaning) is ‘a body of flowing water.’ In the second sentence, however, it is a toponym, and ‘a port on the Adriatic coast’ (this specific port and no other) is its content (meaning). In the latter case, despite having the same expression as in the

first, what is at work here is the identification, identity, individualization of an object (at some other place, the same object will have a different name: e.g., Trieste or Koper), rather than a general meaning.

We deliberately chose *rijeka* as an example because here the same expression is both an appellative and a toponym, which helps us highlight similarities and differences between the two. In Adriatic toponymy, there are countless examples where the same form has both general and specific meanings: *Jezero, Tisno, Veli Rat, Preko, Kraj, Dugi Otok, Školj, Dobra Voda, Oblik...* It is important to note – and we will discuss this later in the book – that all toponyms, and *onyms* in general, were once appellatives (nouns with a general meaning). Thus, looking up the *etymology* (true content) of toponyms and anthroponyms is essentially a search for their original appellative content (meaning).

Paradoxically, the obscurity of toponomastic content makes the distinction between toponyms and appellatives all the clearer! We do not need context to recognize that *Rab, Istra, Senj, Zadar, Kornati, Žirje, Vis, Brač, or Korčula* are toponyms, since in the Croatian language, there are no appellatives with such expressions (forms) that also have a general linguistic content (meaning).

The toponomastic sign is arbitrary, just like the general linguistic sign, in the sense that its arbitrariness concerns the relationship between expression and content, and not between expression and reality, i.e., between the toponymic form and the referent itself. As with the linguistic sign, we must highlight a subtle nuance: the toponymic form does not represent the referent directly but rather through the idea of the referent, which is essentially the referent's specific identity distinguishing it from all other identities. The referent itself is a reality that is not directly connected to the toponymic form, even though in practical communication and everyday use, this distinction is often overlooked.

At this point in our analysis, new questions arise. How can we determine which identities toponymic forms such as *Prišnjak, Tatinja, Rat, Voda, Trata*, and *Slanica* refer to when they appear numerous times in both nearby and distant areas? Each of these forms, which clearly refer to certain shared characteristics of the referents (one or more *semes*), represents a separate identity. *Tratas* and *Tatinjas* are found on many islands, as are *Slanicas* and *Vodas*. How can we know which of these a particular toponymic form refers to? The only possible answer is this: the identification of a toponymic form with a specific referent

cannot extend beyond our familiarity with the referents! It is quite possible that, beyond the limits of our knowledge of a certain area, there are countless other referents with the same toponymic form. However, despite their objective value and significance, for us as users of a particular toponomastic system, they are irrelevant. The moment they, for any reason, become known to us, we will incorporate them into our own system of toponomastic identities, along with other toponyms of the same or different toponymic forms.

Thus, we must conclude that the toponomastic sign is unique because its content does not contain a general linguistic meaning but rather the identification and individualization of a specific geographical or artificial unit in space.

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5.2. Onym: Appellative, Name: Designation

In onomastic terminology, an *onym* is the smallest linguistic unit (most often a noun) with which something (a person, a geographic configuration, or a human-made object) is individualized or identified, while an *appellative* is any linguistic unit with full lexical meaning. For example, *tovar* (donkey) or *crnika* (holm oak) are appellatives, whereas *Tovarnjak* or *Crnikovac* are onyms. All other forms are derived from the basic form of an *onym*: *toponym* (for locations), *hydronym* (for bodies of water), *anthroponym* (for people), *oikonym* (for settlements), etc.

A detailed analysis would show that these terms lack precision. Problems arise in those taxonomic classes (fish, animals, birds, plants...) where each member has its own specific designation defined by a collective term: ichthy-

onym, zoonym, ornithonym, phytonym... For instance, if an island is called *Crnikovac* and we say that its name belongs to the semantic class of phytonyms, we are correct. However, if we say that *Crnikovac* is a phytonym, we are mistaken! *Crnika* (holm oak, *Quercus ilex*) is a phytonym, while *Crnikovac*, the name derived from it, is clearly a **phytotoponym**. The same is true for *Kantarač* (from the fish *kantor*, black seabream, *Spondylusoma cantharus*), *Gavrnjača* (from the bird *gavran*, raven), or *Tovarnjak* (from the animal *tovar*, donkey). This principle also applies to toponyms of anthroponymic origin. *America*, *Colombia*, and *Bolivia* are actually *anthropotoponyms*.

Since this mistake is deeply rooted in toponomastic terminology and since, in most cases, it does not disrupt understanding and communication, it is not necessary – in our opinion – to insist on absolute precision and scholarly rigor, except in specific cases where it is required for academic or professional reasons.

On the other hand, for the sake of precision, the terms *name* and *designation* should be used correctly. *Name* could, *grosso modo*, correspond to an onym, while *designation* could correspond to an appellative. This distinction is evident in the following pairs: *Kozjak*: *koza* (goat), *Sovlja*: *sova* (owl), *Crnikovac*: *crnika* (holm oak), *Caparinjak*: *caparan* (swift). In each example, the first element is a name, and the second is a designation.

However, the use of the terms *name* and *designation* presents many practical challenges. As long as we stay within the confines of what we perceive as a *name* in everyday practice, things stay fairly simple. There is no context in which one would say, no matter how uninformed, *his designation is Ivan Kovačić*. However, as soon as we step outside this clear framework, things become more complicated. While the names of streets, schools, kindergartens, cinemas, and theaters generally do not pose a problem and we prefer, or should prefer at least, the term *name* over the term *designation* (the name of the street: *Gundulićeva*; the name of the kindergarten: *Radost*; the name of the school: *Murterski škoji...*), once we enter a zone where a linguistic form no longer represents a reality we generally refer to using the term *name*, numerous questions arise. Are the following examples *designations* or *names*, and to which of these two categories do they belong: *In Search of Lost Time* (book), *Once Upon a Time in the West* (film), or *Much Ado About Nothing* (play)? These questions have only been briefly addressed in onomastic literature and have never been

systematically analyzed from an onomastic perspective. (Some suggestions can be found in Chapter 3.4. Chrematonomastics.)

And how would we approach this problem from an onomastic perspective? The examples above designate products of the human mind for which we typically use the term *title*. The titles tell us that these are specific products – a book, a film, and a play – with their specific names, i.e., unique products that are in every aspect different from all other books, films, and plays. In other words, they identify and individualize a reality among many others. And whenever something like this occurs in language, we are dealing with an onomastic process. Therefore, the listed titles are *names*, regardless of how specific they are or to which onomastic category they belong.

The habit of considering only non-complex onomastic forms as onyms (toponyms, anthroponyms, hydronyms...) is a reflection of a traditional approach to onomastics and a lack of interest in onomastic issues. Any onomastic form that identifies something – regardless of whether it consists of one, two, three, or more components – is a true onym. Take, for example, a well-known American city whose original official name was *El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Angeles del Rio de Porciuncula*, yet today it is simply called *Los Angeles*, or even shorter, *L.A.* Similarly, in South America, *São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro* is now most commonly referred to as *Rio*, while *Real de Nuestra Señora Santa María del Buen Aire* is today *Buenos Aires*. Context, regardless of what it may be, “regulates” the length of a toponymic form. What is true for Rio or L.A. is also true for a *brak* (a shallow) in the Kornati archipelago, and its name will be as long as it is needed to distinguish it from all other names: *Brak*, *Brak od Prišnjaka*, *Južnja Glava Braka od Prišnjaka*.

Many cities, countries, and individuals have had, or still have, very long official names. Some even have ceremonial names. For illustration, here is the world’s longest official place name, according to Guinness Book of World Records: *Bangkok*, in Thai, is called *Krung Thep Maha Nakhon* or simply *Krung Thep*, which – interestingly – means “the city of angels.” However, its ceremonial (and full) name is *Krung Thep Mahanakhon Amon Rattanakosin Mahinthara Yuthaya Mahadilok Phop Noppharat Ratchathani Burirom Udomratchaniwet Mahasathan Amon Phiman Awatan Sathit Sakkathattiya Witsanukam Prasit*. Naturally, this name was given by King Buddha Yodfa Chulaloke himself. Who else would dare to do so?

5.3. Proper Name: Personal Name

Not every proper name is also a personal name, but every personal name is a proper name. The term *personal name* is used exclusively for naming individuals and is part of the so-called *naming formula*, which typically consists of a personal name and a surname, although different cultures may follow different conventions (see Chapter 3.3.1. *The Origins of the Naming Formula*). In onomastic terminology, this is simply an anthroponym. The use of personal names (and surnames) is typically regulated by law. A proper name is any name given to someone or something. In onomastics, it can be an anthroponym, a toponym, or a chrematonym.

5.4. (Top)onymic Form vs. (Top)onymic Content

Since a toponym is essentially a linguistic category, specific but nevertheless linguistic, it means that a toponym consists of both its expression and its meaning, i.e., a toponymic form (the arrangement of phonemes in the name) and toponymic content (the identified reality). A toponym is not a word (a form, a name) for which we do not know what it identifies. Such mistakes are common, especially among historians, who often misclassify documented linguistic forms as toponyms even when they do not know exactly what those forms identify. For example, the Anonymous of Ravenna, a 7th-century geographer, brings a list of Adriatic nesonyms (island names). Some of these toponymic forms can be easily matched with modern names, while others cannot be attached to any island and, therefore, cannot be considered true toponyms, even though in scholarly practice this uncertainty is often tolerated. What is true of *Dicera*, *Biperaria*, *Teraria* with the Anonymous of Ravenna is also true of the toponymic forms *Katautrebena* and *Estiunez* found with Porphyrogenitus.

Similarly, a geographical space that has no specific name, i.e., its toponymic form, is not a toponym. One may have a hard time explaining their sailing route without knowing the names of the islands and bays, channels and passages they navigated. On the other hand, a sailing itinerary can be described using general references to well-known toponyms. Such a description can be called a *toponomastic discursive syntagm*, such as: “It was in that *cove near the*

southern point of Zverinac... in the first bay in Telašćica when sailing into the mistral, coming from the upper side... at that peak near the western side of Sv. Mihovil...” These real-life examples show that spatial identification is possible even without full knowledge of the toponomastic state of a given area. In fact, it is quite likely that the process of toponymization and the creation of toponyms began with a descriptive syntagm (a description) and ended with an isolated, individual lexeme – a toponymic form. The reduction of linguistic material used to express some linguistic content is a common linguistic procedure, which takes place before our very eyes practically on a daily basis and which is guided by the principle of linguistic economy. This applies to toponyms as well. We have already mentioned *L.A.* and *Rio*, while less extreme examples include *Požega*, *Biograd*, *Filipjakov* (for *Slavonska Požega*, *Biograd na Moru*, *Sveti Filip i Jakov*, respectively)... The same is true for anthroponyms that are part of a naming formula, where communication and identification needs are sometimes reduced to a single syllable or initials: *JFK* (John Fitzgerald Kennedy International Airport) or *NY* for New York. Michelangelo’s official name was *Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni*, and there are even “more drastic” examples. In French, for instance, the hypocoristic *Jo* is commonly used for *Josephine*.

Only that linguistic form that has both its own toponymic form (expression) and its own toponymic content (identified object) can be called a toponym. It is understandable that *belonging* to a specific linguistic (toponomastic) community, whose linguistic inventory possesses the “adequate” lexeme, is a prerequisite for proper identification. However, in toponomastics, where the general meaning of a linguistic form is replaced by identification, we can communicate even without knowing the language in which the name originated (e.g., *Tokyo*, *Aconcagua*, *Jakarta*, *Congo*). It could be claimed that toponomastic communication depends less on knowledge of a language and more on familiarity with different identities from various linguistic communities, including those within one’s mother tongue.

When we hear a toponymic form whose “content” we do not recognize (e.g., *Monluçon*, *Vapojni*, *Bitkovac*, *Kythira*, *Rašip*), we feel the same as when we hear an expression in a language we do not understand. However, if we are familiar with the forms, we can identify the “content” regardless of the language they come from (*Osijek*, *Malta*, *Brazil*, *Africa*, *Java*).

5.5. (Top)onymization: Deonymization or Appellativization (Reappellativization)

As the following discussion will show, every (top)onym was at one point an appellative, a lexeme with a general meaning. At some point in the landscape, there was water, so the linguistic community “agreed” to mark that place with a linguistic sign from their language, such as *aranj*, *bunar*, *jezero*, *lokva*, *slatina*, *studenac*, *šipnata*, *šepurina*, *voda*, *vrulja*... The process of transforming the general linguistic meaning of the lexeme “lokva” (pool or puddle) into the identification of a space with the same linguistic form – in this case *Lokva* – which no longer refers to just any puddle or pool, but only this one and no other, is called *toponymization*. (Here, the capital letter is of no help. The use of uppercase and lowercase letters can be useful for understanding written text, but it cannot help distinguish toponyms from appellatives.) What is true for the well-known lexeme *lokva* is also true for any lexemes whose meanings we no longer understand, since we are not familiar with the linguistic system from which they originated (e.g., *aranj*, *šipnata*, *šepurina*). Many such and similar lexemes have survived in toponymic forms, even though they have disappeared from the general lexicon. They survived precisely because their specific meaning ceased to be important, but what they identified in space kept its importance, so it remained unchanged. When it is said that toponyms are linguistic fossils and that toponomastics is a kind of linguistic archaeology, it means that through the toponymization of appellatives, one linguistic form and one spatial identity have been preserved “for all time.”

However, it is common for the already defined toponyms or some other onyms to return to the state of an appellative, a lexeme with a general meaning. This usually happens when a product of exceptional quality simply adopts the name of its place of origin. For example, a certain type of wine becomes *bordeaux* (any wine from a particular wine region), a certain type of glass becomes *murano* (any glass produced using a unique process on the island of Murano), and a certain type of marble becomes *carara* (any marble of unique color and quality similar to the one found near the city of Carrara in Italy). Different terms are used for this linguistic process, depending on what is being emphasized: *deonymization* (‘the toponym ceases to be a toponym’), *appellativization* (‘the toponym becomes an appellative’), *reappellativization* (‘the

toponym becomes what it once was, i.e., an appellative'). Here it is extremely important to emphasize that when returning to the appellative state, the new appellative does not mean what the appellative from which the toponymic form originated meant. It now takes on the meaning that caused it to become an appellative at this point. Therefore, there is no connection between the etymons in the names *Bordeaux*, *Carrara*, and *Murano* and the semantics of the new appellatives 'wine,' 'glass,' 'marble.' For all these reasons, it seems that the term *reappellativization* is the closest to the expressed content.

PROPER NAMES AS COMMON NOUNS

The process of deonymization (or reappellativization) is one of the most dynamic lexicogenic (word-formation) processes. Due to the rapid growth of the consumer economy, which, through the introduction of new products and brands, keeps "enriching" our mental space with dozens of new terms, the results of deonymization "pop up" around us on a daily basis. Mass consumption goods are particularly fertile ground for this type of lexical innovation – primarily food, beverages, and hygiene products, as well as products and services that come with the development of new technologies such as the internet, audio and video technology, specialized tools, etc. Logically, new realities require new linguistic markers, and as quickly as possible, since it often takes literally only a few weeks for the number of users of individual products and services to reach global dimensions (e.g., iPhone). Since naming new realities through description (e.g., *vjetrobran*, *vadičep*, *zemljopis*, *mjestopis*, *imenoslovlje* for windshield, corkscrew, geography, local chronicle, onomastics, respectively) is usually a complex and slow process, the results of which are often spontaneously rejected by the language as a foreign body (e.g., *vrtolet*, *zrakomlat* – helicopter, *brzoglas* – telephone), more and more often naming new terms is the result of a metonymic process.

In this process, newly formed terms are named in a concise and simple way using words from the same lexical or conceptual field ("neighboring words"), which are not necessarily directly related to the semantic description of the new reality. For example, a device for listening to CDs is still most commonly called a *kazetofon* (cassette player) in Croatian, even though devices with cassette trays have not been produced for years. This is how *deonyms* are created, where through a process of *pars pro toto* replacement (part for the whole), the name of one of a series of similar terms becomes the name for the entire category of products. For example, in Croatian, the term *Kalodont* (a brand of toothpaste) gradually became *kalodont*, a common noun meaning 'toothpaste.' *Radenska* (a Slovenian brand of mineral water widely available in Croatia) became the general term for 'mineral water,' and *Mobitel* became synonymous 'cellphone.' Users of the first cell-phones surely remember that Mobitel was once the name of the first mobile phone device on the Croatian market, introduced by the Croatian Post and Telecommunications Company. Today, *mobitel* is a common noun. The rule according to which the product that first conquers the market generally assumes the role of the name for the entire cat-

egory has deprived similar competing brands such as *Plidenta*, *Jamnica*, and *Vip* of the privilege of becoming common nouns. To this day these products are still “only” onyms. Similar examples exist in other languages, such as the English *sandwich* after the surname of the nobleman (*Sandwich*), who liked to eat this dish, or the French *poubelle* (a garbage can) after the Parisian mayor (*Poubelle*), who had garbage cans installed all over the city, etc. Toponyms can also regain certain appellative value through the process of deonymization. Their reappellativized value is generally limited to use in fixed expressions (phrasemes, idioms). Croatian examples include *Amerika* meaning ‘prosperity’ (– *Dobio sam posao u školi. – Blago tebi! To ti je Amerika.* ‘I got a job at the school. – Lucky you! That’s America.’), *Tunguzija* (Tunguska region in Siberia) meaning ‘the end of the world,’ *Biafra* meaning ‘poverty, famine,’ *drugi Brač* (the other island of Brač) meaning ‘the island of Hvar’ for a resident of Split, and *Vrapče* meaning ‘psychiatric hospital’ in the expression *Ti si za Vrapče!* ‘You’re ready for Vrapče!’ etc.

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How long does the process of toponymization last – from a common noun to a proper name – from an appellative to a toponym? There is no reliable answer. However, it can be stated with certainty that the process occurs more quickly when there is a greater need for identification in space. In Zadar, there is a street-neighborhood called *Pet Nebodera* (Five Skycrapers). Before those buildings were constructed, there was no linguistic need for such identification (or, if there was, it was expressed descriptively, which is considered “costly” from the perspective of linguistic economy). The height of these structures in a city with relatively low buildings certainly contributed to this. In this and similar cases, the process lasts only a few years. In any case, in toponymy, things develop much more slowly (and spontaneously) than, for example, in anthroponymy, where a name is *de facto* and *de jure* imposed and becomes functional the moment it is recorded in the registry.

5.6. Referent

The content (identity) of what we will from now on call the referent is determined by the toponymic form. Although this term is not the most fortunate choice due to its polysemic nature, we prefer it over the term *denotatum*, as proposed by P. Šimunović, because we consider *denotatum* more suitable for non-onomastic lexis. Many other linguists, following the interpretation of American semanticist J. Lyons (1996), also distinguish between the terms *referent* and *denotatum*, as well as between the concepts of *referring* and *denoting*. According to their interpretation, the verb *denote* describes the relationship between a linguistic expression and the world (i.e., the general lexical meaning of a word), while the verb *refer* describes the relationship between the speaker and the world (i.e., the meaning of a word in context). In the language of onomastics, *denotatum* could be described as the general lexical content of a toponymic lexeme (for example, besides its immediate meaning of ‘mud,’ *blato*, as a toponymic lexeme, can also mean ‘wet soil,’ ‘puddle,’ ‘lake,’ etc.), while the *referent* would be the specific geographical object named by that lexeme (e.g., the settlement of Blato on the island of Korčula), regardless of its appearance or quality. The *referent* is, therefore, according to the definition we also adopt here, a natural or artificial object designated by some name with the purpose of determining its identity. It is, thus, an extralinguistic fact. It often happens that, for some reason, referents disappear, while the toponymic forms that once determined their identity remain (e.g., in Murter: *Hundrinica* (house), *Malin* (oil press), *Mentovica* (water spring), *Škver* (shipyard in the town center)). Conversely, when a referent changes – e.g., when a block of new houses is built – the toponymic form also changes (*Pet Nebodera*, a neighborhood in Zadar, *Velesajam*, a fairground in Zagreb, *Mornar*, a sailing club in Split).

A referent does not necessarily have to be real. What is real is the linguistic relationship that exists between a linguistic form and what that form identifies, even if what it identifies does not objectively exist. Countless places and characters from ancient history, and not only ancient history, are fictional, yet that does not mean they are not true anthroponyms or toponyms. Their identity is unambiguous (*Atlantis*, *Utopia*, *Minotaur*, *Gorgon*, *Icarus*...), even though their real existence cannot be confirmed. Almost all literary charac-

ters and the places where their stories unfold, though usually fictional, fall under this category of referents. This is a type of fictional onomastics that is exceptionally well-documented in every culture. So many personal names have been inspired by or taken from literary and film characters, some of whom are clearly fictitious. In a possible terminological classification of onyms, such forms could – following the Greek language as a model – be called *fantasmonyms*.

Even though all names, especially personal and mythological ones, are subject to a high degree of arbitrariness and a kind of impulsiveness on the part of the name-giver, such impulsiveness is most evident in the naming of foundlings – children abandoned in foundling homes and orphanages for unwanted children. Mislava Bertoša's brilliant book, *Djeca iz obrtaljke* (Children from the Foundling Wheel), offers a fascinating insight into the naming motivation and naming practices in such institutions. These names, in terms of their motivational structure, are closer to toponyms than anthroponyms and are, in this respect, particularly interesting for onomastics. In the case of the Zadar foundling home, it seems that every island or island settlement in the Zadar archipelago lent its name to at least one of the children who found refuge within this institution.

NAMES OF UNWANTED CHILDREN

Foundling homes were institutions where abandoned children were raised. Unwanted children were left in a so-called *obrtaljka* (foundling wheel), a small revolving window in the wall of the foundling home. The *obrtaljka* functioned like a large bowl with a partition in the middle. The child was placed on the side of the partition facing the public space (such as a street or square). Once an official from the foundling home rotated the bowl, the child became part of the state care system forever. The quality of that care is another story. What is of interest to onomastics is the process of naming such children, and the official name-giver responsible for this important and sometimes fateful task was the government clerk at the “reception” of the foundling home. Much depended on him and his mood that day. Here's how this process went, based on examples provided by M. Bertoša.

What kind of future lay before individuals with surnames such as: Abandonato ('abandoned'), Adulterio ('adultery'), Avventura ('affair' 'adventure'), Barbabietola ('beetroot'), Befana ('bogywoman'), Bizzara ('bizarre'), Castradina ('dried mutton'), Conflitto ('conflict'), Confusione ('mix-up'), Discordia ('discord'), Dim ('smoke'), Furibonda ('furious'), Gallina ('hen'), Gigerizza ('liver'), Incognito ('unknown'), Incostanza ('inconstant'), Infedele ('unfaithful'), Kupus ('cabbage'), Malaugurio ('bad omen'), Microcefalo

(‘half-wit’), Nepravizza (‘injustice’), Nezgodan (‘awkward’), Nezgodnovizza (‘embarrassing’), Neznana (‘unknown’), Neznanović (‘of the unknown’), Nonlosapai (‘you don’t know it’), Nullo (‘useless’), Padaviza (‘falling sickness,’ ‘epilepsy’), Tiqua (‘squash’), Volubile (‘volatile’)... Unfortunately, mortality was so high that many bore their unfortunate names and surnames for only a short time. To be fair, there were also better days when the name-givers were in good spirits, as their mood clearly played a decisive role in the fate of these foundling surnames. Examples of more positive names include: Benarivata (‘well-arrived’), Benato (‘well-born’), Bentivoglio (‘well-wished’), Bentrovato (‘well-found’), Benvenuto (‘welcome’), Desiderato (‘wished-for’), Desiderović, Fedeli (‘faithful’), Fortunato (‘fortunate’), Giustović (‘fair’), Prima (‘first’), Pulita (‘clean’), Rispetto (‘respect’), Santacroce (‘holy cross’), Signorini, Vinciguerra (‘conqueror of war’)...

A key characteristic of these examples is that the name-giver had no “normal motivation” for choosing a name, and the naming process started “from nothing,” i.e., it was stimulated by something connected to the child. M. Bertoša offers a detailed list of what such stimuli could include: plants, fruits, and vegetables (*Pirri, Fragoli, Carotta...*), grasses and meadows (*Grass, Erbi, Eichthal*), animals (*Caprola, Adler, Vuker...*), natural phenomena (*Garbin, Alber, Cloud...*), bodies of water (*Seeburg, Lagotto, Bergbach...*), minerals (*Cetti, Agstein, Gips...*), names of cities (*Gorizza, Orleans, Marburg...*), countries, regions, and islands (*Italia, Marke, Capri...*).

In this context, it is interesting to mention surnames and names from the Zadar foundling home. They cover most of the stimuli found in Trieste but are unique in that they expand the name-giving corpus by adding the names of many Italian cities and a large number of Adriatic settlements and islands: Zara, Zaratino, Zuri, Zlarin, Zlosella, Vodize, Verlicca, Verbizza, Veglia, Trebocconi, Stretto, Srima, Sibenzić, Scardin, Scradona, Sale, Ruppe, Rovigne, Raxine, Raguzino, Pristegh, Poljaniza, Pocrovnik, Pago, Obrovac, Novegradi, Novaglia, Narenta, Murvizza, Mosor, Morigne, Mocropoglia, Maslignak, Jadro, Jadria, Gabella, Dubraviza, Dubrava, Dalmata, Dalmatinović, Coronato, Cicola, Cettina, Cattaro, Castelveccio, Brione, Boraja, Bodulovich, Billibrigh...

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5.7. Linguistic Community

For a toponymic message to be understood, all participants in the communication process must be familiar with both the linguistic expression (which does not necessarily have to belong to the native or standard language system) and the reality named by that specific expression (the toponymic form). On the islands of the Zadar and Kornati archipelagos alone, we have recorded around 10,000 toponymic forms. It is clear that no single individual within this broad yet relatively small community can determine the toponymic content of each and every form. Even we, who have collected, counted, and described these forms, can no longer do so. In his work *Toponomastica italiana*, Pellegrini states that there are over a million widely known toponyms across Italy, and if cadastral surveys were thoroughly examined, he estimates that the number of such forms would exceed seven million. What applies to Italy applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Croatian side of the Adriatic as well.

Who, then, knows all the contents of toponymic forms, all referents? No one! Toponomastic systems do not exist for scholars to study! Like lexical systems, they are established to facilitate the simple and reliable transmission of information about spatial realities. If we engage in toponomastics despite this fact, it is because we strive to understand how human consciousness has shaped perceived reality into linguistic forms, organized it linguistically, and thus prepared it for transmission.

Given that no one possesses full mastery of the corpus of toponyms within even a moderately large community, the question arises: what is the smallest linguistic community in which the system of toponomastic messages functions? The answer could be simple. It is the community belonging to a single toponomastic origin or source, a single linguistic center, a community in which all members know all “their” toponyms, which does not mean they do not know those that do not “belong” to them. In Kornati, where linguistic communities are extremely small (on average, about ten families), all toponyms are theoretically known only to the inhabitants of their respective communities (referred to locally as *porat*). Outsiders are either excluded or become included by getting acquainted with local toponyms. Within this microcommunity, just as within the largest communities, all onomastic processes occur: toponymization (the formation of new toponyms), reappellativization (the return of a

toponym to the status of an appellative), substantivization (the reduction of syntagms into mononymic forms, where geographic terms within a name become toponyms, etc.).

In the small linguistic community of the island of Lavsa in the Kornati archipelago, only one cape is called simply *Punta*, without any additional markers, and all members of the community know which cape this name refers to. All other *Puntas* are *Puntas* with some distinguishing markers (*Punta Krugov*, *Južnja Punta Lavse*, *Punta Lonče*), or are autonomous creations (*Lonča*, *Brodarišće*, *Mudov Nos*). The same applies to the toponym *Vrh* on the same island. Within the Bargulje community on the island of Molat, *Brguljski otok* (as it appears on maps) is known only as *Školj*.

At the same time, every member of each microcommunity is also included in the toponymy of the entire world. This inclusion has lasted for centuries and millennia. Who has not heard of *Troy*, *Olympus*, or the *Strait of Salamis*? In principle, the toponymic system functions just as the general linguistic system does. Every day, we are bombarded with new lexical items and toponymic forms from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Indonesia, China... We do not have to go far back when, thanks to Croatian “war” geography, many of us first heard of *Čelije*, *Vladimirovci*, *Škabrnja*, or *Nadin*. At this level of transmission and reception, it becomes difficult to distinguish between “necessary” and “unnecessary” toponomastic messages, i.e., to determine which should and which should not be remembered. Each individual resolves this question according to their own interests and competencies. Given that the field of naming new items and adopting the already existing names covers the corpus of toponyms across the entire globe, it is clear that their incorporation into a domicile (and individual) system is selective – both at the level of those who transmit toponomastic messages and those who receive them.

Regardless of the size of the linguistic community (just a few families on a small island or the entire planet), all of its members are included in the system of the transmission of toponomastic messages, local as well as universal. The selection made by users of the system is part of linguistic coercion, linguistic economy. No one can remember all toponymic forms and referential locations they once knew. And just as there is passive and active vocabulary knowledge, there is also active and passive toponomastic knowledge.

What applies to toponyms also applies to all other onyms. How many times

have we struggled to recall the name of a person who greeted us on the street? Or, vice versa, how often have we heard a familiar name but failed to connect it to the person it refers to, despite undoubtedly knowing them? Not to mention the names of restaurants where we have eaten, hotels where we have stayed, or ships we have traveled on. For students, this is even more relatable: how often can they not remember the title of a novel during an exam, or, even if they know the title, they can't remember the name of its author? Examples from everyday life are too many and too frequent to list.

5.8. The Name-Giver

With anthroponyms, things are generally clear. In the Old Testament, for example, we find: “The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son, and they will call him Immanuel, which means ‘God with us.’” Or, in the New Testament: “You are Peter, the rock...” Naming one’s descendants is similar to the divine act in the Bible. Both biblical and modern names are, in essence, imposed! The only difference is that today we give a child a name because we like it, for one reason or another, rather than because of the (etymological) content contained in such names. In toponomastics, however, things are different. Although it is possible – and it does happen – that toponymic forms are imposed by a higher authority (e.g., street names), such a practice by no means constitutes the rule. Whatever that may mean, toponymic forms usually come into being spontaneously. How to define this spontaneity, what is the nature of this process, and how long it lasts is another set of questions. In any case, the motivation behind the toponymic form is what we consider a minimum of spontaneity. *Vodenjak* is called *Vodenjak* (‘water bearer,’ ‘water carrier’) because there is a water-filled pit on that islet, not because someone followed some administrative procedure and decided to name it that way. This means that there was an individual or a group of individuals who perceived this reality (water) and then defined it linguistically, thereby “assigning” the island its name. It is true that there are many anecdotes about local informants playing tricks on cartographers, foreigners as a rule, by fabricating allegedly obscene or salacious names. While such cases certainly existed, they are entirely marginal to the overall system.

DUGI OTOK

We have never heard of a single *bodul* (an islander) from Zadar living on Dugi Otok or having any connection to it saying: *Popodne gren na Dugi Otok* ('This afternoon, I'm going to Dugi Otok'). Nor have we heard anyone, when asked *Odakle si?* ('Where are you from?'), respond by saying, *Ja sam Dugootočanin* ('I am a *Dugootočanin'). The academic community is still trying to find the historical name of Dugi Otok, as it is one of the five inhabited Croatian islands whose name does not match that of its main settlement (others include Brač, Čiovo, Mljet, and Šolta). From an onomastic perspective, how artificial the name *Dugi Otok* is can be seen from the fact it is the only major island in the Adriatic with a Croatian name (it is a translation, though, which is telling in itself), the only major island with a two-part name, which is completely atypical for such an important referent, and the only inhabited island whose name includes the common noun *otok* (island)! All major Adriatic islands received their names early, and they are often of pre-Romance origin. This suggests that Dugi Otok must have had a different name in the past. However, no permanent settlement or town was established on it early enough to preserve its historical name, as is most often the case with other islands in the Adriatic. Historians and linguists recognize the island's original name in Porphyrogenitus' *Pyzuh* (probably present-day *Čuh*).

