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## Sport u urbanom pejzažu Zagreba i Splita

### Sport in the urban landscape of Zagreb and Split

Na dodiru sportske, kulturne, historijske i urbane geografije svrha je ovoga rada analizirati hodonime (imena ulica i trgova) i ergonime (imena ugostiteljskih objekata) koji se nalaze u okolici sportskih centara. Istraživanje ispituje postoji li veza između hodonima i ergonima vezanih uz sport i lokacije sportskih objekata. Polazište je da prostorna bliskost (blizina) utječe na motivaciju imenovanja ulica i trgova te ugostiteljskih objekata. Time se u ovom radu sportu u gradskom pejzažu pristupa s prostornoga aspekta. Studija slučaja provedena je na primjeru Zagreba – najvećega i glavnoga grada Republike Hrvatske te Splita – drugoga najvećega grada u državi. Osnovni je metodološki pristup korišten u analizi podataka statistički i interpretativni. Istraživanje je pokazalo da u određenoj mjeri postoji veza između hodonima i ergonima s jedne strane te lokacije sportskih objekata s druge strane. Sport transformira i oblikuje gradski pejzaž ne samo kroz sportski pejzaž (infrastrukturu) već i kroz ostale dijelove grada.

This paper examines sports, cultural, historical, and urban geography to analyse hodonyms (names of streets and squares) and ergonyms (names of hospitality establishments) located in the proximity of sports centres. The research examines whether there is a link between the hodonyms and ergonyms associated with sports and the location of sports facilities. The starting point of this research was the assumption that spatial proximity influences the motivation for naming streets, squares, and hospitality establishments. Accordingly, this paper approaches the concept of sports in the urban landscape from a spatial aspect. Case studies were conducted in the two largest cities of the Republic of Croatia: the capital city Zagreb, and Split. The main methodological approach used in the analysis of data was statistical and interpretative. The research showed that there is a degree of association between hodonyms and ergonyms and the location of sports facilities. Sports transform and shape the urban landscape, not only the sports landscape (in the form of infrastructure), but also other parts of the city.

**Cljučne riječi:** sport, grad, toponimi, hodonimi, ergonimi, sportska geografija

**Key words:** sports, city, toponyms, hodonyms, ergonyms, sports geography

## Uvod

Grad kao prostorni fenomen ljudskoga naseljavanja jedan je od najvećih izazova za geografe. Koncentracija sadržaja kao i gustoća te intenziteti zbivanja u gradovima neusporedivi su s ostalim naseljenim dijelovima Zemlje. Rezultati takvih interakcija odražavaju se u kulturnom, tj. gradskom pejzažu. Jedan segment toga kulturnog pejzaža čine svi oblici pisanih i vizualnih poruka u javnom prostoru poput toponima, prometnih znakova, reklama, grafita i dr., a možemo ih nazivati „znakovnom geografijom” (*sign geography*) (Weightman, 1988), „jezičnim pejzažem” (*linguistic landscape*) (Landry i Bourhis, 1997), „pisanim pejzažem” (*scriptorial landscape*) (Gade, 2003) ili nekako drukčije. O bogatstvu sadržaja u gradovima upravo svjedoče navedeni pristupi ili koncepti poput onih koji su se s više ili manje uspjeha ukorijenili u diskursima akademske zajednice. Interdisciplinarni pristup jezičnoga pejzaža koji se nakon rada Landry i Bourhis iz 1997., u kojem je definiran kao termin koji obuhvaća sve jezične znakove u javnom prostoru nekoga geografskog područja, od navedenih koncepata najviše udomaćio formira se na dodirima sociolingvistike, etnologije, antropologije, sociologije, socijalne psihologije, geografije i dr. Međutim, valja spomenuti da je termin *linguistic landscaping* upotrijebio već David Lowenthal 1962. u kontekstu imena domova (Lowenthal, 1962). Također, Johanna Drucker koristila se terminom *language in the landscape* (Drucker, 1984).

Toponimi u gradovima izdvajaju se na temelju dvije karakteristike u odnosu na ostala izvangradska područja: 1) najveća gustoća toponima nalazi se u gradovima (Savage, 2009) i 2) njihova je promjena češća i brojnija (Vannieuwenhuyze, 2007). Kao odraz toga u geografiji su najviše pažnje privukli upravo gradski toponimi (urbanimi), a većinu istraživača zanimaju teme njihova preimenovanja, odnosa moći i ideologija (usp. Rose-Redwood i dr., 2010), dok ostale bivaju zanemarene. Štoviše, proces preimenovanja koji je zaokupio fokus brojnih autora bio je jedna od ključnih komponenti *kritičkoga obrata* u proučavanju toponima 1990-ih i 2000-ih (Giraut i Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016). Budući da je broj radova koji se bave procesom preimenovanja toliko nabujao, Giraut i Houssay-Holzschuch (2016)

## Introduction

As a spatial phenomenon of human inhabitation, the city is one of the greatest challenges for geographers. The concentration of content, and the density and intensity of activities in cities is difficult to compare with other types of inhabited areas. The result of such interactions is reflected in the cultural, i.e. urban, landscape. All forms of written and visual messages in the public space comprise a segment of that cultural landscape, such as toponyms, traffic signs, advertisements, graffiti and more, and this can be referred to as *sign geography* (Weightman, 1988), *linguistic landscape* (Landry and Bourhis, 1997), *scriptorial landscape* (Gade, 2003), etc. The wealth of content in cities is indeed identified by these approaches, which have more or less successfully taken root in academic discourse. The *linguistic landscape* is an interdisciplinary approach, defined by Landry and Bourhis (1997) as a term that includes all linguistic signs in the public space of a geographic area. This concept has been the most widely accepted, forming within the contact zone of sociolinguistics, ethnology, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, geography, and other disciplines. However, the term *linguistic landscaping* should also be mentioned. It was first coined by David Lowenthal in 1962 in the context of home names (Lowenthal, 1962). Johanna Drucker also used the term “language in the landscape” (Drucker, 1984).

In comparison with other non-urban areas, toponyms in cities can be divided based on two characteristics: 1) the highest density of toponyms is found in cities (Savage, 2009), and 2) they are often changed, i.e. renamed (Vannieuwenhuyze, 2007). As a reflection of this, the attention of geographers has primarily been drawn to urban toponyms (also called urbanonyms), and most researchers are occupied with the topic of renaming, following changes in power and ideology (see Rose-Redwood et al., 2010), while other processes have been neglected. Furthermore, the process of renaming that has been the focus of numerous authors was one of the key components of the *critical turn* in toponymic studies in the 1990s and 2000s (Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016). As the number of papers addressing the issues of renaming has increased substantially, Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) consid-

čak smatraju da je važno napraviti distinkciju između onih koji se bave toponimima i onih koji se bave preimenovanjima.

Osim hodonima kao službenih dijelova gradske infrastrukture u gradskom pejzažu postoji i bogatstvo neformalne geografije iza koje ne stoje gradske vlasti. Susrećemo je u dijelu krematonima – imenima koja ne pripadaju ni toponomastici ni antroponomastici, a za koje ne postoji toliko izražen interes onomastičara (Šimunović, 2009; Skračić, 2011), a ni geografa. Jedna vrsta krematonima su i ergonimi, kojima je do sada u geografiji posvećena nešto skromnija pažnja (npr. Zelinsky, 1980; 1988; 1992; Šakaja, 2003; 2004; 2005). Ne postoji ujednačena primjena termina *ergonim*. Definiraju se kao imena svih vrsta organizacija, društava, poduzeća, tvrtki, političkih stranaka itd. (Podol'skaja, 1988 prema Šakaja, 2003; Kryukova, 2012; Akzhigitova i Zharkynbekova, 2014; Smirnova, 2017). Nešto uže od toga, prema Međunarodnom vijeću za onomastičke znanosti, ergonimi se odnose na imena proizvoda ili robnih marki (ICOS, 2011). Osim njihove definicije kao imena komercijalnih subjekata koriste se i u širem značenju jer označavaju i nekomercijalne ustanove (npr. škole, kulturne ustanove, crkve i dr.) (Sjöblom, 2014). U nekim se jezicima za to šire značenje koristi se termin krematonimi (imena institucija, organizacija, događaja i dr.) (usp. Šimunović, 2009; ICOS, 2011). Kao i gradski toponimi, iako predstavljaju neformalna imenovanja, ergonimi su također važan dio urbanoga pejzaža. Funkcije ergonima su brojne: identificiraju, informiraju, reklamiraju, nagovaraju/uvjeravaju (Smirnova, 2017), stoga zajedno s hodonimima čine bogatiju sliku gradskoga jezičnog pejzaža.

## Sport i grad

Sport je važan dio ljudske svakodnevnice. Predstavlja „skupni pojam za tjelesne aktivnosti u kojima dominira natjecateljski duh; njegovanje tjelesnih svojstava i sposobnosti, njihovo provjeravanje i unapređivanje igrom, borbom i natjecanjem” (Flander, 1984, 423). Za razliku od sportske rekreacije, sport je vezan uz pravila bez kojih nije moguće natjecanje. Natjecanje najče-

redit je važno napraviti distinkciju između onih koji se bave toponimima (*place names studies*) i onih koji se bave preimenovanjima (*place naming studies*).

