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OFFICIAL AND UNOFFICIAL IN URBAN TOPONYMY: NAMES OF GEOGRAPHICAL OBJECTS IN ZAGREB

The paper presents some characteristics of the official and unofficial Zagreb urbanonymy from a cultural-geographical perspective. Streets, squares, parks, riverbanks, districts, as well as administrative, military, health, educational, scientific, cultural, sports and social facilities have official names. Some also have nicknames. The names of streets, squares, and parks can reflect the dialectal forms of the Kajkavian dialect. Residential and office buildings generally do not have official names. Most of the research deals with the naming motivations of such buildings. The main sources are online sources, including language corpora gathered and managed in the Sketch Engine application, websites, online dictionaries, Croatian Wikipedia, etc. The results indicate that the name of a residential or office building most often originates from some visual characteristics of the building, from a metaphor for such a characteristic, its location, the name of a person associated with the construction of the building, or the name of the company that has its offices there. A recent trend of giving office buildings English names to attract tenants has also been noticed.

Key words
place names; informal names; unofficial names; nicknames; naming motivation; Zagreb

Introduction

The standardized official or formal geographical[1] names determined by the administrative authority through legal acts have the highest degree of urbanonym formality in Croatia. From 2022, the official names of settlements, streets and squares undergo a full standardization process, which implies that before the administrative body decides on the name, the Commission for Standardization of Geographical Names has to provide its opinion on it. The commission, established in 2019, also recommends the names of other geographical objects if necessary. All other geographical names are unofficial or informal names. This category also includes popular, accepted, and well-established toponyms without official counterparts, but also less known, often only colloquial toponyms that are inherent to

[1] From the perspective of a geographer, all objects on the Earth's surface that have a recognizable identity are geographical objects, whether natural (physical) or anthropogenic, i.e. man-made, whether they are situated in the city or in nature. The mainstream idea that geography equals physical geography, and therefore geographical objects are only physical ones, was abandoned long ago. Consequently, geographical names are the names of all geographical objects, from houses, streets, squares, settlements, mountains, rivers to countries and continents.

only one social group, such as toponyms in slang or jargon. Unofficial names are given both to those objects that have the official names (in which case they are nicknames) and to those that do not have their official variant.

In literature, and especially in newspapers, the terms related to the (in)formality of toponyms are often used variously, which causes further ambiguities in the use of certain terms. The following terms of the same or similar meaning are mostly used (with some meanings partially overlapping): nickname,[2] popular, spoken, colloquial, conversational, informal, unofficial,[3] unconventional, secondary,[4] vernacular place name, and slang or jargon toponyms.[5] Without going deeper into the terminological issues, because that is not the aim of the paper, and to make the interpretation of the research simpler, the terms informal names (or toponyms), unofficial names (or toponyms), and nicknames (when there is an official name in addition to an informal one) are used interchangeably.

Literature overview

In the scientific literature, informal toponyms have recently been thematised more often than before 2000 (Györffy, 2013, p. 80; Balode, 2014, p. 69), although still less than informal anthroponyms (Zosimova, 2014, p. 138). However, as Zosimova states, they are an integral part of many language and nickname dictionaries,

[2] According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, nickname is "a usually descriptive name given instead of or in addition to the one belonging to a person, place, or thing" ('nickname', 2024) Nicknames coexist with official names, especially in literature and publicity (Dorion, 2000, p. 254).

[3] As Terhi Ainiala and co-authors (2016, p. 105) indicate: "unofficial urban names are all place names in the urban environment which are not official," meaning they are not planned, not given by any authority.

[4] Adrian Room (2006, p. 1) defines secondary place name as "a name, nickname, title, or slogan by which a place is known in addition to its formal or usual name. Such a name is rarely if ever found on maps or in gazetteers, although it features widely in travel guides, journalistic articles, and literature of all kinds."

[5] Laimute Balode (2014, p. 69) cites the following: "slang toponym is a proper name of a place, both inhabited and uninhabited, that is regarded as very informal, more common in speech than writing, and is typically restricted to a particular context or group of people", and also states that "colloquial toponym and unofficial toponym are both often used as synonymous terms". The Croatian Encyclopaedia defines slang as "the international linguistic term for words and expressions used in informal, colloquial style" (HE, 'slang', 2024). Therefore, slang toponyms are place names created in such a style. In her research on name giving models of slang toponyms, Erzsébet Györffy (2013, p. 85) points out that slang toponyms "mirror subjective impressions, emotions of the name giver with regard to the place" and adds that it is "frequently formed as a chain of associations". Paraphrasing Heikki Paunonen's work from 2010, Balode (2014, p. 70) indicates that "slang names are part of urban culture, part of the history of the city, and also an important part of collective identity".

a significant number of which have been published for the English-speaking area (e.g. Shankle, 1955; Kane – Alexander, 1979; Room, 2006). As in other toponyms, their various features can be investigated – extent, origin, meaning, formation models (Coates, 2012; Ainiala et al, 2012; Györffy, 2013; Zosimova, 2014, 2015; Reszegi, 2022), motivations (Zosimova, 2016a, 2016b), connotations (Brutian, 2018), functions (Ainiala et al, 2012), dialectal influences, the use and social significance. As other toponyms, they can be categorized according to certain features of the name or named geographical object (Coates, 2012; Nash, 2021). In Croatian scholarly literature, they are rather rarely discussed, mostly in the context of the name formation and the expression of urban identities; they are just mentioned as signifiers in the context of town construction, architecture, sociology of housing and ethnology of everyday life. However, one recently published article on unofficial names of residential buildings should be singled out. It is the article titled in English "From *Mamutica* ('Mamooth') to *Papagajke* ('Parrots'), from *Trešnjevačka ljepotica* ('Trešnjevka Beauty') to *Prostitutka* ('Prostitute') – unofficial proper names of Zagreb apartment buildings" (2024) by the Croatian onomastician Jože Horvat. The author has analysed about a hundred forms of informal names collected in the field research (surveying) among the people of Zagreb, and presented a very useful research methodology that could be used as a model for further comparative studies. Horvat established the most common types of naming motivations (colour, structure/configuration, dimensions, compositional specificity, and specific detail in the external appearance), and as a linguist, he proceeded with the analysis of semantic-motivations, structure, origins and formation of these informal names.