While the people from Brač, Hvar, or Vis all say they are going to Brač, to Hvar, to Vis, regardless of whether they are from Sumartin, Jelsa, or Komiža, those from Dugi Otok (**Dugootočani*) never say they are going to Dugi Otok. When they travel to their island, they always go to their specific town or village. So, they say: *Gren na Sali* (I'm going to Sali), *Gren na Veli Rat* (I'm going to Veli Rat), *Gren na Zaglav* (I'm going to Zaglav). Perhaps the remnants of medieval naming recorded in historical documents influence this avoidance of using the island's name. During that period, each settlement on the island was referred to as *insula* rather than *villa*, *vas*, or *selo* (*insula* Luka, *insula* Misano, *insula* Savar...) It has been proven that the term *insula* refers to settlements, not islands. The same can be observed on other islands in the Zadar archipelago, privately owned at the time (Pašman, Ugljan, Iž, Rava), yet all of them kept their historical names. This leads us to believe that the situation is unique for Dugi Otok.

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Thus, the name-giver is either an abstract or real individual or a group of individuals who, through linguistic processes, transform the characteristics of a certain reality into toponymic forms.

5.9. Irradiation Center / Toponomastic Source

An irradiation center, or toponomastic source, is a populated area with its own inhabitants, the users of a specific idiom, whose characteristic linguistic forms are contained in toponymic forms. In short, all toponymic forms, except those that are imposed, came into being *in situ*, within the local idiom. The reach of these forms, as a rule, matches the farthest point of interest of the local community. If that point is on another continent, as was the case during the age of colonization, then these forms extend to other continents as well. What are *New York*, *New London*, *New Haven* if not names from an old linguistic community “exported” to newly conquered territories? Similarly, what are the toponyms we adopt into our own system of names daily, if not, in one way or another, the articulated interests of some other, powerful name-givers?

Even the standard language is an artificial (at least for idioms not covered by the standard dialects and idioms) irradiation center. Standard languages generally preserve toponyms as they appear in local speech, even though there have been, and still are, attempts to standardize “undesirable” forms, if by nothing else, then by shifting the accent to the “correct” place: *Pàlagruža* instead of *Palagrûža*, *Mûrter* instead of *Murtër*, *Ûnije* instead of *Unìje*, *Sràkane* instead of *Srakàne*... Such standard linguistic distortions particularly affect ethnics and ktetics as “secondary products” of toponymic forms: *Veloràćani* instead of *Velârćani*, *Premûđani* instead of *Premùjani*, *Vrgáđani* instead of *Vrgadîni*, *iščânski* instead of *iščûnski*, *molâćanski* instead of *molâjski*, etc.

The participation of two or more irradiation centers in the naming of an area may result in confusion, or, in toponomastic terminology, one and the same referent may “get” two different names, one in each linguistic community. Such naming processes – we could call them variant naming processes – are common in areas shared by two neighboring communities, where neither linguistic system was strong enough to impose itself. For example, in the Kornati islands, we find *Beli* and *Gustac*, *Tovarnjak* and *Prišnjak*, *Mali Obručan*

and *Trbuh*, *Krpejina* and *Bisaga*... Confusion may be caused by other reasons: a community's desire to rename a place (*Krmčina*: Sveti Petar, *Zlosela*: Pirovac, *Lazaret*: Ošljak), the standardologists' desire to conform to linguistic "norms" (*Vruje*: Vrulje, *Prieko*: Preko), and, finally, an individual's (often unachievable yet possible) wish to "correct" a supposedly incorrect name (*Ugljan* into **Uljan*, *Čigrađa* into **Vučigrađa*).

5.10. Motivated: Imposed

In toponomastics, motivation comes from the referent, from some of its characteristics that prompt the name-giver to choose a specific toponymic form. From a theoretical perspective, there is a distinction between a linguistic sign, which is generally unmotivated, and a toponomastic sign, which is motivated. We are well aware that, according to de Saussure, the relationship between expression and content in a linguistic sign is arbitrary, conventional, and the result of an agreement. The content of 'rijeka' is expressed differently across languages: Latin *flumen*, Italian *fiume*, French *fleuve* and *rivière*, Spanish *río*, German *Fluss*, etc.

With toponomastic signs, the situation is different. Here, the connection between the referent and the expression is established indirectly, i.e., through the general meaning of the appellative that lies at the basis of every toponymic form. In other words, this connection is motivated. But what does that mean?

Why is a particular watercourse in Croatian named using precisely this phoneme arrangement /r/+i/+j/+e/+k/+a/, while in another language, it follows a completely different arrangement or even entirely different phonemes (e.g., /f/+l/+u/+s/)? There is no reliable and definitive answer. (Here, we set aside interpretations at the level of word history, which will be discussed elsewhere). Most often not even etymology can offer an answer to such questions. On the other hand, it is easy to see why the city of *Rijeka* got this particular name. This city lies at the mouth of a watercourse called *Rječina*. There is, therefore, a clear motivation! The same applies to places such as *Jezer*a ('pools' or 'ponds'), *Tisno* (a 'narrow' passage between the mainland and an island), *Preko* (a settlement located 'across' from Zadar), *Dugi* and *Veli Rat* (settlements near 'promontories')... The motivation for naming these places is easy

to notice because these toponymic forms remain close to their appellative expressions. However, this is not always the case, even though motivation clearly exists. Today, we do not need to know why places like *Ugljan*, *Vrgada*, *Murter*, *Pag*, or *Premuda* are named as they are, but it is indisputable that, at the time of naming, there was a reason that prompted the name-givers to choose those specific names. This reason is called a motive or toponomastic impulse, and the process is called motivation.

ETYMOLOGY AND WORD HISTORY

Etymology and word history are often mistaken for one another. Words change in form and meaning over the centuries, and they can also be “borrowed” from other languages, most often in an altered form (these source words are called *etymons*). The branch of linguistics that studies the origin of words is called *etymology*. The word *etymology* itself comes from the Greek *etymon*, ‘true meaning’ (from *etimos*, ‘true’), and *logos*, ‘word.’ By studying old texts and comparing them with other languages, etymologists attempt to reconstruct the history of words, i.e., they seek to answer the following questions: When did a word enter the language? What was its source? How did its form and meaning change over time? Word history generally studies changes in the meaning of the same linguistic form and traces its path into a given language, while etymology seeks a connection, which may not be direct, between an existing word and its oldest confirmed or reconstructed source.

To illustrate the difference between etymology and history of a given word, we will compare the origins of the words *dupin* and *delfin* in Croatian. The ultimate etymological origin of both words lies in the Greek *delphinos* (just like the Italian *delfino*, French *dauphin*, and Latin *delphinus*, from which both forms derive), but the ways in which they entered the Croatian language are entirely different. The word *dupin* entered Croatian very early, not directly from Greek, but through an old Romance language we know as Dalmatian Romance, which was spoken along the eastern Adriatic coast at the time of the Slavic migrations. We know this, among other things, from traces of early phonetic changes in Croatian (*f* > *p* and *el* > *vl* > *u*). In contrast to the form *dupin*, used by everyday speakers, the zoological term *delfin* entered Croatian at a much later date, as a learned word. This is evidenced by the absence of phonetic changes that affected the prior form. This example shows how different words can be the result of different histories of the same etymon. There are countless such examples in toponymy, particularly along the Adriatic coast, where for centuries, alongside Croatian, there were at least two potential Romance source languages – the older Dalmatic and the later Venetian. A good illustration of this is pairs such as *Kaštil: Košljun* (< *castell/-um/-ione*), *Mocira: Makirina* (< *maceria*), *Polaća: Palac* (< *palatia*), *Lapkat: Vrgada* (< **rubricata*), etc., where the first elements were taken earlier, and the second ones later, even though they came from the same ultimate Latin etymon (in parentheses).

When we say that etymology most often cannot provide an answer to a particular ques-

tion, we do not look at those forms whose oldest attestations we are unable to determine, so such cases, naturally, remain unresolved. Instead, we look at forms whose “etymology is known.” By finding an etymological solution, going back into the linguistic past, we inevitably reach a point where the relationship between the signifier and the signified must be questioned, a point at which we will have to establish that a linguistic “agreement” about this relationship had to exist at some point in the past. Traditionally understood, etymology functions as a distinct discipline only up to this point, because at this point, language begins and ends.

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What motivated the name-giver? Sometimes it was the position within an island group (*Prvić, Treti*), other times a gentilic name (*Pašman, Ugljan, Neviđane*), color (*Vrgada, Crvena Luka, Punta Bjanka*), the presence of a water source (*Jadra, Vodenjak, Šipnata, Slatina*), a specific type of vegetation (*Silba, Crnikovac, Komornjak*), a specific shape (*Bačvica, Murter, Okit, Zaik*), etc. Often, however, we do not know the reason (*Rab, Rava, Sestrunj, Jarta, Iž, Žirje...*). From this, we can conclude that the toponomastic system is the younger sibling of the lexicological one because first there had to exist a word of general meaning that was used to describe a specific object, configuration, or appearance – the *referent* – before it could be identified and individualized.

The relationship between expression (the toponymic form) and its meaning (the referent) is therefore not arbitrary or random but direct and motivated. The fact that today, in many toponymic forms, we no longer recognize the content that motivated the “first name-giver” is largely because the language in which these forms came into being (e.g., Liburnian or Dalmatian Romance) no longer exists, or because the word is no longer in use in the modern language (Croatian), or because the passage of time has caused such transformations that it is almost impossible to establish the connection between the surviving form and some generally known lexeme (*Aba, Balabra, Buč, Iž, Mana, Šćitna*). However, what needs to be emphasized is the fact that none of these reasons disrupts toponomastic communication. They are completely irrelevant for the

system to function. Both comprehensible and incomprehensible forms have the same quality as toponyms.

However, there are toponomastic fields where the “spontaneous name-giver” has no influence over the naming process because the procedure is entrusted to an institution – social, political, or religious. As with anthroponyms, the naming process is not triggered by the specific properties of the referent but by a societal (often political) will to give a name to something. This applies to the names of streets, neighborhoods, piers, squares, buildings or groups of buildings, tourist resorts, i.e., in toponomastic terminology, *hodonoms*. The tradition of naming such artifacts is very old. From a toponomastic perspective, it usually rests on a community’s desire to name important locations, especially in cities, or even entire cities themselves, after distinguished individuals or those deemed worthy by those in power. P. Šimunović calls such names *honorific names*. It is not up to onomasticians to judge – though they are allowed to – whether the honor was deserved! This practice dates back at least to Alexander the Great (possibly even earlier); some European cities still bear the name of Emperor Augustus (*Aosta, Autun, Zaragoza*). The tradition continued throughout history and is still present in some countries. Well-known oikonyms from recent history include *Stalingrad, Leningrad, Titova Korenica, Kardeljevo, Pucarevo, Rankovićevo*... One important characteristic of such toponymic forms is that they are generally non-functional. Since they replaced the already named referents, tradition still reaches after “old” names at the expense of the new ones. Almost all major squares or streets in Croatian cities have changed their names several times throughout history. However, people have always used “their own” names, and this has not changed until today. *Kalelarga* remains *Kalelarga*!³

³ Kalelarga, officially *Široka ulica*, is the main street in the center of Zadar.

EXAMPLES OF NAMING MOTIVATIONS IN ADRIATIC TOPONYMY

Soil Composition and Appearance: *Griža* ('rock, stone'), *Kamičac* ('stone'), *Krug* ('stone fixed to the ground'), *Luke* ('field surrounded by hills'), *Plase* ('cleared land'), *Ponikva* ('depression in fertile soil'), *Skrače* ('karst cracks, sharp rocks'), *Ilovik* ('clay soil'), *Pesak* ('sand'), *Tustica* ('fat hill, wide and low'), *Plišivac* ('bald peak, without vegetation'), etc.

Color: *Beli*, *Labin* (< ALBONA, possibly from a Liburnian word meaning 'white,' cf. Latin ALBUS, 'white'), *Vrgada* (< *RUBRICATA, 'red,' referring to the red rocks on the northeastern side of the island), *Modrave* (possibly from the bluish-gray color of limestone rocks), *Portorož* ('red harbor'), *Corcyra Nigra* ('black' referring to dense forest), *Crnikovac* (secondary, named after the plant *crnika* (*Quercus ilex*), which has dense branches and dark leaves).

Water: *Olib* (according to Skok, probably < *ALLUVIUM, 'alluvial deposit,' as attested in *Aluip*, *Alluybum*, etc.), *Jadra* (the root *jadr-* frequently appears in relation to water), *Butina* (common hydronym), *Šepurina* (a name often used for water-filled pits in the Šibenik archipelago, but also further south), *Lokvice*, *Lokanj* (< LACUS, Romance synonym for *lokva*, 'puddle'), *Jezerca* ('lakes'), *Studenac* ('freshwater spring,' now exclusively a toponym), *Vodenjak* ('water-carrier'), *Putevac* (< PUTEUS, 'well'), *Šipnata* (< SIPHONATA, 'water source'), etc.

Elevations: *Hripa*, *Gripa*, *Fripa*, *Hrica* ('large rock,' but also 'rocky terrain in general,' a pre-Romance lexical relic), *Montokuc*, *Okit* (< *(MONTE) ACUTUS, 'sharp peak'), *Mučel* (< *MONTICELLUS, 'small peak'), *Bili Brig* ('white hill'), *Šentinelca* ('watchtower'), *Čekanje* ('lookout'), *Straža* ('guard post'), *Kustodija* ('custody, watch'), *Belvidir* ('beautiful view'), etc.

Herbs and Trees: *Batalaža*, *Batelina* (Latin BATIS), *Bezekinje*, cf. *bezeg* (*Sambucus nigra*, Croatian *bazga*, 'elderberry'), *Biljušina*, cf. *biluš* or *biljuš* (*Asparagus acutifolius*), *bilušina* (*Marrubium spec. L.*), *Biljuška*, cf. *biljuška*, 'a type of white grapevine,' *Bljuška*, cf. *bljuš* or *bljušč* (*Hedera helix*, 'ivy'), *Blitvišće* (*Beta vulgaris*, 'chard'), *Bobovišće* (*Vicia faba*, 'broad bean'), *Borje*, *Borik*, *Borovnik* (*Pinus halepensis*, 'pine'), *Božava* (*Ilex spec.*, Croatian *božikovina*, 'common holly'), cf. *Božanjaska*, *Broskvenjak* (*Brassica spec. L.*), *Bunestrina*, *Banestra* (*Spartium junceum*, 'weaver's broom'), etc.

Land Animals and Fish: *Kozjak* (*koza*, 'goat'), *Ovčjak* (*ovca*, 'sheep'), *Tovarnjak* (*tovar*, 'donkey,' 'ass'), *Ošljak* (< ASINUS, 'donkey'), *Kalebovac* (*galeb*, 'seagull'), *Golubinka* (*golub*, 'pigeon,' *golubica*, 'dove'), *Caparinjak* (*caparin*, *čiopta*, *Apus*, 'swift'), *Orlec* (*orao*, 'eagle'), *Gavunišće* (*gavun*, *Atherina*, 'sand smelt'), *Sargera* (*sarag*, *šarag*, *Diplodus sargus*, 'white seabream'), *Kantarišće* (*kantar*, *Spondyliosoma cantharus*, 'black seabream'), etc.

Saints: Formed with *sut-* (< SANCTUS, 'saint') + the name of the saint: *Sutomišćica* (St. Euphemia), *Supetar* (St. Peter), *Sutivan*, *Stivanja* (St. John), *Sukošan* (St. Cassian, Latin CASSIANUS), *Stomorica*, *Stomorja* (St. Mary), *Sudujan* (St. Domnius), etc.

Activities: *Lojišće*, *Trata*, *Šijanje*, *Kumandanje*, *Ishodišće*, *Ašumivanje*, *Krokada*, *Pošta* ('fishing'), *Pudarica*, *Osik*, *Sakatur*, *Brodarišće* ('livestock farming'), *Japlenica*, *Kava*, *Padrara*, *Petrala* ('construction'), *Solinski*, *Slanica*, *Sutorišće* (perhaps), *Kučarine*, *Saunar* ('salt farming'), *Škver*, *Shajanje*, *Garafulin*, *Purplela*, *Repar* ('shipkeeping and maintenance'), *Lupeška*, *Tatinja* ('secretive or illegal activities'), *Bilave*, *Perilišće* ('laundry washing'), etc.

Structures and Buildings: *Crkvine* ('church'), *Grobišće* ('grave'), *Cimitar* ('cemetery'), *Kapošanat* ('cemetery'), *Mirišće* ('burial site'), *Gomila* ('mound'), *Dvorina* ('estate'), *Gračišće* ('tower', 'fort'), *Gračina* ('tower', 'fort'), *Lanterna* ('lighthouse'), *Magazini* ('storerooms'), *Malin* ('mill'), *Travaka* ('community hall'), *Počivalo* ('resting place'), *Križ* ('cross'), *Zvonarica* ('bell tower'), *Kapelica* ('chapel'), etc.

Metaphors: *Barilo* ('barrel'), *Bačvica* ('small barrel'), *Bisaga* ('saddlebag'), *Brodina* ('large boat'), *Funestrata* ('window'), *Gačice* ('underpants'), *Galijola* ('galley'), *Garlo* ('throat'), *Gujak* ('snake'), *Gundula* ('gondola'), *Pohljib* ('bread'), *Kablin* ('bucket'), *Kalahatin* ('carpenter's chisel'), *Kantinada* ('sugar cube'), *Katrida* ('chair'), *Kogul* ('sack-like bottom of a trawl net'), *Koritnjak* ('trough'), *Kosirača* ('billhook'), *Kotlenica* ('kettle'), *Kruna* ('crown'), *Lancun* ('sheet'), *Lopata* ('shovel'), *Metlina* ('broom'), *Murtar* ('mortar'), *Nozdra* ('nostril'), *Oključ* ('key'), *Prsura* ('frying pan'), *Pizdina* ('vagina'), *Ražanj* ('spit'), *Šperun* ('top of the prow'), *Usta* ('mouth'), *Vrata* ('door'), *Zaik* ('tongue'), *Zubin* ('tooth'), etc.

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In such cases, it is difficult to speak of any kind of direct motivation that could be linked to the referent, let alone what we call inherent motivation. What is at work here, in fact, is an imposed procedure that is also known in toponomastics, even though its structure actually makes it anthroponomastic.

5.11. What is the “Content” of a Toponymic Form – Identification

What associations does a toponymic form evoke in us, and what is the first thing we think of when we hear the name *Vis*? What does it identify? One thing is certain. *Vis* is an island. But what kind of island is it for those who have never seen it, as opposed to those who live on it? The first group will likely think of its glorious past (a Greek colony, the powerful Issaeans, the Battle of *Vis*, the island-fortress), while the second may think of its less illustrious present (demographic decline, a barely surviving viticulture and a collapsed

fishing industry, the inglorious ‘occupation’ by the Yugoslav National Army). Clearly, our perception of a referent depends on its size and importance, as well as on our knowledge about it. While the identity of the toponymic form *Vis* – referent ‘Vis’ is unquestionable, all other information about the referent must be differentiated with regards to the intention and context in which the toponymic form is mentioned. In other words, there are important referents whose content is not always easy to determine – beyond the generally known information (the Pyrenees = a specific peninsula, the Bay of Biscay = a specific bay, Sardinia = a specific island, etc.).

However, the cases where a single toponymic form identifies several different contents – thus making it unclear whether we are dealing with one toponym or multiple ones – seem even more complicated. There are countless such examples, but we are going to focus on just one. There is a small settlement (*porat*) on the island of Kornat, consisting of just a few farm and fishermen’s houses, called *Suha Punta*. The name is unusual because in the Kornati archipelago *porats* are typically found in coves and inlets, not headlands (*puntas*). Field research has shown that the settlement was established behind a cape of the same name. However, an olive grove further inland also bears the same name. Thus, we are faced with three different referents sharing the same name: the cape itself, the settlement next to it, and the olive grove behind it. Here, just like in similar cases, we must take the specific referent as a starting point: in other words, three referents, three different identities, the same toponymic form, three different toponyms. This distinction, however, as is always the case, is important only for speakers of a narrow linguistic community. Nonetheless, the principle of identity is not called into question! Others will be included in the system of this linguistic community, or they will be left out of it, based on their needs. What applies to a small Kornati *porat* also applies to major referents: Krk, Rab, and Pag are both islands and towns – and undeniably distinct referents. Despite having the same names, they represent different identities and therefore different toponyms.

There are also completely opposite situations. We can once again turn to the Kornati archipelago for an example: near the *porat* of *Pinezela* on the island of Žut, there is a small island that, due to its unique position in the archipelago, has three names: *Sikica*, *Pinezelić*, and *Tovarnjak*. The island is located in the zone of the Kornati archipelago exposed to the name-giving influences

from different toponomastic sources (first and foremost, Sali, Zaglav, Murter), which, in the present day, also include modern maps and charts. The frequency of use of these three toponymic forms is not equal, but their existence is unquestionable. There are many such cases in the Adriatic. However, they also appear on the mainland and in the interior, particularly in places under the influence of two or more toponomastic sources. For the purpose of this discussion on identification, it is important to note that in this case, there is only one referent and, accordingly, only one toponym, albeit with three toponymic forms (variants of the toponym). Since these are used in different linguistic communities, the functioning of the information system is not brought into question. At the level of a wider social community, such examples are numerous: *Wien* and *Beč*, *Zagreb* and *Agram*, *Požun* and *Bratislava*, *Zadar* and *Zara*...

5.12. How a Referent Is Represented on a Map – Ubication

In field-based toponomastic studies, the term *ubication* is closely related to the term *identification*. Every toponymic form whose referent cannot be determined is not a toponym in the full sense of the word. Every referent occupies a specific place in space (a peak, an island, a bay, a settlement), and one of the main tasks of toponomastics – arguably its very purpose – is to determine and analyze the connection between these two components of a toponymic sign (the toponymic form and the referent). However, linking a toponymic form to a referent understands the idea of the referent, and its physical presence is not necessary (we do not have to see it) in order to establish a linguistic connection to the toponymic form. Nonetheless, the process of ubication, in a toponomastic sense, allows us to precisely locate the toponym on a medium used to present the studied area – most often, a toponomastic map.

The identity of a ubicated toponym on a map can be indicated in different ways. On geographical maps, this is most often the toponymic form itself (name), which may or may not be accompanied by a system of agreed symbols (colors, markings, or signs). On topographic maps, especially older ones, toponyms are represented solely by their toponymic form. In contrast, on toponomastic maps, which, it has to be said, do not adhere to any fixed standard, the choice of symbols used to define the referent's identity depends on the author

or a group of authors conducting the study. In our monographs, we have opted for a numerical system, where each number is placed, as precisely as possible, at the exact location of the referent.

CORRECT UBICATION – THE “WRONG” NAME

The Latin term *ubicatio* refers to: 1) being in one place, situatedness, spatial positioning within a location, and 2) a dwelling, residence (Marević, 2000). According to the Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary (HER), the verb *ubicirati* means: 1) to have a permanent residence; to reside, dwell, inhabit, or 2) to locate, while the noun *ubikacija* is explained under the synonym *umještenost*, meaning ‘a categorical designation of the presence of a being in a particular place; ubication.’ In toponomastic terminology, *ubication* refers to the identification of a place by name in space. While it is becoming increasingly difficult to precisely locate even modern toponymic forms, given that informants are less and less familiar with them, the real problems of ubication are most often the consequence of historical attestations that lack valid spatial references. One of the most famous examples in Croatian toponomastics is Porphyrogenitus’ *Katautrebena*, a phantom island whose actual location remains unknown to this day. Even though several detailed philological studies have been dedicated to it, we can only assume that it was located somewhere in the Zadar archipelago.

However, the ubication of historical forms can be problematic even in cases where a historical name has survived to this day but, due to different historical circumstances, it has been “moved” to a different location. A very interesting example of such relocation of a toponym is the name of the settlement of Pašman on the island bearing the same name. Today, there are two Pašmans, so, besides *Pašman* (on the coast), there is the adjacent village called *Mali Pašman* (further inland), which, as the first part of its name suggests, indeed is smaller than its administrative center. Surprisingly, the oldest settlement in this part of the island is actually Mali Pašman, which in the Middle Ages was called *Pašman*, while the present-day Pašman was, in that period, called *Punta Pašmana*. Over time, the name of the original central settlement was transferred to the new, larger, and more important settlement, while the original village, despite being the first, became Mali Pašman. Here, it is interesting to note that the same change did not happen on the island of Lošinj, where Mali Lošinj, despite surpassing Veli Lošinj in population and importance, has nevertheless remained Mali.

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5.13. “Microtoponym” and “Microtoponymy”

In this context, we need to address the frequent yet incorrect use of the term *microtoponym*. A microtoponym is usually used to refer to configurations or artifacts that have their own names but are small (insignificant) or little known to the public: *Punta Parde, Stivanje Polje, Križica, Aba, Travni...* However, it needs to be said that this usage is entirely incorrect because, among other things, it assumes the existence of macrotoponyms and macrotoponymy, which is simply not true. The division into macrotoponyms and microtoponyms could be compared to dividing a lexicon of some language into large and small, important and unimportant words, whereby *trains, whales, and elephants* would belong to the “large” category, while *needles, mice, and ants* would belong to the “small” one. There is no distinction between macro- and microtoponyms, but only between toponyms and non-toponyms, i.e., appellatives. What is large or small, macro or micro, well- or little-known are the referents. The result of their naming is simply a toponym.

This is the situation on a theoretical level. In practice, however, things are different. Many studies, including those in toponomastics, use the term microtoponym for something that is, in fact, a microreferent. The issue arises from the lack of a specialized term for this class of toponyms, leading to increased pressure on the terminological system due to the incorrect use of this term. There is a “danger” that this usage will infiltrate scholarly discourse. In truth, this has already happened. At the conference *Skokovi etimološki i onomastički susreti* held in Gospić in 2010, most participants spoke of microtoponyms as a completely valid category of onyms.

In reality, these are simply toponyms that are either well- or little-known to members of a particular community. Size, in principle, plays no role here. There are countless “large” toponyms that we have never heard of and countless “small” ones that we use daily. What is at work here is the distinction between what is necessary and unnecessary, familiar and unfamiliar to members of a linguistic community, and the principle of universality and equal availability, valid for the standard language, can in no case be applied here. In fact, it could be said that, at this level, toponomastics is more selective than lexicology.

Since it would be terminologically unacceptable to oppose the Croatian phrases “well-known” and “little-known,” we must turn, following the tra-

dition of deriving all onomastic terms from Greek, to the closest (albeit imperfect) form: **agnonym**, i.e., opposition **gnonym: agnonym**, from the Greek *gnotos*, 'known' and *agnos*, 'unknown.'

Some onomasticians classify these small, insignificant, and little-known toponymic forms under **anoikonyms**. The very choice of the term speaks of the position of its advocates, as this would translate to "that which is not an oikonym," meaning anything that does not refer to a place of residence, habitation, or dwelling, from a small, isolated hamlet to an entire continent.

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6. Toponomastic Fields

With regards to the elements of nature that need to be named, in toponomastics, just like in other disciplines, there are various fields of research, with their distinct terminological definitions. Some of these fields are more interesting and important, while others are less so, which makes them more or less attractive. Generally, what is harder to access tends to be perceived as more intriguing, and the same applies to toponomastics. In our discipline, this means that there is greater interest in older linguistic layers offering content that is more difficult to interpret than in more recent and generally more easily understandable forms. This approach to toponomastics has yielded great results in historical linguistic research, but it also has considerable drawbacks (a lack of interest in contemporary material, an absence of interest in inherent onomastic and toponomastic issues). This situation is partly inherited from the Neogrammarian linguistic tradition, i.e., from a time when only a handful of highly interested experts engaged in onomastics and toponomastics.

The modern approach to linguistic material, using sociolinguistic, structuralist, and generally synchronic perspectives, has opened research space for linguists of various profiles. And not only linguists.

Every discipline or field of study has an inclination toward a comprehensive systematization of its research fields, and the same is true for linguistics, as well as toponomastics within it. Given that our discipline “covers” almost all aspects of life, comparable to lexicography, attempting to systematize and classify toponomastic fields is no easy task. Therefore, respecting the complexity level of this primer and the needs of those who wish to be initiated into toponomastic research, we will provide the simplest and most consistent overview possible.

Even though an all-encompassing systematization and comprehensive terminological definition of all aspects of a given field of research are unnecessary, the complete absence of such systematization and terminological definition can be burdensome for researchers. In other words, a balance must be found. This balance roughly includes the following: listing and explaining all relevant terms in use, critically assessing the “forced” introduction of new terms, and introducing new terms for those semantic fields that have so far remained outside the existing terminological reach. This latter group specifically includes terms related to the sea, the coast, and islands.

We have therefore decided to limit our elaboration to two large physical domains: land and sea (for now, we leave aside the sky and celestial bodies). Objectively, given that dry land is our natural habitat, there is a vast imbalance in the amount of data coming from these two domains. Understandably, in favor of the land. If we also take into consideration that islands and the coast are technically land as well, albeit surrounded by the sea, but nevertheless land, at first glance, this division may seem unnecessary. However, it is dictated by the very content of this handbook. Furthermore, such a division wants to highlight that, despite the disparity in the amount of available data, the naming practice in the coastal, island, and underwater zones differs from that in the mainland zones.

Before we proceed with a systematic presentation of toponomastic fields, it is important to once again draw attention to the proper use of the terms that are going to be further explained or proposed for use.

Terms such as *hydronym*, *oronym*, *phytonym*, *zoonym*, and *oikonym* are well-established and frequently used, but they have certain shortcomings. First and foremost, all these terms cover designations, not names. *Voda*, ‘water,’ is a hydronym, while *Vodenjak* is not; *smokva*, ‘a fig,’ is a phytonym, whereas *Smokvenjak* is not; *vol*, ‘an ox,’ is a zoonym, *Volujak* is not, *caparan*, ‘a swift,’ is an ornithonym, *Caparinjak* is not, etc. A *hydrotponym*, *orotponym*, *phytotponym*, or *zootponym* would therefore be more precise terms for the names of these places (in this case, islands). On the other hand, a special place here is reserved for anthroponyms, which are often used for toponomastic purposes. Following the logic applied to phytonyms, zoonyms, ornithonyms, and ichthyonyms, we should do the same for anthroponyms. *Tomislavgrad*, *Aosta*, or *Kožino* are not anthroponyms but *anthropotponyms*. However, not wanting to

introduce new terminological definitions where it is not absolutely necessary, and taking into consideration that such terminology, despite being imprecise, is frequently used in practice, we will adopt this traditional usage whenever it does not impede the clarity of the elaboration.

6.1. Land Perspectives

6.1.1. Natural Referents

6.1.1.1. Water

Toponymic forms used to designate any water-related referent (river, pond or pool, stream, lake, well, spring...) are called *hydronyms*, from the Greek *hydor*, ‘water’. Water has always been of utmost importance for humans, especially in ancient history when it was not transported via aqueducts (with rare exceptions such as civilizations of Persia, Rome, and the Arab world). It was a vital necessity for survival and a key factor in the choice of settlement locations. For this reason, the names of bodies of water, particularly large watercourses, regularly belong to linguistic layers that are poorly known and understood today. They also serve as evidence of early human settlement in a given area. Many toponomasticians agree that the names of major rivers originated from a general noun for “water” in various pre-Indo-European and Indo-European languages (*Don, Danube, Garonne, Rhine, Sava*). The fact clearly supporting this claim is that, for example, the name of the river *Danube (Dunav)* has many attestations in Adriatic toponymy; first in its appellative value (*dunaj* = water), and then in a toponymic sense: some wells have been named *Dunaj* (Brač, Ugljan, Makirina near Pirovac, the village of *Dunave* in Konavle).