In addition to hodonyms, as official parts of the city infrastructure in the urban landscape, there is also a wealth of informal geography that is not determined by city authorities. This is seen in part in chrematonyms, as names which do not fall within either toponymy or anthroponymy, and as such are less of a pronounced subject of interest in onomastics (Šimunović, 2009; Skračić, 2011), and geography. Ergonyms are a type of chrematonym that have received little attention in geography to date (e.g. Zelinsky, 1980; 1988; 1992; Šakaja, 2003; 2004; 2005). There is no uniform application of the term “ergonym”. They are defined as names of all types of organizations, societies, firms, companies, political parties, etc. (Podol'skaja, 1988, as cited in Šakaja, 2003; Kryukova, 2012; Akzhigitova and Zharkynbekova, 2014; Smirnova, 2017). According to the *International Council of Onomastic Sciences*, the term ergonym has a narrower meaning, and refers to the names of products or brands (ICOS, 2011). In addition to the definition as the names of commercial entities, they are also used in a broader sense to denote non-commercial institutions (e.g. schools, cultural places, churches, etc.) (Sjöblom, 2014). In some languages, the term chrematonym is used for this broader meaning (names of institutions, organisations, events, etc.) (compare with Šimunović, 2009; ICOS, 2011). As with urban toponyms, despite representing an informal naming process, ergonyms are still an important part of the urban landscape. Their functions are numerous: they inform, advertise, identify, persuade (Smirnova, 2017), and therefore they create a richer overall city linguistic landscape, together with hodonyms.

## Sports and the city

Sports are an important part of human daily life. They represent a ‘common concept for physical activity dominated by a competitive spirit; nurturing the body’s properties and capabilities, their verification and improvement through play, combat and competition’ (Flander, 1984, 423). Unlike recreation, sports are bound by rules without which competition would not be possible. Competition

šće završava pobjedom iz koje izlaze pobjednici. Poistovjećivanjem s pobjednicima ostvaruje se identifikacija. Vezivo su uspjesi, sportska postignuća. U sportu je sve podređeno rezultatu – mjerljivoj kvaliteti (Ravlič, 2008). Uspjeh koji je u sportu mjerljiv vezan je uz osjećaj ponosa, a to ga čini pogodnim za identifikaciju. Sportom se iskazuje dominacija, moć, a uspjesi su ti koji vode k izgradnji identiteta: natjecanje → rezultat → uspjeh → ponos → identitet. Upravo ta neophodna kompetitivnost koja vodi do sportskoga uspjeha utječe na popularnost sportaša, klubova, trenera itd.

Sport funkcionira kao simbolički resurs za izgradnju kolektivnoga identiteta (Blain, 2002). Izgradnja nacionalnoga identiteta kroz sport ima dva aspekta: a) svakodnevna i proceduralna razina upotrebom nacionalnih simbola, sudjelovanje u međunarodnim natjecanjima, cikličko odvijanje domaće lige itd. i b) izvanredni trenuci uspjeha ili neuspjeha koje svaki sport doživljava s vremena na vrijeme i koji postaju dio kolektivnoga sjećanja (Horak i Spitaler, 2003). Kolektivna identifikacija, pogotovo kada je udružena s uspjehom, rezultira kod ljudi i boljim osjećajem te rađa osjećaj ponosa prema mjestu (Bale, 1993; 2000; 2003).

U širem smislu sport obuhvaća sve oblike fizičke kulture: tjelesni odgoj, sport i sportsku rekreaciju (Flander, 1984). Rekreacija se odnosi na primjenu tjelovježbenih i sportskih aktivnosti radi zdravlja. Za razliku od sporta, uspjeh je ovdje usmjeren k održavanju i unaprjeđivanju zdravlja (Ravlič, 2007). Međutim, masovnost rekreativnoga sporta (npr. džoging, hodaње, ribolov) još uvijek nije dovoljna da utječe na identifikaciju, tj. povezanost s nacijom (Bairner, 2009).

Sport nije samo nešto što se događa na određenom mjestu u određeno vrijeme, već je prisutan u ljudskoj imaginaciji, razgovoru, kroz društvene mreže, prijateljstva, masovne medije itd. (Crawford, 2004). Ljudi su okruženi slikama i pričama o sportu kroz svakodnevni život, reklame, novine, radio, televiziju, internet i brojne druge načine (Crawford, 2004). Jedan takav primjer refleksije sporta jest i gradski pejzaž. Sport ima značajnu ulogu u strukturnom i prostornom

typically ends in a victory, giving rise to winners and losers. Identification with the winners creates feelings of belonging, and sporting successes can create lasting bonds. In sports, everything comes down to the result, as the measurable quality (Ravlič, 2008). The success that is measurable in sports is tied to a specific feeling of pride, making it suitable for identification. Sports are used to express domination, power, and success that lead towards building an identity: competition → results → success → pride → identity. It is exactly this necessary competitiveness that leads to sporting success that impacts the popularity of athletes, clubs, coaches, and the like.

Sports function as a symbolic resource for building collective identity (Blain, 2002). Construction of national identity through sports has two aspects: a) daily and procedural level through the use of national symbols, participation in international competitions, rounds of domestic leagues, etc.; and b) via extraordinary successes or failures experienced by every sport from time to time and which become a part of the collective memory (Horak and Spitaler, 2003). Collective identification, particularly when associated with success, makes people feel better and engenders a sense of place pride (Bale, 1993; 2000; 2003).

In the broader sense, sports encompass all forms of physical culture: physical education; sports; and recreation (Flander, 1984). Recreation includes all exercise and sporting activities for the purpose of maintaining health. Unlike sports, success is focused on maintaining and improving health (Ravlič, 2007). However, despite its massive popularity, recreational sports (e.g. jogging, walking, fishing) are insufficient to influence identification or generate a feeling of belonging to a city or nation (Bairner, 2009).

Sports are not only things that occur at certain places and times. They are also present in human imagination, conversation, social networks, friendships, mass media, and elsewhere (Crawford, 2004). People are surrounded by images and stories of sports throughout their daily lives, via advertisements, newspapers, radio, television, internet, and so on (Crawford, 2004). An example of the reflection of sports is the urban landscape. Sports play an important role in the structural and spatial shaping

oblikovanju urbane sredine (Wilcox i Andrews, 2003). Najizrazitiji takav primjer jest infrastruktura (npr. stadioni, sportske dvorane, atletske staze, bazeni) (Sam i Hughson, 2010). Kao dio kompleksnoga gradskog pejzaža, sportski objekti su mjesta na kojima se prvenstveno prakticira bavljenje sportom (profesionalno ili rekreativno).

Međutim, sportski objekti (stadioni i dr.) mogu se promatrati i kao sustavi čije je obilježje generiranje tokova ljudi i prostorna interakcija (Bale, 1994). Sa svojim kvazireligijskim konotacijama mogu kreirati osjećaj mjesta, gotovo „kućni” karakter (Bale, 1993). Oni su mjesta osjećaja pripadnosti, osjećaja sudjelovanja u povijesti te osjećaja povijesnoga kontinuiteta kao snažnih komponenti iskustva. Kolektivne energije, snovi i težnje pohranjeni su u stadionima (Gaffney i Bale, 2004). Stadion je jedinstven kontejner kolektivne emocije i energije koji proizvodi iskustva koja su raznolika i složena koliko i posjetitelji koji ih periodično posjećuju (Gaffney i Bale, 2004). Povijesna narav događaja na stadionima pruža onima koji su bili svjedoci i pomogli u stvaranju događaja da svijest o tome podijele s onima koji nisu bili na stadionu te da sudjeluju u zajedničkoj povijesti (Gaffney i Bale, 2004). Prema tome, to nisu samo mjesta infrastrukture, već i društvenoga života, stoga ne čudi da sport u gradovima zaokuplja sve veću pažnju istraživača (npr. Wilcox i dr., 2003; Sam i Hughson, 2010; Schimmel, 2015; Bramham i Wagg, 2016; Koch, 2018; Latham i Layton, 2020). Usprkos brojnim dodirnim točkama između geografije i sporta tek od 1980-ih proučavanje sporta biva integrirano u akademskim istraživanjima, a kao odgovor na „sportski boom” 1990-ih i 2000-ih sport je kao kulturni fenomen tek u novije vrijeme počeo izazivati pojačan interes geografa.<sup>1</sup> Jedan od ključnih koncepata u geografiji općenito, pa tako i u sportskoj geografiji, jest lokacija. Sportska geografija, između ostaloga, treba postavljati pitanja što se nalazi oko stadiona, koji prostori su povezani sa stadionom i gdje se oni nalaze? (Gaffney, 2014). U kontekstu urbanoga pejzaža usporedno s rastućim interesom za proučavanje komodifi-

of the urban environment (Wilcox and Andrews, 2003). The most prominent example of this is infrastructure (e.g. stadiums, sports centres, athletic tracks, swimming pools) (Sam and Hughson, 2010). As part of a complex urban landscape, sport facilities are places where sports are practiced (both professionally and recreationally).