Most studies deal with informal names or nicknames of administrative units (such as American or Australian federal states) and settlements (Kane – Alexander, 1979; Zosimova, 2014, 2015, 2016a, 2016b; Brutian, 2018; *Australian place nicknames search*, 2024). Articles on informal names of facilities such as buildings, bridges, public institutions, etc. are mostly professional or popular types, i.e. newspaper texts. The purpose of this research is to encourage further research on such informal names in Croatia and elsewhere.

Research sources

In Zagreb's urban landscape informal names are most often given to buildings, streets, squares, parks, and districts, less often to other geographical objects, such as bridges or mountains.[6] The paper aims to present some characteristics of the official and unofficial names of various geographical objects in Zagreb by using

[6] For example, Medvednica Mountain is informally called *Zagrebačka gora*.

representative examples of names. Names are approached from a cultural-geographic viewpoint, therefore the geographical objects and the motivations of naming are put in the foreground – they are used as the basis for the toponym classification. The emphasis is placed on informally named buildings. The largest part of the research deals with determining the motivations for the informal names[7] of residential and office buildings because such buildings generally do not have official names. The names of other facilities are processed more concisely because they have official names.

The main sources used in the research are internet sources, namely language corpora of recent online newspaper texts, forums, etc. gathered and managed in the Sketch Engine application (with the number of occurrences), websites, online dictionaries, Croatian Wikipedia, and Google Search.[8] The Croatian Web corpus (hrWaC 2.2, RFTagger) from 2014 with about 1.2 billion words is used.

Additional sources are used to confirm the acceptance of the name in academic discourse. These sources are professional and scientific articles, books, printed dictionaries, the Croatian encyclopaedia, and lexicons. In the encyclopaedic sources, informal toponyms are not given as independent entries, but rather appear rarely and sporadically in other contexts, most often in the biographical entries on the architect(s) who built certain buildings, or in entries about the architecture, history and construction characteristics of the building, or entries about Zagrebs urbanism. Therefore, they are listed there either in italics or in quotation marks or with the abbreviation "so-called", which indicates that informal names are not yet fully accepted in the "official" discourse.

Official names

Within the Croatian settlements, the following geographical objects are officially named: districts (singular: *četvrt*/*naselje*), streets (*ulica*/*prilaz*), squares (*trg*), promenades (*šetalište*), riverbanks (*riječna obala*), seashores (*morska obala*), paths (*put*), roads (*cesta*),[9] parks (*park*), bridges (*most*), cemeteries (*groblje*), hospitals

[7] In a few articles Oksana Vitaliivna Zosimova dealt with the motivations for nicknames of American federal states and cities. She grouped names motivated by prominent architectural, cultural, educational and sports features of the geographical object as well as by notable individuals and fictional characters (2016a), and singled out the most popular motivational factors – historical, geographical, demographic and economic (2016b).

[8] Since all names are reachable on Google Search, the "sources" column in the tables does not list Google Search.

[9] Good examples of informal road names are *Dalmatina* for the A1 highway, *Slavonika* for the A5 highway, *Betonka* for the DC231 state road, and *Lujzijana*, *Rudolfina*, *Terezijana* and *Karolina* for the old state roads (with official alphanumeric designations) which connect the continental and the coastal part of Croatia.

(*bolnica*), schools (*škola*), as well as cultural, scientific, and higher education institutions, sports, administrative and military buildings. The most common motivations are geographical and related terms, persons, and events important for Croatian society, and dates associated with local, regional, and national history. These motivations are also encouraged by the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names (Preporuke za standardizaciju, 2020). Recently, individual investors or owners have given names to office buildings and shopping centres they built or own. Such names eventually become widely accepted.

Streets, squares, parks, districts

Streets, squares, parks, roads, promenades, waterfronts, and other public areas that are used for crossing over and short socializing activities have official hodonyms, which are full (long) names. Linguists Petar Šimunović (1964, p. 19; 1970, pp. 20–21) and Domagoj Vidović (2022, p. 17) single out two basic street naming formulas: 1) street + genitive, 2) adjective + street. This specifically means that the official street name according to the first formula most often contains the full official name of the country after which the street is named (*Ulica Republike Austrije*), the full anthroponymic formula (if it contains the ruler's title; *Ulica kralja Zvonimira*), or a personal name, surname, and possibly a nickname (*Park Ive Lole Ribara*). According to the second formula, the official name is formed with an adjective (*Visoka ulica*, *Školska ulica*) or a relative adjective (*Riječka ulica*, *Petrinjska ulica*, *Praška ulica*). Vidović additionally clarifies that when naming street after a geographical object, preference should be given to the relative adjective formula (*Riječka ulica*) instead of the first, genitive formula (*Ulica grada Rijeke*), and when naming after a personal name, the full formula in genitive should be preferred because it is clearer after whom the street is named (*Ulica Miroslava Krleže* instead of *Krležina ulica*), especially when the street is named after a less known person.