PALEOHYDRONYMS ON THE ZADAR ISLANDS

One of the most fascinating studies on Croatian hydronymy is the work of the late Amos Rube Filipi, a native of Sali and a devoted, tireless collector of the linguistic heritage of the Zadar archipelago. As he astutely observed while researching hydronyms in over forty island settlements in the Zadar archipelago, the scarcity of “fresh drinking water” in certain parts of the islands – which forced the population to mainly use water from ponds (Filipi cites Savar, Brbinj, Soline, and Veli Rat on Dugi Otok, as well as the village

of Ugljan on the island of Ugljan) – helped preserve an exceptional and almost endemic hydronymic system in these regions. According to Filipi, this factor played a crucial role in preserving several “unknown names for water” (*aranj, arvanj, varanj, vranj, ždrnjić*, etc.), derived from “hydronymic stems RNJ (ARNJ, RANJ),” which, based on the sources he consulted at the time, were not recorded anywhere in Slavic hydronymy except in “our lands,” and especially “on the Zadar islands.”

Filipi’s discovery, comparable to some of the most important in the field, was long ignored by the official linguistic elite and was often openly criticized, even though it is undoubtedly one of the most original and significant contributions to Croatian toponomastics and lexicology in general. The reasons for Filipi’s long-standing marginalization are difficult to explain, but what cannot be denied is the fact that Filipi’s findings can be compared to the discovery of dinosaur fossils in paleontology (fortunately, the academic community is becoming more and more aware of Filipi’s achievement). What Filipi discovered is a lexical stem whose exact origin and age, even today, thirty years after the study was published, remain unknown. Even more intriguing is the fact that the frequency of this form is spatially very limited, mostly to the historical Zadar area. Our most recent research, conducted under the auspices of *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*, has indisputably shown that a variant of the same lexeme, specifically, the field *Črnji*, can also be found in the Šibenik coastal area (Tisno – Ivinj). Moreover, judging by the name of the pond *Vrnica* on the island of Brač (Šimunović 1972: 239), its occurrence should be further investigated even in the southern regions of the Adriatic. It is difficult to determine the actual age of “Filipi’s” hydronym and its true geographic distribution, since not even the most recent inventories of Slavic hydronymic lexicon (cf. Brozović Rončević 1997, 1999) register its presence. The fact that most known examples are concentrated in the Zadar archipelago could support the idea that this is a very old consonantal root, possibly dating back to the pre-Romance period. Additionally, if we accept the possibility that the same root appears in the names of Croatia’s two largest freshwater lakes (*Vransko Jezero*, Lake Vrana, near Biograd and on the island of Cres), then our discussion could also consider the name of the city of *Vranas* (Bpavác) in the drained marshland near Marathon, Greece, as well as the name of the Bulgarian city of Varna (Варна) on the coast of the lake of the same name.

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In the case of hydronyms, more often than in other semantic fields, names tend to lose their strictly hydrological motivation, i.e., toponyms with water-related content often adopt the names of the specific location where the water was found, a phenomenon indicating the existence of water, or even the person who put the existing water source to use. In Murter, for example, there were three water sources whose names, if we did not know what they meant, we could declare anthropotoponyms: *Paulovica*, *Đovanovica*, and *Mentovica*. This type of name transfer could be called *hydronymization*, as suggested by P. Šimunović. The same pattern allows to be applied to other classes of toponyms, which would leave us with the terms such as *phytonymization* (a park named after an anthroponym: *Zrinjevac*) or *nesonymization* (an island named after a hagianym: *Sveti Andrija*). As it has already been said, the “adoption” of a toponymic form is frequent in other semantic fields as well, and it is an intrinsic part of name formation. Almost every chrematonym is some former onym, with a long-established and well-known content.

6.1.1.2. Elevations

This category includes natural elevations regardless of their specific characteristics. These are *oronyms*, from the Greek *oros*, ‘mountain, hill’. Large mountains, just like great rivers, were important reference points for early naming; in almost all ancient civilizations, they were places of worship and the dwelling places of deities: *Olympus*, *Sinai*, *Vidova Gora*. Just like major waterways, important and large mountains were named early, which is why their names are often difficult or impossible to interpret (*the Alps*, *the Balkans*, *the Carpathians*, *the Rhodopes*, *the Vosges*). There is a vast range of names referring to all types of elevations. However, when it comes to the Adriatic islands and terrain configurations on them, this diversity of nomenclature is somewhat less pronounced than on the mainland. Elevations on islands were named very early, since some of them still bear pre-Roman names (*Skradišćak*, *Drmun*, *Hripa*, and their variations). For islands in general, and particularly those in the Zadar archipelago, *Straža* (‘guard post’ or ‘watchpoint’) is a characteristic toponymic form, and it appears repeatedly on almost all islands, sometimes even several times on larger ones.

WATCHPOINTS

Life on small islands in the Zadar and Šibenik archipelagos was difficult, not only because of the poor existential basis provided by island fields and fishing grounds, but also due to the physical threat to the islanders' lives. Understandably, these threats primarily came from the sea, in the form of different kinds of piracy or the "official" Venetian administration, which required each settlement to supply, proportional to its population, a number of rowers for its galleys – something people tried to avoid whenever possible. Undoubtedly, caution was one of the reasons why all island settlements, whenever conditions allowed, were built away from the shore, ideally on the island's ridge or saddle (Premuda, Sestrunj, Zverinac, Murter, Žirje...), which offered the view of "two seas," i.e., it allowed the islanders to keep watch over two or more directions from which the enemy could have approached the island. On either side of the saddle, there was a cove-mooring where boats were kept, ready for escape if necessary. These coves and bays function as harbors to this day: *Krijal* and *Loza* on Premuda, *Hrvatinj* and *Kablin* on Sestrunj, *Čigrađa* and *Hramina* on Murter, *Vala* and *Murtar* in Jezera on Murter, *Mul* and *Žalić* on Silba, *Vala Svetoga Andrije* and *Luka* on Vrgada, etc.

Observation points were located either within the settlement itself (less commonly), or on the nearest hill adjacent to the settlement, or on the highest hill on the island. Such hills were called *Straže* ('watchpoints' or 'guard posts') or any of the variants of the basic form. More than forty such toponymic forms have been recorded in the Zadar and Šibenik archipelagos. Other forms with the same or similar semantic content have also been confirmed: *Belvedir*, *Čekanje*, *Kustodija*, *Ozrinj* (from *zreti*, 'to watch, look around'), *Pudarica*, *Šentinela*, *Štacion*, *Toreta*... These also include two peaks named *Lokardenik* on Dugi Otok and Molat, located near the best-known historical fishing grounds in the Zadar archipelago (*Molašćica*, now *Luka*, and *Telašćica*). It is still remembered in Sali and Molat that these points were used to keep watch for fish entering the bay. In the toponomastic corpus of *Telašćica*, rich in ichthyotoponyms, there is also a peak called *Ribarska Straža* ('fishermen's watchpoint'). This is where – according to the interlocutors – elderly men kept watch for days, waiting for schools of mackerel (*plavica*, *lokarda*; *Scomber colias*) to enter the bay. Once they saw the fish, they would light a fire, which signaled the younger men working in the fields that it was time to begin the operation of closing off the bay, for which everything had been prepared in advance.

It is held that all *Straže* communicated (visually, how else?!) with one another by transmitting (smoke) signals over great distances and thus warning of danger. When it comes to the islands, according to A. Badurina, the series of *Straže* served as a communication chain stretching from *Osoršćica* across the Kvarner and Zadar islands to the Fort of St. Michael opposite Zadar, and all the way inland to the main forts in the hinterland.

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6.1.1.3. Soil (*Karst*)

The central feature of Adriatic soil is its karst component, both for the solid, rocky part of the terrain and for the small karst plateaus with fertile soil. The island toponymy is rich in toponymic forms with karst-related content, so this category ranks first based on the number and the diversity of forms. The reason for this is the proverbial lack of arable land on the islands, so the clearing of rocky or otherwise unsuitable areas led to the naming of spaces that, under “normal circumstances,” would not have been named. Interestingly, given that these referents are largely unimportant and known only among a narrow circle of users, there has been little interest in these configurations, which resulted in the absence of a precise term for this extremely important semantic field. P. Šimunović proposed the term *geonym*, which could seem appropriate, however, this term is actually a kind of hypernym covering several important semantic fields, such as seas, mountain ranges, or vast plains. Without debating its validity, it is clear that this term should not be used for this extremely important category – at least from the perspective of Adriatic toponymy – which should not be left without its own specific term. This category includes rocks of various quality and composition, soil of all kinds and colors, sinkholes and depressions, loose materials, sand, gravel, pebbles, cliffs and reefs, caves, pits, gorges, crevices... Considering a vast number of impulses, and, as practice shows, a vast amount of toponyms, coming from this domain, so closely tied to human life, especially in the coastal and cultivated zones, it is essential to come up with a specific toponomastic term that currently still does not exist, as this category is not as homogeneous and precisely defined as that including bodies of water or plants... Therefore, we propose the term *edaphonym* (Greek *edafos*, ‘soil, earth, ground’).

LEXICAL FORMS CONFIRMED IN EDAPHONYMS

Probably no other semantic field reflects the presence of Croats on the islands as well as *edaphonyms*. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that, from the very beginning, the Croats’ primary activities included animal husbandry and agriculture. On large islands, they had little or no access to the sea except as laborers in fishing crews, while on smaller islands – without local nobility or local Romance population – they had no one to teach them much about fishing. On the other hand,

the fishing spots on their islands also belonged to this other group, regardless of whether they came from (now) Croatian or Venetian cities. Therefore, the Croats turned to “fields” and the unforgiving karst terrain, as attested by the abundance of Croatian toponyms.

The exceptional value of these attestations lies in the fact that many of them are no longer found outside of toponymic forms, and when they do appear, they are usually hidden in derivatives and various transformations. This is due, on one hand, to their old age and, on the other, to the near-total abandonment of the activities whose nomenclature consisted of edaphonyms. Here are a few examples for illustration:

Soil composition (types): *brus, fang, glib, griža, hripa, ilo, kal, kamen, mulj, krš, pažina, pesak/pisak, sabun, škalja, skras, tuf...*

Stone (types and forms): *gruh/krug, hripa, kamen, kamik, murtar (metaphorical), petrela, ploča, škar, skrača, škrapa, stena/stina, škrila, žarvanj...*

Land divisions: *celina, del, dugača, garina, gumno, kus, laz, liha, njiva, oblaka, podanak, plasa, ponikva, požar, rudina, teg, trmezal, vlaka, vartal, vrhovina, zaik (metaphorical)...*

Fields: *dolac, luka, plasa, podvornica, polje, sad...*

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6.1.1.4. Plants

In terms of their number and percentage within a given area, toponyms derived from plant names rank very high in frequency, which is a clear indication of the much stronger past connection between humans and nature. We will refer to toponyms derived from plant names as *phytonyms*, from the Greek *phyton*, ‘plant.’ Within this toponomastic field, special caution is needed in interpreting the meaning and motivation behind these names, given that many of the plants that motivated them have disappeared over time – due to fires or other factors. There are many proofs and examples of this: the island of *Maslinjak* without its olive trees (*masline*), *Crnikovac*, without holm oaks (*crnika*), many places named *Papratnica* (or its variants) without ferns (*paprat*), or whatever plant was referred to at the time the name was given, *Dub* and its variants without oak trees (*dub*)...

In this group, just as was the case with some other categories (such as hagionyms, zoonyms, ichthyonyms...), a particular challenge in systematization arises from the large number of toponyms that are not named after a particular plant species but rather after terms related to the existence of plant communities, commonly referred to as forests. The word *šuma* (forest) itself is a relatively recent addition in the language use and is therefore rarely confirmed in toponymy. However, toponymic forms used to identify the content 'šuma' are quite frequent. Following Mislava Bertoša's suggestion, we recommend using the term *hylonym*, from the Greek *hyle*, 'wood, forest', despite the fact that this Greek stem has been used for other terminological patterns. *Hylonyms*, rather than *phytonyms*, therefore include: *Bušak*, *Driveni*, *Drmun*, *Gaj*, *Gvozd*, *Gora*, *Gorica*, *Lug*, *Ljesa*, *Les*, *Loza*, *Ljuto*, *Silba*... all of which refer to areas that were once, and in many cases still are, forested.

6.1.1.5. Land Animals

Humans have coexisted with wild and later domesticated animals throughout history, which is why

PLANT NAMES CONFIRMED IN TOPONYMIC FORMS

After edaphonyms, *phytonyms* are the most frequent names confirmed in the toponyms of the Zadar islands. For illustration, we will mention only some of the most common ones, according to their frequency in toponymic forms. The most frequent *phytonyms* therefore include *mirta* ('myrtle') in various derivatives such as *mrta*, *marta*, *marka*. Then there are *maslina* ('olive'), *smokva* ('fig'), and *crnika* ('holm oak'). Their role in the islanders' lives cannot be overstated. Next come *paprat* ('fern'), *ruta* ('rue'), and *dub* ('oak'), today nonexistent except for rue. Lastly, there are *bob* ('broad bean'), *blitva* ('chard'), and *kuš*, also called *kadulja/slavuja* ('sage').

There are countless other plants confirmed in toponyms, but their occurrence is much rarer. The most common ones include: *brist* ('elm'), *fafaričul* ('hackberry'), *gluš* ('terebinth'), *gomoruš* ('type of grass'), *karuba* ('carob'), *komora* ('phillyrea'), *konopljika* ('chasteberry'), *koromač* ('fennel'), *orih* ('walnut'), *sita* ('rush'), *smilj* ('immortelle'), *smrdela* ('lentisk' or 'mastic'), *smrič* ('cade'), *smrika* ('juniper'), *srbic* ('type of grass that causes itching'), *ščir* ('amaranth'), *tetvika* ('smilax'), *trstika* ('reed'), *zrača* ('bramble')...

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animal names are very frequent in toponymy. As is the case with plants, toponyms motivated by animal names often show that an existing name no longer matches the present reality. The preservation of names despite all the changes that happened over time is one of the fundamental toponomastic constants. In principle, toponymic forms outlive the contents that motivated them. We will use the term **zoonyms**, from the Greek *zoon*, ‘animal,’ for toponyms motivated by animal names – in this case, specifically those that move on land, as humans do, and that can be perceived through human senses, including those that “live” in a virtual environment. Here we will not discuss the names of pets or animals in general, wild or domestic alike, that are often given names, which, according to their onomastic category, could be classified as anthroponyms. These were already discussed in Chapter 3.3. Other living beings that inspired the names or land configurations and objects in nature will be divided into several additional groups. The most important and most represented in this category are **ornithonyms**, from the Greek *ornis*, ‘bird’; then there are, albeit with rare frequency, marine organisms (not just fish) – **thalassozoonyms**, from the Greek *thalassa*, ‘sea,’ followed by reptiles – **herpetonyms**, from the Greek *herpeton*, ‘reptile,’ and insects – **entomononyms** from the Greek *entomon*, ‘insect.’

TOVARNJAK AND OŠLJAK

There are cases of toponyms that came into being in the same territory but from linguistically different name-givers and in different historical periods. Thus, it happens that the same initial content gets confirmed in two or more distinct toponymic forms. This is not an example of tautology, even though such cases exist too. Here the content with the same motivation – at different places and in different periods – is conceptualized in the same way, without necessarily being a direct translation. Two particularly interesting examples from this paradigm include *Tovarnjak* and *Ošljak*, as well as *Magarčić* (an attestation likely formed through folk etymology, linking it to an older word). As the name of an island, *Tovarnjak* has five attestations in the Zadar-Kornati archipelago, while *Ošljak* appears many times in different forms across the Adriatic (Iž, Korčula, Kornati, Pašman, Ugljan). The former is undoubtedly a metaphor, given that all *Tovarnjaks* share the same *seme* – a very low point or cape (metaphorically: *a donkey’s tail*) with shallow surrounding waters. A dangerous spot for sailors and fishermen! *Ošljak*, however, could also be motivated by a metaphor based on shape, which is less likely, and it can also, more plausibly, refer to a place outside of a settlement where, at some point, donkeys were kept. What makes this particularly intriguing is the fact that no *Tovarnjak* resembles any *Ošljak*, yet all

Tovarnjaks look alike, while *Ošljaks* are all different from one another. This suggests, on the one hand, that the naming did not occur at the same time (the name-givers did not belong to the same time period and possibly the same social circle), and, on the other, that the people who named *Tovarnjaks* were not the same as those who named *Ošljaks*. This is to say that all *Tovarnjaks* can be exclusively found in the Zadar-Kornati archipelago, while *Ošljaks* are scattered across the Adriatic. Finally, it is quite clear that the linguistic forms (*tovar* and *osao*) were not equally “available” at the time of naming.

In this context, it is also interesting to note that the names of domestic animals less frequently appear in toponymic forms. The most common, apart from the already mentioned *tovar* and *osao*, include *kobila* (‘mare’), *konj* (‘horse’), *koza* (‘goat’), *vol* (‘ox’), and *krava* (‘cow’), while less common are *prasad* (‘pig’), *ovca* (‘sheep’), *jarac* (‘billy goat’), *pas* (‘dog’), *mačka* (‘cat’).

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The most frequent zoonyms come from our immediate surroundings and are motivated by the designations for animals that lived alongside people. These toponymic forms can be the indicator of the real and linguistic presence of some ethnic group in a given area. When the Adriatic islands are in question, such forms range from pre-Romance layers to Croatian attestations: for example, *Brač*, if it is truly derived from **brentos*, ‘deer,’ as suggested by P. Šimunović, and the *Elaphites*, from the Greek *elaphos*, ‘deer.’ *Vol* (‘ox’) and *krava* (‘cow’) have many attestations in toponymy: almost every field on the Zadar islands has at least one *Volujak*. While it may seem surprising today, livestock records (Lantana, 1759) show that islands such as Molat once had up to 300 small oxen used for plowing. Two islands are called *Vaka*, and one porat in the Kornati islands is named *Kravjačica*. There are also *koza* (‘goat’): *Kaprije*, *Kozjak*; *prč* (‘billy goat’): *Prcabok*; *magarac* (also *osao*, ‘donkey’): *Tovarnjak* and *Ošljak*, in several instances; *konj* (‘horse’): *Punta Konja*; *kobila* (‘mare’): many instances of *Kobiljak* and *Kobila*; *ovca* (‘sheep’): *Ovnja* and *Ovčak*...; *zec* (‘hare’): *Zečevo*, *Zečica*, possibly *Žešnja*...

6.1.1.6. *Birds*

From mythical dragons to common birds living in our natural environment, there is a wide array of designations and toponymic forms derived from them. When it comes to birds, the key factor in selecting the name of a particular referent was its habitat, i.e., the presence of a specific species in a given area. Dragons, whether in their Latin or Croatian form, typically gave names to distant and dangerous locations (caves, grottoes, water-filled pits) and perhaps even islands (*Dragunara*, according to Skok, *Drakovac*, *Zmajan*). However, most **ornithonyms**, from the Greek *ornis*, ‘bird,’ come from names for birds that, in one way or another, coexisted with humans. These were certainly neither mythical nor exotic birds. There are many ornithotoponyms: *Caparinjak* (*caparin*, ‘swift’), *Gavrnjača* (*gavran*, ‘raven’), *Golubinka* (*golub*, *golubica*, ‘pigeon,’ ‘dove’), *Kalebovac* (*galeb*, ‘seagull’), *Kosovo* (*kos*, ‘blackbird’), *Njurčevo* (*gnjurac*, ‘grebe’), *Orlec* (*orao*, ‘eagle’), *Petehovac* (*peteh*, ‘rooster’), *Sovlje* (*sova*, ‘owl’), and *Vranjača* (*vrana*, ‘crow’).

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6.1.1.7. *Marine Animals*

There are far more folk names for fish, crabs, cephalopods, and shellfish than actual species in the Adriatic Sea. However, this richness in marine life nomenclature is not reflected in toponymy: far fewer toponyms are derived from designations for sea dwellers than from those for land animals and birds. This may seem surprising given the importance of the sea and fishing in the lives of coastal people. However, this situation is actually quite logical! Everything in the sea becomes clearly visible only when it comes out on the surface, so fish names are inspired by “land-based” rather than “marine-based” stimuli. All these stimuli followed a land-to-sea direction, not the other way around.

Thalassozoonyms, from the Greek *thalassa*, ‘sea,’ and *zoon*, ‘animal,’ is a collective term for all marine animals: fish (*ichthyonyms*), crabs (*carcinonyms*), and shellfish (*malaconyms*). The term was first introduced by V. Vinja, who wrote a brilliant monograph on the names and etymology of Adriatic fauna. Given that fish held the most economic value for name-givers, their names are

SHOULD FISHERMEN LEARN LATIN?

In the *Evening News* broadcast on Croatian Television on January 12, 2011, a report was shown about fishermen who “must learn Latin.” Journalists immediately sided with the fishermen, suggesting that this was yet another piece of nonsense imposed by Europe. But is that really the case? It is not our place to say how this issue should be resolved – if there is anything here that needs resolving in the first place – since the problems of Adriatic fishermen clearly originate somewhere else. However, one thing is certain: we should not prematurely and uncritically condemn everything “imposed on us by Europe.”

While working on his monograph on Adriatic fauna, V. Vinja recorded around 2,800 names for just over 200 marine organisms across 175 Adriatic locations. It is clear that every (fishing) community has its own folk terminology, which never fully corresponds to that used by another community – not even if the two are close neighbors. Local folk terminology is often seen as part of a unique identity. Anyone looking to pick a fight in a discussion about fish need only insist that a fish should be called by the “correct” name – the one used in their own village. From our (fishing) experience, we know that, for example, *Dicentrarchus labrax* is called *agač*, *jagač*, *dut*, *smudut*, *lubin*, *spigola*, and *brancin* at different locations along the Adriatic. However, when this fish makes its way to the European (shared) market, it needs a uniform name (at least for administrative purposes) that will be used in Italy, France, or Spain. Though not at the fish market itself! Since this cannot be done using heterogeneous local designations, the only solution, which would ensure clear identification, is to establish uniform designations for all – these are the so-called *systematic designations*, which are always in Latin. Even fishermen from major fishing nations have not studied Latin, yet that has not prevented them from building powerful fishing industries. When *agač*, *sipa*, and *zubatac* “become” *Dicentrarchus labrax*, *Sepia officinalis*, and *Dentex dentex*, they will also become equal partners in the European fish markets. Given that the number of species, especially those destined for the EU market, is relatively small, learning a few Latin terms will not pose an insurmountable challenge for Croatian fishermen – especially since it is unlikely they will even be required to do so.

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best confirmed in toponymic forms. However, their frequency in the corpus is not a result of the industrial significance of fish (*srdela*, ‘sardine,’ as far as we know, is not recorded in Adriatic toponymy at all) but rather of the perception of the name-givers (fishermen). There are far more toponyms based on names of fish species that live in schools, near the coast, and in shallow waters; in other words, those that are easier to perceive.

Such toponyms include *Gavunišće*, *Ušatišće*, *Kantarišće*, *Kantarač*, *Sapar*, and *Saparice*⁴. No highly valued fish that lives in deep waters and mostly alone has ever inspired the name of a toponym.

6.1.1.8. Winds (and Cardinal Directions)

Toponyms derived from wind designations, i.e., *anemonyms*, from the Greek *anemos*, ‘wind, gale,’ are very common and can be found both on land and at sea. However, such toponyms appear to be more common at sea and on islands, certainly due to the crucial role of wind in fishing and navigation. Since cardinal directions are often named using wind designations, it is sometimes difficult to determine which came first – the name for the wind or the name for the direction. Examples of such toponyms include *Punta Oštro*, where *oštro* comes from *auster* (a southerly wind, rather than *oštar*, ‘sharp’). *Burnjača* is the name of a hill, while *Burnji* (*bura* or *bora*, a NE wind), *Južnji* (*jugo* or *sirocco*, a SE wind), *Japašnji* (*japrak*, a SW wind), *Garbinji* (*garbin*, a SW wind), and *Zmorašnji* (a NW wind) are frequent elements in two-part toponymic forms such as *Zmorašnja Punta*, *Južnja Vala*, *Burnji Vrh*, *Gornja Strana*, *Japašnja Ograda...*

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⁴ *Gavun* (sand smelt, *Atherina hepsetus*), *ušata* (saddled seabream, *Oblada melanura*), *kantar* (black seabream, *Spondyliosoma cantharus*), and *sa(l)pa* (salema porgy, *Sarpa salpa*).

6.1.2. *Non-Natural (Artificial) Referents (Artifacts)*

Non-natural referents and the toponymic forms that represent them may certainly not be the most ideal term for the class of toponyms that will be discussed here. On the other hand, this class differs significantly from the one examined above, and, in any future classification of toponyms (especially with regards to motivation), it should not be put in the same category with natural referents. Since the adjective *non-natural* is ambiguous, for this field, we propose the term **artifact**, even though it is already “occupied” by other scholarly fields. Nevertheless, this fact should not diminish its value for use in this context. Many disciplines use homonymous terms, each of which, within its own field, designates what is agreed upon through a “terminological convention.” The nonexistence of a well-developed terminology in toponymy and related fields is a significant issue within this linguistic discipline, particularly, as we will later see, in the part that refers to the coastal, island, sea, and underwater zones. Late-established disciplines and scholarly fields have not claimed their place in “terminological distribution,” and, consequently, when developing their own terminological systems, they regularly encounter already “occupied” areas. The result is a type of terminological homonymy (one form for several different contents), which, in principle, is not a major issue.

The named contents (non-natural referents, artifacts) that have emerged as a result of organized social life are inherently very complex and not easy to classify unambiguously. On the other hand, such referents often build upon earlier natural naming processes, which raises the question of the purpose and objective of such classification. *Rijeka* is both a natural referent (a watercourse) and an artifact (an oikonym, the name of a city). *Silba* is a hylonym (*selve*, ‘forest’), a nesonym (the name of an island), and an oikonym (the name of a settlement). This group of toponyms is so vast and so important! It, *de facto*, includes all names for man-made and man-named referents. In many ways, it is more frequent in toponomastic communication than the group designating natural configurations because, as it is only logical – especially in the decades following the mass abandonment of nature-related activities – man-made objects and artifacts have become disproportionately more present in interpersonal and media communication.

This group includes the names of cities, villages, and various settlements, as well as streets, squares, roads, and pathways. It also encompasses architectur-

al structures of all kinds, from abandoned ruins, dry-stone walls, and *bunjas* (dry-stone shelters) to ancient aqueducts and amphitheaters.

6.1.2.1. *Natural-Historical and Administrative-Political Units and Communities*

We have named this group **choronyms**, from the Greek *choros*, ‘space, gap, place, section, piece of land.’ This refers to natural and social entities that, in everyday language, we call states, provinces, or regions. However, it could also be applied to (often) arbitrary administrative-political units such as counties, districts, departments, and similar divisions, which have different names from one country to another. It is important to emphasize that these communities are neither villages nor cities (with several, albeit rare, exceptions: *Vatican*, *Hong Kong*, *Singapore*). This category includes toponyms do not fully belong to any of the previously mentioned categories, i.e., they belong to both (they are defined by both natural features and artificial superstructures). Therefore, we will not force them into one specific group. What matters is that we understand what they represent and how we name what they represent.

Choronyms are toponymic forms that identify large areas, and their names, regardless of their initial motivation, do not refer solely – as it has already been said – to artificial referents but also to natural ones. The origins of these names are diverse: *Afri* was originally just one tribe in North Africa; *Europe* was the daughter of the Tyrian king Agenor and the mother of Minos; *Asia* was the land east of the Mediterranean (from the Sumerian *açu*, ‘east’), while *Australia* refers to the southern land (from *australis*, ‘southern’). *America* is the proper name of an Italian explorer... *France* was named after a Germanic tribe, just as *Andalusia*, *Catalonia*, *Lombardy*, or *Burgundy*, while *Normandy* got its name after the settlers coming down from the north. *Albania* is white, just like the English *Albion*, and *Provence* is called *Provence* simply because it was a Roman province.

The names of the inhabitants, such as *Americans*, *Italians*, *Dalmatians*, *Slavonians*, i.e., in Croatian, *Amerikanci*, *Talijani*, *Dalmatinci*, *Slavonci*... in both masculine and feminine genders, in singular and in plural, as well as adjectives referring to these territorial and administrative units, function as ethnics, even though their derivational suffixes differ from those used for ethnics derived from settlement names: *-anin/-ka* (inhabitant of a settlement) as opposed to *-ac/-ka*, *-uz*, *-ez/-uzica*, *-ezica*, *-ar/-arica* (inhabitant of a country). When it comes to adjectives derived from these names, on all levels, both functional and formational,

they behave like ktetics formed as the possessive adjectives for populated places. Although semantically they do not refer to the same types of population and territorial units (as those relate to populated places and settlements), functionally they behave exactly the same as ethnics and ktetics. Past practice has not been entirely consistent. In general, members of ethnic communities (*grosso modo*, states) have been defined by the term **ethnonym** (from the Greek *ethnos*, ‘people’), while the term **ethnic**, at least in when it comes to Croatian linguistic practice, was used for members of regions, provinces, and smaller territorial units. Since ethnic is now in the Croatian context widely accepted for residents of all types of settlements, we propose using **ethnonym** to define inhabitants of all territorial units, from continents and countries to regions and provinces.

As for adjectives referring to a territorial/administrative entity larger than a village or city, there is currently no suitable term. Since the structure of these adjectives is identical, adjectives derived from country, province, and region names could also be defined as ktetics. Therefore, nouns and adjectives derived from choronyms are, respectively, **ethnonyms** for inhabitants of continents, countries, regions, and provinces, and **ktetics** for adjectives derived from the names of countries and other administrative or natural-administrative units.

Some argue that continents, countries, regions, and provinces should not be grouped together since these constitute functionally and politically completely different organizational units, and their relative sizes are, so to speak, incomparable (e.g., compare Asia to Dalmatia). However, using size and (administrative-political) organization as criteria would lead to chaos. Each group would require its own specialized terms, which is linguistically “unsustainable.” If we compare countries with vastly different territorial sizes, such as Andorra or Malta on the one side and Russia or Canada on the other, it becomes evident that size should be dismissed as a criterion, especially when the linguistic procedure of forming ethnics and ktetics shows that size is completely irrelevant, especially since the same rules apply across all communities: *Azijac*, *Afrikanac* (continent), *Britanac*, *Portugalac* (country), *Provansalac*, *Slavonac* (province).

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6.1.2.2. *Populated Places*

Toponyms for populated places are called ***oikonoms***, from the Greek *oikos*, ‘house, dwelling.’ In many cases, as already mentioned, these toponyms – unless they are the result of imposed, administrative naming processes (Alexander, Augustus, Stalin, Tito...) – have inherited their toponymic form from a toponym that already existed at the time of their formation and naming and was, in principle, motivated by something in nature. Examples of such oikonoms include *Dubrovnik* (‘oak’), *Split* (‘weaver’s broom’), *Jezera* (‘pools or ponds’), *Rijeka* (‘watercourse’), *Orlec* (‘eagle’), *Valun*, *Luka*, *Zaton*, *Drage* (‘bays, coves’), etc. As can be seen, many oikonoms were originally hydronyms, phytonyms, anthroponyms, or onyms from some other semantic category.

Alongside anthroponyms, oikonoms are undoubtedly the most widespread and, in everyday life, the most important onomastic class. It is no coincidence that all official documents used to establish our identity begin with *name*, *surname*, *date*, and *place of birth*. Moreover, oikonoms are the class that sparks most curiosity among the bearers of personal names, who often wish to understand the reasoning behind these naming processes. Given their frequency and importance in everyday life, oikonoms deserve an entire book, but that will have to be left for some other occasion.

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6.1.2.3. *Sacred and Similar Structures*

Hagionyms, from the Greek *hagios*, ‘holy, sacred,’ are a special type of *oikonoms* that contains the name of a saint, serving as the patron of a settlement, town, or religious structure. Such names were more common in Croatia in the early stages of settlement, while in the second half of the 20th century, for ideo-

logical reasons, many of these were forcibly altered by removing the prefix *svet* ('saint') from the name (e.g., *Filipjakov* for *Sveti Filip i Jakov*, *Katarina* for *Sveta Katarina*, *Grgur* for *Sveti Grgur*, *Začretje* for *Sveti Križ Začretje*). In European countries, such names are commonly found in France, Italy, and Spain – powerful Catholic countries at the time settlements were established. In France, for example, names like *Saint-Pierre* and *Saint-Martin* appear hundreds of times; therefore, for the sake of distinction, each is accompanied by a descriptor, most often including the designation *de*: *Saint-Martin de Bossenay*, ~ *de Ré*, ~ *d'Hères*, ~ *de Valamas*... In Croatian oikonymy, most such settlements can be found along the coast, many in the Zadar region: *Sukošan*, *Sutomiščica*, *Sveti Filip i Jakov*, and *Sveti Petar* (formerly *Krmčina*). An interesting aspect of this field is that hagionyms often preserve saint names in forms that, due to linguistic transformations or rarity of use, are difficult to recognize today: *Sučidar* (Izidor, 'Isidore'), *Sutvara* (Barbara), *Stobreč* (Lovre, 'Lawrence'), *Supokrač* (Pankracije, 'Pancras'), *Sutulja* (Ilija, 'Elijah'), *Stomorska* (Marija, 'Mary'), etc.