However, sport facilities (such as stadiums) can also be viewed as systems, characterised by generations of flows of people and spatial interaction (Bale, 1994). With their pseudo-religious connotations, they can create a feeling of place that almost feels like “home” (Bale, 1993). These are places that create feelings of belonging, feelings of participation in history, and feelings of historical continuity—a powerful component of experience. Collective energy, dreams, and aspirations are all stored within the stadium (Gaffney and Bale, 2004). The stadium is a unique container filled with collective emotion and energy, generating experiences that are as diverse and complex as the visitors that periodically visit (Gaffney and Bale, 2004). The historical nature of stadium events provides those who witnessed and helped to create a given event to share awareness of it to those who were not present at the stadium to participate in the collective history (Gaffney and Bale, 2004). Accordingly, this is not simply infrastructure; this is a place with a social life. Therefore, sports in the cities are becoming a topic of increasing interest for researchers (see Wilcox et al., 2003; Sam and Hughson, 2010; Schimmel, 2015; Bramham and Wagg, 2016; Koch, 2018; Latham and Layton, 2020). Despite the many crossover points between geography and sports, the study of sports only became included in academic research in the 1980s. In response to the sports boom of the 1990s and 2000s, sports have become a cultural phenomenon that has also captured the interest of geographers<sup>1</sup>. One of the key concepts in geography, and also in sports geography, is location. Sports geography poses the questions of what is situated around stadiums, which spaces are connected with stadiums, and where they are situated (Gaffney, 2014). In the context of the urban landscape, parallel with the growing interest for studying the modification

<sup>1</sup> O sportu u društvu općenito kao i odnosu prema kulturi vidjeti npr. Daniels (1966); Loy (1968); Thomas (1976); Rowe (2007); Augustin (2011).

<sup>1</sup> For a general discussion on sports in society and its relationships with culture, see Daniels (1966); Loy (1968); Thomas (1976); Rowe (2007); Augustin (2011).

kacije kulturnoga pejzaža, tj. konkretno prodajom imena (stadionima<sup>2</sup>) u fokusu su se našli i sportski objekti, tj. tema njihova (pre)imenovanja (npr. Boyd, 2000; Crompton i Howard, 2003; Leeds i dr., 2007; Reysen i dr., 2012; Church i Penny, 2013; Woisetschläger i dr., 2014; Anestos i dr., 2016; Medway i dr., 2019) iako je taj proces započeo još 1970-ih (Rose-Redwood i dr., 2010). Do tada toponimima čija su imena motivirana sportom (sportskim toponimima) gotovo uopće nije bila posvećena pažnja.

U dijelu navedene praznine, a na dodiru sportske, kulturne, historijske i urbane geografije, cilj je ovoga rada analizirati hodonime i ergonime koji se nalaze u okolici sportskih centara. Istraživanje kani ispitati postoji li veza između hodonima i ergonima vezanih uz sport i lokacije sportskih objekata. Za toponime izvan gradova navikli smo da su nerijetko vezani za kontekst mjesta (okruženja), no u ovom slučaju očekivali smo da je tako i kod ergonima i hodonima. Pretpostavka je da je prostorna bliskost (blizina) utjecala na motivaciju imenovanja ulica i trgova te ugostiteljskih objekata. U ovom je aspektu fokus na namjeni objekta i imenima hodonima, tj. ugostiteljskih objekata s obzirom na vrstu sporta. Drugi je cilj klasificirati hodonime i imena ugostiteljskih objekata vezana uz sport na području pojedinoga grada. Dio analize čini i usporedba promatranih slojeva između Zagreba i Splita. Time se kani djelomice odgovoriti na jedno od postavljenih istraživačkih pitanja, a ujedno i temeljnih pitanja sportske geografije: kako je sport utjecao i transformirao pejzaž? (Gaffney, 2014).

Studija slučaja provedena je na primjeru Zagreba – najvećega i glavnoga grada Republike Hrvatske te Splita kao drugoga najvećeg grada u državi. Prema posljednjem popisu stanovništva 2011. godine Zagreb je imao 688 163 stanovnika, a Split 167 121 (DZS, 2013). U Splitu je sport vrlo popularan, a ujedno je grad za koji postoji predodžba njegovih stanovnika o „najsportskijem gradu na svitu”. U prilog tvrdnji o sportskom karakteru Splita govori činjenica da su splitski sportaši osvojili 92 medalje na Olimpijskim

of the cultural landscape, such as the sale of names (of stadiums<sup>2</sup>), sports facilities and particularly their renaming has also been a focus of research (e.g. Boyd, 2000; Crompton and Howard, 2003; Leeds et al., 2007; Reysen et al., 2012; Church and Penny, 2013; Woisetschläger et al., 2014; Anestos et al., 2016; Medway et al., 2019), even though this process began in the 1970s (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Until then, toponyms with names motivated by sports (sports toponyms) were virtually not studied at all.

The aim of this study is to examine part of this gap, where sports, cultural, historical and urban geography meet, to analyse the hodonyms and ergonyms located around sports centres. The research aims to test whether there is a link between the hodonyms and ergonyms relating to sports, and the location of sports facilities. For toponyms outside cities, they are often associated with the context of the settlement (its surroundings), though in this case we expected this would be the case for both ergonyms and hodonyms. It is assumed that spatial proximity influences the motivation behind naming streets and squares, and also hospitality establishments. In this way, the focus was placed on the intended purpose of the structure and the names of hodonyms and hospitality establishments with respect to the type of sport. The second aim was to classify hodonyms and names of hospitality establishments associated with sports to areas of a specific city. The analysis also included a comparative analysis between the cities of Zagreb and Split. This analysis was intended to answer one of the set research questions, which is also a fundamental issue in sports geography: how have sports influenced and transformed the landscape? (Gaffney, 2014).

The case study was conducted in Zagreb, the largest city and the capital of the Republic of Croatia, and in Split, as the country's second largest city. According to the 2011 census, the population of Zagreb is 688,163 and Split is 167,121 (CBS, 2013). Sports are very popular in Split, and its residents deem it to be the “sportiest city in the world”. Supporting this claim of the sporting character of Split is the fact that athletes from Split have won 92

<sup>2</sup> Stadionimi su imena sportskih stadiona, uključujući trkaće staze i dr. (Room, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Stadionyms are the names of sports stadiums, including athletic tracks, etc. (Room, 1996).

igrama (Muzej sporta Split, 2021). Gradska toponimija Zagreba i Splita već je bila predmet interesa bilo pojedinačno bilo u sklopu drugih gradova. Zagrebačkim toponimima bavili su se: Rihtman-Auguštin, 2000; Marjanović, 2007; Stanić i dr., 2009; Stiperski i dr., 2011; Šakaja i Stanić, 2011; Vretenar i Krajina, 2016; Šakaja i Crljenko, 2017. O zagrebačkim i splitskim urbanim pisali su Grgin, 2007; Crljenko, 2012, a o splitskim toponimima Mirošević, 2011; Mirošević i Borzić, 2014. Većina tih radova, u trendu svjetske geografije, bavi se intrigantnom temom preimenovanja hodonima. Među radovima o ergonimima ističe se spomenuto istraživanje o imenima ugostiteljskih objekata Hrvatske koje je provela Šakaja (2004). Međutim, u oba segmenta proučavanja – hodonima i ergonima – rijetko se u prvi plan stavlja prostorni aspekt. Usprkos brojnim radovima o gradskoj toponimiji općenito prostorni aspekt istican je tek u nekoliko njih. González Faraco i Murphy (1997) uspoređivali su razlike u preimenovanju periferne i središnje ulice u gradu, Alderman (2003) je primijenio geografsku skalu, tj. veličinu (dužinu i širinu ulice), razinu istaknutosti u gradskoj hijerarhiji (frekventnije i manje frekventne ulice) i odnose koje ulica stvara između ljudi i mjesta u gradu, Light (2004) je analizirao promjenu imena ulica (udio) s obzirom na udaljenost od gradskoga središta, dok Radović (2008) te Šakaja i Stanić (2011) razmatraju transfer toponima na relaciji centar-periferija grada. Šakaja i Crljenko (2017) razmatraju promjene na periferiji grada, dok su Gnatiuk i Glybovets (2020) istraživali posjeduju li važniji dijelovi grada veću simboličku važnost prilikom preimenovanja. U ovom radu, kako je već istaknuto, sportu u gradskom pejzažu također se pristupa s prostornoga aspekta.