Due to economical and practical purposes, shortened names in addition to official full names have been established since the 19th century, first colloquially and later in writing practices (*Zvonimirova ulica* < *Ulica kralja Zvonimira*, *Branimirova ulica* < *Ulica kneza Branimira*, *Vodnikova ulica* < *Ulica Valentina Vodnika*, *Deželićev prilaz* < *Prilaz Gjure Deželića*, *Svačićev trg* < *Trg kralja Petra Svačića*, *Markov trg* < *Trg svetog Marka*), as evidenced by many street signboards and town plans. This practice is so widespread that there is almost no street, square or park named after a person that does not have its own shorter version, at least the colloquial one. However, it is recommended that shortened names be used only if it is necessary to write a shorter name because of the lack of a writing space (e.g., on street signboards, and town plans, in identity cards, and other documents).

Dialectal and local in official names

There are three dialects in the Croatian language (Štokavian, Kajkavian and Chakavian) and several types of these dialects. Zagreb is located in the area of the Kajkavian dialect, so the oldest urban names have the characteristics of that dialect. It is best seen in the dialectal suffix *-ec* and the consonant group *-šč-*. Thus, for example, the names of some districts are *Črnomerec*, *Čulinec*, *Dubec*, *Vrhovec*, *Vukomerec*, as well as *Medveščak*, *Grmoščica*, *Fraterščica*. The names of Zagreb streams with the suffix *-ec* also reveal the roots from the Kajkavian dialect (*Bliznec*, *Štefanec*). Adjectives with the suffix *-ečka* (*Čulinečka*, *Oporovečka*, *Slanovečka*) are naturally derived from names ending in *-ec*. However, the standard Croatian language was based on the Štokavian dialect, not the Kajkavian one. Therefore, from the 19th century onwards, the Štokavian variants of toponyms were introduced as the official toponyms, which consequently meant that there have been efforts to Štokavianize the original Kajkavian toponyms. Thus, instead of the suffix *-ec*, *-ac* was added (and the adjective suffix *-ački*), and instead of *-šč-*, *-šć-* was imposed (Šimunović, 1964, p. 20; 1965, p. 156; Pelz, 1985, pp. 100–102). The latter was advocated by the linguist Stjepan Babić (1975, p. 141) who supported the idea of changing local variants of toponyms to fit the norms of the standard Štokavian language.[10] However, there was no serious attempt to change the suffix *-šćina* or *-ščina* to Štokavian *-ština* (Pelz, 1985, pp. 102–103).

Over time, some toponyms were successfully Štokavianized, others only partially, therefore double writing coexists. Thus, today there are established changed concurring forms, e.g. *Tuškanac* < *Tuškanec*, *Mihaljevac* < *Mihaljevec*, *Jelenovac* < *Jelenovec*, or *Lašćina* and *Središće*, as well as the unclear ones, which are still written in dual forms (*Miroševac* and *Miroševec*, *Kuniščak* and *Kunišćak*, *Dotrščina* and *Dotršćina*). Names of the streets structured and named in the period between the two world wars in the northern area of Zagreb follow the morphological norms of the modern standard language (the suffix *-ac*), thus we have streets *Borovac*, *Hrastovac*, *Jabukovac*, *Lipovac* (Pelz, 1985, p. 100).

Duplicity is also evident in the names of former suburban villages that became part of the town. According to Šimunović (1970, p. 24), these older names, motivated by family surnames, locally occur in the plural form (*Lukšići*, *Mikulići*, *Novaki*), but recent names indicate the practice of naming in the singular form (*Markuševac*

[10] Petar Šimunović, who advocated for the preservation of local variants of names, listed the main suffixes that should be used in determining the names of streets and squares in Zagreb. He also warned against the penetration of the Štokavian variant *-ac* instead of *-ec*. After reviewing 15 blueprints and town plans of Zagreb made from 1766 to 1984, Ivan Pelz (1985) singled out key dilemmas (*-ec* or *-ac*, *-šč* or *-šć*) and ambiguities in the Zagreb's official toponyms (partly reported by Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin in the book *Ulice moga grada*, 2000, p. 53).

< *Markuševci*, *Miroševac* < *Miroševci*). Linguists mostly agree on the opinion that it is necessary to allow duality in the language, i.e. to allow speakers a free choice, and time will show which form will prevail (Babić, 1975, p. 139).

The specificities of dialects and local languages, including Zagreb,[11] are among the biggest challenges when standardizing the names of streets and squares. Therefore, according to the "Recommendations of the Commission for the Standardization of Geographical Names", words (appellatives and names) that are part of the vocabulary of local dialects of the area in which the street or square is located are strongly encouraged, because by using them the local languages are presented, popularized and preserved as important elements of cultural heritage, and thus as parts of local identity (Preporuke za standardizaciju, 2020).

Unofficial names

In Zagreb,[12] squares, parks, streets, districts, riverbanks, residential and office buildings, hospitals, sports venues, bridges, bathing areas, and topographical objects are named informally, i.e. spontaneously (when the name-giver is unknown). Most of them, as nicknames, coexist with official names. Nicknames do not have dialectal forms. Knowing and using them separates the "insider" from the "outsider". They can have positive and negative connotations.

Regarding street names, it was emphasized that the shortened street names officially coexist with their full names. Shortened names are almost always used colloquially, therefore the process of simplifying names for easier and faster communication is done at that level. Further shortening implies omitting the appellative "street", "square", etc. (*Nađemo se na uglu Vlaške i Smičiklasove. Pošta je u Gundulićevoj.*).[13] With such a practice, there is no need for unofficial street

[11] In the Zagreb vernacular language, prepositions are sometimes mixed. Namely, the preposition "on" (*na*) in standard language is used for squares (*Idem na Trg Republike Hrvatske. Nađemo se na Mažurancu.*). "In" (*U*) is used for streets (*Ulazim u Zvonimirovu. Stan je u Hrastovoj ulici.*) and districts (*Vidimo se u Dubravi. Od kada stanuješ u Dugavama?*). People in Zagreb sometimes use "on" for some, mostly well-known, centrally located streets and old districts (*Ona ima dućan na Ilici. Tramvaji stoje na Frankopanskoj. On živi na Črnomercu. Gdje si točno na Trešnjevci?*).