Some toponomasticians (Šimunović and Putanec) distinguish between the names of gods and the names of saints and propose the term *theonym* for the former, from the Greek *theos*, 'god.' Even though Christianity is a monotheistic religion, it has left a significant mark in this field as well. However, the names of pagan deities from Slavic and other mythologies (*Perun*, *Mokoš*, *Veles*, *Athena*, *Apollo*, *Mars*, *Venus*...) have many more attestations in toponymy, which makes this division justifiable, especially for scholars who wish to dedicate their research to this semantic field.

Toponyms from the religious paradigm, which, however, are not based on the names of saints or deities, such as *Crkva/Crikva* ('church'), *Grobišće/Cimatorij/Kapošanat* ('grave, cemetery'), *Mostir/Moster* ('monastery'), *Kapelica/Kapela* ('chapel'), *Kampane(l)*, *Zvonarica* ('belltower, belfry'), *Križ* ('cross'), *Oltar* ('altar'), etc., cannot be classified as hagionyms. However, these referents are immensely important cultural and navigational points, richly attested in toponymic forms, so they also require a special terminological designation (which could be very useful in specific analyses of referents within this paradigm). Given the heterogeneity of this category, no single term can reliably encompass all types of objects and structures; therefore, a "consensus" will need to be reached so that the suggested term, if used, includes all objects of religious and religion-adjacent content. We are, therefore, proposing the term *hi-*

eronym, from the Greek *hieron*, ‘sacred thing,’ despite the fact that it is already “occupied” in other terminologies. Even without “terminological consensus,” it appears to best cover the semantic scope discussed here. For this field, or at least one of its segments, other scholars also suggest the term **ecclesionym**, from the Greek *ekklesia*, ‘assembly,’ and later ‘church’ (both a religious community and a place of worship).

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6.1.2.4. Parts of Settlements

A particular group within this broad field consists of toponyms whose content is part of a larger urban area, usually a neighborhood or a street. Such toponyms are called **hodonyms**, from the Greek *hodos*, ‘street.’ The motivation behind their naming processes varies. Typically, they are derived from anthroponyms, as streets are commonly named after distinguished individuals. However, this identification is inherently arbitrary and subject to change – that is, renaming. After all, honored individuals are a fickle category! For their neighborhoods, and even streets, residents most often use names inherited from their ancestors, paying little attention to the current naming conventions. The example of Zadar shows that official names do not always match “popular” ones, and that the latter tend to “stand” longer than the official ones, even when the official street names are assigned by a democratically elected government. *Kalelarga* was not beaten by *Široka ulica*, *Melada* and *Kampo Kaštelo* remained unchanged, as did *Pet Nebodera*, *Kod Gostionice Vere*, *Bulevar*, and *Sfinga*. Hodonymy is one of the rare toponomastic fields whose mechanisms,

alongside spontaneous naming, also include imposed naming practices. The latter, by its model, is closer to anthroponomastics and the naming of people, where personal names are assigned following a pre-established process – through birthright (surnames), new naming (given names), or mostly spontaneous naming practices (nicknames).

The naming processes in colonized areas deserve special attention – and separate study – as they significantly differ from spontaneous naming. Even though the names of many U.S. states, for example, come from Native American languages (*Iowa, Connecticut, Utah, Illinois, Dakota...*), countless cities and territories were named by transferring the oikonym of the settlers' village or city in Europe, often, though not necessarily, with the addition of the adjective *new*. This procedure can also be detected in Croatian toponymy, particularly when it comes to names of towns and cities with the determinant *novi/stari* ('new/old') and the reasons that led to such naming processes, which are regularly historical. Just as intriguing are the cases of "colonized" small islands, where names were transferred from their irradiation onomastic centers. One such example is the Kornati archipelago, where many islands and localities bear names that can be found in the zones of linguistic and toponomastic irradiation: *Murter, Betina, Sali, and Zaglav*.

BY VERA'S TAVERN

In the early 1980s, when I lived in Melada – a neighborhood no one called by that name – I often had to answer the question of where I lived. And my answer could not have been straightforward and unequivocal, without some additional description and explanation. As is often the case, official hodonyms are best known by newcomers, who navigate by reading street names on corner signs; in other words, by people who are not rooted in the "traditional nomenclature." Therefore, I would give one answer to the newcomers and another to the Zadar "natives." Interestingly, it was easier with the former than with the latter. To the newcomers, I would say: *I live on Ive Senjanina Street in Melada*, followed by an explanation or description. But to the natives, the long-time city dwellers, after *Melada*, I would immediately add: *By Vera's Tavern (Kod Gostionice Vere)*.

Since antiquity, taverns and inns have been important reference points in space, and some have endured in toponymy to this day. But that's not the point of this story! The toponomastic story here says that this tavern closed more than twenty years ago, and, for a short time after that, a shop operated in the same space. I do not know if there is any public establishment there today. In the meantime, I moved from *Melada* to a new neighborhood which, incidentally, still lacks a widely accepted name. So once again, I

have to explain where I live, because my official address is not familiar to anyone. Luckily, most people know of the nearby *Veslački klub* (Rowing Club).

Even today, when I happen to talk about my former place of residence, I cannot simply explain where it was by giving the address. Instead, I return to my old toponomastic refuge – Vera’s Tavern. And, even though it has been gone for years, it still loyally preserves the identity of the place where I lived, better and more firmly than the official name. It has become a true toponym!

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6.1.2.5. People’s Names in Toponyms

As previously mentioned, this field is studied by a specific branch of onomastics – anthroponomastics. However, personal names, surnames, nicknames, and diminutives are also richly attested in toponymy, especially in the part that many mistakenly refer to as microtoponymy. This area of study focuses on naming small (lesser known) referents: plots of land, sections of fields or pastures, underwater elevations, coastal installations, wells, gathering places in settlements, etc. Even though one of the largest referents in the world is named after a personal name (*America*), along with names of numerous countries such as *Colombia*, *Bolivia*, and *Washington*, this class of toponyms is often marginalized. When it comes to their word formation structure, toponyms of anthroponymic origin – **anthropotonyms**, from the Greek *anthropos*, ‘human being, person,’ *topos*, ‘place,’ and *onoma*, ‘name’ – are most commonly organized as multi-word phrases – *Petrovo Polje*, *Kosovo Polje*, *Gverinov Mul*, *Magazînova Škrila...* – that follow a “standard” formation pattern (*possessive adjective + noun*) or an older formula with the possessive genitive: *Babića Vrh*, *Dina Mulić*, *Ljuba Staro Polje...* Many of these toponyms underwent the process of univerbalization and substantivization, resulting in single-word names, such as – on the islands in the Zadar archipelago – *Barićevac* (hill), *Blasićovi*

(farm), *Čavonjine* (fields), *Dobrinj* (hill), *Kuzminac* (hill), *Lorincovica* (land), *Markotin* (hill), *Porovac* (a village near Mali Iž), *Prvanj* (hill), *Suvčeno* (ruin), and countless others.

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6.1.2.6. Exonyms

An *exonym*, from the Greek *exo*, ‘outside, external,’ is a proper name borrowed from a foreign language. The adaptation of unfamiliar forms into a new linguistic system is not limited only to toponomastics. During the Renaissance, many individuals voluntarily Latinized their own names. This practice of modifying proper names continues to this day – whether due to coercion (occupation) or personal choice. While we do not necessarily endorse such practices, we need to understand those who seek to assert their identity and actions by translating or adapting their personal names into a foreign language (most often English). What was allowed to some (in principle, the old and the famous) should also be granted to others (the contemporaries and the trendy).

However, our focus lies on toponomastic practices and the challenges associated with exonyms. Essentially, exonyms are onyms transferred from one linguistic system to another. Even before the era of mass communication and rapid information exchange, there was a need to adapt (or translate) foreign names, especially those transferred into so-called major languages, into new morphological systems. To be fair, such opportunities were not missed by the “small” languages either. When it comes to toponymy, such transformations were most felt in the categories of choronyms and oikonyms.

From a purely onomastic perspective, it is entirely irrelevant whether a city is called *Wien* (*Vienna*) or *Beč*, *Požun* or *Bratislava*, *Zadar* or *Zara*. Both forms identify the same reality, clearly known to the linguistic community that participates in it. However, the issue is not of purely onomastic nature. On oc-

casation when it delves deep into the area of national pride or even political provocation, exonyms become a particularly sensitive issue for those who have lived under foreign rule. Sometimes, of course, these concerns are exaggerated, as numerous examples clearly show that “what they do to us,” “we also do to them.” This is particularly evident in the delicate terrain of Italian-South Slavic relations: just as Italians use *Capodistria*, *Fiume*, *Zara*, *Sebenico*, *Spalato* (for Koper, Rijeka, Zadar, Šibenik, Split, respectively), Slovenes and Croats use *Oglej*, *Trviž*, *Trst*, *Rim*, *Napulj* (for Aquileia, Treviso, Trieste, Roma, Napoli). Both the Italianized forms for Slavic cities and the Slavic forms for Italian cities are deeply rooted in tradition and they cannot be simply labeled as one-sided Italianization or Slovenization/Croatization. Nonetheless, in certain contexts, they can be highly provocative. On the sensitivity scale, not all forms carry the same weight: *Zagabria* (Zagreb) will never be as controversial as *Eso* (Iž) or *Arbe* (Rab), which are associated with sites of Italian fascist terror, just as *Rim* (Roma) will never be as problematic as *Trst* (Trieste), due to the well-known slogan “Trst je naš!” – *Trieste is ours!*

In its most recent editions, the *Grand Larousse Encyclopédique* has adopted the practice of listing the accepted toponymic form in both French and the original form as attested in the source language (although, in the case of Croatian toponyms, this sometimes means using the Italian forms). It appears that such or similar criteria for adopting foreign toponymic forms into our system should also be introduced in Croatia. However, at the moment, there seems to be no willingness to implement this practice or to present it to the media and the public in the form of a handbook.

Today, thanks to the power of the media, we are constantly exposed to new toponyms and anthroponyms that we had never heard before, adopting them as they are presented to us. Rarely do we see these toponymic forms in their original writing. The discrepancy in pronunciation is perhaps most evident in French examples, where *Le Havre* is not pronounced /lavre/ but /lə avʁə/, *Auxerre* is not /okser/ but /osɛʁ/, *Metz* is not /mec/ but /mɛs/; needless to say, the same is true (if not even more evident) for African, Caucasian, or East Asian toponyms and personal names.

Tolerance and mutual understanding are necessary in this matter – but to what extent? We can observe firsthand that even a minimally literate speaker of Croatian will instinctively pronounce *Alicante* as [alikante], even if they

have probably never heard of the city and even though the grapheme *c* in their native language is always pronounced as [ts]. Conversely, even a highly educated Spanish speaker will almost always pronounce *Sarajevo* as [saraxevo], even if they have visited the city and even though they can easily produce the phoneme /j/, because a similar phoneme exists in their native language. In a well-intentioned effort to raise awareness about the horrors of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a renowned Spanish singer-songwriter wrote a song about *Srebrenica*; yet, during his performance, he mispronounced it as [sre-bre'nika] at least two dozen times.

Dealing with ethnics and ktetics derived from foreign oikonyms is yet another challenge: while Croatian generally has “its own solutions” for the already accepted and well-known referents (*Parižanin* – *pariški*, *Rimljanin* – *rimski*, *Venecijanac* – *venecijanski*, for Paris, Rome, and Venice, respectively; or older forms such as *Mleci* – *mletački*, *Berlin* – *berlinski*, for Venice and Berlin), the issue with less familiar and rarely used foreign ethnics and ktetics is mostly resolved at the syntactic level: by avoiding true ethnics and ktetics, opting for descriptives, or integrating the form into a nominal declension paradigm (stanovnici *Bordeauxa*, *Metza*, *Freiburga* – inhabitants of *Bordeaux*, *Metz*, *Freiburg*; slike iz *Osla*, *Poitiersa*, *Lausanne* – pictures from *Oslo*, *Poitiers*, *Lausanne*, etc.).

NAMES OF ADRIATIC CITIES ON THE IPHONE

Among its various features, the iPhone offers a weather forecast, including precipitation and temperature predictions for the coming week. All one must do is enter the name of a city, which will appear on the screen, provided, of course, that it exists in the database of recognized locations. What seems less relevant to our discussion here is the fact that some Adriatic cities, such as *Pula* and *Poreč*, are not included in this database. Of all the major Croatian islands with a city, only *Vis* appears in the system.

When, following Croatian onomasticians' efforts to establish a national body for monitoring onomastic issues, we raised the question of the organized representation and use of Croatian onyms at the first *Conference on Geographical Names*, we were also thinking about cases like the one we will briefly discuss here: an example of how information is transmitted through modern mobile devices. The creators of the iPhone's database, specifically in the case of weather forecasts, clearly do not retrieve their data from Croatian sources. If they were, then entering *Vis* would not bring up *Lissa*, *Zadar*: *Zara*, *Šibenik*: *Sebenico*, and *Rijeka*: *Sankt Veit am Flaum*. This seems provocative, particularly in the cases of *Zadar* and *Rijeka*, given that other Adriatic cities appear correctly in their Croatian forms: *Rovinj* (not *Rovigno*), *Split* (not *Spalato*), *Dubrovnik* (not *Ragusa*).

Similar or identical issues arise in other digital systems, particularly cartographic. We are not paranoid; we do not know how large systems compile their databases. In fact, we are convinced that this is not the result of conspiracies of any kind, or territorial “pre-tensions.” If that were the case, all Adriatic cities would be Italianized. What is happening on the iPhone is not something new in Croatia. The problem is ours, not theirs! We fail to take care of ourselves, of our own identity and dignity. Instead, we blame others without asking ourselves whether we have done our part. When we take responsibility and fulfill our duty, *Lissa* will become *Vis*, and *Zara* will be *Zadar*!

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Here, it is important to reiterate that Croatian ethnics and ktetics derived from the deeper substratum of a toponymic form, including those that have been heavily influenced by foreign languages in the past, can be analyzed as native words. This is because their linguistic identity is not based on an alloglottic lexeme but on an idioglottic morpheme. For example, while we know that the names *Pašman*, *Mljet*, and *Vis* etymologically belong to alloglottic languages, their ethnics and ktetics belong to Croatian linguistic formation.

6.2. The Underwater World, Sea, Coast, and Islands

Linguistic interest in the sea, coast, islands, and the underwater world in our country is, generally speaking, insufficient – especially in terms of onomastic and toponomastic research. There are many reasons for this, however, we will leave them for some other occasion. The place these geographical contents occupy in toponomastic studies is best illustrated by the fact that, when it comes to marine configurations, scholarly terminology operates with a single term. That term is *nesonym* (from the Greek *nesos*, ‘island’). In *Istočnojadranska toponimija* (Eastern Adriatic Toponymy), P. Šimunović mentions the term *thalassonyms* (from the Greek *thalassa*, ‘sea’), while V. Vinja introduced the term

thalassozonym (thalassa + *zoon*, ‘marine creature’), albeit not in toponomastic terminology, which covers *ichthyonyms* (fish), *malaconyms* (mollusks), and *carcinonyms* (crustaceans). Until recently, in Adriatic toponomastics, there had not been a single research paper dedicated solely to underwater toponyms.

Therefore, this issue needs to be addressed and elaborated upon. In short, our position is that this gap should be filled with new terms for marine, underwater, and coastal configurations, as they are the reality of our geographical position and – when it comes to toponomastics – our linguistic position in the Mediterranean. The issue of what was once called *Adriatic orientation* is often discussed at various levels and in various venues. It is incredible but true that a country with such a long maritime tradition and a well-established relationship with the sea could find itself in a situation where it must speak of an orientation towards the sea! Unfortunately, this is the case!

Despite significant efforts, especially since Croatia gained independence, to change this, there are entire fields, in scholarly as well as social domains, that have not been given proper attention. One such field is onomastic terminology. While everything on land is generally well documented and classified, with adequate terms distributed and attributed to specific fields, when it comes to the sea, the situation is quite different. Due to this terminological gap, we have prepared a proposal, which has so far been only briefly presented to the academic community (in an extensive note in *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka* (Toponymy of the Outer and Central Chains of the Zadar Islands) and in lectures at postgraduate studies). Which coastal, island, and underwater configurations are not covered by toponomastic terminology, and which terms derived from Greek – following the traditional approach – would be suitable here?

Many consider the introduction of terms that are not well-established in a particular field to be a form of violence. And justifiably so. However, the real question is: why are they missing? Is it because they are not necessary, or perhaps because these fields have not been sufficiently and adequately studied so there was no need for such terminology to be developed?

6.2.1. *Seas and Oceans*

Thalassonym, from the Greek *thalassa*, ‘sea,’ is a term that, like other terms from the marine paradigm, has rarely been used in toponomastic studies. It should refer to the names of seas and oceans (*the Adriatic, the Ionian, the Tyrrhenian, the Atlantic, the Indian Ocean...*). We find this term suitable and therefore propose it for this semantic field. What applies to seas should also apply to oceans, given that the only difference between the two is their size. *Pelagonym* is another term for the same configurations that would be just as suitable, especially considering its semantic content in Greek. However, for now, we will stick with the first suggestion.

6.2.2. *Islands*

As already mentioned, *nesonym*, from the Greek *nesos*, ‘island,’ is the only term from the “marine” terminology so far in use. In the archipelago of 1,246 islands, nesonyms simply must occupy an important place. The oldest linguistic forms in Adriatic nesonymy come from the deepest linguistic layers. The name of almost every large and populated Croatian island, as well as many smaller ones, originates from the pre-Roman layer: either from Greek or some other Indo-European language (Histrian, Liburnian, Illyrian). Because of this, the etymologies of many islands remain subjects of debate, despite the brilliant foundations laid by P. Skok in his frequently mentioned monograph. The names of smaller and less significant islands are of more recent linguistic origin and were given by later name-givers: Romans, autochthonous Dalmatian and Istrian Romance population, Croats, and Venetians.

Beyond this, there are many other regularities in the formation of Adriatic nesonyms, such as: the significance of the referent (island) and the linguistic structure of its name; the importance of the referent and the grammatical gender of the nesonym; the influence of the direction of the coastline and islands on the linguistic structure of the name, etc. When it comes to nesonyms, it should be said that Croatia holds a unique onomastic position in the Mediterranean. Due to the large number of islands, only Croats and Greeks have been able to construct something that could be considered a system in Mediterrane-

an nesonymy. Other coastal peoples simply do not have a sufficiently extensive corpus of nesonyms.

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6.2.3. Coastline

The term *paralionym*, from the Greek *paralia*, ‘coast, beach, seashore’ should denote those areas and objects on the coast that are neither promontories, coves, nor passages, but rather configurations or objects on the coastline itself (a prominent rock, depression, soil of different color, cave, fissure, breccia, etc.). It is neither an exaggeration nor an act of terminological violence to seek a specific term for these configurations. The coastline is such an important part of fishing, maritime, and even island and coastal farming reality, that it could not have gone without attestations in toponymy. The sheer number of toponymic forms from this geographical zone compels us to identify a term that could encompass all configurations on the coast and in the sea, directly adjacent to the shore. Although we previously proposed the term *litionym*, from the Greek *lithos*, ‘stone,’ for this part of the coast – believing it to be the best, albeit not ideal, choice at the time – further research and the guidance of M. Lončar from the Department of Classical Philology, who supervised the selection of terms from Greek, led us to this change, which, we believe, is justified as *paralionym* best fits the semantic field in question.

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6.2.4. *Promontories*

As is well known, the term *acronyms*, from the Greek *akron* ‘peak, cape, headland,’ is already “occupied.” It denotes a prominent peak (*Acropolis, Acrocorinth*) and, in enigmatology, it refers to a word formed from the initial letters of a longer name (e.g., NATO). However, this lexeme (*akron*) was also used to mark almost every cape on ancient Greek nautical charts. The homophonic form from the general lexicon does not pose any real threat to a specialized term. Similar cases exist in other fields as well. Promontories are extremely important landmarks in navigation and fishing. Even the smallest among them bears its own unique name. Among all toponomastic words that appear in compound toponymic forms on the Zadar islands, the most frequently used is *punta* (360 times), which has replaced the older *arat*. Some capes have even gained global fame: *Trafalgar, the Cape of Good Hope, Cape Horn, Matapan, Finisterre, Planka (Diomedes’ Cape)*... Croatian capes are also exceptionally well known, especially among the nautical community: *Savudrija, Porer, Punta Križa, Punta Bijanka, Veli Rat, Opat, Punta Planka, Pelegrin, Punta Gruje, Punta Oštro*, etc.

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6.2.5. *Bays*

Hormonyms, from the Greek *hormos* ‘harbor, anchorage.’ The importance of bays in the maritime and naming traditions of a country with such a long coastline as Croatia goes without saying. However, despite this, no specialized onomastic term has been in use for this important field until now. In Modern Greek, in addition to *hormos*, the term *kolpos* is also used, primarily for larger bays (*kulaf* in Dalmatia, *golf* and similar variations in other European languages). The importance of this geographical configuration is evidenced in the large number of lexemes used to denote the semantic concept of a bay, many of which have also become toponymic forms: *bok, draga, garma, jaz, luka, mandrač, porat, vala, zaljev, žal...*

6.2.6. *Sea Passages*

Diaplonyms, from the Greek *diaplous*, ‘sailing course, passage.’ Due to numerous islands, the Adriatic is home to many words that describe this geographical configuration. In addition to the most common standard term *kanal* (‘channel’) and its dialectal variant *kona(l)*, there are also *boka*, *tražet*, *vrata*, *stret*, *šret*, *tisno*, and *tesno*. However, the Greek form *diaplous* is also well-documented, appearing in toponymic forms such as *Žaplo* as many as three times. Additionally, some well-known passages in the Adriatic acquired their names early on and therefore bear old and difficult-to-interpret names, such as *Proversa*, *Maknare*, *Kvarner*...

6.2.7. *Seabed*

Bentonyms, from the Greek *benthos*, ‘sea depth.’ As already mentioned, this field has not yet been explored, let alone systematically studied. Anyone even slightly familiar with fishing and navigation understands the immense importance of variations in the depth of the seabed. In Croatian toponymy, we find numerous lexemes describing such underwater conditions. These lexemes often become toponymized, either on their own or in combination with one or more others. These include *sika*, *greda*, *vabis*, *mela*, *linga/lenga*, etc. Among them, *brak* has the most linguistic attestations along the Adriatic. A possible term for this configuration could also be *submarine oronym*. However, since terms of this structure are generally uncommon and oronym has already been used for land elevations, we propose the term *bentonym* for maritime use. The term refers to the seabed but does not necessarily indicate an underwater elevation. It can also denote some other distinctive seabed feature that motivated the formation of the name (sand: *Bijarka*, *Sabuni*; seaweed: *Alig*; abrupt depth changes: *Prag*, *Kadija*, *Greda*, *Vabis*; gradual depth changes: *Mela*, *Lenga*; fish habitats, holes: *Sargera*, *Konjera*, *Gružina*; underwater locations where fish schools gather: *Kantarišće*, *Ušatišće*, *Gavunišće*).

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7. Methodology of the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research

Chapter 2.3. *Adriatic Toponomasticians* offers a brief overview of the history of toponomastic research in the Adriatic and lists the most important researchers who have contributed to or continue to contribute to this field. This development of the Adriatic toponomastic research can be divided into three major stages, both temporally and methodologically. The first stage was represented by Skok, the second by Jurišić, Finka, and Šojat, and the third by Petar Šimunović. Each of these periods was marked by characteristic innovations in field research methods.

The fourth stage in the development of Adriatic toponomastic research methodology consists of the method and work developed by the author of this primer and his collaborators. Before delving deeper, it is important to note that the methodological approach to be discussed was inspired by Vojmir Vinja (1921–2007). A great linguist and scholar, educated in the linguistic schools of the 19th century and a promoter of new ideas in the 20th century, Vinja easily persuaded his former student, who was also emotionally attached to the sea, islands, and coast, to embrace the principles of what was – essentially – his own methodological approach. It is not unimportant that, at the time, Vinja was close to completing his magnum opus – a monograph on Adriatic fauna, comprised of the data he had collected over many years at a total of, as it turned out in the end, 175 Adriatic locations. At the center of Vinja's method was the idea that fish names cannot be linguistically analyzed or etymologically interpreted without a thorough knowledge of the referent – in this case, the marine organism itself. It was established that what applies to fish applies,

mutatis mutandis, to toponyms as well.

The first result of such approach was the monograph on the toponymy of the Kornati islands (1987), which was essentially more of a data compilation than a true monograph. The second was *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka* (Toponymy of the Outer and Central Chains of the Zadar Islands, 1996).

Although not directly related to the method, it is necessary to explain why Vinja placed such importance on fieldwork. He operated on the principle that the lexical and onomastic material of the Adriatic, given the many historical changes that have occurred along our coast and islands, preserves a linguistic treasure of immeasurable value (and importance). He emphasized that data collection could not be conducted from an office, without a full understanding of both the linguistic and non-linguistic facts of the studied area. Finally, he argued that no one other than us, Croatian linguists, could carry out this work. Guided by these “instructions,” we sought to find a permanent and systematic solution for conducting onomastic research in the Adriatic. In June 2003, the author of this primer, with the support of colleagues and the administration of the University of Zadar, successfully founded *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*.

The method introduced by the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research* could be considered the fifth stage in the development of Adriatic toponomastic research methodology. The details of this approach – from conducting surveys to publishing monographs – will be discussed further. What is entirely new in this approach to Adriatic toponomastic research is the attention the Center’s faculty places on the comprehensiveness of descriptions, both of individual referents and of entire units – such as, for example, a single island. Most studies before P. Šimunović primarily dealt with the outer edges of coastal and island zones. Ventures into the island interior were rare and almost nonexistent. Given the circumstances and methods researchers employed in the past, this is somewhat understandable, even though it needs to be noted – based on fieldwork experience, at least – that collecting, listing, and systematizing data from island interiors is significantly more complex than the research conducted along the coast.

Another distinctive feature of our approach is that the monographs on Adriatic islands published by the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research* include

contributions from a large number of researchers who are not directly dealing with language yet without whom the understanding of referent naming would be incomplete. These primarily include geographers, cartographers, historians, and art historians, as well as other scholars and researchers. A particularly important place in this new approach is reserved for the historical documentation found in legal records, which, by their very nature, are rich in toponymic forms. Their ubication is not always straightforward, and establishing a connection to contemporary toponyms is not always reliable. However, the forms in which they appear often help language historians not only link forgotten names with new toponymic forms but also trace linguistic processes characteristic of the area, whether these phenomena are inherent to the given local idiom or the result of contact with other languages.

As previously mentioned, toponomastics is a young linguistic discipline, and in some linguistic traditions (such as French), it is even considered an independent field of study. Regardless of the criteria used to define a discipline (or independent field of study), it is unquestionable that toponomastics has its own distinct objectives, subject matter, and research methodology. Whether or not it overlaps with other fields and scholarly disciplines (as explained in the first section) is of little significance. It is, in fact, inevitable. After all, if there is a linguistic discipline whose research fields and methods overlap with other linguistic disciplines, it is undoubtedly onomastics, and consequently, its sub-field, toponomastics.

The naming and the existence of toponyms have been known since the earliest written documents. The Bible, archives, maps, land registers, periploi, itineraries, and portolanos are filled with toponomastic content. However, the interpretation and systematization of this content began relatively late and is still in the process of being fully defined. The modern approach to toponomastics is inseparable from linguistic insights developed by linguistic schools of the first half of the 20th century, from the understanding of language as a system operating at all levels, including the toponomastic level, to the interpretation of a toponymic sign as a specific linguistic entity. In conclusion, reliable toponomastic research cannot be conducted outside the physical space where linguistic processes take place. Additionally, toponomastic research cannot be conducted in isolation, without considering the entirety of linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena associated with the name.

The first principle of this approach is the establishment of a relevant toponymic corpus.

7.1. Corpus

7.1.1. Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms

The corpus of toponyms belonging to a specific geographical and linguistic area is essentially the ideal number of toponymic units that can be collected within it through a certain procedure. For practical reasons and easier understanding, we will take a single inhabited island as an example of this geographical area. In terms of describing the workings of this method, an island has the advantage of being seen as a spatial whole, and its boundaries do not need to be determined by any criteria other than natural ones. Of course, exceptionally large, inhabited islands in essence function like mainland areas, and they require specific criteria. Another facilitating factor in studying smaller inhabited islands, as is often the case in Croatia, is that they are generally linguistically homogeneous.

When we refer to the ideal number of toponymic units, we mean the number of linguistic units (toponyms) obtained through a procedure accepted in linguistics and toponomastics. In this particular case, this refers to a linguistic survey conducted among native speakers who are well-acquainted with the area. Such a corpus is gathered with great effort and some luck, so its completeness is often a subject of scrutiny. In reality, experience shows that it is nearly impossible to determine the “final” number of toponyms in any significant spatial unit. There are several reasons for this. One group of reasons is of technical nature. No matter how well the survey is organized and conducted, and no matter how familiar the researchers are with toponomastic methods, there is always a risk that some units will not be introduced into the corpus, or that they will not be recorded with enough precision, or even incorrectly. Interlocutors are living individuals who react differently to the presence of researchers. It often happens that the same individuals provide different information for the same referents during the same survey, or more commonly, that their pronunciation of the same toponymic forms is entirely different. One way to mitigate contradictory data is to conduct surveys with multiple respondents

simultaneously, i.e., whenever this is possible, to repeat the survey with new participants. However, the main limiting factor is, unfortunately, the financial resources available to researchers, which, in practice, means they must collect as much data as possible in the shortest amount of time.

In his monograph on Adriatic fauna, V. Vinja describes fieldwork as follows: *“But, even if the questionnaire itself was not an issue, at every location, there was a problem of finding suitable informants. Despite our efforts to reach the most experienced fishermen, older individuals, in short, to find informants who met all the well-known requirements of linguistic geography and dialectology, we are not allowed to think, let alone claim, that we fully succeeded. Every linguist who has ever conducted field research knows how difficult it is to find such an informant. Not only do luck and chance play a decisive role, but as we have learned from experience, fishermen are very unique people. They are rational, calm, and composed when the subject is not related to their knowledge of the sea, but when it comes to the sea and fishing, each one is certain they know best, and anything said in a neighboring village, or even by the people from their own village, is wrong. On our visits to over one hundred and fifty locations, how many times did we witness heated arguments over the answers to our questions! In the end, it would usually conclude with a derisive shrug and the inevitable opinion that ‘the other guy’ was ignorant or ‘a freshwater fisherman.”* (V. Vinja, 1986, *Jadranska fauna – etimologija i struktura naziva*, I, JAZU/Logos, 9-10)

Regarding linguistic factors that limit a comprehensive inventory of toponyms, it should be noted that while toponymic forms are much more resistant to change and oblivion than standard lexical items, they are still subject to both modification and disappearance. This is particularly characteristic of communities experiencing continuous demographic decline or depopulation. Small, inhabited islands are precisely such places. The loss of interest in referents that once represented the essence of life (crofts, fields, fishing spots, lookout points, water sources...) has triggered forgetfulness. On the other hand, interest in new activities has not only revived some previously forgotten toponymic forms but has also stimulated entirely new and, one might say, unexpected names. Most often, this is prompted by so-called tourism purposes (*Sunčana Uvala*, Sunny Bay; *Zlatni Otok*, Golden Island; *Zlatne Stijene*, Golden Rocks; *Zlatna Školjka*, Golden Shell; *Otok Mladosti*, Youth Island; *Otok Ljubavi*, Love Island...). While demographic regression and oblivion pose a far greater threat to the language

than new naming processes, both are unavoidable factors in the establishment of a corpus and must be considered rational factors in its analysis. Thus, the corpus of toponyms in a given area represents a certain degree of familiarity with the data. An optimal (ideal) corpus moves along the edge of completeness but never fully reaches it.