## Metode

Prikupljanje hodonima obavljeno je s pomoću dostupnih popisa ulica za Zagreb i Split, a osim toga korištena je i metoda terenskoga obilaska. Kao izvor podataka za službenu gradsku toponimiju poslužio je gradski stradar (popis gradskih ulica i trgova). U Zagrebu je tako od 3906 imena

Olympic medals (Muzej sporta Split, 2021). Urban toponyms of Zagreb and Split have been the subject of research, either individually or in combination with other cities. Zagreb's toponyms were examined by: Rihtman-Auguštin, 2000; Marjanović, 2007; Stanić et al., 2009; Stiperski et al., 2011; Šakaja and Stanić, 2011; Vretenar and Krajina, 2016; Šakaja and Crljenko, 2017. Zagreb and Split's urbanonyms were analysed by Grgin, 2007; Crljenko, 2012, while Split's toponyms were discussed by Mirošević, 2011, and Mirošević and Borzić, 2014. Most of these papers address the intriguing topic of renaming hodonyms, in line with global geography trends. Among the papers on ergonyms, there was a study on the names of hospitality establishments in Croatia conducted by Šakaja (2004). However, in both segments of the study—hodonyms and ergonyms—the spatial aspect is rarely in the focus. Despite numerous general papers on urban toponyms, spatial aspects have only been highlighted in a handful. González Faraco and Murphy (1997) compared the differences in the renaming of peripheral and central streets in a city, Alderman (2003) applied the geographic scale, i.e. size (street length and width), to the level of prominence in the city hierarchy (frequent and less busy streets), and the relationships that streets create between people and places in the city. Light (2004) analysed the changes of names (ratio) with regard to distance from the city centre, while Radović (2008) and Šakaja and Stanić (2011) considered the transfer of toponyms between the city centre and periphery. Šakaja and Crljenko (2017) analysed changes in the city periphery, while Gnatiuk and Glybovets (2020) studied whether more important parts of the city have a higher symbolical importance during renaming processes. This paper, as stated above, looks at the example of sports in the urban landscape from the spatial aspect.

## Methods

The collection of hodonyms was performed using the available lists of street names for Zagreb and Split, in addition to field surveys. The city list of street names and squares was used as a source of data for the official urban toponyms. In Zagreb, 49 of 3,906 names are associated with

izdvojeno njih 49 koji imaju veze sa sportom, dok su u Splitu od njih 508 izdvojena svega tri. Podaci o imenima ugostiteljskih objekata prikupljeni su terenskim istraživanjem koje je provedeno tijekom svibnja i lipnja 2013. u Splitu te u studenom i prosincu 2013. kao i listopadu 2014. u Zagrebu. Revizija je napravljena u siječnju 2021. godine. Ugostiteljski objekti u Zagrebu analizirani su u blizini lokacija deset sportskih objekata ili kompleksa za koje smo pretpostavili da imaju ulogu okupljanja ili „sidra“: 1) Dom sportova „Zagreb“ i Zimsko plivalište „Mladost“; 2) Košarkaški centar „Dražen Petrović“; 3) Hipodrom „Zagreb“; 4) Sportski park „Mladost“; 5) Rekreativno-sportski centar „Jarun“; 6) Stadion „Maksimir“ i Sportsko-rekreativni centar „Maksimirska naselja“; 7) Sportsko-rekreativni centar „Svetice“; 8) Sportsko-rekreativni centar „Šalata“; 9) Arena „Zagreb“; 10) Nogometni stadion „Zagreb“. U gradu Splitu uzeta su u razmatranje četiri sportska centra: 1) Gradski stadion „Poljud“ i Športski centar „Bazeni Poljud“, 2) Športski centar „Gripe“, 3) Teniski centar „Firule“ i sportska lučica „Zenta“, 4) ACI marina „Split“.

Osnovni je metodološki pristup kojim smo se koristili u analizi podataka statistički i interpretativni. Statističkom metodom izdvojeni su i klasificirani podaci i kategorije te su izvršene usporedbe. Interpretativnom metodom zadire se u kontekst imena vezanih uz sport te iščitava „sportski identitet“.

U radu se koristi termin urbonimi kao širi pojam za sve toponime u gradu. Termin hodonimi koristi se kao dio urbonima za imena javnih površina u gradu kao što su ulice, trgovi, prilazi i sl. (usp. Room, 1996). S obzirom na to da je termin ergonim uži od pojma krematonim, odlučili smo se za njegovu upotrebu iako ni on nije dovoljno uzak da bi pokrio područje koje se odnosi na imena ugostiteljskih objekata (kafići, bistroi, restorani, konobe i dr.). Također, valja napomenuti da se imena ugostiteljskih objekata u nekim slučajevima razlikuju od imena poslovnih objekata (pravnih osoba) koji su vlasnici lokala.

sports, as opposed to only 3 of 508 in Split. Data on the names of hospitality establishments was collected during a field survey conducted in May and June 2013 in Split, and in November and December 2013 and October 2014 in Zagreb. A revision of data was performed in January 2021. Catering establishments in Zagreb were analysed in the proximity of ten sports facilities or complexes assumed to play a role: 1) *Dom sportova* (the Home of Sports, hereinafter Dom Sportova) and the Mladost Swimming Pool; 2) Dražen Petrović Basketball Centre; 3) the Zagreb Hippodrome; 4) Mladost Sports Centre; 5) Jarun Recreational Sports Centre; 6) Maksimir Stadium and the Maksimirska Naselja Sports and Recreation Centre; 7) Svetice Sports and Recreation Centre; 8) Šalata Sports and Recreation Centre; 9) Zagreb Arena; 10) Zagreb Football Stadium. In Split, four sports centres were considered: 1) Poljud Stadium and the Bazeni Poljud Sports Centre; 2) Gripe Sports Centre; 3) Firule Tennis Centre and Zenta Sports Harbour; and 4) the Split ACI marina.

The basic methodological approach used in the analysis of data is both statistical and interpretive. The statistical method classified the data into categories, and performed analyses. The interpretive method examined the context of names pertaining to sports to determine the “sports identity”.

Throughout this paper, the term urbanonym is used as a broad term for all the toponyms in the city. The term hodonym is used for the share of urbanonyms that are names of public areas in the city, such as streets, squares, passages, etc. (see Room, 1996). Since the term ergonym is narrower than the term chrematonym, we opted for its use even though it is perhaps not strong enough to cover areas that pertain to the names of hospitality establishments (cafes, bistros, restaurants, taverns, etc.). It should also be noted that in some cases, the name of the hospitality entity differs from the name of the owner (legal entity).



## Rezultati

### Sportski hodonimi

Na području Zagreba od ukupno 3906 prepoznali smo 49 hodonima čija su imena motivirana sportom. Prema vrsti hodonima sportu je posvećeno najviše ulica (37); zatim tri prilaza; po dva trga i dvije poljane; dok aleja, cesta, stuba, brjegov a i parkova ima po jedan. Najveći broj hodonima (41) imenovan je po osobama koje se mogu kategorizirati na više načina. Nekad aktivnim sportašima (31) i sportašicama (2) posvećeno je najviše uličnoga nazivlja (33). Valja napomenuti da su neke osobe među njima bili aktivni sportaši, a potom i sportski djelatnici (npr. Ante Pandaković) (Grad Zagreb, 1982), a neki sportaši natjecali su se uspješno u više sportova (npr. Predrag Heruc). Sportašicama su posvećene samo dvije ulice (*Ulica Marice Barić* i *Ulica Zulejke Stefanini Tućan*). Svi ovi hodonimi prema tipu spadaju u tzv. komemoracijske toponime (usp. tipologiju Stewarta, 1975 ili Randalla, 2001). Takvi toponimi preuzimaju uz osnovnu orijentacijsku funkciju i onu drugu simboličnu funkciju (Azaryahu, 1996). Upravo simboli, uz znakove i artefakte, igraju središnju ulogu u razvoju sportske kulture, tradicije i mitova (Jarvie, 2006). Osim toga, zajednička kolektivna svijest kao jedan od konstitutivnih elemenata nacije „kristalizira se oko simbola koji predstavljaju zajednicu” (Canivez, 2017, 11). Sport je sastavni dio kolektivnoga identiteta i izvor nacionalnoga ponosa, a u tome su ključni iznimni pojedinci koji postaju ikone sposobne da predstavljaju kolektiv (Hassan, 2013). Zvali ih sportskim legendama, herojima, idolima ili ikonama, oni simboliziraju identitet sportske nacije (Allen, 2013). Sportski uspjesi pripisuju se onima koji su na „borilištu”, koji su ostvarivali pobjede u ime nacije. Budući da su dio selekcije, izabrane vrste koje predstavlja državu, odnosno naciju, svaki sportaš je „jedan od nas”. Upravo je to dodatna funkcija toponima vezanih uz sportske „velikane” jer se kroz njihov lik prisjećamo njihovih uspjeha kao sportaša (pojedinaca ili timova), ali i sportskih uspjeha nacije, gradova i sl.