[12] Zagreb itself is sometimes informally named *Metropola* ('The Metropolis') because it is the capital and largest city of Croatia.

[13] Petar Šimunović (1964, 1965, 1970) repeatedly wrote about the informal shortening of street names. He advocated shortening of the names of streets and squares according to the formula adjective + street, and on street signboards even without the word "street" (only *Gajeva*, *Trpimirova*, *Frankopanska*; 1970, p. 22). In such a situation, the meaning of the name would not be distorted due to the common practice of shortening (as is distorted in *Trg fašizma* /'The Fascism Square'/ < *Trg žrtava fašizma* /'The Victims of Fascism Square'/).

names, thus very few Zagreb streets have informal names; they are made with further shortening (*Štros* < *Strossmayerovo šetalište*, *Tkalča* < *Tkalčićeva ulica*). Besides that, as in other large towns with many streets, in Zagreb one cannot orientate and move around only with the help of prominent landmarks (church, shop, school, post office, monument, etc.) because there are many such landmarks. Therefore, residents are forced to learn official names of important streets, thereby narrowing the possibilities for enrooting informal names.

Squares, parks, streets, districts, riverbanks

Squares and parks are usually nicknamed by shortening the official names with the addition of specific suffixes. In such cases nicknames are transparent, i.e. the official name is visible. Nicknames are rarely motivated by concepts that are not transparent.[14]

Full, polynomial official names of squares are impractical in everyday use. Therefore, since the 19th century, their names have been spontaneously shortened in colloquial language, and that outside the Kajkavian dialect. Thus some, mostly centrally located and more popular squares and parks, less often promenades, get nicknames with the suffix *-ac* (*Zrinjevac* < *Zrinski trg* < *Trg Nikole Šubića Zrinskog*, *Mažuranac* < *Trg Mažuranića* < *Trg Antuna*, *Ivana i Vladimira Mažuranića*, *Tomislavac* < *Trg kralja Tomislava*, *Britanac* < *Britanski trg*).

However, shortening is also done in other ways. One is such that the official "root" remains transparent in the informal name. Thus, *Trg Eugena Kvaternika* is most often named *Kvatrić* (which is a jargon form with the suffix *-ić*) or *Kvaternikov trg* (where a possessive adjective is used). The older colloquial name is *Kvaternjak* which was formed by using the suffix *-ak*, which comes up in the names of some town parts (*Goljak*, *Srebrnjak*), and streams (*Kustošak*, *Vrapčak*). The central town square (*Trg bana Josipa Jelačića*) is colloquially named *Jelačić-plac* by older residents because one of the several older names was *Jelačićev plac* (1848–1947). The square was named after Josip Jelačić, the Ban of Croatia, as his monument is located there. *Plac* is a reflection of the local dialect, i.e. the Zagreb word for a market (there used to be a fair). The younger generation often uses the nickname *Trg* (because it is the biggest and centrally located, so there is no doubt

[14] In Finnish urban names, Terhi Ainiala with co-authors (2012) have noticed the same phenomena. They differentiate primary from secondary informal names. Secondary names are names most often formed "from official names by shortening or by adding a derivational element" (p. 106), while primary names are those formed "irrespective of the official name of the place" (p. 107). Similar conclusions were reached by Elena N. Klimenko and Maria E. Ruth while investigating the unofficial urbanonymy of Yekaterinburg (2018, p. 222).

on which square one refers to). Some other examples of transparent shortening are *Strossmayerovo šetalište* (informally *Štros*), *Tkalčićeva ulica* (*Tkalča*), *Folnegovićevo naselje* (*Folka*).

Along with shortening the official name, nicknames are also formed in other ways, with the toponymization of appellatives being a very common one. Motivations can be:

a) An association or a metaphor for a dominant function or physical characteristic. For example, *Cvjetni trg* ('The Flower Square') is the popular nickname of *Trg Petra Preradovića*, which was formed because of the flowers that used to be sold on the entire square, and today in just one part. The adjective *Cvjetni* survived in the name of the residential and office complex located on the square. By toponymization of the general term *zeleni val* ('green wave') became the name of a series of streets with a harmonized mode of operation of the traffic lights which ensures that vehicles turn on the green light on time and the driving is thus uninterrupted. In Zagreb, the names of two green waves, the so-called *Gornji* ('Upper/northern') and *Donji* ('Lower/southern') *zeleni val*, are established. *Duga ulica*, named because of its length, is the former name of *Ulica Pavla Radića* (the popular *Radićeva ulica*). This name stuck with older residents and it functions as a nickname, such as *Jelačić-plac*. Colloquially, instead of the official names of the banks along the Sava River, simply the appellative *nasip* (*Nasip*; 'The Embankment') is often used. It is a name formed by toponymization of the general term for a strip of land filled up and raised above the level of the river. On one side of *Nasip*, there used to be a popular public bath for women, the so-called *Babinjak* (dialectal for *baba*, which is today a derogatory name for an elderly woman).[15]

b) Dominant building on a certain named place. The square *Trg žrtava fašizma* is informally named *Džamija* ('The Mosque') because there used to be a mosque there, however for a short time only.[16] The acceptance of this unofficial name may have been influenced by the fact that in the hundred years of its existence, the name of the square has been changed as many as seven times, sometimes with a great resistance, and that the other two names were truncated (*Trg žrtava*),

[15] A good example of an informal dialectal name for a bathing area on the Drava River in Osijek is *Kopika* (after the famous Copacabana in Rio de Janeiro).