Neither of these limitations significantly affects the definition of an ideal corpus, given that, as long as it is well-established, such a corpus includes a number of units sufficient for linguistic analysis and for identifying onomastic regularities within the system.

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7.1.2. *Corpus of Historical Toponyms*

When it comes to historically attested toponymic forms, they cannot always be considered toponyms. They are toponyms only when an undeniable connection can be established between the historical toponymic form and its referent. However, this is not always the case with archival and generally historical material. On the contrary, it is very common to find linguistic attestations whose referents cannot be determined with certainty. No one has reliably proven, despite numerous attempts, that Porphyrogenitus' toponymic form *Katautrebena* refers to the islands of Ugljan and Pašman, even though most arguments and methodological procedures point in that direction. Conclusion: *Katautrebena* is not a toponym! It has its attested toponymic form, but it has no reliably confirmed referent. The rigor of this conclusion does not prevent historians and other researchers from speaking of *Katautrebena* as a toponym. However, when onomasticians do so, the matter should be approached differently.

Historical toponomastic material is an invaluable resource for toponomastics and linguistics in general. Historical toponymic forms contain a wealth of information about the language used in naming, as well as about the language in which these forms were recorded. Most often, these languages were not the same. The notaries of Zadar were mostly from the Apennine Peninsula, less frequently Croats. However, neither Croatian nor Romance notaries kept their offices in their own languages, but in Latin. At the same time, they generally did not Latinize Croatian toponymic forms, as sales agreements and deed transfer contracts were too important to allow modifications to toponymic forms. Despite the fact that, for example, Croatian palatal consonants in toponymic forms ending in *-išće* caused many headaches, notaries persistently and systematically recorded them with appropriate graphemes – or those they deemed appropriate – using the Latin alphabet. It was for these reasons that they most likely used Croatian-Latin doublets: *Via siue Cista, Rivus siue Potoch, Villa siue Selo* (road, stream, village, respectively)...

The greatest challenge with historical corpora from a given area lies in the fact that sometimes it is very difficult to determine which referent a specific toponymic form refers to. Given that, as we have already stated, nothing can be considered a toponym unless it precisely identifies a reality in space, historical toponymic forms – for which referents cannot be identified – cannot be considered toponyms either. This is comparable to using foreign or unknown words whose meanings we do not understand. They are absolutely correct in their linguistic form, yet, due to the lack of understanding of their content, they are entirely useless for communication. The notaries themselves were well aware of this issue: they rarely mentioned the name of a locality in question without also listing the names of all the localities surrounding the referent, from all four cardinal directions (*borea, traversa, quirina, auster*), ensuring that the referent's identity could be established with more reliability.

Therefore, many units found in a complete contemporary corpus of toponyms for a certain area will also appear, in the same or, more often, distorted form, in the historical corpus. This provides an opportunity, whenever possible, to isolate a specific toponym in the most reliable way possible.

 HOW ZADAR NOTARIES RECORDED PALATAL PHONEMES

For illustration, this segment offers attestations collected by E. Hilje from documents of the late 14th and early 15th centuries in the Zadar region. Palatal phonemes in Croatian toponyms – and it should be noted that there are only a few Romance toponyms in this corpus, mostly from around the city of Zadar – posed a great challenge for Zadar notaries. However, it should be said that they meticulously recorded what they heard from their clients. Here are examples of some medieval localities: Bičane: *Bicane, Biccina, Biccine, Bicina, Bicine*; St. Chrysogonus' (Sv. Krševan) estate: *Carschieuanschina*; Kobiljaglavici: *Cobiglaglauich, Cobigliaglavich, Cobilaglaua, Cobileglauich, Cobiliča, Cobiliaglauich, Cobillaglauich*; Kokičane: *Cochich, Cochichane, Cochichene, Cochichina, Cochichino*; Čudomirščina (Čudomirić): *Cudomirischina, Cudomisschina, Cuidomerich, Cuidomirich, Cuidomiricha, Čudimerich, Čudomerigh, Čudomirich*; Gladuša: *Gladusa, Gladuse, Gladussa, Gladusse*; Jošane: *Ielasane parue, Ielsana magna, Ielsane, Ielsane magne, Ielsane parue, Ielsanus magne, Ielssane magne, Iesane*; Lemesane and Lemešvo Hrašće: *Lemeskienocraschie, Lemesčane, Lemeseuo hrastie, Lemeseuocrafge, Lemeseuocrasye, Lemeseuohrastie, Lemesseuocraschie, Lemesseuocrascie, Lemeseuocrasse, Lemesseuocrastie, Lemesseuograstie, Lemessevocrassee*; Miljače: *Miglacče, Miglacčica, Miglacecha, Miglačcham, Miglačče, Miglačham, Miglazche, Miglaziche, Migliacčiche, Migliačče, Migliascha, Migliazche, Migliezcha, Migllacih, Milglačiča*; Poličnik (Polišane): *Polisana, Polisane, Polissane, Poliuzane, Pollacischie, Pollissana, Pollissane, Pollixane*, etc.

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7.1.3. Organization and Presentation of a Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms

When it comes to a corpus, its organization and presentation are of utmost importance. In practice, we have encountered exceptionally interesting corpora that were of little or no scholarly use. These were often created by educated individuals unfamiliar with toponomastic methodology. Such corpora consisted of endless lists of toponymic forms, yet it was sometimes unclear which type of referent they represented, let alone how to precisely locate them on a toponomastic map. A contemporary corpus of toponyms for a given area must

correspond with a toponomastic map and an alphabetical index derived from it. This is necessary so that, on the one hand, a clear and unambiguous correspondence between toponymic forms and their referents could be established, and, on the other, so that the corpus could be searched from any point in the system: starting from the *Toponomastic Map*, the *Corpus of Toponyms*, or the *Index of Toponyms*.

If we know the name (the toponymic form), we can find its reference number in the *Index*, and the reference number indicates where it appears in the *corpus* and on the *Toponomastic Map*. Similarly, we can start from the *Toponomastic Map* and trace it back to the *Corpus*. For these procedures to be applied in practice, a *Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms* for a specific area should be structured as follows.

The first step in organizing the *Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms* is to determine the spatial distribution of reference numbers on the *Toponomastic Map*. The arrangement of toponymic units can be arbitrarily chosen by the researcher, but it is recommended that it be logical, easy to follow, and clearly explained. Based on past experience, it has proven practical for reference numbers on the map to increase from one side of the sector to the other. We usually proceeded from the northwest to the southeast, though other approaches are possible.

Each toponymic form entered into the *Corpus* must follow the true geographical logic of the given area. Each version of the *Corpus* consists of several elements.

The first element is a numerical marker assigned to the toponymic form. This number is determined according to the principle chosen by the author of the *Corpus*, even though it can also be assembled without it. Given that corpora are typically large, and maps are small, a numbering system has proven highly practical. The same number is placed on the *Toponomastic Map* at the location corresponding to the given toponymic form.

The second element in the presentation of a toponym is its linguistic form, i.e., its toponymic form, listed – whenever possible and whenever such data exists – with all its grammatical and prosodic manifestations (number, gender, case forms, accentuation). However, if a referent comes from two different toponomastic sources, or for some other reasons, one and the same referent may have several toponymic forms. For example, in the Kornati islands, where

there is no permanent local population, many islands have two or even three different names. Such toponymic forms should be referred to as *variant toponyms* or simply *variants*. On a linguistic level, variants are toponymic forms of equivalent value, and they should be listed as such in the *Index of Toponyms*, each under its own entry, though the number indicating the referent should remain the same (e.g., on Pašman: *Školjić / Mali Garmenjak*, PAD 1.0 – two forms, one referent).

The structure of a toponymic form – whether it consists of a single word or two or more units, whether it is understandable or not – is not important for its presentation. In other words, all toponymic forms, regardless of their structure, origin, or content, are treated equally.

The third element in the presentation of a toponym is the nature of the referent. Knowing what a specific toponymic form identifies is crucial for subsequent semantic and linguistic analysis, as well as for proper classification. The character or nature of a referent can vary widely: water, peak, cape, sea passage, island, settlement, part of a settlement, sacred site, secular building, field, pond or any other water source, cultivated or uncultivated land.... Preferably, the nature of the referent should be summarized in the shortest possible description, ideally a single word: *Lokardenik – peak, Rašip – island, Mela od Vesejuha – shoal, Veli Rat – settlement, Koledišće – gathering place, Kapić – cove...*

The fourth element in the presentation is reserved for a description of the referent. This description can be brief or detailed, depending on the information provided by informants, i.e., the observations made by the researcher in the field. It may even include details that seem unrelated to the referent. The breadth of the description is important because details provided by the informant can reveal the motivation and the origin of a specific name. For instance, if a coastal area is called *Bilave* and an informant says that people used to wash clothes and blankets there, this suggests a clear link between the name and the referent. In another case, where the motivation also stems from the color white, a location might be called *Bijarka* due to its sandy seabed surrounded by dark algae (*aliga*). Similarly, *Beli*, the variant form of the toponymic name for the island of Gustac in the Kornati islands, comes from its exceptionally white headland, which is much brighter than any other in the surrounding area. Using the same method, we can determine why the northwesternmost cape of Dugi Otok is called *Punta Bijanka* and why a cape near

Rogoznica is called *Punta Planka*...

Informants' stories may sometimes lead researchers in the wrong direction or toward the so-called *folk etymology*. However, this does not make them any less valuable! Many folk etymologies have entered various languages and are now a standard part of their lexicon (*choucroute* in French, *monokini* and *trimaran* in many languages). Informants' stories can reveal completely unexpected motivations and processes behind toponymization, and researchers, depending on their expertise and knowledge, must be able to distinguish between what should be included in the description of a particular referent and what should be omitted. Finally, this part of the description also includes a precise timestamp (minute and second) indicating when the recording was made. This ensures that every transcribed form can be verified. Digital records are archived at *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*.

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Illustration of the Presentation of the Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms Using an Example from Sector E in *Toponimija otoka Murtera*

Sector MUE

SECTOR	NO	TOPONYM	SETTLEMENT	REFERENT/DESCRIPTION
MUE	1	Pūnta Māloga Crņikovca	Mu	northwesternmost cape of Murter (O/43:30)
MUE	2	Zadīv	Mu	shoal (J/18:40)
MUE	3	Studenjāk	Mu	elongated cove and the land within it (G/61:40)
MUE	4	Jāmina, Jāmine	Mu	shallow bay and olive groves (G/62:40, 63:10)
MUE	4a	Māli Crņikovac, Gōrnji Crņikovac	Mu	small hill (O/43:30)

SECTOR	No	TOPONYM	SETTLEMENT	REFERENT/DESCRIPTION
MUE	5	Pūnta Vēlikoga Crņikovca	Mu	cape (O/43:30)
MUE	5a	Pod Pūntu	Mu	fishing spot; <i>Tōte se potēzala šabata</i> (The šabata net was drawn here) (L/09:50)
MUE	6	Crņikovac	Mu	peak and surrounding olive groves (G/62:00)
MUE	7	Pod Pūntu	Mu	land by the shore (G/61:20)
MUE	8	Zāvraće, Pūnta Zāvraća	Mu	cape at the exit of the Vīnici passage on the way to the surrounding islands and Kornati; land around the cape (G/62:50)
MUE	9	Kapēlica, Svēti Rōko	Mu	chapel of St. Roch on Pūnta Zāvraća (L/07:44)
MUE	1.0	Jārtica, Māla Jārta	Mu	islet (J/32:00, 33:15)
MUE	1.1	Dōnja Pūnta Jārtice	Mu	southwestern cape of the island of Jārtica (J/33:45)
MUE	1.2	Sazmōrca Jārtice	Mu	fishing spot on the northwestern side of Jārtica (J/31:00)
MUE	1.3	Mājčica, Vāla o Jārtice	Mu	cove and fishing spot; <i>Zvāli su je Mājčica zato što su se tōte rbūni lovili. Ako ne bi dāla ništa, ondā bi bila Māca odnosno Māceha</i> (They called her Little Mother because seabream was caught there. If it gave nothing, then it was Stepmother) (J/31:50)
MUE	1.4	Vřh o Māle Jārte	Mu	peak on Jārtica (J/33:20)
MUE	1.4a	Brāk o Žēčice	FŠ	shoal (Mu)
MUE	1.4b	Herā nad Jārtu	FŠ	(Mu)
MUE	1.5	Odozgōr Jārte	Mu	fishing spot for migavica (a type of fishing net) on the northeastern side of Jārtica (J/30:45)
MUE	1.5a	Tražēt od Jārtice	FŠ	„passage” (Mu)
MUE	1.6	Vřta	Mu	seabed on the southeastern side of Jārtica (L/28:20)
MUE	1.7	Pod Brāk	Mu	fishing spot on Jārtica (J/30:00)
MUE	2.0-3.0	Gūbāvci	Mu	collective name for the islands of Māli and Vēliki Gūbavac; old donkeys used to be left there (G/109:10)
MUE	2.0	Vēliki Gūbavac	Mu	islet (L/27:35)
MUE	2.1	Brāk o Vīsovca, Brāk o Plōče	Mu	shoal (J/37:45)

SECTOR	NO	TOPONYM	SETTLEMENT	REFERENT/DESCRIPTION
MUE	3.0	Māli Gūbavac	Mu	islet (L/27:30)
MUE	4.0	Gõrnji Prišnjak, Škëvin Škõj	Mu	islet; closes the passage between Māla Jārta and Rādej. <i>Drāgari ga zovū Škëvin Škõj, jer je õn podiljen nāpolak. Škëvino je obrāđeno, a õvõ je nāvodno Žilārčevo</i> (Dragari call it Škevin's Island because it is divided in two. Škevin's part is cultivated, while the other supposedly belongs to the Žilārčevis). (J/03:00); <i>Škëvin</i> is a surname in <i>Betina</i> ; <i>Žilārčevi</i> is a family nickname for one branch of the <i>Šikić</i> family; FŠ: <i>Prišnjak gõrnji</i> (Mu)

7.1.4. *Organization and Presentation of a Corpus of Historically Attested Toponyms*

As already mentioned, attested toponymic forms are of extreme importance for historical and linguistic-historical research, sometimes constituting the very purpose of such studies. Historical attestations are also extremely important for onomastics, and particularly toponomastics, especially for the part of toponomastic sign concerned with the actual form of toponyms. In this regard, toponomastics is inherently a discipline of historical and linguistic-historical research. The various attestations of the same referent (*Rubricata*, *Lubricata*, *Lapkat*, *Levirgada*, *Vrgada*) often indicate the different transformations and influences a toponymic form has undergone over time.

Since historical data, most often from archival sources, can only be obtained through persistent excerpting of material, the question arises as to how such data should be treated and what process should be used to make it relevant for scholarly study. How, then, should historical toponomastic material be organized and presented as a system of complete toponomastic information for a given area?

Historical material, whether from archives or other sources, can serve – so to speak – purely historical purposes, the purposes of both history and toponomastics, or solely toponomastic purposes. The ultimate purpose of the collect-

ed data is determined not so much by the nature of the material itself as by the individual researcher's goals and methods. If the aim is historical-toponomastic or purely toponomastic research, it is quite certain that the main point of contention will be the appearance of toponymic forms and their ubication. In traditional etymological studies, ubication was not always considered crucial, although later it sometimes proved to be detrimental for the very etymology of particular words.

When the goal is a comprehensive toponomastic representation of a specific area, it is particularly important to ensure that historical and contemporary data are compared and, whenever possible, correlated. In this regard, the tables presenting historical toponomastic data in the publications of *the Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research* include a specific category: *identification* (see below).

In the monographs published as part of the *Onomastica Adriatica* series, the structure of the tables presenting archival toponyms consists of nine columns and special notes. The first column includes the sequential number of the toponym, the second the year of its attestation, and the third an abbreviation of the settlement where it was recorded. The fourth column contains the original spelling of the toponymic form, while the fifth provides an abbreviation indicating the type of geographical object it denotes. The sixth, seventh, and eighth columns include details about the archival document from which the given toponymic form was excerpted. The final, ninth, column brings the modern toponymic form corresponding to its historical form. The notes consist of short archival citations that provide more complete information about the location or description of the toponymic form, i.e., the referent. The list is arranged alphabetically. If multiple spelling variants of the same toponym exist, their alphabetical placement is determined by the earliest attestation, which is written in bold. For illustration, here is an excerpt from a tabular list of archival toponyms published in *Toponimija otoka Murtera* (Toponymy of the Island of Murter, 2010). For example, the toponym listed under entry number 31 – *Camena* – was first recorded in 1517 in the settlement of Tisno (TI), as the name of a hill (b), and was excerpted from *Šibenski notarski arhiv* (Šibenik Notary Archives, ŠNA), from the records of notary Martin Campellis de Gaivanis (MCG), box 23/VII, volume 26.VI.i, page 92r. The historical attestation corresponds to the modern toponym *Kamena*, which can be found under the designation *MUP 24* in the list of contemporary toponyms and on a special toponomastic map.

Illustration of the Presentation of the Corpus of Historical Toponyms from *Toponimija otoka Murtera*

NO.	YEAR	SETTLEMENT	TOPONYMIC FORM	C.	SOURCE	NOTE	POSITION	IDENTIFICATION
31	1517	TI	Camena ⁵	b	ŠNA	MCG	23/VII: 26.VI.i: 92r	Kamena (MUP 24)
32	1720	JE	Camenar		ŠNA	FC	91/II: IV: 933v-934r	Kamenar (MUH 166)
	1760	JE	Camenar ⁶		ŠNA	PDO	96/III: b: 113r-114v	
	1768	JE	Camenar o sia Sadichie		ŠNA	NŠ	100/III: 17: 19r-20v	
33	1661-1693	MU/ BE	Camicine/ Camenizine		DA		406	Kamičine (MUF 69 or MUF 81)
34	1470	MU/ BE	Camnye		ŠNA	AM	19: B/I: 157r	
35	1509	JE	Campo Grande ⁷		ŠNA	MCG	23/VI: 1509: 134r i d.	
36	1450	MU/ BE	Campo Magno ⁸		DS		281	Poje (MUF 89)
	1572	MU/ BE	Campo Magno Murterii		ŠNA	AT	40/I: b: 67r	
	1628	MU/ BE	Campo ouero Pogle		ŠNA	MS	50/IV: 1626-1631: 126r	
37	1448	JE	Canton		ŠNA	AC	11/IV: a/2: 74r-v	
38	1732	TI	Cella		ŠNA	PC	89/II: a: 537r-v	Čela (MUP 19)
39	1651	JE	(Casegn) detto Pod Varsach		ŠNA	GS	64/III: 5b: 45 i d.	
40	1624	MU/ BE	Celopeche		ŠNA	MS	50/IV: 1623-1626: 88r	Čelopika (MUG 15)
	1643	MU/ BE	Celopicha		ŠNA	GS	64/III: 4: 276v-277r	

⁵ ...in loco uocato Crachorichi, iuxta montem dictum Camena...

⁶ ...in Camenar loco detto Cripiza...

⁷ ...in Campo Grande supra la uia publica... in Campo Grande in Gnogne...

⁸ ...in Campo Magno, sub Maiori Villa, prope sgonos nostri communis a parte ponentis...

NO.	YEAR	SETTLEMENT	TOPONYMIC FORM	C.	SOURCE	NOTE	POSITION	IDENTIFICATION
	1776	MU/ BE	Zalopich		ŠNA	ALJ	103/II: 4: 386v-387v	
41	1450	MU/ BE	Cernichouaz	b	ŠNA	AC	11/IV: c: 17r	Crnikovac (MUE 6)
	1638	MU/ BE	Cernicouaz ouer Lucizze ⁹		ŠNA	MPA	62: 3: 176	
	1744	MU/ BE	Cernicouaz		ŠNA	JDI	98/II: a: 222r	
42	1556	MU/ BE	Charc ¹⁰		ŠNA	KB	36/III: 1556-1560: 42v-45v	
43	1550	MU/ BE	Charcine		ŠNA	IKZ	38/II: a: 189v-190r	
44	1780	JE	Charz		ŠNA	IM	101/VIII: XV: 193r-v	Krč (MUH 27)
	1785	JE	Cherz		ŠNA	MFI	104/I: 1: 454r	
45	1555	MU/ BE	Charz in Tux- bine		ŠNA	FDT	30/VI: 1: 118v-119r	
46	1509	JE	Chochoçgrad		ŠNA	MCG	23/VI: 1509: 134r i d.	Kokoči (MUG 33)
	1509	MU/ BE	Chochoç Grad		ŠNA	MCG	23/VI: 1509: 134r i d.	
	1633	MU/ BE	Chochochia	b	ŠNA	HM	68/I: 1: 92v-93r	
	1712	BE ili JE	Kokoch siue Louischia	k	ŠNA	JMO	87/IV: 7: 297v-298r	
	1782	MU/ BE	Cococh		ŠNA	JBO	105/II: IV: 66r	

⁹ ...vn pezzo di terren boschoso et inculto posto nell isola de Mortaro loco detto Lucizze ouer Cernicouaz di gognaia dieci in circa, confina da bora Iersani, da garbin il mare, et da altri ladi il monte...

¹⁰ ...vn terren chiamato Charc sul monte chiamato Hripe...

THE ZADAR ARCHIVES – AN ONOMASTIC SOURCE

The State Archives in Zadar provides an inexhaustible wealth of onomastic data for various Dalmatian settlements from the 14th to the 20th century. For the study of historical toponymy, the records of notarial and municipal offices are particularly valuable, given that they contain numerous contracts related to real estate transactions, as well as family archives, which often include documents on the division of land holdings, and collections of maritime, topographic, and cadastral maps. In general, archival material allows us to learn many details about the linguistic development of specific toponyms, their meanings, and historical ubication, as well as the reasons why some have disappeared from contemporary toponymy. These claims can best be verified in the toponomastic monographs of the islands of Pašman, Ugljan, and Murter (published by the University of Zadar and the Center for Adriatic Toponomastic Research), which include extensive historical material drawn precisely from various collections within the Zadar archives. However, from a toponomastic perspective, much of the Zadar archives remains largely unexplored, including documents containing historical toponymy collected from the Middle Ages onward for regions such as the Zadar and Šibenik mainland, as well as the areas around Trogir, Split, Hvar, Makarska, and Korčula, to name just a few potential research areas. The most important archival collections for toponomastic studies are also valuable sources for research into historical anthroponymy. Any mention of a settlement, as a rule, includes information about their inhabitants, while land holdings documents always provide information about their owners and cultivators. The oldest names, surnames, and nicknames of many Dalmatian settlements can be traced precisely through the Zadar archives. From the second half of the 16th century onward, registers are the primary sources for anthroponomastic research, as they are, in addition to being kept in state and municipal archives, generally preserved in the archives of individual dioceses and parishes.

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7.2. Historical Maps and Cadastral Charts

Historical maps and cadastral charts are a particularly rich and almost inexhaustible source of historical attestations for toponomastics. In the Adriatic coastal region, numerous maps and charts provide a wealth of historical to-



Cadastral Map of the Cadastral Municipality of Poljana

it denotes. However, on the oldest maps, apart from the name itself, none of these elements can be considered entirely reliable. Nevertheless, the very record of a name helps in establishing a system for the earliest identifications.

As with the presentation of excerpted historical material, the organization and presentation of material found on historical maps and cadastral charts, along with its correspondence to contemporary attestations, present a challenge that must be handled with care. In principle, the goal remains the same, but execution is somewhat simpler since all the material is located in one place (on the map).

The table containing cartographic toponymic forms consists of five columns. The first column provides an alphabetical listing of all analyzed toponyms from all the maps for the given island. In the second column, under the heading *Ubication*, the connection between historical and contemporary forms is established – naturally, when such a connection exists. Obviously, the overlap between toponymic forms from more recent maps and their contemporary forms is much more likely than with those from maps of the distant past. The third column specifies the nature of the referent (settlement, hill, bay, etc.), while the fourth column records the year the map was published. Finally, the fifth column lists the cartographic sources, with the corresponding figure number (in parentheses) under which the map is presented in the respective monograph.

Presentation of the Corpus of Toponyms from the Historical Maps in *Toponimija otoka Ugljana*

TOPONYM	UBICATION	DESCRIPTION	YEAR	CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCE
<i>Barotul</i>	Barotul	settlement	1688	V. M. Coronelli (Sl. 20.b) V. M. Coronelli (Sl. 21.)
<i>Baroul</i>	Barotul	settlement	1690	G. Cantelli (Sl. 23.)
<i>Beliverh</i>	Beli vrh	elevation	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Teon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Boganza Vella</i>	Vela Boganča	terrain	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Bucol Mali</i>	Bokolj Mali	elevation	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Buqanska Draga</i>	Boganča draga	dry valley	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Calola</i>	Košara	islet	1688	V. M. Coronelli (Sl. 20.b) V. M. Coronelli (Sl. 21.)
<i>Camegnach</i>	Kamenjak	elevation	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Camigne</i>	Kaminje	terrain	1778	F. Medin, P. Marconati (Sl. 36.c)
<i>Canal di Mezzo</i>	Srednji kanal (Central Channel)	sea	1810	M. De Traux (Sl. 32.)
<i>Canale di Mezo</i>	Srednji kanal (section)	sea	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Teon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Canale di Zara</i>	Pašmanski kanal (Pašman Channel)	sea	1778	F. Medin, P. Marconati (Sl. 36.a,b,c)
<i>Cargnin</i>	Krnjin	terrain	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Teon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Cassara</i>	Košara	islet	1810	M. De Traux (Sl. 32.)
<i>Casustina</i>	Košutina	terrain	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Celignach</i>	Čelinjak	elevation	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Chergnin</i>	Krnjin	terrain	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Teon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Chiesa</i>	Sv. Marija (St. Mary), Tkon	church	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Teon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Chiesa della Madonna della Neue di Cucliza</i>	Gospa od Sniga (Our Lady of the Snows), Ždrelašćica (SE Kukljica)	church	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Chiesa di San Luca di Sdrelaz</i>	Sv. Luka (St. Luke)	church	1782	L. Licini Rubčić (Sl. 37.)
<i>Coludrevizza</i>	Koludrovica	terrain	1778	F. Medin, P. Marconati (Sl. 36.c)
<i>Coludrevizza Draga sotto il Monastero</i>	Koludrovica	dry valley	1778	F. Medin, P. Marconati (Sl. 36.c)

TOPONYM	UBICATION	DESCRIPTION	YEAR	CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCE
<i>Com</i>	Tkon	settlement	1. 1806 2. 1824	1. C. F. Beauteemps Beaupré (Sl. 44.) 2. Carta di Cabottaggio del Mare Adriatico, Foglio VII. (Sl. 46.)
<i>Comornich</i>	Komornik	islet	1796	Anonim (Spisi obitelji Borelli (the Borelli Family Records), I, vol. 6, map 13; Sl. 38.b)
<i>Con</i>	Tkon	settlement	1809	V. De Lucio (Sl. 43.)
<i>Con.to de PP Zoccolanti</i>	Franjevački samostan sv. Dujе (Franciscan Monastery of St. Domnius), Kraj	church and monastery	1688	V. M. Coronelli (Sl. 21.)
<i>Conu.to de Francescani</i>	Franjevački samostan sv. Dujе (Franciscan Monastery of St. Domnius), Kraj	church and monastery	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Tcon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Conu.to S. Cosma e Damian</i>	Benediktinski samostan sv. Kuzme i Damjana (Benedictine Monastery of Ss. Cosmas and Damian), Čokovac	church and monastery	after 1723	Dissegno delle tenute della Villa Tcon (Sl. 35.)
<i>Conv:o de Frat:i Min:i S: Fran:o</i>	Franjevački samostan sv. Dujе (Franciscan Monastery of St. Domnius), Kraj	church and monastery	1796	Anonim (Spisi obitelji Borelli (the Borelli family records), I, vol. 6, map 13; Sl. 38.c)

7.3. Surveys

Since contemporary Adriatic toponomastic material is mostly preserved in the memory of island and coastal inhabitants, they are the only reliable source of information about toponyms that need to be recorded, ubicated, and adequately presented. Therefore, toponomastic surveys should be conducted *in situ* – on the island or at another selected location – making sure that the most knowledgeable individuals are selected as informants. However, objective circumstances in these efforts do not always favor the researcher. Today, there

are places on Adriatic islands with no living speakers (Škarda, Srakane, Sveti Andrija), which means that surveys must be conducted in neighboring settlements whose speakers still live there and are more or less familiar with the naming system of the now uninhabited islands. Naturally, there are also islands where the demographic situation is stable, and respondents are relatively easy to find. In such cases, it is wise to carefully select individuals who possess the necessary knowledge and are willing to participate in the survey.

Before conducting surveys, maps should be obtained onto which toponymic forms will be ubicated during the survey. Before the advent of digitalized maps, preparation was considerably more challenging. The new digital medium significantly helps researchers by eliminating the painstaking task of creating their own maps, the so-called *blank maps*. A blank map typically contains only critical contours (e.g., coastlines in the case of an island, i.e., territorial boundaries in the case of mainland areas). Ideally, blank maps should also include isoheights.

Surveys should be conducted by recording the informants' answers on a (digital) sound recording device and by marking locations on blank maps that correspond to the given linguistic forms (toponymic forms). This process is known as *audio documentation*. In this way, the collected data can later be reviewed at leisure, with prosodic markers and all other relevant features systematically annotated. This is to say that the survey should proceed as spontaneously as possible, without interruptions, excessive questioning, backtracking, or insisting on what the researcher is particularly interested in. Such actions can confuse informants and make them feel inferior – as if they are “poor students” unable to answer a question. In such cases, it is much more prudent to wait for a new opportunity and subtly guide the informant during the survey so that they eventually disclose the information they initially withheld.

Researchers often fail to consider the sensitivity of informants, approaching them “in the name of science.” Such an approach is misguided. The key to conducting a high-quality survey is ensuring that the informant perceives the researcher as one of their own, as their equal, and as someone genuinely interested in what matters to them – their environment. The best-case scenario is when this is genuinely true, i.e., when researchers sincerely care about the area they are studying, when they know or wish to learn about the work, customs,

knowledge, and skills of the local population. Informants will immediately recognize such a researcher and will gladly cooperate with them. Experience from around a hundred surveys confirms this. It is true that most surveys begin somewhat awkwardly. However, this changes once a sense of mutual respect and trust is established between the researcher and the informant. As a result, the second half of all surveys is typically of higher quality than the first. Therefore, in line with the recommendation above, once the survey is nearing its end, it is advisable to return – spontaneously, without excessive explanations – to the beginning or to parts that were less successfully conducted. We have observed researchers in practice who were determined to obtain the data they believed the informant should know. In the end, they got nothing!

When selecting informants, it is important to make sure that they are relatively older individuals (but not experiencing significant cognitive decline), with a healthy speech apparatus, who are not excessively “contaminated” by the standard language, who have not been away from the surveyed area for too long, and who are well acquainted with the area in question. It is advisable to avoid “local sages” and “educated” individuals. The informant should, in principle, be acquainted with the objective of the survey, and it is up to the researcher to present this purpose in a clear and convincing manner. It is also important to keep in mind that the ideal informant does not exist. In this sense, it is recommended to work with multiple informants together (no more than three), as experience has shown that they complement each other, remind each other of forgotten details, and sometimes create a climate of positive competition in sharing their knowledge about the research material. At least on islands and along the coast, experience has shown that it is highly desirable to include both women and men in the group of informants. In principle, although not always, men are more knowledgeable about the coastal area and the sea, while women are more familiar with the interior and cultivated land.