## Results

### Sports hodonyms

In Zagreb, 49 of the total 3,906 hodonyms were recognised as being named after sports. According to the type of hodonym, the highest number of names dedicated to sports were streets (37), followed by three passages, two squares and two plateaus; while avenues, roads, stairs, hills, and parks each featured one sports-related name. The highest number of hodonyms (41) were named after people, and this could be categorised in several ways. The highest number of street names (33) was named after athletes (31 men and two women). It should be noted that some of these streets were named after people who were once active athletes and later sports officials (e.g. Ante Pandaković) (see: Grad Zagreb, 1982), or athletes who successfully competed in multiple sports (e.g. Predrag Heruc). Only two female athletes had streets named after them (*Marica Barić Street* and *Zulejka Stefanini Tućan Street*). All these hodonyms belong to the commemorative toponyms type (compare with the typology of Stewart, 1975 or Randall, 2001). In addition to the fundamental orientation function, such toponyms also provide a symbolic function (Azaryahu, 1996). These symbols, together with signs and artefacts, play a central role in the development of sports culture, tradition, and myths (Jarvie, 2006). Additionally, the joint collective awareness, as one of the constitutive elements of the nation ‘crystallises around symbols that represent the community’ (Canivez, 2017, 11). Sports are an integral part of the collective identity and a source of national pride, and exceptional individuals are key, as they become icons capable of representing the entire collective (Hassan, 2013). Such people have been called sports legends, idols and icons, and they symbolise the identity of the sports nation (Allen, 2013). Sports successes are also ascribed to those who secure victories on the “battlefield” on behalf of the nation. Since they are part of the national team, a selected line-up that represents the country and the nation, each athlete is “one of us”. This is an additional function of toponyms associated with the sports legends, as we recall their sporting successes (either individual or as a team), as well as the sporting successes of the nation and cities along with the athlete/team’s character.

Toponimi se u pravilu posvećuju mrtvima koji tek tada simbolički „ulaze u povijest”, a ujedno više ne mogu ukaljati svoju prošlost koja bi ih eventualno isključila s popisa „zaslužnih osoba”. Pri imenovanju hodonima zamijećen je još jedan element. Naime, komemoracija se posebno ističe kod sportaša koji su nesretno poginuli za vrijeme karijere ili čak tijekom sudjelovanja u sportskom natjecanju. Takvi su slučajevi biciklista Vida Ročića koji je poginuo na samoj utrci u Kairu (Egipat), Marice Barić i Radoslava Cimermana koji su poginuli na treningu i košarkaša Dražena Petrovića koji je poginuo na povratku s kvalifikacijske utakmice za europsko prvenstvo. Marijan Dragman, Boris Hanžeković, Ladislav Štritof i Predrag Heruc ubijeni su u Drugom svjetskom ratu.

U nekoliko slučajeva sama lokacija toponima ima dvostruku simboličku ulogu jer osim što evocira na sportaša te se nalazi u blizini sportskih objekata evocira i događaj u prostoru koji je povezan s imenovanjem. Tako se ulica koja vodi do glavnoga ulaza u hipodrom zove po Radoslavu Cimermanu koji je poginuo na hipodromu 1974. godine. Na taj način, ako prihvatimo Youngovu (1993) distinkciju na spomenike koji predstavljaju uspjehe i spomen-obilježja koja utjelovljuju tragične događaje, ploča s imenom ulice ne predstavlja samo mali „spomenik”, nego i „spomen-obilježje” na sportaša Cimermana. Imena umrlih članova zajednice (u ovom slučaju sportaša) okupljaju nas u pojam nacije koji, za razliku od naroda kao zajednice aktualnih (sadašnjih) građana, predstavlja povijesnu zajednicu koja obuhvaća sve naraštaje (Canivez, 2017). Nadalje, na rekreacijsko-sportskom centru Jarun nalazi se *Aleja Matije Ljubeka*, koja povezuje mjesto s kanu-klubom koji ovdje ima sjedište, a osim toga ovdje je 1981. održano i republičko prvenstvo na kojem je upravo Matija Ljubek osvojio tri zlatne medalje. Idući je primjer kvart Markuševac gdje se nalazi Ulica Vida Ročića – biciklističke legende upravo iz toga dijela grada.<sup>3</sup> Na taj se način u navedenim primjerima ostvaruje ideja tzv. „geografskoga pamćenja”, tj. društvenoga sjećanja koje je povezano s mjestom.<sup>4</sup> Imenovanjem gradskih toponima spor-

As a rule, toponyms are dedicated to deceased persons, who only then symbolically “become a part of history”, as they can also no longer tarnish their past successes, which could possibly exclude them from the list of the “deserving”. Another element has also been observed in naming hodonyms. Commemorations are particularly common for athletes who died an untimely death during their career, or even during competition in a sporting event. Such examples are cyclist Vid Ročić, who died during a race in Cairo (Egypt), Marica Barić and Radoslav Cimerman who died during training, and basketball player Dražen Petrović who was killed in a traffic accident while returning from a qualifier match for the European Championship. Marijan Dragman, Boris Hanžeković, Ladislav Štritof, and Predrag Heruc were all killed during World War II.

In several cases, the very location of the toponym has a dual symbolic role: in addition to evoking the athlete, due to its proximity to the sporting facility, it also evokes an event in the past associated with the naming. For example, the road leading to the main entrance of the hippodrome was named after Radoslav Cimerman, who died at the hippodrome in 1974. Accordingly, if we accept Young’s (1993) distinction of monuments that represent success and memorials that commemorate a tragic event, the plaque bearing the road’s name is not only a small monument to Cimerman, but can also be considered a memorial. The names of deceased members of the community (in this case athletes) bring us together in the concept of the nation, which, unlike the people as a community of current citizens, represents a historical community including all past generations (Canivez, 2017). Furthermore, at the Jarun Recreational Sports Centre, we find *Matija Ljubek Avenue*, which connects it with the canoe club that is headquartered here. In 1981, the Republic Championship was held at Jarun Lake, where Matija Ljubek won three gold medals. The next example is the Markuševac neighbourhood, where we find *Vid Ročić Street*, named after the cycling legend who grew up in this part of the city<sup>3</sup>. In that way, these examples show the concept of *geographical memory*, or social memory associated with a specific place<sup>4</sup>. Through the naming of urban toponyms, athletes

3 U istoj ulici sjedište je i biciklističkoga kluba koji nosi njegovo ime.

4 Hague i Mercer (1998) su razvijajući ideju kolektivnoga sjećanja, upravo na temelju povezanosti s mjestom preko sporta predložili koncept „geografskoga pamćenja”.

3 The cycling club that bears his name is also located on the same street.

4 Hague and Mercer (1998) developed the idea of a collective memory based on the association of a place through sport, and proposed the concept of *geographical memory*.

taši se transponiraju u sferu kulture, a kako primjećuju Holt i Mangan (1996), upravo je kroz kulturni kontekst potrebno promatrati sportske heroje kako bi se dao smisao njihovu društvenom značenju i razumio utjecaj koji imaju u društvu.

Nakon sportaša, među osobama su najzastupljeniji treneri s pet hodonima (Vinko Tomljanović, August Piazza, Hinko Würth, Luka Kaliterna, Velimir Kljaić), zatim sportski djelatnici s dvije ulice (Dragutin Smiljan, Franjo Bučar). Jedna ulica posvećena je sportskom novinaru Hrvoju Macanoviću. U kategoriji ostalih hodonima, koji nisu imenovani po osobama, jedna ulica imenovana je po sportskom društvu (*Ulica Hrvatskog sokola*), a sedam hodonima imenovano je po sportovima (*Veslačka ulica*, *Kajakaški prilaz*, *Koturaška ulica*, *Ribički prilaz*, *Skijaški brijeg*, *Skijaški prilaz* i *Streljačka ulica*). Kod svih hodonima koji su motivirani sportovima motiv imenovanja vezan je uz lokaciju. Radi se o asocijativnim toponimima koji se temelje na povremenim aktivnostima koje se ondje odvijaju ili su se odvijale (usp. Stewart, 1975 ili Randall, 2001). Primjerice, *Koturaška ulica* dobila je ime po biciklizmu (kotur je starija hrvatska riječ za kotač, odnosno bicikl, pa je od toga nastala riječ koturanje = bicikliranje), tj. po tome što se nekada na njezinu mjestu nalazio velodrom (biciklističko trkalište elipsastog oblika). *Skijaški brijeg* nalazi se na mjestu gdje se nekada skijalo. Oko sportsko-rekreacijskoga centra Jarun locirani su *Kajakaški prilaz* koji vodi do kanu-kluba *Končar* i mjesta na jezeru gdje se održavaju treninzi, *Skijaški prilaz* koji je dobio ime po skijanju na vodi, dok je *Ribički prilaz* dobio ime po ribolovu. *Veslačka ulica* nalazi se uz rijeku Savu te vodi do veslačkoga kluba „Zagreb”. *Streljačka ulica* vodi do objekta u kojem se nekada nalazila streljana. Zgrada gradske streljane izgrađena je 1838. godine, a bila je središte društvenoga života i okupljanja građana. Neke ulice (*Koturaška ulica*, *Streljačka ulica*, *Skijaški brijeg*) izgubile su funkciju po kojoj su imenovane, a današnje ime ostalo je kao nositelj memorije noseći asocijaciju na aktivnosti koje su se ondje odvijale. Još je jedan detalj vezan za hodonime motivirane sportom: za razliku od komemorativnih sportova, oni nisu nužno vezani uz natjecateljski (profesionalni) sport, već i za sportsku rekreaciju.

are transposed into the sphere of culture. As observed by Holt and Mangan (1996), sports legends should be viewed in the cultural context in order to make sense of their social significance and to understand the impact they have on society.