[16] Built as *Dom umjetnosti* ('House of Art') in 1938 with a gallery-exhibition space following the idea of famous sculptor and architect Ivan Meštrović, the building was converted into a mosque with three minarets in 1944–1945. Already in 1949, it became a museum (the minarets were demolished in 1948), then an exhibition space (Bilić – Ivanković, 1, 2006, pp. 158–160). The facility is also informally named *Meštrovićev paviljon* ('The Meštrović Pavilion').

or got the distorted meaning (*Trg fašizma*) (Šimunović, 1964, p. 20; 1970, p. 20). It seems that the "mosque" that dominates the square is the simplest and shortest solution for citizens. Another example, of a toponymization process as well, is the unofficial name *Remiza*, a neighbourhood which is named after the tram hangar (*remiza*) situated there.

c) A metaphor for a group of people living in a certain neighbourhood, or for a specific landscape; they are most often derogatory. For example, parts of the *Dubrava* district, which are predominantly built without building permits, for a long time had a deficient infrastructure, and where the community of Janjevci (Croats from Kosovo) are gathered, are sometimes derogatorily named *Palestine* (Šiljković – Glamuzina, 2004, p. 105).

Residential and office buildings

Residential and office buildings almost as a rule do not have official names. Old urban villas (*vila*), summer houses, palaces, and manors, i.e. larger residential houses where the upper class lived (usually in the northern part of Zagreb), stand out of this rule; they have the established names after the investors, architects or their owners (*vila Wais*, *vila Peroš*, *vila Frangeš*, *vila Baranyai*, *vila Bauer*).[17] A few office skyscrapers built in the 1970s and 1980s are also named (*Vjesnikov neboder* /'Vjesnik Skyscraper'/, *Cibonin toranj* /'Cibona Tower'/). For the last thirty years, office skyscrapers and buildings have intensively been built and named by their owners or investors to attract tenants of offices, which gives such buildings official names.[18] Although without official names, some buildings were given unofficial names due to their prominent dimensions and design. This especially applies to buildings from the socialist period of intensive construction of large, mostly aesthetically unattractive concrete residential buildings and skyscrapers from the 1950s to the 1970s (so-called brutalism), especially in Novi Zagreb, a part of the town that was built after the Second World War for an urgent need of the rapidly

[17] A metaphor for ownership is the motivation behind the informal name *Mali Vatikan* ('Little Vatican') for a block of flats in the centre of Zagreb, because the block was owned by the Zagreb Archdiocese. The same is true of the defensive tower within the old city walls, which is named *Popov toranj* ('Priest's Tower') because it was owned by the bishop of Zagreb (Šimunjak, 2019).

[18] There are no objects in Zagreb named for tourist purposes, such as *Otok ljubavi* ('Island of Love', named after its heart shape; officially Galešnjak), *Otok života* ('Island of Life'; officially Govanj), *Otok mladosti* ('Island of Youth', named after the youth camp built by scouts; officially Obonjan), *Zlatni rat* ('Golden Cape'; a beach in Bol), two names of beach in the island of Mali Lošinj – *Sunčana uvala* ('Sunny Bay') and *Veli žal* ('Long Strand/Beach'), or *Čista* ('Clean Beach'; a beach in Kolan).

Figure 1: The Vjesnik Skyscraper in Zagreb (photo: Ivan Žužak, in Wikipedija)

growing influx of new population as a result of sudden industrialization and deagrarianisation. By nicknaming such monotonous buildings, residents gave them a more human note, even when assigning derogatory names. This phenomenon was also common in other towns of former Yugoslavia, for example in Belgrade[19] and Sarajevo.[20] Informal names of buildings are motivated differently, as evidenced by the selected examples below.

[19] In Belgrade, the following nicknames are popular: *Testera* ('Saw'), *Kifla* ('Roll Pastry'), *Banana* ('Banana'), *Toblerone*, *Pet idiota* ('Five Idiots') or *Pet solitera* ('Five Skyscrapers'), *Potkovica* ('Little Horseshoe'), *Televizorke* ('TVs'), *Mercedeska* ('Mercedes'), *Crvenkapa* ('Red Riding Hood'), *Kineski zid* ('Chinese Wall'), *Lamela* ('Lamella') or *Meandar* ('Meander') (Ristović, 2017; Radojičić, 2024).

[20] In Sarajevo, there are buildings: *Šibica* ('Match'), *Stometarka* ('One Hundred Meter'), *Papagajka* ('Parrot'), *Momo i Uzeir* (personal names *Momo* and *Uzeir*), *Metalka* ('The Metal One'), and so on (Šibica, 2015).

Motivation: physical characteristics of the building

A physical characteristic that is a motivation can refer to the design, size, construction material, colour, and type of building. In addition to the direct description of the physical features of the building, names can also be motivated indirectly through metaphors and associations.

Table 1: Examples of names motivated by the physical characteristics of the building

Name		Description of motivation	Remark	Sources
Croatian	English			
Mamutica[21]	The Mammoth	size	metaphor for its size; name in documents: Block 6a; the architects named it a Daisy	SE 342, ZL, RVMPS, Žargonaut, Wiki (HR)
Zagrepčanka[22]	The Zagreb Woman	design and height	metaphor for its height and beautiful design, just like a Zagreb woman (ethnonym)	SE 215, PT, HE, HOL2, HBL, ZL, RVMPS, Wiki (HR)
Kockica[23]	The Small Cube	design	looks like a cube; also the Ministries Building	SE 58, PT, ZL, RVMPS, Wiki (HR)
Limenke	The Tin Cans	design and construction material	also a name for all lower quality buildings made from "tin", i.e. aluminium-covered prefabricated buildings	SE 12, RVMPS, Žargonaut
Rakete	The Rockets	design	three skyscrapers that resemble rockets; also the Richter's Skyscrapers	SE 9, HE, RVMPS, Wiki (HR)
Drveni neboder	The Wooden Skyscraper	design and construction material	timber elements on the facade and on the roof; also the Ibler's Skyscraper	SE 6, HE, HOL2, HOL, HBL, ZL, Wiki (HR)
Karingtonka	The Carrington Building	design	metaphor for the luxurious design of the INA building; also the INA Building"	SE 4, RVMPS, Žargonaut
Trešnjevačka ljepotica	The Trešnjevka Beauty	design and location	metaphor: "The most beautiful" in Trešnjevka district; Trešnjevka is named after wild cherry trees	SE 2, Wiki (HR)