It is essential that, after completing the survey, researchers go out into the field with the informant(s) to compare the recorded forms with the actual referents and to describe the referents as precisely as possible in the section of the entry that pertains to its description. Realistically, this is not always possible, due to the limited time available for surveys or the advanced age of informants, which may hinder their mobility. Sometimes it is actually impossible. It is good practice to record, as already mentioned in the definition of an entry,

information that may seem completely unrelated to the name (stories about the referent, anecdotes, sayings, jokes, etc.).

The collection of toponomastic material can be organized in various ways. The proposed approach may be considered ideal, but it is by no means the only possible method. The flow of obtained information is difficult to control. For the informant, after all, it is just a conversation. The more we try to control its course, the more “guarded” the informant becomes. Yet, if we let the conversation flow freely, it may quickly veer into entirely unrelated topics. One must strive to find the right balance while also allowing for the possibility of an unsuccessful survey!

Therefore, the following lines should be understood merely as a guideline – a reminder of what the survey aims to achieve. The first priority is to detect toponymic forms: of the seabed and underwater terrain, the coastal seabed, the coastline, peninsulas and isthmuses, capes and coves, peaks, hills, slopes, passes and ridges, pits and caves, isolated and prominent objects (rocks, trees, mounds, burial mounds, archaeological remains), bodies of water, wells, springs, and ponds; then everything that has been built or cultivated by human hands: fields and sections of fields, roads and crossroads, resting places and “communal” areas, crofts and isolated cultivated plots, ruins and buildings; within settlements: churches, cemeteries, chapels, neighborhoods, squares, streets, larger and smaller areas; along the coast: coastal installations (piers, breakwaters, sea walls, slipways, shipyards, wharfs, ripraps, lighthouses, buoys...), and everything that has not been mentioned but exists in the field and has a specific name.

Where to start and how to navigate this forest of potential information? In what order should items be recorded? What should be prioritized? Are there referents that should take precedence, or are they all equally important at the level of onomastic information? A clear and concise answer to these questions is impossible.

Experience shows, as well as all major toponymic studies, from Skok to the present, that when cataloguing Adriatic toponymy, it is easiest to follow toponyms along the coastline, in the coastal waters, and in the immediate hinterland (Jurišić 1956, Finka 1960, and Finka-Šojat 1973-74). Our experience confirms this as well. Due to the “problems” and difficulties that arise when collecting and organizing material from the island interior, such surveys have

generally not been conducted or have only covered limited areas (Hraste 1956, Jelenović 1973, Moguš 1966). It is therefore best to start with what is simplest and most visible: the coast. The advantage of such approach lies in the fact that the informant is smoothly introduced into their “task.” After all, island life primarily revolves around the coast. Initial familiarity with the subject matter motivates the informant and instills confidence in the value of their cooperation. Only after work on the coastline is completed should one proceed inland.

Referents in the island interior, especially if the island is wide, are much more diverse. Peaks, slopes, cultivated and abandoned land, bodies of water, distinct natural and artificial features... are scattered and “placed without order.” Therefore, it is best to start from one side of the island and work towards the other, recording all the data informants can provide. A selective approach is also possible: first, bodies of water, then peaks, then cultivated and uncultivated plots, then distinct natural formations and artificial structures... Which-ever approach is chosen, it is essential to mark each name on the map with a specific symbol or number. At the same time, using the same symbol or number, that name should be recorded in writing. The recording device serves as a corrective tool that will later guide us from one point to another and warn us if the numbers/symbols do not correspond to the collected names and identified points on the toponymic map.

Traditionally, some toponymic forms are considered more important than others. While such a view is not entirely acceptable from a strictly onomastic perspective, it is a fact that the linguistic form of a toponymic unit often corresponds to the importance of its referent, and in reality, some referents are more significant than others. Alloglottic toponymic forms (of foreign linguistic origin) regularly provide information about the earliest demographic and linguistic movements, while among idioglottic (Croatian and Chakavian) forms, there are those that are still in the process of formation and thus we are not always able to determine whether they should be classified as toponyms or appellatives. The survey must take these aspects into account as well. It is generally accepted that names of bodies of water, inhabited islands, major peaks, settlements... are precisely such toponyms. From the perspectives of etymology, history, and language history, these toponyms are certainly the most important. However, from the standpoint of onomastics and toponomastics, such classifications are not critical.

Ultimately, an entry for a toponym should contain the following:

- a) an identification number (reference marker) through which the relation toponymic form – toponymic map – toponym index is established,
- b) the toponymic form, including its accentuation and basic declension paradigm (e.g., genitive), if different from the standard language,
- c) the general linguistic content of the referent (island, bay, hill, church...),
- d) a description of the referent (e.g., for a bay: elongated, shallow, enclosed on all sides, sandy, steep shore, has freshwater sources, known fishing ground, etc.),
- e) other relevant information about the referent, if available (stories, anecdotes, folk etymologies, etc.).

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7.4. Transfer of Data into the Orthographic System and the Issue of Capitalization

The greatest methodological challenge for a toponomastician lies in the fact that the collected material is dialectal, while the target audience of toponomastic works consists of all those who understand the Croatian language. At first glance, this may seem trivial, but it has caused far more problems than one might imagine. How should the orthographic treatment of prepositions and appellatives in toponyms be resolved? How can dialectal forms of toponymic forms and their descriptions be aligned with standard Croatian lexicon, morphology, and syntax? These are by no means simple tasks.

One of the greatest and most frequently encountered problems in this category concerns the capitalization of multi-word toponymic forms and forms con-

taining prepositions. This issue has been addressed in Croatian orthographic manuals, but without precise insight into the onomastic – particularly toponomastic – specificity of the problem. As a result, several different methods have been applied in practice. A good example is *Hrvatski jezični savjetnik* (*Croatian Language Manual*, HJS 1999: 322-328), where only one segment of what we consider a toponym is described under several different entries. Below, we briefly review some of the recommendations:

- a) The general rule for writing multi-word names of “inhabited places” prescribes capitalizing all words except prepositions (*Grubišno Polje, Brod na Savi...*).
- b) Non-initial words in names of “parts of the cities,” as well as in names of “streets, squares, alleys, and promenades,” are written in lowercase, except “when there is a special reason for capitalization.” Everything suggests that this “special reason” can only be another proper name embedded in the toponym (*Ulica Ivana Gundulića, Trg Marka Marulića*, but *Marulićev trg, Gundulićeva ulica, Voltino naselje*, etc.). None of other “appellatives” in the name hold this status.
- c) Appositions are also always capitalized, but only as part of “foreign geographical names” (*Port Artur, Monte Karlo*). It should therefore be assumed that appositions in toponyms such as *Brak Bokoljić, Punta Ljutito, Brdo Križ*, and similar cases would be written in lowercase, i.e., they should not be considered part of the name.

Other diverse categories of toponyms (such as names of localities, plots of land, artifacts, marine and underwater referents, etc.) are not mentioned. Additionally, it is evident that these guidelines cover only an extremely minimalist definition of a toponym – one in which only the non-appellative (i.e., non-comprehensible) part of the phrase is considered the name. Such interpretation fundamentally differs from our understanding of the term ‘toponym,’ and we believe it should not be taken into account when selecting a methodological approach.

On the other hand, in Croatian toponomastic literature, three primary methods of writing multi-word toponymic phrases have been confirmed so far:

In the first method (Skok 1950; Skračić 1987, 1996), all elements of the

phrase, except non-initial prepositions, are capitalized: *Pod Stine, Paški Kanal, Supetarska Uvala...* (Skok 1950); *Božavski Put, Južnja Punta, Novi Porat...* (Skračić 1996). Apart from a few likely unintentional exceptions in Skok's work (e.g., *Suha Punta* but also *Lojena punta*), this system remains consistent.

In the second method (Šimunović 1972; Jurišić 1956; Finka-Šojat 1974), non-initial prepositions, adjectives, and appellatives are not capitalized, i.e., toponyms in any position within the phrase (i.e., those containing another toponym) are always capitalized. Thus, e.g., Šimunović writes *Konsko glova, Kopinjo glavica*, but also *Za Čelo, Pod vodu Velega briga*, etc.

In the third method, proposed by A. Jurić (2005), only non-initial prepositions and appellatives that have retained their denotative meaning (*put, groblje, polje*, etc.) are written in lowercase. All appellatives that *metaphorically* describe a geographical referent are capitalized, regardless of whether their denotative appellative meaning is still alive in the local dialect. For instance, in this system, we find *Bili put* as opposed to the previously mentioned *Božavski Put* from the first method. Likewise, *Pivetova Glavica* names the same type of referent as *Kopinjo glavica* in the second method. It is also worth noting that in the latter, Šimunović's system, the capitalization of *Za Čelo* is the consequence of the fact that *Čelo* is an independent toponym, whereas *glavica (Kopinjo-)* is merely a metaphor.

Taking all this into account, we believe that the final decision on how to write multi-word toponyms should align with the "maximalist" definition of toponyms that we adhere to in the publications of the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*:

A toponym is, therefore, any linguistic form that identifies a specific space, regardless of the significance and size of the space or the number of users of the name. All components of a toponymic form hold equal toponymic status, whether they are semantically transparent or not, appellative or onymic.

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7.5. Toponomastic Maps

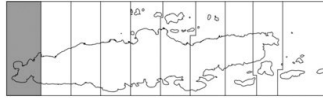
Toponomastic maps represent a special type of maps. They are created so that toponymic forms from the *Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms* could be ubicated in space, following a uniform pattern. As previously mentioned, a toponomastic sign is a linguistic sign with two aspects: one is the toponymic form, and the other is the referent, i.e., a geographical configuration or some other object to which the toponymic form refers. Theoretically, a toponomastic map could be identical to a geographical map. However, since it is part of a linguistic system with a vast amount of linguistic information, it has proven practically impossible to register all the names collected from informants on a standard geographical map.

The toponomastic map we advocate is the result of the knowledge the author of this handbook acquired either independently or in collaboration. While it has certain shortcomings that are difficult to avoid, overall, it remains the most effective model established to date. The digital future, which has already entered other fields, will undoubtedly bring changes in the presentation of referents and, consequently, in the creation of toponomastic maps. We can confirm that important steps forward in this area have already been made. For now, we present the still “traditional” model.

In dialectological research and linguistic geography, such maps are commonly referred to as *blank maps*. These maps typically contain only the contours of the area they encompass, possibly also including watercourses. The contours are particularly clear in the case of islands, which significantly facilitates the work and presentation of toponyms in island research. In the publications of the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*, isoheights are also added to make it easier to ubicate and identify specific referents on the map. Additionally, isoheights help us better understand the “logic” behind a toponymic form. For example, we are not going to search along the coastline to find the reference

number representing *Veli Vrh* (a peak), nor along the highest line to identify the one representing *Zmorašnja Vala* (a bay).

PAA



A toponomastic map does not display the toponymic form (the name) itself but rather its symbol, which, in this case, is a reference number. This number is placed on the map at the same location as the corresponding toponymic form in the *Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms* and it serves as its reference. Thus, the reference number on the map allows us to find a given toponymic form in the *Corpus*, just as a toponymic form registered in the *Corpus* enables us to find its referent, represented by a number, on the *Toponomastic Map*.

For practical and functional reasons, the maps are divided into sectors, represented by letters (though other methods are possible). In our presentation model, the first two letters of an island's name are used, with an additional letter denoting a specific sector on that island. For example, PAD represent sector D (the fourth sector) on the island of Pašman (PA). The number of sectors, if applied, is determined by the map's author. In principle, the number of sectors should depend on the size of the island or research area.

The numbers representing referents from the *Corpus of Contemporary Toponyms* must correspond to the exact order used in the textual part of the *Corpus*. This order, along with the principle on which it is based, must be carefully elaborated and consistently applied. In the publications of the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*, the numbers on the map assigned to toponymic forms increase from northwest to southeast. Consequently, within any given sector, higher numbers will be located southeast of lower ones.

For clarity, what follows is an example of one sector (Sector A) from the toponomastic map of Pašman. For easier orientation, a synoptic chart of all sectors on the island or island system (with the relevant sector shaded) is included with each sector map. Additionally, to further aid orientation and comprehension of toponymic forms, a wind rose is included in every sector.

References

- SKRAČIĆ, V., 1996, *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka*, Književni krug Split/Matica hrvatska, ogranak Zadar.
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7.6. Index of Contemporary Toponyms

An alphabetical index of catalogued toponymic forms, with reference numbers assigned to each form and designations for each sector on the map, is a technical tool essential for the efficient study of the collected material. The fact that each toponymic form in the *Index* is accompanied by a reference number listed both on the *Toponomastic Map* and in the *Corpus of Toponyms*, allows us, depending on the starting point of our search, to retrieve the data about a given toponymic form (from the *Corpus of Toponyms*) as well as about its spatial location (from the *Toponomastic Map*).

It is important to emphasize once again that referents with two or, in rare cases, more than two forms appear in the *Index of Toponyms* as many times as they have confirmed forms. However, they always share the same reference number, as they always represent the same referent of the given toponym.

Excerpt from the Index of Toponyms in *Toponimija otoka Murtera*

D		
Đardŕn	MUH	111
Đovănovica	MUF	54
F		
Făntovi Dvŕri	MUO	64
Feră oTegine	MUF	2.3
Filŕpov Škvěr	MUF	115b
Frbŕšnjăk (2)	MUI	1.0
Fřipica (2)	MUH	165
Fřipice (2)	MUH	165
Fřtac	MUH	148
G		
Găji	MUA	11
Galŕja	MUH	90
Galijŕlica	MUF	140a
Gărma	MUH	147
Gărma	MUO	51

G		
Gârma	MUP	34
Gârma	MUB	23
Gârma	MUD	3.9
Gârma	MUE	9.3
Gârma	MUF	25
Gârma	MUF	26
Gârma	MUF	137
Gârma (2)	MUJ	3.1
Gârma na Babuljâstômu (2)	MUJ	3.1
Gârmica	MUE	6.1
Gêt	MUF	98
Gêt	MUF	107
Gîrič Kûla (2)	MUM	7
Glamôčëva pûnta (2)	MUG	23a
Glamôčëve Njîve	MUO	40
Glamočëvica	MUO	37
Glamočëvo (2)	MUG	23a
Glavâce (3)	MUG	35

References

- SKRAČIĆ, V., 1996, *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka*, Književni krug Split/Matica hrvatska, ogranak Zadar.
- Toponimija otoka Pašmana*, 2006, *Ugljana* (2007), *Vrgade* (2009), *Murtera* (2010), (Skračić, V., ed.), Sveučilište u Zadru/Centar za jadranska onomastička istraživanja, Zadar.
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- JURIĆ, A., Vuletić, N., 2006, Toponimija naselja Sv. Filip i Jakov, *Folia onomastica Croatica*, 15, Zagreb, 81-112.

8. Formation of Proper Names – Regularities in the Structuring of Toponymic Forms

Since the natural configurations that required naming existed before us, the naming process followed a semasiological direction, i.e., nature → humans, or, in our terminology: referent → name. Therefore, we will attempt to examine what needed to be named and how the name-giver proceeded about it, that is, by what means and using what linguistic resources the name-givers identified and described the reality around them. Traditional onomastics and toponomastics, insofar as they existed as independent disciplines, generally did not follow this principle. Onomastic content was long analyzed only incidentally and sporadically, and when it was studied for onomastic purposes, it was done following an onomasiological direction: from the name toward the content. As explained in the introductory chapters, this approach can lead to all kinds of errors and misinterpretations. However, this should not mean that such an analytical direction is inadequate or unnecessary.

The naming of natural configurations and artificial structures, both at sea and on land, followed the same pattern. The stimulus always came from the referent – its size, position, shape, color, or some other feature. Since the natural environment of humans is the land, the number of stimuli originating from dry and easily perceptible terrain far exceeds those from the sea, especially the underwater world, which is largely inaccessible to the eye. Given that all our data come from the sea, coastal land, and the underwater environment, we will, on this occasion, focus primarily on maritime, coastal, and underwater configurations.

8.1. The Same and Different

Throughout human history, from its early beginnings to communities of various organization and size, life in and with nature, spiritual needs, and the general necessity for unambiguous identification have continuously encouraged the creation of new names. Human environment was and remains the primary source of all onomastic stimuli. The language people used, in turn, served as both the operator and generator of the name-giving system. Each linguistic community named its contents differently, following their specific reasons or simply because of its distinctive lexicon. Examples of this are abundant. In the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago, many pairs of islands are called *Sestrice* ('little sisters'). However, there are no **Braća* ('brothers'), even though, given that the superordinate nouns *otok* ('island') or *škoj* ('rock') are both masculine and thus in grammatical agreement with *brat* (pl. *braća*), such a name would be expected. Likewise, numerous other island pairs could have been called *Sestrice*, but they are not. Understandably, the language system itself (which relies on distinctions) does not permit it. There must be a reasonable spatial distance between toponyms of the same toponymic form. In the past, this distance could be much smaller due to the static nature of the name-givers and the generally limited mobility of the population. What would happen if all similar configurations had the same name? A communication and identification chaos would ensue. In other words, internal linguistic factors led to the creation of many names that deviate from the "expected" ones. A "taken" name could no longer be repeated and reused, even if the characteristics of the referent (color, shape, soil composition, vegetation...) suggested it should. To ensure clear and unambiguous information, a new lexical form had to be found for the same or a very similar configuration. It is easy to notice, for example, that all places named *Maslinjak*, *Mrtovnjak*, *Kalahatin*, *Sestrica*, *Bisaga*, *Blitvica*, *Babujaš*, *Tovarnjak*... (frequently repeated as toponymic forms) are always located at sufficient distances from one another. However, when a name is not "discarded," the issue is resolved by adding a qualifier to the base name: *veliki* ('big'), *mali* ('small'), *suri* ('gray'), *kameni* ('rocky'), *vodeni* ('watery'), *južnji* ('southern'), or *zmorašnji* ('western,' based on the wind *mistral* or *zmorac*).

On the other hand, the number of referents and what needs to be named is disproportionately larger than the number of lexemes at our “disposal.” One of the premises of lexicography states that most new contents that need to be designated by some linguistic form should not be labeled using entirely “new words.” Instead, “old” words should be sought within the existing repertoires whose use and syntactic arrangement would be attributed with new meanings. Such words would then, in new linguistic contexts, designate new contents. It is clear that the word *hand* in phrases such as *give someone a hand*, *ask for someone’s hand (in marriage)*, and *lend someone a hand* does not have the same meaning in each expression.

In a similar vein, toponymic forms are not abundant – there isn’t “plenty to go around.” The same linguistic economy and our (in)ability to memorize govern toponomastic material just as they do lexical. Not every new natural configuration or artificial structure detected in the field will generate a distinct toponymic form. On the outer and central islands of the Zadar archipelago, around 4,700 toponymic forms have been recorded, which are, all together, derived from about 1,000 different lexemes, meaning that a single initial toponymic form is repeated across many others. As our corpus of recorded names expands, the number of new toponymic forms grows proportionally smaller.

It is evident that toponymic forms are often repeated – as derivatives, compounds, or entirely unchanged formulas. As a rule, this fact does not disrupt toponomastic communication, as repetitions occur at sufficient spatial distances, which, in turn, prevents confusion between toponomastic identities. This phenomenon is particularly common in Adriatic nesonymy. For example, in the Kornati archipelago, due to the vast number of small islands, names such as *Babujaši* on Gornji and Donji Kornat, as well as *Aba*, *Blitvica*, *Gustac*, *Kalahatin*, *Kurba*, *Maslinjak*, *Prišnjak*, *Ravna Sika*, *Tovarnjak*, *Vodenjak...* are frequently repeated. However, there are also some linguistically “dangerous” exceptions, such as two instances of neighboring islands sharing the same name: *Gangarol* and *Gustac*. For reasons still unknown, no significant cartographic distinction has been made between them, aside from an attempt to resolve the issue through a final phoneme variation: *Gangaro* vs. *Gangarol*. Nonetheless, in oblique grammatical cases (genitive, dative, instrumental), their forms remain identical: *Gangarola*, *Gangarolu*, *Gangarolom*. The landowners, however,

distinguish between them by calling one island *Dulukin* (after the owner's family nickname) and the other *Bašin* or *Juranov* (after the last names of the largest number of owners).

References

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- FRANČIĆ, A., MIHALJEVIĆ, M., 1997-1998, Antonimija u hrvatskoj ojkonomiji, *Rasprave Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje*, Zagreb, 77-102.
- SKRAČIĆ, V., 2007, Dvije Kurbe i dva Gangarola: otoci u paru, *Folia onomastica Croatica*, 16, Zagreb, 193-205.

8.2. Typical *Seme* as a Stimulus

The primary stimulus for identical naming is, without a doubt, an identical reality. On the other hand, it is clear that no two islands, peninsulas, or bays are completely identical, yet they often bear the same name. This suggests that in every name-giving process, irrelevant aspects are, in a way, abstracted, and that the conceptualization of the name aims to retain only what is essential (distinctive). For the sake of clarity of the following presentation, we will also abstract all other influences on the name-giver (linguistic experience, historical context, the ability to adopt already known forms...) and focus solely on the sphere of what was supposed to be the most effective in such situations.

Let us take metaphorical forms as an example. They are abundant in toponymy, and the degree of their metaphorical quality varies. While theoretically impossible, everyday use reduces the abstract meaning of certain forms to such an extent that it is perceived as the primary meaning, as is the case with toponyms such as *Glava/Glavica* ('head'), *Bok* ('side' or 'hip'), *Lebro/Rebro* ('rib'), *Pleće* ('shoulder')... We refer to such metaphors as *lexicalized*, and for now, we will set them aside. Instead, to illustrate our example, we will focus on metaphors that have remained toponyms both in local speech and in general usage. These metaphors are particularly interesting because they have preserved some unique – now no longer existent – lexemes from local dialects, which, in turn, serves as a testament to the importance of toponomastics in linguistic (and social) research.

Given their clear physical resemblance to human or animal body parts or everyday objects, certain types of terrain and specific spatial relationships between referents are far more frequently the subject of metaphorical and metonymic naming practices than other types of referents (e.g., agricultural plots, flat terrains, slopes of hills, etc.). Some of these metaphors have become so common that they have undergone the process of reappellativization, while others have no synonyms in the list the geographical appellatives of certain dialects, e.g., morphological types such as *škrovada*, *lonča*, *tovarnjak*, *bok*, *kobiljak*, *kalahatin*, *okjuč*, *prišnjak*, and others. What is characteristic of each of these metaphors is that their prototypical pattern – typically based on a single distinctive feature (*seme*) – is without exception encountered in every attested example. The prototypical examples of toponymic metaphors discussed here are not mere onomastic curiosities or fascinating random coincidences. Rather, they serve as definitive proof of a hypothesis that onomastician Ante Jurić described and convincingly elaborated in his PhD dissertation, which posits that toponymic prototypes are actually an integral part of human mental predispositions for categorizing and prototyping reality. Deeply rooted in the subconscious, much like language ability itself, these prototypes are part of linguistic universals, less dependent on the vocabulary available to a particular community and much more influenced by its culturally conditioned worldview. The fact that certain metaphors appear at distant points within an archipelago, in local vernaculars that often do not belong to one and the same dialect (specifically, the Čakavian supradialect), proves that “random selection” had absolutely no part in the creation of this specific metaphor. Likewise, the fact that certain metaphors are “localized” and can only be found in vernaculars specific to a particular region or area (e.g., *Oštrica* in the Šibenik region, *Lonča* in the Kornati archipelago, *Tovarnjak* in the Zadar and Kornati regions, etc.) yet do not appear in neighboring linguistic communities (despite the fact that these words exist in their vocabulary) clearly shows that toponymic prototypes are not merely a product of random selection but rather clearly structured and culturally conditioned cognitive patterns. Therefore, these patterns are inherent to every speech community, and the metaphors generated from them arise independently and spontaneously within the given community and not through borrowing. To illustrate, here are several examples of metaphorical prototypes from the toponymy of the Zadar and Šibenik archipelagos:

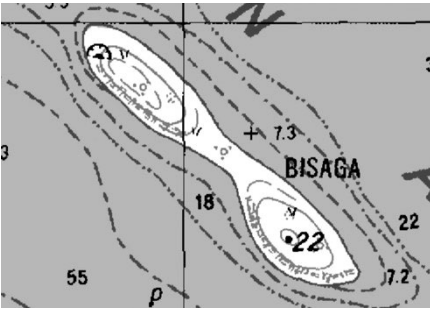
PROTOTYPE: **Bisaga**



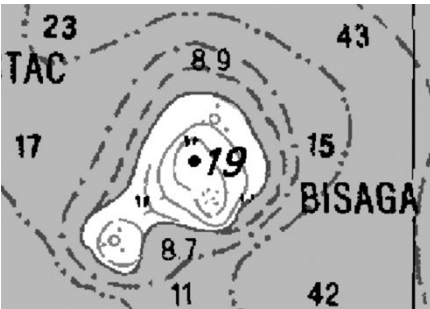
1) Morphological type “bisaga,” for smaller islands with two peaks.

motif:
bisage (‘saddlebags’) = “a double bag, carried over the shoulder or tied to a saddle so that it hangs on both sides” (*Croatian Encyclopedic Dictionary*)

Examples:

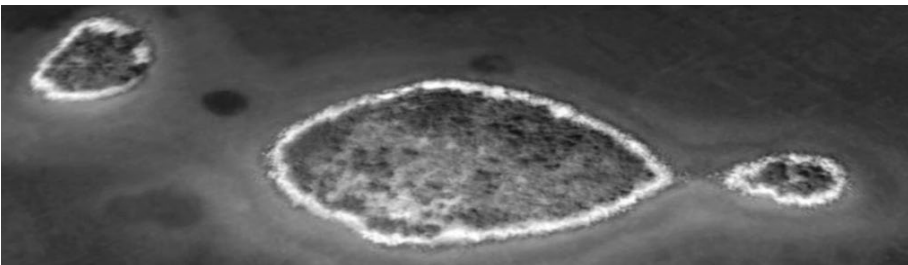


Bisaga in the Kornati archipelago



Bisaga near the island of Žut

The islands of *Mala* and *Vela Bisaga* in the Pašman Channel. During low tide, the largest and the smallest islands are connected.



PROTOTYPE: **Lonča / Škrovada**

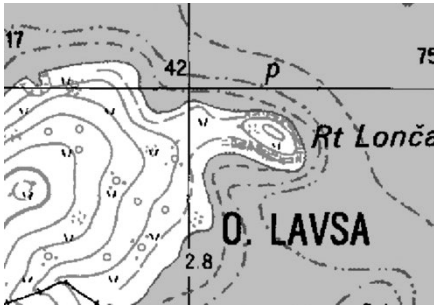


2) Morphological type “lonča/škrovada,” for smaller island promontories resembling a spear.

motif:

According to Skok’s interpretation (*Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, 131), lonča comes from the Latin *lancea*, ‘spear,’ which is quite plausible judging by the cape’s shape. According to N. Vuletić’s interpretation (*Toponimija otoka Pašmana*, 351), the name of the cape *Landin* on the island of Pašman is also derived from the same etymon.

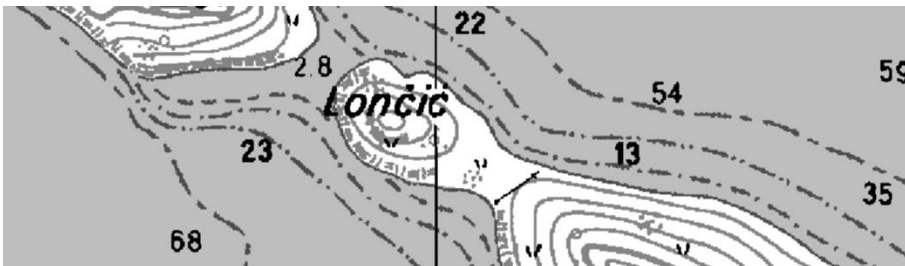
Examples of “Lonča”:



Lonča on Lavsa

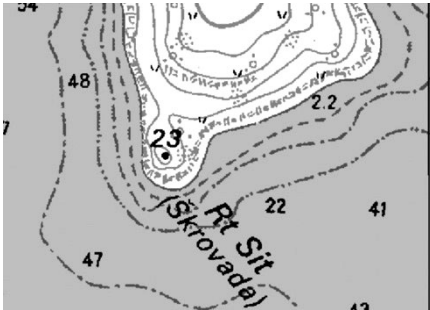


Landin on Pašman

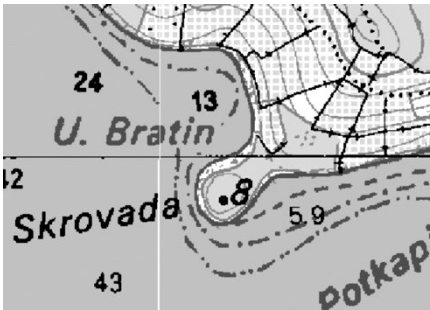


Lončarić (wrongly marked as *Lončić*) on Levrnaka

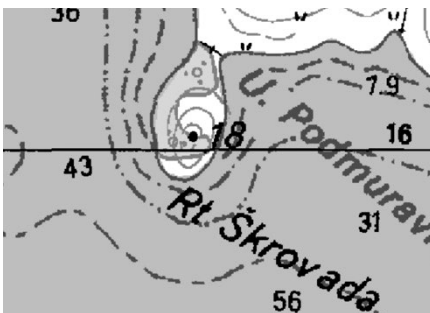
Examples of “Škrovada”:



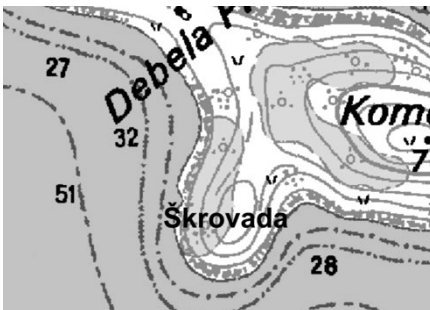
Škrovada on Sita



Škrovada on Zverinac



Škrovada on Žut



Škrovada on Kurba



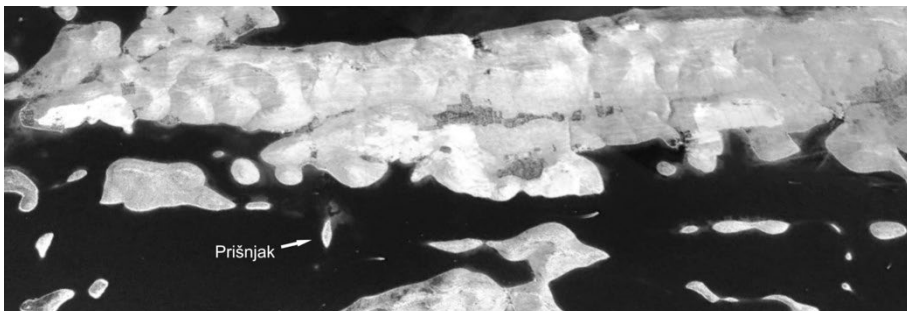
3) Morphological type “*prišnjak*,” for islands that stand perpendicular to the direction of the neighboring islands.

motif:
Prišnjak = an island that stands priko, i.e., “across” or “sideways.”

Examples:



Several Prišnjak islands near Murter



Prišnjak (*Tovarnjak* for the inhabitants of Murter) in the Kornati archipelago

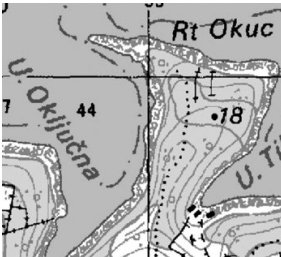


4) Morphological type “ključ” (‘key’).

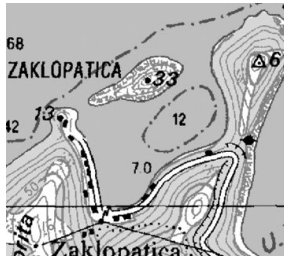
motif:

Islands and capes that “close off” bays and gulfs. This metaphor is realized through several synonymous lexical variants, e.g., *Oključ*, *Oključna*, *Zaklopatica* (< ‘zaklopiti,’ ‘to close shut’), *Čavatul*, *Čavlena*, *Čavlin* (< Latin *clavis*, ‘key’), *Zaporinovac* (< ‘zaporiti,’ ‘to lock’), etc.