After athletes, coaches are the next most common persons, with five hodonyms (Vinko Tomljanović, August Piazza, Hinko Würth, Luka Kaliterna, Velimir Kljaić), followed by sports officials with two streets (Dragutin Smiljan, Franjo Bučar). One street has also named after sports reporter Hrvoje Macanović. In the category of other hodonyms not named after people, one road is named after a sports club (*Ulica Hrvatskog sokola*), and seven hodonyms are named after the sports themselves (*Veslačka ulica*, *Kajakaški prilaz*, *Koturaška ulica*, *Ribički prilaz*, *Skijaški brijeg*, *Skijaški prilaz*, and *Streljačka ulica*). For all these hodonyms named after sports, the motif for the name was tied to the location. These are associative toponyms based on occasional activities that are or were carried out at that location (see Stewart, 1975 or Randall, 2001). *Koturaška ulica* or Cycling Street was named after the sport of cycling (*kotur* is an old Croatian word for wheel or bicycle, which gave rise to the word *koturanje* meaning cycling). At this site, there was once a *velodrome* (elliptical cycling track venue). *Skijaški brijeg* (Skiing Hill) is a place where people once skied. At the Jarun Sports Recreation Centre, *Kajakaški prilaz* (*Kayaking Passage*) leads to the *Končar* canoe club and the site on the lake where kayak and canoe training is held. *Skijaški prilaz* (*Skiing Passage*) was named after water-skiing, while *Ribički prilaz* (*Fishing Passage*) was named after fishing. *Veslačka ulica* (*Rowing Street*) is found next to the Sava River, and leads to the premises of the Zagreb Rowing Club. *Streljačka ulica* (Shooting Street) leads to a place which once housed a shooting gallery. The gallery was constructed in 1838, and at the time was the hub of the local social scene. Some streets have since lost the function they were named after (*Koturaška ulica*, *Streljačka ulica*, *Skijaški brijeg*), and today the name remains as a memory of the activities that once took place there. There is another detail relating to hodonyms named after sports: unlike commemorative sports, they are not necessarily associated with competitive or professional sports, but can also be tied to recreational sports.

Raznovrsnost zagrebačkih hodonima potvrđena je zastupljenošću čak 24 različita sporta. Sudeći po hodonimima, najpopularniji je nogomet s osam ulica (tab. 1). Slijede biciklizam i stolni tenis s četiri ulice, košarka, rukomet i tenis s tri, atletika,

The diversity of Zagreb hodonyms has been confirmed by the representation of 24 different sports. In judging by the hodonyms, the most popular sport is football, with eight streets (Tab. 1), followed by cycling and table tennis with four streets,

Tab. 1. Hodonimi u Zagrebu prema sportovima  
Tab. 1 Number of hodonyms in Zagreb by sports

Sport	Hodonimi / Hodonyms
Nogomet / Football	8
Biciklizam / Cycling	4
Stolni tenis / Table tennis	4
Košarka / Basketball	3
Rukomet / Handball	3
Tenis / Tennis	3
Atletika / Athletics	2
Kajakaštvo / Kayaking	2
Odbojka / Volleyball	2
Skijanje / Skiing	2
Alpinizam / Alpine sports	1
Automobilizam / Motoring	1
Boks / Boxing	1
Gimnastika / Gymnastics	1
Konjički sport / Equestrian sports	1
Mačevanje / Fencing	1
Motociklizam / Motorcycling	1
Ribolov / Fishing	1
Skijanje na vodi / Water skiing	1
Skijaški skokovi / Ski jumping	1
Sportsko padobranstvo / Sport parachuting	1
Streljaštvo / Shooting	1
Veslanje / Rowing	1

Izvor: terensko istraživanje

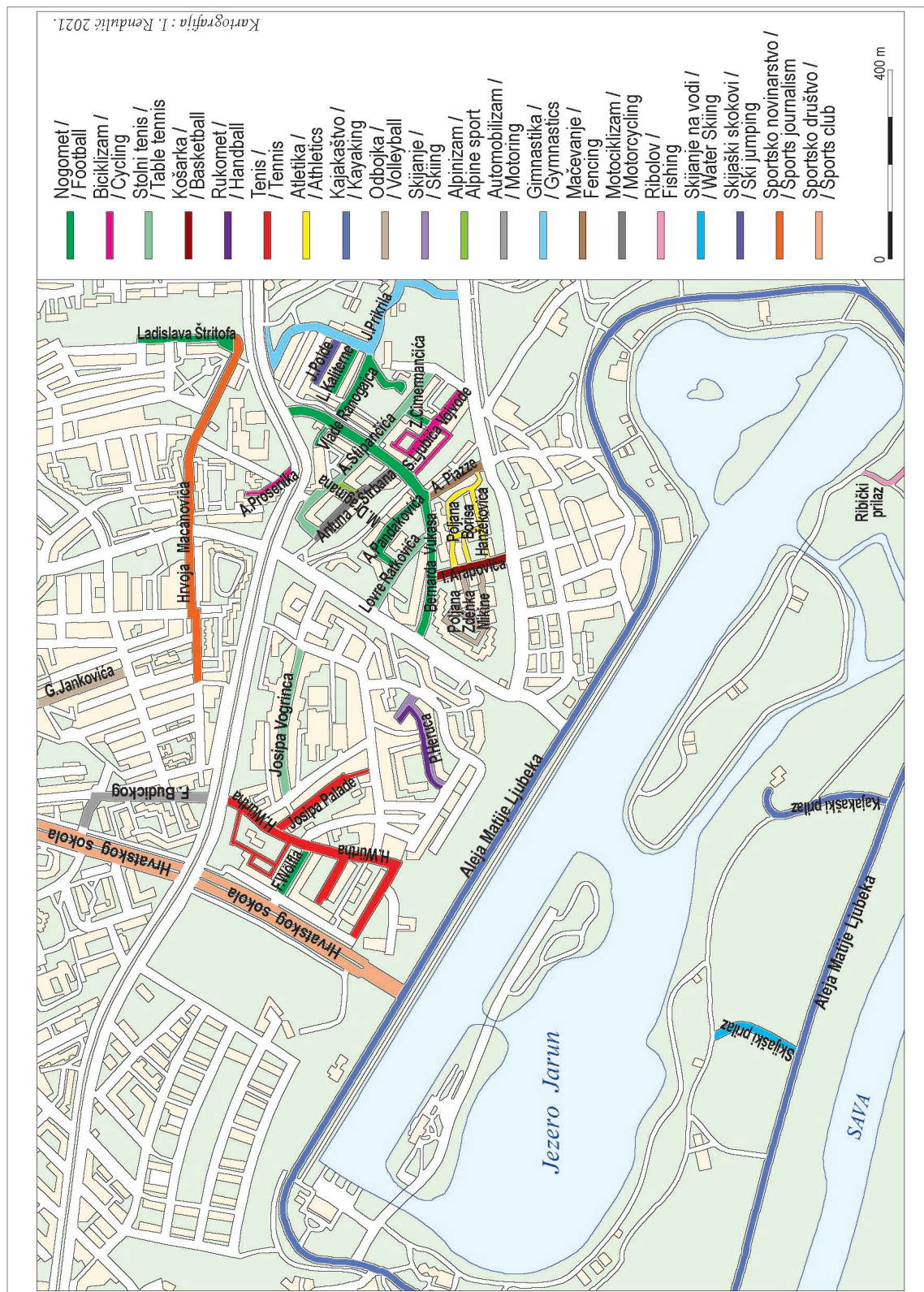
Napomena: Jedna ulica zastupa dva sporta (Herucova ul.: rukomet i skijanje), jedna ulica imenovana po sportskom društvu, jedna po sportskom novinaru, dvije po sportskim djelatnicima. Kajakaštvo uključuje i kanu.

Source: field survey

Note: One street represents two sports (Herucova Street: handball and skiing), one street was named after a sports club, one after a sports reporter and two after sports officials. Kayaking also includes canoeing.

**Sport u urbanom  
pejzažu Zagreba i  
Splita**

Sport in the urban  
landscape of Zagreb  
and Split



Sl. 1. Koncentracija sportskih hodonima u blizini rekreacijsko-sportskoga centra „Jarun“  
Fig. 1 Concentration of sports hodonyms near the Jarun sports and recreation centre

odbojka, skijanje i kajakaštvo s po dva hodonima, dok su ostali sportovi zastupljeni s jednim hodonimom.

Najviše je sportskih hodonima u gradskoj četvrti Trešnjevka-jug (32 ili 65,3 %), na što je utjecala lokacija najvećega gradskog sportsko-rekreacijskog centra „Jarun”, slijede Trešnjevka-sjever (4), Gornji grad-Medveščak (3), Zagreb-zapad (3), Trnje (2), Podsused-Vrapče (2), Novi Zagreb-istok (1), Maksimir (1), Podsljeme (1) (sl. 1).