[21] Built in 1975, it is the largest residential building in Croatia, therefore known as The Mammoth (feminine). The Mammoth is 60 m high and 240 m long, there are 1,169 flats on 19 floors, nine entrances in its two constituent parts (6 in "Big Mammoth", and 3 in "Small Mammoth"), and approximately 5,000 tenants (Tot, 2015, p. 11; Tomasović, 2010; Alić, 2020; Mamić, 2022). The popular crime series "Mamutica" (2008) is named after the building because it is where the series takes place.

[22] It was the first high office building (95 m) with 25 floors, and three vertical volumes, of which two are lower and slightly bent; it was built in 1976 (Bilić – Ivanković, 2, 2006, p. 553).

[23] It was built in 1968 as the headquarter of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia. Today, the seats of a few ministries are there (Bilić – Ivanković, 1, 2006, p. 531).

Ciglica	The Brick	construction material	predominantly red bricks	SE 2
Kineski zid	The Chinese Wall	design	metaphor: two residential blocks named for their length and stepped structure	SE 2, Žargonaut
Plave zgrade	The Blue Buildings	colour and design	predominantly blue facade	SE 2
Čokoladni toranj	The Chocolate Tower	colour and design	reflective orange and brown glass facade; also the Vjesnik Skyscraper	SE 1
Papagajke	The Parrots	colours and design	metaphor for its multicoloured facade	SE 1
Neboder	The Skyscraper	type	also the Ilica Skyscraper and the Zagreb Skyscraper	RMVPS, Wiki (HR)
Šareni neboder	The Colorful Tower	colours and design	facade in several colours; also the Vitić's Skyscraper	different internet sources[24]
Alcatraz	The Alcatraz	design of the interior space	metaphor for a prison with bars	different internet sources

Motivation: the location of the building

Although less represented, the names of some buildings are motivated by their location, which is in most cases transparent.

Table 2: Examples of names motivated by the location of the building

Name		Description of motivation	Remark	Sources
Croatian	**English**			
Centar cvjetni	The Floral Centre	on the Floral Square	the Floral Square is a popular nickname	SE 186
Ilički neboder	The Ilica Skyscraper	on the central square and Ilica Street	also the Skyscraper and the Zagreb Skyscraper	SE 33, RMVPS, Wiki (HR)
Zagrebački neboder	The Zagreb Skyscraper	in the centre of Zagreb	also the Ilica Skyscraper and the Skyscraper	SE 17, ZL
Prostitutka	The Prostitute	by the road	metaphor: a large building very near the road	different internet sources

[24] Listing all the sources here would significantly increase the list of literature at the end of the paper, and it is also unnecessary as these sources can be easily found online just by typing the required term or name into a search engine.

Motivation: the name of a person

Some buildings are informally named after a person, usually the architect, designer or owner of the building, rarely a well-known tenant. In such cases, nicknames are in the form of a possessive adjective (commemorative names).

Table 3: Examples of names motivated by the name of a person

Name		Description of motivation	Remark	Sources
Croatian	English			
Super Andrija / Superica[25]	The Super Andrija	probably in memory of the chief designer Andrija Čavajda, who died during the construction	maybe named after the 1962 hit song "Andrija (super guy)", or after the tenant Andrija Aksentijević, who was a high-ranking official in the Yugoslav Army; name in documents: Super Block	SE 39, ZL, RVMPS, Žargonaut, Wiki (HR)
Vitićev neboder	The Vitić's Skyscraper	architect Ivan Vitić	also the Colorful Tower	SE 8
Pavelićeva vila	The Pavelić's Villa	the most famous tenant Ante Pavelić, leader of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH)	established name: Vila Rebar	SE 4
Iblerov neboder	The Ibler's Skyscraper	architect Drago Ibler	also the Wooden Skyscraper	SE 3, Wiki (HR)
Richterovi neboderi	The Richter's Skyscrapers	architect Vjenceslav Richter	3 skyscrapers; also the Rockets	Žargonaut, Wiki (HR)

Motivation: a company name

Some buildings are named after the company that has the headquarters or offices there, or owns the building, which is often marked by a large advertising sign on the building. In this case, the name is transferred from the company to the entire building, i.e. residents start naming the building after the company.

[25] When it was built in 1973, it was the second largest residential building in Zagreb. It has 14 floors, 3 entrances and 488 flats (Klindić, 2018).

Table 4: Examples of names motivated by a company name

Name		Description of motivation	Remark	Sources
Croatian	English			
Cibonin toranj / Cibona[26]	The Cibona Tower	basketball club whose hall is on the ground floor	has the shape of a tower	SE 320, HE, HBL, HOL, PT, ZL, Wiki (HR)
Vjesnikov neboder / Vjesnik[27]	The Vjesnik Skyscraper	newspaper company in part of the building	there was a Vjesnik advertising sign, now Večernji list and Vjesnik; also the Chocolate Tower	SE 279, PT, HE, HOL2, HOL, Wiki (HR)
Chromosov neboder / Chromos	The Chromos Skyscraper	company headquarter in the building		SE 102, Wiki (HR)
Ferimport	The Ferimport	company headquarter in the building	also Željpoh; has an advertising sign	SE 32, ZL, Wiki (HR)
Inina zgrada / INA	The Ina Building	the company that owns the building	few buildings in Zagreb	SE 16, Wiki (HR)
Nama	The Nama	the company that owns the building	shortened from Narodni magazin (People's department store); has an advertising sign	ZL, RVMPS, Wiki (HR)
Zagrebački plavi	The Zagreb Blue	the football club and the restaurant the Zagreb Blue	has an advertising sign	Wiki (HR)
Roma	The Roma	company with premises in the building	shortened from Robni magazin (Commodity department store); has an advertising sign	different internet sources
Euroherc	The Euroherc	company headquarter or ownership	has an advertising sign	different internet sources
Croatia osiguranje	The Croatia Insurance	company headquarters or ownership	has an advertising sign	different internet sources

[26] This 92-meter high complex of a round shape covered in reflective glass and designed for sports and offices is recognizable Zagreb landmark since it was built in 1987 (Bilić – Ivanković, 1, 2006, pp. 91–92).