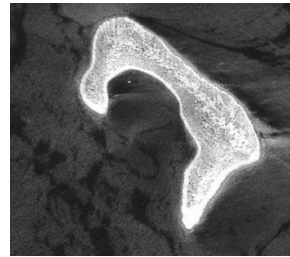
Examples:



Oključna on Vis



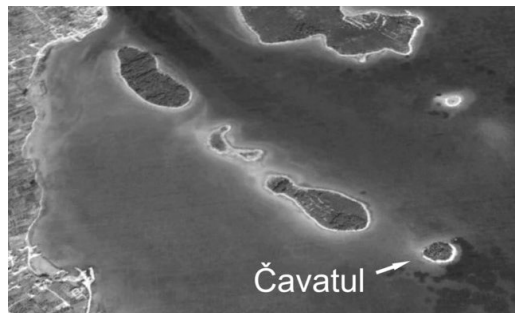
Zaklopatica on Lastovo



Oključ in the Kornati archipelago



Čavlin in the Šibenik archipelago



Čavatul in the Pašman Channel

PROTOTYPE: **Tovarnjak**

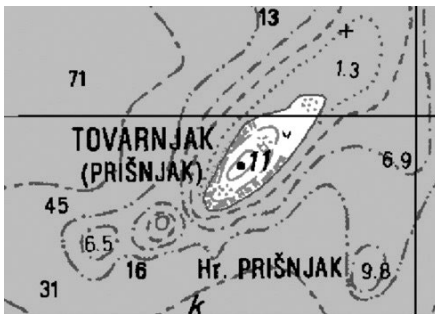


5) Morphological type “Tovarnjak” (tovar, ‘donkey’), for small islands with a shallow cape.

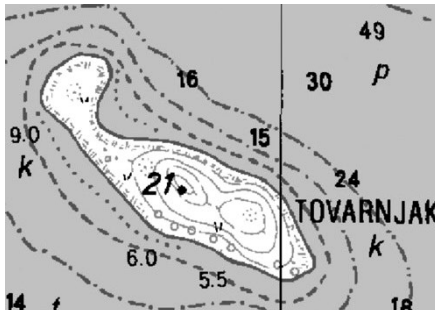
motif:

A low cape and shallow seabed that present a danger for grounding. This configuration “resembles” a donkey’s tail.

Examples:



Tovarnjak in the Kornati archipelago



Tovarnjak near Molat

Outside the metaphorical sphere, there are countless recurring toponymic forms. Naturally, many more can be found within the metaphorical sphere as well. We will mention just a few that would be harder to depict visually, as the examples presented here should suffice to illustrate our point. Such forms include *Barilo*, *Dinarići*, *Galijska*, *Gujak*, *Kobiljak*, *Kotlenica*, *Idro*, *Zaik*, *Konj*, *Korito*, *Lumbarda*, *Murtar*, *Nozdra*, *Rukav*, *Sestrica*, *Zaglav*, *Vrata*, possibly *Vrtlac*, etc.

References

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- JURIĆ, A., 2010, *Jezična i onomastička obilježja zadarsko-šibenskih otoka i priobalja*, PhD dissertation, Sveučilište u Zadru.

8.3. Spatial Distribution of Toponymic Forms

A naming community and its linguistic habits are decisive factors in specific naming choices, as was clearly demonstrated in the discussion on the repetition of toponymic forms, which is not always easy to explain. Another such example is a distinct terrain configuration consisting of a peninsula and a mostly low isthmus connecting it to the mainland. In the area from Ist to Žirje, the same name has been recorded 14 times, always at a “reasonable” distance between two attestations. The etymology of this word has been discussed elsewhere (Skok, Skračić, Šimunović, Vinja), and we will not address it here. All attestations come from the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago. The toponym in question is *Škrovada* (see above). What is particularly intriguing here is the fact that this toponymic form, as far as we can determine from the collected material, does not appear anywhere else in the Adriatic, despite the presence of many peninsulas of this shape! It is also important to note that in the zone where it appears, there are very similar configurations that do not bear this name: *Lopatica*, *Lonča*, *Zaglav*, for example.

The question, of course, is why the name is not known throughout the Adriatic when all the conditions for its use were obviously there. Or perhaps they

were not? If the answer cannot be found through the referent, could it perhaps be found through the name-givers? Who named it? It is reasonable to assume that it was fishermen, given that this is an area of intensive fishing. Where did they come from, if they came from anywhere at all, and why did they decide to stick around, judging by the toponym, only in this fishing area? We can assume they came from a unique toponomastic source where this word was familiar to everyone. But which one?

Even more intriguing is the existence of the appellative and toponymic form *Aranj* and its numerous variants. As far as we know from field research and written records, it is richly attested only in the Zadar archipelago (with about forty toponyms) and, to a much lesser extent, in the Zadar coastal region. This form still functions both as an appellative and as a toponym, and its referent is always water. Interestingly, as a linguistic form, it is not known in any of the languages that have left written records on the coast and islands. Should it be assumed that it originates from Liburnian or perhaps an even older Mediterranean layer? Given the age and appellative nature of the lexeme across all islands, is it possible to conclude that it has “always” been part of the name-givers’ lexicon and has always denoted the same content. Can such a distribution tell us anything about the former inhabitants of the islands and the time of their settlement? Certainly. The only question is “what,” and the answer can only be provided through collaboration between historians, geographers, and linguists.

A discussion on the distribution of toponymic forms, almost by definition, also involves a debate on the relationship between Romance and Slavic influences or – speaking from today’s perspective – between allochthonous and autochthonous elements. The complexity of linguistic results that emerged from such linguistic stratification has been extensively explored in Croatian linguistic literature (Skok, Vinja, Tekavčić, Muljačić, Šimunović, Filipi, Vuletić...). At this point and for this level of discussion, we will highlight just two facts that may be very useful to researchers. The very distribution of linguistic elements (older and newer, Romance and Slavic) largely reflects the activities in which the population engaged, and these activities correspond to the terrain’s configuration. With some experience, we can predict what kind of toponymic forms we can expect in a particular geographical area, such as an island inhabited since antiquity. The oldest settlement and the island itself will most likely bear the same name, and it will be of Romance or pre-Romance origin, adapted to

the Romance linguistic system, which in the case of our islands and coast is most often Dalmatian Romance, specifically one of its Adriatic varieties (*Vegliote, Iadertin, Ragusan...*): *Lubricata, Arba, Ladesta, Kissa, Curicta, Krkar, Jes*. Settlements in the island's interior will typically have Croatian names, as the Croats settled primarily in the island's interior, which was less interesting to the indigenous inhabitants who mainly engaged in maritime activities and trade: *Babino Polje, Smokvica, Goveđari, Poselo, Pošpilje...* Similarly, the names of most peaks and slopes, plots and sections of fields, caves, and other terrain configurations, such as *lebro, pleće, glava, laz, teg, celina, garina, požar, kus, trsina...* will be of Croatian linguistic origin, as well as the toponyms within the settlements themselves: *Kolo, Koledišće, Igrišće, Gumlo, Ravnjišće*.

In larger rural settlements on the island, we can also find a number of younger Romance toponyms (regularly Venetian), which will always refer to an institution in the settlement or an activity whose trace remains in the name (*Padrara, Žudeka, Travaka, Magazini*). When it comes to settlements on the coast or parts of settlements along the coast, Romance influences are to be expected: *Porat, Porporela, Repar, Mu(l), Spansa, Škver, Peškarija...*

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8.4. *Opposition as a Stimulus in Name Formation*

A very common method in the creation of toponymic forms involves contrasting certain properties of the referent. The most frequent oppositions include the relationship between large and small, important and unimportant (this will be discussed further). Most oppositions are expressed through two-part or multi-part toponymic phrases. By their number, the most common

ones in the Adriatic are: *veliki/veli* ('big'): *mali* ('small'), *zmorašnji* ('north-western'): *južnji* ('southeastern'), *mladi/novi* ('young'/'new'): *stari* ('old'), *plitki* ('shallow'): *duboki* ('deep'), while the oppositions *gornji* ('upper'): *donji* ('lower'), *gornji/burnji* ('upper'/'northeastern'): *donji* ('lower'/'southwestern'), *ravni* ('flat'): *kameni* ('rocky'), *široki* ('wide'): *uski* ('narrow') have far fewer attestations. There is no need to enter a discussion about what is considered large and what is small in naming. We can simply establish that, in toponymy, something large is bigger than something small. An intriguing opposition includes the pairs *zmorašnji: južnji*, which define the NW: SE relationship, and *gornji/donji: burnji*, which define the NE: SW relationship. Due to the orientation of the Adriatic islands and coastline (the so-called *Dinaric direction*), there are disproportionately more toponymic syntagms that carry the determinants *zmorašnji* and *južnji* than *gornji* or *burnji* (both of which are alternatives of the NE direction) and *donji*.

Some oppositions are unexpected. *Duboka Punta* (where the adjective *duboka* describes the deep sea near the *punta*, 'cape') most commonly does not stand in opposition to *Plitka* ('shallow') but rather *Suha* ('dry'). The southwestern direction is mostly defined using the determinant *donji* and, occasionally, an adjective derived from the name of a wind: *garbin* > *garbinji*, *japrak* > *japašnji* < AFRICUS. On the other hand, for the northeastern direction, the most common adjective is *burnji*. *Stari* ('old') is paired with *novi* ('new') and *mladi* ('young'), *kameni* ('rocky') with *ravni* ('flat')...

The "resistance" of a toponymic form to change is best demonstrated by the example of the oikonym *Mali Lošinj*. Not only is *Mali Lošinj* larger than *Veli Lošinj*, but it is also the largest town on the Adriatic islands. However, at least for now, no one is even considering changing its name.

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8.5. The Importance of the Referent Confirmed in the Choice of Language

As previously mentioned, determining the origin of names of large Adriatic islands is difficult because they were named early and in languages unknown to us today. Apart from Dugi Otok, which is in many ways an exception within the Croatian archipelago, the motivation behind the naming of most large and important Adriatic islands cannot be determined with absolute certainty. However, if we want to uncover the principles behind naming impulses in the Adriatic nesonymy, we must turn to smaller islands, because they were typically named later, which means that their names are mostly of Croatian origin and, therefore, in most cases, still comprehensible. As with other referents in island toponymy, anything that was difficult to access or of lesser importance received a Croatian name, given that what was important and easily accessible had already been named before the arrival of the Croats. Naturally, for various reasons, the Croats changed the names of a vast number of important referents. We know this from historical attestations found on maps or in documents, which have since been replaced by new names (*Colentum*, *Pyzuh*, *Argiruntum*, *Burnum*). Other names will remain lost in the (true) onomastic sense until we discover their referents: *Dicera*, *Biperaria*, *Teraria*, *Estiunez*, *Katautrebena*... For many others, most likely the largest in number, every trace has been lost forever. Yet, it is hard to believe they never existed, especially when they were located near strong irradiation centers.

8.6. Important vs. Unimportant – On a Semantic and Formational Level

It is commonly believed – and practice confirms it – that only the “most important” names have survived to the present day. Many have been lost. The question of which names we know and which we do not was addressed in the chapter titled *Linguistic Community*. From an onomastician’s perspective, it is entirely reasonable to assume that every island within the sphere of human interest – and it is difficult to believe that any were not – had a distinct name. The fact that today we do not know its name, or that it exists but has not

reached us, means that the wider community lost the reasons for keeping the names of small uninhabited islands alive. For example, islands in the Kornati archipelago are among the smallest in the Adriatic, yet all their names were exceptionally well-documented during the era of active fishing (16th–20th century). Today, as that type of interest has diminished, the preservation of these names rests primarily on nautical charts – even for the *Kurnatari*¹¹ themselves.

Can some names be considered important while others are not? And if so, which names are important?

First, we must determine whether some names can indeed be deemed important while others are not. From an onomastic standpoint, there are no important, less important, or unimportant names, just as there is no hierarchy of more or less important words in a lexicon. Names are simply “agreed-upon” signs used to identify a particular reality. However, since the importance of referents representing various aspects of reality varies greatly, it is only natural that we notice these differences. In other words, it is the referents that are important or unimportant, while all toponymic forms are equal.

We have already established that large islands offered the best living conditions: the largest fields, the biggest pastures, the most abundant water sources, the best harbors... It is therefore not surprising that they were important, named early, and that their old names have largely been preserved to this day. Besides physical size, which is generally the primary factor in a referent’s importance, there are other specific features that can also be a factor for early naming and the preservation of the old names. *Pharos* is a small island, but it had a large lighthouse. *Palagruža* is a small island, but it was located on an important maritime route. *Trafalgar* is a small cape, but a battle important for European history took place there. *Sustipanac* is a small island, but it housed a Franciscan monastery. *Šipnata* is a small bay, but it had a good freshwater source, etc.

The distinction between what is important and what is less important is also expressed at the linguistic level, above all in word formation processes. A general rule can be established: the less important the referent, the longer the toponymic name. All inhabited Croatian islands, except one (*Dugi Otok*), have

¹¹ The *Kurnatari* are the owners of the non-permanently inhabited islands in the Kornati archipelago, residing there only occasionally.

mononymic, often monosyllabic, names (*Krk, Cres, Rab, Pag, Vir, Iž, Ist, Brač, Hvar, Vis, Mljet*). On the other hand, small islands often have two-part names, i.e., names derived from a larger of the two islands and expressed through oppositional pairs such as *veli(ki)* ('big') and *mali* ('small'). This is especially visible with the Kornati islands, which are, on average, exceptionally small. Out of 150 islands in the archipelago, only 91 have different lexemes in their names, while the remaining 59 follow patterns such as *veliki/veli* ('big'): *mali* ('small'), *gornji* ('upper'): *donji* ('lower'), *zmorašnji* ('northwestern'): *južnji* ('southeastern'), as is the case in the following examples: *Veliki Rašip: Mali Rašip, Gornja Sikica: Donja Sikica, Južnji Opuh: Zmorašnji Opuh*. The same is true for the names of peaks, bays, capes...

8.7. Names of Invisible or Poorly Visible Referents

Even though *brak* ('shoal') is an extremely important configuration for fishermen and, according to the principle of referent importance, it should have a mononymic name, only a few out of the two hundred shoals in the Zadar-Šibenik underwater archipelago bear non-complex names: *Polimera* (Vrgada), *Tabinjak* (Kornati), *Trav* (Premuda)... Here, a factor unknown on land plays a role in name formation. A *brak* is located beneath the surface, and often, even at its peak, its bottom is not visible. On the one hand, we have an important referent, as *braks* are typically rich in fish, but on the other hand, this quality of the referent cannot be perceived by the senses. In such a situation, the name-giver uses a visible land referent (peaks, bays, islands, capes) and combines it with the noun *brak* to form a name. The most common structure follows the pattern *Brak od* + the name of a visible referent in the genitive case: *Brak od Blitvice* (island), *~ od Lonče* (cape), *~ od Čirjaka* (peak), *~ od Njivice* (land parcel), etc. In this particular case, it would be more appropriate to speak of inaccessibility rather than importance as the reason for discursive naming. A *brak* is not the only poorly visible or invisible yet important configuration in the Adriatic seabed. This category includes many other underwater referents, which function as both appellatives and/or toponyms in local dialects: *mela, lenga, staza, vabis, prag, kadija, zativ*...

In closed toponomastic communities, the name of a *brak*, as well as any

other referent, could be reduced to just the geographical term (the first part of the phrase) if such a referent with a complex name is the most important of all referents within the given community, i.e., semantic field. For example, in the *brušket* (lottery) for fishing spots in the Kornati archipelago, the well-known *Brak od Okjuča* was simply referred to as *Brak*. It was understood that this referred to *Brak od Okjuča*, as the teams participating in the lottery could not fish using *kanaštrele* (a type of fishing net) at any other shoal in the area. Such reductions are common in other types of compound structures (e.g., adjective + noun), often resulting in the substantivization of adjectives: *Crkovno, Suvčeno, Beli, Studena...*

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8.8. Determining the Age of a Toponymic Form through Phonetic Analysis

Phonetic analysis of toponymic forms can help us determine – with more or less reliability – the chronology of their development. This analysis can be applied with relative certainty to Dalmatian Romance and generally Romance toponymic forms and the correlation between them, as well as to the correlation between Romance and Croatian forms, which, in principle, is not complex, but is not always straightforward either. A mitigating factor in identifying Romance layers comes from the fact that all Romance idioms derived from Vulgar Latin can be compared against a common source. Given that documented attestations in lexicon and toponyms generally indicate when specific changes affected different parts of the Romance-speaking territory, these attestations can help us determine, with more or less certainty, the era from which a given name originates.

However, it is important to emphasize why Romance toponyms are particularly significant and certainly among the most thoroughly studied sources in

toponomastics. While Romance toponyms provide invaluable data for studying the phonetic development of indigenous Adriatic Romance idioms, they are primarily an important source for understanding Croatian linguistic and general history. And not only that. In this respect, they offer far more information than toponyms of Slavic origin, regardless of how archaic the latter may be. Since the chronology of contact between the Croats and the Adriatic Romance population is known from non-linguistic historical sources, an analysis of the phonetic changes detected in Romance toponyms, in relation to their presumed or documented Latin etymon, can provide highly accurate insights into the chronology of phonetic changes in the then-contemporary Slavic language. Indirectly, it can also shed light on the time and manner of the Slavic migration and settlement in different regions of their new homeland.

For example, if we compare the toponyms *Mocira* and *Polača*, which we know are continuations of the Latin MACERIA and PALATIA, with the toponyms *Makirina* and *Palac*, which also derive from the same Latin etymons, it is easy to see that the Romance short *a* was adopted as a short *o* in the first two cases and as an *a* in the latter two. If we also know that the Proto-Slavic language, at the time of migration, did not have a short *o*, which was adopted later, most likely in the 9th century, from the short *a*, we can conclude that *Mocira* and *Polača* entered the Slavic language before the 9th century, while *Makirina* and *Palac* did so at a later date, given that the said change is not recorded in them. However, is this claim equally valid for general vocabulary as it is for toponymy? As far as we know, the form *Makirina* has not been attested anywhere other than in toponymy, specifically as the name of a hill near Pirovac, so it is highly likely that it entered Croatian as a toponym. In contrast, when it comes to the appellatives *mocira* and *polača*, we can only determine that they entered Croatian very early, but we cannot claim that this applies to all instances of *Mocira* and *Polača* attested in toponymy, simply because these nouns, being also confirmed appellatives, could have become toponyms at any time.

However, there are cases where a phonetic change attested in a Romance toponym serves as an almost decisive source for interpreting the chronology of phonetic changes in the recipient language. For instance, if we focus on the same phonetic change, toponyms such as *Trogir* (< TRAGURIUM), *Solin* (< SALONA), etc. – which, based on historical sources, must have entered the Slavic language alongside the migration process – tell us that the short *a* in

Proto-Slavic developed into the short *o*. If we take liquid metathesis (the reordering of *ar, al > ra, la* and *er, el > re, le* in closed syllables) as an example of one of the best-documented early phonetic changes, the significance of Romance toponyms for interpreting linguistic and general history becomes even more evident. Knowing that this change was likely already in effect between the late 8th and early 9th centuries, toponyms such as *Rab* (< ARBE), *Skradin* (< SCARDONA), *Mljet* (< MELITA), etc., serve as a reliable proof that the Slavs had their own names for these referents even before that date. In contrast to Romance toponyms in this series, Proto-Slavic toponymic lexemes in which liquid metathesis occurred (e.g., *grad* < Proto-Slavic **gardu*, *blato* < Proto-Slavic **balto*, *glava* < Proto-Slavic **galwa*, etc.) do not, on their own, reveal anything about the time this change took place or about the time when the Slavs settled the eastern Adriatic coast, given that they have been continuously present in the language from its earliest periods to the present.

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8.9. The Importance of the Referent Confirmed by Grammatical Gender – The Large Islands

Why the people who first settled on the islands or the sailors who observed them from the sea chose their specific names in many cases remains a mystery. The primary reason for this mystery is the lack of understanding of the language spoken by the first islanders, i.e., the name-givers. Remnants of material culture from prehistoric periods, certain toponymic forms, and formative suffixes that cannot be linked to any known language spoken on our coast and islands are all indications of very early naming, belonging to a linguistic

layer that, for lack of a better term, is often referred to as *Mediterranean* (*aranj*, *jadro*, *hripa*, stem *skr-*, etc.).

However, the first names of Adriatic islands have not reached us in the language in which they were originally created. Objectively, this is not even possible, given that the idioms of the early island speakers lacked a writing system. The first names of these islands reached us primarily in the Latin script and were shaped according to word formation processes reserved for Latin. One of the fundamental morphological characteristics of the Latin language is the existence of grammatical gender. Since the noun *insula* in Latin is of feminine gender, the names of islands that have come down to us were also in the feminine gender (*Phara*, *Issa*, *Bratia*, *Meleta*, *Curicta*, etc.).

The further development of the nesonymic forms of large Adriatic islands is a clear example of how a seemingly simple linguistic fact (the relationship between masculine and feminine gender) can help in establishing the approximate periodization and the ethnic composition of the population in a given era. As is well known, the present-day names of large, inhabited islands are predominantly masculine (*Hvar*, *Vis*, *Brač*, *Mljet*, *Krk*). There are some exceptions – that have not received proper treatment in literature, especially given their number – but they do not fundamentally disrupt the system. Why did this change occur? As the Croats settled on the islands, they brought with them the noun for the geographical formation on which they now lived. This was no longer the Latin *insula* (feminine) but the Croatian *otok* (masculine). If the noun denoting the reality is masculine, then the named reality must also agree in gender. The above-mentioned islands, as well as many others not mentioned here, now have masculine names.

However, the names of two large, inhabited islands, *Korčula* and *Šolta* (feminine), do not fit this pattern. Despite having had their Croatian grammatical phase (*Krkar* and *Sulet*, masculine), their names, for reasons that have little to do with their significance, have been reverted to the feminine gender. A special group of inhabited islands that, for various reasons, remain in the feminine singular or plural forms today includes *Vrgada* (once *Lapkat*), *Rava*, *Škarda*, *Premuda* (once *Dlačnik*), and *Silba* (feminine singular), as well as *Srakane*, *Kaprije*, and probably *Unije* (feminine plural). Why these islands, despite being inhabited by Croats, did not change their gender remains unanswered. What they all have in common is their small size, the presence of only one settle-

ment, their location in the North Dalmatian and Kvarner island groups, and the strong influence of Zadar as an administrative center under Venetian rule.

Only three inhabited islands today have neuter names: *Lastovo*, *Čiovo*, and *Biševo*. *Biševo* has all the attributes of an inhabited island except the main one – it does not have a permanent population. However, even if this is the case today, from a linguistic and toponomastic perspective, the reasons why it should be considered an inhabited island are still there. *Zečevo* is uninhabited. The old form *Sansicovo* has evolved into the masculine *Susak*. *Šćedro*, if it can be included in this group of islands, is a special case (lacking the possessive suffix *-ovo*). Skok believes that the neuter gender in the names of the first three islands mentioned here resulted from *ostrvo* (neuter), a superordinate noun for ‘island’ in the speech of this island’s inhabitants. Šimunović convincingly refutes this, using as his argument the distribution of the lexemes *otok* / *ostrvo* and the word formation process in which *-ovo-* is an infix of the former ktetic *lastovski*. When the final suffix *-ski* was dropped, *-ovo* remained at the absolute end, which led Skok to assume that the superordinate noun was *ostrvo*.

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8.10. The Importance of the Referent Confirmed by Grammatical Gender – Small Islands

Small islands are less important than large ones. Most of their names are not known to the wider community. In most cases, they were named by the Croats. There is no proper linguistic systematization of small island names following any approach or principle. To use Skok’s phrase: *It is yet to be done!* Despite this, at this level of analysis, it is possible to offer some indications regarding the linguistic characteristics of their toponymic forms. The first is that the names of small and uninhabited Adriatic islands are mostly of Croatian origin

(*Prišnjak, Gubavac, Smokvica, Blitvica, Lukovnjak, Crnikovac...*). The second, which is of utmost importance for onomastics, is that these names are unstable, which generally indicates that they were named later or that they were “unable” to preserve their older names. Archival and historical documents often reveal the existence of islands whose names we cannot associate with any referents known today, even though it is indisputable that they once referred to islands. On the other hand, there are some small uninhabited islands whose historical cartographic names do not match their present ones, which suggests their names have changed (*Arta* to *Goli Otok*, *Stomorin Otok* to *Kornat*, *Jadra* to *Piškerica*...). Naturally, inhabited islands have also changed their names (*Srimač* to *Murter*, *Kisa* to *Pag*, *Dlačnik* to *Premuda*...), but such instances are much rarer. Moreover, it is quite certain that many inhabited islands, at the time these processes were taking place, barely met the criteria for being considered inhabited.

However, when islands, despite being small and uninhabited, were of great importance, most often for maritime or fishing purposes, they regularly preserved their old names, some of which undoubtedly date back to the pre-Roman period. Most historical fishing grounds in the Kornati archipelago (used for catching small pelagic fish) bear non-Croatian names, and they are also feminine in gender, this time not due to the superordinate noun *insula/isola*, as one might assume, but because of *posta/pošta* (‘fishing spot’): *Aba, Levrnaka, Mana, Jadra, Panitula, Lavsa, Kasela, Lunga, Kurba*. All of these are important historical fishing sites in the Kornati archipelago.

Another important characteristic of the toponymic forms of small uninhabited islands is that there is no definitive criterion that would help us determine grammatical gender of a particular toponymic form. Thus, in most cases, gender is determined by the gender of the suffix, which, most likely, corresponds to the superordinate noun that the said toponymic form refers to. However, detecting this superordinate noun is no simple task. Out of ninety-one different lexemes found in the names of Kornati islands, fifty-five are masculine, thirty-four feminine, and two neuter. Despite the lack of adequate historical attestations, it can be said with a high degree of certainty that the most common superordinate nouns for the masculine gender include *scopulos, školj, otok*, and for the feminine *insula/isola, sika*, and *posta/pošta*.

The third and most important characteristic of small islands is that all of

them, no matter how tiny, have their own distinct name. This observation may seem trivial, but it must be said, above all because both the specialized and general public regularly use the phrase *nameless islet*, i.e., *nameless rock*. Nameless islands are a genuine category in some older published catalogues. However, the truth is that no systematically compiled list of any island group (Jurišić, Finka, Šojat, Šimunović, Božanić, Jurić, Skračić and his collaborators) includes an islet, reef, or rock without a name. This suggests that official lists compiled for various purposes were mostly created unsystematically, without a comprehensive understanding of the situation and without any consultation with toponomasticians. Our research, along with that of our colleagues at the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*, also confirms that, from Premuda to Punta Planka, there is no insular configuration that does not have its own distinct name. Although Duplančić Leder et al. (2004) brought order to the geographic data (referents), the linguistic side of the issue, when it comes to the number and names of Croatian islands, remains unresolved.

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8.11. The Importance of the Referent and the Length of the Toponymic Form

At several places, we have already established that the identification of a referent in toponomastics generally occurs spontaneously, i.e., that the nature of the referent prompts the name-giver to choose specific lexical material for the toponymic form. It has also been established that the structure of a name stands in relation to the importance of the referent. Even though there are some exceptions to this rule, a sufficiently large number of examples have demonstrated that toponymic forms tend to be shorter when the referent is more important and longer when the referent is of lesser importance. In to-

ponomastics, it has become a habit – one that should be opposed – to refer to the toponymic forms of small and lesser-known places as *microtoponyms*, which is entirely inappropriate. Therefore, we propose the introduction of a fully linguistic term, which, until a better suggestion is found, should be *agnonym*, ‘one that is not well known’ (see Chapter 5.13. *Microtoponym...*).

Non-complex (mononymic) toponymic forms are common, and they often come from a collection of intelligible (*Voda, Škoj, Varh, Jaz, Lokva...*) or unintelligible appellatives (*Iž, Krk, Aba, Šćah, Prdusa...*). The latter have most often been studied by toponomasticians and etymologists because their length, besides the importance of the referent, corresponds to the age of the form. In fact, the importance of the referent and the age of the toponymic form are compatible categories, as we have previously established.

Even though they undergo the process of derivation, toponymic forms nevertheless remain mononymic, and the derivational morpheme, at least in the beginning, denotes some important *seme* (most commonly size, belonging, age...). Some examples include *Voda > Vodice, Školj > Školjić, Varh > Vršine, Jaz > Jazina, Lokva > Lokvice...* When it comes to forms with non-transparent meanings, the derivational process that took place in the name often remains imperceptible. Today, in the suffixes of names such as *Vrgada, Krokada, or Trata*, no one seeks the Latin past participle ending *-atus*, nor do they recognize the Latin *-anus*, which was once used to express kinship, in the toponymic suffixes of *Mrljane, Pašman, Neviđane, and Ugljan*.

For compound forms, language uses two basic word-formation processes, though combinations of both are also possible. The first group of compound forms consists of those composed of a preposition and a noun (*Prihodišće, Podanak, Potarsku, Zamavreski, Nalazi...*). In such syntagms, prepositions often merge with the noun and function syntactically as a single word with a single stress (*Podalac, Popeti, Pokasteci, Zaljuto, Zagarine, Vavuščak...*). However, examples in which the components remain grammatically and prosodically completely autonomous are much more frequent (*Spod Beljuavke, Vis Bavkula, Pod Parahijana, Na Karubu, Za Braničovac, Zarat, Poj Tomasovac...*). Chronologically, the latter are typically of a younger date.

The second group of compound names includes those formed from an adjective and a noun (*Druga Garma, Zmorašnja Punta, Donja Sikica, Vela Sestrice, Kameni Žakan...*) or even, through juxtaposition, noun + noun (*Bok*

Škrivada, Čuh Polje, Draga Vodomarka, Punta Kamiškarat, Košulja Draga...). In such complex forms, the adjective serves as a determinant, qualifying the referent with its semantics (*veli(ki), mali, crni, bili, kameni, ravni, suhi, vodeni, stari, mladi* – big, small, black, white, rocky, flat, dry, watery, old, new...). However, the most common instances include adjectives expressing possession or belonging, as the referents in question are usually small and are owned by someone or “belong” to someone or somewhere in some way. Examples include: *Abeličin Mul, Bažiolova Ograda, Fižljeve Stupljivke, Županjeva Punta, Barničeva Trata*, and many others.

Besides adjectives, possession is also expressed through juxtaposed nouns, with the first in the genitive case (*Ranča Njiva, Babića Vrh, Malića Straža, Batkovića Žalo, Tetića Porat...*) and through a Romance-derived construction “clothed in Croatian form,” which is a very common procedure in toponymy used for naming small or barely visible referents. The formula follows the pattern noun + preposition *od* (‘of’) + second noun in the genitive case: *Mela o’ Vesejuha, Brak o’ Prišnjaka, Staza o’ Rašipa, Brak od Lonče, Vala o’ Studenjaka...*

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Appendix

Portrait of the Author: How Did I Become a Topomastician?

When acquaintances from my younger days ask me what I do for a living, I always find myself in the awkward position of not quite knowing how to respond. If I say I work in toponomastics, or, God forbid, onomastics, I can be sure they won't understand. That's why I try to avoid answering the question. Instead, I attempt to steer the conversation in a different direction. But inevitably, it circles back to the university where I work, which then leads to the next question: What do you teach? And that's where the problems begin again.

I would like to tell them that I do not actually teach what I study. I study toponomastics, yet I teach courses related to the French language. I am a faculty member in the Department of French and Ibero-Romance Studies. If perhaps I couldn't have said this earlier, now, at the end of my career, I certainly can: I have spent my entire professional life in that department without ever engaging in scholarly research on the French language. It was only after 2000, with the introduction of postgraduate studies at the University of Zadar, that I began teaching Adriatic toponymy. Across four different programs, no less.

I was a solid student of the French language, and I spent four years as a lecturer of Croatian at a French university. During my time in France, I invested a lot of effort into mastering that rather difficult language. Even today, I can still hear the words of my professor and friend, under whom I completed my degree: No one can ever truly learn this language! When I returned from France and, after various jobs, finally decided to pursue postgraduate studies, I natu-

rally considered continuing with French as my field of study. But my professor met me with another challenge: Why French? Let's leave French to the French. There are thousands of them studying it, and they're so good at it. We have our own concerns, ones that no one will address but us. Who will look after us, after our linguistic remnants scattered across the islands, our toponyms?