Za razliku od Zagreba, u Splitu je iznenađujuće oskudan broj imena ulica povezanih sa sportom. Od 508 hodonima svega tri su motivirana sportom. *Ulica Osmih mediteranskih igara* nazvana je po sportskom događaju iz 1979. godine. Ostala dva urbonima vezana su uz nogometaše (*Prilaz braće Kaliterna* te *Ulica Bernarda Vukasa*). Zanimljivo je da se ulice nazvane prema Bernardu Vukasu i Luki Kaliterni, proslavljenim Hajdukovcima i treneru splitskoga kluba u slučaju potonjega, nalaze i u Zagrebu (na Jarunu). *Ulica Osmih mediteranskih igara* vodi prema gradskom stadionu Poljud na kojemu je 1979. svečano otvorena istoimena sportska manifestacija.

### Sport u imenima ugostiteljskih objekata

Dok su hodonimi odraz kolektivnoga identiteta, imena ugostiteljskih objekata odraz su uglavnom motivacije vlasnika objekta. Imena hodonima prolaze kroz službeni proces imenovanja koji je u nadležnosti lokalnih vlasti (općine, gradovi), dok su ergonimi dio neslužbenoga dodjeljivanja imena. U određenoj mjeri imena ugostiteljskih objekata moraju zadovoljavati određene kriterije da bi bila uspješna u privlačenju gostiju. Oni su poput slogana – kratka privlačna fraza koja utjelovljuje cijelu viziju mjesta (Kotler i dr., 1993). U pravilu su jednostavni, kratki i jedinstveni (ne smiju se ponavljati, tj. moraju se razlikovati od drugih u istom mjestu).

Pivnice, taverne, gostionice i *pubovi* usko su oduvijek bili povezani sa sportom (Collins i Vamplew, 2000). To su mjesta gdje se čita i priča o sportu, sastaje s prijateljima prije odlaska

basketball, handball and tennis with three, athletics, volleyball, skiing and kayaking with two hodononyms, and the remaining sports each with one.

The most sports hodononyms are found in the Trešnjevka-south neighbourhood (32 or 65.3%), due to the location of the city's largest sports and recreation centre, Jarun Lake. This is followed by Trešnjevka-north (4), Upper Town-Medveščak (3), Zagreb-west (3), Trnje (2), Podsused-Vrapče (2), Novi Zagreb-east (1), Maksimir (1), and Podsljeme (1) (Fig. 1).

Unlike Zagreb, Split has a surprisingly small number of street names associated with sports. Of the 508 hodononyms, only three are named after sports. *Ulica Osmih mediteranskih igara* (*Eighth Mediterranean Games Street*) was named after this sporting event from 1979. The remaining two hodononyms are both associated with former players of Hajduk Split (one would also go on to coach Hajduk): *Prilaz braće Kaliterna* (*Kaliterna Brothers Passage*) and *Ulica Bernarda Vukasa* (*Bernard Vukas Street*). It is interesting that there are also streets in Zagreb (at Jarun Lake) named after Bernard Vukas and Luka Kaliterna. *Ulica Osmih mediteranskih igara* leads towards Poljud Stadium, where the opening ceremony of the 8<sup>th</sup> Mediterranean Games was held in 1979.

### Sports in the names of hospitality establishments

While hodononyms are a reflection of the collective identity, the names of hospitality establishments are a reflection of the motivations of the owner. The naming of hodononyms passes through an official naming process that is under the jurisdiction of local authorities (municipalities, cities), while ergonyms are unofficial. To a certain extent, the names of hospitality establishments must meet certain criteria to be successful in attracting guests. They are similar to slogans – short, attractive phrases that embody the entire vision of a place (Kotler et al., 1993). As a rule, these names are simple, short and unique, i.e. they must differ from other establishments in the same area.

Pubs, taverns, and guesthouses have always been closely associated with sports (Collins and Vamplew, 2000). These are places where sports are read about

na utakmicu, ali i gleda utakmica (Weed, 2007). Okupljanje u susjednom *kafiću* kao i piće poslije utakmice dio su rutinskih rituala koji prate sportske događaje (Kelly, 2015). Kafići su ne samo ekstenzije sportskih objekata, već i mjesta u kojima se evociraju sportski događaji i čekaju idući. Ugostiteljski objekti mogu se promatrati kao mjesta okupljanja navijača u kojima se ono zbiva ne samo na dan utakmica (sportskih događaja) nego i između njih kako bi se premostilo čekanje i nedostatak novih doživljaja. Na taj način ostvaruje se povremena transformacija kafića iz prostora u mjesto, tj. iz društvenoga prostora u sportska mjesta (Weed, 2007).

Na području grada Zagreba izdvojili smo 25 ugostiteljskih objekata koji u krugu najvećih sportskih kompleksa asociraju na sport, dok ih je Splitu svega osam. Analiza je pokazala da postoji veza između namjene sportskoga objekta, tj. sporta koji se odvija na određenoj lokaciji i imena ugostiteljskoga objekta. Tako u blizini nogometnih stadiona ugostiteljski objekti nose ime po klubu (*dinamo* u Zagrebu i *Hajduk* u Splitu), asociraju na njega (npr. bojom dresa: restoran *Zagrebački BIJELI* kod stadiona kojim se koristi NK Zagreb ili *Bila boja* u Splitu kod stadiona Poljud kojim se koristi HNK Hajduk). Osim toga, imena nose elemente nogometne igre (*Korner*, *Kontra* u Splitu) ili pak nose ime po nadimku nogometaša/vlasnika (*café-bar Koma*; *café-bar Mara* danas *Club 5*). Oko košarkaškoga centra *Dražen Petrović* našli smo imena vezana uz košarku poput *Amadeus*, *MVP*, *Heja Heja Cibosi*.<sup>5</sup> Nadimak ili ime/prezime sportaša iz vremena sportske karijere nije rijedak motiv imenovanja (*café-barovi Amadeus* ili *Koma*, *pizzeria Dragaš*). Takav oblik imena postiže asocijaciju na sportsku karijeru kad se nadimak proslavio ili nastao te, kako primjećuje Barthes, sadrži u sebi prisnost i familijarnost jer kada se ime skрати ono postaje javno (Barthes, 2009). Uz Dom sportova *Zagreb* u kojem se održavaju natjecanja iz brojnih sportova nalazimo imena

and discussed, where friends meet before going to a match, or a place where the match is watched (Weed, 2007). Gathering at the neighbourhood pub and getting a drink after the game are part of the rituals that accompany sporting events (Kelly, 2015). Cafes are not only an extension of a sports facility, but also a place where sporting events are recalled and the next is awaited. Hospitality establishments can be considered as fan gathering places, not only on game day (of the sporting event), but also in between, so as to shorten the wait and compensate for the lack of new experiences. In that way, cafes are occasionally transformed from social spaces into sporting places (Weed, 2007).

In the City of Zagreb, we identified 25 hospitality establishments surrounding the largest sports complexes that have names associated with sports, while in Split only eight were identified. The analysis showed that there is a link between the intended use of the sports facility, i.e. sports carried out at a certain locality and the name of the hospitality entity. Near the football stadiums, the names of hospitality establishments are associated with local clubs (*dinamo* in Zagreb and *Hajduk* in Split), or are associated with characteristics of local clubs (e.g. with jersey colour: restaurant *Zagrebački BIJELI* (Zagreb Whites) near the stadium used by FC Zagreb, or *Bila boja* (White Colour) in Split near Poljud Stadium used by HNK Hajduk Split). Names were also found to bear elements of the game of football (e.g. *Korner* [Corner] and *Kontra* [Counterattack] in Split), or were named after the nickname of the footballer who is owner of the establishment (e.g. *café Koma*; *café Mara* now called *Club 5*). Around the Dražen Petrović Basketball Centre, names associated with basketball are found, such as *Amadeus*, *MVP*, *Heja Heja Cibosi*.<sup>5</sup> The name or nickname of an athlete from the period of their sports career is also a common motif in naming (e.g. *café Amadeus*, *café Koma*, *pizzeria Dragaš*). This form of name makes an association with the person's career at the point when this nickname arose or became famous, and as such contains dose of intimacy and familiarity, marking the point in time when a nickname became publicly known (Barthes, 2009). Around Dom Sportova, a polyvalent centre used for competitions

<sup>5</sup> Ime *Amadeus* rezultat je česte usporedbe kojom se za vrijeme igračke karijere uspoređivalo košarkaša Dražena Petrovića s glazbenikom Wolfgangom Amadeusom Mozartom (sl. 2); MVP = *Most Valuable Player*, nagrada koja se dodjeljuje u NBA; *Heja Heja Cibosi* navijačka je himna KK *Cibona*.

<sup>5</sup> The name *Amadeus* is the result of the frequent comparisons of basketball player Dražen Petrović during his career with composer Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (Fig. 2); MVP = *Most Valuable Player*; *Heja Heja Cibosi* the fan chant of the *Cibona* Basketball Club.



Sl. 2. Café-bar Amadeus na Trgu Dražena Petrovića. Asocijacija na „košarkaškoga Mozarta“. Slovo „D“ (početno slovo imena Dražen) stiliziran je profil košarkaša. (foto: Ivan Zupanc, 25. 11. 2013.)