[27] Built in 1972, it is a 67-meter high office skyscraper covered in reflective orange and brown glass that was very fashionable at the time. It was built as the "home" of numerous newspapers and magazines and was therefore named after *Vjesnik*, one of the largest newspaper publishing houses in Southeastern Europe. *Vjesnik* was also the name of a popular daily newspaper. With the cessation of newspaper printing in 2012, the building is evidently deteriorating (Bilić – Ivanković, 2, 2006, pp. 493–494; Sutlić, 2015; Grakalić, 2024).

Motivation: a commercial goal (attracting tenants and users)[28]

Recently, private investors have been building facilities intending to rent offices for commercial, entertainment, and business purposes. To make such buildings as attractive as possible for potential tenants and users, the owners or investors give them names, which are sometimes clearly displayed on advertising signs on top of the building. Motivated by a commercial goal, they are carefully selected, usually attractive names in English. As they have been used since the beginning of the construction of the building, these names are slowly imprinted in the public space and accepted over time as formal names. They are relatively new and therefore have not been confirmed in traditional sources. Due to the public interest in shopping and entertainment services, the names of shopping centres, especially those with cinema halls (Centar Kaptol, Branimir mingle mall, Arena Centar, Avenue Mall), occur more often in Internet sources than the names of office buildings which are intended only for a certain group of users (Eurotower, HOTO Tower).

Table 5: Examples of names motivated by a commercial goal

Name	Remark	Sources
Centar Kaptol	Kaptol: name of the district	SE 941
King Cross		SE 869
Branimir mingle mall	former name: Branimir centar	SE 455 (Branimir centar)
Arena Centar (Zagreb)		SE 368, Wiki (HR)
Importanne Centar		SE 362
Green Gold		SE 313
Avenue Mall (Zagreb)	it is on the Dubrovnik Avenue	SE 307
Supernova – Garden Mall	name of the brand + former name (Garden Mall)	SE 301 (Garden Mall)
Galleria Bussines Center	former name: Importanne Galerija	SE 276 (Importanne Galerija)
Eurotower	the seat of the Zagreb Stock Exchange	SE 155, ZL, Wiki (HR)
Sky Office Towers Zagreb		SE 69, Wiki (HR)
Zagrebtower		SE 33, Wiki (HR)
HOTO Tower	the initials of the builder's name used (**To**mislav **Ho**rvatinčić)	SE 23, ZL, Wiki (HR)
City Center one (East and West)	the commercial centre of Zagreb	SE 13, Wiki (HR)
City Plaza		different internet sources

[28] As Horvat (2024) suggests, there are some other motivations, such as house numbers (*Jedanaestica* /'The Eleven'/, *Sedmica* /'The Seven'/), or names that reflect who was assigned apartments in the building (*Avijatičarska zgrada* /'The Aviators' Building'/, *Poštarica* /'The Postmen's Building'/).

Other geographical objects

Objects of administrative, military, health, educational, scientific, cultural, sports, social and other purposes, as well as bridges over the Sava River, have official names. Some of these facilities were also given informal names with different motivations. The names of the administrative buildings of *Palača pravde* (‘Palace of Justice’; with courts) and (Ministries Building; also *Kockica*; administration of several ministries) are motivated by the function.

The barracks were named by shortening the official names motivated by personal names: *Rudolfova vojarna* (‘Rudolf’s Barracks’) in honour of Rudolf, the Crown Prince of Austria, officially *Pješačka vojarna kraljevića Rudolfa* (‘Infantry Barracks of Prince Rudolf’); *Maršalka* after Marshal Josip Broz Tito, once officially *Vojarna Maršal Tito* (‘Marshal Tito Barracks’), today officially *Vojarna 1. gardijske brigade Tigrovi – Croatia*). They were also named after the location (*Borongajka* near the Borongaj area; officially *Vojarna Narodni heroj Dušan Ćorković*).

Full official names of hospitals are often replaced by shorter ones, which are usually motivated by their function, and the street or district in which they are located. Thus, *Vojna bolnica* (‘Military Hospital’; officially *Klinička bolnica Dubrava* /‘Dubrava Clinical Hospital’/), and *Trauma* (officially *Klinika za traumatologiju* /‘Traumatology Clinic’/) are informally named after the specific function they have. During and after its construction, *Vojna bolnica* was also named *Nova bolnica* (‘New Hospital’) because it was new at that time. Other unofficial hospital names are mainly motivated by the location: *Vinogradska bolnica* (officially *Bolnica sestara milosrdnica*) after the street name *Vinogradska ulica*, *Rebro* (officially *Klinički bolnički centar Zagreb*) after the hill (*Rebar*), *Šalata* (officially *Klinički bolnički centar Zagreb*) after the name of a district, *Zajčeva bolnica* (officially *Klinička bolnica Merkur*) after the street name *Zajčeva ulica* (officially *Klinička bolnica Merkur*).