At the time, I barely knew what he was talking about. We had no such courses during our studies; I had never noticed any at the university in France either. My only knowledge about toponomastics came from a single reference in Romance literature: Petar Skok's *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima* (Slavic and Romance Heritage in the Adriatic Islands). I vaguely understood that it had something to do with proper names, specifically toponyms and their etymological interpretations. However, my professor was quite specific: the toponomastic material from the Kornati archipelago needed to be catalogued. The population was dwindling, names were being forgotten, skills were disappearing... I understood the emergency, even though I was completely unprepared. Nonetheless, I was a Kurnatar, I had often visited the Kornati archipelago, and I still knew the people, the land, their customs... I had a solid linguistic education; in short, it was clear that it had to be me! And so it began. I hardly needed any methodological instructions since, back in the seventies, I had administered several of my professor's questionnaires for a future monograph on Adriatic fauna. It all came down to the bare minimum: asking questions and recording answers... I completed my master's degree in 1984 on the toponymy of the Kornati archipelago, which meant I quietly slipped into Croatian onomastics, without anyone offering me a warm welcome! Fortunately, my master's thesis was published in its integral version in *Onomastica Jugoslavica* 12 in 1987, obviously thanks to my professor.

I know of many cases where a person's choice of a career path was influenced by a distinguished predecessor. It must be said: V. Vinja's advice was not easy to ignore. Beyond his immense knowledge and insight into the field, there was another reason, which was not strictly linguistic in nature, yet meant the world to me – though I fully recognize it only today. What I cherished most about my professor was our shared belonging to the same world – the Mediterranean – a sense of identity that, in our case, was almost synonymous with a worldview. This belonging was reflected in both linguistic and non-linguistic expressions: from the most intricate etymological solutions to playing *briškula*. Unabatedly

we consumed the Mediterranean, in every possible form, both theoretical and practical.

My initiation into onomastics through Kornati toponymy was meant to provide answers to many questions hidden in the names of Kornati islands and their toponyms. But this task could not be accomplished without a complete insight into the Kornati reality... This is when I embarked on a journey of field research that continues to this day. I thank God for revealing to me, in such a simple way, a truth (my homeland and its disappearing heritage) that was so evident yet, that, perhaps because of my familiarity and deep attachment to it, I had never noticed before.

I was always envious of students of art history, archaeology, geography... who had the opportunity to spend a lot of time in the field doing their research. It made sense. Fieldwork was for them like anatomy practice is for medical students. Even though I had twice visited Krk (the homeland of Tuone Udaina Burbur, the last known speaker of the Dalmatian language) with Professor Vinja's *Romance Seminar*, I did not see that "terrain" as a place crucial to understanding of the Dalmatian language. It could have been learned in Zagreb just as well as in Omišalj. In any case, our field classes did not connect us with living speakers of the Dalmatian language, as even on Krk, they had long since passed away. That seminar had an important impact on my life, but that is part of a different story.

My first real field research took place on Susak, that unusual island with its unusual people, under circumstances so dramatic they could inspire a compelling film script. I often wonder, when writing or recounting fieldwork stories to my colleagues, whether I should also write a word or two about these non-linguistic aspects of my experiences. Perhaps it would spark greater interest in our field. Even though my professor never said so directly, it was obvious he was not entirely satisfied with the results of my first fieldwork, given that I never recognized them in his monograph.

Not even the previously mentioned toponymy of the Kornati archipelago, which I also gathered in the field, can truly be considered proper field research. In the Kornati and on Murter, where I collected the material, I was in an environment I knew so well that I felt completely at home. And that's precisely what it was. During my interviews, there was no need to engage in lengthy conversations to create the kind of atmosphere that ensures the informant's

comfort and calm and thus guarantee high reliability of the collected data. Besides, no Kurnatar lives exclusively in the Kornati, so I was able to conduct part of the surveys in Murter, Betina, Zaglav, and Sali.

The third phase of my fieldwork was the most difficult and the longest. Even though I improved my technological procedure by recording the collected data, the true complexity of the work became apparent only later, when it came time to present it in a book. My original idea, as I prepared for my research, was to compile a modern toponymy of the Zadar and Šibenik islands. Modern because my mentor and I believed that there was time to deal with the historical records safely preserved in archives. Unfortunately, this proved not to be the case, as Croatian cities were, at that time, repeatedly subjected to shelling. Fortunately, the archives remained unharmed! However, modern toponymy was, and still is, in grave danger, as it exists only in the memory of elderly men and women on the increasingly depopulated islands of the Zadar and Šibenik archipelago. Nonetheless, the plan to document material from all the islands proved too ambitious. The first surveys showed that, given the scattered and logistically challenging terrain, I had to abandon the idea of covering all the islands and narrow my focus. I chose the Zadar islands. And when even that proved too much for one person, I limited my research area to the outer and central chains of the Zadar archipelago, where the demographical situation was more dire than within the inner chain. Besides, the inner islands were more accessible and better populated, which meant the toponymic material was more likely to endure. In hindsight, this was the right decision, as the goal of covering all the islands was eventually achieved when the time was right.

In mid-2009, a toponomastic monograph of Vrgada was published. The toponymy of Pag and Vir is about to be released, which will complete the Zadar toponomastic island inventory. Meanwhile, work has begun on the Šibenik area, as *Toponimija otoka Murtera* (The Toponymy of Murter Island) was published in 2010. However, all this now takes place under completely new circumstances. Since 2003, the University of Zadar has been home to the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research*, which now organizes and conducts research and publishes their results. I am proud to say that I founded and lead this center, and I extend my gratitude to everyone who contributed to its creation.

Onoma

It was December 1993. We were sailing through the Dodecanese, from Marmaris in Turkey toward Matapan, Corfu, and Murter, returning boats that their owners had sent from the Murter charter to Turkey during the war – for safekeeping. It was early in the morning as we sailed past Amorgos, and I was on watch duty. When we had passed roughly half of the island, a breathtaking monastery suddenly appeared, perhaps a hundred meters or more above sea level, literally glued to the cliffside. Since we had already planned to stop in Amorgos for supplies, we decided that all of us (the crews of the two sailboats) would visit the monastery together.

They explained to us that the only way to reach the monastery was either on mules or on foot, though part of the way could be covered by taxi. And so it was: first, we took a taxi, and then, when the road ended, we continued on foot. The monks were not surprised by our arrival; visits were obviously common. I don't remember we had to pay an entrance fee. They welcomed us at the gates and then led towards the center of the monastery, where the hegumen stood waiting – a small, elderly man with a white beard, just as we imagine ascetic monks to be.

The first impression from the sea – that the monastery was literally glued to the cliff – was not wrong. As we walked down the corridor toward the central area, on one side was raw, unworked rock, while the other housed the monastery's rooms, actually, a single row of rooms, as the ridge on which it was built allowed for no more. After a bit of commotion, it became clear that neither side spoke a language the other understood. Among us, besides Croatian, we had English, French, and Italian at our disposal, while on their side, apart from Greek, they spoke Russian, a little French, and even less Italian. The hegumen was welcoming and clearly eager to establish contact with us, visitors from Croatia, a country that, at the time and in that part of the Greek archipelago, was barely known. The hegumen did not give the impression of a learned elder trying to teach us something deep and important, but rather that of a curious person who had unexpectedly been given the opportunity to learn something from people he had never expected to meet.

He turned to me, probably because I was by far the oldest in our group, and said, *Onoma*. The word, which he uttered as a question, was something

I was supposed to understand, judging by the expression on his face. It was something common, well-known, something that required no guesswork. Yet I was completely unable to meet his spontaneous expectation because the word didn't fit into any of the languages in which I would have expected it to appear. Its familiarity, especially for someone who studies onomastics, seemed to have completely blocked me. Even when he pointed at me with his finger and repeated, *Onoma*, I still didn't understand. I was beginning to feel embarrassed when one of the younger crew members (who, incidentally, had no particular education) whispered to me: *Vlado, I don't know what the word means, but I'm sure he's asking you for your name.*

And so it was.

Zverinac

I conducted one of my many surveys on Zverinac. As with all my visits to an island, I arrived on a recommendation from someone well acquainted with the local islanders. I usually arranged to stay with those families. On the islands, especially during the winter months when the surveys were conducted, there were no hotels or inns. Everything depended on the kindness and benevolence of those good people.

The weather was bad – *slabo vrime*, as they say – too rough for fishing or working the fields. On such days, men typically repair their fishing or farming equipment, saw and chop firewood... I found my respondent as he *krpa mriže na sri kuhinje* ('mending nets in the middle of his kitchen'). Unlike most of the interviewees I had worked with before, he was not particularly friendly. He was distrustful, partly toward me, partly toward my work and its purpose. What do you need this for? He insisted that words from his Zverinac dialect could not be written down and immediately gave me an example: Tell me, professor, how will you write *muaška*?

I didn't explain much; instead, I tried to win him over by steering the conversation towards nets, fish, the weather forecast, farming jobs, the olives... This strategy usually works without fail. Once informants realize that you understand and appreciate their world, that you know what *trica* is in net-mending, which mesh size is allowed for *baligot*, or the best way to *škarati* ('prune') olive

trees... everything changes. You become what you actually are: part of their community, where knowledge and education are not an obstacle to be considered one of them. And so, our conversation about the toponymy of Zverinac started slowly, then gained momentum, until it finally flowed completely naturally.

At the end of the survey, after going through all the toponymic forms and their references, after making a second round along the map, I always ask the questions everyone enjoys and many believe are the true purpose of toponymic research (though they are not). These are the questions about the linguistic origins of toponyms, i.e., their etymology: Why do you think this peak is called that, and how did that cape get its name? What do your elders say? Is there anyone who knows? and so on. Most people are happy to answer. As expected, their responses are unreliable from a scholarly perspective and they often fall into the sphere of folk etymology, but they are always interesting and often amusing. And they certainly serve as an inspiration for further research.

And so, I asked my respondent: Why do you think your island is called Zverinac? In this case, it wasn't just a routine question because, just before my trip, there had been a debate in the newspapers about the origin of the name Zverinac. Moreover, I had my own hypothesis about its etymology, but I hadn't dared to make it public, so any additional information seemed useful. Whatever the case, my respondent answered: *Well, it's because our island has a lot of snakes.* I thought: Here's something new! The word for "snake" on Zverinac surely must be *zver*. No one had considered this before because there had been no information from the field. Even if the etymology followed a different path, it didn't matter. We had stumbled upon something new and important. Finally, I asked: Alright then, so what do you call a snake? *Well, gujina, what else?* was his reply.

Jedna rič (One Word)

Premuda was the most remote island where I gathered material for my dissertation. The journey to Zadar took four and a half hours. I had been to Premuda several times, conducting field research, and this particular episode happened during my last visit. It was late autumn, and, as usual, it was a weekend. I was

staying with the grandfather of one of my students. At that time, Premuda had only one able-bodied man. He carried out all the essential functions on the island: delivering mail, greeting and sending off the ferry, selling tickets, and assisting everyone in need. I had arranged to meet him *posli uligan i iza večere* ('after squid fishing and dinner') in one of my interviewees' kitchens. At that time of year, that meant around seven in the evening.

As a side note, it should be said most of the surveys are conducted in the evening, in the kitchen. Even in winter, regardless of their age and the often cold weather, people are busy during the day with farm work or household chores, while in the evening, if the weather permits, they go fishing – at that time of year, usually for squid.

That evening, after a long period of *jugo*, a terrible storm rose after which *okrenulo se vreme na burnje* ('the weather shifted to *bura*'), and the temperature dropped. The storm caught me in Lopata Cove, and by the time I walked back to the village in the rain, I was soaked. As I had no spare clothes, Grandpa Škarpona gave me his, and we put mine to dry *kod špahera* ('by the stove'). Though I don't usually dress conspicuously, it was obvious to everyone that I wasn't wearing my own clothes. On the other hand, this helped break the initial air of distrust that often forms at the beginning of an interview.

That evening and the next day, I conducted several interviews in various families, mostly based on recommendations from my friends in Zadar or from people I spoke to on the island. Sometimes, among the respondents, there are those who border on eccentricity, who want to prove they understand what is being done better than anyone else. They follow you around more than you would like, though any help is always welcome. One such man was there this time as well, and he became the hero of this anecdote.

Until recently, Premuda had used two *ports*. Here, *port* refers to the harbor where the regular ferry line (*pruga, veza*) docks. This is common with the islands in the Zadar archipelago that have only one settlement (Silba, Sestrunj, Ist). This fact alone deserves a separate story, but we'll leave that for another time. The port on the northeast side of the village is called Loza, and the one on the southwest side is Krijal. The path to both coves was steep because Premuda sits at a high elevation. The ferry would dock at one or the other depending on the wind – *bura* or *jugo*. On the morning of my departure, the ferry was leaving from Loza.

Because of the island's great distance from Zadar, the ferry always left very early. I had to wake up at three to have enough time and comfortably (*na komod*, as Premujani would say) reach the port for the four o'clock departure. It was bitterly cold. I arrived on time and sat in the ferry's lounge. Just as the sailors *odrišili krajnu* and we were about to cast off, someone called me from the deck. Professor, professor! Someone's looking for you on the pier! The ferry had already started moving. It was pitch dark, but under the ship's lights, I could see the pier and, at its edge, a man. He was shouting, *Profesore, doša san van reći da san se noćas siti jedne riči što san van je sinoć zaboravi reći* ('Professor, I came to tell you that I remembered that *one word* that last night I forgot to tell you.').

P. S.

A few years later, I heard that *niki čovik s Premude iša uvečer na uligne, da je učinila velika bura i da se nikada ni vrati* ('a man from Premuda had gone squid fishing one evening, a fierce *bura* hit, and he never returned'). Sadly, the story was true. A short article in the newspaper confirmed it. The unfortunate man was the very one who had guided me through the houses of Premuda's interviewees during my last survey on the island.

How to Get the Noun Cases?

When working with informants, it is particularly important to ensure that no linguistic form is suggested to them. Instead, the conversation should be guided in a way that naturally leads them to use the word (for example, a toponymic form) in the form that is crucial for the research. This leads to many unexpected situations: one and the same informant may provide different answers (one in response to a direct question and another in spontaneous conversation or a description of a situation related to a different toponym) or, conversely, different informants may offer different suggestions.... This issue typically arises with the so-called oblique cases (most often the genitive and dative) of a toponymic form, especially for toponyms with an unexpected or unusual nominative. Another major area offering inconclusive attestations involves compound toponymic forms with prepositions. In some cases, the

preposition is fully fused with the noun, so the form is no longer perceived as a compound, and the stress pattern follows accordingly. In other instances, the preposition in the compound form may function separately at one time and as a single unit at another.

Only a large number of attestations – and this means endless repetition of all possible positions in which a toponymic form may appear – can lead to a somewhat reliable conclusion on the actual shape of the toponymic form, which, when no other possibility presents itself, arises from pure statistics. I have found myself in such situations countless times, both alone and with colleagues, and it would be difficult to describe just one. For example, *Načrnje*. *Načrnje* is a large, neglected watering hole on Dugi Otok, and its referent has also been attested as *Čarnje* and *Načarnje*. This is an intriguing toponymic form, as already explained in this book.

To avoid directly asking the respondent to decline the noun *Načrnje*, which she most likely wouldn't have understood, we took a more indirect approach. We asked a question that roughly went like this: How do the people from your village say it when they go to their properties located at or near the watering hole? How? the respondent replied. *Ni vrag ne gre tamo* ('Not even the devil goes there.').

***Kurba* – A kurba either is or isn't a kurba!**

Few toponyms have attracted as much interest from the general public with no expert knowledge as two from the Kornati archipelago: *Kurba* (literally, 'whore' or 'hooker') and *Babina Guzica* ('old woman's ass'). The most bizarre stories have been told about the names in the Kornati Islands. Even scholars and experts haven't been saved from the temptation of adding more confusion to this chaos. This is not the place to debate with all the curious minds who seek the origins of these names in simplistic and appealing explanations, nor will I delve into a scholarly discussion, as I have already done so to the best of my ability elsewhere (*Folia Onomastica Croatica*, 16, 193–205).

I have always held that these toponymic forms are the result of folk etymology, i.e., these forms have been "strained" into their current linguistic

forms by the users' wish to make sense of their content. This is still my position, but with a slight revision with regards to the period when these adaptations took place. I originally believed these were recent phenomena. However, the delimitation agreements for the Kornati estates dating back to the 17th century confirm the name *Posteniza / Podsteniza*, which, in my opinion, would most likely be *Poštenica* today, for both islands called Kurba. That this name referred specifically to the Kurba islands is indisputable because the list recorded in the land registry places both *Poštenica* islands exactly where the Kurba islands stand today. The author of the list undoubtedly knew what the word *kurba* meant in Croatian and made a joke by assigning to the content – which he believed to be correct but inappropriate to list explicitly – a meaning opposite to the one found in the name. So, he wrote *Poštenica* (presumably meaning 'an honest woman,' because *kurba* is not such).

This opens another set of questions: why do these two islands – twenty miles apart and not next to each other – have the attributes *veliki* (big) and *mali* (small), when such naming practice is usually reserved for adjacent referents (*Veliki* and *Mali Prišnjak*, *Velika* and *Mala Smokvica*, *Vela* and *Mala Sestrica*, *Vela* and *Mala Straža*, *Vela* and *Mala Rava*, etc.)? As someone born in the region, I knew that *Kurnatari* refer to the cartographic *Velika Kurba* simply as *Kurba*, and the same goes for *Mala Kurba* (and if clarification is needed, they add *Kurnaska* or *Žutska*, depending on whether the island is associated with islands Kornat or Žut). So, I asked my respondent: Do you call the Kurnaska Kurba 'Velika Kurba' or just 'Kurba'? To this he replied, looking somewhat embarrassed: *Kurba oli je oli ni. Ne more biti ni velika ni mala.* (A kurba either is or isn't a kurba. How can a whore be big or small?!)

Sansigots Against Our Will

On two occasions, I conducted surveys on the island of Susak, and both times, I got almost no linguistic results. However, the non-linguistic aspects of both experiences were extremely interesting, especially the first one.

It was the spring of 1972. Professor Vinja was still collecting material for his monograph on Adriatic fauna. I had just graduated in February of that

year and was unemployed. The professor suggested that I could help him with his project by conducting a few surveys on fish names across the islands. I would even get paid for it. One of the places that needed to be visited was Susak. Getting to Susak is never easy, no matter where you're coming from. But in any case, the second-to-last stop on the journey is Mali Lošinj. From there, scheduled boats travel to the islands of the Lošinj archipelago (Susak, Ilovik, and Unije). My (now) wife Mirjana and I arrived in Mali Lošinj in the afternoon and stayed with her relatives, planning to leave for Susak the next morning. We arrived at the dock at the scheduled departure time, but the captain decided not to set sail due to a strong jugo. It didn't seem that bad to me, and I thought we could make it to Susak, but there was nothing I could do. Later, I learned it wasn't just the wind – Susak also had a poor port. In the end, the captain is always right. I had learned that lesson in maritime life as a child.

The next day, the jugo was still blowing, perhaps slightly less than before. After much pleading, the captain reluctantly agreed, grumbling something like: *You'll see once we get past the cape and hit the open sea...* In the ship's salon, there was only one other passenger, the lighthouse keeper's wife, and a coffin. Truth be told, the coffin was empty, but still, not exactly the best travel companion. We struck up a conversation with the lighthouse keeper's wife and learned her husband was from Jezera, one of the four villages on the island of Murter where I was born. Before we arrived, she told us: *Children, if you have time, stop by us.* We arrived in Susak, docked without any problems, completed the survey, and started looking for accommodation for the night, planning to take the boat back to Mali Lošinj in the morning and head home from there. But no one was able or willing to take us in, I don't exactly remember which, and I don't want to wrongly accuse anyone, so we remembered the lighthouse keeper's wife and her invitation. The lighthouse, logically, was at the top of the island. She fried some small fish for us, and we had dinner together. It was a warm, family-like atmosphere: they were grateful for the change we brought into their otherwise lonely evening, and we were grateful for their hospitality and for rescuing us from our trouble. However, there was one minor issue with the sleeping arrangements because the lighthouse keeper's wife couldn't allow my girlfriend and me, unmarried at the time, to sleep in the same room. We didn't protest. We weren't in a position to.

The next morning was beautiful, and the jugo had waned. We headed down to the shore via a path carved in the island's soft marl. The lighthouse keeper explained that the path was now wider than when he first arrived on Susak because he had brought a large three-door wardrobe that couldn't fit through the existing path, so they chipped away at the marl on each side with an axe until it was wide enough. We reached the shore much earlier than the scheduled arrival of the boat from Mali Lošinj. We had an expensive breakfast, at least for our budget at the time, at the island's only restaurant, which had a telling name that perhaps was not even complete because some of the letters had obviously faded. All that was left of it was *Turist am rost*.

While we were having our breakfast, word spread that the ferry's engine had broken down and it wouldn't be coming to pick up passengers. Since our budget was tight and the duration of our stay was suddenly uncertain, I immediately called my brother and asked him to wire me some money, which he did. The uncertainty made us restless. The island was small, and we had already met everyone we needed to meet. Would we have to stay at the lighthouse again? How long would this last? Then, a new information came in: The ferry wasn't coming, but another boat from Lošinj would – if I remember correctly, it was owned by a local cooperative – because it had to bring some Americans who were returning to Susak for the first time in who knows how many years.

And so it was. After a long wait, a wooden boat with a small cabin – clearly intended for transporting all kinds of goods and passengers – appeared on the horizon. Many island towns had such *communal* boats. By the time the boat arrived, it seemed like the entire Susak had gathered at the port. Everyone, of course, wanted to witness the event firsthand. Mirjana and I also wanted to be right there at the port, but for our own reasons, so that, God forbid, the boat wouldn't unload the Americans and head back to Lošinj without us on board. As luck would have it, the boat docked exactly where we were standing. We overheard the locals, who obviously knew everything there was to know about the returning Americans: how old they were, which families they belonged to. They talked about this and that, but we gave it all we had to make it loud and clear that we, too, were hoping to return somewhere, and would not like to be forgotten. Amid the commotion, the first American disembarked and began greeting and kissing his long-lost Sansigots and the first two people to stand in his way were Mirjana and me.

Garmenjak

In the Kornati archipelago, there are several islands called *Garmenjak*. There is no doubt that all were named after *garma*. *Garma*, again, is a common noun in the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago. It is not easy to define what *garma* is; however, it could be said that it generally refers to a small cove, usually steep, formed by sea abrasion. Nonetheless, there are very large and very small *garmas*, and one of the largest is *Velika Garma* on the island of Lavsa, which, again, is not called “big” because of its size, but because a smaller one is located nearby, which, of course, is called *Mala Garma*. In the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago, there are dozens of toponymic forms motivated by this geological feature, so *garma* is both a common noun and a toponym, depending on the situation. The word unquestionably comes from some language system unknown to us, and there is no complete consensus regarding its etymological origin.

This anecdote is purely onomastic and therefore probably not so interesting to the general public. The story is set – as the saying goes – in Sali on Dugi Otok, a place of great fishing tradition, and it involves the conversation with one of the most famous Sali fishermen, already quite elderly at the time. He told me several wonderful stories, which I will probably recount on some other occasion. The survey that I was conducting concerned what could colloquially be called the “Sali Confine,” and it primarily focused on linguistic material related to the coast, the sea, the islands, and fishing. Of course, the conversation, for both professional and historical reasons, also swerved to the Kornati islands, which are today part of the administrative territory of the municipality of Murter but were, until 1952, part of the Sali municipality. After we covered all the Kornati islands and established what the *Saljani* call differently from the *Murterini*, we came to the island of Garmenjak – which undisputedly belongs to the Sali region – located on the southwest side of the Lojišće bay on Dugi Otok.

On this island, there is a large gorge, visible from a distance, which surely provided a good reason for the naming. The island is called Garmenjak. In fact, it is *Veli Garmenjak*, because there is another smaller one named *Mali Garmenjak*. As I had done countless times before, at the end of the survey, when I no longer strictly follow methodological procedure, I asked the respondent directly: What do you think, why is this island called Garmenjak? I did this almost routinely, as the motif for the name seemed so obvious. How-

ever, he didn't know the answer. I was completely unprepared for this new situation, so I asked him: How do you in Sali call that large indentation, that hollow, that gorge...? He hesitated a bit and then said: *Well, we call it... a hole.* Since I couldn't believe it, and I probably showed it, he corrected himself: *No, not a hole, but a buža.* No way, I said, but the island is called Garmenjak, so then that must be *garma*, that's what everyone calls it. *No, no, I'm sorry, that's not it. For us from Sali, garma is only the Garma on Lavsa in the Kornati...*

Many years later, I did research on the Sali toponomastic lexicon in Kornati toponymy. Knowing the history of Kornati fishing and the place the people of Sali had in it, I expected that many words confirmed in the Sali lexicon would appear in Kornati toponymy. But to my great surprise, it wasn't so. This means that many points of the naming practices in the Kornati archipelago are still shrouded in mystery.

Buried Treasure

There were certain stories that were told on all the islands. The more relaxed the atmosphere got – usually towards the end of the survey – the stories drifted further away from the “assigned topic.” Two topics inevitably came up. The first included witches, werewolves, the dead and those who come at night, various spells, and omens. The second was buried treasure.

I was about ten years old, still a child, when I first came across the story of buried island treasure. One Sunday afternoon, my newly married cousin's husband, who happened to be on Lavsa, and I, along with a group of other children, set out toward a small, barely noticeable hill we called *Grška Gomila* to look for buried treasure. Interestingly, it wasn't the *Lavsari* who first told me the story about the buried treasure but the people who were new to the island. *Grška Gomila* ('Greek hill') was obviously Liburnian, as it usually happens in the Šibenik-Zadar archipelago. (*Grčki* is used for anything unknown and of unclear origin, similar to *vlaški* ('Vlach') along the coast.) Even though, based on my modest knowledge of such constructions, the origin of the structure seems credible, none of my expert colleagues has ever confirmed it. Be that as it may, we set to work, moved stones, dug deep, but as one might expect, we found nothing.

Since superstition had been eradicated in Murter by the early 20th century, stories about the dead returning and the souls of the deceased disturbing their loved ones didn't leave a deep impression on me. However, on one occasion, in Bargulje on the island of Molat, after hearing countless stories about all possible kinds of encounters from this and that side of the grave, I found myself losing sleep! Nonetheless, the story of buried treasure was different. It was somehow universal, deeply ingrained in island life. The elements from which it was made were almost identical from one island to another. It conveyed a certain sense of loss and mourning for something that had fallen into someone else's hands, something that perhaps could have been saved. Exactly how, no one knew, but still... And the story always went like this: usually in winter, during calm weather and on a full moon, a ship would arrive, lower its sails, and anchor in a cove where the islanders believed buried treasure lay hidden. The crew would row ashore in a small boat, unbothered by anyone, land, find the spot, and begin to dig. None of the islanders, for some reason, ever dared to expose themselves to danger. They would follow the operation from a distance, more by hearsay than firsthand witness... And then, just before dawn, when the work was done, the crew would first board the small boat, then onto the big ship, and sail away.

Who are these people? I asked.

The Greeks!

Onomastician's Comfort

When conducting research on small islands with an aging and dwindling population, all sorts of things can happen, especially if you manage to cross the boundary that separates an outsider from a local, if you manage to present yourself as a true islander. For me, this was never a problem, as much due to my islander and fishing-farming background as to my nature. Besides, all the activities my informants engaged in during my research were the very same ones I took part in on my home island – in the Kornati. I used to go squid fishing, pull *buskavica* (a type of fishing net), set *parangal* (longlines), and fish using *fruzata* (a traditional method using scare lines). I helped harvest olives, carried agricultural products from the fields, chopped wood, attended

funerals, went to mass, or even got invited to a chance birthday... In short, everything the family that hosted me did was not new to me, and it allowed me to function as if I were one of them. And that's exactly how they treated me.

This happened on Olib. Olib is a large island, at least by the standards of the Zadar archipelago. The demographic catastrophe hit it at the same time as most other islands. In short, Olib, like other islands of the outer chain, is home to a small, elderly population. This time, my student, a native of Olib, directed me toward this informant. As a side note, I often invited my students who had any connection to the islands (even though very few of them came directly from the islands) to contact me and join me if they were interested in what I was doing. The invitation – obviously – did not go unanswered.

But this is not an onomastic snapshot. My informant was an old man, over eighty years old. He probably didn't fully understand why I had come to him. He simply cherished the opportunity to have someone visit his house because, at his age and on these islands, that was a rare occurrence. I was someone he could talk to, even if he had no interest in my research. When his wife died and he was left alone, he found himself in a situation, as he said, where he didn't even know how to fry an egg. He had four sons in America, and they invited him to join them. He lasted a few months before returning to Olib – now even older, even more tired, and without hope. But better this than America. That was not his world. He had money. His sons sent him more than he needed. For a while, he paid a woman – a Bosnian, as he called her – who had come with her family to Olib to harvest holm oak, to help him around the house. For those who don't know, Olib and Silba supplied cities from Zadar to Venice with holm oak, an excellent firewood, for centuries. But when her work came to an end and, on top of that, she fell in love, got married, and left, he was alone again. Now he lived alone, cried, and didn't know what to do.

I had no words to comfort him, and it seemed he didn't expect any. He stayed there, sad and in tears, until the next opportunity.

A Note on the Author

Vladimir Skračić was born in 1946 in Murter into a *Kurnatar* family of fishermen and farmers, which had a major influence on his later interest in topics related to the sea, islands, and tradition – especially when it comes to linguistic, and within it, toponomastic heritage.

He graduated in French and Italian languages and literatures from the University of Zagreb in 1972, where he also completed his master's degree in 1984 with the thesis *Toponimija Kornatskog otočja* (Toponymy of the Kornati Archipelago). He earned his PhD from the University of Zadar in 1993 with the dissertation *Toponimija vanjskog i srednjeg niza zadarskih otoka* (Toponymy of the Outer and Central Chains of the Zadar Islands).

He spent almost his entire professional career in academia, including four years in France and thirty-three in Zadar. In France, he began his career as a lecturer, while at the University of Zadar, he held various positions, from lecturer and research assistant to full professor, serving also as the Vice-Rector for Science and Development (2007–2011). Although he taught in the French Department (later the Department of French and Iberian Studies), Skračić devoted his academic career at the University of Zadar to onomastics, particularly to toponomastic studies of the Adriatic islands. His books and scholarly papers clearly reflect this focus, with onomastics and toponomastics serving as central themes for various research projects in which he participated. He is the founder and first director of the *Center for Adriatic Onomastic Research* (now the *Center for Adriatic Onomastics and Ethnolinguistics*, established in 2003) and the editor-in-chief of the *Onomastica Adriatica* series, which now includes toponomastic monographs on all the islands of the Zadar-Šibenik archipelago

– a total of seven books – with a volume on the toponymy of the island of Rab currently in preparation.

After his retirement in 2012, he continued to be actively involved in the Center's research activities, editing two toponomastic volumes, co-authoring one book and several articles on maritime lexicon, and participating in the field research for *Jezični atlas pomorske i ribarske kulture Dalmacije i Kvarnera* (Linguistic Atlas of Maritime and Fishing Culture of Dalmatia and Kvarner).

Given his Kornati heritage, Skračić has consistently addressed various issues within the sensitive and complex system of the Kornati archipelago, particularly after it was declared a national park. Two ethnological guides, two documentary films and one television series, three major studies, several scholarly articles, one toponomastic monograph, a book on Kornati heritage in the form of a lexicon, and numerous cultural events related to Kornati identity and heritage are his contributions to this ongoing discussion with an uncertain outcome.

He is also the founder of the *Latinsko Idro* association, which preserves the tradition of sailing wooden boats with Latin sails, and the *Arhipelagos Project*, which aims to expand the University of Zadar's research and educational activities to the islands of the archipelago.

He has received the Zadar County Lifetime Achievement Award.