Fig. 2 Cafe Amadeus at Trg Dražena Petrovića (Dražen Petrović Square). The association is to the “Mozart of Basketball”. The letter “D” (as the first letter of the name Dražen) is a stylised profile of the late basketball player himself. (photo: Ivan Zupanc, November 25th, 2013)

općenitoga sportskog karaktera poput *Point* ili *Sport Billy*,<sup>6</sup> ali i onih određenijih poput *Maratonac* ili *ICE*.<sup>7</sup>

Najbrojnija je skupina imena koja asociraju na neki sport. Takva su npr. imena *Sportivo*, *Point* (sport općenito), *Potkova* (konjički sport), *Velum* (lat. = jedro), *Skipper* (jedrenje), *Maratonac* (sudionik utrke maratona), *ICE* (klizanje, hokej), *Žabac* (maskota vaterpolskoga kluba), *Bumerang*. Metonimija u imenima ugostiteljskih objekata funkcionira upravo zbog lokacije, tj. prostorne bliskosti. Primjerice, ime restorana *Potkova* imalo bi sasvim drugačiju konotaciju da se ne nalazi pokraj zagrebačkoga hipodroma, kao

in numerous sports, we find the more general sports names, such as *Point* or *Sport Billy*,<sup>6</sup> and more specific names such as *Maratonac* or *ICE*.<sup>7</sup>

The most common is the group of names that symbolise (or are associated with) a sport. For example, there are the names *Sportivo* and *Point* (sports in general), *Potkova* (Horseshoe), *Velum* (Latin for sail), *Skipper*, *Maratonac* (Marathon Runner), *ICE* (skating, hockey), *Žabac* (Frog: the mascot of the water polo club), and *Bumerang* (Boomerang). Metonyms in the names of hospitality establishments function precisely because of their location and spatial proximity to the sports facility. For example, the name of the restaurant *Potkova* (Horseshoe) would have a completely differ-

6 Ime američkoga crtanoog filma koji se početkom 1980-ih emitirao u Hrvatskoj.

7 *ICE* (engl. led) asocira na hokej na ledu, što je jedna od namjena sportske dvorane.

6 Name of an American cartoon that was broadcast in Croatia in the early 1980s.

7 *ICE* is associated with ice hockey, one of the main sports played at the facility.



i primjerice nazivi kafića *Point* uz Dom sportova, restoran *Tribina* uz veslačku stazu ili *Beach Champ* uz klub odbojke na pijesku u okviru Rekreativno-sportskoga centra Jarun itd. Pejzaž i ovdje služi kao kontekst za jezik u njemu i na taj način mijenja našu percepciju (Drucker, 1984). Većina imena i u našim primjerima sadrži samo jednu riječ, nerijetko na engleskom jeziku. Osim međunarodnoga karaktera sporta, engleski kao globalni jezik sugerira kozmopolitizam (Seargeant, 2012; Curtin, 2014; Puzey, 2018). Takvi su primjeri imena poput *Point*, *Beach Champ*, *Dribbling*, *Jockey Club*, *Hockey Bar Champion*, *As*, *MVP* i *ICE* u Zagrebu ili *Tennis*, *Grand Slam* i *Skipper* u Splitu.

## Zaključak

Istraživanje je pokazalo da u određenoj mjeri postoji veza između hodonima i imena ugostiteljskih objekata s jedne strane te lokacije sportskih objekata s druge strane. Za ulice, trgove i sl. mjesta nazvana po sportskoj ideji funkcionira određena prostorna logika. Ona se temelji na blizini sportskoga centra, četvrti iz koje je sportaš, mjestu najvećih uspjeha ili pak tragičnoj pogibelji sportaša kada su u pitanju komemorativni toponimi, odnosno po asocijaciji na sportsku aktivnost koja se na tim mjestima odvijala ili još uvijek odvija kod asocijativnih toponima. Tipologija komemorativnih sportskih toponima koja je proizašla iz studije temelji se na motivaciji imenovanja po: a) sportašima, b) trenerima, c) sportskim djelatnicima, d) sportskim novinarima i e) sportskim događajima. Među hodonimima vezanima uz sport najzastupljeniji je identitet koji odražava vezu s nogometom. Ako bismo sudili po hodonimima, kolektivni identitet temeljen na sportu izraženiji je u Zagrebu nego u Splitu.

Sportski objekti mogu se promatrati kao „gravitacijski centri” u odnosu na ovdje promatrane ergonime (ugostiteljske objekte), s druge strane ergonimi mogu biti pokazatelji ekstenzije sportskih centara. Imena ugostiteljskih objekata koja u sebi sadrže sportski motiv u pravilu odgovaraju namjenu sportskih objekata (vrsti sporta) u čijoj se blizini nalaze. Kod ugostiteljskih objekata klasifikacija je raznovrsnija i obuhvaća imena koja se odnose na:

ent connotation if it were not right next to the Zagreb Hippodrome; the same is true for the cafe *Point* next to Dom Sportova, the restaurant *Tribina* (Grandstand) next to the rowing track, or the cafe *Beach Champ* next to the beach volleyball courts at the Jarun Sport and Recreation Centre. The landscape serves as a context for the language, and in that way, it changes our perceptions (Drucker, 1984). Many names are comprised of a single word, and often are in English. In addition to the international character of sport, as a global language, English gives a cosmopolitan flair (Seargeant, 2012; Curtin, 2014; Puzey, 2018). Accordingly, the following names are popular: *Point*, *Beach Champ*; *Dribbling*, *Jockey Club*; *Hockey Bar Champion*; *As* (Ace); *MVP* and *ICE* in Zagreb, or *Tennis*, *Grand Slam* and *Skipper* in Split.

## Conclusion

The research showed that to a certain extent, there is a link between the hodononyms and names of hospitality establishments with the location of sports facilities. For streets and squares named after sports, the idea functions with a certain spatial logic. This is based primarily on proximity to the sports facility, the neighbourhood of origin of the athlete, the site of the greatest success or of the tragic death of an athlete for commemorative toponyms, or with an association of a sporting activity that is carried out at that site, or was in the past (for associative toponyms). The typology of commemorative sports toponyms found in this study is based on the motivation of naming after: a) athletes; b) coaches; c) sports officials; d) sports reporters; and e) sporting events. Among the hodononyms associated with sports, the most common reflect a connection with football. Interestingly, judging by the hodononyms, it could be concluded that collective identity is rooted more strongly in sports in Zagreb than it is in Split.

Sports facilities can be viewed as “gravitational centres” in relation to the ergonyms observed (hospitality establishments), while on the other hand, ergonyms can be indicators of the extensions of sports centres. The names of hospitality establishments based on sports motifs, as a rule, correspond to the intended use of the sports facilities (types of sports played) near the establishment. For catering establishments, this classification is more diverse and encompasses

a) sportaše (nadimak, prezime), b) klubove, c) navijačke himne, d) maskote, e) sportske nagrade, f) element igre, g) dio terena, h) ostale simboličke asocijacije (*Beach Champ, Potkova, Point, Sport Billy, Grand Slam*).

Dok su ergonimi posvećeni sadašnjosti ili su pak bezvremenski (neutralni), hodonimi su najčešće motivirani prošlošću, tj. u pravilu predstavljaju ono što možemo nazvati „komemoracijom uspjeha”. Iako komemoracijski toponimi pokazuju veću nestabilnost na promjene (David, 2011), može se očekivati da sportski toponimi takve vrste u većoj mjeri odolijevaju promjenama jer su manje konfliktan resurs u izgradnji identiteta. Pomoću hodonima posvećenih sportu izgrađuje se i održava ponos, tj. identitet, a sportski se uspjesi mitologiziraju. U tom procesu sport transformira i oblikuje gradski pejzaž ne samo kroz sportski pejzaž (infrastrukturu) već i kroz ostale dijelove grada. Sport daje prostoru značenje i pretvara ga u mjesto. Ako katkad možemo dvojiti o tome je li sport dio kulture, imena motivirana sportom kao dio gradskoga pejzaža postaju dio kulturne sfere.

names related to: a) athletes (nickname, surname); b) clubs; c) fan chants; d) mascots; e) sports awards; f) elements of the game; g) parts of the playing field; and h) other symbolic associations (e.g. *Beach Champ, Potkova, Point, Sport Billy, Grand Slam*).

While ergonyms are dedicated to the present day or are timeless (neutral), hodonyms are most often motivated by the past and, as a rule, represent what could be considered commemorative success. Though commemorative toponyms show a greater tendency to change (David, 2011), it can be expected that sports toponyms of that type will be more resilient to such changes, as they are a less conflictive resource in identity building. Using hodonyms dedicated to sports builds and maintains a feeling of pride and with that, identity, and sports successes become mythologised. In this process, sports transform and shape the urban landscape not only in the sports landscape (infrastructure), but also in other parts of the city. Sports give the space meaning, and turn it into a place. We may occasionally be undecided as to whether sports are a part of culture; however, names motivated by sports have certainly become part of the cultural sphere as part of the urban landscape.

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