Informal school names are also formed by shortening the official name (*Lucijanka* < *Gimnazija Lucijana Vranjanina*) or as an acronym (CUP for the former *Centar usmjerenog obrazovanja za upravu i pravosuđe*, which was one of the so-called *Šuvarica* schools, i.e. schools that implemented Stipe Šuvar’s education reform).

A few sports facilities have nicknames. One such is *Kutija šibica* (‘Matchbox’), a multi-functional venue that was officially named *Sportska dvorana Trešnjevka* (‘Trešnjevka Sports Hall’), but got its popular name as soon as it was built in 1969, after the fans’ experience. Although it is not large, in the 1970s it could fit more than 2,000 spectators, who were pressed to the edge of the playing field, making the hall resemble a box of matches (Klemenčić, 2019). Today, the name has been preserved in the name of the futsal tournament *Kutija šibica*.

Figure 2: Hendrix Bridge in Zagreb (photo: Davor Puklavec, in Hina)

The last example is the name of *(Novi) Željeznički most* (/'New/ Railway Bridge') over the Sava River, which is named *Zeleni most* ('Green Bridge') because of its colour, but it is even more popular by its nickname *Hendrixov most* ('Hendrix Bridge'). It got its nickname from the large red HENDRIX graffiti that appeared on the bridge in the early 1990s. After it was first painted over, the graffiti reappeared, and it happened again a few times. It was written by fans of Jimi Hendrix, the members of a local rock band. From the very beginning, the bridge was accepted in urban culture as *Hendrixov most*. The town authorities finally accepted its unofficial name, and for the fiftieth anniversary of Hendrix's debut studio album in 2017, they lit up the bridge and projected the illuminated inscription "Hendrix" (the graffiti cannot be written because the bridge is a protected cultural property). Nevertheless, the bridge is still officially named *Željeznički most*, despite the requests to rename it (Lechpammer, 2017: Željeznički most, 2020; Novak, 2023).

Conclusion

Most geographical objects in Zagreb have the official names given by the authorities. The names of streets, squares, parks and districts can be full or shortened and have dialectal forms of the Kajkavian dialect. Some also have nicknames, which

are most often formed by shortening the official name or by toponymization of appellatives. Some nicknames are an association or a metaphor for a dominant function or physical characteristic of the object, a metaphor for a group of people living in a certain neighbourhood, or for a specific landscape; some are named after a dominant building located there.

Until recently, residential and office buildings generally did not have official names. This practice changed when investors and owners of new buildings started to name them to attract tenants, mainly with fashionable English names. These names were eventually accepted by the public, which made them formal. However, a few such buildings were spontaneously nicknamed even earlier, especially during the increased overall building in the socialist period. They were mostly named after some visually distinctive characteristic, or a metaphor for such a characteristic, its location, the name of the person who is associated with the construction of the building or the company that has their offices there. Probably most buildings were nicknamed after a physical characteristic that distinguishes them from neighbouring buildings. Some buildings have more than one informal name, usually after the architect and the prominent visible feature (e.g. *Vitićev neboder* and *Šareni neboder*; *Iblerov neboder* and *Drveni neboder*). The most verified informal names (*Mamutica*, *Zagrepčanka*, *Kockica*, *Limenke*, *Rakete*, *Cibonin toranj*, *Vjesnikov neboder*) are the widely accepted unofficial names that can be found in literary, journalistic[29] and encyclopedic works. They can be seen or heard when using public transportation because tram stations are named after some of those buildings (*Zagrepčanka*, *Vjesnik*) or can be heard in the daily speech of the Zagreb residents because they have long been using them as the town's landmarks.

The names of other geographical objects such as barracks, hospitals, schools, and sports venues are mostly motivated by their function, location and shortening the official names.

The names of the unofficial Zagreb urbanonymy do not become official names because: a) a certain type of geographical object that gained a nickname is not usually named, b) the official name of the object is accepted, c) the informal name is linguistically and/or semantically inappropriate, thus officially unacceptable.

[29] For example, in their descriptions of the architecture and urbanism of New Zagreb and life in it, *Mamutica* and *Super Andrija* are mentioned by Ivo Maroević (1999), Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin (2000), Valentina Gulin Zrnić (2009), and Saša Šimpraga (2011).

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OFICIÁLNÍ A NEOFICIÁLNÍ V MĚSTSKÉ TOPONYMII: NÁZVY GEOGRAFICKÝCH OBJEKTŮ V ZÁHŘEBU

Článek představuje některé rysy oficiální a neoficiální záhřebské urbanonymie z kulturně-geografického hlediska. Oficiální názvy mají ulice, náměstí, parky, břehy řek, čtvrti, ale i správní, vojenská, zdravotnická, vzdělávací, vědecká, kulturní, sportovní a společenská zařízení. Některé z těchto objektů mají i přezdívky, které mohou nést nářeční rysy kajkavského dialektu, do jehož oblasti Záhřeb spadá. Obytné a kancelářské budovy oficiální názvy nemají, proto se náš výzkum zaměřuje právě na jejich přezdívky a zejména na jejich motivaci. Hlavními prameny neoficiálních názvů jsou online zdroje, včetně jazykových korpusů shromážděných a spravovaných v aplikaci Sketch Engine, webových stránek, online slovníků, chorvatské Wikipedie atd. Výsledky analýzy ukazují, že názvy obytných nebo kancelářských budov nejčastěji vychází z určitého vizuálního prvku budovy, z metaforického označení tohoto prvku, jeho umístění, ze jména osoby spojené s konstrukcí budovy nebo z názvu společnosti, která má v budově své kanceláře. Byl také zaznamenán nedávný trend pojmeno-

vávat kancelářské budovy anglickými názvy z důvodu větší prestiže a pro přilákání nájemníků.

Klíčová slova
názvy míst; neformální jména; neoficiální jména; přezdívky; motivace pojmenování; Záhřeb

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